

# The Abhidharma School in China and the Chinese Version of Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahṛdayasūtra*

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## *Introduction*

UPAŚĀNTA'S \**Abhidharmahṛdayasūtra* (Ch. *Apitan xin lun jing* 阿毘曇心論經, T no. 1551) is one of a series of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma works that contain the element *hṛdaya*, “heart, essence,” in their titles. Hence, this group of works was named the “*Hṛdaya* treatises.”<sup>1</sup> The oldest work of this series is Dharmasreṣṭhin's \**Abhidharmahṛdaya* (Ch. *Apitan xin lun* 阿毘曇心論, T no. 1550). According to the introduction to Dharmatrāta's \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* (Ch. *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論, T no. 1552) written by Jiaojing 焦鏡 in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (ca. 515, T no. 2145) compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), Dharmasreṣṭhin wrote the \**Abhidharmahṛdaya* “during the time of the Qin 秦 and the Han 漢.”<sup>2</sup> Moreover, as the work is probably older than the *Jñānaprasthāna*,<sup>3</sup> it most likely dates from around the beginning of the Common Era. This date is confirmed by Puguang 普光 (645?–664) in his *Jushe lun ji* 俱舍論記, a Chinese commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*, written around 655–665. Here, we read that Dharmasreṣṭhin lived around five centuries after the Buddha's nirvana.<sup>4</sup> The extant Chinese version of his work, *Apitan xin lun* 阿毘曇心論 (T

<sup>1</sup> See *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, T 55, no. 2154: 621a10.

<sup>2</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 74b23–24.

<sup>3</sup> See Frauwallner 1971, p. 86; Willemen 1975, p. ii; Armelin 1978, pp. 7–12; Ryose 1986, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Jushe lun ji* T 41, no. 1821: 11c12–13. In the *San lun xuan yi* 三論玄義 (T 45, no. 1852: 2c2) written by Jizang 吉藏 (549–623), however, we read that Dharmasreṣṭhin lived more than 700 years after the Buddha's nirvana. See also Ryose 1986, pp. 2–3.

no. 1550), was done on Mt. Lu 廬 by Saṃghadeva with the help of Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) in 391.<sup>5</sup> Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahrdayasūtra* postdates Dharmasreṣṭhin's work, and is only slightly older than Dharmatrāta's \**Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, whose author lived at the beginning of the fourth century.<sup>6</sup> The Chinese translation of Upaśānta's work, *Apitan xin lun jing*, was done by Narendrayāśas (517–589) together with Fazhi 法智 in 563.<sup>7</sup> Dharmatrāta's \**Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya* was translated into Chinese as the *Za apitan xin lun* by Saṃghavarman in 434, together with Baoyun 寶雲 (375–449), who translated the words, and Huiguan 慧觀 (n.d.–453), who wrote down the translation.<sup>8</sup> These *Hṛdaya* works culminate in the famous *Abhidharmakośa* by Vasubandhu. There are two Chinese versions of the *Abhidharmakośa*: one by Paramārtha, done in 565, *Apidamo jushe shi lun* 阿毘達摩俱舍釋論 (T no. 1559), and one done by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) and his translation team in 653, *Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達摩俱舍論 (T no. 1558).<sup>9</sup> All these works were written in Gandhāra and form a geographical lineage different from the Kāśmīra tradition of Sarvāstivāda philosophy, which is known through the *vibhāṣā* compendia. Also, with regard to doctrine, the Sarvāstivāda school of Gandhāra differed from that of Kāśmīra.<sup>10</sup> Of the above mentioned works, Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahrdaya-sūtra* appears to be the work least referred to in the Chinese tradition. It is the purpose of this article to formulate a hypothesis as to the reasons why this text remained far less important in the Chinese tradition than the other *Hṛdaya* treatises and Xuanzang's translation of the *Abhidharmakośa*.

### *Dharmasreṣṭhin's \*Abhidharmahrdaya and the Rise of an Abhidharma School in China*

According to Sengyou's *Chu sanzang ji ji*, knowledge of the Abhidharma in China goes back to the Later Han Dynasty (25–220), when An Shigao

<sup>5</sup> This version has been translated into English by Charles Willemen (1975), and into French by I. Armelin (1978).

<sup>6</sup> For arguments concerning the dates for Upaśānta, see Dessein 1999a, vol. 1, p. xxxvii. For those of Dharmatrāta, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 74b25.

<sup>7</sup> *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄, T 55, no. 2149: 301a23–24; *Zhen yuan xin ding shijiao mulu* 真元新定釋教目錄, T 55, no. 2157: 954b14–17.

<sup>8</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 74b22 ff., c3–7. For Huiguan, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 57a3–b15. The Chinese translation by Saṃghavarman et al. of Dharmatrāta's \**Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya* has been translated into English by the author (Dessein 1999).

<sup>9</sup> The Chinese translation of this work by Xuanzang has been translated into French by Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1980).

<sup>10</sup> See Willemen, Dessein, and Cox 1998.

安世高 (ca. second century) translated the *Apitan wufa xing jing* 阿毘曇五法行經 (T no. 1557) during the reign of Emperor Huan 桓 (r. 147–167).<sup>11</sup> Abhidharma texts started to become popular, however, only in the time of Emperor Fu Jian 符堅 (357–384) of the Former Qin (351–394), one of the sixteen kingdoms that ruled in Northern China during the Nanbei Chao 南北朝 Period (439–589) that followed the breakdown of the Han Dynasty. When this period ended in political turmoil, the main Buddhist activity moved to the South, where Mt. Lu became an important center.<sup>12</sup>

The history of the Chinese translation of Dharmasreṣṭhin's *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* follows this political change. As mentioned, it was on Mt. Lu that, in 391, the extant Chinese version of Dharmasreṣṭhin's work was done by Saṃghadeva with the help of Huiyuan.<sup>13</sup> Saṃghadeva, a native of Kāśmīra and a specialist on the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya*, arrived in Chang'an 長安 during the final years of the reign of Emperor Fu Jian, in 383.<sup>14</sup> After the fall of Fu Jian, he went to Luoyang 洛陽 with Fahe 法和, a fellow student of Dao'an 道安 (312–385). When Huiyuan, who was staying on Mt. Lu, heard that Saṃghadeva had come to the South, he invited him to Mt. Lu. It is reported that it was on the request of Huiyuan that Saṃghadeva translated the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya*.<sup>15</sup>

This translation of the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* by Saṃghadeva and Huiyuan in 391 was not the first translation of this text. In his biography of Dharmānandin (Ch. Tanmonanti 曇摩難提) in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) mentions a translation of the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* in five volumes, done in Chang'an together with Dao'an in the years Jianyuan 建元 (365–384) of Emperor Fu Jian of the Former Qin.<sup>16</sup> This translation should

<sup>11</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 6b4–5. An Shigao worked in Luoyang between 148 and his death in ca. 170. *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記 (T 49, no. 2034: 49b21–22) written by Fei Changfang 費長房 credits An Shigao with 176 works; however, he is believed to have only translated thirty-four of these works. See Mizuno 1995, p. 105. According to Demiéville (1973, p. 171), only four works can be held as authentic.

<sup>12</sup> See Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 1, pp. 401, 414–15, 444; vol. 2, p. 760ff.; Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 1, p. 246.

<sup>13</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 72c29 and 99c17–18. See also the biography of Saṃghadeva in *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 329a10–11.

<sup>14</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 72a27–28. *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 328c27–28. See also Shih 1968, p. 51; Willemen 1975, p. x; Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 1, pp. 428, 444.

<sup>15</sup> See *Gu jin yi jingtu ji* 古今譯經圖紀, T 55, no. 2151: 356c6–20; Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 1, pp. 457–58; Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 2, p. 31; Ren 1993, vol. 3, p. 471.

<sup>16</sup> *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 328b28–c1, 359b18–23. Also *Fo zu tong ji* 佛祖統記 (T 49, no. 2035: 262a13–15) mentions a translation of the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* done by Dharmānandin. It is reported that Dharmānandin's lack of knowledge of Chinese impelled

be dated to around 380.<sup>17</sup> As remarked by Charles Willemen, it is quite reasonable to assume that this is the translation referred to in an anonymous preface to the Chinese version of the *\*Abhidharmahrdaya* in Sengyou's catalogue.<sup>18</sup> According to this preface, Dao'an, who was engaged in the Abhidharma studies in Chang'an and was the most important person for the Abhidharma in the North,<sup>19</sup> had requested Kumārabodhi to produce a translation of this text. But as his knowledge of Chinese was insufficient to successfully fulfill this task, Dao'an reportedly asked Saṃghadeva to complete the text. This task was then accomplished in Xunyang 潯陽 in present-day Hubei Province. Saṃghadeva had retained the original Indian text and, after having recited it, translated it into Chinese. Daoci 道慈 wrote down the words.<sup>20</sup> It thus might be that the four-volume version by Saṃghadeva, done on Mt. Lu, is the final version of the translation he started in Chang'an.

Huiyuan's life, even more so than his master Dao'an's, was determined by his zeal to make the Buddhist doctrine accessible to the cultured Chinese public. The community on Mt. Lu comprised monks and laymen alike, and Huiyuan was on two occasions invited by Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404), son of Huan Wen 桓溫 (346–373) of the Jin 晉 Dynasty (see further) and self-proclaimed emperor of the short-lived Chu 楚 Dynasty, to discuss the status of the monastic order.<sup>21</sup> The arrival of Saṃghadeva on Mt. Lu stimulated the study of the Abhidharma, and his translation of the *\*Abhidharmahrdaya* and his lecturing on this text set off the flourishing of an Abhidharma school in China. All masters on Mt. Lu such as Huiyuan's younger brother and disciple Huichi 慧持 (337–412),<sup>22</sup> as well as Huiguan, Huiyi 慧義 (372–444) and Tanshun 曇順 (392–473), and the famous master Daosheng 道

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Saṃghadeva to make a new translation. This text in five volumes is also mentioned in the *Zhong jing mulu* 衆經目錄 (T 55, no. 2146: 142b14) written by Fajing 法經.

<sup>17</sup> See Ryose 1986, p. 5. However, an *\*Abhidharmahrdaya* is not mentioned in the life of Dharmanandin in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*. On this, see also Willemen 1975, p. 185, n. 54. *Zhong jing mulu*, T 55, no. 2146: 142b14. Zürcher (2007, p. 408, n. 73) dates this translation to ca. 384.

<sup>18</sup> Willemen 1975, p. xi.

<sup>19</sup> See Zürcher 2007, p. 205; Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 1, p. 246.

<sup>20</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 72b17–25; *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 359b18–23. See Willemen 1975, pp. xi–xii; Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 2, pp. 817–18; Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 1, p. 246. See also Bagchi (1927, vol. 1, p. 157), who dates this text to 392.

<sup>21</sup> When Huan Xuan issued an order to purge the Buddhist community, he declared that Huiyuan's circle was exempt from scrutiny and regulation: see *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 360b28–c8. See also Zürcher 2007, p. 205.

<sup>22</sup> *Lidai sanbao ji*, T 49, no. 2034: 70c18; *Fo zu tong ji*, T 49, no. 2035: 265c19. See also Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 2, pp. 819–20.

生 (ca. 360–434),<sup>23</sup> all studied the Abhidharma in general, and the \**Abhidharmahrdaya* in particular. The above group of monks became known as the “Group of Mt. Lu.”<sup>24</sup> In the epoch of political division in China between the Han and Sui 隋 Dynasties (581–618), the Liang 梁 Dynasty (502–557) in the South knew the monks Faling 法令 of the Dinglin 定林 Monastery,<sup>25</sup> and Zhizang 智藏 of the Kaishan 開善 Monastery,<sup>26</sup> who lectured on the \**Abhidharmahrdaya*. In the Jin Dynasty, Saṃghadeva also lectured on the \**Abhidharmahrdaya* in Jiankang 建康, a city in which he arrived in 397 (Long’an 隆安 1 of Emperor An 安),<sup>27</sup> and where he enjoyed imperial patronage.<sup>28</sup> It is reported that his lectures attracted many eminent monks,<sup>29</sup> and that there was no scholar who did not think highly of the text.<sup>30</sup> Among the audience of Saṃghadeva’s and Huichi’s lectures on the Abhidharma, we have to presume the presence of Wang Xun 王珣 (350–401),<sup>31</sup> one of the most important *dānapatis* of the period, as well as his brother Wang Min 王珉 (361–388).<sup>32</sup> Wang Xun belonged to the inner circles of Huan Wen of the Jin, and of the Jin emperor Xiaowu 孝武 (r. 379–397).<sup>33</sup> Saṃghadeva as well as the previously mentioned Huichi, were sponsored by Wang Xun.<sup>34</sup> Both Wang

<sup>23</sup> On Daosheng, see Lai 1991 and Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 1, pp. 457, 459.

<sup>24</sup> See *Fo zu tong ji*, T 49, no. 2035: 343a16–28.

<sup>25</sup> *Xu gao seng zhuan* 續高僧傳, T 50, no. 2060: 465b26. Faling is also reported to have been well-versed in Huayan 華嚴.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 467b25–26. Zhizang also lectured on the *Śatakaśāstra*, *Satyasiddhi*, *Avatamsaka*, and *Daśabhūmi*.

<sup>27</sup> *Gu jin yi jingtu ji*, T 55, no. 2151: 356c6–20. See also Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 2, p. 31; Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 1, pp. 457–58; Ren 1993, vol. 3, p. 471.

<sup>28</sup> Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 1, p. 246.

<sup>29</sup> See *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 329a17.

<sup>30</sup> *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 74b13–14. See also Willemsen 1975, p. xxv; Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 1, pp. 247–49.

<sup>31</sup> *Lidai sanbao ji*, T 49, no. 2034: 70c17; *Fo zu tong ji*, T 49, no. 2035: 265c19. Biography in *Jin shu* 晉書 (Fang 1974, vol. 6, p. 1757).

<sup>32</sup> *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 329a10–19, 361b23–27. Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 1, p. 246. Biography in *Jin shu* (Fang 1974, vol. 6, p. 1758). See also Mather 1976, p. 328.

<sup>33</sup> According to *Fo zu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (T 49, no. 2036: 523b29–c1), Wang Xun was assistant magistrate (*zhubu*) of Huan Wen. He was defender-in-chief (*taiwei*) under Huan Wen (*Fo zu lidai tongzai*, T 49, no. 2036: 526a25). For “*zhubu*,” see Hucker 1985, s.v. “1413 chǔ-pù 主簿”; for “*taiwei*,” see Hucker 1985, s.v. “6260 t’ài-wèi 太尉.” On Huan Wen and Emperor Xiaowu, see Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 1, pp. 385–86; vol. 2, pp. 689–90, 693–94. According to *Jin shu*, in the first month of Taiyuan 6 (381), Xiaowu became a Buddhist emperor. See also Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 1, p. 386.

<sup>34</sup> *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 329a15, 361b24; *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 64a17.

Xun and Wang Min later became monks.<sup>35</sup> When China was reunified under the Sui Dynasty, the following monks knew and studied the *\*Abhidharmahrdaya* in the Sui capital: Zhiyin 智隱 of the Jingzang 經藏 Monastery,<sup>36</sup> and Bianji 辯寂 of the Jingying 淨影 Monastery.<sup>37</sup> There further was Daowang 道暄, who was active in the Donglin 東林 Monastery in Jiangzhou 江州.<sup>38</sup> In the Tang 唐 Dynasty (618–907), Daojie 道傑 of the Xiyuan 棲巖 Monastery in Puzhou 蒲州 lectured on the text.<sup>39</sup> The *\*Abhidharmahrdaya* thus appears to have become the most important text of the Chinese Abhidharma School, starting with its translation in 380/391, and continuing into the Tang Dynasty.<sup>40</sup>

*The \*Saṃyuktābhidharmahrdaya and the Textual Format and Nature of the Hrdaya Texts*

In his *San lun xuan yi*, Jizang summarizes “Abhidharma” as follows:<sup>41</sup>

First, [there is] the Abhidharma of the Tathāgata who himself expounded the characteristic marks of the factors. It flourished in India, but was not transmitted to China. Second, . . . Śāriputra explained the words of the Buddha, and therefore made an Abhidharma in a total of twenty volumes. It was transmitted to this region. Third, in the course of the three hundred years after the Buddha’s nirvana, there was Kātyāyanīputra. . . . He made the *\*Aṣṭagrantha*<sup>42</sup> in a total of twenty volumes. It was transmitted to this region. . . . Fourth, in the course of the six hundred years [after the Buddha’s nirvana], there were five hundred *arhats* who were the disciples of Kātyāyanīputra. In the north of India, they jointly made the *vibhāṣā*, to explain the *\*Aṣṭagrantha*. *Vibhāṣā*

<sup>35</sup> As to Wang Xun, see *Shishi ji gu lue* 釋氏稽古略, T 49, no. 2037: 782a29–b1. As to Wang Min, see *Shishi ji gu lue*, T 49, no. 2037: 782b1; *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 328a15.

<sup>36</sup> *Xu gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2060: 668a24–25.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 675a23–24.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 599b23.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 529c10.

<sup>40</sup> *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 359b23–24. See also Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 1, pp. 246–47; Ren 1993, vol. 3, p. 472; Watanabe, Mizuno, and Ōishi 1932a, pp. 25–27; Ryose 1986, p. 8.

<sup>41</sup> *San lun xuan yi*, T 45, no. 1852: 2b19–c10.

<sup>42</sup> For the relation of the *\*Aṣṭagrantha* to the *Jñānaprasthāna*, see Willemsen, Dessein, and Cox 1998, pp. 222–23.



means: “to explain elaborately.” The translation of this work was published in Xiliang 西涼. In total, there were one hundred volumes, but because of the fire of war, [the text] was burnt, and only sixty volumes are extant. It only explains three [of the eight] *granthas* [of the \**Aṣṭa-grantha*]. Fifth, more than seven hundred years [after the Buddha’s nirvana], there was the *arhat* Dharmasreṣṭhin. He objected that the *vibhāṣā* was too extensive. He selected the essential meaning, and condensed it into 250 stanzas and called this [text] the \**Abhidharmahṛdaya*. It has four volumes in total. [This work] was also transmitted to this region. Sixth, in the course of one thousand years, there was Dharmatrāta. Also, he [considered] the *vibhāṣā* to be too extensive, but the four volumes to be too concise. He thereupon selected 350 stanzas. Together with the basic four volumes, they were combined into 600 stanzas. [This work] is called the \**Samyuktābhidharma*. In between, there also is an Abhidharma in six parts. The commentary says that it was made by Maudgalyāyana and Vasumitra together with other masters. This [text] was not transmitted to this region. Only the *Lokaprajñapti* of these six is in our region. There further is an *Abhidharmāmṛtarasa* in two volumes.<sup>43</sup> It was transmitted to this region when not yet created in full detail.

From the above quotation, we learn that (1) the \**Abhidharmahṛdaya* and the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* are said to be made as selections of the essentials of the *vibhāṣā*, and (2) Jizang does not mention Upaśānta’s work. That the \**Abhidharmahṛdaya* and the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* indeed were conceived as “doctrinal digests,”<sup>44</sup> and needed extensive explanation, as a result of which many commentaries were written, is evidenced in the Buddhist literature itself. The introduction to the Chinese version of the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* by Saṃghavarman runs:

The \**Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* has already been explained by very learned ones: sometimes [the explanations] are extremely concise; and sometimes [they are] vast without end. In this way, the manifold explanations are not in accordance with the sutras. Only this treatise is extremely clear and conformable to [them].

<sup>43</sup> The \**Abhidharmāmṛtarasa* was translated into French by José Van Den Broeck (1977). On this work, see also Willems, Dessein, and Cox 1998, pp. 278–82; Dessein 1998; Dessein 1999b.

<sup>44</sup> Term borrowed from Cox 1995, p. 35.

Treatises that are without basis and empty are not understood, even by wise ones; extreme summaries are hard to understand, and what is extremely elaborate makes one fall back from knowledge. With my explanation, I abide in the middle and I ornament with what is meaningful out of “elaborate explanations” (*vibhāṣā*).<sup>45</sup>

The auto-commentary to this passage runs:

In explaining the meaning of the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* by Dharmasreṣṭhin, the different instructors have been unequal as to conciseness. What Dharmasreṣṭhin explained is the most concise; Upaśānta has an explanation of eight thousand stanzas [in length], and, moreover, there is an instructor who has an explanation of twelve thousand stanzas [in length]. These two treatises are to be called elaborate. Vasubandhu explained the doctrine in [the space of] six thousand stanzas.<sup>46</sup>

It is unclear whether the text by Upaśānta referred to in the auto-commentary is the extant translation of his *\*Abhidharmahṛdayasūtra* by Narendrayaśas. As the commentary states that Dharmatrāta’s explanation “abides in the middle,” and Upaśānta’s explanation of eight thousand stanzas [in length] is elaborate, the auto-commentary suggests that Dharmatrāta’s explanation is shorter than the one by Upaśānta. However, in the extant Chinese versions of these texts, the six-volume text by Upaśānta is remarkably shorter than the eleven-volume text by Dharmatrāta. Be this as it may, the way these *Hṛdaya* texts were compiled is affirmed in the preface to the Chinese version of Upaśānta’s *\*Abhidharmahṛdayasūtra*:

Now I wish to explain the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* for the benefit of the disciples. Question: “There is no need to explain it. Why? Because the former masters of the treatise have already explained it for the benefit of the disciples, there is no need to explain it [again].” Answer: “This is not true. There is a need to explain it. Why? Although the former masters of the treatise have already explained the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya*, [their explanation] is either too vast or too concise. Those who have not yet studied are misled and struggle, and cannot grasp [its meaning]. Now, I keep away from

<sup>45</sup> *Za apitan xin lun*, T 28, no. 1552: 869c11–17.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 869c18–19.



either vastness or conciseness, and only wish to manifest the specific nature of the sutras. Therefore, there is a need to explain it.”<sup>47</sup>

We are thus informed that the *Hṛdaya* treatises are compiled as essential digests of the doctrine, whereby ideas of the *vibhāṣā* are adopted and added to the core text written by Dharmasreṣṭhin.<sup>48</sup> It was the goal of the different “commentators” on this *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* to provide concise and clear explanations of the text, while avoiding making their explanations too elaborate.

When the Chinese version of the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya* was published, there were no Chinese translations of the commentaries on the text available. This text, being dense in character, therefore must have been extremely difficult to understand. This helps to explain why, in the course of time, many commentaries on the text were written. As suggested in the quotations above, Dharmatrāta’s *\*Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* can be seen as such a commentarial work.

The extant Chinese translation of the *\*Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* is the last of the four translations that are mentioned in the Chinese catalogues. These translations were all done within the time span of half a century, and in approximately the same generation as the two Chinese translations of Dharmasreṣṭhin’s *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya*. The first translation of the *\*Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* is reported to have been done by Saṃghadeva between 385 and 397.<sup>49</sup> Although this translation most likely is not of Dharmatrāta’s work,<sup>50</sup> it places the start of the translation of this text only a few years after the 380 translation of the *\*Abhidharmahṛdaya*. A second translation was done by Faxian 法顯 (337–422) and Buddhahadra in ca. 418.<sup>51</sup> This translation may be that of Vasubandhu’s commentary on the

<sup>47</sup> *Apitan xin lun jing* T 28, no. 1551: 833b12–18.

<sup>48</sup> As we have shown elsewhere (Dessein 1999a), from a doctrinal point of view, the *Hṛdaya* works indeed show an increasing Vaibhāṣika influence.

<sup>49</sup> See *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T 55, no. 2154: 649b23–24; *Zhen yuan xin ding shijiao mulu*, T 55, no. 2157: 985c20; *Zhong jing mulu*, T 55, no. 2146: 142b2; *Zhong jing mulu*, T 55, no. 2147: 177c25; *Lidai sanbao ji*, T 49, no. 2034: 119c16.

<sup>50</sup> See Willemen 1975, pp. vi–vii; Dessein 1999a, vol. 1, p. lxxx.

<sup>51</sup> See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 12a1; *Da Tang neidian lu*, T 55, no. 2149: 247a29; *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T 55, no. 2154: 649b25–26; *Zhong jing mulu*, T 55, no. 2146: 142b3; *Zhong jing mulu*, T 55, no. 2147: 178a6; *Zhen yuan xin ding shijiao mulu*, T 55, no. 2157: 985c22. According to the *Shen seng juan* 神僧傳 (T 50, no. 2064: 956c13–14), Buddhahadra translated the *\*Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* in the Daochang 道場 Monastery.

\**Abhidharmahr̥daya*.<sup>52</sup> A third translation is attributed to Īśvara and Guṇavarman, and is dated ca. 426.<sup>53</sup> The fourth translation is the one by Saṃghavarman of 434, done together with Baoyun and Huiguan mentioned in the introduction to this article.<sup>54</sup>

As suggested, the conciseness and difficulty of Dharmasreṣṭhin's text likely made it necessary for a commentary to be translated soon after the translation of Dharmasreṣṭhin's work. Given the short span of time that elapsed between the compilation of the "commentary" on Dharmasreṣṭhin's \**Abhidharmahr̥daya* by Upaśānta and the one by Dharmatrāta, and the greater clarity the text by Dharmatrāta provides compared to the one by Upaśānta, it may not come as a surprise that Dharmatrāta's commentary was translated earlier than Upaśānta's, and that the Chinese version of the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* attained an even more prominent position in the Chinese Abhidharma School than Dharmasreṣṭhin's \**Abhidharmahr̥daya* had.

In the Southern capital of Jiankang, there was a monk, Faye 法業, of the Nanlin 南林 Monastery. Faye is associated with Huiguan, the monk who is reported to have written down the translation of the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya*.<sup>55</sup> Faye transmitted the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* to Tanbin 曇斌 of the Zhuangyan 莊嚴 Monastery.<sup>56</sup> Also in Jiankang, there was Zhilin 智林 of the Lingji 靈基 Monastery, who was a native of Gaochang 高昌 and was especially well-versed in the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya*.<sup>57</sup> Also Chengju 成具 of the Shangming 上明 Monastery in Jiangling 江陵 could recite the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* well.<sup>58</sup> During the Qi 齊 Dynasty (479–502), there was Senghui 僧慧 in Jiangling who was instructed on the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* by Tanshun who, himself,

<sup>52</sup> *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T 55, no. 2154: 649b25–26. See also Pelliot 1930, p. 272; Watanabe, Mizuno, and Ōishi 1932a, p. 23; Tsukamoto 1985, vol. 1, p. 452.

<sup>53</sup> See *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 342b12; *Lidai sanbao ji*, T 49, no. 2034: 90a21; *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 55, no. 2145: 12b9–13; *Da Tang neidian lu*, T 55, no. 2149: 301a17; *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T 55, no. 2154: 649b27–28; *Zhen yuan xin ding shijiao mulu*, T 55, no. 2157: 985c24; *Zhong jing mulu*, T 55, no. 2146: 142b14; *Zhong jing mulu*, T 55, no. 2147: 156a13; *Gu jin yi jingtu ji*, T 55, no. 2151: 362a3–4.

<sup>54</sup> For a more detailed investigation of the different translations into Chinese of the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya*, see Dessein 1999a, vol. 1, pp. lxxvii–lxxxii; Willemen, Dessein, and Cox 1998, pp. 262–63.

<sup>55</sup> *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 368b28–29.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 373a22–23.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 376a22.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 401c3.

had been a disciple of Huiyuan on Mt. Lu,<sup>59</sup> and who had lectured on the \**Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya* himself.<sup>60</sup> Equally, during the Qi Dynasty, Sengshao 僧韶 and Fahu 法護 of the Jianyuan 建元 Monastery were renowned for their ability in Abhidharma.<sup>61</sup> In Huiji 會稽, there was Huiji 慧基, who once had been the master of Saṃghavarman, translator of the \**Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, and who himself studied the *vibhāṣā* literature and the \**Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya* extensively.<sup>62</sup> His disciple Huiji 慧集 had first left home in the Lelin Shan 樂林山 Monastery.<sup>63</sup> Later, Huiji lived in the Zhaoti 招提 Monastery in the capital of the Liang Dynasty.<sup>64</sup> He made a comparison of the \**Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya* with the \**Aṣṭaśāstra* and the \**Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* and explained the difficulties.<sup>65</sup> It is reported that each time he lectured, his audience numbered more than one thousand people.<sup>66</sup> Among his audience, there were such famous monks as Sengmin 僧旻 of the Zhuangyan Monastery and Fayun 法云 of the Guangzhai 光宅 Monastery.<sup>67</sup> Fachong 法寵 of the Xuanwu 宣武 Monastery in Yangdu 楊都 of the Liang Dynasty is reported to have studied the \**Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya* as well as the \**Abhidharmahrdaya* with the monks from the Changle 長樂 Monastery.<sup>68</sup> Other Abhidharma specialists of the Nanbei Chao Period were Huiding 慧定 of the Zhongxing 中興 Monastery,<sup>69</sup> and Tanji 曇機, a native of Chang'an, who was active in the Jiexiang 嘉祥 Monastery in Huiji.<sup>70</sup> In the Chen 陳 Dynasty (557–589), there was the Koryo *śramaṇa* Zhihuang 智晃. He lived in the Daochang Monastery in Jiankang and was well-versed in the literature of the Sarvāstivādins.<sup>71</sup> Sengbi 僧弼 of the Antong 安同 Monastery

<sup>59</sup> *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 378b19–20.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 378b21–22.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 381a25–26, 460a26.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 382b27.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 382b23–24.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 382b26.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 382b27–28.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 382b29–c1.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 382c1–2.

<sup>68</sup> *Xu gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2060: 461a24–25. The \**Abhidharmahrdaya* is referred to as *Fasheng Pitan* 法勝毘曇. Although this is the title of the Chinese translation of Upaśānta's work, the work referred to here cannot be Upaśānta's, as this was only translated into Chinese in 563, i.e., after the fall of the Liang Dynasty.

<sup>69</sup> *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 373a13.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 373b18–20.

<sup>71</sup> *Xu gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2060: 572a19.

in Changzhou 常州, who in his youth had stayed in Chang'an, heard the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* from Zhihuang.<sup>72</sup> The fifth-century Abhidharma master and translator Guṇabhadra, further, is reported to have awakened to the doctrine when studying the *Apitan za xin* 阿毘曇雜心.<sup>73</sup>

The \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* was frequently commented upon. Zhilin of the Lingji Monastery is credited with the *Pi tan za xin ji* 毘曇雜心記.<sup>74</sup> Sengjing 僧鏡 selected the *Pitan xuan lun* 毘曇玄論,<sup>75</sup> and also Huitong 慧通 of the Zhicheng 冶城 Monastery is credited with a commentary on the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya*.<sup>76</sup>

After the Nanbei Chao Period, Abhidharma studies declined in the South, in favor of Satyasiddhi.<sup>77</sup> However, in the meantime, the popularity of Abhidharma studies in general and of the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* in particular had also reached the North. When the Qi and Liang Dynasties ruled in the South (480–500), there were three Northern masters An 安, You 游 and Rong 榮 who were well-versed in the Abhidharma. The famous monk Lingyu 靈裕, who is reported to have also discussed Confucian texts,<sup>78</sup> heard the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* from them.<sup>79</sup> The most famous Abhidharma master in the North, known as the “Confucius of Abhidharma,”<sup>80</sup> was Hui-song 慧嵩. He was a native of Gaochang and was devoted to the \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya*.<sup>81</sup> At the end of the Northern Wei 魏, he came to the inner regions and received instruction in the Abhidharma and Satyasiddhi from the then famous master Zhiyou 智游.<sup>82</sup> In the Northern Zhou 北周, there was Huiyuan in the Zhaoti Monastery in Yizhou 益州, the same monastery that is also connected to Huiji, who in Chang'an heard the Abhidharma in general and the *Abhidharmakośa* in particular. This points to the fact that some monasteries became real centers of Abhidharma studies.

When North and South China were reunified under the Sui Dynasty, Abhidharma studies were still prominent in the North. In this period, Jing-

<sup>72</sup> *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 369a23.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 244a8–9.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 376b28–29.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 373c1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 375a4. A *Za apitan xin xian jing* 雜阿毘曇心線經 is connected with Faxian in *Gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2059: 338a19 and in the *Shen seng zhuan* 神僧傳, T 50, no. 2064: 956c7. It is unclear what precisely this text is.

<sup>77</sup> Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 1, p. 246.

<sup>78</sup> *Xu gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2060: 495c16.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 495c13–14.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 508c7–8.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 482c25–28.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 483a11–12.

song 靖嵩 of the Chongsheng 崇聖 Monastery in Pengcheng 彭城 was a prominent master. He had studied the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* with Huisong's disciple Daoyou 道猷.<sup>83</sup> Another of Daoyou's disciples who was instructed in the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* was Bianyi 辯義 of the Riyan 日嚴 Monastery in Chang'an. A fellow monk in Chang'an was Daozong 道宗 of the Shengguang 勝光 Monastery.<sup>84</sup> Daojie 道傑 studied the Abhidharma with Huisong's disciple Sanwei 散魏, and was good at lecturing on the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*.<sup>85</sup> Also Shensu 神素 of the Xiyan Monastery in Puzhou, although not an Abhidharma specialist, lectured on the Abhidharma.<sup>86</sup> Huixiu 慧休 first studied Huayan with Lingyu, and later studied the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* with Zhinian 志念.<sup>87</sup> The following Sui Dynasty monks were known for their studies in and knowledge of the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*: Jingyuan 淨願,<sup>88</sup> Senglang 僧朗,<sup>89</sup> Huichang 慧暢,<sup>90</sup> and Huihai 慧海.<sup>91</sup> For the Tang Dynasty, there are Huijing 慧淨, who was not only well-versed in the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* but also in the *vibhāṣā*,<sup>92</sup> and further Haishun 海順,<sup>93</sup> Daoyue 道岳,<sup>94</sup> and Mingjing 明淨.<sup>95</sup> Shenzhao 神照 is reported to have known the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* and to have lectured on it to the monks in the Tang capital.<sup>96</sup> It is no surprise to read that also Xuanzang, translator of many Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma texts, knew the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*.<sup>97</sup>

Also in this period, more commentarial works on the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* were written. Jingsong of the Chongsheng Monastery in Pengcheng wrote the *Za xin shu* 雜心疏 in five volumes.<sup>98</sup> Daoji 道基 of the Fucheng 福成 Monastery in Yizhou wrote the *Za xin xuan zhang* 雜心玄章<sup>99</sup> and the *Za*

<sup>83</sup> *Xu gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2060: 501b8.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 510b3.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 508c14.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 530a21.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 549c24.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 504c25.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 507c21.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 508a12.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 510b3–4.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 442a7–8.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 524b27.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 527b7.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 594c21.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 529a6–7.

<sup>97</sup> *Fo zu tong ji*, T 49, no. 2035: 294b10–13.

<sup>98</sup> *Xu gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2060: 502a2.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 532b27.

*xin xuan chao* 雜心玄抄 in eight volumes.<sup>100</sup> Zhinian is the author of the *Za xin lun shu* 雜心論疏.<sup>101</sup> Huixiu wrote the *Za xin xuan zhang chao* 雜心玄章抄,<sup>102</sup> and the *Za xin xuan zhang shu* 雜心玄章疏.<sup>103</sup> He became a famous Abhidharma scholar with whom Xuanzang also studied. Huijing, finally, is reported to have continued the work on the *Zaxin xuan wen* 雜心玄問.<sup>104</sup>

The Abhidharma school thus flourished until the publication of the Chinese version of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Xuanzang in 653 and of the \**Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* in 656–659.<sup>105</sup> The *Abhidharmakośa* was the central text of the “*Kośa* School” that succeeded the Abhidharma school.<sup>106</sup>

*The Abhidharmakośa and the Sautrāntika Interpretation of the Sarvāstivāda Philosophy*

The *Hṛdaya* works eventually led to the compilation of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Vasubandhu, a native of Puruṣapura in Gandhāra.<sup>107</sup> Vasubandhu is generally accepted to be a Sautrāntika.<sup>108</sup> His biography informs us that he first studied the principles of the *vibhāṣā*—by which the *Hṛdaya* works were increasingly influenced<sup>109</sup>—and gave lectures on them, concluding each day of lecturing with the compilation of a stanza in which he summarized his lecture. In this way, he made the more than 600 stanzas of the *Abhidharmakośa*. These stanzas were then reportedly sent to Kāśmīra, the Vaibhāṣika fief. The masters of the doctrine of Kāśmīra were delighted that Vasubandhu was teaching the *vibhāṣā*, and they requested him to write commentaries on the stanzas. Vasubandhu thereupon wrote the *Bhāṣya*,

<sup>100</sup> *Xu gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2060: 532b27.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 509a6.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 544b21–22.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 544b22.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 442b7.

<sup>105</sup> Watanabe, Mizuno, and Ōishi 1932b, p. 123; Ishida, et al. 1980, s.v. “Bidonshū.”

<sup>106</sup> See Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 1991, vol. 1, pp. 249, 261. In the *Ta Tang da ci'en si sanzang fashi* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師 (T 50, no. 2053: 226c21–22), we read that the study of the \**Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, the *Abhidharmakośa*, and the *vibhāṣā* can liberate one from affliction (*kleśa*). See also Takakusu 1956: p. 63.

<sup>107</sup> For the attribution of the work to Vasubandhu: see *Apidamo jushe lun*, T 28, no. 1558: 1a5 and *Apidamo jushe shi lun*, T 28, no. 1559: 161c4. For the discussion on one or two Vasubandhus: see Frauwallner 1951; Hirakawa 1973, pp. ii–x; Pradhan 1975, pp. 13–14; Nakamura 1980, p. 109; La Vallée Poussin 1980, vol. 1, pp. xxiv–xxviii; Anacker 1984, pp. 7–11; Mejer 1989–90, pp. 175–83; Schmithausen 1992, pp. 396–97.

<sup>108</sup> See Takakusu 1904, p. 287.

<sup>109</sup> See Dessein 1999a.

8,000 stanzas in length. However, in these commentaries, he criticized what he thought were incorrect doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins and adapted them to the Sautrāntika viewpoint.<sup>110</sup> The *Abhidharmakośa* thus meant a new interpretation and development of Sarvāstivāda philosophy.

There are two Chinese translations of the *Abhidharmakośa*: one by Paramārtha and the other by Xuanzang and his translation team. Paramārtha was a native of Ujjayinī in Western India who settled in Northern India. When Emperor Wu 武 of the Liang Dynasty, a supporter of Buddhism, sent a mission to Magadha in search of Buddhist scholars and original texts, the Indian court sent Paramārtha back with them to China. Paramārtha thus arrived in China in 546 and reached the capital Jianye two years later. There, he was installed in the Baoyun palace. Continuous revolts, however, prevented Emperor Wu from attaining his aim of making Buddhism flourish to the extent it had in the Later Qin (384–417) and Qi Dynasties.<sup>111</sup>

In search of a tranquil environment to do his translation work, Paramārtha went to the South, thus reaching the region of Hangzhou. Here also, political troubles prevented him from working in peace. He reached Pingkuo in 557, the year in which the Chen Dynasty was established. It was during this short-lived dynasty that he translated the *Abhidharmakośa*. He started the translation work in the Zhizhi 制旨 Monastery on the twenty-fifth day of the first month of the fourth year of Tianjia 天嘉 (563) and finished the work in the same year. Verification of the translation started on the second day of the twelfth month of the fifth year of Tianjia (564), and the work was finished on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Guangda 光大 (567).<sup>112</sup> The translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Paramārtha did not give rise to the “*Kośa* School.” This only happened when the same text was translated by Xuanzang and his translation team in 653. In contrast to the period in which Paramārtha worked, Xuanzang worked in a period of political stability. This course of Chinese history may provide an explanation for why Paramārtha’s translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* escaped the attention of the monastic community. Xuanzang enjoyed official support, which made it possible for the Sautrāntika interpretations of his translations to gain popularity.

<sup>110</sup> *Posupandou fashi zhuan* 婆蘇槃豆法師傳, T 50, no. 2049: 190b5–18.

<sup>111</sup> Bagchi 1971, p. 419.

<sup>112</sup> *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T 55, no. 2154: 545c16–18; *Zhen yuan xin ding shijiao mulu*, T 55, no. 2157: 844a17–18. See also Bagchi 1971, p. 428.



*The Chinese version of Upaśānta's \*Abhidharmahṛdayasūtra*

In stark contrast to Dharmasreṣṭhin's \**Abhidharmahṛdaya* and Dharmatrāta's \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*, the *Gao seng zhuan* and *Xu gao seng zhuan* do not mention Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahṛdayasūtra* as a text studied by monks specializing in Abhidharma studies.<sup>113</sup> As suggested above, one reason may be that the \**Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* was a necessary companion to Dharmasreṣṭhin's work in that it explained this text in more detail, which thus prompted it to be translated prior to Upaśānta's text. The extant translation of Upaśānta's work was only done in 563, i.e., more than one century after the translation of the other two *Hṛdaya* texts, and only two years before the translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Paramārtha. The translation of Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahṛdayasūtra* was done by Narendrayaśas, a man from Uḍḍiyāna in Northern India. At age forty, he arrived in Ye 鄴, the capital of the Northern Qi (550–577) near the end of the reign of Emperor Wenxuan 文宣 (550–558). He was established in the Tianping 天平 Monastery, where he worked from 558 to 568. At the end of the Northern Qi (577), he was well received by the Sui court, and he continued translating until his death in 585.<sup>114</sup>

As mentioned above, the translation into Chinese of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Paramārtha did not give rise to the *Kośa* School. The political unrest of the period this translation was done in may be one factor to explain this. This could then, apart from the fact that Dharmatrāta's text explains Dharmasreṣṭhin's \**Abhidharmahṛdaya* in more detail than Upaśānta's commentary does, be another element to explain the relative negligence with which Narendrayaśas's translation of Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahṛdayasūtra* was handled. A closer look at the Buddhist catalogues, however, may point to yet a third reason why Upaśānta's text remained of little importance for the Chinese Abhidharma scholars of the period. The Buddhist catalogues provide us with the following information:

*Fasheng apitan lun* 法勝阿毘曇論 in 7 volumes. Translated by the *śramaṇa* Narendrayaśas, together with Fazhi, in the years of Tiantong 天統 (565–569) of the Qi (*Zhong jing mulu* compiled by Fajing in 594, T 55, no. 2146: 142b7).

<sup>113</sup> See also footnote no. 68.

<sup>114</sup> *Lidai sanbao ji*, T 49, no. 2034: 87c3–5; *Da Tang neidian lu*, T 55, no. 2149: 270c11–14; *Gu jin yi jingtu ji*, T 55, no. 2151: 365b4–6; *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T 55, no. 2154: 543c19; *Xu gao seng zhuan*, T 50, no. 2060: 432a24–433b6. See also Bagchi 1971, vol. 1, pp. 270–71.

*Fasheng apitan lun* in 7 volumes. Published in the second year of Heqing 河清 (563), in the Tianping 天平 Monastery (*Lidai sanbao ji* compiled by Fei Changfang in 597, T 49, no. 2034: 87c2).

*Fasheng apitan lun* in 7 volumes (*Gujin yijing tuji* 古今譯經圖紀 compiled by Jing Mai 靖邁 in the seventh century, T 55, no. 2151: 365b4–5).

*Fasheng apitan lun* in 7 volumes. Translated by the *śramaṇa* Narendrayāśas, together with Fazhi, in the years of Tiantong of the Qi (*Zhong jing mulu*, T 55, no. 2147: 155c28–29).

*Fasheng apitan lun* in 7 volumes. Published in the second year of Heqing, in the Tianping Monastery (*Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 in 664, T 55, no. 2149: 270c11–14).

*Fasheng apitan lun* in 6 volumes and 103 pages. Translated by Narendrayāśas, together with Fazhi, in the years of Tiantong of the Later Qi (*Da Tang neidian lu*, T 55, no. 2149: 301a24–25).

*Fasheng apitan xin lun* 法勝阿毘曇心論 in 6 volumes (*Da Tang neidian lu*, T 55, no. 2149: 312a5).

*Fasheng apitan* 法勝阿毘曇 in 6 volumes and 103 pages (*Da Tang neidian lu*, T 55, no. 2149: 325a3).

*Fasheng apitan lun* in 6 volumes and 103 pages (*Da zhoukan ding zhong jing mulu* 大周刊定衆經目錄, compiled by Mingquan 明詮 in 695, T 55, no. 2153: 435b6–9; repeated at T. 2153: 571a2–3).

These catalogues thus indicate that there was a text entitled *Fasheng apitan lun*, alternatively *Fasheng apitan xin lun* or *Fasheng apitan*, consisting of 7, alternatively 6, volumes, translated by Narendrayāśas, together with Fazhi, in either the second year of Heqing (563) or in the following period (565–569).

Around the late seventh or early eighth century, however, the text seems to have been called differently, as in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 in 730, where we read: “*Fasheng apitan xin lun jing* 法勝阿毘曇心論經 in 6 volumes, or in 7 volumes. Made by the venerable Upaśānta . . . Also called *Fasheng apitan lun*. Published in the second year of Heqing, in the Tianping Monastery. See also the catalogue by Fei Changfang.”<sup>115</sup> We further read: “*Fasheng apitan xin lun jing* in 6 volumes, or in 7 volumes.

<sup>115</sup> *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T. 2154: 543c19. This is followed by a biography of Narendrayāśas, as we find it also in the *Xu gao seng zhuan* (T 50, no. 2060).

Made by the venerable Upaśānta . . . translated by Narendrayaśas, together with Fazhi.”<sup>116</sup> Here, it has to be remarked that for this passage the three editions and the Old Song Edition do not have the element “*jing*” 經 in the title. At another place in this catalogue, we read: “*Fasheng apitan xin lun jing* in 6 volumes, or in 7 volumes. Made by the venerable Upaśānta. . . . Also called *Fasheng apitan lun*. 105 pages”<sup>117</sup> and “*Fasheng apitan xin lun jing* in 6 volumes, or in 7 volumes. Made by the venerable Upaśānta. . . . Also called *Fasheng apitan lun*. 105 pages. Translated by Narendrayaśas together with Fazhi of the Northern Qi.”<sup>118</sup> The same title as in Zhisheng’s catalogue can be found in *Zhen yuan xin ding shijiao mulu* 真元新定釋教目錄 compiled by Yuanzhao 圓照 in 800: “*Fasheng apitan xin lun jing* 法勝阿毘曇心論經 in 6 volumes, or in 7 volumes. Made by the venerable Upaśānta. . . . Translated by Narendrayaśas together with Fazhi”<sup>119</sup> and Yuanzhao’s *Zhen yuan xin ding shijiao mulu*: “*Fasheng apitan xin lun jing* 法勝阿毘曇心論經 in 6 volumes, or in 7 volumes. . . . Also called *Fasheng apitan lun*. 105 pages.”<sup>120</sup>

The shift from calling the work *Fasheng apitan (xin) (lun)* to calling it *Fasheng apitan xin lun jing* thus appears to have happened somewhere between Mingquan’s catalogue *Da zhoukan ding zhong jing mulu* in 695 and Zhisheng’s catalogue *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* in 730, as the element is first added to the lemma in this work. As mentioned above, the editions of the Song (1239), the Yuan (1290), the Ming (1601), and the Old Song Edition (1104–1148), again call this text *Apitan xin lun* 阿毘曇心論. This means that between 800 and the first half of the twelfth century, the element “*jing*” was again dropped. How can we account for this? It has been suggested that the element “*jing*” was added in order to distinguish this text from Dharmasreṣṭhin’s, on which it is a commentary.<sup>121</sup> In what follows, we would like to propose another hypothesis.

### *The Fasheng Apitan Xin Lun and the Rise of the Kośa School*

Above, we stated that a possible reason why Paramārtha’s translation of the Sautrāntika *Abhidharmakośa* did not give rise to the *Kośa* School is that political unrest prevented him from working in tranquility and proclaiming

<sup>116</sup> *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T 55, no. 2154: 621a5.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 695c15.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 720b12.

<sup>119</sup> Yuanzhao’s *Zhen yuan xin ding shijiao mulu*, T 55, no. 2157: 954b14–16.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 1043c26.

<sup>121</sup> Willemen 1975, p. xiii.

these new ideas. While he translated the *Abhidharmakośa* during the Chen Dynasty, his fellow translator Narendrayaśas worked under the co-existing Qi Dynasty. It is not unlikely that Narendrayaśas also knew Sautrāntika ideas. The Sautrāntikas are known to have criticized the Vaibhāṣika ideas. This might imply that Narendrayaśas projected the Sautrāntika teaching back in time to that text on which Upaśānta's text was based, i.e., Dharmasreṣṭhin's \**Abhidharmahr̥daya*, that from a doctrinal point of view was not influenced by Vaibhāṣika developments. This could account for the fact that this translation is called the *Fasheng apitan xin* "The heart of the Abhidharma, as expounded by Dharmasreṣṭhin." When, in the seventh century, the *Kośa* School and Sautrāntika ideas flourished in China, this same text became known as the *Fasheng apitan xin jing*, i.e., adding the element *jing*, which gives the text a "canonical" status. This *jing* simultaneously refers to *sūtra* literature. After 800, the Sautrāntikas no longer existed as a separate school in China. This may explain why the element *jing* was dropped again.

### Conclusion

Of the three so-called *Hṛdaya* texts, Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahr̥dayasūtra* appears to have received only very little attention in the Chinese tradition. One possible reason for this may be that this was the last *Hṛdaya* text to be translated into Chinese. The fact that, compared with Dharmatrāta's \**Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya*, it is less instructive for understanding the "root" text by Dharmasreṣṭhin adds to this disadvantage. Another reason may be that the period in which the text was translated was characterized by political turmoil. This might have made it difficult for the new translation to reach its potential readership.

It cannot be excluded, however, that the textual history of the Chinese version of Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahr̥dayasūtra* is connected to the rise of the *Kośa* School in China. When Xuanzang's translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* overshadowed the Abhidharma school, and the importance of the *Hṛdaya* treatises waned, the Chinese version of Upaśānta's text may have disappeared into oblivion.

Related to this, the historical and doctrinal connection of the *Hṛdaya* works to the *Kośa* may further provide some evidence to help interpret the peculiar title(s) of the Chinese translation of Upaśānta's \**Abhidharmahr̥dayasūtra*.

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