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The Life and Times of Paramārtha (499–569)

by Diana Y. Paul

An implicit principle of selection is operative in any biography. In religious biographies or hagiographies, the selection of biographical facts is especially critical to the emerging image of the religious personality.¹ In the case of the *Kao seng chuan* (KSC)² (*Biographies of Eminent Monks*) we have simultaneously the tendency to select common human experiences that indicate Buddhist monks are ordinary men with shared emotions, ambitions, and weaknesses; and the tendency to select events that characterize monks as uniquely religious, that is, spiritually eminent. In other words, the KSC and its sequel, the *Hsü kao seng chuan* (HKSC) (*Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*) chronicle the lives of those who are recognized to have exemplified the religious ideals of the Chinese Buddhist monastic community in the most favorable manner. Paramārtha's own biography portrays a saintly scholarly figure against the background of the emotionally and politically turbulent events of the sixth century.

During this period marking the close of the North-South Dynastic Period in China, philosophical schools of Buddhism emerged and flourished in the wake of Indian missionary-monks who had gained economic support from different Chinese courts. Naturally, when the imperial hegemony was a stable one, productivity in translation work and major recognition of scholarship was far more marked than in troubled periods of political and social upheaval. The most significant translations and scholarship were usually effected only when there was financial patronage from highly influential state officials.

It is essential to remember that Buddhist "schools" in China were not educational institutions established in terms of organizational hierarchies and codified dogma regarded as absolute doctri-

nal authority. The historical, political, geographical and economic realities of the time were critical to the survival of any scholastic endeavor, religious or secular. In the period at the end of the North-South Dynasties, in particular, it is especially important to investigate the personality and influence of the great Indian masters who served as the teachers and translators of innovative religious doctrines to their coteries of Chinese Buddhist disciples. These Indian Buddhist pioneers were not content to translate the scriptural texts solely for scholastic purposes. They were interested in interpreting texts in a way that would allow their Chinese followers to analyze their work by writing their own commentaries, thereby transforming Buddhism into a culturally acceptable religion. These Indian Buddhist monks also had to adjust to the political and economic challenges of the time.

It was during the chaotic times of the Liang and Ch'en Dynasties that Paramārtha introduced the philosophical ideas of Yogācāra Buddhism to the Chinese elite in the south. Paramārtha was an Indian Buddhist monk and the first to introduce and disseminate, to any great extent, Yogācārin philosophical and religious tenets to China, in the Kwangsi and Kwangtung provinces of the south. This marked the beginning of a period of active interpretation and discussion of some of the most significant texts of the Yogācārin or "Consciousness-Only" tradition. Paramārtha was recognized as a major philosopher and exegete of Yogācāra Buddhism, exerting considerable influence on the development of Chinese Buddhist thought, from the Liang Dynasty up through the middle of the T'ang. By providing a systematic and representative collection of core texts for his loyal followers, Paramārtha enabled Chinese Buddhist monks to prepare the foundation for the classical T'ang Buddhist schools: Hua-yen, whose most notable proponents were Fa-tsang (643–712) and Chih-yen (602–668); and Fa-hsiang, whose primary proponents were Hsüan-tsang (600–664) and his disciple, K'uei-chi (632–682), also known as Tzu-en.

Largely due to Paramārtha's extensive translations and exegeses, Yogācāra Buddhism was to affect Chinese thought for over three hundred years. Not only Ch'an and Hua-yen Buddhists but also the later neo-Confucians owed a considerable debt to Paramārtha's systematic thought. His works were to be the turning point in a long-standing debate among Buddhist scholars concern-

ing the phenomenology of mind and the essential character of human nature. He devoted his writings to analyzing the structures of conscious acts and their relationship to spiritual enlightenment. If human nature is intrinsically good and destined for enlightenment, he asked, why do human beings refuse to believe and act like the enlightened beings they fundamentally are? This question, lying at the heart of Mahāyāna, is the focus of all of Paramārtha's major tracts of writing.

While Paramārtha was living, his works were subjected to the vicissitudes of the times, ranging from a period of eminence and recognition of his brilliant and innovative analyses of Buddhist doctrine to periods of sporadic but intense persecution. A preliminary investigation of the personality and political life of Paramārtha will assist in understanding his place in the history of the evolution of Buddhist thought. He was a religious and philosophical teacher of theretofore unknown Buddhist theories. He was a political survivor who, though ostracized for the views he both cherished and had hoped to disseminate, managed to continue his writings—despite jealous Buddhist court monks who plotted his banishment from the central sphere of political and religious influence and a lack of highly placed patrons that more economically stable times would have certainly provided.

The specifically religious dimension of Paramārtha's life, in accordance with the overall hagiographical intent of the HKSC, is brought out in sharp relief from the sparse historical details of his life before his arrival in China. First, I will attempt a brief reconstruction of the political and religious context of sixth-century India and its colony Funan, where Paramārtha resided for some time. Then I will summarize the political and economic unrest in southern China on the eve of Paramārtha's sojourn to Canton, before discussing in detail the biography of Paramārtha.

The Historical Background of India and Funan

Paramārtha was born in A.D. 499, approximately a hundred and fifty years after the Yogācārin philosopher Vasubandhu, the single Buddhist most influential on Paramārtha's intellectual development. At that time the city of Ujjain was no longer part of the Gupta empire. The collapse of the Gupta empire would occur in

the mid-sixth century, but the glory of the empire had faded greatly as the Central Asian tribe, the Hūṇas, had invaded north India much earlier through the Khyber Pass. The demise of the dynasty politically fractured the country, and north India reverted to its feudal kingdoms. In the Kathiawar Peninsula, Valabhī separated from Magadha, so that Paramārtha's family was part of an autonomous kingdom, the province of Malwa, of which Ujjain was the capital city. There is no evidence that the Gupta empire controlled western Malwa, including Ujjain, except perhaps in theory.³ By 510 both Malwa and Valabhī had regional kings who theoretically acknowledged the Later Guptas only as the titular heads of state.

In western Malwa, north of Ujjain, there were several feudal lords during the early life of Paramārtha. The most important was King Yaśodharman, whose heroic deeds in battling the Hūṇa king Mihirakula,⁴ son of Toramāṇa, are legendary. We know that Mihirakula was an adherent of a Śaivite sect of the Brahmanical tradition and was alleged to have fiercely persecuted the Buddhists.⁵ Mihirakula and his troops met with fierce resistance, having been defeated by Yaśodharman of Malwa sometime between 527 and 533, according to a Mandasor (Daśapura) inscription,⁶ on which it is said that Mihirakula paid obeisance to the feet of Yaśodharman. There is some controversy concerning whether Mihirakula pressed on to Magadha to be defeated by Narasimhagupta Bālāditya II.⁷

Even under Mihirakula and the Maitrakas, the provincial rulers were allowed to continue their reign over the people.⁸ Paramārtha's contemporaries, then, during his youth were Mihirakula in Ujjain and Narasimhagupta Bālāditya II, a Later Guptan king, in Magadha. Yaśodharman of Malwa, who captured Mihirakula in approximately 532, would have been the reigning power in Ujjain about the time of Paramārtha's departure for foreign lands. Since Paramārtha was their contemporary, he must have enjoyed the patronage of both Yaśodharman and Bālāditya II in order to have the requisite financial resources for his missionary effort. Since we are not certain of the precise date when Paramartha left for China, probably around 545, he may have had the patronage of either Bālāditya II or, more likely, his son, Kumāragupta III, both of whom were patrons of Buddhism—as were most of the Later Guptans. The Maitraka ruler Dhruvasena I of Valabhī, the monastic

center for Yogācāra Buddhism of the type that Paramārtha advocated, reigned from at least 525–545 and may have supported Paramārtha's missionary efforts as well.

According to the HKSC Paramārtha set sail at some unknown date for distant lands to propagate the Buddhist teaching. The only country named in the HKSC besides China as a place of missionary activity is Funan. 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. This region functioned as a trade zone between the two great empires of India and China and had been a vital economic colony in India's possession since the first century A.D. Funan had become predominantly Hindu but Buddhist missionary activity during the sixth century must have intensified, since it is said that the Buddhists also had a strong following.

It is known that Buddhist monks had already been sent to China from Funan to translate texts during the imperial reign of Wu of Liang. Saṃghapāla (or Saṃghabhara) (460–524) resided in China from 506 until 522. Mandra (or Mandrasena) collaborated with him.⁹ Rudravarman,¹⁰ son of Jayavarman, had commissioned at least six emissaries to China, from 517 until 539. Various presents were sent to the imperial court by Rudravarman, including a sandalwood image of the Buddha, Indian pearls, a live rhinoceros, saffron, and a relic of the Buddha (purportedly a twelve-foot-long strand of hair.)¹¹ After he allegedly killed Guṇavarman, his half brother and rightful heir to the throne, Rudravarman was in jeopardy of being overthrown by native Cambodians. This eventually brought the downfall of the Indian colony of Funan.

Two facts can be documented with regard to the state of Buddhism in Funan at the time of Paramārtha. First, government support of Buddhism was an important factor in trade relations between Funan and China. Paramārtha's journey to China was not the first, since envoys to China from Funan had been relatively frequent before his departure for Canton. We know from the HKSC that Emperor Wu of Liang had invited monks such as Saṃghapāla and Mandra from Funan to the imperial court prior to Paramārtha's departure for Canton. Second, Rudravarman must have been the sovereign at the time Paramārtha was engaged in missionary activity in Funan, as he apparently had some interest in Buddhism, for political if not personal reasons. His reign was to

come to an abrupt end about the time that Paramārtha departed from Funan.

Although Hinduism was the state religion of Funan, the fact that Emperor Wu selected Funan as a resource center for recruiting eminent Buddhist monks suggests that there was considerable missionary activity by Buddhist monks in Funan during the sixth century. By the beginning of the seventh century, however, Buddhism had been banished from Funan. Paramārtha may have already suspected that Buddhism was beginning to lose its constituency in Funan when he accepted the invitation to go to China.

Historical Background of Southern China During the Late Liang and Early Ch'en

The Ta-t'ung reign of Emperor Wu of Liang (reigned 502–549) marked the beginning of the fourth decade of his reign. He was a more fervent Buddhist than any Chinese sovereign before him. This fact is reiterated in Paramārtha's biography in the HKSC, where it states that:

... the virtue of Emperor Wu of Liang extended over all parts of the land, causing the Three Jewels [of Buddhism] to flourish. . . . The emperor wished to transmit and translate the teachings of the *sūtras*, no less than during the Ch'in Dynasty [Former Ch'in: 351–394; Later Ch'in: 384–417]. In addition, he [wished to have] published materials surpassing in number those of the days of the Ch'i Dynasty [479–502].¹²

Emperor Wu had originally been of Taoist persuasion, and his ties to Taoist alchemists continued even after his conversion to Buddhism in 504 and his subsequent decrees exerting pressure on Taoists to return to the laity.¹³ He began his reign in a period of great prosperity and economic stability, but closed his reign with indifference toward the national government. Envisioning himself as an exemplary Buddhist sovereign, he had constructed many Buddhist temples, the most famous being the T'ung-t'ai temple, whose construction between 521–527 drained the state treasuries of enormous sums of money and increased the burden on the economy.

In the year of T'ung-t'ai's completion, Emperor Wu briefly

retired to become a monk. He was sixty-three years old at the time. It is at the Tung't'ai temple that he had engaged in some of his most noteworthy and controversial Buddhist practices, including "Dharma assemblies" where the subtleties of *sūtras* would be discussed at length, and where he granted amnesty to criminals or made pronouncements. One of his more unusual practices was to surrender himself as a temple servant for a day in order to raise donations from wealthy aristocratic families for the temple coffers.¹⁴ Two instances in which he performed the acts of a temple servant took place in 546 and 547, shortly before Paramārtha's arrival in Nanking. The Inexhaustible Treasuries he encouraged were vast collections of capital, estimated to be worth 10,960,000 pieces of gold in 533.¹⁵ All these acts were Wu's pious attempts to save himself and others from unfortunate states of rebirth. Due to the zealous practices of Emperor Wu he was praised as *p'u-sa t'ien-tzu*, "The *bodhisattva* and Son of Heaven" — and vilified by Confucian historians as a spendthrift who allowed corrupt Buddhist practices to continue unchecked. He also was criticized for not observing the penal code, by being overly lenient toward prisoners in accordance with his interpretation of the Buddhist ideal of compassion. When circumstances necessitated the execution of criminals, Wu reluctantly gave the command only after burning incense and invoking the name of the Buddha to eradicate any potential bad *karma* he would otherwise incur.

For all of his financial excesses in the name of the Buddhist religion, Emperor Wu, particularly in the early period of his reign, established social and economic reforms. He exerted himself in stabilizing governmental organizations by maintaining tight control over the Southern Dynastic aristocracy.¹⁶ However, at the end of the Eastern Chin the firmly established aristocratic families had lost much of their monopoly over government posts; in their stead rose the "cold men" (*han-jen*), who were ambitious commoners, currying favor with local lords. These commoners had the backing of wealthy regional lords and came to dominate others through graft and bribery, increasing their own wealth considerably.

The history of the shifts in power during the Southern Dynasties must always take into account the fact that the great landowning regional lords had made alliances with the "cold men" for business, profit, and capital. This economic and political alliance was to oppress the farmers even more and cause the collapse of

the Liang. The aristocratic families who had emigrated from the north, taking flight from the Hsien-pei invaders for the safe regions of the south along the Yangtze delta, gained high administrative positions but often possessed no real power. The provincial governors, who were princes of the imperial family, always had to address the needs of the native southern Chinese clans surrounding them. Often the governors were in a weak position with regard to protecting their own garrisons, since the military recruits came from native southern families.

The centralized government was politically organized as a system in which each prince moved from one garrison to another, with a metropolitan headquarters in the capital city of Chien-k'ang (same as Chien-yeh, referred to in the HKSC, and known today as Nanking). Militarily, the Liang Dynasty was not only vulnerable to attack from the foreign rulers of the Toba-Wei house in north China but also from within its own ranks. By the end of the Liang, oppression of the peasants and farmers had increased but influences and threats from north China had temporarily declined, due to its division into Eastern and Western Wei. The Liang sought to take advantage of this division by increasing military intervention. Emperor Wu, late in his career, turned to the "cold families" (*han-men*) in hope of using the latter's power to gain north China. These trusted men, who had been excellent government servants and had not antagonized the aristocratic emigrés, were given low government positions that had real power behind them, although they were looked down upon by the aristocracy because of their plebian origins. Countering Emperor Wu's ambitions were the ambitions of some of the more powerful southern Chinese clans and emigrés from the north who wished to appropriate for themselves the throne of south China. Unlike in the Northern Dynasties, there was a constant need to strengthen nationalism in the south. In addition, the tension between spending vast sums of money on war and on Buddhist practices were signs of a weakening of the Liang Dynasty. The insufficient increase in the money supply had been a general tendency since the time of Liu Sung.¹⁷ Economic recession coupled with a high rate of inflation during the late Liang Dynasty gave many of the "cold families" who were merchants increased prosperity and forced peasants and farmers into more lucrative careers in the military as soldiers for powerful native regional lords.

The rise of the notorious rebel Hou Ching¹⁸ and the marshaling of forces against Emperor Wu is a long, complicated web of intrigue that remains controversial among historians. Originally Hou Ching was a powerful general of the Eastern Wei Dynasty in north China. He had been a military aide to Kao Huan, who had forced Emperor Hsiao-wu to flee west to Ch'ang-an, where he was assassinated by Yü-wen T'ai in 534. Kao Huan then set up a puppet emperor, Emperor Hsiao Ching, in Loyang in 535, establishing the Eastern Wei. In 547, almost thirteen years after the inauguration of the Eastern Wei dynasty, Kao Huan died. His eldest son, Kao Ch'eng (d. 549), did not look so favorably upon his father's cohort, Hou Ching. Kao Ch'eng was assassinated in 549 by a Liang prisoner of war.¹⁹ Kao Ch'eng's younger brother, Kao Yang (529–559), succeeded as the military power behind the throne, proclaiming himself emperor (Wen-hsüan) in 550, establishing the Northern Ch'i. Following a quarrel with Kao Yang, Hou Ching planned another military campaign, this time allying himself with Yü-wen T'ai of the Western Wei, Kao Ch'eng's old rival and the Hsien-pei power behind the throne in 547. Although Yü-wen T'ai was uneasy about the alliance with Hou Ching, he commanded Hou Ching to seize the Eastern Wei capital of Loyang. Hou Ching felt trapped between the two rival forces. In 548, he allied himself with Emperor Wu so as to gain his assistance in this crisis.

By this time Emperor Wu was well into his dotage and had delegated the bulk of administrative responsibilities to both competent officials and inefficient relatives from his immediate family. Against the will of some of his most trusted advisers, Emperor Wu enfeoffed Hou Ching as Prince of Honan, so as to cause trouble for both the Eastern and Western Wei. Throughout the ensuing hostilities precipitated by Hou Ching, Emperor Wu was to be ineffectual in rallying forces to defend the capital and empire from the duplicitous Hou Ching. Assisted by one of Emperor Wu's own sons, Hou Ching eventually seized the capital city of Nanking on April 24, 549, after a six-month insurrection in which there was lack of resistance from imperial troops. With dignity befitting an imperial authority, Emperor Wu received Hou Ching at court when the rebel stormed the palace gates.²⁰ Emperor Wu died of starvation on June 12, 549, while under house arrest.

After two-and-a-half years of nominally supporting the rightful heir to the throne, in the seventh month of 551 Hou Ching had

the puppet emperor Chien-wen (Hsiao Kang) intoxicated and then suffocated him and murdered many of his children. After the three-month interim reign of Hsiao Tung, Emperor Chien-wen's successor, Hou Ching proclaimed himself Emperor of Han on January 1, 552, and imprisoned Hsiao Tung.²¹ On April 28, 552, three months after Hou Ching's ascent to the throne, Hou Ching was forced to flee Nanking by troupes commanded by the powerful generals Wang Seng-pien (d. 555)²² and Ch'en Pa-hsien (503–559),²³ under the orders of Hsiao I. On May 26, 552, General Wang Seng-pien killed Hou Ching and displayed his corpse in Nanking. His corpse was savagely torn to pieces by the people and eaten, then the bones were set afire. His head was taken to Chiang-ling where emperor (Yüan) allowed the birds to eat it.²⁴

Emperor Liang's seventh son, Hsiao I, who had originally been enfeoffed as Prince of Hsiang-tung, and who lived in Chiang-ling, approximately 450 miles southwest of Nanking, proclaimed himself emperor (Yüan) of the Liang in Chiang-ling on December 13, 552.²⁵ His general, Wang Seng-pien, who had overthrown his father's assassin, Hou Ching, was the power behind the restoration of the Liang, and was still in Nanking. Perhaps suspicious of Wang Seng-pien's own political ambitions, the newly declared Emperor Yüan wisely chose to stay in Chiang-ling but sent both generals to Nanking. Nearly all the aristocratic emigrés who had survived the fall of Nanking sought refuge where Hsiao I resided.²⁶ Fearing also his younger brother, Hsiao Chi, in Szechuan, Hsiao I had him assassinated by the Western Wei in August 553.²⁷ The regions of Szechuan, however, were sacrificed to the Western Wei, led by Yü-wen T'ai, in exchange for the disposal of Hsiao Chi, and the court was maintained in Chiang-ling where Hsiao I now resided. This city was seized easily by the Western Wei a year later, at the close of 554. The Western Wei plotted the death of Hsiao I by taking all Liang functionaries prisoners and leading them to Kuan-chung at the basin of the Wei River. Only about two hundred families escaped forced migration.²⁸ Hsiao Ch'a, the son of Hsiao Tung, had Hsiao I crushed to death while under the security of the Western Wei. On February 7, 555, he proclaimed himself emperor (posthumously known as Prince of Yüchang).

Meanwhile, in Nanking both of Emperor Yüan's generals, Wang Seng-pien and Ch'en Pa-hsien, were maneuvering for the

ultimate power behind the throne. The succession to the throne of Liang posed a difficult problem. Hsiao Fang-chih was proclaimed heir apparent by both generals. Later, however, Hsiao Yüan-ming, the late Emperor Wu's nephew, a repatriated heir to the throne living in Northern Ch'i, where he had been in exile, was summoned back from Northern Ch'i by Wang Seng-pien. On July 1, 555, he was proclaimed emperor, and Hsiao Fang-chih was designated prince regent, a virtual demotion. This was agreed upon with the Northern Ch'i, and Nanking was securely in their possession. This lasted a mere five months before a conflict between Ch'en Pa-hsien and Wang Seng-pien left the slayer of Hou Ching dead.²⁹ Hsiao Yüan-ming, who had been sponsored by Wang Seng-pien, was deposed and the fifteen-year-old prince regent, Hsiao Fang-chih, Prince of Chin-an, ascended the throne as emperor (posthumously known as Emperor Ching), with the sponsorship of Ch'en Pa-hsien. After an appropriate waiting period of two years with Hsiao Fang-chih as a puppet emperor, Ch'en Pa-hsien proclaimed himself emperor on November 16, 557, beginning the Ch'en Dynasty.

The Biography of Paramārtha

A standard account of his family background and place of birth is given in the HKSC,³⁰ allegedly based upon a biography of Ts'ao Pi, nephew of Paramārtha's favorite disciple, Hui-k'ai. This biography not only establishes his foreign origins, but also admits that an Indian Buddhist missionary-monk was as refined and as intellectually well-bred as upper-class Chinese. We are told that his personal name was Kulanātha, which means "refuge of the family"; his religious name, Paramārtha, means "ultimate goal." Born in northwest India in Ujjain (Ujjayinī) (northeast of Baroda in Madhya Pradesh),³¹ he was a Brahman by birth, of the prominent Bhāradvāja caste or clan (*gotra*).³² He is praised for the usual virtues of a Buddhist monk: his impeccable morals, calm and dignified demeanor, and proficiency in scripture, literary arts, magic, fine arts and crafts. A truly gifted man, whose knowledge was not only in Buddhist doctrine, he also seems to have been well suited temperamentally for a missionary career, having undertaken long and arduous journeys without fear of foreign people's "treach-

ery.”³³ It is also said that his beneficent presence was compatible with the dispositions of the native people he encountered. These are, of course, prerequisites for the ideal missionary-monk.

Little more is known of Paramārtha's life in India. He was a monk (*śrāmaṇa*) who had gained a considerable religious reputation for scholarship and travel. The biographical record in the HKSC mentions that Emperor Wu of Liang devoutly yearned to extend Buddhism throughout China. During the Ta-t'ung era (535–546) he ordered his Palace Rear Guard Chang Fan and a contingent to accompany the ambassador from Funan (Cambodia) back to his own country.³⁴ Emperor Wu wished to invite eminent scholars in Mahāyāna Buddhism to bring significant *sūtras* and *śāstras* to China. At this time Paramārtha's reputation as a scholar and missionary living in Funan presumably was brought to the ambassador's attention, for the ambassador of Funan sent him to Emperor Wu's court in compliance with the imperial order.

Little is known of Paramārtha's adulthood until his early forties, when he arrived in Canton. He may have resided in Funan for some length of time, judging from the reputation he had gained with the ambassador and, presumably, the government in general.

The first of many documentary discrepancies in the account of Paramārtha's journey to China deals with the facts surrounding the departure from Funan. According to his official biography in HKSC he was sent to China from Funan and took many texts with him.³⁵ It is very clear from historical records, both Buddhist and dynastic, that Emperor Wu of Liang made tremendous effort and donated large sums of money to make Buddhism prosperous and to seek out Buddhist missionaries. The account in the HKSC is based upon Pao-kuei's introduction to the “new” *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (*Hsin-ho chin kuang-ming ching*), eighth *chūan*, preserved in the *Li-tai san-pao chi* (LTSPC):

Emperor Wu of Liang feared rebirth in the three [unfortunate] destinies and grieved over falling into the four kinds of gestation [womb, egg, moisture, or spontaneously generated]. He [wished to] set sail to rescue the drowning, holding on to the torch of wisdom, in order to enlighten [others'] delusion. During the Ta-t'ung period the emperor sent a Rear Guard Chang Szu to Funan to send back to China invited eminent monks and Mahāyāna *śāstras* and *sūtras* of various kinds. This

country [Funan] then yielded in turning over the western Indian *Dharma* Master from Ujjain, namely Paramārtha, who, in Liang, was called Chen-ti, and with him, many *sūtras* and *śāstras* in order to honor the emperor.

After the *Dharma* Master Paramārtha had traveled to many kingdoms he had settled in Funan. His manner was lively and intelligent and he had relished details in scriptural texts and profound texts, all of which he had studied. In the first year of T'ai-ch'ing (547) he went to the capital and had a visit with the emperor who himself bowed down to him in the Jeweled Cloud (Pao-yün) quarters of the palace in reverence to him, wishing for him to translate *sūtras* and *śāstras*, relying upon the foreigner. Opposition from the law made it difficult for foreigners to be titled.³⁶

The Pao-kuei introduction may be reliable, since the introduction was written in 597, only about sixty years after Paramārtha was summoned from Funan (in approximately 535),³⁷ and twenty-eight years after Paramārtha's death, in 569. Pao-kuei's teacher, Tao-an, had been one of Paramārtha's followers, and his death in 581 at the end of the Northern Chou Dynasty came only thirteen years after Paramārtha's. Some of the more recent accounts of Paramārtha's embarking on his journey to south China claim that Emperor Wu of Liang commissioned an envoy to go to Magadha, not Funan, to acquire *sūtras* and *Dharma* Masters. From Magadha the envoy met the *Tripitaka* Master Kulanatha, who at first adamantly refused to go to China, but eventually boarded a ship with his attendant Gautama and many others, bearing a gift of a rosewood statue of the Buddha to be presented at the imperial court.³⁸ The *K'ai-yüan lu* (KYL) combines parts of both versions of the account, namely, that the Rear Guard Chang Fan (or Chang Szu) had accompanied the Funan ambassador to his own country and then went to Magadha.³⁹ This combined account is the most questionable of all the sources, since passages are cited verbatim from both HKSC and the colophon to the *Ch'i-hsin lun*, but synthesized.

Of the four historical documents that mention the imperial envoy, the *Ch'i-hsin lun* is allegedly apocryphal and the KYL incorporates portions of the *Ch'i-hsin lun*. If one rules out these two records as unreliable historical sources, then there can be no doubt that Paramārtha was in Funan engaging in missionary activity some time during the Ta-t'ung era of the Liang Dynasty.

Besides the conflicting textual evidence about Funan, the year of departure remains vague in all historical records. Paramārtha's official biography in the HKSC simply states that during the Ta-t'ung era, a span of slightly over ten years, the mission led by Rear Guard Chang Fan was sent to seek out Buddhist monks and scriptural texts. All other documents that indicate a time of departure follow the HKSC.

When Paramārtha arrived in Nanhai (modern Canton) on September 25, 546, it was the last year of the Ta-t'ung era. We may assume that his departure from Funan was towards the latter half of the Ta-t'ung era, thus giving ample traveling time to make the journey. Having stopped at various places along the coast, he arrived at the capital city, Chien-yeh (south of modern Nanking), two years later, in the intercalary month of the second year of T'ai-ch'ing (August 20 through September 17, 548).⁴⁰ When he arrived at court, the eighty-five-year-old Emperor Wu prostrated himself before Paramārtha—an extremely rare show of reverence—and had an audience with him in the Pao-yün temple.⁴¹ At the time of this audience, Paramārtha was almost fifty years old and an experienced world traveler. While having his audience with the elderly emperor, Paramārtha was unaware of an event that was to affect both his missionary efforts in China and the royal patronage of his translation work—the plotting of the downfall of the Liang court by the Toba rebel Hou Ching.

A mere two months after Paramārtha's arrival in Nanking, the rebellion had commenced and Emperor Wu's patronage was attenuated by the impending political crisis. From the day of Paramārtha's reception at court until Emperor Wu's death by starvation while under house arrest on June 12, 549, Paramārtha was sponsored, for a scant ten-month period, by the imperial court of Liang, before the uprising of Hou Ching's troops.

After Emperor Wu's unfortunate death, Paramārtha fled to Fu-ch'un, in Chekiang, Fu-yang district, approximately 150 miles southeast of Nanking, near Mt. Siao. There he was sponsored by Lu Yüan-che, the regional governor of Fu-ch'un and a recent convert to Buddhism. Paramārtha attempted to resume translation activities. With a staff of twenty accomplished monks, including Pao-ch'iung (504-584),⁴² he began translating the *Shih-ch'i-ti-lun* (*Treatise on the Seventeen Bodhisattva Stages*) in five *chüan* during the fourth year of T'ai-ch'ing (550). The text is now lost.⁴³ Accord-

ing to the KYL the monks apparently met with difficulties in translating the text, so they stopped work.⁴⁴ The HKSC states that “although [the political and military situation of] the country has not yet been settled, he [Paramārtha] transmitted the text with an appendix (or glossary).”⁴⁵ However, “transmitted” does not necessarily indicate that the text was completely committed to writing, so there need not be any contradiction between the sources, HKSC and KYL. Both the older catalog, the LTSPC, and the more recent *Ta t'ang nei tien lu* (NTL) omit any mention of an interruption in the translation but both catalogs give the same date and place of translation as found in the HKSC and KYL.⁴⁶

After presumably beginning the translation of the *Treatise on the Seventeen Bodhisattva Stages*, Paramārtha returned to the capital city in the third year of T'ien-pao (552)⁴⁷ by invitation of none other than Hou Ching himself. Undoubtedly Hou Ching knew of Paramārtha's activities at Governor Lu Yüan-che's, and so summoned him to court. The HKSC laments: “At this time there was continuous warfare and famine; the *Dharma* was close to ruin.”⁴⁸ In the two and one-half years at Governor Lu Yüan-che's estate, Paramārtha had had the solitude to begin the translation work he had intended as his chief purpose in traveling to China, but he also undoubtedly had been concerned about political affairs at court, where the murderer of Emperor Wu now dictated national policy. Even more dispirited must his monastic assistants have been at the starvation, devastation, and barbarisms in their homeland.⁴⁹ Although reasons for stopping the translation of the *Treatise on the Seventeen Bodhisattva Stages* are not given in any of the records, psychological as well as scholarly difficulties must have affected the monks assisting Paramārtha in rendering the original text into Chinese.

Paramārtha, who had unfortunately found himself in the midst of insurrection, was now summoned to Nanking by Hou Ching, four years after he had first entered the palace gates under the sedate reign of Emperor Wu. There is no indication from the HKSC whether Paramārtha was reluctant to visit Hou Ching. The tone in his biography is neutral with regard to Paramārtha's attitude towards Hou Ching's invitation. It is intriguing to speculate as to the motives behind Hou Ching's invitation to Paramārtha. He evidently desired Buddhist support, as indicated by his immediate orders for the construction of new Buddhist temples, even though

he had burned countless temples before he seized Nanking.⁵⁰ Perhaps the learned monk was to be used as a symbol of Hou Ching's purported zeal for the Buddhist path or perhaps, and more likely, Hou Ching wanted to exploit the prestige of a foreign monk after his usurpation of the throne and ravaging of the south. What better way to keep watch on Paramārtha and any possible political maneuvers by his wealthy provincial patrons than to keep him under surveillance in palace quarters while pretending a desire to learn the Buddhist *sūtras*? In any event, Paramārtha was not in a position to refuse Hou Ching's summons, so he left Fu-ch'un for the capital, where he was duly honored by the rebel.

How long Paramārtha was in Fu-ch'un is impossible to calculate with certainty but we can surmise that he left Nanking immediately before or after Emperor Wu's death in June, 549. Assuming that either Paramārtha or his supporters realized his life was immediately threatened, he escaped an ignominious death at the hands of Hou Ching. Approximately two and one-half years later, in 552, he had his audience with Hou Ching. The monk must have had the suspicion that he was in a politically sensitive situation and certainly must have conducted himself in the rebel's presence with the subtlest diplomacy. Paramārtha did not have to endure the tensions of such circumstances for very long however. Given the one-hundred-twenty-day span of Hou Ching's reign, we may estimate that Paramārtha had to endure the unchanneled violence of his environment in Hou Ching's palace for no more than four months.⁵¹

During Emperor Yüan's reign, which began the Ch'eng-sheng era on December 13, 552, Paramārtha settled at the Cheng-kuan temple in Nanking. That means that instead of being in Chiang-ling with the imperial court of Emperor Yüan, Paramārtha decided to stay in the capital, where the real powers, Wang Seng-pien and Ch'en Pa-hsien, were aligning their forces. There, with more than twenty monks, including Yüan-ch'an, he translated the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*.

There are some interesting points of disagreement among the records. First of all, the HKSC does not mention any specific date for translating the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, only mentioning that Paramārtha translated the text at the Cheng-kuan temple in Nanking during Emperor Yüan's reign, that is, during the Ch'eng-sheng period (552-555). There are two textual dates given in some of the

other sources. LTSPC gives the date of the first year, Ch'eng-sheng, namely 552, at the Cheng-kuan temple and also at Yang Hsiung's residence in the Ch'ang-fan region of Nanking,⁵² NTL and KYL follow suit, giving the identical time and place of translation.⁵³ The *Ku-nien i ching t'u chi* (KN) gives the third year of Ch'eng-sheng (554).⁵⁴ The Tunhuang manuscript of the introduction to the first *chüan* of the composite *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* translation,⁵⁵ undertaken by Pao-kuei, states that the earlier redaction by Paramārtha was translated from the second month, twenty-fifth day, of the second year Ch'eng-sheng (March 25, 553) until the third month, twentieth day of that same year (April 18). Thus, the LTSPC, NTL, KYL, and KN records would be in error unless we assume that the period delineated in the Tunhuang manuscript is much too brief to translate a *sūtra* seven *chüan* in length. Given his usual speed of translating and the turmoil of the uprising of Hou Ching, it is more reasonable to assume that Paramārtha and his staff began the translation during the first year of Ch'eng-sheng (552), and continued to revise and refine the style until probably April 18 of the following year. The KN, which is the only record to give third year Ch'eng-sheng, may be ruled out as either an error or as indicating that further revisions of the translation or subsequent discussion may have taken place in 554. Documentary evidence of two translation sites for the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* indicates that the translation staff most likely worked on the text first at the Cheng-kuan temple in 552 and then later worked at Yang Hsiung's residence in the Ch'ang-fan region of Nanking from March 25, 553, until at least April 8, 553.⁵⁶

From Nanking Paramārtha traveled approximately three hundred miles southwest to Yüchang, in the second month, third year of Ch'eng-sheng (March 19-April 17, 554). The HKSC mentions that this was a return visit to Yüchang, even though no recording of a first visit to that city is found in any of the existing documents. The HKSC could be in error and Paramārtha may have been paying his first visit to Yüchang. The KN supports this view, stating that Paramārtha "went" to Yüchang, not that he returned there. The KYL, which is based on the HKSC in part, follows the latter text exactly. Since Hsiao I (Emperor Yüan) assumed the throne in Chiang-ling in December, 552. Paramārtha may have visited him before he became emperor in his earlier residence at Yüchang. This trip would have taken place on his way

to the Cheng-kuan temple in Nanking, where the generals Ch'en Pa-hsien and Wang Seng-pien were vying for political power. Paramārtha's return trip to Yüchang in 554 would have taken time, considering the three-hundred-mile journey involved. At Yüchang he is said to have met the eminent monk Ching-shao (508-583),⁵⁷ and he visited temples in the immediate vicinity, Shih-hsing and, probably, Hsin-wu.

Ui hypothesizes that the first time Paramārtha went to Yüchang was on his way to Nanking from Nanhai (modern Canton).⁵⁸ That is, after Paramārtha disembarked from his ship in Canton on September 25, 546, he stopped at various places in the Kwangtung region for two years until his arrival in Nanking, sometime between August 20 and September 17, 548. One of the places between Canton and Nanking along the possible water routes is Yüchang, about midway between the two great urban centers. T'ang Yung-t'ung gives the same hypothesis for Paramārtha's first purported visit to Yüchang.⁵⁹ In any event, Yüchang became a refuge for Paramārtha on several occasions, for it reappears in the biography later on.

At the Pao-t'ien temple in Yüchang in 554, Paramārtha completed translations of the *Mi-lo hsia sheng ching* (*Sūtra of Maitreya's Descent [from Heaven]*) and the *Jen wang pan-jo ching* (*Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom of the Benevolent King*), aided by Hui-hsien and ten other monks.⁶⁰ He met Ching-shao, who was forty-six years old; Paramārtha was fifty-five. According to Ching-shao's biography in the HKSC, Paramārtha said that Ching-shao was "one of the strangest individuals I have ever met."⁶¹ A commentary on the *Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom of the Benevolent King* was composed five years earlier, in 549, according to the LTSPC and NTL,⁶² but this is highly improbable, since Hou Ching was mounting his rebellion at that time. It is doubtful that such a commentary ever existed, given the paucity of sources and the improbable date of composition. After completing these translations, Paramārtha moved to Hsin-wu where he resided at the Mei-yeh temple and may have translated the *Chiu shih i-chi* (*Commentary on the Theory of Nine Consciousnesses*) in two *chüan*, a text no longer extant.⁶³ From there he moved to Shih-hsing, where he allegedly translated the *Ta-sheng ch'i hsin lun* (*Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna*), supposedly in the second year of Ch'eng-sheng (553). Both the authorship of the text and the translation date are highly problematic, however.

After having spent a brief period of time in Shih-hsing, Paramārtha moved northward, across the Nan-ling mountain range to Nan-k'ang (near modern Kiangsi, district of Kan), protected by the Grand Guardian Hsiao Po,⁶⁴ who escorted him across the mountains. At that time Ouyang Wei was imperial representative of Shih-hsing (called Tung Heng-chou under Emperor Yüan) and also the honorary marquis of that area. We may assume that the uneasy alliance between Grand Guardian Hsiao Po, an erstwhile foe of Ouyang Wei's, had been resolved and that Ouyang Wei had made amends by this time. Hsiao Po lived in Kwangchow and Emperor Yüan had been troubled by Hsiao Po's power and had sent troops to replace Hsiao Po as governor of Kwangchow. Hsiao Po led his troops to Shih-hsing, turning back the emperor's troops while Ouyang Wei closed the gates to his fortress to ward off battle. Hsiao Po was furious, and seized Ouyang Wei's property, but then returned the wealth on the condition of an oath of allegiance. Hsiao Po then crossed the mountains from Nan-k'ang, making Ouyang Wei his military governor.⁶⁵ These events all took place after the ninth month of the third year Ch'eng-sheng (October 12-November 10, 554) when Hsiao Po was living in Shih-hsing and had left Kwangchow.

Since Hsiao Po had made many trips to oversee the region around Shih-hsing, on several occasions explicitly to outmaneuver the powerful governor Ouyang Wei, he was experienced in crossing the Nan-ling mountains and could conveniently accompany Paramārtha to Nan-k'ang at the same time that he supervised the area under the guise of assisting a Buddhist monk in his travels. The time of this sojourn across the mountains had to be between the closing months of 554 and the third month of 557 (April 15-May 13) when Hsiao Po was killed.⁶⁶ In the second month of 557, one month before his death, Hsiao Po, having raised his army in rebellion against the emperor, crossed the Nan-ling mountains to Nan-k'ang. It was probably at this time that Paramārtha was escorted to Nan-k'ang, having spent a good part of the years 555 and 556 in Shih-hsing. During this period, Paramārtha "translated in these various places in a hurried manner without a patron."⁶⁷ At Shih-hsing Paramārtha is said to have translated the *Sui-hsiang lun chung shih-liu ti shu* (*A Commentary on the Sixteen Truths from the Lakṣaṇānusāra-śāstra* [a commentary on the *Abhidharma-kośa* attributed to Guṇamati]).⁶⁸

In the third year of Chao-t'ai (557),⁶⁹ at the very close of the Liang Dynasty, Paramārtha completed the translation of the *Wu-shang i ching* (*Auttarāśraya-sūtra*) (*Supreme Foundation Sūtra*), in the ninth month, eighth day (October 16), at the request of Liu Wen-t'o, Secretary of Nan-k'ang, P'ing-ku district. This date is found in the colophon to the *Wu-shang i ching* preserved in the KYL, which criticizes the LTSPC for cataloging this text as a Ch'en translation.⁷⁰

For at least a third time Paramārtha returned to Yüchang, in the seventh month of the second year of Yung-ting (July 31-August 29, 558). He also visited Lin-ch'uan (in Kiangsi, directly south, approximately forty miles from Yüchang) and Chin-an (in Fukien, a port city along the coast, three hundred fifty miles southeast of Yüchang). First, he stopped at Lin-ch'uan, where he translated two treatises by Vasubandhu, *Chung-pien fen-pieh lun* (*Madhyāntavibhāga*) (*Discernment of the Middle and Extremes*) and the *Wei-shih lun* (*Treatise on Consciousness-Only*).⁷¹

From Lin-ch'uan Paramārtha traveled to the port city of Chin-an. At this time, the important monks Seng-tsung, Fa-chun, Chih-wen (509-599), Hui-jen, Hui-k'ai, Fa-jen, Hui-kuang, and Fa-t'ai crossed the Ling-nan mountains to have an audience with the Indian Buddhist missionary. According to Fa-t'ai's biography, Paramārtha had been traveling in China for more than ten years when he desired to go back to his homeland. At that time Ouyang Wei detained him in Kwangchow.⁷² According to the same source, Fa-t'ai, Seng-tsung, Hui-k'ai and others desired to be instructed and went to the Chih-chih temple in Kwangchow for Paramārtha's teachings. Hui-kuang's biography also mentions his being instructed at the same time as Seng-tsung, Hui-k'ai, and Fa-chun, but omits any travel across the Ling-nan mountains.⁷³ According to Chih-wen's biography, Chih-wen, Seng-tsung, Fa-chun, and other eminent monks stopped at Chin-an with Paramārtha. It is not clear from the text when this meeting took place, nor if the meeting was the first with Paramārtha or a subsequent visit.⁷⁴ The only clear indication of a visit to Chin-an is at this time. Liang-an, which has been tentatively identified by Ui as equivalent to Chin-an, was a point of travel for Paramārtha in 563, some five years later. Hence, we can say that these monks who sought the missionary's new Buddhist teachings met him in either 558 at Chin-an or in 563—if we accept Ui's identification of Liang-an with Chin-an.⁷⁵

Only one translation is associated with Chin-an, *Ch'eng lun shih i* (*An Explanation of Correct Doctrines*), cited in the LTSPC and NTL,⁷⁶ as translated at the Fo-li temple during the Ch'en Dynasty.

Moving from place to place must have been unsettling for him, for his biography notes that:

. . . although Paramārtha transmitted *sūtras* and *śāstras*, the practice of [the Buddhist] 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 Laṅkāśukha (Malaysia). Monks and laity earnestly begged him to promise to stay. He could not escape public opinion and so he stayed in the southeastern regions (*nan-yüeh*) [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.⁷⁷

And so he continued to pursue the difficult work of translating amidst personal depression and the instabilities of Ch'en economic patronage.

While Paramārtha was in the southeastern regions of Fukien and Kiangsi he commenced translation work on what were to be some of his best known works, many of which are collected in the *Taishō*. The Korean Yogācārin master Wōnchuk, in his commentary on the *Samdhinirmocana*, *Chieh-shen-mi-ching shu*, places the translation of the *Samdhinirmocana* (*Chieh-chieh ching*) by Paramārtha within the Pao-ting era of the Northern Chou (561-565) in the Ssu-t'ien-wang temple. He cites an index of Paramārtha's works that dates the text in the second year T'ien-chia (561) in Chien-tiao temple.⁷⁸ In all the *sūtra* catalogs, however, no date or place of translation is specified other than the general dating of the text as a Ch'en Dynasty translation. According to Ui, Hui-k'ai gives the dates of translation of the *Wei-shih lun* (*Treatise on Consciousness-Only*) as from the fourth month, sixteenth day, in the fourth year T'ien-chia (May 23, 563) until the third month, fifth day, in the fifth year of T'ien-chia (April 1, 564). The *Mahāyān-saṃgraha* (*Acceptance of Mahāyāna*) (*She ta-sheng lun*) was translated immediately after the *Wei-shih lun*, in Ui's opinion,⁷⁹ although this disagrees with the *HKSC*, which reverses the order, placing the

translation of the *Samgraha* before the *Wei-shih lun*. Even though the exact sequence of events is unclear, Fa-t'ai's biography suggests that the *Samgraha* was translated at Ouyang Wei's residence in Kwangchow.⁸⁰ Since Ouyang Wei died in 563, his patronage of the *Samgraha* translation project could have taken place only up through 563, the fourth year of T'ien-chia. Therefore, the *Samgraha* was probably initially translated before the *Wei-shih lun*, in agreement with the account in the HKSC, NTL, LTSPC, and KYL.⁸¹ The translation may have been initiated in 561 at the Chien-tsoo temple, continued at the Ssu-t'ien-wang temple and either completed in Ouyang Wei's residence in 563 or continued after his death when his son, Ouyang Ho, became the financial sponsor of Paramārtha's works.

By the fourth year of T'ien-chia (563) Paramārtha had gained prominence throughout southern China and had developed an ardent group of disciples, including Hui-k'ai, Seng-tsung, Ching-shao, Fa-k'an, and Fa-t'ai, who traveled great distances to hear his new teachings, particularly those based on the *Samgraha*:

All prominent monks in Chien-yeh [Nanking]—Seng-tsung from Chien-yüan temple in Yang-tu, Fa-chun, Seng-jen, and others—had respectfully heard about the innovative teaching [of Paramārtha]. Therefore, they traveled far south of the Yangtze in order personally to receive his excellent answers [to their questions] about the new teaching. Paramārtha was delighted that they had desired to come to him, and [consequently] translated the *Mahāyānasamgraha* and other *sāstras* for them, which took a total of two years [to translate]. He again commented on the doctrinal meanings [of texts], roaming from one place to another, without peace of mind.⁸²

Sometime before or in the midst of translating the *Samgraha*, Paramārtha must have grown disheartened at his circumstances, even though his earnest following of disciples and Governor Wang Fang-she attempted to boost his morale. On the twenty-fifth day, ninth month, of the third year T'ien-chia (November 7, 562), according to Ui, or during the ninth month of that same year (September 17-October 16th), Paramārtha again decided to leave China, setting sail in a small boat from Liang-an to his homeland, but strong winds and his "fate" drove him back to Canton in the

twelfth month (January 10-February 9, 563) after three months at sea. From this ill-fated sea voyage he was invited by Ouyang Wei to live at the Chih-chih temple in Canton and begin translating his most important works, the *Samgraha* and *Wei-shih lun*. We do not know the exact month of Ouyang Wei's death in 563, but we can say that Paramārtha had the economic resources of Ouyang Wei's son, Ho, after the father died, as clearly indicated in the HKSC. Ouyang Ho (538-570) apparently was intellectually gifted and contributed to or actively observed the translation proceedings. After this invitation "Paramārtha considered these conditions, realizing that it was impossible to return west."⁸³ After 562, he did not make any other attempts to leave China and appeared to have proceeded at a rapid pace under fairly stable conditions to resume his work at the Ouyang estate.

In the HKSC a bit of hagiography follows the description of Ouyang Ho's patronage of Paramārtha and his staff. The Indian missionary apparently had an island retreat off of Canton in the delta of the Pearl River. The waters were turbulent and the cliffs jutting out toward the water were very steep. Paramārtha, however, was believed to be able to cross the waters effortlessly, while Ouyang Ho dared not cross the treacherous waters. On one occasion Paramārtha went to visit Ho.

Paramārtha spread out his sitting mat on the water and sat cross-legged on it, as if he were riding a boat. He floated over the waters to the shore. When he climbed ashore to greet him [Ouyang Ho], the sitting mat was not wet, and he spread it out as usual [to sit on]. Other times he would use a lotus leaf as a boat to ride across. There are many examples of such marvels [pertaining to Paramārtha].⁸⁴

After five years of intensive translation (of texts such as the *Vajracchedikā*, *Kuang-i fa-men ching*, and *Abhidharmakośa*), made possible through the generosity of the Ouyang family, another dramatic event occurred in Paramārtha's life, second only to the fall of Nanking. During the sixth month of the second year Kuang-t'ai or Kuang-ta (July 10-August 8, 568):

Paramārtha had grown weary of the world and felt extremely fatigued. It seemed better to him to prepare for an early rebirth in a better world. So he went into the mountains north

of Nanhai [Canton] intending to commit suicide. At that time, Chih-k'ai [Hui-k'ai] was lecturing on the *Abhidharmakośa*. On hearing what had happened, he hurried to him [Paramārtha]. Monks and laity ran after one another into the countryside [towards the mountains]. The governor [Ouyang Ho] also dispatched envoys and guardsmen to restrain him. He [the governor] personally prostrated himself [in front of Paramārtha]. Only after detaining him for three days did he [Paramārtha] return to his normal state.⁸⁵

After his attempted suicide, he then stopped at the Wang-yüan temple with his closest disciples Seng-tsung and Hui-k'ai, who had requested that Paramārtha be invited to the capital by Emperor Wen. Monks at court

. . . who were in prestigious positions and had great reputations were afraid of losing [their status] and so memorialized saying "Those groups of works translated beyond the mountains [in the Kwangtung and Kwangsi regions] mainly expound Idealism ('Consciousness-Only') without sense objects (*wu-ch'en wei-shih*). Their words are antagonistic to government policy and damaging to the national morale. He should not be allowed in China proper, but relegated to the hinterlands." The emperor agreed. Therefore, the innovative writings from Nanhai remained hidden throughout the Ch'en Dynasty.⁸⁶

Then, two months later, on the twelfth day, eighth month of the second year of Kuang-t'ai (September 18, 568), Paramārtha's favorite disciple, Hui-k'ai, died. Paramārtha grieved deeply for him and burned candles and incense with the rest of his disciples in Fa-chun's room. He continued to translate the *Abhidharmakośa*, no longer assisted by Hui-k'ai, but he soon became very sick himself. On February 12, 569, at noon, five months after Hui-k'ai's death, Paramārtha died at the age of seventy-one. The next day his body was cremated and a *stūpa* erected at Ch'ao-ting (near Canton). On the thirteenth day (February 15) Seng-tsung, Fa-chun, and others returned to Mt. Lu in Kiangsi to carry on the work of Paramārtha.

When one looks at the biographical account of Paramārtha's circumstances and compares his situation with the prodigious amount of translation activity undertaken during those political upheavals, one is struck by the amazing tenacity and endurance

with which the seemingly insurmountable obstacles to close and difficult textual study were overcome.

Now during Paramārtha's time in the Liang Dynasty, there was chaos and anarchy. The response [to crisis] was defeatist and fatalistic. The roads and river ways were seldom traveled. He roamed about as a missionary; in accordance with regional affinities he pursued his course. This resulted in the fragmentation of the textual collections and the frequent separation from some of his translators.⁸⁷

This would hold true, in Paramārtha's case, not only for Liang but also for the Ch'en Dynasty. Not only is Paramārtha portrayed by his biographer as a patient, assiduous monk in a hostile society, but he is also reverentially treated as a saint, honored as the Master of the *Bodhisattva* Precepts,⁸⁸ and as one who could perform miracles. This may even hint at the wonder with which the biographer beheld Paramārtha's voluminous translations, for would it not be something of a miracle and a demonstration of a highly disciplined nature to translate extremely difficult philosophical texts while being forced to move from place to place? The biography holds one's interest in another way as well. The mental dejection of a monk who was compelled to be a political survivor as well as a reclusive missionary scholar is poignant yet realistic. He was not accustomed to the political arena of southern Chinese society, and the continual confrontation with various state officials frustrated the saintly Paramārtha to the point of contemplating suicide. An uneasy but pragmatic alliance between various provincial military men such as Ouyang Wei and his son Ho was necessary both economically and politically. This was a situation characteristic of many Buddhist clergy in southern China, and proved to be the rule rather than the exception.

The wise and stoic Paramārtha comes to life as a missionary-monk first and foremost, as a politically astute foreigner secondarily, and yet also as one whose human relationships reinforced the image of the brilliant, culturally adaptable man of spartan and restrained manner. Two interesting anecdotes are preserved in his biography:

One day when the weather was bitterly cold, Paramārtha was wearing only thin clothing, and he endured it without

mentioning it all night. Some of his students were seated by his side. Hui-k'ai and others stood quietly by him in attendance throughout the night. They debated and conversed for a long time, until their voices had become quite loud. At one point Paramārtha fell asleep. [Hui-]k'ai quietly covered him with a garment, but Paramārtha was secretly aware of it and let it fall to the ground. His stoicism and contentment with little was like that. [Hui-]k'ai continued to serve Paramārtha, becoming increasingly close to him as time passed.

Another time Paramārtha sighed three times from frustration. Hui-k'ai asked the reason for this, and Paramārtha replied: "You and the others are sincere about the True *Dharma* and it is fitting that you should assist in its transmission. Only it grieves me that these are not the times for disseminating the *Dharma*. My purpose in coming here has been obstructed." [Hui-]k'ai heard this and was saddened. For a long time he wept. Kneeling before Paramārtha he said: "The Great *Dharma* is cut off from the world, but you have come all this way to China. The people have no responses [to meet these times]. Can anything be done to remedy this?"

Paramārtha pointed his finger to the northwest and said: "In that direction there will be a great kingdom, neither too near nor too far. After we all have died, it [the *Dharma*] will be greatly prosperous, but we shall not see its ascendance. This is why I sighed deeply."⁸⁹

These anecdotes illustrate Paramārtha's character and the affection his devoted disciples had for him. His stature as a scholar made him sought after by politicians and by renowned Chinese Buddhist monks, who became his disciples. It is his brilliance as a translator and philosopher that assures his status as one of the geniuses in Chinese Buddhist history. As the inspiration prefiguring the distinctively Chinese Buddhist schools formulated during the Sui Dynasty, Paramārtha was one of the key figures in constructing and systematizing the Buddhist analysis of mind. An examination of Paramārtha's particular interpretation of Yogācāra Buddhism and his impact on Sui and T'ang Chinese Buddhism will bring to light his original contributions to the development of Chinese Buddhist thought during the subsequent period of Buddhism's zenith.⁹⁰

NOTES

1. Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, ed., *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion* (Mouton: The Hague, 1976), p. 3.

2. *Kao seng chuan* (KSC) and *Hsü kao seng chuan* (HKSC), T.2059.50 and T.2060.50 respectively. The KSC was compiled by Hui-chao (497-554) of the Liang Dynasty in approximately A.D. 530. It is a record of approximately 257 eminent monks and 243 of their assistants, or disciples, from the years A.D. 67-519. This collection of biographies served as a model and standard for all subsequent biographical collections. The HKSC, its immediate successor, was compiled by Tao-hsüan (596-667) of the T'ang Dynasty in approximately A.D. 645. It is a record of approximately 340 eminent monks and 60 of their assistants, from A.D. 520-641. Paramārtha's biography is included in HKSC.

3. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India: From the Fall of the Mauryas to the Death of Harṣa* (c. 200 B.C.-A.D. 650), (Calcutta: Academic Publishers, 1968), pp. 227-228.

4. The name Mihirakula is equivalent to the Iranian name Mithra (Sanskrit: Mitra). He may have been the first of the Maitraka Dynasty that ruled Valabhī from the early sixth century. (At least one scholar disagrees with that view. Cf. Jagan Nath, "Early History of the Maitrakas of Valabhī," *Indian Culture*, April 1939, pp. 407-414.) He ascended the throne circa 511-512, when he succeeded his father, Toramāna, since the fifteenth year of his reign is recorded as 526-527 in an epigraphic record from Mandasor (Daśapura). Much of Mihirakula's life and political activities remain obscure. In both Mandasor stone inscriptions, dated 533-534, Yaśodharman is described as the supreme sovereign over lands that even the Hūnas and Guptan rulers could not conquer and as the one to whom Mihirakula paid homage (Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, III, 142-158). The Gwalior inscription mentions the fifteenth year of Mihirakula's reign.

5. Thomas Watters, tr., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (629-645 A.D.), (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904), I, p. 289.

6. If the fifteenth year of Mihirakula's reign is 526-527 and he is said to have paid homage to Yaśodharman in 533, then his reign had to have terminated some time between 526-527 and 533.

7. Jean Filliozat, *Political History of India*, tr. by Philip Spratt (Calcutta: 1957), pp. 180-181. Yaśodharman may have participated in the war against Mihirakula as a vassal of Bālāditya II. On a separate occasion in 517 Bālāditya II may have attempted to wage war against Mihirakula while the latter was in a confrontation in Kashmir. Unsuccessful at that time, Bālāditya may have attempted a later attack in Magadha after Yaśodharman's victory. Some historians deny that there were two defeats of Mihirakula. See S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1967), pp. 350-353.

8. Filliozat, *Political History of India*, p. 176.

9. The monks Mandra and Saṅghapāla have translations listed in the *Ku-nien i ching t'u chi* (KN), T.2151.55.364b14-20 and 364b21-c6 respectively. Mandra translated three texts: the *Pao-yün ching*, *Fa-chieh ti hsing wu fen-pieh ching*, *Wen-shu-shih-li shuo pan-jo po-lo-mi ching*, totaling eleven *chüan*. Saṅghapāla translated eleven texts, including the *A-yü-wang ching* (*Sūtra on King Aśoka*), *P'u-sa tsang ching*, and

the *Wen-shu-shih-li shuo pan-jo po-lo-mi ching* (perhaps a collaboration with his fellow compatriot Mandra). At the end of Paramārtha's biography (HKSC, 2060.50.431a4-6) is appended a note on a Ch'en translation of the *Ta-sheng pau-yün ching* in eight *chüan* by a Funan monk named Subodhi. The note mentions that Subodhi's text is slightly different from the Liang translation by Mandra in seven *chüan*. Subodhi's translation is also listed in the KN, 365c2-5. In Saṃghapāla's biography (HKSC, 426a3-b12) it says that the monks Mandra and Saṃghapāla collaborated on all three of the texts that the KN attributes to Mandra. There is no separate biography for Mandra in HKSC.

10. King Jayavarman and his son Rudravarman, who was the last king of Funan, are mentioned in the *Liang shu*, ch. 54, pp. 789-790. Cf. George Coedes, *Les États Hindouïsés d'Indochine* (Paris: 1948), for the details of the rise and decline of Rudravarman's power. (pp. 104-105).

11. *Liang shu*, ch. 54, p. 790. Also described in Louis Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mekong*, vol. III: *La Culture du Fou-nan* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1962), Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, p. 369; Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *Kambuja-désa: An Ancient Hindu Colony in Cambodia* (Madras: 1944), p. 34.

12. HKSC, 2060.50.429c11-12, 20:21.

13. See Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching," especially pp. 155-158 in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (eds.), (Yale University Press, 1979).

14. From the time of Southern Ch'i the practice of "abandoning the body" (*she-shen*) became prominent among the ruling class. However, Wu of Liang was the first emperor to engage in this practice. Emperor Wu "abandoned his body" four times: In 527 when he was sixty-four years of age he became a temple servant at the T'ung-t'ai temple and granted amnesty to prisoners. This lasted for four days. In 529 he again performed this practice at the T'ung-t'ai temple, this time as a temple craftsman in a commoner's garment. He lectured on the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* and ransomed himself for one million copper cash. This lasted seventeen days. The third "abandonment of the body" took place in 546 at both the Fa-chia and T'ung-t'ai temples, lasting thirty-seven days. The last occurrence was a year later (547), and lasted forty-three days. Wu was criticized: "In the first year of T'ai-ch'ing, Emperor Wu, by abandoning his body . . . forgot he was Emperor under Heaven." See Mori Mikisaburō, *Ryō no butei* (Kyoto: 1956), pp. 144-148, 166-169, for further discussion of Emperor Wu's zeal in undertaking this practice and aristocratic opposition to Wu's actions. The idea of this practice was given to Wu from Saṃghapāla's translation of the *Sūtra on King Asoka* (T.2043.50).

15. Emperor Wu's donations to the Inexhaustible Treasury of T'ung-t'ai temple alone were estimated to be valued at 10,960,000. Cf. Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton University Press: 1964), p. 126.

16. See Miyakawa Hisayuki, *Rikuchōshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: 1956), Chapter 9, pp. 138-143, for an analysis of the downfall of Liang and the rise to power of Ch'en Pa-hsien.

17. Kawakatsu Yoshio, "La decadence de l'aristocratie chinoise sous les Dynasties du Sud," *Acta Asiatica*, XXI (1971), pp. 32-38.

18. Cf. Hou Ching's biography, *Liang shu*, ch. 56, pp. 833-857; *Nan shih*, ch. 80, pp. 1993-2018 (Peking; Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975).

19. Miyakawa, *Rikuchōshi kenkyū*, p. 147.

20. For an analysis of the factors contributing to Hou Ching's uprising, see two articles by Kawakatsu Yoshio: "Kokei no ran to Nanchō no kahei keizai" in *Tōhō gakuhō*, XXXII (1962), pp. 69-118, and "La decadence de l'aristocratie chinoise sous les Dynasties du Sud," *Acta Asiatica*, XXI (1971), pp. 13-38.

21. *Nan shih*, ch. 80, p. 2016.

22. See Wang Seng-pien's biography in the *Liang shu*, ch. 45, pp. 623-636.

23. See Ch'en Pa-hsien's biography, *Ch'en shu* (Peking; Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), pp. 1-43.

24. See *Liang shu*, ch. 56, p. 862, and *Nan shih*, ch. 80, p. 2016, for vivid descriptions of Hou Ching's death and the destruction of his corpse; also see *Liang shu*, ch. 5, p. 125.

25. *Liang shu*, ch. 5, p. 131.

26. See Kawakatsu, "La decadence de l'aristocratie chinoise," p. 18.

27. *Liang shu*, ch. 5, p. 133.

28. *Chou shu*, compiled by Ling-hu Te-fen (583-666) in 50 ch. (Peking; Chung-hua shu-chü, 1971), ch. 2, p. 36.

29. *Liang shu*, ch. 6, pp. 143-144.

30. T.2060.50.429c6-431a6. All biographical data on Paramārtha is based upon the HKSC account of his life, unless otherwise noted.

31. One of the seven sacred cities in the Hindu tradition. It is located in northwestern India, in the Malwa province (present-day Madhya Pradesh), twenty miles west of the Chambal River and approximately 250 miles west of Valabhi.

32. The Bhāradvāja *gotra* is mentioned by Tāranātha in his *History of Buddhism in India* (edited by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Simla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970) as a "vicious" family having one member mentioned as "a great expert in magic" (p. 23). It is also found in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (18.5), tr. Leon Hurvitz (Columbia University, 1976), p. 13, as a *gotra* of the Buddha Candrasūryapradīpa and in Pāli literature as Bhāradvāja. A governor (*parivrajaka mahārāja*) named Saṃkṣobha is mentioned in a Khoh copper plate inscription dated 528-529 as belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, in the northern regions of Gōdāvarī, directly south of Malwa. See John Faithfull Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Calcutta: 1888), vol. III, pp. 112-116. The Hīrahadagalli copper plate inscription of Śivaskandhavarman, dated mid-fourth century A.D., also mentions the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. Cf. Dines Chandra Sircar, ed., *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization* (Calcutta: 1965), I, p. 466. Cf. preface to *She ta-sheng lun*, T.1593.31.112c4 for designation of Paramārtha's *gotra* as Bhāradvāja.

33. T.2060.50.429c10-11.

34. T.2060.50.429c12-13. The imperial escort of the Funan ambassador back to his own country probably took place early in the Ta-t'ung era. See *Liang shu*, ch. 3, p. 79 (Peking; Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973), where a Funan envoy is mentioned as having brought tribute to the emperor in the autumn, seventh month, of the first year Ta-t'ung (535).

35. HKSC, 2060.50.429c12-16.

36. LTSPC, 2034.49.106a3-12.
37. See note 34 for tentative dating.
38. *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun* (CHL), T.1666.32.575a17-22. The CHL and its colophon allegedly by Chih-k'ai (also known as Hui-k'ai), is probably an apocryphal text, not translated by Paramārtha.
39. KYL, 2154.55.538b24-27.
40. LTSPC, citing Pao-kuei's introduction to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, gives the date, "the first year of T'ai-ch'ing," 547. Cf. T.2034.49.106a10. According to Ui Hakuju, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* (Tokyo: 1930), VI, 13, this must be a scribe's error since all other sources give "the second year of T'ai-ch'ing."
41. The only citation for *Pao-yün tien* in the palace of Emperor Wu of Liang is in Paramārtha's biography. However, a *Chung-yün tien* is mentioned in the biographies of T'an-luan (HKSC, 2060.50.470a29), Pao-ch'ung (479a20), Seng-ta (553a7), and Hui-yün (650b17) as the place where Emperor Wu of Liang invited them to lecture on Buddhist doctrine. In Seng-ming's biography (693b *et passim*) miraculous Buddhist statues are housed in the *Chung-yün tien*. The *Pao-yün tien* may be a scribe's error for *Chung-yün tien*, or the palace temple's name may have been changed during the Late Liang to *Pao-yün*, perhaps renaming the palace temple after the *sūtra* translated by Mandra and Saṃghapāla of Liang. The emperor himself lectured on *sūtras* and eminent monks attended his sermons at the *Chung-yün tien*. Cf. *Liang shu*, ch. 3, p. 96.
42. The biography of Pao-ch'ung is recorded in the HKSC (478c6-479c20), but does not mention the *Shih-ch'i ti-lun* or Paramārtha.
43. The *Treatise on the Seventeen Bodhisattva Stages* (*Shih-ch'i ti-lun*) was a commentary on a *sūtra* by the same name. According to Paramārtha's biography of the Yogācārin master, Vasubandhu (T.2049.50.188c13-16), Maitreya descended from the *tuṣṭita* heaven and lectured on the *Sūtra of the Seventeen Bodhisattva Stages* for Aśaṅga's edification.
44. KYL, 2154.55.538b11-14.
45. HKSC, 2060.50.429c25.
46. NTL, 2149.55.266a24-25 and LTSPC, 2034.49.99a4. The LTSPC also gives the same date and place of translation for *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun*, which is almost certainly not one of Paramārtha's translations. The KN also lists this text (364c12-14). According to Hsüan-tsang, in his *Yü-chia lun chi*, ch. 1 (T.1828.42.311b) the translation date is given as the tenth month (October 26-November 25) of the fourth year T'ai-ch'ing (550), rather than simply "the fourth year of T'ai-ch'ing." Hsüan-tsang also identifies this text with the first part of the *Yogācāryabhūmi*.
47. In the year 552 Liang was in the first year of Ch'eng-sheng but the HKSC is using Northern Ch'i's Dynastic regnal titles. Some manuscripts noted in the *Taishō* (p. 429) use T'ai-pao or Ta-pao, but Ta-pao lasted only one year. If it had continued, the year 552 would have corresponded to the third year of Ta-pao.
48. HKSC, 2060.50.429c26-27.
49. There is a story of a monk who starved for over a year, to the verge of death. This period of ruin and lack of food came at the end of Liang, when Hou Ching set out to take over south China. Even when someone offered him a bowl of

rice with just the slightest trace of pork hidden in it, he would not violate his vegetarianism and eat it, although "his stomach burned like fire." (HKSC, 2060.50.480a4-7).

50. According to Seng-ta's biography (HKSC, 2060.50.553a12) Hou Ching built two temples, Shan-ming and T'ien-kuan, but no other mention of these two temples occurs in the HKSC. In T'an-yin's biography (608c6-10) Hou Ching builds two temples, one to the mountain spirits (*shen-hsien*) and later, after his insurrection, the Ta-yen temple, in Yeh-tung. There is a wealth of information in Seng-ming's biography concerning Hou Ching's revolt (especially 692b21-693b24), involving miraculous Buddhist statues with halos and fortune-telling powers. These miracles also occur in the *Chung-yün tien* during Late Liang and early Ch'en after the death of Hou Ching.

51. An interesting prediction about Hou Ching by a Buddhist monk is retold in the *Nan shih*, ch. 80, where it says that he will come to a violent death. Emperor Wu is then said to have analyzed the name Hou Ching by breaking the two Chinese characters into six characters meaning: "a petty man who will be emperor for one hundred days." Hou Ching's reign was one hundred twenty days.

52. LTSPC, 2034.49.98c22. The Cheng-kuan temple was also a translation site for Saṃghapāla, a monk from Funan invited to China by Wu of Liang (HKSC, 2060.50.426a13).

53. NTL, 2149.55.266a22; KYL, 2154.55.538a27.

54. KN, 2151.55.364c13.

55. Ui cites a Tunhuang manuscript of the composite translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (T.664) by Pao-kuei. See *Indo tatsugaku kenkyū*, VI, pp. 16-18. Other *sūtra* catalogs claim that the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* was translated by Paramārtha during the Ch'en Dynasty; for example, Fa-ching's catalog (T.2146.55.115a18) and Ching-t'ai's catalog (T.2147.55.182b6).

56. Ui, *Indo tatsugaku kenkyū*, VI, p. 18.

57. Ui, *Indo tatsugaku kenkyū*, VI, p. 19, but does not give a reference for this information. See Ching-shao's biography, HKSC, 2060.50.480a7-9. While Ching-shao met Paramārtha in Yüchang, it is not clear which trip to Yüchang is meant. Ui says Ching-shao was forty-seven and Paramārtha fifty-six (according to the Chinese way of calculating age). This would indicate that Paramārtha met Ching-shao in 554.

58. Ui, *Indo tatsugaku kenkyū*, VI, p. 19.

59. T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Han Wei Liang-chin Nan-pei-ch'ao Fo-chiao shih* (Shanghai: 1938), pp. 855-867.

60. LTSPC, 2034.49.98c24-99a3,a10. There is no listing for either the *Mi-lo hsia sheng ching* or the *Jen wang pan-jo ching* and its commentary in the HKSC.

61. Ching-shao's biography is listed in the HKSC, 2060.50.479c21-480c1. Ching-shao was a famous Liang scholar who enjoyed the patronage of Emperor Chien-wen and the princes of Shao-ling and Yüeh-yang.

62. LTSPC, 2034.49.99a10; NTL, 2149.55.266b3.

63. The *Chiu shih i-chi* is listed in LTSPC, 2034.49.99a11, as a translation in the third year, T'ai-ch'ing (549), which is unlikely, given Hou Ching's rebellion during that year and Paramārtha's flight to Fu-ch'un. If there was a commentary

by that name, it probably was translated in 554, after Paramārtha left Yüchang. Also listed in NTL (2149.55.266b6) with information identical to LTSPC, it is not listed in the HKSC or KYL.

64. *Liang shu*, ch. 6, p. 147. Hsiao Po is given the title Grand Guardian in the twelfth month of 556.

65. See Ouyang Wei's biography, *Ch'en shu*, ch. 9, pp. 157-159, for the relationship between Ouyang Wei and Hsiao Po.

66. *Liang shu*, ch. 6, pp. 146-147.

67. HKSC, 2060.50a1-2.

68. This text is listed in LTSPC, 2034.49.88a20, without any translation date or attribution to Guṇamati. Another text attributed to Guṇamati, entitled the *Sui-hsiang lun*, is listed in the LTSPC (88a8). Both are catalogued under Ch'en Dynastic translations. *The Commentary on the Sixteen Truths* was either translated earlier than the Ch'en in Shih-hsing, that is, in 555 or 556, or the place of translation is incorrect. The NTL, KN, and KYL all give Guṇamati's *Sui-hsiang lun* as a Ch'en translation (2149.55.273b25; 2151.365a2; 2154.545c19). Probably *The Commentary on the Sixteen Truths* corresponds to the extant translation in the *Taishō* that is entitled simply the *Sui-hsiang lun*. This text would not be the same as Guṇamati's, which is lost. Ui Hakuju (*Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, VI, p. 97) does not take a position on whether the two texts *Sui-hsiang lun* and *Sui-hsiang lun chung shih liu ti shu* were translated in Ch'en or in Liang, the latter at Shih-hsing. Probably the text now listed in the *Taishō* is the Late Liang translation at Shih-hsing. The text, now lost, attributed to Guṇamati, was the referred text from the Ch'en Dynasty.

69. The *Wu-shang i ching* is a Liang translation, even though the LTSPC (T.2034.49.87c13) states it is a Ch'en translation, completed during the second year of Yung-ting. The KYL criticizes the LTSPC dating, since there was no third year of Chao-t'ai during the second year of Yung-ting. This regnal date would be equivalent to second year T'ai-p'ing and first year Yung-ting. However, on the eighth day, ninth month of Chao-t'ai, Yung-ting had not been established nor had the Ch'en Dynasty. See KYL, 2154.55.538b1-2; 546c25; 596c22-27 (citation from *Wu-shang i ching* colophon).

70. KYL, 2154.55.538b1-2. The LTSPC claims the text is a Ch'en translation, completed in the second year Yung-ting (558), at the Ching-t'u temple in Nan-k'ang (2034.49.87c13). The NTL agrees with the LTSPC (2149.55.273a29). The colophon is preserved in part in the KYL (596c20-27). The KYL criticizes the dating methods of the LTSPC, which catalogs texts only up to the fifth year of Ch'eng-sheng (556), the year that Liang was coming to an end. The fifth year Ch'eng-sheng corresponds to the second year Chao-t'ai. In the ninth month of that year the reign was changed to T'ai-p'ing. In the tenth month of the following year (557), the Ch'en Dynasty was established. Therefore, the KYL argues, October 16, 557, was still within the Liang Dynasty. (Actually, twenty-two days later Ch'en Pa-hsien established his reign, beginning the Yung-ting period.)

71. KYL, 2154.55.545c2,5. No translation dates are given. Also see NTL, 2149.55.273b15,c7 (lists *Wei-shih lun wen-i ho*), and LTSPC, 2034.49.88a3,12 (same information as NTL).

72. Cf. Fa-t'ai's biography, HKSC, 2060.50.431a9-12.

73. HKSC, 2060.50.503b22-23.

74. HKSC, 2060.50.609b19-21.
75. Ui Hakuju, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, VI, pp. 24-25.
76. LTSPC, 2034.49.88a13; NTL, 2149.55.273c8.
77. HKSC, 2060.50.430a3.
78. *Chieh-shen-mi-ching shu*, ZZ.34.299b5-12.
79. Ui claims that Hui-k'ai gives these dates in his colophon to the *She ta-sheng lun*, but no such information is found in the colophon preserved in the *Taishō*; cf. *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, VI, pp. 24-26.
80. Fa-t'ai's biography, HKSC, 2060.50.c7-9.
81. LTSPC, 2034.49.87c21; NTL, 2149.55.273b8; KYL, 2154.55.545b24.
82. HKSC, 2060.50.430a8-9.
83. HKSC, 2060.50.430a18-19.
84. HKSC, 2060.50.430a23-27.
85. HKSC, 2060.50.430a27-b3.
86. HKSC, 2060.50.430b4-7.
87. HKSC, 2060.50.430b16-19.
88. Hui-k'ai's introduction to *She ta-sheng lun*, T.1593.31.112c22.
89. HKSC, 2060.50.430c2-13.
90. This research is part of an ongoing project and forthcoming book, *Philosophy of Mind in Sixth-Century China: Paramārtha's Evolution of Consciousness* (*Chuan shih lun*).