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ON THE ABHIDHARMA LITERATURE  
OF  
THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS.

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1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE Sarvāstivāda school is one of the oldest among the eighteen schools of Buddhism. This enumeration of Buddhist schools as eighteen is historical as well as official. It has been handed down in the tradition of many schools since at least as early as the fourth century A.D., when we find it in the *Dīpavamsa*. Professor Rhys Davids has collected the earlier evidence in a paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1891; and has there come to the conclusion that already in the time of Asoka only seven schools had retained any practical importance, and of these seven only three or four were still vigorous and flourishing. But the eighteen still continued to be mentioned. In the fifth century first Buddhaghosa and then the *Mahāvamsa* refer to them. Later references are as follows:—

(a) King Guhasena of Valabhī (A.D. 559) mentions (in a grant to a monastery founded by a royal princess, Duddā) the eighteen Buddhist schools represented in the monastery. This is in conformity with Hiuen-tsang's statement that the Hinayāna doctrines were chiefly studied in the monasteries in Valabhī.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Mabel Duff, "Chronology of India," under A.D. 495, and the authorities cited there.

(b) Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569) represents Aśvaghosa and Vasubandhu as being well versed in the doctrines of the eighteen schools.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The treatise *Aṣṭadaśanikāya* (eighteen schools), which is also called the “Samayabhedoparacanacakra” (transl. A.D. 557 and 662),<sup>2</sup> and the corresponding Tibetan work by Dharmakara,<sup>3</sup> enumerate the schools as definitely eighteen, and give an account of their separation. One of the Chinese texts, though it is called the “*Aṣṭadaśanikāya*,” gives twenty schools, recognizing as separate from the eighteen the two original schools, Theravāda and Mahāsaṃghika (which, however, appear under other names).<sup>4</sup>

(d) Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 629–645) often mentions the Buddhist schools in existence as ‘eighteen,’ but the schools, the texts of which were actually obtained by him, are only seven in number.<sup>5</sup>

(e) I-tsing (A.D. 671–695) groups the eighteen schools under the four heads, Mahāsaṃghikas, Sthaviras, Sarvāstivādins, and Sammitiyas, giving a geographical extension of each.<sup>6</sup>

Of these eighteen schools, the Sarvāstivādins are of particular interest, as the question from which their name is derived had arisen, according to our traditions, already in the time of the Buddha himself.<sup>7</sup> They were closely allied with the Theravāda school, from which they separated, probably, before the Buddhist Council held during King

<sup>1</sup> See my translation of Paramārtha’s Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 278, 290.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio’s Nos. 1284, 1286; cf. No. 1285.

<sup>3</sup> Tanjur, B. Su., 157; see Wassilief, “Buddhismus,” Beiträge ii.

<sup>4</sup> Wassilief, l.c.; Julien, list in the *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.–Nov., 1859, pp. 327–361; Beal, translation of the text in the *Indian Antiquary*, Dec., 1880.

<sup>5</sup> See Watters, “Notes on Yuan-Chwang,” pp. 21, 162. The seven schools are:—Sthavira, Mahāsaṃghika, Mahiśasaka, Sammitiya, Kāśyapiya, Dharmagupta, and Sarvāstivādin.

<sup>6</sup> See my “I-tsing’s Record of Indian Religion,” pp. xxiii–xxv.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, the passages quoted in Mrs. Rhys Davids’ “Index to the Samyutta,” p. 107, under *Sabbayatthi*.

Asoka's reign.<sup>1</sup> The school is otherwise called the Hetuvāda (Causalationalist), a very appropriate name, in contradistinction to the orthodox Theravādins, who, according to the Tibetan and Chinese authorities, were known as the Haimavantas.<sup>2</sup>

The principal seat of the Sarvāstivādins was Kaśmīra, where their doctrine was taught in its purity and developed into an elaborate system known as the Vaibhāṣika. The great commentary on Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna, compiled at, or probably after, the Buddhist Council under King Kaniṣka, was called the "Mahāvibhāṣā," from which the name 'Vaibhāṣika' as that of a body of philosophers was derived.<sup>3</sup> Kaśmīra was to them what Ceylon was to the Theravādins. The great Kaśmīrian commentary, Vibhāṣā

<sup>1</sup> According to the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the Samayabhedoparacanacakra (*supra, c*) the Sarvāstivādins separated themselves from the Theravādins in the third century after the Buddha's death. In the Dipavamīsa, v. 47, the Mahimśasakas (not the Sabbatthivādins) separated themselves first from the Theravādins, and from the Mahimśasakas, the Sabbatthivādins, and the Dhammadūrtas. In any case the separation seems to have taken place before King Asoka's council, because some three questions in the Kathāvatthu compiled by Moggalliputta Tissa at the close of the council (*circa* b.c. 250) are directed (if we may trust the commentator) against the Sabbatthivādins:—(1) Parihāyati Araha Arahatā ti (Can an Arahant fall from Arahantship ?); (2) Sabbam attīti (Do all things exist ?); (3) Citta-santati Samādhīti (Is continuation of thought Samādhī ?). To these the Sabbatthivādins would answer affirmatively against the doctrines of the orthodox Theras. These three points, or two at least, are, I think, clearly indicated as opinions of the Sarvāstivādins in the Samayabhedoparacanacakra above referred to, in its Chinese translations (一切有性; 阿羅漢退法). It is, however, difficult to discuss these points without having an accurate translation of the Tibetan, and also of the Chinese versions, of this important text. Cf. Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1892, p. 8 et seq.; Kathāvatthu, i, 2, 6; xi, 6, in Taylor's edition; also my "I-tsing's Record," p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hetuvāda' is 'In-shuo' (因說, 'cause - speaking') in Chinese. A similar meaning in Tibetan; Wassilief, "Buddhismus," Beiträge ii, p. 230 (Russ.), gives 'Hetuvāda.' 'Haimavanta' is in Chinese the 'snow-mountain school' (雪山部).

<sup>3</sup> Yaśomitra, "Vibhāṣayā dīvyanti vaibhāṣikā iti"; cf. Professor de la Vallée Poussin, "Dogmatique Bouddhique," i, p. 65 (p. 297), note. Hiuen-tsang's statement that this commentary was drawn up in the Buddhist Council under Kaniṣka is very doubtful, because the book relates a miracle which it says occurred *formerly* in the reign of that king. See Watters, "On Yuan-Chwang," i, p. 277. Sūtropadeśas and Vinayavibhāṣas are said to have been compiled at the council just named. There is, however, no evidence that any upadeśa was compiled before Asaṅga or Vasubandhu. One of the Vinayavibhāṣas (No. 1125) turned out to be a translation of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā. See my "Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism" (J.R.A.S., July, 1896).

by name, though lost in its original form and only recovered in part, seems, so far as we are able to judge from what we have now of it, to have been by no means inferior in its compass and merit to its' counterpart in Ceylon, the *Atthakathā* (*circā* A.D. 420). The Sarvāstivādins appear, from this work, to have been, after their first deviation from the original school, the upholders of a well-organized philosophical system. This is fully borne out by subsequent writers, especially Vasubandhu (*circā* 420–500), who often refers to and criticizes the opinions of the 'Kāsmīra-vaibhāśikas' as a body of thinkers.<sup>1</sup> According to Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569) the Vibhāśā was a principal subject of philosophical discussion during the fifth century, when there was also a grave controversy between Buddhist and Sāṃkhya philosophers.<sup>2</sup>

Further, the Sarvāstivavādins are referred to by Śāmkarācārya (eighth century),<sup>3</sup> while the Vaibhāśika system is reviewed as one of the four Buddhist schools by Mādhavācārya (fourteenth century).<sup>4</sup> Thus the existence of the Sarvāstivādins, known later as the Vaibhāśikas, can be traced during at least fifteen centuries of the history of Indian Buddhism.

The geographical extension of our school seems, at one time, to have been much greater than any of the schools of which we have any record. Fa-hien (A.D. 399–414) says

<sup>1</sup> Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (No. 1267), Samghabhadra's *Nyāyānusāra* (No. 1265), and Samayapradipikā (No. 1266) often quote the Kāsmīra-vaibhāśika teachers (Ka-shi-mi-la-pi-p'o-sha-shi). There is an instance of Yaśomitra's explanation of this name in the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, ch. iii (MS. Burnouf, 469a, 5): "Kim esa eva Śastrābhidharma Jñānaprasthānādilakṣaṇo deśito 'ta idam ucyate; Kāsmīravaibhāśikanisiddha iti vistaraḥ. Kaśmire bhavāḥ Kāsmirāḥ; Vibhāśayā divyanti vaibhāśikā iti vyākhyātām etat: santi Kāsmīrā na vaibhāśikāḥ . . . ; santi vaibhāśikā na Kāsmirāḥ . . . ; teśāṁ nītyā yah siddho 'bhidharmaḥ sa prāyenēha mayā deśitah. Arthād uktām bhavati anyanisiddho 'pi deśita iti. Yad durgṛhitān Kāsmīravaibhāśikanayena anyanayena vā . . ." (quoted in Professor de la Vallée Poussin, "Dogmatique Bouddhique," i, p. 65).

<sup>2</sup> See my translation of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 279, 287, 289; 281; and my "Date of Vasubandhu" (J.R.A.S., Jan., 1905), p. 47 (p. 15).

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 73, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Sarvadarśanasamgraha, ch. 2.

that this school was followed in Pātaliputra as well as in China at his time.<sup>1</sup> According to Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 629–645) the Sarvāstivādins were found chiefly in Kaśgar, Udyāna, and several other places on the northern frontier; in Matipura, Kanoj, and a place near Rājagrha in N. India; and also in Persia in the west.<sup>2</sup>

I-tsing (A.D. 671–695) further gives a fairly minute description of this school, he himself being one of its adherents, and the places enumerated by him as belonging to it are the following:—Magadha (where it chiefly flourished), Lāṭa (Gujarat), Sindhu, S. India (where it had a few followers), E. India (where it existed side by side with other schools), Sumatra, Java (where it largely prevailed), Champā (Lin-yi) in Cochin-China (where it had a few followers), south, west, and east provinces of China and Central Asia (where the minor sects of the school chiefly flourished).<sup>3</sup>

This widespread school was, according to the same author, in possession of a Tripitaka amounting to 300,000 ślokas. Whether this statement be trustworthy or not, an examination of the vast Buddhist literature which has come down to us in Chinese shows sufficiently clearly that this school had a separate Vinaya-piṭaka<sup>4</sup> and a separate Abhidharma-piṭaka. An analysis of the latter is the object of the present paper.

Before we proceed, it will be necessary for us to clear up a doubt that hangs over the name of the school, as the authenticity of the Sanskrit form is somewhat open to question.

<sup>1</sup> Fa-hien, "Record of the Buddhist Kingdom," ch. 39; Legge, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Hiuen-tsang mentions some thirteen places as belonging to this school, but the number of its adherents in India proper was not so great as in the cases of the other schools. See Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1891, p. 420.

<sup>3</sup> See my "I-tsing's Record," pp. xxii–xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> The list of 19 works in 189 Chinese volumes of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins is given in my "I-tsing's Record," p. xxxvii. The Tibetan Vinaya is said to belong exclusively to this school (Wassilief, "Buddhismus," p. 96). A separate Vinaya or a portion of it, in one case, belonging to each of the subdivisions of the Sarvāstivāda school, namely, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahīśāsakas, and the Kāśyapiyas, is also extant in Chinese (cf. Nos. 1117, 1122, 1131).

## 2. THE NAME 'SARVĀSTIVĀDINAS.'

The earlier Chinese name used for this school is invariably 'Sā-p'o-to' (Jap. 'Sat-ba-ta'),<sup>1</sup> as seen, for example, in the books of the Three Chin dynasty (A.D. 350–431)<sup>2</sup> and of the earlier Sung dynasty (A.D. 445).<sup>3</sup> This name was adopted by Fa-hien (A.D. 399–414), Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569), occasionally by Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 629–645), and also by I-tsing (A.D. 671–695). 'Sā-p'o-to' is supposed to represent an original sound, not necessarily Sanskrit. The original may have been something like 'Sarvata,' as Mr. Watters conjectures, who so uses it in his new work on Hiuen-tsang. But since we have no evidence at all for the existence of such a word, we prefer the more probable conjecture that it represents the Pāli 'Sabbatthi (-vāda)' or a similar word in some other Indian dialect. It is most unlikely, judging from the phonetic value of the Chinese characters, that 'Sā-p'o-to' is intended for the Sanskrit 'Sarvāsti(-vāda).'<sup>4</sup> As a representation of the Sanskrit it would be inaccurate, and although Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing, who usually refer to every name in its Sanskrit form, occasionally adopt this name, they do so as a concession to the preceding translators, who represented an earlier and different period of Buddhist literature.

The name which these two travellers have used the most in their translations is 'Shuo-yi-chieh-yu-pu,' the 'school (which) asserts (that) all things exist.'<sup>5</sup> One of them, I-tsing, however, gives the name in a pompous form which clearly points to Sanskrit—'A-li-ya Mu-la Sā-p'o-a-ssū-ti p'o-t'o Ni-Chia-ya' ('Ārya-Mūla-Sarvāsti-vāda-nikāya'),

<sup>1</sup> 薩婆多.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio, Nos. 1135, 1136.

<sup>3</sup> No. 1132.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Thomas suggests that it may stand for 'Sarvavāda.' We do not, however, find any instance of the use of this word by Buddhists.

<sup>5</sup> 說一切有部.

translating it himself, as I have given it in my English version of his “Record,” the ‘Noble fundamental school (which) affirms the existence of all (things).’<sup>1</sup>

We have no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of the name given by I-tsing, for the existence of three Buddhist schools is spoken of by Śāmkarācārya in his commentary on Bādarāyaṇa’s Vedānta Sūtras, the first of the three being the ‘Sarvāsti-tva-vādinas.’<sup>2</sup> Vācaspatimiśra’s Bhāmatī also gives us the form ‘Sarvāsti-tva-vāda.’<sup>3</sup> These are practically the same as our ‘Sarvāstivādinas’ or ‘Sarvāstivāda.’ The Mahāvyutpatti, § 275, again, gives two forms of the name, Āryasarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda, in conformity with the names given by I-tsing, namely, Ārya-mūla-sarvāstivada as the chief school and Mūla-sarvāstivāda as one of its subdivisions. We are thus perfectly justified in using the Sanskrit form of the name of the school.

### 3. THE SEVEN ABHIDHARMA WORKS PECULIAR TO THIS SCHOOL.

The Sarvāstivādins had seven Abhidharma books, just as the Theravādins had. The names of the books, moreover, of the two schools bear, curiously enough, a striking resemblance in most cases. This was a puzzle to us for a considerable time, but in my note on the Abhidharma literature in the J.R.A.S.<sup>4</sup> I have shown that the two sets

<sup>1</sup> My I-tsing, p. 8, iii. Ch. 阿離耶慕羅薩婆阿私底婆挹尼迦耶. Transl. 聖根本說一切有部.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Indic., Calcutta, 1863, p. 546. The three schools given are ‘Sarvāsti-tva-vādinas,’ ‘Vijñānāsti-tva-vādinas,’ and ‘Sarvaśūnya-tva-vādinas.’ These are otherwise known as the ‘Vaibhāśikas,’ ‘Yogācāras,’ and ‘Mādhyamikas.’

<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Indic., Benares, 1880, p. 413: “Tatra ye hinamatayas te sarvāsti-tvatvādena tadāśayānurodhāt śūnyatāyām avatāryante | ye tu madhyamās, te jñānamātrāstitvena śūnyatāyām avatāryante | ye tu prakṛṣṭamatayas, tebhyaḥ sāksād eva śūnyatāttvam pratipādyate |” These points have been discussed by Professor Walleser, Phil. Grundl., 1904, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>4</sup> January, 1905, pp. 160–162.

have no real connection. The mutual relations of the seven books of the one set seem to have differed from those of the other set, for in the case of the Sarvāstivādins they recognize one as the principal book and the rest as its supplements, while in the case of the Theravādins there seems to have been no such subordination.

The principal work of the Sarvāstivādin Hinayāna school<sup>1</sup> is Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna, to which there are six supplements called 'pāda' (foot), the latter standing to the former in some such relation as that of the six Vedāngas to the Veda.<sup>2</sup>

The seven Abhidharma works are as follows (see accompanying list) :—

I have given in full the several lists of the seven Abhidharma books in order to show, on the one hand, that the tradition of the existence of seven books was universal among the Hinayānists, and, on the other hand, to do justice to the Chinese and Tibetan authorities, who have reproduced the Sanskrit names fairly correctly, for I thought that many scholars would suspect the accuracy of the Sanskrit titles given by them. Here an explanation will be necessary as regards the sources from which I have derived the above information.

I. First as to the Sanskrit. The earliest information ever given about the existence of the seven Abhidharmas and the names of their authors was by Burnouf, who furnished a French translation of one passage from Yaśomitra's Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā in his "Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme indien."<sup>3</sup> As the Vyākhyā just named is

<sup>1</sup> The Sarvāstivādins are, of course, Hinayānists. The books belonging to the school are classed in the Hinayāna section of the Chinese Catalogue. See Nanjio's Catal., pp. 277–286.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the citation given below, p. 78, note 1, where the Jñānaprasthāna is said to be the 'Body' and the rest 'Feet.'

<sup>3</sup> 1st ed., p. 448; 2nd ed., p. 339; Skt. MS., Soc. Asiat., fols. 9b and 10a.

# THE SEVEN BOOKS

I. SANSKRIT.	II. TIBETAN.	III. CHINESE TRANSLITERATION
1. Jñāna-prasthāna, by Arya Kātyāyanīputra.	(5) Ye-ses-hjug [Jñāna-prasthāna], by Kātyāyana.	(1) Yin-ya-na-p'i-lo-(i) [Jñāna-pra] Chia-chan- <sup>1</sup>
2. Prakarana-pāda, by Sthavira Vasumitra.	(6) Rab-tu-byed-pa [Prakaraṇa], by Vasumitra.	(6) P'i-lo-chi <sup>2</sup> [Praka] <i>Shih-yu</i> 300 years after t
3. Vijñāna-kāya, by Sthavira Devaśarmā.	(4) Rnam-ses-tshogs [Vijñāna-kāya], by Devakṣema.	(4) Wei-ti-ya-n <sup>3</sup> [Vijñāna] Ti-p'o-shê- 100 years after t
4. Dharma-skandha, by Ārya Śāriputra.	(1) Chos-kyi-phun-po [Dharma-skandha], by Śāriputra.	(2) A-p'i-ta-lo-ma [Abhidharma] <i>Ta-mu-chien-lien</i>
5. Prajñapti-śāstra, by Ārya Maudgalyāyana.	(2) Gdags-pahi-bstan-bcos [Prajñapti-śāstra], by Maudgalyāyana.	(7) Pi-la-ti-ya-pi-ti [Prajñapti] (Author's)
6. Dhātu-kāya, by Pūrṇa.	(3) Khams-kyi-tshogs [Dhātu-kāya], by Pūrṇa.	(5) Ta-tu-chia-ya-fa-t <i>Shih-yu</i> 300 years after t
7. Saṅgīti-paryāya, by Mahā-kauṣṭhila.	(7) Yañ-dag-hgro-bahi-graṇs [Saṅgīti-paryāya], by Mahā-kauṣṭhila.	(3) A-p'i-ta-lo-ma-sang [Abhidharma-s] Sha-li- <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese sounds printed in italics show that they are *translations* and not transliterations.

<sup>2</sup> 印牙擎毗羅(亦)思怛擎沙悉特羅. 迦方毘延造.

'Chia-chan-yen' here stands for 'Kātyāyana' or 'Kacchāyana.' Paramārtha gives 'Chia-chan-yen-tsü' (迦方毘延子; see *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 276, note 34), and Hiuen-tsang transcribes the name as 'Chia-to-yen-ni-tsü' (迦多衍尼子; see below the analysis of the work), both pointing to Skt. 'Kātyāyanīputra.'

<sup>3</sup> 毗羅迦羅擎發怛. 世友造. 'Shi-yu,' 'world-friend,' stands for 'Vasumitra.'

‘尾底牙擎迦亞發怛. 提婆設摩造. ‘Wei-ti-ya-na,’ here stands for 'Vijñāna.' 'Shē-mo' is 'śarmā,' not 'kṣema,' in Chinese.

# F THE ABHIDHARMA.

## IV. CHINESE TRANSLATION.

N<sup>1</sup> (TIBETO-CHINESE).

sū-ta-na-sha-hsi-tu-lo<sup>2</sup>  
[sthāna-sāstra],  
by  
n [Kātyāyana].

(1)

*Fa-chi-lun*<sup>9</sup>  
[The Treatise on the Opening of Knowledge],  
or  
*Pa-chien-tu*<sup>10</sup>  
[Aṭṭha-gantho; Aṣṭa-grantha],  
by  
The venerable Chia-ta-yen-ni-tsū [Ārya Kātyāyanīputra].

-lo-na-fa-ta<sup>3</sup>  
[aṇa-pāda],  
by  
Vasumitra],  
Buddha's nirvāṇa.

(3)

*P'ìn-lui-tsu-lun*<sup>11</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on Classification],  
or  
*Chung-shih-fēn-tsu-lun*<sup>12</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the division of various matters],  
by  
Shih-yu [Vasumitra].

-chia-ya-fa-ta<sup>4</sup>  
[kāya-pāda],  
by  
Devaśarmā],  
Buddha's nirvāṇa.

(4)

*Shih-shén-tsu-lun*<sup>13</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the Knowledge-body],  
by  
O-lo-han Ti-p'o-shē-mo [Arhat Devaśarmā].

-shih-kan-ta-fa-ta<sup>5</sup>  
[-skandha-pāda],  
by  
Mahā-maudgalyāyana].

(6)

*Fa-yün-tsu-lun*<sup>14</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the collection of the Laws],  
by  
Ta-mu-chien-lien [Mahā-maudgalyāyana].

-fa-ta sha-hsi-tu-lo<sup>6</sup>  
[-pāda-sāstra].  
*name is lost.*

(7)

*Shih-shē-lun*<sup>15</sup>  
[The Treatise on Arrangement (or Construction)].  
(Author's name is not given.)

a<sup>7</sup> [Dhātu-kāya-pāda],  
by  
[Vasumitra],  
Buddha's nirvāṇa.

(5)

*Chieh-shén-tsu-lun*<sup>16</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the Element-body],  
by  
Shih-yu [Vasumitra].

-ki-ta-fa-li-ya-ya-fa-ta<sup>8</sup>  
[ṅgiti-paryāya-pāda],  
by  
[Śāriputra].

(2)

*Chi-i-mēn-tsu-lun*<sup>17</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the collection of various topics],  
by  
Sha-li-tsū [Śāriputra].

<sup>5</sup> 阿毗達囉麻悉干怛拔怛. 大目犍連造.

'Mu-chien-lien,' Jap. 'Mok-ken-len,' probably from Pāli 'Moggallāna.'  
Mark the difference of the authorship of this book between Sanskrit and Chinese.  
The title is here "Abhidharma-skandha" instead of "Dharma-skandha."

<sup>6</sup> 必囉地壓必地發怛沙悉特羅. 失造人名.

<sup>7</sup> 達都迦牙發怛. 世友造.

<sup>8</sup> 阿毗達羅麻喪吉怛發哩牙壓發怛. 舍利子造.

<sup>13</sup> 識身足論.

<sup>9</sup> 發智論.

<sup>14</sup> 法蘊足論.

<sup>10</sup> 八犍度論.

<sup>15</sup> 施設論.

<sup>11</sup> 品類足論.

<sup>16</sup> 界身足論.

<sup>12</sup> 衆事分足論.

<sup>17</sup> 集異門足論.

now being carefully studied by M. Sylvain Lévi, I referred to him at once to satisfy myself as to the actual text. He has kindly furnished me the whole text of Yośomitratāra, and it is from this original that I have reproduced here the Sanskrit titles of the seven Abhidharmas.<sup>1</sup> The existence of the "Jñānaprasthāna and the rest" is spoken of again in another part of the same work.<sup>2</sup>

II. Turning to Tibetan authorities, we find in Tāranātha's "History of Buddhism" a reference to the seven Abhidharmas of the Sarvāstivādins.<sup>3</sup> Wassilief adds in his note their Sanskrit names on the authority of Bu-ston, a great Tibetan writer who flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Fedor H. Stcherbatzko, of St. Petersburg, who is at present engaged in an edition of Bu-ston's work, was kind enough to furnish me the actual passages of Bu-ston, in an English translation. This is practically the sole authority for my Tibetan list, because

<sup>1</sup> In his Commentary on the Abhidharmakośa, Kārikā iii, Yośomitratāra says: "Katham nāma dharmapracayayāḥ syād ity abhidharma upadiṣṭāḥ śāstrāḥ Buddhena | ata eva | na hi vinābhidharmopadeśena śiṣyāḥ śakto dharmāṇ pravicyatum iti | udita iti vade niṣṭhāyām kṛtasamprasāraṇasyaitad rūpam | na tu ina utpūrvasyārthāyogād | udita ity uktāḥ | upadiṣṭā ity eko 'rthaḥ | kileti kilaśabdaḥ parābhiprāyām ghātayati\* || Ābhīdharmikāṇām etan mataṁ na tu asmākam sautrāntikāṇām iti bhāvāḥ | śrūyante hy abhidharmaśāstrāṇām kartāraḥ | tadyathā | Jñānaprasthānasya Ārya-Kātyāyanīputraḥ kartā | Prakarana-pādasya Sthavira-Vasumitraḥ | Vijñānakāyasya Sthavira-Devaśarmā | Dharmaskandhasya Ārya-Sāriputraḥ | Prajñaptiśāstrasya Ārya-Maudgalyāyanāḥ | Dhātukāyasya Pūrṇaḥ | Saṅgitiparyāyasya Mahākauṣṭhilaḥ || "

\* Mr. Wogihara suggests that 'ghātayati' here ought to be 'dyotayati.'

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Nation., MSS. Burnouf, 114, fol. 8a: "Sthavira-Kātyāyanīputraprabhrtibhir Jñānaprasthānādisu pindikṛtya sthāpita ity āhur, vaibhāṣikāḥ | " quoted in Walleser, Phil. Grundl., p. 13, note 1. For the expression "Śāstrābhīdharma Jñānaprasthānādilakṣaṇo," see p. 70, note 1, above.

<sup>3</sup> Tāranātha, 56 (45 Russ.): "Nach der ansicht der Vaibhāṣikas werden die sieben Abhidharma-bücher für Buddha-wort gehalten und als anfang der erklärung's sūtra die Vibhāṣā angenommen; nach der ansicht der Sautrāntikas sind die sieben Abhidharma-sūtras, welche die Vaibhāṣikas als früher entstanden ansehen, von einfachen Srāvakas verfasst und fälschlich als von Sāriputra u.s.w. gesammeltes Buddha-wort ausgegeben und als anfang der erklärung's śāstras gelten die sieben sūtras." Further, see next.

<sup>4</sup> Tāranātha, p. 296 (Germ.); Wassilief, "Buddhismus," p. 116 (Germ.). But the Tibetans seem to regard the Dharmaskandha as the most important of all. Cf. Walleser, Phil. Grundl., pp. 18-19. One of the Chinese writers also considers the Dharmaskandha as chief; see the colophon at the end of the analysis of this work given below.

neither Tāraṇātha nor his translators give the Tibetan names of the seven Abhidharmas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bu-ston, folio 21 :—“ We must distinguish between the śāstras dealing with the meaning of the Buddha’s words in general, and those which deal with the meaning of some special teaching of the Buddha.

“ I. Grammar, which elucidates the verbal side of the scripture in general, and logic, which elucidates the meaning of it, are said to be the two śāstras appertaining to the whole of the scripture in general, without difference of school or teaching. But I myself hold a different opinion on this topic (namely, that these śāstras are altogether not Buddhistic, but profane sciences).

“ II. Among those śāstras which deal with special teachings of the Buddha, we must distinguish three categories corresponding to the three Dharmacakra-pravartanas. We are going to make known the first category. There, again, among the śāstras dealing with the meaning of the Buddha’s teaching in its first period, we must distinguish between those which elucidate his theoretical views and those which elucidate the practical side of his religion. The first are the seven Abhidharmas, namely :—

1. Dharmaskandha (ဓំសា · ត្រី · សុទ្ធស័ · ), by Śāriputra.
2. Prajñapti śāstra (សុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ · យនិ · សម្បុទ្ធស័ · ), by Maudgalyāyana.
3. Dhātukāya (ជាមសា · ត្រី · កែវសា · ), by Pūrṇa.
4. Vijñānakāya (គុម · សិរ · កែវសា · ), by Devakṣema.
5. Jñānaprasthāna (ឃិ · សិន · ឯក្ខុន · ), by Kātyāyana.
6. Prakaraṇa (ធម · ៥ · ព្រៃទ · យ · ), by Vasumitra.
7. Saṃgatiparyāya (ឃុ · ឯក · ឯក្ខុន · យនិ · គុម · សុទ្ធសា · ), by Mahā-kauṣṭhila (សម្បុទ្ធសា · យ · កែ · ឃិន · ព្រៃន · ).

To this I conform. But the Vaibhāśikas of Kashmir maintain that these seven are the word of the Buddha.

“ What the Master has fragmentarily taught at different places and times to different men has been collected by the Arhats of the Śrāvakas, just as the Udānavarga (កៅ · ៥ · សិទ្ធិ · យនិ · កែសា · , Ched-du-brjod-pahi-tsoms) has

been. Were it not so, then the number of three pitakas in the scriptures would be incomplete, because the Abhidharma is, generally speaking, included in the sūtra and the vinaya, since it is occasionally taught in them. The compendium of the meaning of these seven Abhidharmas is styled the Mahāvibhāśā. An abridged exposition of its teaching is contained in the Abhidharmakośa and similar works.

“(Vasubandhu says himself in the Abhidharmakośa that this kośa is an exposition of the views of the Kashmirian vaibhāśikas.)”

III and IV. Next as to the Chinese authorities who give the tradition concerning the existence of the seven books.

Bu-ston, folio 173 :—“ 1. Lokaprajñapti in 7 chapters.

(བྱିଶ୍ རୈତ୍ ພଦ୍ୟାନ୍ ພ ພମ୍ ພ ພଦ୍ୟାନ୍)

(Hjig-ten-gdags-pa      bam-po-bdun.)

2. Kāraṇaprajñapti in 7 chapters.

(ક୍ରୁ ພଦ୍ୟାନ୍ ພ ພମ୍ ພ ພଦ୍ୟାନ୍)

(Rgyu-gdags-pa      bam-po-bdun.)

3. Karmaprajñapti in 5 chapters.

(ଘନ୍ ພଦ୍ୟାନ୍ ພ ພମ୍ ພ ພଦ୍ୟାନ୍)

(Las-gdags-pa      bam-po-lna.)

“ These three works are translated by Prajñāsena. The Vaibhāśikas maintain that they belong to the scriptures.

“ And although they appear to be mentioned as such in the Great Index (ସାଂକ୍ଷାରିକ ପତ୍ର, Dkar-chag-chen-po), still there is no doubt that they, conformably to the meaning of the Sautrāntikas and the remaining schools, must be reckoned as śāstras.”

Dr. Stcherbatskoi writes to Mr. Thomas, of the India Office, through whom I obtained the above information, to the following effect :—“ The three prajñaptis translated by Prajñāsena must be parts of the second Abhidharma, i.e. Prajñapti śāstra. If it be so, then it will result that a part of the seven Abhidharmas was known to the Tibetans, as these three are to be found in the Tanjur Mdo, lxii, 1-107; 107-191; 191-257.”

With the kind help of Mr. Thomas I have compared the Chinese Lokaprajñapti (Nanjo's, 1297; below appendix) with the Tibetan. Both treat of similar subjects, though they seem to differ much in details from each other. In the Chinese Prajñapti śāstra itself (No. 1317) the title Lokaprajñapti is given, but its contents are missing, while the Kāraṇaprajñapti practically forms the whole text. The Tibetan version of the latter has been examined by Mr. Thomas, who furnished me an analysis of it. It gives, like the Chinese text, the lakṣaṇas and ratnas of a Mahāsattva, and raises all sorts of questions as to a Cakravartin, a Bodhisattva, and their surroundings. Thus the two versions, Chinese and Tibetan, treat of one and the same subject, though the latter is much more minute than the former.

The Karmaprajñapti does not exist in Chinese. From the above comparisons, though imperfect owing to the fragmentary condition of the Chinese text, we may assume that Dr. Stcherbatskoi is right in taking the three prajñaptis above referred to, to be parts of the second Abhidharma (i.e. Prajñapti śāstra). The quotations from the Prajñapti śāstra found in the Mahāvibhāṣā (e.g. fasciculi 136, 176) also seem to be of similar nature.

Mr. Thomas took great trouble in looking through the list of the Tibetan works, but failed to find any other of the seven Abhidharmas; we can now safely state with Wassilief that the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharmas do not exist in Tibetan, except the Prajñapti śāstra. The Tibetan Dharmaskandha (Mdo, xx, 3; Wa. 39-46), to which Professor Walleser refers (Phil. Grundl., p. 18), proved, on comparison, to be an entirely different text from the Chinese one, and consequently not one of the seven Abhidharmas in question.

The earliest of all is an interesting note at the end of vol. xxiii (book vi) of the Chinese translation of the Jñānaprasthāna itself (A.D. 379). In this it is said that the ‘Aṣṭa-grantha’ (=Jñānaprasthāna) is the ‘body’ (kāya), and there are besides six ‘feet’ (pāda), amounting to 1,000,000 syllables in all.<sup>1</sup> The next earliest notice of the seven books is found in Nāgārjuna’s commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra (translated A.D. 402–405). This work mentions the “Aṣṭa-grantha-Abhidharma and the six-divisioned Abhidharma.”<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt whatever that this ‘Aṣṭa-grantha’ of Nāgārjuna refers to Kātyāyanīputra’s Jñānaprasthāna, as is proved by evidence from several sources.<sup>3</sup> The ‘six-divisioned Abhidharma,’ however, is not quite clear, the six not being mentioned by name. But as it occurs with the mention of the chief work, Jñānaprasthāna, it is very likely that it refers to the six supplementary works called ‘feet’ (pāda). For accurate information concerning them it is necessary, as in other cases, to have recourse to Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 629–645), who has translated most of the seven works. His “Record of the Western Kingdom,” however, does not mention these seven as one body of Abhidharma literature. His statements that this or that one of the seven had been composed in some particular locality or hermitage shows that some of them, if not all,

<sup>1</sup> See, for the original, below the analysis A, the end of bk. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjo’s, 1169; small Jap. ed., 住 1, fol. 17b: 八犍度阿毗曇;  
六分阿毗曇.

<sup>3</sup> Paramārtha’s Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 276): “Kātyāyanīputra collected the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins and arranged it in eight Ka-lan-ta (Grantha), and that this work was called the ‘Discourse on the Opening of Knowledge’ (Jñānaprasthāna).” Cf. Wassilief, “Buddhismus,” p. 217 et seq.; Walleser, Phil. Grundl., p. 146. (That the Paṭṭhāna which is cited as ‘Mahāpakarana’ by Buddhaghosa (“Atthasālinī,” pp. 7, 9, 87, 212, 409) refers to our book wants an elucidation, because the identity of the Paṭṭhāna with our Jñānaprasthāna cannot be proved.) The identity of the Aṣṭa-grantha with the Jñānaprasthāna is open to no doubt at all; for the earlier Chinese translation of this work (No. 1273) bears the name *Pa-chien-tu* (Atṭha-Gantho; Nanjo, Aṣṭa-Khanda), while the later one (No. 1275) with similar contents is called the *Fa-chi-lun* (Jñānaprasthāna), both in 44 vargas; see analysis given below.

were at that time very famous among Indian Buddhist scholars.<sup>1</sup>

It is his disciple, Fu-kuang (A.D. 645–664, with Hiuen-tsang), who gives in his “Notes on the Abhidharma-kośa” a tradition concerning the seven Abhidharmaś, one chief text and the six pāda supplements, mentioning them by name.<sup>2</sup> K’uei-chi (died 682), another disciple of Hiuen-tsang, refers to this division in a colophon to the Chinese Dhātukāya.<sup>3</sup> I need not add here that these two obtained this information directly from Hiuen-tsang, who may in turn have been informed by his teachers in Nālandā or may himself have been acquainted with a commentary, like Yaśomitra’s, on the Abhidharma-kośa. The official order of the works in Chinese differs from that given in either the Sanskrit or the Tibetan authorities.

The Mahāvibhāṣā, which is itself a commentary on Kātyāyanīputra’s Jñānaprasthāna, and is anterior to Vasubandhu’s Abhidharma-kośa, quotes now and again these pāda works, which fact shows again that these supplementary works were held to be of great value for a successful

<sup>1</sup> Hiuen-tsang, “Mémoires,” i, 201: “*Fa-chi-lun* (Jñānaprasthāna) was compiled by Ka-to-yen-na (Kātyāyana, 300 years A.B.), while in the Tāmasavāna vihāra, a Sarvāstivādin monastery in Chinapati, North Frontier” (Watters, i, p. 294). “Mémoires,” i, 119: “Fu-su-mo-to-lo (Vasumitra) compiled the *Chung-shi-fēn-O-p'i-ta-mo-lun* (Prakaraṇa(-pāda-)abhidharma-śāstra) in a tope at Puṣkalāvatī (Penkelaotis)” (Watters, i, p. 214). The *Shih-shēn-tsū-lun* (Vijñānakāya) is said to have been composed by Ti-po-shē-mo (Devaśarmā) in P'i-sho-ka (Viśoka), near Śrāvasti (Watters, i, p. 373).

<sup>2</sup> 普光. He is known as ‘Ta-shēng-kuang’ (大乘光). The most of Hiuen-tsang’s translations (75 texts altogether) have been dictated to Fu-kuang. His notes taken from Hiuen-tsang’s lecture on the Abhidharma-kośa of Vasubandhu have been preserved in Japan, and are known as the “Notes of Fu-kuang” (generally ‘Kō-ki,’ 光記). This is not included in the official collection of the Buddhist works. I regret, however, that this and another important “Notes on the Abhidharma-kośa,” by Fa-pao (法寶), pupil of Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing, have not been consulted in detail, for they are not accessible to me here in England.

<sup>3</sup> See the analysis given below.

exposition of the principal Abhidharma text.<sup>1</sup> Thus the seven books must have existed prior to the compilation of the Mahāvibhāṣā by 500 Arhats, at a time, 400 years according to one account, or 500 years according to the other, after the Buddha's death.<sup>2</sup>

The names of the seven books quoted in these works are, without exception, given in the Chinese form (see the list IV above).

The Chinese transliterations (the list III above) have been taken from the Catalogue of the Tripitaka of the Yuen dynasty called the “*Chi-yuen-fa-pao-chien-t'ung-tsung-lu*”<sup>3</sup> (or generally “*Chi-yuen-lu*” simply), i.e. “A General Catalogue of the Sacred Texts in the ‘*Chi-yuen*’ period” (A.D. 1264–1294). The “*Chi-yuen-lu*” is based on a comparison of the Chinese Buddhist books with the Tibetan Kanjur, and was compiled by command of Kubilai Khan. Preparatory to the translation of the Tripitaka into Mongolian the Emperor Kubilai convened his priestly and lay subordinates and constituted them a committee to examine the contents of the Buddhist works (1,440 in number) then extant in China and Tibet. This committee consisted of some twenty-eight scholars of several countries, China, Tibet, India, Turfan, Wuigur, and Mongolia.

The Chinese texts were compared one by one with their counterparts in Tibetan, where such existed, and in cases where none such existed the fact was carefully noted.

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<sup>1</sup> E.g., Nanjo's No. 1263, the Mahāvibhāṣā, 17 (Jap. 汲 1, fol. 74b), quotes the Prakaraṇapāda (品類), Vijñānakāya (識身), and Prajñaptipāda (方色設); the same, 23 (汲 1, fol. 99b), cites the Saṅgītiparyāya (集異) and Dharmaskandha (法蘊). The Dhātukāya (界身) may be found quoted somewhere. For this information and for note 2, p. 78, I am indebted to Mr. U. Wogihara.

<sup>2</sup> Vasumitra is said to be one of the 500 Arhats who took part in compiling the Mahāvibhāṣā (400 years or 500 years A.B.). Two of the seven Abhidharmas are attributed to Vasumitra, who is said to have lived at a time 300 years A.B. Vasumitra of 400 years A.B. and that of 300 years A.B. must be different. This is certain from the fact that the Vibhāṣā itself quotes his books, and mentions him as one of the four great Śāstrins of the Sarvastivāda school. Cf. Watters, i, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> 至元法寶勘同總錄, vol. ix, Nanjo, No. 1612.

As to the contents of each work, they were satisfied to state simply whether the two, Chinese and Tibetan, agreed with each other or not. Almost all the Chinese titles were restored by them to their Sanskrit forms, which, though not always correctly given, were arrived at by a fairly accurate system of transliteration, the Chinese sounds then current being used for the purpose.

The work of this commission resulted, as I have said above, in the catalogue under notice, which has been used by Stanislas Julien and Bunyiu Nanjo as their principal guide for the restoration of Sanskrit names.<sup>1</sup> This catalogue I designate elsewhere in this paper as the "Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue."

As for the names of the seven Abhidharmas, great credit is due to the compilers of the Catalogue, inasmuch as they have preserved the correct Sanskrit forms of the names, thus affording us a clue to the identification of the Sanskrit works with the Chinese. The list III is made entirely from this source.

In this Catalogue it is stated that the seven Abhidharmas, one and all, agree with the corresponding Tibetan works, though in reality they do not seem to exist in the Kanjur or Tanjur with the exception of one.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence we have adduced from Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese sources not being conflicting, we are fairly justified in assuming that at an early period of their separate history the Sarvāstivādins were in possession of an Abhidharma literature consisting of seven books, one principal and six supplementary, as we have seen above; and that these works had been widely studied in Kaśmīra, the seat of this school; and we can say further that the tradition concerning them is comparatively trustworthy,

<sup>1</sup> M. P. Habacuc of Russia sent this catalogue to S. Julien in 1848. After a careful study the latter published a "Concordance Sinico-Sanscrit" (*Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec., 1849, pp. 351-446). Bunyiu Nanjo, while compiling his Catalogue for the India Office in 1883, made use of the Concordance as well as the original Chi-yuen-lu.

<sup>2</sup> See above, note, p. 77.

since it has been preserved in practically the same form in India, Tibet, China, and Japan.

Hitherto we have merely dwelt on the traditions concerning the Abhidharma works; let us now proceed to examine the actual texts preserved in China and Japan.

#### 4. AN ANALYSIS OF THE SEVEN ABHIDHARMA WORKS OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS.

##### I. JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA,

BY ĀRYA KĀTYĀYANĪPUTRA.

(Skt. 1; Tib. 5; Tib.-Chin. 1; Chin. 1.)

There exist in Chinese two different translations of this text, made in the fourth and in the seventh century. The two bear different names, the one "Aṣṭa-grantha" (or Aṭṭha-gantho), the other "Jñānaprasthāna," thus confirming the statement by Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569), who, in his Life of Vasubandhu, alludes to this work as having two names.<sup>1</sup>

##### A.

A-p'i-t'an-pa-chien-tu-lun.<sup>2</sup>  
Abhidharmaśṭagrantha(-śāstra)  
(generally called the "Aṣṭa-  
grantha").  
Nanjo's Cat., No. 1273.

##### B.

A-p'i-ta-mo-fa-chi-lun.<sup>3</sup>  
The Abhidharma śāstra—  
"Opening of Knowledge"  
(generally called the "Jñāna-  
prasthāna").  
Nanjo's Cat., No. 1275.

<sup>1</sup> See my translation of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 276–277, and compare my study of this life (J.R.A.S., Jan., 1905, p. 52).

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗曇八犍度論. The eight 'Chien-tu' is in Paramārtha, i.e., 'Kan-tu' (乾度), which he himself says is equivalent to Skt. Ka-lan-la (Grantha). M. Sylvain Lévi suggests that 'Kan-tu' or 'Chien-tu' represents more likely the Prākrit form 'Gantho.'

<sup>3</sup> 阿毗達磨發智論. 'Fa-chi' may mean 'production of knowledge.'

Amount :	Amount :
8 chien-tu (ganthro); 44 po-ch'ü (vaggo). <sup>1</sup>	8 groups ( <i>yün</i> ; skandha); 44 sections ( <i>na-hsi</i> ; varga). <sup>2</sup>
30 chüan (fasciculi); 554 pages (ye).	20 chüan (fasciculi); 382 pages (ye).
Author :	Author :
Chia-chan-yen- <i>tsü</i> <sup>3</sup> [Kātyāyanīputra].	The venerable Chia-to-yen-ni- <i>tsü</i> <sup>4</sup> [Ārya Kātyāyanīputra].
Translators :	Translator :
Chü-t'an Sang-chie-ti-po <sup>5</sup> [Gotama Saṃghadeva], from Ka-pin (Kaśmīra), A.D. 383; and Chu Fo-nien (a Chinese), A.D. 350-417.	Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 657-660.
A vaggo by T'an-mo-pi [Dhammapiya] from Ka-pin (Kaśmīra).	

These two are translations from one and the same text. Though the originals seem to have had variant readings here and there, the translations do not present any material difference in general scope. At the beginning of every

<sup>1</sup> Po-ch'ü (跋 柴) is likely 'vaggo.' A does not seem to have been in Sanskrit.

N.B.—Generally speaking, 'sections' or 'chapters' are the divisions of the original text, whereas 'fasciculus' (chüan) is that made according to the convenience of the Chinese editors. In almost all instances these two methods of division, original and editorial, are adopted. One fasciculus (chüan) contains as a rule 18-21 Chinese pages (ye). In calculating we can take one Chinese page (it is really a folio in large print) as about equivalent to one page octavo.

<sup>2</sup> 八 蘊 四 十 四 納 息. 'Yün' is 'aggregate' (skandha) in Chinese. Hiuen-tsang's original seems to have had 'Skandha' instead of 'Grantha.' 'Na-hsi' is the translation of 'Varga,' and means 'interception of breath,' the sense of which is not quite clear to me. Perhaps as a class of consonants, which are generally pronounced by stopping breath, is called 'varga,' Hiuen-tsang may have used this translation, or one section may be understood by him to mean the resting of one's breath in reciting a text.

<sup>3</sup> 迦 方 每 延 子.

<sup>4</sup> 迦 多 衍 尼 子. Kātyāyanīputra is said to have lived 300 years A.B.; see Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," i, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> 署 霽 僧 伽 提 婆, 竺 佛 念 (Nanjio's Catal., p. 399, § 39, and pp. 405, 458).

chapter Kātyāyanīputra raises a series of questions which are subsequently to be answered by him, and then deals with them one by one. The list of questions (the mātikā) is generally left out by Hiuen-tsang, thus making his version much shorter than that of his predecessors. Unless the discovery of a Tibetan counterpart may be hoped for, the Chinese version in two recensions stands as the sole representative of the text.

Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna is, be it stated again, the fundamental and all-important work of the Sarvāstivāda school, and it seems to have occupied a prominent position in its literature, for it is to this, as we have seen above, that the six so-called 'feet' (pāda) stand in the relation of supplements, and it is on this again that the great commentary, Mahāvibhāṣā, has been drawn up. The original Indian text is said, in the earlier translation (A), to have consisted of 15,072 ślokas, or rather a corresponding number of syllables in prose, namely, 482,304 syllables.<sup>1</sup> In what language, however, the original text was composed we have no means of ascertaining. All we can say is that the text brought by Samghadeva and Dhammadipa from Kaśmīra seems to have been in a dialect akin to Pāli, whereas the text used by Hiuen-tsang, as in other cases, seems to have been in Sanskrit. But this supposition rests solely on the phonetic value of Chinese ideographs employed in these translations, and is not corroborated by any other evidence.

<sup>1</sup> A preface to the book written by Tao-an (died A.D. 385), a contemporary of the translators, gives the number of ślokas or syllables as follows: 梵本十五千七十二首盧, 四十八萬(一)千(五)百四言, 秦言十九萬五千二百五十言其人忘因緣一品云言數可與十門等也. (The characters in brackets seem to be misprints of (二) and (三) respectively.) "The Fan (Brāhmī) text consisted of 15,072 ślokas, or 482,304 syllables. In the Chin (Chinese) tongue, 195,250 words. This man (i.e. Samghadeva, the translator) forgot (and could not recite) a chapter on Causes (Bk. vi, 7 below), but said that the number of its syllables was equal to that of the 'Ten Gates.'" The 'Ten Gates' is Bk. ii, 4, which is said to have been in 1,600 ślokas, twelve letters (syllables) extra.

That this book belongs exclusively to the Sarvāstivādins may be taken as certain from the fact that at the end of each of eight fasciculi in Hiuen-tsang's translation it is distinctly stated, as seen from the analysis given below, that it belongs to this school.

Hiuen-tsang himself visited the monastery Tāmasāvana in Chinapati in N. India, in which there were three hundred brethren of the Sarvāstivāda school, who were thorough students of the Hinayāna. He records that this was the monastery in which, three hundred years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa, Ka-to-yen-na (Kātyāyana) composed his "Fa-chi-lun" (Jñānaprasthāna).<sup>1</sup> This statement of Hiuen-tsang also connects the book with this school, and again we have an indication to the same effect in the Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue above referred to, vol. ix. Under the heading of the Abhidharma literature the following statement occurs:— "The Abhidharma-pitaka of the Śrāvakas (of the Hinayāna) consists of 38 texts (pu), 708 fasciculi (chüan), and 73 cases (chih). The Abhidharma-pitaka is not one and the same in all schools. Now according to (the method of) the Sarvāstivāda school we place the original work, 'body' (kāya), first, and the supplementary works, 'feet' (pāda), next. The branches thereof, the Vibhāṣā and the like, are placed last. Those of the other schools come next in order."<sup>2</sup>

Since this work is the key to all the subsequent philosophical literature of the Buddhists, I give here a somewhat detailed account of its contents.

<sup>1</sup> See Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," i, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> 聲聞對法藏三十八部七百八卷七十三帙。此對法藏諸部不同今者據其有部根本身論居初足論居次。毗婆娑等支派編末其餘部類相次編之。

## CONTENTS OF THE JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA.

## BOOK I.

A.

B.

GANTHO I: MISCELLANEOUS.

GROUP I: MISCELLANEOUS.

(雜健度第一)

(雜蘊第一)

1. Lokuttara-dhamma-vaggo.<sup>1</sup>

Lokottara-dharma-varga.

(世間第一法跋渠一)

(世第一法納息一)

What is the Lokuttara-dhamma?<sup>2</sup>—to what category does it belong?—why is it the highest in the world?—its definition—its bearings—its relation to 22 sakkāya-ditthis<sup>3</sup>—the transcendental conditions compared with the other conditions, etc.

It is stated at the end of the first vaggo: “The original text of the vaggo consisted of 528 ślokas.”

2. Knowledge (ñāna)-vaggo.

Knowledge-section.

(智跋渠二)

(智納息二)

The cause of knowledge—memory—doubt—six causes of stupidity reproved by the Buddha—cessation of the causes, etc.

At the end: “The original second vaggo consisted of 230 ślokas, 20 letters (syllables) extra.”

<sup>1</sup> I have throughout attempted to restore the Indian words probably represented by the Chinese translations.<sup>4</sup> In doing so I have not thought it either necessary or even desirable to confine myself to the Sanskrit forms. It seems to me more than probable that the Jñānaprasthāna at least was written in some dialect: one thinks naturally of the dialect of Kaśmira, but we really have no certainty that the Jñānaprasthāna was not composed in Kosala. I use the nominative form in the cases of Gantha and Vaggo because I think that the phonetic value of the Chinese requires it.

<sup>2</sup> See Childers, s.v.; compare Dharmasamgraha, § 23, Lokottarapañca-skandha; also Mahāvyutp., § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Childers, s.v.: vīsativatthukā sakkāyadiṭṭhi attavādupadānaṁ.

3. Individuality (puggala)-vaggo. Pu-tu-chie-lo (pudgala)-section.

(人跋渠三) (補特伽羅納息三)

How many of the 12 paṭiccasamuppādas do belong to the past, present, and future puggala?—final liberation, etc.  
Several passages from the Āgama quoted.

At the end: “The original vaggo consisted of 148 ślokas, 16 letters (syllables) extra.”

4. Vaggo on love and reverence. Section on love and reverence.

(愛恭敬跋渠四) (愛敬納息四)

Respect out of love (pema)—respect out of honour (gārava)<sup>1</sup>—two sorts of honour (gārava), with wealth (dhana) and with religion (dhamma)—strength of the body—Nirvāṇa the ultimate end, etc.

At the end: “The original text, 373 ślokas, 10 letters (syllables) extra.”

5. Ahirikānottappa-vaggo. Section on shamelessness (ahri-katā).

(無慚愧跋渠五) (無慚納息五)

Shamelessness (ahirikā)—fearlessness of sinning (anottappa)<sup>2</sup>—the increasing demerits (akusalamūla), etc.

At the end: “The original text of this vaggo consists of 220 ślokas.”

6. Form (rūpa)-vaggo. Section on characteristics (laksana).

(色跋渠六) (相納息六)

The rūpa-dhamma going through birth and death is impermanent—why can it be called a ‘form’?—impermanence (anitya), etc., etc.

At the end: “The original text, 47 ślokas.”

<sup>1</sup> Skt. prema and gaurava.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāvyutp., § 104 (49, 50), āhrikyam, anapatrāpyam; Dharmasamgraha, § 30, ahrikatā, anapatrapā.

7. Objectlessness (anattha)-vaggo. Section on objectlessness.

## (無 義 跋 渠 七)

## (無 義 納 息 七)

All the practices of austerity are vain—things desired cannot be secured, etc.

At the end: “The original text,  
97 slokas.”

8. Thought (cetanā)-vaggo. Section on thought (cetanā).

## (思 跋 渠 八)

## (思 納 息 八)

Thinking — reflecting — awakening (vitakka) — observing (vicāra)—unsettled mind (uddhacca)<sup>1</sup>—ignorance (avijjā)—arrogance (māna)—hardness of heart, etc.

At the end: “The original text, 326 slokas, 18 letters (syllables) extra.”

## BOOK II.

A.

B.

## GANTHO II:

## GROUP II:

THE BOND OF HUMAN PASSIONS      THE BOND OF HUMAN PASSIONS  
(SAMYOJANA).      (SAMYOJANA).

## (結 使 梛 度 二)

## (結 蘊 二)

1. Vaggo on demerits (akusala-mūla). Section on 10 demerits (daśaku-salamūla).

## (不 善 跋 渠 一)

## (十 不 善 納 息 一)

3 samyojanas—5 views—9 samyojanas—98 anuśayas—their details, scopes, results, etc.

At the end: “The original text, 603 slokas, 14 letters (syllables) extra.”

<sup>1</sup> See Dharmas., p. 69; Skt. audhatya.

2. Vaggo on those who come but once (sakadāgāmin).<sup>1</sup> Section on those who come but once (sakṛdāgāmin).

(一 行 跋 渠 二) (一 行 納 息 二)

The germs of passions, etc., still left in the sakadāgāmins—9 forms of pahāna-pariññā,<sup>2</sup> etc.

At the end : “The original text,  
1,040 ślokas.”

3. Vaggo on man. Section on sentient being (sattva).

(人 跋 渠 三) (有 情 納 息 三)

Moral defilements arising from views—those arising from practices—4 fruits of sāmañña—death and rebirth—regions having no rebirth, etc.

At the end : “The original text,  
467 ślokas.”

4. Vaggo on 10 gates. Section on 10 gates.

(十 門 跋 渠 四) (十 門 納 息 四)

Causes of moral defilements (1)—single cause (2)—double cause (3)—order of various thoughts (4)—awakening thought (5)—thought connected with indriyas (6)—completion (7)—incompletion (8)—knowledge that can destroy the causes (prahāṇa - pariññā) (9)—realization of the destruction (nirodha-sākṣatkāra) (10).<sup>3</sup>

At the end: “The original text, 1,600 ślokas, 12 letters (syllables) extra.”

### BOOK III.

A.

GANTHO III :

KNOWLEDGE (ÑĀNA).

(智 捷 度 三)

B.

GROUP III :

KNOWLEDGE (JÑĀNA).

(智 蘊 三)

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wogihara thinks that the ‘I-hsing,’ meaning ‘one-going,’ is quite different from the ‘I-lai,’ i.e. ‘one-coming,’ which is the translation of ‘sakadāgāmin.’ He suggests that it may be ‘ekatra-ga,’ judging from an analogy of ‘sarvatra-ga’ (pien-hsing).

<sup>2</sup> See Childers, s.v. pariññā; Skt. prahāṇa-pariññā.

<sup>3</sup> I put here Sanskrit on the authority of Mr. Wogihara.

1. Vaggo on 8 stages (sekha and  
asekha). Section on the branches of  
learning (śiksāṅga).

(八道跋渠一) (學支納息一)

Knowledge attained by the lower grades of sanctification—the state of an Arhat—views (diṭṭhi)—knowledge (ñāna)—wisdom (paññā)—views of those free from passion (anāsava-samādiṭṭhi),<sup>1</sup> etc.

At the end : “The original text,  
430 ślokas.”

2. Vaggo on the 5 kinds (of views, right and wrong). Section on the 5 kinds.

(五種跋渠二) (五種納息二)

Wrong views—right views—wrong knowledge—right knowledge—views of an asekha, etc.

At the end : “The original text,  
200 ślokas, 14 letters extra.”

3. Vaggo on the knowledge of another’s mind (paracittañāna).<sup>2</sup> Section on the knowledge of another’s mind.

(知他心智跋渠三) (他心智納息三)

What is the knowledge that discerns another’s thought?—the knowledge of the past life (pubbenivāsānussatiñāna),<sup>3</sup> etc.

At the end : “The original text,  
132 ślokas.”

4. Vaggo on the cultivation of knowledge. Section on the cultivation of knowledge.

(修智跋渠四) (修智納息四)

Cultivation of the eightfold knowledge—dharmajñāna— anvayajñāna—saṁvṛtijñāna—duḥkhaj.—samudayaj.—nirodhaj.—mārgaj.—kṣayaj.—anutpādaj.<sup>4</sup>—its relation with the secular knowledge, etc.

At the end : “The original text,  
930 ślokas.”

<sup>1</sup> Skt. anāsrama-samyagdṛṣṭi (Wogihara).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Mahāvyutp., § 57, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Childers, s.v. pubbo, vijjā; Dharmas., § 76.

<sup>4</sup> Mahāvyutp., § 57; Dharmas., § 93; cf. Childers, s.v. nānam.

5. Vaggo on knowledge attained by (the ariya-puggalas). Section on 7 holy persons (āryapudgala).

(相應跋渠五) (七聖納息五)

77 sorts of knowledge and all the bearings of knowledge discussed.

At the end : "The original text, 1,033 ślokas." At the end of this section it is stated : "This text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

#### BOOK IV.

A.

GANTHO IV : ACTION (KAMMA). GROUP IV : ACTION (KARMA).

(行犍度四)

(業蘊四)

1. Vaggo on wicked actions. Section on wicked actions.

(惡行跋渠一)

(惡行納息一)

All details of sinful actions (3 duccaritas: kāya-, vacī-, mano-)—their results, etc.

At the end : "The original text, 192 ślokas."

2. Vaggo on erroneous speech. Section on erroneous speech.

(邪語跋渠二)

(邪語納息二)

All details of sins by speech (micchāvācā)—their results, etc.

At the end : "The original, 245 ślokas."

3. Vaggo on injury to living beings (himsā). Section on injury to life (himsā).

(害衆生三)

(害生三)

All details of sins of killing life—their results, etc.

At the end : "The original, 309 ślokas." At the end : "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

4. Vaggo on the demonstratable and undemonstratable. Section on the visible and invisible (vijñapti-avijñapti).

(有教無教跋渠四) (表無表納息四)

All good and bad actions (kusalākusalā) relating to the past and future, etc.<sup>1</sup>

At the end : "The original, 273 ślokas."

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<sup>1</sup> Abhidharmakośa - vyākhyā, ch. i : avijñapti - vijñaptisamādhisaṁbhūtam kusalākuśalam rūpam. See Dharmas., p. 70.

5. Vaggo on actions bearing the selfsame results. Section on actions bearing the selfsame results.

(自行跋渠五) (自業納息五)

Actions bearing the like fruits, etc. Here a curious allusion to speech is given. Speech is said to be in ten forms, i.e., Buddha-vāk, -jalpa, -vyāhāra, -girā, -bhāṣya, -nirukti, -vāk-svara, -vāk-patha, action by mouth (-vāk-karman), demonstration by mouth (-vāg-vijñapti).<sup>1</sup>

At the end: "The original, 185 At the end: "This belongs to  
ślokas." the Sarvāstivāda school."

## BOOK V

A.

GANTHO V: THE FOUR GREAT  
(CATUR-MAHĀBHŪTA).

(四大犍度五)

1. Vaggo on pure organs (indriya). Section on the products of the Great (mahābhūta).

(淨根跋渠一)

(大造納息一)

The four elements—product of a combination of the four—complete and incomplete products—their causes, etc.

At the end: "The original, 392  
ślokas."

2. Vaggo on conditions (of the combination of elements). Section on conditions.

(緣跋渠二)

(緣納息二)

Conditions (pratyaya)—elements of the past—those of the future, etc.

At the end: "The original, 547  
ślokas."

3. Vaggo on the visible truth. Section on the visible.

(見諦跋渠三)

(具見納息三)

Things belonging to the rūpa-dhātu are summarily explained.

At the end: "The original, 169 At the end: "This belongs to  
ślokas." the Sarvāstivāda school."

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<sup>1</sup> I follow mostly Mr. Wogihara's restoration of these words.

4. Vaggo on internal products.      Section on the perception-elements.  
 (內 造 跋 渠 四)      (執 受 納 息 四)  
 Sensations, feelings, ideas, etc., are discussed.  
 At the end : "The original, 210  
 ślokas."

## BOOK VI.

A.

B.

- GANTHO VI: ORGANS (INDRIYA).    GROUP VI: ORGANS (INDRIYA).  
 (根 穢 度 六)      (根 蘊 六)

1. Organ (indriya)-vaggo.      Section on organs.  
 (根 跋 渠 一)      (根 納 息 一)  
 22 indriyas—eye (cakkhu), ear (sota), nose (ghāna), tongue (jivhā), body (kāya), mind (mano), the female (itthindriya), the male (puṁsa), life (jīva), happiness (sukha), suffering (dukkha), rejoicing (somanassa), sorrow (domanassa), guarding, i.e. indifferent (upekkhā), believing (saddhā), striving (viriya), recollection (sati), contemplation (samādhi), wisdom (paññā), the unknown, the known, the yet to be known (anaññātām ñassamīt'indriyam, aññindriyam, aññātāvindriyam),<sup>1</sup> etc.

At the end : "The original, 314    At the end : "This belongs to  
 ślokas."                          the Sarvāstivāda school."

2. Being (bhava)-vaggo.      Section on being.  
 (有 跋 渠 二)      (有 納 息 二)

Kāma-bhava—all forms of existence—rūpa-bhava—ārūpya-bhava, etc.

At the end : "The original, 328  
 ślokas."

3. Vaggo on touch.      Section on touch.  
 (更 樂 跋 渠 三)      (觸 納 息 三)

16 kinds of touch, etc.

At the end : "The original, 141  
 ślokas."

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<sup>1</sup> Childers, s.v. indriyam; see Mahāvyutp., § 108; the last three are: anājñātāmājñāsyāmīndriyam (19), ājñendriyam (20), ājñātāvindriyam (21).

4. Vaggo on primal mind. Section on equal mind.

(始心跋渠四) (等心納息四)

Does mind continue as it commenced?

At the end: "The original, 269  
ślokas."

5. Vaggo on mind that is primarily produced. Section on one-mind.

(始發心跋渠五) (一心納息五)

Do things thought come into existence at the commencement of the activity of mind?

At the end: "The original, 242 At the end: "This belongs to  
ślokas." the Sarvāstivāda school."

6. Fish-vaggo.<sup>1</sup> Fish-section.

(魚子跋渠六) (魚納息六)

Why are some complete in regard of 22 organs and others incomplete?

At the end: "The original, 173  
ślokas."

7. Vaggo on causes. Section on attainment (prāpti).

(緣跋渠七) (得納息七)

Are all the faculties of organs conditioned by the past?

At the end of this vaggo there is no number of ślokas given, but a note is added to the following effect: "This vaggo on causes was forgotten by the translator, Saṃghadeva, of Ka-pin (Kaśmīra), and therefore omitted. Lately another priest of Ka-pin (Kaśmīra) named T'an-mo-pi (Dhamma-piya), who knew this vaggo by heart, arrived, visited Saṃghadeva in Mi-ch'uan, and translated this

<sup>1</sup> 'Fish' is strange, and there is no allusion to fish in the chapter. Probably it is a misinterpretation of 'mātsarya' (macchariya), 'envy' or 'avarice,' one of the twenty-four minor evil passions (upaklesha); Dharmasamgraha, §§ 69, 78. However, the Mahāvibhāṣā explained this word: "It is called 'fish' because its various phases constantly in change cannot be grasped." We are still in the dark as to its original meaning.

vaggo. Thus the whole text of the Atṭha-ganthon was complete. T'an-mo-pi (Dhamma-piya) said that the Atṭha-ganthon is the 'body' (kāya) only, and there are besides six 'feet' (pāda), 1,000,000 syllables in all. T'an-mo-pi (Dhamma-piya) could recite only two of these 'feet,' and the whole could not be reproduced in translation. While saying this he deeply regretted. This note was added in the Ching-kuan monastery of Yang-chou on the 19th of the first month in the 19th year of the Chien-yuen period (A.D. 379) in the Chin Dynasty (A.D. 351-395)."<sup>1</sup>

## BOOK VII.

A.

GANTHO VII: MEDITATION  
(SAMĀDHIS).

(定健度七)

1. Vaggo on conditions of the past.

(過去得跋渠一)

All conditions of the past, etc.

At the end: "The original, 499  
ślokas."

B.

GROUP VII: MEDITATION  
(SAMĀDHIS).

(定蘊七)

Section on attainment  
(prāpti).

(得納息一)

<sup>1</sup> 八健度論第二十三卷末斯經序沙門其摩耳可人品。因緣一品故闕文焉。近有罽婆譯出是體譯九忘。謂之來。經密川僧云。八二年正月。是無十。卑健度文具也。而卑云。誦五年。足今月。可別有六足。可百萬言。卑建元十五。於楊州正宦佛圖記。

2. Vaggo on causes. Section on causes (pratyaya).  
 (緣跋渠二) (緣納息二)  
 Meditations on causes and conditions in the dhyāna heavens  
 (1-4), etc.  
 At the end: "The original, 184 At the end: "This belongs to  
 slokas." the Sarvāstivāda school."
3. Vaggo on liberation (vimutti). Section on comprehension.  
 (解脫跋渠三) (攝納息三)  
 10 forms of meditation (kasināyatana)<sup>1</sup>—8 kinds of knowledge  
 —3 forms of samādhi.  
 At the end: "The original, 573 At the end: "This belongs to  
 slokas." the Sarvāstivāda school."
4. Anāgāmī-vaggo. Section on those who do not  
 (阿那含四) (不還納息四)  
 come back (anāgāmin).  
 5 states of the anāgāmins.  
 At the end: "The original, 157  
 slokas."
5. Vaggo on those who come back once (sakadāgāmin).<sup>2</sup> Section on those who come back once.  
 (一 行跋渠五) (一 行納息五)  
 States of the sakadāgāmins—attainments of the divine eye,  
 etc.  
 At the end: "The original, 501  
 slokas."

### BOOK VIII.

- | A.   | B.                                       |
|--|--|
| GANTHO VIII: VIEWS (DITTHI).                               | GROUP VIII: VIEWS (DRŚTI).               |
| (見健度八)   | (見蘊八)                                    |
| 1. Vaggo on firm meditation (satipaṭṭhāna).                | Section on firm memory (smṛtyupasthāna). |
| (意止跋渠一)  | (念住納息一)                                  |
| (1) Meditation on the impurity of the body (kāyānupassanā) |  |

<sup>1</sup> Childers, s.v. kasino; Mahāvyutp., § 72; my Pāli Chrestomathy, p. xvii, 10.

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese words, however, mean the 'one-going,' for which see above, Bk. ii, 2, note (p. 89).

—(2) meditation on the evils of sensations (*vedanānupassanā*) —(3) meditation on the evanescence of thought (*cittānupassanā*) —(4) meditation on the conditions of existence (*dhammānupassanā*),<sup>1</sup> etc.

At the end : “The original, 315  
slokas.”

2. Vaggo on desire (kāma).              Section on three forms of being  
(tribhava).

(欲 跋 渠 二)

(三 有 納 息 二)

Conditions of the 3 states of being.

At the end : “The original, 186  
slokas.”

3. Vaggo on consciousness  
(saññā).              Section on consciousness  
(samijñā).

(想 跋 渠 三)

(想 納 息 三)

10 stages of consciousness<sup>2</sup> as to impermanence, sorrow,  
anātman, impurity, death, destruction, etc.

At the end : “The original, 104    At the end : “This belongs to  
slokas.”    the Sarvāstivāda school.”

4. Vaggo on the time of knowledge.    Section on knowledge (jñāna).

(智 時 跋 渠 四)

(智 納 息 四)

Knowledge that produces an abhorrence of this life—the  
relation of the knowledge with the aggregates (skandha), etc.

At the end : “The original, 178  
slokas.”

5. Vaggo on views.              Section on views.

(見 跋 渠 五)

(見 納 息 五)

Erroneous views (micchādiṭṭhi)—ignorant views—views  
that there is no cause—abala, aviriya, etc.

At the end : “The original, 276  
slokas.”

<sup>1</sup> Mahāvyutp., § 38, 1–4; see Childers, s.v. satipatṭhānam.

<sup>2</sup> The ten saññās are: asubha-, maraṇa-, ēhāre paṭikkūla-, sabbaloke anabhi-  
ratī-, anicca-, anicce dukkha-, dukkhe anatta-, pahāna-, virāga-, nirodha-.  
See Childers, s.v. saññā.

## 6. Gāthā-vaggo.

(偈 跋 漏 六)

Unbelieving mind—36 wicked views—passions—Brāhmans, etc.—several parables. 21 verses in all.

The 12th Gāthā runs as follows: “ Ma-sha tu-sha sang-shi-ma sa-pi-ta-la-pi-pi-li-ta : this is the end of sorrow.” Here it is added that these are the words of the T'an-mi-la (Damiла, i.e. Tamil) language, and they are explained:— ‘Ma-sha,’ do not care or hope for evils ; ‘tu-sha,’ gladly adapt to the law ; ‘sang-shi-ma,’ check or control one’s self ; ‘sa-pi-ta-la-pi-pi-li-ta,’ escape completely from or abandon the state of being.<sup>1</sup>

The Gāthā in this text is different, and goes as follows: “ Ei-ni mi-ni kiu-pu ta-ye-pu : do not care for (evils), (but) be satisfied, be subdued, escape fully from the borders of sorrow.” ‘Ei-ni,’ ‘mi-ni,’ ‘kiu-pu,’ ‘ta-ye-pu’ are said to be the words of the mu-li-sha (mleccha), and mean respectively ‘duḥkha,’ ‘samudaya,’ ‘nirodha,’ and ‘mārga,’ —the four ārya-satyas being expressed by the Buddha in the barbarian dialect.<sup>2</sup>

At the end: “The original text, 110 ślokas.”

Gāthā-section.

(伽他納息六)

At the end: “This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

<sup>1</sup> 磨舍, 呪舍, 僧賀摩, 薩披多羅毗比栗多; 此是苦邊也 (彙密羅國語).

<sup>2</sup> 醫泥, 及, 謎泥, 踏鋪, 達華葉鋪; 勿希, 應喜, 寂偏離苦邊 (懷戾車語). Mark that ‘ma-sha tu-sha sang-shi-ma sa-pi-ta-la-pi-pi-li-ta’ are said to be Damiла words, whereas ‘ei-ni mi-ni kiu-pu ta-ye-pu’ are Mleccha expressions. My friend the Rev. Monk Jones kindly took much trouble in trying to identify some of these words, which, however, are not to be recognized in modern Tamil. Mr. Wogihara ingeniously identifies the former with Sanskrit, while he considers the latter to be a Damila or Mleccha version. His restoration into Sanskrit is as follows: “ M'āśaya, tuṣya, samśāmya, sarvatra vivīḍhi (✓ vic).” This is partly confirmed by the Vibhāṣā-lūp (No. 1279), in which these words are represented as follows: “ Ma-sha, tu-sha, sang-sha-ma, sa-pa-ta pi-li-la.” A difficulty lies still in the last word ‘pi-pi-li-ta’ or ‘pi-li-la,’ both having ‘li’ (or ‘ri’) in the medial syllable. We may therefore suggest, for this original, ‘vi-vṛīḍhi’ (✓ vṛj) instead of ‘vi-vīḍhi.’ For an example of Hiuen-tsang’s translating √ vṛj by Ch. 離, see next page, note on ‘vajjian.’

The other Gāthā in No. 1279 is somewhat different, and is as follows: “ Yin-ning (duḥkha), mi-ning (samudaya), ta-pa (nirodha), ta-la-pa (mārga).” These words are there said to be Damiла.

## II. SĀNGĪTI-PARYĀYA.

BY

MAHĀ-KAUSTHILA (according to Yaśomitra and Bu-ston).

ŚĀRIPUTRA (according to the Chinese authorities).

(Skt. 7; Tib. 7; Tib.-Chin. 3; Chin. 2.)

The Sangīti-paryāya is the first of the six pāda supplements to Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna. In form it is very much like the Puggala-paññatti, the Ānguttara method of arranging materials according to their numerical order being followed in both cases. This outward arrangement was probably modelled on the Sangīti-sutta of the Dīghanikāya; hence the name Sangīti-paryāya. The contents, however, of the ones, twos, threes, etc., are usually different.

This book is ascribed by Yaśomitra to Mahā-kausthila, and so also by Bu-ston, whereas in the Chinese translation the author is put down as Śāriputra. Both Śāriputra and Mahā-kausthila are personal disciples of the Buddha. Whether it belongs to either of these disciples or not, it appears to be one of the old works in existence. Among the seven Abhidharma works it is posterior to none but the Dharma-skandha, which is frequently quoted in it, and must therefore be anterior to it. The quasi-historical section of this work tells us that Śāriputra, personally advised and inspired by the Buddha, thought it best to collect the more important Dharmas taught by the Master, because the Dharmas held by the Vajjian<sup>1</sup> Bhiksus of Pāvā were not the true ones. He convened, it goes on, his friends, and rehearsed (saṅgīta) the laws according as they had been taught by the Master. This, he thought, would prevent any dissension in the future when there was no Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> 'Vajjiputtiya' in Pāli is here given as 離繫親子, lit. 'Fathers-and-sons-free-from-bondage.' Hiuen-tsang is thus translating the name, deriving it from *vaj* (Skt. *vṛṣṭi*). Mr. Wogihara, however, says that this name is a translation of 'Nirgrantha-jñātiputra.' If so, it may have nothing to do with 'vajjiputtiyas,' and note 3, p. 100, is subject to question.

This story is repeated in a short form at the beginning of every chapter; and at the end of the whole work the Buddha praises Śāriputra with the word “Sādhu!” and is represented to have said that the Ekottara-dharmaparyāyas (Aṅguttara-dhammapariyāyas)<sup>1</sup> thus rehearsed and collected at the convocation of Bhiksus should be preached often by him (Śāriputra) before the public. The Buddha further turns to the Saṅgha and advises the Bhiksus to learn and recite the Saṅgīti-paryāya<sup>2</sup> propounded by Śāriputra.

The work was probably compiled by a Mahā-kauṣṭhila at a time after the council of Vaisāli<sup>3</sup> which was held chiefly for suppressing the ten theses of the Vajjian Bhiksus, and later on it might have come to be ascribed to Śāriputra because he is the hero of the narrative throughout the work.

A-p'i-ta-mo Chi-i-mén-tsü-lun.<sup>4</sup>

(Abhidharma Collecting-various-subjects-foot-treatise.)

Abhidharma Saṅgīti-paryāya-pāda(-śāstra).

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1276.

Amount: 12 sections (varga); 20 fasciculi (chüan); 326 pages (ye).

Author: Sha-li-tsü (Śāriputra).

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 660–663.

#### CONTENTS OF THE SAṄGĪTIPARYĀYA.

##### 1. Section on the Origin (nidāna) (緣起品一).

Introductory remarks about the circumstances which led the author to a collection of the laws—dissension of the Bhiksus of Pāva, etc. Śāriputra says, at the beginning

<sup>1</sup> 增一法門, the ‘Dharmaparyāyas-increasing-by-one (Ekottara).’

<sup>2</sup> 集異法門. This is the title of the work; see below.

<sup>3</sup> It may be soon after the council or may be centuries after it. At any rate, it is certain that it must be after the council just referred to, i.e. 100 years A.B., because it refers to the dissension of the Vajjian Bhiksus, and moreover it must be later than the Saṅgīti-sutta of the Dīghanikāya or the Aṅguttara-nikāya, on which the book seems to have been modelled, or it may belong to the period in which the Aṅguttara form of compilation was prevalent.

‘阿毗達磨集異門足論·舍利子造·玄奘譯·

of every section, to the following effect: "Let us now unite ourselves and collect the Dharma-vinaya, while our Master is still in the world, in order that there may be no dissension as to the teaching after the Buddha's death, and that the Brethren may live strictly in accordance with the Brahmacarya, and the Dharma-vinaya themselves may be handed down to a remote future, to the benefit of the people."

2. Section on Eka-dharmas (一法品二).

All beings living on food,<sup>1</sup> etc.

3. Section on Dvi-dharmas (二法品三).

Mind and matter (*nāma-rūpa*) ; means for entering meditation and coming out of meditation, etc.

At the end of chūan 2 it is stated : "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

4. Section on Tri-dharmas (三法品四).

3 *akuśalamūlas* (*lobha, dveṣa, moha*) ; 3 *kuśalamūlas* ; 3 good and bad *vitarkas* ; 3 *duścaritas* (*kāya, vāk, manas*) ; 3 *dhātus* ; 3 *pudgalas* ; 3 *sthaviras* (elders in age, in the world, in the law) ; 3 *rāśis* ; 3 *āpattivyutthānas* (ways of finding fault with others, by seeing, hearing, or suspecting) ; 3 *vedanās* ; 3 *vidyās*, and 25 more *threes*.

The Dharma-skandha (*Fa-yun-lun*) is quoted in chūan 3 ; at the end of chūan 3, 4, 5 it is stated : "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

5. Section on Catur-dharmas (四法品五).

4 *āryasatyas* ; 4 *śrāmanyaphalas* ; 4 *pudgalas* ; 4 speeches ; 4 *samyakprahāṇas* ; 4 *apramāṇas* ; 4 *smṛtyupasthānas*, and 14 more *fours*.

The Dharma-skandha (*Fa-yun-lun*) is quoted in chūan 7 ; at the end of chūan 6-10 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

<sup>1</sup> 一 切 有 情 依 食 而 住. 'All beings live on food' put under 'Eka-dharma' may, to some, seem strange, but an instance of this is found in the Sāmañera-pañham of the Khuddaka-nikāya, where under the question "Eka nāma kim?" the answer is given as "Sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhitikā." See my "Pāli Chrestomathy," p. 243, and the authorities cited in the note, p. xv.

## 6. Section on Pañca-dharmas (五法品六).

5 skandhas ; 5 upādānakandhas ; 5 sorts of attachment (to nativity, home, love, luxury, religion) ; 5 balas ; 5 indriyas ; 5 śuddhāvāsadevas ; 5 gatis ; 5 nivaranas, and 16 more *fives*.

At the end of chūan 11–14 : “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

## 7. Section on Ṣaḍ-dharmas (六法品七).

6 vijñānakāyas ; 6 sparśakāyas ; 6 samjñākāyas ; 6 vedanākāyas ; 6 dhātus ; 6 abhijñās ; 6 auṇḍaryadharmas, and 13 more *sixes*.

The Dharma-skandha (*Fa-yun-lun*) is quoted in chūan 15 ; at the end of chūan 15 : “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

## 8. Section on Saptā-dharmas (七法品八).

7 sambodhyāṅgas ; 7 pudgalas ; 7 anuśayas ; 7 dhanas ; 7 adhikaraṇaśamathadharmas, and 8 other *sevens*.

At the end of chūan 16, 17 : “This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

## 9. Section on Aṣṭā-dharmas (八法品九).

8 ārya-mārgas ; 8 pudgalas ; 8 dānas ; 8 vimuktis ; 8 abhibhvāyatanas ; 8 lokadharmas, and 4 more *eights*.

The Dharma-skandha (*Fa-yun-lun*) is quoted in chūan 18 ; at the end of chūan 18 : “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

## 10. Section of Nava-dharmas (九法品十).

9 abodes of beings (sattvāvasas) ; 9 samyojanas.

## 11. Section on Daśā-dharmas (十法品十一).

10 kṛtsnāyatanas (Pāli, kasināyatana, objects of mystic meditation)<sup>1</sup> ; 10 aśaikṣa-dharmas.

At the end of chūan 19 : “This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

<sup>1</sup> See my “Pāli Chrestomathy,” p. xvii, § 10.

## 12. Section on Admonition.

On the completion of the Saṅgīti collection the Buddha praises Śāriputra, and says: "Well done! Well done! Thou hast now come together with the Saṅgha of Pi-shus (Bhikṣus), and rehearsed - and - collected the 'Ekottara-dharmaparyāya' (增一法門) taught by the Ju-lai (Tathāgata). Thou shouldst, from this time onward, repeatedly propound this to the public." Then the Buddha turns to the Saṅgha of Pi-shu (Bhikṣus) and says: "Ye all should learn, hold, and recite the 'Saṅgīti-paryāya' (集異法門) propounded by Śāriputra."

At the end of chūan 20 it is said: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

## III. PRAKARANA-PĀDA.

By STHAVIRA VASUMITRA.

(Skt. 2 ; Tib. 6 ; Tib.-Chin. 6 ; Chin. 3.)

This is the second of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins according to the Chinese authorities. There exist in Chinese two translations of it which seem to have been made from one and the same recension of the text. Hiuen-tsang tells us that this work was composed by Vasumitra in a monastery at Puṣkaravatī (Peukelautis).<sup>1</sup> This shows that the book, or at any rate the name of it, was well-known among the Buddhist scholars at the Chinese traveller's time. The name must have been originally the "Abhidharma-prakarana," and when it assumed a position among the supplementary treatises as a pāda work, it might have come to be called the "Prakarana-pāda." 'Prakarana' is understood by the Chinese authorities to mean 'classification' as seen from the titles in Chinese.

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<sup>1</sup> See Watters, "Hiuen-tsang," vol. i, p. 214.

A.	B.
<i>Chung-shih-fén a-p'i-t'an-lun.<sup>1</sup></i> (Various-categories-division Abhidharma-treatise.)	<i>A-p'i-ta-mo p'in-lei-tsu-lun.<sup>2</sup></i> (Abhidharma Classification-foot- treatise.)
Abhidharma-śāstra ‘prakarana.’	Abhidharma-prakarana-pāda (-śāstra).
Nanjio's Cat., No. 1292.	Nanjio's Cat., No. 1277.
Amount :	Amount :
8 sections (p'in); 12 fasciculi (chüan); 229 pages (ye).	8 sections (p'in); 18 fasciculi (chüan); 294 pages (ye).
Author :	Author :
The venerable <i>Shi-yu</i> (Vasu- mitra), 300 years after the Buddha's death (according to the Tib.-Chin. Cat.).	The venerable <i>Shi-yu</i> (Vasu- mitra).
Translators :	Translator :
Chiu-na-p'o-to-lo (Gunabhadra) and Pu-ti-ye-shê (Bodhiyaśas), from C. India, A.D. 435-443.	Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 659.

## CONTENTS OF THE PRAKARANAPĀDA.

A.	B.
1. Distinction of 5 dharmas. (分別五法品) <sup>3</sup>	Distinction of 5 subjects. (辨五事品)
Rūpa (色); citta (心); caittadharma (心所法); citta-viprayukta-samskāra (心不相應行); asaṁskṛtadharma (無爲法): these are the 5 subjects treated of in the chapter. (Dharmasamgraha, p. 69.)	
At the beginning of the text A there is a note in which it is	

<sup>1</sup>衆事分阿毗曇論，尊者世友造，宋三藏求那跋陀羅共菩提耶舍譯。

<sup>2</sup>阿毗達磨品類足論，尊者世友造，唐三藏法師玄奘譯。

<sup>3</sup> This title is not given in the text, but this is what it ought to be, judging from the analogy of the other titles. The original was probably something like ‘Pañcadharma-nirdeśa.’

said that this book was translated by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas from an Indian text, and was dedicated to the Saṃgha.<sup>1</sup>

2. Distinction of knowledge.      Distinction of various knowledge.

(分 別 智 品)

(辨 諸 智 品)

10 kinds of knowledge: dharmajñāna (法智); anvaya-jñāna (類智); paracittajñāna (他心智); saṃvṛtijñāna (世俗智); duḥkhajñāna (苦智); samudaya- (集智); nirodha- (滅智); mārga- (道智); kṣaya- (盡智); anutpāda- (無生智). (Mahāvyutpatti, § 57.)

At the end of chūan 1 it is said:  
“It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

3. Distinction of āyatana.

Distinction of āyatana.

(分 別 諸 入 品)

(辨 諸 處 品)

12 organs and objects of sense (āyatana): caksus (眼); śrotra (耳); ghrāṇa (鼻); jihvā (舌); kāya (身); manas (意); rūpa (色); gandha (香); śabda (聲); rasa (味); sprāṣṭavya (觸); dharmāyatana (法處). (Mahāvyutpatti, 106 (102); Puggalapaññatti, 1.)

4. Distinction of 7 categories.

Distinction of 7 categories.

(分 別 七 事 品)

(辨 七 事 品)

The following are explained: 18 dhātus (Mahāvyut., 107); 12 āyatanas (see last); 5 skandhas (Mahāvyut., 100); 10 mahābhūmikadharmas, 10 kuśalamahābhūmikas, 10 kleśamahābhūmikas, 10 upakleśabhūmikas (Abhidh. kośa, 1; Dharmasamgraha, p. 69); beside 6 dhātus, 5 sparśas,

<sup>1</sup> 我釋迦比丘，求那跋陀羅，於此衆事分，真定胡文本，請釋迦比丘師菩提耶舍，於彼胡文典，專精宋辭譯，執筆錄心受，一一從書義，句未粗已定，謹呈舊學僧。The Hu text (胡文) in this case may be an Indian text, or a text in the Hu language of Central Asia.

5 kleśas, 5 dr̥ṣṭis, 5 indriyas, 5 dharmas, 6 vijñānakāyas, 6 sparsakāyas, 6 vedanākāyas, 6 saṃjñākāyas, 6 cetanākāyas, 6 tṛṣṇākāyas, and 5 upādānaskandhas.

At the end of chüan 2 it is stated: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

5. Distinction of minor passions. Distinction of minor passions.

(分 別 諸 使 品) (辨 隨 眠 品)

98 anuśayas: 36 of the kāmadhātu, 31 of the rūpadhātu, and 31 of the ārūpyadhātu.

At the end of chüan 3: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

6. Distinction of the things that can be comprehended. Exposition of the things that can be inferred, and the like (?).

(分 別 攝 品) (辨 攝 等 品)

Things to be known (jñeya-dharma) (爾 知 法); anāsrava-dharmas (無 漏 法); things to be inferred (所 識 法, 所 通 達 法), etc.

At the end of chüan 5–9: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

7. Discussion on one thousand questions. Distinction of one thousand questions.

(千 問 論 品) (辨 千 問 品)

Various questions about śikṣāpadas, śrāmaṇyaphalas, āryavāṁśas, samyakprahāṇas, ṛddhipādas, smṛtyupasthānas, āryasatyas, dhyāṇas, apramāṇas, bodhyaṅgas, indriyas, āyatanas, skandhas, dhātus, etc.

At the end of chüan 10–17: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

8. Résumé.

(攝 擇 品)

Remarks on several points already discussed.

Conclusion.

(辨 決 擇 品)

At the end of chüan 18: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

## IV. VIJÑĀNA-KĀYA.

BY STHAVIRA DEVAŚARMĀ.

(Skt. 3 ; Tib. 4 ; Tib.-Chin. 4 ; Chin. 4.)

This work is the third of the six pāda treatises of the Sarvāstivāda school, according to the Chinese authorities. The title means, I think, the “body or group of (subjects connected with) consciousness,” though the term ‘vijñānakāya’ in its technical sense seems to be used somewhat differently.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese authorities, especially the Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue, assigns an early date, i.e. 100 years after the Buddha’s death, to the author Devaśarmā. There is, however, nothing in this work to indicate that it can claim a higher antiquity than the date of Kātyāyanīputra’s Jñānaprasthāna, which is assigned by the same authorities to 300 years after the Buddha’s death. Hiuen-tsang tells us that this work was compiled by Devaśarmā in P’i-sho-ka (Viśoka), near Śrāvasti.<sup>2</sup>

A-p‘i-ta-mo *shih-shén-tsū-lun*.<sup>3</sup>

(Abhidharma knowledge-body-foot-treatise.)

Abhidharma-vijñāna-kāya-pāda(-śāstra).

Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1281.

Amount : 6 books (skandhas); 16 fasciculi (chüan); 310 pages (ye).

Author : Ti-p‘o-shē-mo A-lo-han (Devaśarmā Arhat), 100 years  
after the Buddha’s death (according to the Tib.-Chin. Cat.).

Translator : Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 649.

## CONTENTS OF THE VIJÑĀNAKĀYA.

Group 1 : Mu-ch‘ien-lien (Maudgalyāyana) (目乾連蘊一).

Maudgalyāyana’s opinion about pudgalas, indriyas, cittas,  
kleśas, vijñānas, bodhyangas, etc.At the end of chüan 1 it is stated : “It belongs to the  
Sarvāstivāda school.”<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 106, l. 1; p. 108, ll. 2, 7, 17.<sup>2</sup> Watters, “Yuan-Chwang,” vol. i, p. 373.<sup>3</sup> 阿毗達磨識心足論, 提婆設摩阿羅漢造,  
玄奘譯.

Group 2 : Pu-tu-chie-lo (Pudgala) (補特伽羅蘊二).

8 pudgalas, 6 vijñānakāyas, 4 smṛtyupasthānas, etc.; relation of the theory of pudgala to the theory of śūnyatā.

At the end of chüan 2 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Group 3 : Hetupratyaya<sup>1</sup> (因緣蘊三).

10 forms of thought; 15 forms of thought; vijñānakāyas of the past, etc.

At the end of chüan 4 and 5 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Group 4 : Ālambanapratyaya<sup>2</sup> (所緣緣四).

12 forms of thought; 15 forms of thought; goodness, badness, etc., of the past, etc.

At the end of chüan 7-10 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Group 5 : Miscellaneous (雜蘊五).

6 vijñānakāyas; 2 forms of thought to be got rid of by adjusting one's views and by adjusting one's practice; 18 dhātus, etc.

Group 6 : Completion<sup>3</sup> (samanvāgama) (成就蘊六).

Śaikṣa, aśaikṣa; completion and incompletion of thought, etc.

## V. DHĀTU-KĀYA.

BY

PŪRNĀ (according to Yaśomittra and Bu-ston).

VĀSUMITRA (according to the Chinese authorities),  
300 years after the Buddha's death (accord. to the Tib.-Chin. Catal.).

(Skt. 6; Tib. 3; Tib.-Chin. 5; Chin. 5.)

This is the fourth of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins. The original, probably Sanskrit, text seems to have existed in two or three versions. The larger text was, according to K'uei-chi, a disciple of Hiuen-tsang, of 6,000 ślokas in

<sup>1</sup> Mahāvyutp., 114.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāvyutp., 115.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'consequence.'

length, whereas the other, middle and smaller ones, were of 900 and 500 ślokas respectively. The text which was translated by Hiuen-tsang was of 830 ślokas and was apparently the middle one.<sup>1</sup>

It treats of all mental faculties which this school assumes as separate elements called 'dhātu.'

Though Yaśomitra gives the title in his *Abhidharmaśāvyākhyā* as "Dhātukāya," I think it ought to be, as it is in the Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue, i.e. list iii above, "Ta-tucha-ya-fa-ta (Dhātu-kāya-pāda)," and then it would mean "The pāda treatise on the kāya (body or group) of Dhātus." Compare the title, *Vijñānakāya*, given above.<sup>2</sup>

*Chieh-shén-tsū-lun.<sup>3</sup>*

(Element-body-foot-treatise.)

'Dhātu-kāya-pāda' (-śāstra).

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1282.

Amount: 2 khaṇḍas; 16 sections; 2 fasciculi (chūan); 43 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable *Shi-yu* (Vasumitra); 300 years after the Nirvāṇa (according to the Tib.-Chinese Catalogue).

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 663. According to a colophon written by K'uei-chi, a pupil of Hiuen-tsang, this translation was finished on the 4th day of the 6th moon, in the 3rd year of the Lung-tse period (663).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> The shorter Tibetan glossary gives 'dhātukāya' along with 'prajñaptisāstra,' see Minayeff, "Buddhism," vol. i, app. ii, § 43 (p. 128).

<sup>3</sup> 界身足論, 尊者世友造, 玄奘譯.

<sup>4</sup> 釋(窺)基後序. 界身足論者, 說一切有部發智六足之一足也, 親教三藏法師玄奘, 遂以龍朔三年六月四日, 於玉華宮八桂亭終譯此論, 原其大本頌有六千, 後以文繁或致刪略爲九百頌五百頌者, 今此所翻有八百十頌... 尊者世友之作也... 瞽法舟之渝喪故敘其時事云.

## CONTENTS OF THE DHĀTUKĀYA.

KHAṄDA I: Chief subjects (本事品一).

- a. 10 mahābhūmikadharmas (十大地法): vedanā (受), samjñā (想), cetanā (思), sparśa (觸), manaskāra (作意), chanda (欲), adhimokṣa (勝解), smṛti (念), samādhi (三摩地), mati (慧).<sup>1</sup>
- b. 10 kleśa-mahābhūmikadharmas (十地煩惱法): avidyā (無明), pramāda (放逸), kausidya (懈怠), āśraddhya (不信), muśitasmṛti (失念), viksepa (心亂), asamprajanya (不正知), ayoniśomanaskāra (非理作意), mithyādhimokṣa (邪勝解), auddhatya (掉舉).<sup>2</sup>
- c. 10 upakleśa-bhūmikas (小煩惱地法): krodha (忿), mrakṣa (覆), mātsarya (慳), īrṣyā (嫉), pradāsa (惱), vihimsā (害), upanāha (恨), māyā (詭), sāṭhya (譖), mada (憍).<sup>3</sup>
- d. 5 moral defilements (五煩惱): kāmalobha (欲貪), rūpalobha (色貪), ārūpyalobha (无色貪), dveṣa (瞋), vicikitsā (疑).
- e. 5 views (drṣṭi) (五見): satkāya (有身), antagrāha (過取), mithyā (邪見), drṣtiparāmarśa (見取), sīlavrataparāmarśa (戒禁取).<sup>4</sup>
- f. 5 dharmas (五法): vitarka (尋), vicāra (伺), vijñāna (識), āhrikyā (無慚), anapatrāpya (無愧).

Then follow 5 sparśas (五觸), 5 indriyas (五根), and a series of ideas, sensations, etc., all resulting from the 6 organs of sense, i.e., 6 vijñānakāyas (groups of knowledge) (六識身), 6 sparśakāyas (六觸身), 6 vedanākāyas (六受身), 6 samjñākāyas (六想身), 6 cetanākāyas (六思身).

<sup>1</sup> See Mahāvyutp., 104; Triglotte, 68; Dharmasamgraha, p. 69. Cf. Puggalapaññatti, ii, 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mahāvyutp., 104.

<sup>3</sup> See last note.

<sup>4</sup> See Dharmasamgraha, 68.

## KHĀNDĀ II : Minor Divisions (分別品二).

Mutual relations of 88 categories minutely discussed under 16 sections, beginning with 5 vedanās, 6 vijñānas, and 2 akuśalabhūmis (āhrikyā, anapatrāpya), these three forming a separate class.

Colophon by K'uei-chi (died A.D. 682), pupil of Hiuen-tsang: "The Dhātu-kāya is one of the six pādas on the Jñānaprasthāna, which belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school. My personal master, Hiuen-tsang, finished a Chinese translation of this text on the 4th day of the 6th moon in the 3rd year of the Lung-tse period of the Augustan T'ang dynasty, while staying at the Yu-hua palace. The larger text of this treatise consisted of 6,000 ślokas. Afterwards, as it was found too complicated, it was abridged by a scholar in two forms, one in 900 ślokas, the other in 500 ślokas. The present translation consists of 830 ślokas (and is the middle one).

"The original text was composed by the venerable *Shi-yu* (Vasumitra), etc., etc., etc. As I observe that the boat of the law is sinking fast, I record the facts concerning the translation as I witnessed (lest they should be lost altogether)." <sup>1</sup>

## VI. DHARMA-SKANDHA.

BY

ĀRYA ŚĀRIPUTRA (according to Yaśomitra and Bu-ston).

MAHĀMAUDGALYĀYANA (according to the Chinese authorities).

(Skt. 4; Tib. 1; Tib.-Chin. 2; Chin. 6.)

This work is the fifth of the six pādas of the Sarvāstivāda school. Though it is now placed among the supplementary pādas it is not inferior in its matter and form to the principal work of this school, i.e. the Jñānaprasthāna. Perhaps it does not go so much into details of metaphysical questions as the latter does, but it treats of all important points of the fundamental principles of this school, and the importance of this work seems to have been recognized by

<sup>1</sup> For the Chinese text, see above, p. 109, note 4.

the writers of the other pādas—for instance, the author of the Saṅgītiparyāya, who often quotes it. As to the authorship of this work, we have no means of ascertaining whether either, and if so, which of the two, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, was the actual writer.

The Tibetan Dharmaskandha in the Kandjur Mdo, xx (fols. 39–46), hitherto supposed to be a version of our text, proved on comparison to be a quite different book.<sup>1</sup>

A-p'i-ta-mo *Fa yün-tsü-lun*.<sup>2</sup>

(Abhidharma Law-aggregate-foot-treatise.)

Abhidharma Dharma-skandha-pāda(-śāstra).

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1296.

Amount: 21 chapters (varga); 10 fasciculi (chüan); 232 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable *Ta-mu-ch'ien lien* (Ārya Mahā-maudgalyāyana).

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 659.

#### CONTENTS OF THE DHARMASKANDHA.

Section 1: Śikṣāpadas (學處品一).

Five precepts (*sīla*), etc.

Section 2: Srotaāpattyanga (預流支品二).

Srotaāpannas, their attainment, etc.

At the end of chüan 1 it is stated: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

Section 3: Attainment of purity (avetyaprasāda) (證淨品三).

4 sorts of purity: As to Buddha, Dharma, Samgha, and *sīla*; stage of an ārya-pudgala, etc.

Section 4: Result of Śramaṇaship (沙門果品四).

4 stages of Śrāmanyaphala: Srotaāpatti-phala, Sakṛdāgāmi-phala, Anāgāmi-phala, Arhattva-phala.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 77, note, towards the end.

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗達磨法蘊足論, 尊者大目乾連造,  
玄奘譯.

Section 5 : Mental experience (abhijñāpratipad) (通行品五).

Regulation of feeling in face of suffering and joy, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Section 6 : Noble race (聖種品六).

4 ārya-vamśas, i.e. 4 classes of the Buddha's disciples, etc.

At the end of chüan 2 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 7 : Right victory (正勝品七).

4 forms of victory : suppression of bad that has been produced ; prevention of bad that may come in the future ; development of good that has been produced ; cultivation of good for the future.

Section 8 : Constituents of magic power (神足品八).

4 modes of obtaining Rddhipāda : meditation (samādhi) ; energy (vīrya) ; memory (smṛti) ; suppression of desire (achanda).<sup>2</sup>

At the end of chüan 3 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 9 : Smṛtyupsthānas (念住品九).

4 modes of the earnest meditation : on the (impurity of the) body (kāyānupaśyanā) ; on the (evils of the) sensations (vedanānupaśyanā) ; on the (evanescence of) thought (cittānupaśyanā) ; on the conditions (of existence) (dharmānu-paśyanā).<sup>3</sup>

At the end of chüan 4 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 10 : Ārya-satyas (聖諦品十).

A short account is given of the preaching of the 4 noble truths by the Buddha at Benares, and the truths are explained.

<sup>1</sup> These probably represent the four pratipads of Mahāvyutp., § 58 : "Duḥkhā pratipad dhandhābhijñā, sukhā pratipad dhandhābhijñā, duḥkhā pratipat kṣiprābhijñā, sukhā pratipat kṣiprābhijñā."

<sup>2</sup> But see Sanskrit and Pāli ; Mahāvyutp., § 40 ; Childers, p. 157. Also Dharmas., § 46, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pāli kāyānupassanā, etc. ; see above, analysis of the Jñānaprasthāna, Bk. viii, vaggo 1. Mr. Wogihara tells me that the form 'anupaśyanā' occurs in the Yogācārya bodhisattva bhūmi as well.

Section 11 : Meditation (dhyāna) (靜慮品十一).

Forms and processes of meditations are given.

At the end of chūan 5 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 12 : The immeasurable (apramāṇa) (無量品十二).

4 apramāṇas explained.

At the end of chūan 6 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 13 : The formless (arūpa) (無色品十三).

4 stages of the arūpya-dhātu.

Section 14 : Bhāvanā-samādhi (修定品十四).

Meditation for cultivating the reasoning faculty (bhāvanā-samādhi) is detailed.

Section 15 : Branches of knowledge (Bodhyanga) (覺支品十五).

7 bodhyāngas explained.

At the end of chūan 7 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 16 : Miscellaneous matters<sup>1</sup> (雜事品十六).

Other mental faculties, passions, etc.

At the end of chūan 8 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 17 : Indriyas (根品十七).

22 indriyas (see above, p. 93).

Section 18 : Āyatanas (處品十八).

12 āyatanas (organs and objects of sense).<sup>2</sup>

Section 19 : Skandhas (蘊品十九).

5 skandhas.

Section 20 : Various principles (Nānādhātu) (多界品二十).

6 principles ; 18 principles (dhātu) ; 62 principles in all.

At the end of chūan 9 : "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

<sup>1</sup> This is "Kṣudravastuka," and is quoted in Yaśomitra's Kośavyākhyā (Wogihara).

<sup>2</sup> See the analysis of the Prakaraṇapāda, 3 (p. 105).

## Section 21: Pratītyasamutpādās (緣起品二十一).

12 pratītyasamutpādās explained.

At the end of chüan 10: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Colophon by Ching-mai (A.D. 664) is to the following effect: "The Fa-yün-tsü (Dharmaskandha) is the most important of the Abhidharma works, and the fountain-head of the Sarvāstivāda system. It is a work of Mo-ho Mu-ch'ien-lien (Mahā-maudgalyāyana). The Sarvāstivāda school, which is superior to all other schools, is in possession of a rich literature, such as the Jñānaprasthāna (發智) in the eight Ganthos, the Mahāvibhāṣā (廣說) by 500 Arhats, the Nyāyānusāra (順正理) that repels one's doubts, and the Samayapradipikā (顯真宗) that corrects one's error. Hiuen-tsang, master of the Tripitaka, translated the Dharmaskandha on the 14th day of the 9th moon in the 4th year of the Hien-ching period of the August T'ang dynasty (A.D. 659), in the Kung-fa Garden of the Monastery Ta-tsü-an-ssu in Chang-an, Shi kuang (Fu-kuang, see p. 79, note 2, above) taking note, Ching-mai putting it into literary form, and Chi-tung making a final revision."<sup>1</sup>

唐靖邁後序。法蘊足論者，蓋阿毘達磨之權輿，一切有部之洪源也，無上等覺入室之神足，摩訶目乾連之所製矣。惟一切有部卓乎迥秀，若妙高之處宏海，猶朗月之冠衆星者，不本弘基永者歟。至如八種犍度，駕徽於發智之塲，五百應真，馳譽於廣說之苑，斯皆挹此清波，分斯片玉，遂得駕群部而高蹈……矧乎順正理以折疑，顯真宗以見惑，故使耆德婆藪屈我衆賢，上座幽宗顯負弘致也……三藏玄奘法師以皇唐顯慶四年九月十四日，奉詔於大慈恩寺弘法苑譯訖大慈恩寺沙門釋光筆受，靖邁飾文，同州澄城縣，鉗耳智通勘定。

## VII. PRAJÑAPTI-ŚĀSTRA.

By ĀRYA MAUDGALYĀYANA (according to Yośomitra and Bu-ston).

The author's name lost (according to Tib.-Chin. Catalogue).

This work is the sixth of the six pādas of the Sarvāstivāda school, according to the Chinese authorities. The text preserved among the Chinese books is of doubtful character. First of all, it was not translated until the eleventh century (A.D. 1004–1058), and the name of its author is said to have been lost.<sup>1</sup> In its contents the first section, called the “Loka-prajñapti,” is missing, though the title is given there as seen from the analysis below. In a note it is stated that the first section, “Loka-prajñapti,” exists in the commentary, but the text does not exist in the original (按 釋 論 有 此 門 梵 本 元 闕). However, no such commentary seems to exist in the Chinese collection, so far as I am aware, and nothing can be ascertained as to the real state of the text.<sup>2</sup> There is no indication that this work belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school, as in the cases of the other pādas. Notwithstanding this, we have to regard this work at present as the authentic pāda of this school, since there is no other alternative that can be suggested.

*Shi-shē-lun.*<sup>3</sup>

(Establishment or arrangement-treatise.)

Prajñapti-śāstra.

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1317.

Amount: 14 sections (mēn); 7 fasciculi (chüan); 55 pages (ye).

Author: No author's name is given.

Translators: Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa or Dharmapāla), priest from Magadha (who came to China A.D. 1004), and others, A.D. 1004–1058.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Nanjo, in his Catalogue, No. 1317, gives the author's name ‘Maudgalyāyana.’ The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue does not give any, and says that the name is lost (失 造 人 名). The India Office copy also does not give any name. So probably Yośomitra is the authority of Nanjo's statement.

<sup>2</sup> Wassilief seems to have sometimes taken the Amṛta-śāstra (No. 1278) as the same as the Prajñapti-śāstra, but there is no sufficient ground for this supposition. An analysis of the Amṛta-śāstra is given below.

<sup>3</sup> 施設論, 宋西天三藏法護等譯. This book is usually quoted in the works peculiar to this school as 施設足論 (Prajñapti-pāda).

## CONTENTS OF THE PRAJÑAPTIŚĀSTRA.

1. Instruction about the world (Loka-prajñapti) belonging to the Abhidharma - mahāśāstra (對法大論世間施設門一).<sup>1</sup>

This section Loka-prajñapti is practically missing; no word is given there except a note to the following effect: "In the commentary this section exists, but the text is wanting in the original (接釋論有此門梵本元闕)." We know nothing of the commentary referred to.<sup>2</sup>

2. Instruction about Causes (Kārana-prajñapti) (因施設門二).

Out of the 7 ratnas of a Cakravartī king, strī, gṛhapatī, and pariṇāyaka are spoken of.

3. The same.

The other ratnas: cakra, hastin, aśva, manī; longevity of the king; 32 signs; 1,000 sons, etc.

4. The same.

The Bodhisattva's birth in the Tuṣita heaven; conception and birth on earth; Ānanda, etc.

5. The same.

The Bodhisattva is the highest of all beings; Nirvāṇa, etc.

6. The same.

32 signs of Buddha and Cakravartī king; other superior qualities of the Bodhisattva, etc.

7. The same.

The Buddha's teaching of 3 moral defilements, rāga, dvesa, moha; the extremity of these three, etc.

8. The same.

Trṣṇa (love), a great cause of life; difference of human body in life and death, etc.

<sup>1</sup> The name "Abhidharma-mahāśāstra" is a very curious title to be used for a supplementary pāda.

<sup>2</sup> The "Loka-prajñapti" must have been a section which treats of the world-system, positions of the mountain Sumeru and the great ocean, motions of the sun and the moon, etc., etc. There is a Chinese text which contains these subjects, i.e. No. 1297, "Li-shi a-p'i-t'an-lun," which Nanjo restores to "Loka-sthiti (?)-abhidharma-sāstra," but it is more probably "Loka-prajñapti abhidharma-sāstra," and the first section of our book must have been something like the text in question. An analysis of No. 1297 is given below.

9. The same.

Drowsiness, arrogance, wickedness, talkativeness, insufficiency in speech, inability in meditation ; their causes, etc.

10. The same.

Sumeru, the highest mountain ; different heights of mountains, etc.

11. The same.

Difference of mental faculties between the Buddha and his disciples, etc.

12. The same.

The ocean, etc.

13. The same.

Various qualities of living beings, etc.

14. The same.

8 causes of rain ; cause of a rainy season, etc.<sup>1</sup>

## 5. SOME IMPORTANT PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE SARVĀSTIVĀDA SCHOOL.

The seven Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādins do not represent one and the same period of Buddhist philosophy, nor do they agree with one another as regards the expositions of categories and nomenclatures in which all these books abound. They must have come into existence one after another in the course of several centuries before they began to be recognized as a body of literature. It will, however, be extremely hazardous, at the present state of our knowledge, to try to fix a date for any of these works. Even an arrangement according to the order of priority will be very difficult. But so much seems to be certain, that neither the Chinese, nor the Tibetan, nor even the Sanskrit order of these books is chronological.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For some particulars of this text, see above, p. 77, note.

<sup>2</sup> Dharmaskandha, Saṅgītiparyāya, and Jñānaprasthāna are perhaps anterior to the rest. Vasumitra's works may be the latest, but this Vasumitra seems to be different from the one who is said to be the head of the 500 Arhats who compiled the Mahāvibhāṣā. The Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue says that the Mahāvibhāṣā was compiled 400 years A.D., while it assigns 300 years A.D. to the Vasumitra who is the author of Prakarana-pāda and Dhātu-kāya.

Their division into one principal and six supplementary books,<sup>1</sup> for which we have the evidence of Dhammapiya,<sup>2</sup> A.D. 379, as the earliest, seems to be of comparatively late origin, and was probably adopted after the compilation of the Mahāvibhāṣā, which represents the climax of the Sarvāstivāda philosophy.

All the important principles contained in the seven Abhidharmas, nice points of metaphysical argument, and the heterogeneous elements of Buddhist tradition were reviewed, explained, and absorbed in the Mahāvibhāṣā of Kaśmīra. This in all probability happened *after* King Kaniṣka's time (c. 125 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Originally the Sarvāstivādin scholars seem to have formed themselves into two great groups, Kaśmīrian and Gandhārian, as they are often mentioned in the vibhāṣā, but after the compilation of the great commentary they have either united themselves or the one has been eclipsed by the other, for we hear only the name 'Kaśmīra-vaibhāṣikas' or simply 'Vaibhāṣikas.' This body of philosophers acknowledged, true to their old theory, the existence of all things (sarvāstitvavāda), the direct perception of external objects (vāhyārtha-pratyakṣatvavāda), and the like.

The Vaibhāṣika philosophy seems to have enjoyed some, probably three, centuries of peace, safely deposited in its Kaśmīrian home and maintained in its purity by the adherents of the school. Paramārtha tells us a legend according to which the system was also propagated in Mid-India by a man named Vasubhadra, who studied it in Kaśmīra, and by pretending to be mad got out of that country.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Though I have called the Pādas 'supplementary,' as they are generally understood, it is possible that the 'Pādas' all, or some of them, were the 'foundations' of the Jñānaprasthāna.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 94-95. Read Dhammapī (-pri) for Dhammapiya.

<sup>3</sup> There is no positive evidence that the Mahāvibhāṣā was compiled in the reign of Kaniṣka. In 383 and 439 A.D. the name 'Vibhāṣā' appears in Chinese, and the date of translation of the Mahāvibhāṣā itself is 437-439. The date of the original may therefore be put in c. 200-400 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> See my translation of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 279-281.

The latter half of the fifth century A.D. brings us to a period which we can well designate as Neo-Vibhāṣanism, which coincides with the rise of the Yogācārya system and the revival of the Brāhmaṇic, or, at any rate, Sāṃkhya philosophy. Vasubandhu, a Sarvāstivādin and a free-thinker, tried to interpret the philosophy according to his own views. He did not slavishly follow the Vaibhāṣika tenets, but here and there utilized the excellent points of other systems, e.g. the Sautrāntika, a system opposed to the Vaibhāṣika, and teaching that external objects merely exist as mental images, and are indirectly apprehended.

A powerful opponent, and an orthodox Sarvāstivādin, Saṅghabhadra by name, compiled two works, one as a right interpretation of the vibhāṣā, and the other as a refutation of rival philosophers, chiefly Vasubandhu (who, however, had not formally left the school, his Abhidharma-kośa being generally reckoned as one of the Sarvāstivāda books).

Saṅghabhadra is said to have died before Vasubandhu,<sup>1</sup> and the Neo-Vibhāṣanic period seems to close practically with the conversion of Vasubandhu to Mahāyāṇism.<sup>2</sup>

Yośomitra, the writer of the Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā, seems to be a Sautrāntika.<sup>3</sup> I-tsing, who was a Sarvāstivādin, and brought home some nineteen works of Vinaya, does not seem to have come across a philosophical work of this school, though it was still followed in Nālanda and other places.<sup>4</sup>

In the fourteenth century tradition as regards the Vai-bhāṣikas seems to have been still alive, for Mādhabavācārya reviews the system in his Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha, and says : "These Bauddhas discuss the highest end of man from four standpoints, celebrated under the designations of (1) the Mādhyamikas, who hold the doctrine of universal void [nihilism] ; (2) the Yogācāras, who hold the doctrine of an

<sup>1</sup> See Watters, i, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> See my Vasubandhu's Life (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> We do not know to which school the other commentators, Vasumitra and Guṇamati, whom Yośomitra mentions in his Vyākhyā, belonged; see Bendall's Catal. of Cambridge MSS., add. 1041, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 71.

external void [subjective idealism]; (3) the Sautrāntikas, who assert the inferribility of external objects [representationalism]; and (4) the Vaibhāśikas, who acknowledge the perceptibility of external objects [presentationalism].”<sup>1</sup>

Of these the Mādhyamika is identical with the Sarvāśūnyatvavādin, the Yogācāra with the Vijñānāstittvamātravādin (*or* the Vijñānamātrāstittvavādin), and the Vaibhāśika with the Sarvāstivādin of Śaṅkarācārya.<sup>2</sup> The Sautrāntika admits no direct perception of objects, but holds that external objects exist merely as images, and are indirectly apprehended, thus occupying the medium stage between the Vaibhāśika, who acknowledges the direct perception of external objects, and the Yogācāra, who teaches the doctrine of an external void.

‘Vibhāśā’ means originally ‘option.’ The idea seems to be that numerous opinions collected from the compilers (500 Arhats) were compared with one another, and the best of them was selected as the orthodox doctrines of the school. The Chinese explain this word either as ‘comprehensive exposition (廣解)’ or as ‘various opinions (種種說).’<sup>3</sup> The Vaibhāśika’s opinions, excellent as they are, reflect only those of later Abhidharma teachers, and are after all a scholiastic achievement. Against this tendency there arose probably the Sautrāntikas, who do not regard the seven Abhidharmas as authentic Buddhavacanas,<sup>4</sup> and lay more stress on the Sūtrāntas of the Buddha. In their

<sup>1</sup> Sarvadarśanasāmgraha, ch. 2: “Te ca Bauddhāś caturvidhayā bhāvanayā paramapuruṣārtham kathayanti | te ca Mādhyamika-yogācāra-sautrāntika-vai-bhāśika-samjñābhīḥ prasiddhā Bauddhā yathākramam sarvaśūnyatva-vāhyāśūnyatva - vāhyārtha-numeyatva - vāhyārtha-pratyakṣatva - vādān ātiṣṭhanti |” Professor de la Vallée Poussin translates (*Muséon*, vol. ii, No. 1, 1901, p. 61) as follows: (1) “Doctrine du vide complet”; (2) “Doctrine du vide externe”; (3) “Doctrine de l’aperception indirecte des choses extérieures”; (4) “Doctrine de leur aperception immédiate.” Cf. Kern, Manual, p. 126: “The vaibhāśikas acknowledge the direct perception of exterior objects; the sautrāntikas hold that exterior objects merely exist as images, and thus are indirectly apprehended.”

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 73, note 2.

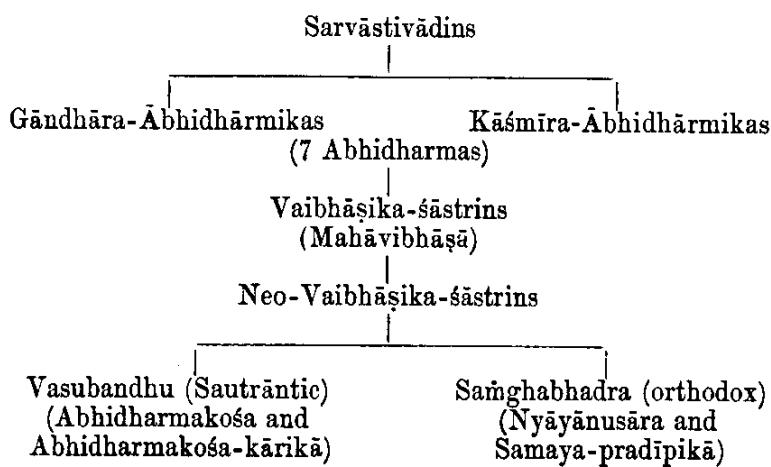
<sup>3</sup> See Watters, “Yuan-Chwang,” i, p. 277. His interpretation differs a little from mine.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 75, note 3.

philosophical speculation they have progressed somewhat as compared with the Vaibhāśikas.

This seems to have attracted Vasubandhu, who occasionally adopted the doctrines of the Sautrāntikas.<sup>1</sup> His conversion to the Vijñānamātrika doctrine was no wonder at all, but was quite natural seeing that the soil had already been prepared by the Sautrāntika doctrine. His conversion was, therefore, not a miracle wrought from without by his brother Asamīgha, but was a result of his speculative requirements from within. Thus he represents the three stages of Buddhist philosophy, and it is but reasonable that he is honoured in Japan as a patriarch of all Buddhist sects. In fact, his Abhidharmakośa and Vijñānamātrasiddhi are still studied by almost every Buddhist; and two sects based on these two treatises, named respectively "Kusha" and "Yūishiki" (Kośa and Vijñānamātra), still exist in Japan (though practically only as study). Two important commentaries on the Abhidharmakośa, called Kōki and Hōsho (Notes of Fu-kuan and Fa-pao),<sup>2</sup> written by two of the most distinguished pupils of Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 645–664), have been preserved in Japan. They are important for a study of the doctrines of the Vaibhāśikas, the notes having been taken from the lectures of Hiuen-tsang.

A summary of the above statement will be as follows :—



<sup>1</sup> See my Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 79, note 2.

As to the analysis of the Vaibhāṣika works I prepared a lengthy note, but decided, after reflection, to make it as short as possible, for these works really ought to be treated of in a special paper. Now let us proceed with the analysis.

## I. ABHIDHARMA-VIBHĀṢĀ AND ABHIDHARMA-MAHĀVIBHĀṢĀ.

### A COMMENTARY ON KĀTYĀYANĪPUTRA'S JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA.

The interesting question of the date of the Vibhāṣās is carefully avoided in the present paper, for the more I study these texts the more I get puzzled, several fresh difficulties being confronted one after another. We may have to abandon the theory that the Vibhāṣās were compiled in the Buddhist Council under King Kaniṣka.<sup>1</sup> There may have existed several vibhāṣās before the compilation of the Mahāvibhāṣā, for the name ‘vaibhāṣika’ does not seem to be originated entirely from the Mahāvibhāṣā.<sup>2</sup> According to Paramārtha, Kātyāyanīputra himself compiled a vibhāṣā with the help of Aśvaghoṣa of Sāketa, whose part in the work was to put it into a literary form.<sup>3</sup> This, again, may be true, seeing that two of the vibhāṣās found in Chinese are attributed to him, though perhaps wrongly. Hiuen-tsang tells us that in the Council under Kaniṣka the compilation of an upadeśa (on the sūtras) and of a vibhāṣā (on the Vinaya and Abhidharma) was the chief object. Though we have no evidence, in Chinese at least, of the existence of an upadeśa before Asamgha’s time (c. 450 A.D.), yet in the vibhāṣā there is a mention of the name. The name

<sup>1</sup> Watters has already advanced an opinion that it was not compiled in the Council, (1) because the Mahāvibhāṣā refers to Kaniṣka as a former king; (2) because Vasumitra is mentioned as one of the four great Śāstrins; (3) because Vasumitra and Pārvīva are quoted in the work “On Yuan-Chwang,” i, pp. 274-276. But these points must be re-examined, comparing all existing vibhāṣās. See my note, J.R.A.S., April, 1905, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> The Mahāvibhāṣā itself mentions ‘Kāśmīra-vaibhāṣikā masters’ (Chia-shu-mi-lo-p‘i-p‘o-sha shi). Whether this is the translator’s chance mistake for ‘Kāśmīra śāstrins’ remains to be seen.

<sup>3</sup> *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 278.

of China occurs in the text as Chih-na (Cīna)<sup>1</sup> or Chēn-tan (Cīna),<sup>2</sup> a name considered to have been originated from the Imperial Chin dynasty of China (B.C. 221–203).

The number of ślokas, moreover, in the vibhāṣā is variously recorded as more than 100,000 by one,<sup>3</sup> and as about 1,000,000 by Paramārtha.<sup>4</sup> The date of its compilation, again, is said to have been “400 years after the Buddha’s death” by Hiuen-tsang,<sup>5</sup> “500 years A.B.” (i.e. sixth century) by Paramārtha,<sup>6</sup> and “more than 600 years A.B.” by Tao-yen.<sup>7</sup>

Vasumitra, whom we seem to connect always with the Council under Kaniska and with the compilation of the vibhāṣā, is a mystification to us. Watters in his new work mentions at least seven Vasumitras, all of more or less importance,<sup>8</sup> though of these we are concerned with only two, i.e. the author of the Prakaraṇapāda and one of the compilers of the vibhāṣā.

All these points casually noticed in our authorities seem to be conflicting and confusing. They may, however, turn out to furnish, after a thorough investigation of the subject, some important clues to the actual state of history in that interesting period of Buddhism.

Now as to the Chinese translations of the texts the earliest is dated in A.D. 383, which serves as the *terminus ad quem* for the activity of the Vaibhāṣikas. A reference to the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā or simply the vibhāṣā is found in other works subsequently translated (A.D. 434, 557, etc.).

We have to distinguish the simple vibhāṣā from the Mahāvibhāṣā according to their contents, no matter what

<sup>1</sup> 致那.

<sup>2</sup> 振且.

<sup>3</sup> Hiuen-tsang, see Watters, i, p. 271, and Tao-yen, 道揚, in his preface to No. 1264. See below, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 279.

<sup>5</sup> Watters, “Yuan-Chwang,” p. 270; and below, p. 129, l. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 276.

<sup>7</sup> See above, note 3.

<sup>8</sup> “Yuan-Chwang,” i, pp. 274–275.

they call themselves. We shall name them, for the sake of convenience, the smaller and larger Vibhāsās. One of those described below (A) belongs to the former category, and two (B, C) to the latter.

A (the smaller).

P'i-p'o-sha-lun.<sup>1</sup>

Vibhāsā(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1299.

Amount : 3 chapters ; 42 sections ; 14 fasciculi ; 400 pages.

Author : Chia-chan-yen-tsü (Kātyāyanī-putra).<sup>2</sup>

Translator : Seng-chie-p'o-tēng (probably Samigha-vartin)<sup>3</sup> of Kipin (Kaśmīra), A.D. 383.

#### CONTENTS.

“The Exposition of the A-p'i-t'an-pa-ch'an-tu (Abhidhamma-  
attha-ganthon),<sup>4</sup> i.e. : (1) miscellaneous; (2) bond of passions  
(samyojana); (3) knowledge (jñāna); (4) actions (karmā);  
(5) 4 elements (caturmahābhūta); (6) organs (indriya);  
(7) meditation (dhyāna); (8) views (dṛṣṭi).”

i. Introductory (序 阿毗曇).

ii. Small-chapter (小 章).<sup>5</sup>

Sections 1–15: All categories about passions and things connected with them, from 3 samyojanas to 98 anuśayas.

iii. Great-chapter, explaining the Ten Gates (解十門大章).

Sections 16–42: All categories about matter and mind; sphere of the activity of mind; 22 indriyas; 18 dhātus; 12 āyatanas; 5 skandhas; 6 dhātus; 4 āryasatyas; 4 dhyānas; 4 apramāṇas; 4 ārūpyas; 8 vimuktis; 8 jñānas; 3 samādhis; 4 births, etc.

<sup>1</sup> 韶婆沙論.

<sup>2</sup> 迦旃延子.

<sup>3</sup> 僧伽跋澄, Chin. 衆現, i.e. ‘assembly-appearing.’ This was restored to Samghabhūti, but ‘p'o’ is often for ‘var,’ e.g. in varmā.

<sup>4</sup> 說阿毗曇八犍度.

<sup>5</sup> This may be something like ‘culla-vagga’ or ‘culla-khaṇḍa.’

The venerable Vasumitra is often mentioned, but this does not mean that he is quoted in the text. It seems to have been the case that when opinions differed during the compilation Vasumitra, Pārśva, or other elders were referred to, and their opinions were recorded, mentioning them by name.

Under the four satyas (section 32) the Buddha is said to have taught them also in Tamil : "In the language of the T'an-mi-lo (Damiḷa) land :—Yen-nei (suffering); mi-nei (the cause); ta-pa (destruction); ta-la-pa (the way) :—thus he taught the end of suffering."<sup>1</sup> Then he is represented as having taught the same in the other barbarian language : "In the language of the Mi-li-cha (Mleccha) land :—Ma-sha, tu-sha, sang-sha-ma, sā-ba-ta, pi-li-la :—thus he taught the end of suffering."<sup>2</sup>

B (the larger).

A-p'i-t'an-p'i-p'o-sha-lun.<sup>3</sup>

Abhidharma-vibhāṣā(-treatise).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1264.

Amount: Originally 8 ch'an-tu (ganthro), 44 sections (vaggo), in 100 fasciculi, but lost during the war between the Northern Liang and Wei, A.D. 439. They were collected afterwards, but only 3 ch'an-tu (ganthro), 16 sections (vaggo) were found, and made into 82 fasciculi, 400 pages (ye).

Author: Chia-chan-yen-tsü (Kātyāyanī-putra).<sup>4</sup>

Translators: Fen - t'o - p'o - mo (Buddhavarmā) and Tao - tai,<sup>5</sup>  
A.D. 437-439 (*or rather* A.D. 425-427).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 墘彌羅國語說:一種佞性(苦也);彌佞性(習也);陀破(盡也);陀羅破(道也):—此說苦邊.  
Cf. above, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> 摩舍,兜舍,僧舍摩,薩婆多,鞞梨羅,此說苦邊.  
Cf. above, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> 阿毗曇毗婆沙論.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 125, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> 北涼沙門浮陀跋摩共道泰譯.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 128, l. 9.

## CONTENTS.

- i. Introductory (序品).
- ii. Miscellaneous (雜犍度).

Section 1: Lokottaradharma-varga (世第一法品一).<sup>1</sup>

Among those mentioned we find Vasumitra, P'o-t'an-tou (i.e. Bhadanta Buddhadeva), Ghosā, Pārśva, Aniruddha, etc.<sup>2</sup>

- ,, 2: Jñāna-varga (智品二).
  - ,, 3: Pudgala-varga (人品三).
  - ,, 4: Love (preman) and reverence (gaurava) (愛敬品四).
  - ,, 5: Shamelessness (āhrīkya) and fearlessness of sinning (anapatrāpya) (无慚愧品五).
  - ,, 6: Rūpa-varga (色品六).
  - ,, 7: Anartha-varga (无義品七).
  - ,, 8: Cetanā-varga (思義品八).
- Vakkula, Buddhadeva, etc., mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

- iii. Samyojanas (使犍度).

Section 1: Akuśala-varga (不善品一).

- ,, 2: Sakṛdāgami-varga (一行品二).<sup>4</sup>
- ,, 3: Pudgala-varga (人品三).
- ,, 4: Ten Gates (十門品四).

Pārśva, Mahākauṣṭhila, etc., are mentioned.

- iv. Knowledge (智犍度).

Section 1: 8 mārgas (八道品一).

- ,, 2: Paracitta-jñāna (他心智二).
- ,, 3: Bhāvanā-jñāna (修智品三).<sup>5</sup>
- ,, 4: Samprayogas (associations) (相應品四).

(The end.)

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wogihara tells me that 'lokottara' ought to be 'lokāgra,' the meaning being the same.

<sup>2</sup> 和須密, 婆檀頭, 瞞沙, 婆奢, 阿泥盧頭.

<sup>3</sup> 婆拘羅, 佛陀提婆.

<sup>4</sup> But see Mr. Wogihara's note, p. 89, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bhāvanā, p. 114, l. 11.

In a preface by Tao-yen<sup>1</sup> it is said: "At a time more than 600 years after the Buddha's death there were in N. India 500 Arhats . . . who compiled the vibhāṣā in order to suppress various opinions. A priest Tao-tai<sup>2</sup> went to the west of the Onion range, and obtained the Sanskrit text in 100,000 verses.

"A Śramaṇa of India, Feu-t'ō-p'o-mo (Buddhavarmā), came to the territory of Liang (涼), and was ordered to translate the text in the middle of the 4th moon, A.D. 425 (乙丑), with the assistance of more than 300 men, Chi-sung, Tao-lang,<sup>3</sup> and others.

"The work, which amounted to 100 fasciculi, was all finished in the 7th moon, A.D. 427. In the meantime Liang was destroyed and all the books were lost. Again copying the text they produced 60 fasciculi.

"After the death of the Buddha a Bhikṣu named Fa-shēng<sup>4</sup> (Dharmottara) wrote a treatise called the 'Heart of the Abhidharma'<sup>5</sup> in 4 volumes. Again, Chia-chan-yen-tsü (Kātyāyanīputra) compiled the Abhidharma in 8 Ganthro, 44 sections in all. Afterwards 500 Arhats compiled the Vibhāṣā, explaining again the 8 Ganthro. When it was translated, it consisted of 100 fasciculi in a larger form. The Emperor Tai-wu of Wei destroyed Su-ch'ü (沮渠), the capital of Liang, and the book was lost. However, 60 fasciculi were collected, and were divided by a later hand into 110 fasciculi.<sup>6</sup> The fragment is of 3 Ganthro, 5 other

<sup>1</sup> 道 挺.

<sup>2</sup> 道 泰, see Nanjo's Catal., p. 413, No. 71.

<sup>3</sup> 智 嵩 道 郎 等 三 百 餘 人.

<sup>4</sup> 法 勝, Nanjo (Nos. 1294, 1288), puts 'Dharmajina?' but 'Dharmottara' is a priest who founded a school called 'Ta-mo-yu-to-li' (Dharmottarī), which is translated 法 上 or 法 勝 (No. 1284). One text (No. 1294) says 法 中 勝, the 'best of the laws' (i.e. Dharmottara).

<sup>5</sup> 阿 懚 曼 心 論, No. 1288. There is a chapter called Dhamma-hadaya-vibhaṅga in the Vibhaṅga, Mrs. Rhys Davids' edition, p. 436.

<sup>6</sup> In fact, 82 fasciculi are entered in the Chinese collection.

Gantho being lost altogether." The three Gantho agree on the whole with C.

C (the larger).

A-p'i-ta-mo-ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun.<sup>1</sup>  
(Abhidharma-large-vibhāṣā-treatise.)  
Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā(-śāstra).

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1263.

Amount: 8 groups (skandha); 43 sections (the last Gāthā section of the Jñānaprasthāna being omitted in the Commentary); 200 fasciculi (chüan); 1,438,449 Chinese letters; 3,630 pages.

Authors: 500 great Arhats.

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 656–659.

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, mentions this text as:—

Mo-ho-wei-p'o-sha-sha-hsi-tu-lo,<sup>2</sup> 400 years after the Buddha's death.

Mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra.

#### CONTENTS OF THE MAHĀVIBHĀṢĀ.

Introductory remarks, in which the tradition that Kātyāyanī-putra compiled this work is discussed, and the names 'Abhidharma' and 'Jñānaprasthāna' are variously explained.

- i. Miscellaneous group (雜 蘊 一).  
8 sections (see the analysis of the Jñānaprasthāna).
- ii. Samyojana-group (結 蘊 二).  
4 sections.
- iii. Knowledge-group (智 蘊 三).  
5 sections.
- iv. Action-group (業 蘊 四).  
5 sections.
- v. Great Element-group (大 種 蘊 五).  
4 sections.

<sup>1</sup> 阿毗達磨大毗婆沙論五百大阿羅漢造.

<sup>2</sup> Mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra, i.e. 麻訶外拔沙沙悉特羅.

- vi. Organ-group (根 蘊 六).  
7 sections.
- vii. Meditation-group (定 蘊 七).  
5 sections.
- viii. View-group (見 蘊 八).  
5 sections.

The last, 44th section, being Gāthās, is stated to be easy, and is not explained in the work.

At the end of every one of the 200 fasciculi it is stated that the text is a commentary on the *Fa-chi-lun* (*Jñāna-prasthāna*) belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school.<sup>1</sup> This being a commentary, the contents are practically the same as those of the *Jñānaprasthāna*, and a detailed analysis is omitted here.

This great commentary was much studied by Watters, who remarked in his "Yuan-Chwang" (vol. i, p. 277) as follows: "The extent of the commentators' investigation is doubtless overstated (by Hiuen-tsang), but there is evidence of great study and research in the *Vibhāṣā* and in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*.<sup>2</sup> In these books we find an extraordinary acquaintance with Buddhist learning of various kinds, and also with Brahmanical learning, including the original Indian alphabets, the *Vedas*, and their *Aṅgas*."

The *Vibhāṣā* is, indeed, a great encyclopædia of Buddhist philosophy. All the opinions of several ancient and contemporary philosophers of various schools are carefully registered and discussed. Whether we have in this Aśvaghoṣa's share or not<sup>3</sup> it is certainly a masterwork, unique in its merit and scope. During the period of its compilation there seem to have been several philosophers who are generally styled the 'Abhidharma-mahāśastrins.'<sup>4</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> 說一切有部發智.

<sup>2</sup> Watters apparently did not come across the fragmentary *Vibhāṣā* (B), Nanjio's No. 1264.

<sup>3</sup> *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 278: "When the meaning of the principles had been settled Aśvaghoṣa put them one by one into literary form. At the end of 12 years the composition of the *Vibhāṣā* was finished."

<sup>4</sup> 阿毗達磨諸大論師, 'A-p'i-ta-mo-various great Doctors.'

were two bodies of such sāstrins, differing in their views from each other, and these are often referred to in the text, whenever differences occur as to their views, as ‘Kāśmīra-sāstrins’ and ‘Gāndhāra-sāstrins.’<sup>1</sup> As for the Lokottara principles, the text cites the views of several schools and philosophers; among others I may mention here the following names: ‘Vibhajyavādins,’ ‘Sautrāntikas,’ ‘Dharma-guptas,’ ‘Vatsīputrīyas,’ ‘Mahīśāsakas,’ those who hold the difference of Cetanā from Citta; ‘Dharmatāra (Dharmatrāta),’ ‘Buddhadeva,’ ‘Miao-yin (Ghoṣa),’ ‘Pārśva,’ ‘Vasumitra,’ ‘Kātyāyanīputra,’<sup>2</sup> etc. The books quoted in the text are also numerous, but I am rather afraid to state anything definitely until every page of the 200 fasciculi has been studied carefully.

I may here add that there is another work bearing the name Vibhāṣā, attributed to Dharmatāra (Dharmatrāta) above mentioned.

*Wu-shi-p'i-p'o-sha-lun.*

Five-subjects-vibhāṣā-treatise.

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1283.

Amount: 3 chapters; 2 fasciculi; 36 pages.

Author: The original ‘Wu-shi’ (Five-subjects, probably ‘Pañca-vastu’), by Vasumitra; the vibhāṣā commentary, by Dharmatāra (Dharmatrāta), who is said to be Vasumitra’s uncle.

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 663.

#### CONTENTS.

1. Rūpa-vibhaṅga.
2. Citta-vibhaṅga.
3. Caitta-dharma-vibhaṅga.

The ‘Five Subjects’ referred to are: (1) subject (one’s self); (2) object; (3) bondage; (4) causes; (5) absorption (?).

<sup>1</sup> 迦濕彌羅國諸論師；健馱羅國諸論師。

<sup>2</sup> 分別論者，經部師，法密部，犢子部，化地部，思心差別論者，法救，覺天，妙音（‘Miao-yin’ means ‘excellent sound,’ Skt. Ghoṣa），脇，世友，迦多衍尼子。

## II. ABHIDHARMA-KOŚA AND THE KĀRIKĀ.

By VASUBANDHU.

The importance of the Abhidharma-kośa was fully recognized by Burnouf, Kern, and subsequent scholars through Yaśomitra's Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-sphuṭartha. This work has come down to us, in Chinese, in two forms, one containing verses (602 kārikās) only, and the other being prose explanations of the verses. Paramārtha tells us that the prose text was compiled at the request of the Kāśmīra-vaibhāśikas.<sup>1</sup> Of course the verse text is included in the prose one.

## A.

A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-shê-shih-lun.<sup>2</sup>

(Abhidharma-kośa-explaining-treatise.)

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1269.

Amount: 9 sections (p'in); 22 fasciculi (chüan); 613 pages (ye).

Author: P'o-su-p'an-tou (Vasubandhu)<sup>3</sup> (c. 420–500 A.D.).Translator: Chén-ti (Paramārtha),<sup>4</sup> A.D. 563–567.

## B.

A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-shê-lun.<sup>5</sup>

(Abhidharma-kośa-treatise.)

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1267.

Amount: 9 sections (p'in); 30 fasciculi (chüan); 559 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable Shi-ch'in (Vasubandhu).<sup>6</sup>

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 651–654.

The above two are mentioned in the Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, with the following names:—

A-p'i-ta-lo-mo-ko-sha-sha-hsi-tu-lo.<sup>7</sup>

(Abhidharmakośa-śāstra.)

<sup>1</sup> See my Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), p. 287; Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," i, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗達磨俱舍釋論.

<sup>3</sup> 婆薮盤豆.

<sup>4</sup> 陳三藏真諦.

<sup>5</sup> 阿毗達磨俱舍論.

<sup>6</sup> 尊者世親.

<sup>7</sup> 阿毗達嚮麻哥沙沙悉特羅.

## C.

A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-shê-lun-pang-sung.<sup>1</sup>

(Abhidharma-kośa-treatise-original-verses.)

Abhidharmakośa-kārikā.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1270.

Amount: 602 verses; 8 sections (p'in); 2 fasciculi (chüan);  
53 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable *Shi-ch'in* (Vasubandhu).

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 651.

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, gives the following name:—

A-p'i-ta-lo-mo-ko-sha-chia-li-chia.<sup>2</sup>

(Abhidharmakośa-kārikā.)

### CONTENTS OF THE ABHIDHARMAKOŚA.

1. Distinction of Dhātus (分別界品一). 44 verses.
2. „ Indriyas (分別根品二). 74 verses.
3. „ Lokas (分別世品三).<sup>3</sup> 99 verses.
4. „ Karmans (分別業品四). 130 verses.
5. „ Anuśayas (分別隨眠品五).<sup>4</sup> 69 verses.
6. „ Āryapudgalas (分別聖賢品六).<sup>5</sup> 83 verses.
7. „ Jñānas (分別智品七). 61 verses.
8. „ Samādhis (分別定品八).<sup>6</sup> 39 verses.
9. Refutation of Ātmavāda (破我執品九).

Yaśomitra's Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-sphuṭartha gives the titles of the chapters as follows<sup>7</sup>:—

1. Dhātu-nirdeśo nāma prathamam Kośa-sthānam.
2. Indriya-nirdeśo nāma dvitīyam Kośa-sthānam.

<sup>1</sup> 俱舍論本頌.

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗達囉麻哥沙迦哩迦.

<sup>3</sup> A, 世間品.

<sup>4</sup> A, 感品.

<sup>5</sup> A, 聖道果人品.

<sup>6</sup> A, 三摩跋提, 'San-mo-p'o-ti,' which seems to be Skt. samāpatti, 'attainment,' but may be a mistake for 'samādhi.'

<sup>7</sup> See Professor Bendall, Catalogue of the Cambridge MSS., p. 26, Add. 1041.

3. Tṛtīyam Kośa-sthānam.
4. Caturthaṁ K.
5. Anuśaya-nirdeśo nāma pañcamam K.
6. Śaṣṭham K.
7. Saptamam K.
8. Aṣṭamam K.
9. *Deest.*

To the ordinals, 3, 4, 6, and 7, we can with perfect safety add the titles, respectively, ‘Loka-nirdeśo nāma’, Karma-nirdeśo nāma, Āryapudgala - nirdeśo nāma, and Jñāna-nirdeśo nāma. But the eighth and ninth offer some difficulties. According to Paramārtha the eighth appears to be something like ‘Samāpatti,’ but this may be a mistake arising from a similar sound. Mr. Wogihara holds that it ought to be ‘Samādhi-nirdeśa’ (8). The ninth is not given as a special chapter in the Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā, but a passage corresponding to the ninth of the Chinese exists in the Sanskrit text, and it is, according to Mr. Wogihara, ‘Ātmavāda-pratiṣedha’ (9).<sup>1</sup>

At the end of each of the 30 fasciculi it is expressly stated that this work belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.

The Kaśmīrian vaibhāśikas are referred to or cited in this work, seven times as ‘Chia-shu-mi-lo-p'i-p'o-sha Masters’ (Kāśmīra-vaibhāśikās), twice as ‘Sāstra Masters of Kaśmīra’ (Kāśmīra-sāstrinas), and ten times as ‘P'i-p'o-sho Masters’ (Vaibhāśikās). Of quotations from other sources I have not noticed many. The Prajñapti-pāda is quoted once (chüan vi); the Yogācārya and the Vātsīputrīya schools are referred to also once (chüan xxii, xxx). I may have missed several others in my cursory perusal.

### III. ABHIDHARMA-NYĀYĀNUSĀRA AND ABHIDHARMA-SAMAYA-PRADĪPIKĀ.

By SAMGHABHADRA.

Paramārtha tells us<sup>2</sup> that Samghabhadra, an opponent of Vasubandhu, compiled two sāstras in Ayodhyā, one, entitled

<sup>1</sup> Formerly Mr. Wogihara suggested, from an analogy, ‘pudgalābhīn veśa-pratiṣedha.’

<sup>2</sup> My Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 289–290.

the “Illustration of the Samaya,”<sup>1</sup> containing 10,000 ślokas, which merely explain the doctrines of the vibhāṣā, and the other bearing the name “Conformity to the Truth,”<sup>2</sup> in 120,000 ślokas. The latter, he continues, refutes the Kośa in favour of the vibhāṣā. Saṃghabhadra is said to have challenged Vasubandhu to a personal debate, which the latter did not accept.

Hiuen-tsang, too, relates this anecdote,<sup>3</sup> and says that the Nyāyānusāra was first called the “Kośa-hailstone,”<sup>4</sup> but the name was changed into “Nyāyānusāra,” after the author’s death, by Vasubandhu, out of respect to his opponent.<sup>5</sup> Saṃghabhadra was, of course, not the teacher of Vasubandhu, as Tāranātha represents him. On the contrary, they do not seem, from the statements of Paramārtha and Hiuen-tsang, to have been even acquainted with each other.

The “Samaya-exposition,” the author himself tells us, is a compendium of his earlier work “Nyāyānusāra,” which is too elaborate and abstruse for general students. The only difference is that the shorter work is a simple exposition of the vibhāṣā tenets, while the larger text is devoted more to a detailed refutation of the tenets of other teachers. Vasubandhu’s Kośa-kārikā itself, being a summary of the vaibhāṣika doctrines, was not objectionable to any followers of that system; the only objection being directed to the prose exposition of the kośa, in which some doctrines of the Sautrāntikas are found incorporated.<sup>6</sup>

This being the case Saṃghabhadra cites freely the kārikās of his opponent, and explains them according to the orthodox

<sup>1</sup> 光三摩耶論. ‘Samaya’ means ‘doctrines.’ ‘Illustration’ or ‘exposition’ may be ‘pradīpikā’ or ‘dīpikā.’

<sup>2</sup> 隨實論. This is ‘nyāyānusāra.’

<sup>3</sup> Watters, “Yuan-Chwang,” i, pp. 325–327.

<sup>4</sup> 俱舍雹論. This may be Skt. ‘Kośa-karakā’ as Julien supposed.

<sup>5</sup> This story cannot be accepted because the author himself says that he called it ‘nyāyānusāra.’ See below, p. 137.

<sup>6</sup> See my Life of Vasubandhu (*Tung-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 287–288.

views of his school. A comparison of the two rival philosophies of the Neo-vaibhāṣika period would be extremely interesting. But it is impossible for us to attempt anything of the sort in the present paper.

## A.

A-p'i-ta-mo-shun-chéng-li-lun.<sup>1</sup>

(Abhidharma-conforming-right-principle-treatise.)

Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra.

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1265.

Amount: 8 sections (p'in); 80 fasciculi (chüan); 1,751 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable *Chung-hsien* (Samghabhadra).<sup>2</sup>

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 653-654.

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, gives the following name:—

Ni-ya-ya-a-nu-sā-lo-sha-hsi-tu-lo.<sup>3</sup>

Nyāya-anusāra-sāstra.

Paramārtha gives the name of the author as:—

Seng-chieh-p'o-to-lo.<sup>4</sup>

Samgha-bhadra.

## CONTENTS OF THE NYĀYĀNUSĀRA.

1. Discrimination of general subjects (辨本事品一).
2. ,,, particular subjects (辨差別品二).
3. ,,, causes (辨緣起品三).
4. ,,, actions (辨業品四).
5. ,,, passions (anuśaya) (辨隨眠品五).
6. ,,, noble persons (辨賢聖品六).
7. ,,, knowledge (辨智品七).
8. ,,, meditation (辨定品八).

At the end of each of 80 fasciculi (except fasc. 9) it is stated that this work belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.

<sup>1</sup> 阿毗達磨順正理論.

<sup>2</sup> 尊者衆賢.

<sup>3</sup> 倭牙壓阿耨薩羅沙悉特羅.

<sup>4</sup> 僧伽紱陀羅.

The *Samgītiparyāya*, *Dharmaskandha*, and *Prajñaptipāda* are mentioned in ch. 1 as *Mo-ta-li-chia* (*Mātrikās*). The Theravādins are often quoted and refuted, at least nine times. The *Kāśmīra-vaibhāśikas* and *Vaibhāśikas* are referred to twice or thrice. Among the other works or schools quoted we find the *Prakaraṇapāda* (often), *Vijñānakāyapāda*, *Jñāna-prasthāna*, and *Prajñaptipāda*; the *Sautrāntikas*, *Vibhajyavādas*, *Yogacāryas*, etc.

## B.

*A-p'i-ta-mo-hsien-tsung-lun.<sup>1</sup>*

(*Abhidharma-illustrating-doctrine-treatise.*)

*Abhidharma-samaya-pradīpikā.<sup>2</sup>*

*Nanjo's Catalogue*, No. 1266.

Amount: 9 sections (*p'in*); 40 fasciculi (*chüan*); 749 pages (*ye*).

Author: The venerable *Chung-hsien* (*Samghabhadra*).<sup>3</sup>

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 651–652.

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, gives a quite different title from ours:—

*A-p'i-ta-lo-mo p'i-lo-chia-lo-mo (?)-sha-sa-na-sha-hsi-tu-lo.<sup>4</sup>*

*Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-śāsana-śāstra.<sup>5</sup>*

## CONTENTS OF THE SAMAYAPRADĪPIKĀ.

## 1. Introductory (序品一).

Preliminary remarks about the doctrine, in which Samghabhadra says: “I have already written a treatise and called it ‘*Shun-chéng-li*,’ ‘Conformity to the Truth’ (*Nyāyanusāra*). Those who are fond of philosophical speculation have to study it. With the phrases and sentences so

<sup>1</sup> 阿毗達磨顯宗論.

<sup>2</sup> *Pradīpikā* is our conjecture; it may be some such word of like meaning.

<sup>3</sup> See note 4, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> 阿毗達嚩麻毗嚩迦嚩麻(?)沙薩拏沙悉特羅.

<sup>5</sup> This is, it will be noticed, the authority for Nanjo's restoration. If this were ‘śāsanaprakaraṇa’ it would be an appropriate title. But as Paramārtha gives the name ‘san-mo-ye (samaya) exposition,’ we have to reject the restoration of the Tib.-Chin. authorities.

detailed and elaborate, a research into it is a matter of difficulty. One will not be able to understand it unless one works hard. In order to make it easy to be understood by curtailing the elaborate composition, I again compiled an abridged treatise and called it ‘*Hsien-tsung*,’ ‘Exposition of the Doctrine’ (*Samaya-pradīpikā*). I embellished and preserved his verses (*Vasubandhu’s Kārikā*), and regarded them as the source of reference.

“I cut short those extensive concluding arguments which are found in the ‘*Shun-li*’ (*Nyāyānusāra*), and set forth the right expositions against his proofs (*Vasubandhu’s sāstra*) to illustrate the true excellent doctrines to which we adhere.”<sup>1</sup>

- 2. Discrimination of general subjects (辨本事品一).
- 3. „ particular subjects (辨差別品二).
- 4. „ causes (辨緣起品三).
- 5. „ actions (辨業品四).
- 6. „ passions (*anuśaya*) (辨隨眠品五).
- 7. „ noble persons (辨賢聖品六).
- 8. „ knowledge (辨智品七).
- 9. „ meditation (辨定品八).

At the end of the text there is a verse which contains the following remark: “One should not only hold fast to what the Teaching (itself) is capable (of giving one), but also direct one’s own mind toward the true principles. Therefore one should *conform* to the *sāstra* (that gives) the *Truth* propounded by the Buddha, and further *conform* to the A-kiu-mo (*āgama*, ‘teaching’) of the *Truth*.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 已說論名順正理，樂思擇者所應學，文廣句派演隔難尋，非少劬勞所能解，爲撮文令易了，故造略論名顯宗，飾存彼頌以爲歸，刪順理中廣決擇，對彼證言申正釋，顯此所宗真妙義。

<sup>2</sup> 非唯執教所堪能，應亦標心於正理，故順佛言正理論，及順正理阿笈摩。He is here paraphrasing the name of his larger work, i.e. ‘*nyāyānusāra*’ or ‘*satyānusāra*.’

At the end of each of fasciculi 11–20 and 31–40 it is stated that this text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.

Among the authorities quoted there are Kāśmīra-vaibhāśikas (fasc. 21, 36, 40), Kāśmīras, Vinaya-vaibhāśikas, Yogācāryas; the Abhidharmakośa, Dharmaskandha, Prajñaptipāda, the larger text Nyāyānusāra itself, etc.

## 6. SOME OTHER BOOKS OF IMPORTANCE BELONGING TO THE SARVĀSTIVĀDIN SCHOOL (APPENDIX).

There are, beside the seven Abhidharmas and the philosophical books directly connected with them, some other works which are attributed to the Sarvāstivāda school.

Omitting all doubtful ones I may here give a short account of some of the Sarvāstivādin works which have been referred to by me in the present paper, or have been regarded as important by some other authorities.

### I.

A-p'i-ta-mo *Kan-lu-mi-lun*.<sup>1</sup>

A-p'i-ta-lo-mo a-mi-li-ta sha-hsi-tu-lo (Tib.-Chin. Catalogue).<sup>2</sup>

Abhidharma-amṛta(-śāstra).

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1278.

Amount: 16 sections; 2 fasciculi; 55 pages.

Author: Ch'ü-sha (Ghoṣa).<sup>3</sup>

Translator: Name not recorded, but the text registered as translated under the Wei dynasty, A.D. 220–265.

### CONTENTS.

1. Dāna and sīla (布方色持戒品一).
2. Forms of birth (界道品二).
3. Beings that live on food (住食生品三).

<sup>1</sup> 阿毗達磨甘露味論.

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗達嚩麻阿彌哩怛沙悉特羅.

<sup>3</sup> 罡沙. A colophon at the end gives this name. The Mahāvibhāṣā quotes him, see above, p. 127, line 6; p. 131, line 10.

4. Karmans (業品四).
5. Skandhas (陰持入品五).
6. Samskāras (行品六).
7. Causes (因緣種品七).
8. Pure indriyas (淨根品八).
9. Passions (samyojana and anuśaya) (結使品九).
10. Anāsravas (無漏人品十).
11. Knowledge (智品十一).
12. Dhyānas (禪定品十二).
13. Miscellaneous meditations (雜定品十三).
14. Thirty-seven stages of the holy (三十七品十四).
15. Four āryasatyas (四諦品十五).
16. Miscellaneous (雜品十六).

This work is nowhere indicated as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins, except that the entry in the catalogue (Tib.-Chin. and Nanjo) is made among the Sarvāstivādin books.

Wassilief<sup>1</sup> gives this work in the place of the Prajñaptipāda (one of the six pādas) without stating his authority or the reason for which he assumes the identity of the two names. All I can say at present is that from its contents this work may well belong to the school.

## II.

A. A-p'i-tan-sin-lun.  
A-p'i-ta-lo-mo ha-la-ta-ya<sup>2</sup> (Tib.-Chin.).  
Abhidharma-hṛdaya.

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1288.

Amount: 10 sections; 4 fasciculi; 96 pages.

Author: Fa-shéng (Dharmottara).<sup>3</sup>

Translator: Seng-chie-ti-po (Samghadeva) and Hui-yuen, A.D. 391.

<sup>1</sup> See his Buddhismus, p. 116 (German).

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗曇心論, 阿毗達羅麻呵羅怛牙.

<sup>3</sup> 法勝, 'Law-superior' (not Dharmajina, but) Dharmottara; he is the originator of the Dharmottari school (法上, 法勝, or 達麻鬱多梨). See p. 128, note 4.

B. *Fa-shéng A-p'i-t'an-sin-lun.*<sup>1</sup>

Dharmottara Abhidharma-hṛdaya(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1294.

Amount: 10 sections; 6 fasciculi; 139 pages.

Author: Yu-po-shen-to (Upaśānta).

Translator: Na-lien-ti-li-ye-shē (Nārendrayaśas), A.D. 563.

This is a commentary on A.

C. *Tsa-a-p'i-t'an-sin-lun.*<sup>2</sup>

Miscellaneous Abhidharma-hṛdaya(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1287.

Amount: 11 sections; 16 fasciculi; 362 pages.

Author: *Fa-kiu* (Dharmatāra or Dharmatrāta),<sup>3</sup> said to be an uncle of Vasumitra.

Translator: Seng-chie-p'o-mo (Samghavarmā), A.D. 434.

This is another commentary on A. I give here its contents, which are practically the same as those of A and B.

## CONTENTS.

1. Introductory (序品一).
2. Dhātu (心界品二).
3. Saṃskāra (行品三).
4. Karman (業品四).
5. Anuśaya (使品五).
6. Āryapudgala (賢聖品六).
7. Knowledge (智品七).
8. Samādhi (定品八).

<sup>1</sup> 法勝阿毗曇心論.<sup>2</sup> 雜阿毗曇心論.<sup>3</sup> 法救, 'Law-deliverer.' Dharmatrāta (Nanjio), but it may be Dharmatāra. The name 'Ta-mo-to-lo' (達麻多羅) is given in the introductory chapter.

9. Shu-to-lo (sūtra) (修多羅品九).

10. Miscellaneous (雜品十).

[*The Contents for B and A are identical up to this point.*]

C.

B.

A.

11. Conclusion

*Deest.*

Discussions

(擇品十一).

(論品十).

In this book the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā is mentioned, which, it says, is the authority for the exposition given by the author.

The work C is expressly said to belong to the Sarvāstivāda school by Hui-chi<sup>1</sup> (6th century), while the text B is also mentioned by Tao-yen (5th century), side by side with the Jñānaprasthāna and as if anterior to this work of Kātyāyanīputra.<sup>2</sup>

### III.

*Li-shih-a-p'i-t'an-lun.*

(Construction-world-abhidharma-treatise.)

Loka-prajñapti-abhidharma(-śāstra).<sup>3</sup>

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1297.

Amount: 25 sections; 10 fasciculi; 200 pages.

Author: Author's name unknown.

Translator: Chén-ti (Paramārtha), A.D. 557-568.

### CONTENTS.

1. Motion of the earth (地動品一).

2. Jambudvīpa (南閻浮提品二).

3. Six great countries (六 大 國 品 三).

4. Yaksas (夜叉神品四).

5. Lu-ja-gi-li (Rājagiri) elephant (漏闥耆利象王品五).

6. Four continents around the Sumeru (四天下品六).

<sup>1</sup> 慧愷. See his preface to the Abhidharmakośa (No. 1269).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 128, l. 17.

<sup>3</sup> 立世阿毗曇論, 'Li-shih,' is 'Loka-prajñapti' (not 'Loka-sthiti). 方設, 'Shi-shē' is practically the same as 立, 'Li,' both meaning 'constructing' or 'establishing.'

7. Measure of time and size (數量品七).
8. Heavens (天住處品八).
- 9-17. The Sudarśana; the regions around the heavenly capital, i.e. Trayastiṁśat, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpakṣa, Vaiśravana, etc.; description of the gardens belonging to them, etc.<sup>1</sup>
18. The battle of Indra and Asura (天非天鬪品十八).
19. Motion of the sun and the moon (日月行品十九).
20. How day and night divided (云何品廿).
21. Births (受生品廿一).
22. Longevity (壽量品廿二).
23. Hells (地獄品廿三).
24. Three lesser calamities of the world (小三災品廿四).
25. Three greater calamities (大三災品廿五).

This work is nowhere indicated as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins. But as I said elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> this work treats of the subject which the Prajñapti-pāda (one of the six pādas) omits either by mistake or on purpose, and fills the gap admirably, giving us an idea what the Loka-prajñapti was or would be likely to be. There is nothing against our regarding this work as a Sarvāstivādin work.

There are two or three other works which belong or seem to belong to this school. I may add their names here without entering further into details.

#### IV.

*Ju-a-p'i-ta-mo-lun.<sup>3</sup>*

Introduction to the Abhidharma.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1291.

<sup>1</sup> 恒利天歡喜園, 衆車園, 惡口園雜園, 波利夜多園; 提頭頰咤 (E.), 毘留勒叉 (S.), 毘留博叉 (W.), 毘沙門 (N.).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 77, note.

<sup>3</sup> 入阿毗達磨論.

Amount: 2 fasciculi; 34 pages.

Author: Sa-kan-ti-la.<sup>1</sup>

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 658.

This states expressly that it belongs to the school, and it treats of the 75 elements (dharmas), in 8 categories (padārtha), peculiar to this school. They are:—Rūpa (11), citta (1), caittadharma (46), cittaviprayuktadharma (14), and asaṁskṛta (3).

#### V.

Shē-li-pu-a-p'i-t'an-lun.<sup>2</sup>

Śāriputra-abhidharma-treatise.

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1268.

Amount: 4 divisions; 33 chapters (varga); 30 fasciculi; 620 pages.

Author: Śāriputra.

Translator: Dharmagupta and Dharmayaśas, A.D. 414–415.

This has no correspondence with the Saṁgīti-paryāya (one of the six pādas), which is attributed to Śāriputra (No. 1276), but of course treats of the usual Abhidharma subjects.

Among the matters we find (1) āyatana, dhātu, skandha, satya, indriya, bodhyaṅga; (2) dhātu, karman, pudgala, jñāna, hetu, smṛtyupasthāna, ṛddhi, dhyāna, mārga, kleśa; (3) saṁgraha, saṁprayoga; (4) sarvatvaga, hetu, nāmarūpa, saṁyojana, saṁskāra, sparsa, cetanā, kuśala, akuśala, samādhi.

#### VI.

Sui-siang-lun.<sup>3</sup>

Lakṣaṇānusāra(-śāstra).

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1280.

<sup>1</sup> 索(塞)建地羅, 'Sa-kan-ti-la.' Julien and Watters (i, p. 280) think that this name represents 'Skandhila,' while Nanjo restores it to 'Sugandhara.' See No. 1291.

<sup>2</sup> 舍利弗阿毗曇論.

<sup>3</sup> 隨相論.

Amount: 2 fasciculi; 41 pages.

Author: Guṇamati.<sup>1</sup>

Translator: Paramārtha, A.D. 557–569.

This treats of 12 *nidānas* and 4 *āryasatyas*. It quotes the *Vibhāṣā*-masters, and mentions Vasubandhu by name. Vatsī-putriya, Jaina, Sammitīya, Ulūka, and other teachers are referred to.

### 7. CONCLUSION.

The above list practically comprises all the important works of the Sarvāstivādins which have come down to us in Chinese. In addition to these we are, as I have noticed elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> in possession of a complete set of the Vinaya works belonging to this school. Thus, having both the Abhidharma and the Vinaya of a school closely allied to the Theravādins, who have also preserved these branches of Buddhist literature, a comparative study of the two sets will, if carried out properly, contribute a great deal towards our knowledge of the history of development of Indian Buddhism.

The activity of this important philosophical school, as illustrated in its literature, covers at least not less than ten centuries of the intellectual life of India. Before they could begin their separate existence the Sarvāstivādins had to fight their way against the original Buddhist school, in consequence of which they are said to have retired from the valley of the Ganges to the new home of Kaśmīra.

Toward the closing period of their activity they had to confront the overwhelming influence of the so-called Mahāyānism. However, they remained a Hinayāna throughout the struggle,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This may be Guṇamati, the author of a commentary on the Abhidharma-kośa (see above, p. 120, n. 3), who is very likely the pupil of Vasubandhu of that name.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 71, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> According to I-tsing, who is a Sarvāstivādin, what constitutes the difference between Mahāyāna and Hinayāna is the worship of a Bodhisattva. The name Bodhisattva, indeed, is not found in any of the books. His "Record," pp. 14–15.

true to their traditional doctrine of Sarvāstitva,<sup>1</sup> and served as a stepping-stone, as it were, between the original form of Buddhism and the later developed system of it.<sup>2</sup> When their literature, now presented in an analysed form, becomes completely accessible in a European language, several gaps in the history of Buddhist India will, I think, be filled up, and the growth and decay of religious ideas of the Buddhists be made more intelligible to us. With this hope for the future I may now be allowed to conclude my present paper, unworthy and imperfect though it is. My examination of the Abhidharma works is by no means exhaustive, nor is it uniform as regards the method of carrying it out. My perusal could only be cursory, and consequently my translations are often tentative. It would have been next to impossible for me to produce my paper, even in its present shape, had it not been for the valuable help of Mr. Wogihara, who is well versed in this field of Buddhist literature. His remarks, as seen in the notes, reflect a careful study of some important texts, the Bodhisattvabhūmi, the Abhidharmakośa, and the like.

I also express my sincere gratitude to Professor Rhys Davids, to whose suggestion and care the present paper owes its existence.

<sup>1</sup> The two schools which constituted the Mahāyānists of the seventh century were the Śūnyavāda (Mādhyamika) and the Vijñānavāda (Yogācārya). My I-tsing's Record, pp. xii, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Aśvaghoṣa, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, etc., originally Sarvāstivādins, eventually became Mahāyānists.