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DHARMAS ASSOCIATED WITH AWARENESSES AND THE DATING OF SARVĀSTIVĀDA ABHIDHARMA WORKS

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Introductory Remark: All English equivalents of Sanskrit technical terms are based on the Glossary to: POTTER, K. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Vol. VII. Abhidharma Buddhism to 150 A.D.

In his *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*, André BAREAU gives following enumeration of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma works¹: 1) *Jñānaprasthāna* (T.1543 and T.1544); 2) *Samgītiparyāya* (T.1536); 3) *Dharma-skandhapāda* (T.1537); 4) *Prajñaptipāda* (T.1538); 5) *Vijñānakāya* (T.1539); 6) *Dhātukāyapāda* (T.1540); and 7) *Prakaraṇapāda* (T.1541 and T.1542). According to Yaśomitra², these works were written by Kātyāyanīputra, Mahākauṣṭhila, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Devaśarman, Pūrṇa, and Vasumitra resp.³. This Abhidharma of seven works is called the *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma*: ‘Abhidharma with Six Feet’⁴. Yaśomitra explains this name as the *Jñānaprasthāna* being the body (*śarīra*), and this body having six feet (*pāda*): the six other works.⁵ The fact that the *Jñānaprasthāna* is seen as the ‘body’ shows that the Sarvāstivādins themselves considered this work to be

1 BAREAU, A., *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*, Paris 1955, pp.135-6.

2 WOGIHARA, U., *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā* by Yaśomitra, Tōkyō 1932-36, p.11, 25 ff.

3 Other traditions give another order and partially different author-names. Cp. LAMOTTE, E., *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, pp.202ff.; COX, C., *Disputed Dharmas – Early Buddhist Theories on Existence*, Tōkyō 1995, p.31. The arbitrariness of the order may be evident also from the fact that Yaśomitra, elsewhere in his work (p.9,12 ff.), gives another order.

Chinese versions by Hsüan-tsang (T.1536, T.1537, T.1539, T.1540, T.1542, T.1544); Fa-hu (T.1538); Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas (T.1541); Saṃghadeva and Chu Fo-nien (T.1543).

4 This term came to be used only after publication of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*. See FUKUHARA, R., *Ubu Abidatsumaronsho no Hattatsu*, p.8; DEMIEVILLE, P., “Un fragment sanskrit de l’Abhidharma des Sarvāstivādin”, *Journal Asiatique* CCXLIX (1961): 461.

5 WOGIHARA, U., op.cit., p.9.

the most important one.⁶ FRAUWALLNER came to the conclusion that the *Samgītiparyāya*, *Dharmaskandha* and *Prajñaptiśāstra* are the oldest works, the *Dhātukāya* and *Vijñānakāya* are in between, and the *Prakaraṇapāda* and *Jñānaprasthāna* are the youngest works.⁷

Moreover, the literature of great canonical commentaries is well represented. The most important one of these works is the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, commentary on the *Jñānaprasthāna*. In Chinese, there are three *Vibhāṣās*: the *Vibhāṣāśāstra* «P'i-p'o-sha Lun» 鞞婆沙論 (T. Vol. 28, Nr.1547), attributed to Saṃghabhadra and most likely revised by Saṃghadeva in Lo-yang; the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* «A-p'i-t'an P'i-p'o-sha Lun» 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 (T. Vol.28, Nr.1546), work of Buddhavarman; and the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* «A-p'i-ta-mo Ta P'i-p'o-sha Lun» 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 (T. Vol.27, Nr.1545), of Hsüan-tsang.

Besides the works of canonical nature, there is a series of diverse treatises, which are to be classified in different groups. The first one of these, consists of three treatises called *Pañcavastuka* or *Pañcadharmaka*⁸, of which one is attributed to a Dharmatrāta: «Wu Shih P'i-p'o-sha Lun» 五事毘婆沙論 (T.1555)⁹ and the other two are anonymous: «Sa-p'o-to Tsung Wu Shih Lun» 薩婆多宗五事論 (T.1556)¹⁰ and «A-p'i-t'an Wu Fa Hsing Ching» 阿毘曇五法行經 (T.1557)¹¹.

A second group consists of the works of Dharmaśreṣṭhin, Upaśānta and Dharmatrāta, and are called '*Abhidharmahrdaya*': i.e. «A-p'i-t'an Hsin Lun»

6 See FUKUHARA, R., op.cit., p.12. As a result of the Sarvāstivāda-synod, held under the reign of king Aśoka, Kātyāyanīputra and his men were banned and went to convert Kaśmīr. In this respect, the *Jñānaprasthāna* is to be seen as a systematization of the doctrine of a part of the Sarvāstivādins and was in this way not recognized by another part: the work was only influential in Kaśmīr. (FRAUWALLNER, E., "Abhidharma-Studien, III. Der Abhisamayavādaḥ", WZKSO XV (1971): 71; DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN, L., *L'Abhidharmakośa*, Vol. I, p.xxix).

7 FRAUWALLNER, E., "Abhidharma-Studien, II. Die kanonischen Abhidharma-Werke", WZKSO VIII (1964): 71.

8 Besides being translated separated from the *Prakaraṇa* twice, the *Pañcavastuka* is to be found as the first chapter of that *Prakaraṇa* (T. 1541 and T. 1542).

9 Translated 663 A.D. by Hsüan-tsang (IMANISHI, J., *Das Pañcavastukam und die Pañcavastukavibhāṣā*, Göttingen 1969, p.4). See also note 56.

10 Translated by Fa-ch'eng, 9th. century (IMANISHI, J., op.cit., p.4).

11 Translated by An Shih-kao, 148-170 A.D. (IMANISHI, J., op.cit., p.4).

阿毘曇心論 (T.1550)¹², «*A-p'i-t'an Hsin Lun Ching*» 阿毘曇心論經 (T. 1551)¹³, and «*Tsa A-p'i-t'an Hsin Lun*» 雜阿毘曇心論 (T.1552).¹⁴

There are three isolate treatises, one of which is named after Vasumitra: «*Tsun P'o-hsü-mi P'u-sa So-chi Lun*» 尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論 (T.1549)¹⁵; one of which is called *Abhidharmāmṛtarasa* «*A-p'i-t'an Kan-lu-wei Lun*» 阿毘曇甘露味論, and is attributed to Ghosaka¹⁶ (T.1553); and the third of which is called *Abhidharmāvatāraprakaraṇa* «*Ju A-p'i-ta-mo Lun*» 入阿毘達磨論, and is attributed to Skandhila (T.1554)¹⁷.

A special place is also to be given to the *Lokaprajñapti*: «*Li Shih A-p'i-t'an Lun*» 立世阿毘曇論 (T.1644)¹⁸.

We should also mention the *Abhidharmakośa* by Vasubandhu: (T.1558: «*A-p'i-ta-mo Chü-she Lun*» 阿毘達磨俱舍論; T.1559: «*A-p'i-ta-mo Chü-she Shih Lun*» 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論)¹⁹, the *Catuḥsatyaśāstra* «*Szu Ti Lun*» 四諦論 by Vasuvarman (T.1647)²⁰ and the *Lakṣaṇānusāra* «*Sui-hsiang Lun*» 隨相論 by Guṇamati (T.1641)²¹.

Finally, we should mention the *Nyāyānusārasāstra* by Saṃghabhadra (T.1562: «*A-p'i-ta-mo Shun-cheng-li Lun*» 阿毘達磨順正理論)²². The latter work refutes the Sautrāntika teachings of the *Abhidharmakośa*, and defends orthodox Sarvāstivādin doctrines.²³

12 Chinese translation by Saṃghadeva, 391 A.D. See WILLEMEN, Ch., *The Essence of Metaphysics*, Brussel 1975, p.xxxii, n.40.

13 Chinese translation by Narendrayaśas, 563 A.D. («*Chen-yüan Hsin Ting Shih Chiao Mu-lu*» 貞元新定釋教目錄, T.Vol.55, Nr.2157, p.954b14-17; «*Ta-t'ang Nei-tien Lu*» 大唐內典錄, T.Vol.55, Nr.2149, p.301a23-24).

14 Chinese translation by Saṃghavarman, 434 A.D. («*Ch'u San-tsang Chi Chi*» 出三藏記集, T.Vol.55, Nr.2145, p.74c3-7).

15 Chinese translation by Saṃghabhadra.

16 Chinese translation under the Ts'ao-wei 曹魏 (220-264) by an anonymous tripitaka (T.1553, p.966a4-6). See note 50.

17 Chinese translation by Hsüan-tsang.

18 Chinese translation by Paramārtha.

19 Chinese translations by Hsüan-tsang and Paramārtha resp.

20 Chinese translation by Paramārtha.

21 Chinese translation by Paramārtha.

22 Chinese translation by Hsüan-tsang.

23 It should be remarked that also Saṃghabhadra was influenced by the *Abhidharmakośa* and advanced some new doctrines that differed from the traditional positions

* * *

Already in the early Abhidharma works, questions such as the relationship of one factor to another are to be found. Concerning the question of factors mutually being associated (*saṃprayogaḥ*), the *Jñānaprasthāna* says that some elements do not arise alone, but only in combination with something else.²⁴

It is with the further development of the Buddhist doctrine that many new series of elements were composed. In this way, e.g., the different psychological categories ‘*citta*’ and ‘*caitasikā dharmāḥ*’ were established. To these, such further terms as ‘*cittasaṃprayuktā dharmāḥ*’, ‘*cittasahabhuvo dharmāḥ*’, ‘*cittānuparivartino dharmāḥ*’, etc. were added.²⁵

maintained by Sarvāstivādins. Consequently, his teachings are referred to as doctrines of “the new Sarvāstivādin (School)”. (HIRAKAWA, A., *A History of Indian Buddhism – from Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, Honolulu 1990, p.137) See also NAKAMURA, H., *Indian Buddhism – A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Tōkyō 1980, p.112. It is further to be remarked that, recently, the Sanskrit text of the *Abhidharmadīpa*, an Abhidharma work that follows the *Abhidharmakośa*, was published. See HIRAKAWA, A., op.cit., p.137.

24 See WZKSO VIII (1964): 63-4.

25 See WZKSO VIII (1964): 68.

Also in the Pāli School and in the *Śāriputrābhidharma* of the Dharmaguptakas we find evidence of the development to establish different psychic elements. See FRAUWALLNER, E., WZKSO XV (1971): 119-120; “Abhidharma-Studien, IV. Der Abhidharma der anderen Schulen”, WZKSO XVI (1972): 140.

Concerning the question whether the different elements are associated with one another, the *Śāriputrābhidharma* does not set out from the old *mātrkā* as it is the case in the *Dhātukathā* of the Pāli School, but, as in the *Dhātukāya* of the Sarvāstivādins, it replaces this *mātrkā* by a list of psychic elements. In this way, in the *Śāriputrābhidharma*, we find twenty-seven accompanying mental factors (*caitasikā dharmāḥ*): *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *cetanā*, *sparśa*, *manaskāra*, *vitarka*, *vicāra*, *kṣānti*, *darśana*, *jñāna*, *adhimokṣa*, *alobha*, *adveṣa*, *amoha*, *śraddhānusāra*, *apatrāpya*, *anapatrāpya*, *prīti*, *saumanasya*, *cittaprasārabdhī*, *cittaprāgunyatā*, *śraddhā*, *chanda*, *apramāda*, *smṛti*, *upekṣā*, and *bhaya*. In the repetition in the commentary, *kṣānti* is dropped, and we find *samādhī* at the last but fourth place, and *vicikitsā* at the last but one place (FRAUWALLNER, E., WZKSO XVI (1972): 145-6 and 149). We thus find dharmas associated with awarenesses, dharmas dissociated from awarenesses, and unconditioned ones. See FRAUWALLNER, E., 1972, pp.150-151.

At the moment an awareness (*citta*) arises, accompanying mental factors (*caitasikā dharmāḥ*) have to arise together with it.²⁶ No awareness or accompanying mental factor arises alone. This is, e.g., stated in T.1552, pp.880c29-881a1 and p.881a12 ff.:

At the moment an awareness is produced, this awareness definitely has a companion: the collection of accompanying mental factors (and of formations that are dissociated).

In this respect, it is noteworthy that in the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin, the *Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*²⁷, it is stated that awarenesses and accompanying mental factors have the same supporting object (*ālambana*), are associated (*saṃprayukta*), have the same aspect (*ākāra*), have one and the same basis (*āśraya*), etc..

Among these accompanying mental factors, there are:

- factors arising with every awareness (*mahābhūmika*)
- factors arising with every defiled awareness (*kleśamahābhūmika*)
- factors arising with defiled awarenesses to a limited extent (*parīttakleśabhūmika*)
- factors arising with every good awareness (*kuśalamahābhūmika*)
- factors arising with every bad awareness (*akuśalamahābhūmika*)

With these, other terms are associated: *cittasaṃprayuktā dharmāḥ*, *cittasahabhūvo dharmāḥ*, and *cittānuparivartino dharmāḥ*.

The different canonical works try to systematize the psychological factors.

These accompanying mental factors are discussed in following of the above mentioned works: *Dharmaskandha*, *Dhātukāya*, *Prakaranapāda*, *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*, *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, «*Sa-p'o-to Tsung Wu Shih Lun*», the *Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* by Dharmaśreṣṭhin, the *Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* by Upasānta, the *Samyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* by Dharmatrāta, the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra* attributed to Ghoṣaka, the *Abhidharmakośa* (T.1558), and the *Nyāyānusāraśāstra* (T.1562).

26 See FRAUWALLNER, E., "Abhidharma-Studien, I. Pañcaskandhakam und Pañcavastukam", *WZKSO* VII (1963): 22.

27 T. Vol. 28, Nr. 1550, p.830b27ff.

* * *

The old Abhidharma has a rudimentary psychology with division in awarenesses (*citta*) and accompanying mental factors (*caitasika dharma*), whereby these awarenesses and accompanying mental factors are associated with one another.

The **Dharmaskandha** (one of the oldest Abhidharma works²⁸) T. Vol. 26, Nr. 1537, p. 500c16-23, divides the sense dharma 法處 (*dharmāyatana*) into: feeling 受 (*vedanā*), conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), contact 觸 (*sparsā*), attention 作意 (*manaskāra*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), resolve 勝解 (*adhimokṣa*), faith 信 (*śraddhā*), energy 精 (*vīrya*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*), concentration 定 (*samādhi*), wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*)²⁹, initial thought 尋 (*vitarka*), sustained thought 伺 (*vicāra*), heedlessness 放逸 (*pramāda*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), root of merit 善根 (*kuśalamūla*), root of demerit 不善根 (*akuśalamūla*), root of neither merit nor demerit 無記根 (*avyākṛtamūla*), fetter 一切結 (*saṃyojana*), bond 縛 (*bandhana*), contaminant 隨眠 (*anuśaya*), secondary defilement 隨煩惱 (*upakleśa*), enveloper 纏 (*pariyavasthāna*), knowledge 諸所有智 (*jñāna*), vision 見 (*darśana*), higher realization 現觀 (*abhisamaya*), acquisition 得 (*prāpti*), meditative attainment without conceptual identification 無想定 (*asaṃjñīsamāpatti*), meditative attainment which is cessation 滅定 (*nirodhasamāpatti*), absence of conceptual identification 無想事 (*asaṃjñika*), faculty life 命根 (*jīvitendriya*), homogeneity-force 眾同分 (*nikāyasabhāgatā*), obtainment of basis 住得 (*āśrayapratilābha*), obtainment of actual entities 事得 (*vastupratilābha*), obtainment of senses 處得 (*āyatana-pratilābha*), birth 生 (*jāti*), decay 老 (*jarā*), duration 住 (*sthiti*), impermanence 無常 (*anityatā*), the group of names 名身 (*nāmakāya*), the group of sentences 句身 (*padakāya*), the group of syllables 文身 (*vyañjanakāya*), space 虛空 (*ākāśa*), calculated cessation 擇滅 (*pratisaṃkhyānirodha*), uncalculated cessation 非擇滅 (*apratisaṃkhyānirodha*), and what other [entities] there may be that are known by the faculty mind (*mana-indriya*)

28 According to FRAUWALLNER, E., *WZKSO* VIII (1964): 79, the *Dharmaskandha* dates from a period in which the Pāli school and the school of the Sarvāstivādins were not yet divided. The work thus is to be dated during the missions of Aśoka.

29 In the *Prakarāṇa*, we find *śraddhā* and *vīrya* after, not before *prajñā*.

and are understood by consciousness of the mind (*manovijñāna*) 及餘所有意根所知意識所了. This is forty-four in total, *without any distinction*.

In the definitions of the Dharmaskandha, we find three of the five categories of the later Pañcavastuka³⁰ by Vasumitra: “(Pa)ñca dharmāḥ (:) rūpam, cittam caitasikā dharm(āś citta)viprayuktāḥ saṃskārāḥ asaṃskṛtāṇ ca”³¹: thus, *cittasamprayuktāḥ saṃskārāḥ* (feeling upto higher realization), *cittaviprayuktāḥ saṃskārāḥ* (acquisition upto the group of syllables), and the three *asaṃskṛtas* (space, calculated cessation, and uncalculated cessation).³²

The mental elements in the enumeration as it appears in the *Pañcavastukam* – enumeration which was generally recognized – are not invented especially for the system of the five categories, but had their actual place among the *saṃskāra-skandhāḥ*, as this is the case in the *Dharmaskandha*: in another passage (T. Vol.26, Nr.1537, p.501b16-19 and b20-21), the *Dharma-skandha* tries to bring the *cittasamprayuktā saṃskārāḥ* and the *cittaviprayuktā saṃskārāḥ* in the *Pañcavastuka* system, by bringing them in the aggregate conditioning factors (*saṃskāraskandha*): “What is the aggregate conditioning factors? The aggregate conditioning factors is twofold: formations associated with awarenesses and formations dissociated from awarenesses. What are the formations associated with awarenesses? Thinking 思 (*cetanā*), contact 觸 (*sparśa*), attention 作意 (*manaskāra*), and so upto knowledge

30 The *Pañcavastuka* is an important Sarvāstivāda work that, for the first time, bases a principle doctrine on the five categories (*dharmāḥ*). See IMANISHI, J., op.cit. p.13.

31 IMANISHI, J., op.cit. p.6; see also FRAUWALLNER, E., *WZKSO* VII (1963): 20. Following the enumeration of the five categories, the elements belonging to these categories are enumerated. This style is reminiscent of the early Abhidharma works which enumerate all elements. The word ‘*dharma*’ is, as e.g. in the *Samgītisūtra*, used as technical term in the sense of ‘thing’, ‘category’. The *Pañcavastukam* is supposed to have been called ‘*Pañcadharmakam*’ before. In the translation of An Shih-kao, the work is called «*A-p’i-t’an Wu Fa Hsing Ching*» 阿毗曇五法行經. In case his «*A-p’i-t’an Ch’i Fa Hsing Ching*» 阿毗曇七法行經 (*Abhidharmasaptadharma-caryāsūtra*) was identical to the fourth chapter (*Saptavāstukam*) of the *Prakaraṇam*, this chapter should have been called ‘*Saptadharmakam*’. In the older one of both translations of the *Prakaraṇam* (Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas), this first chapter is also called ‘*Pañcadharmakam*’, the fourth, however, ‘*Saptavāstukam*’. In the translation by Hsüan-tsang, the chapters are both called ‘*Pañcavastukam*’ and ‘*Saptavāstukam*’. See IMANISHI, J., op.cit. p.12.

32 The question which elements are to be classified among *rūpam*, *cittam* and *asaṃskṛtam* is easy to be answered since the number of elements belonging to these categories are only a small number. See IMANISHI, J., op.cit., p.15.

諸所有智 (*jñāna*), vision 見 (*darśana*) and higher realization 現觀 (*abhisamaya*) ... What are the formations dissociated from awarenesses? Acquisition 得 (*prāpti*), meditative attainment without conceptual identification 無想定 (*asamjñi*), and so upto the group of syllables 文身 (*vyañjanakāya*). The third group is the one that otherwise is called ‘*asamskṛtam*’.

Since in the enumeration as the *Dharmaskandha* gives it, we find: a) *cittasamprayuktas*; b) *cittaviprayuktas*; c) *asamskṛtas*; and, moreover, the *cittasamprayuktas* and *cittaviprayuktas* are further listed with *samskāra-skandha*, it is to be seen that the author of the *Pañcavastukam* is not original concerning the *pañcadharmāḥ*, but that the importance of his work merely lies in the fact that it systematizes the elements already given in the *Dharma-skandha*.³³

The enumeration in five categories as it appears in the *Pañcavastukam* was also used later. The *Abhidharmāvatāraḥ*, e.g., follows the traditional system of five groups, and among *samskāra-skandha*, we find an enumeration of: those that are associated with mind: *cetanā*, *sparśa*, *chanda*, *manaskāra*, *adhimokṣa*, *smṛti*, *samādhi*, *prajñā*, *vitarka*, *vicāra*, *śraddhā*, *vīrya*, *hrī*, *apatrāpya*, *apramāda*, *praśrabdhi*, *avihiṃsā*, *upekṣā*, *praharṣa*, *nirvid*, *aśraddhā*, *kauśīdya*, *pramāda*, *kuśalamūla*, *akuśalamūla*, *avyākṛtamūla*, *saṃyojana*, *bandhana*, *anuśaya*, *upakleśa*, *paryavasthāna*, *āsrava*, *ogha*, *yoga*, *upādāna*, *granthā*, *nivāraṇa*, *jñāna*, and *kṣānti*; and those that are

33 cf. FRAUWALLNER, E., *WZKSO VII* (1963): 33-34: “Wir finden im Buddhismus früh, noch zur Zeit des alten Abhidharma, eine feste Form, die Seinselemente, mit denen die Dogmatik arbeitete, zusammenfassend darzustellen. Als Rahmen dienen dabei die kanonischen Listen der *skandhāḥ*, *āyatanāni* und *dhātavaḥ*. Doch stehen die *skandhāḥ* im Vordergrund. Die *āyatanāni* und *dhātavaḥ* kommen nur im Anschluss daran und in ihrem Verhältnis zu den *skandhāḥ* zur Sprache. Die Darstellung erfolgt in der Weise, dass die *skandhāḥ* zunächst aufgezählt und kurz erklärt werden. Dann werden sie nach einer Liste von Eigenschaften, einer *Mātrkā*, durchbesprochen. Diese Form der Darstellung scheint ziemlich verbreitet gewesen zu sein. Jedenfalls war sie nicht auf eine Schule beschränkt. Später kam eine Darstellung auf, welche alle Seinselemente in weit umfassenderer Form zusammenstellte, und zwar, unabhängig vom alten Schema, nach 5 Gegenständen (*vastūni*) geordnet, das *Pañcavastukam*. Diese neue Darstellung im Rahmen der 5 *skandhāḥ*, das *Pañcaskandhakam*, war in der Überlieferung bereits zu fest verwurzelt. Man übernahm daher die Neuerungen des *Pañcavastukam*, über die man nicht hinweggehen konnte, aber man presste sie schlecht und recht in den alten Rahmen. Und so behauptete sich die alte Form des *Pañcaskandhakam* bis zum Ausgang der Abhidharma-Zeit und bis in die letzte massgebende Formung der Dogmatik bei Vasubandhu dem Jüngeren.”

dissociated: *prāpti*, *aprāpti*, *asaṃjñīsamāpatti*, *nirodhasamāpatti*, *āsaṃjñika*, *jīvitendriya*, *sabhāga*, *jāti*, *jarā*, *anityatā*, *nāmakāya*, *padakāya* and *vyañjanakāya*. The enumeration as Hsüan-tsang presents it, may be inspired by the ten *mahābhūmikas*, *kuśalamahābhūmikas*, and *kleśamahābhūmikas*. Whether it is Hsüan-tsang himself who 'invented' the new enumeration is another question.³⁴

The «*Sa-p'o-to Tsung Wu Shih Lun*» 薩婆多宗五事論 enumerates elements that are associated (*saṃprayukta*), dissociated ones (*viprayukta*), and unconditioned ones (*asaṃskṛta*). For the ones that are associated (T.1556, p.995c14-18), we find the same series as the one above (feeling (*vedanā*) upto higher realization (*abhisamaya*)), but in a slightly different order; the ones that are dissociated (T.1556, p.995c18-24) are the same series as above (acquisition (*prāpti*) upto the group of syllables (*vyañjanakāya*)); the unconditioned ones (T.1556, p.995c25-26) are space (*ākāśa*), uncalculated cessation (*apratisaṃkhyānirodha*), and calculated cessation (*pratisaṃkhyānirodha*).

For all these elements, definitions are given: pp.996a24-997c17 for the associated ones, p.997c18-29 for the dissociated ones, and pp.997c29-998a5 for the unconditioned ones.

* * *

The **Dhātukāya** (middle period of old Abhidharma works³⁵), T. Vol. 26, Nr.1540, p.614b12-c10, knows ten *mahābhūmikas*, ten *kleśamahābhūmikas*, ten *parīttakleśabhūmikas*, five defilements (*kleśa*), five views (*dṛṣṭi*), five forms of contact (*sparśa*), five faculties (*indriya*), five dharmas, the group of six forms of consciousness (*viññāna*), the group of six forms of contact (*sparśa*), six forms of feeling (*vedanā*), six forms of conceptual identification (*saṃjñā*), six forms of thinking (*cetanā*), and six forms of craving (*trṣṇā*). This is ninety-one in total. It is in this *Dhātukāya* that the category called 'mahābhūmika' appears for the first time³⁶.* the *mahābhūmikas* of the

34 see IMANISHI, J., op.cit. p.21.

35 see FRAUWALLNER, E., *WZKSO* VII (1964): 87-8.

36 The *mahābhūmika-dharmāḥ* and other such categories appear for the first time in the *Dhātukāyaḥ* and then in the *Prakarāṇa*, without connection to the five categories. FRAUWALLNER, E., *WZKSO* 1964): 80 situates the *Dhātukāyaḥ* in the middle group of Abhidharma Works, more precisely (op.cit., p.88) in between the *Dharmaskandhaḥ* and the *Prakarāṇa*. FRAUWALLNER, E., op.cit., pp.82-83: "... eine nicht zu unter-

Dhātukāya are: feeling 受 (*vedanā*), conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), contact 觸 (*sparsā*), attention 作意 (*manaskāra*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), resolve 勝解 (*adhimokṣa*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*), concentration 三摩地 (*samādhi*), and wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*).

These are also to be found in the *Pañcavastuka* among the *accompanying mental factors* (*caitasikā dharmāḥ*).

* the *kleśamahābhūmikas* are: lack of confidence 不信 (*āśraddhya*), sloth 懈怠 (*kausīdya*), forgetfulness 失念 (*muṣitasmṛtitā*), distraction 心亂 (*vikṣepa*), ignorance 無明 (*avidyā*), lack of mindfulness 不正知 (*asam-prajanya*), unreasoned attention 非理作意 (*ayoniśomanaskāra*), false resolve 邪勝解 (*mithyādhimokṣa*), excitedness 掉舉 (*auddhatya*), and heedlessness 放逸 (*pramāda*).

* the *parīttakleśabhūmikas* are: anger 忿 (*krodha*), vengefulness 恨 (*upanāha*), hypocrisy 覆 (*mrakṣa*), spite 惱 (*pradāśa*), envy 嫉 (*īrṣyā*), selfishness 慳 (*mātsarya*), deceit 誑 (*māyā*), craftiness 諂 (*śāṭhya*), pride 憍 (*māna*) and violence 害 (*vihiṃsā*).

We thus have ten *mahābhūmikas*, ten *kleśamahābhūmikas*, and ten *parīttakleśabhūmikas*.

It is remarkable that a group of 'good psychic elements' as opposed to the *kleśamahābhūmikas* lacks. This may be explained by the fact that the interest in older times was in first instance in these elements that determine the entanglement in the process of rebirth.³⁷

schätzende Leistung. Der bisherige Abhidharmaḥ hatte ausschliesslich mit überkommenen Begriffe gearbeitet. Auch der *Dharmaskandhaḥ* hatte wohl in der Gliederung des Stoffes und in der Betrachtungsweise geneuert, aber inhaltlich hatte er nichts Neues gebracht. Hier im *Dhātukāyaḥ* wird zum ersten Mal, besonders in den ersten Gruppen, die Psychologie von einen neuen Gesichtspunkt aus selbständig behandelt. Und damit ist ein überaus wichtiger Schritt für die weitere Entwicklung des Abhidharmaḥ getan. ... bis zur letzten Zusammenfassung der Dogmatik der Schule in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośaḥ* hat in der Aufgliederung der psychischen Gegebenheiten das Vorbild der *Dhātukāyaḥ* nachgewirkt".

37 See FRAUWALLNER, E., *WZKSO VII* (1964): 82.

The **Prakaraṇapāda** (younger of the old Abhidharma works), translated by Guṇabhadra (T.Vol. 26, Nr. 1541, p.634a25-28) has the same ten *mahābhūmikas*, ten *kleśamahābhūmikas*, and ten *parīttakleśabhūmikas* we find in the *Dhātukāya*, and gives *definitions* for them (p.635a2-29).

The *Prakaraṇapāda*, translated by Hsüan-tsang (T.Vol. 26, Nr. 1542, p.698c 10-14) has a fourth group: *kuśalamahābhūmikas*: faith 信 (*śraddhā*), energy 勤 (*vīrya*), shame 慚 (*hrī*), modesty 愧 (*apatrāpya*), absence of greed 無貪 (*alobha*), absence of hatred 無瞋 (*adveṣa*), tranquility 輕安 (*praśrabdhi*), equanimity 捨 (*upekṣā*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), and kindness 不害 (*avihiṃsā*).³⁸

We thus have ten *mahābhūmikas*, ten *kleśamahābhūmikas*, ten *parīttakleśabhūmikas*, and ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas*.

The work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin, the **Abhidharmahr̥dayaśāstra**, p.810c2-9 and c16-27, only has ten *mahābhūmikas* and enumerates ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas*, however, does not use the term '*kuśalamahābhūmika*'.

* the *mahābhūmikas* are: conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), contact 更樂 (*sparśa*), wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), resolve 解脫 (*adhimokṣa*), attention 作意 (*manaskāra*), concentration 定 (*samādhi*), and feeling 痛 (*vedanā*); i.e. the same ten as in the *Dhātukāya*, but in different order.

* the *kuśalamahābhūmikas* are: absence of greed 無貪 (*alobha*), absence of hatred 無恚 (*adveṣa*), understanding 無愚痴 (*amoha*), initial thought 覺 (*vitarka*), sustained thought 觀 (*vicāra*), faith 信 (*śraddhā*), tranquility 猗 (*praśrabdhi*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), energy 進 (*vīrya*), and equanimity 護 (*upekṣā*). Compared to the *Prakaraṇapāda*, we have '*vitarka*', '*vicāra*', and '*amoha*', instead of '*hrī*', '*apatrāpya*', and '*avihiṃsā*'.

Since the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin has the same ten *mahābhūmikas* as in the *Dhātukāya* and has ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (*vitarka*, *vicāra*, and *amoha* instead of *hrī*, *apatrāpya*, and *avihiṃsā*), but has no *parīttakleśabhūmikas*, it might seem logical to date the text before the *Prakaraṇapāda* (and the *Jñānaprasthāna*). Since, however, the category of *kuśalamahābhūmikas* is a

38 The actual value of the work is in first instance its tendency to systematization. (FRAUWALLNER, E., *WZKSO* VII (1964): 97).

younger category, it seems we have to date the text later than the *Prakaraṇapāda*. To this we will return in our Conclusion.

The **Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra** (T. Vol. 28, Nr. 1553) has the four groups of the second version of the *Prakaraṇapāda* (*mahābhūmikas*, *kleśamahābhūmikas*, *parīttakleśabhūmikas* and *kuśalamahābhūmikas*).

* the *mahābhūmikas* (p.970b20-21) are: feeling 痛 (*vedanā*), conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), attention 憶 (*manaskāra*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), resolve 解脫 (*adhimokṣa*), faith 信 (*śraddhā*), energy 精進 (*vīrya*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*), concentration 定 (*samādhi*), wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*), and equanimity 護 (*upekṣā*). Compared to the *Dhātukāya* and to the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin, this is adding ‘*vīrya*’, ‘*śraddhā*’, and ‘*upekṣā*’, and dropping ‘*sparśa*’, thus totalling twelve elements.

* the *kleśamahābhūmikas* (p.970b22-29) are: lack of confidence 不信 (*āśraddhya*), sloth 懈怠 (*kauśīdya*), forgetfulness 忘 (*muṣitasmr̥titā*), distraction 心亂 (*vikṣepa*), lack of mindfulness 闇鈍 (*asamprajanya*), unreasoned attention 邪憶 (*ayoniśomanaskāra*), false resolve 邪解脫 (*mithyādhimokṣa*), excitedness 調 (*auddhatya*), ignorance 無明 (*avidyā*), and heedlessness 邪行 (*pramāda*); i.e. the same as in the *Dhātukāya*, but in different order.

* the *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.970c9-16) are: absence of greed 不貪 (*alobha*), absence of hatred 不恚 (*adveṣa*), faith 信 (*śraddhā*), tranquility 猗 (*praśrabdhi*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), energy 精進 (*vīrya*), equanimity 護 (*upekṣā*), kindness 不憍惱 (*avihiṃsā*), shame 慚 (*hrī*), and modesty 愧 (*apatrāpya*); i.e. the same as in the *Prakaraṇapāda*, but in different order.

* the *parīttakleśabhūmikas* (p.970b29-c6) are: anger 瞋 (*krodha*), vengeance 優波那 (*upanāha*), hypocrisy 不語 (*mrakṣa*), spite 波陀舍 (*pradāśa*), deceit 摩夜 (*māyā*), craftiness 舍恥 (*śāṭhya*), selfishness 慳 (*mātsarya*), envy 嫉 (*īrṣyā*), pride 慢 (*māna*), and arrogance 大慢 (*atimāna*). These *parīttakleśabhūmikas* thus are partially different from the ones in the *Dhātukāya* (having ‘*atimāna*’ instead of ‘*vihiṃsā*’).

We thus have the enumeration of twelve *mahābhūmikas* (i.e. compared to the *Dhātukāya*: adding *vīrya*, *śraddhā*, and ‘*upekṣā*’, and dropping ‘*sparśa*’), ten *kleśamahābhūmikas* (as in the *Dhātukāya*), ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (*hrī*

and *apatrāpya* again), and ten *parīttakleśabhūmikas* (i.e. compared to the *Dhātukāya*: *atimāna* instead of *avihiṃsā*).

The **Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra** - work of Buddhavarman - (T.Vol.28, Nr.1546), has ten *mahābhūmikas*, ten *kleśamahābhūmikas*, ten *parīttakleśabhūmikas*, ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas*, a new group of five *akuśalamahābhūmikas*, and further has a sixth group, called *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas*.

* the *mahābhūmikas* (p.169c17-18) are: feeling 受 (*vedanā*), conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), contact 觸 (*sparsā*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), attention 作觀 (*manaskāra*), resolve 解脫 (*adhimokṣa*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*), concentration 定 (*samādhi*), and wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*); i.e. the same as in the *Dhātukāya* and in the *Abhidharmahrdayaśāstra* by Dharmaśreṣṭhin.

* the *kleśamahābhūmikas* (p.169c18-19) are: lack of confidence 不信 (*āśraddhya*), sloth 懈怠 (*kauśīdya*), forgetfulness 亂念 (*muṣita-smṛtitā*), distraction 心亂 (*vikṣepa*), ignorance 無明 (*avidyā*), lack of mindfulness 惡慧 (*asamprajanya*)³⁹, unreasoned attention 不正作觀 (*ayoniśomanaskāra*)⁴⁰, false resolve 邪解脫 (*mithyādhimokṣa*), excitedness 掉 (*auddhatya*), and heedlessness 放逸 (*pramāda*); i.e. the same and in the same order as in the *Dhātukāya*, the same, also, as in the *Abhidharmāmṛta-rasaśāstra*.

39 惡慧 is not a usual translation of 'asamprajanya'. NAKAMURA, H., *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, Tōkyō 1985, p.18, gives 'kuprajñā' as Sanskrit equivalent for 惡慧, and, hereby, refers to the Chinese translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Paramārtha. This work, T.1559, p.208c12-13, explains 惡慧 as follows: "A stanza says that [it is] because it is associated with views (*dṛṣṭi*), and, this is explained as that when ignorance (*avidyā*) settles 惡慧, all views do then not have to be associated with ignorance". A similar explanation of 惡慧 is found in Hsüan-tsang's translation of the *Abhidharmakośa*, T.1558, p.51c23-24. Hence, we interpret 惡慧 as 'asamprajanya' – lack of mindfulness.

40 不正作觀 is not a usual translation of 'ayoniśomanaskāra'. Since, in this text, 作觀 is used for 'manaskāra', and, moreover, 'ayoniśas' is given as Sanskrit equivalent for 不正 in NAKAMURA, H., op.cit., p.1163, we interpret 不正作觀 as 'ayoniśomanaskāra'.

* the *parīttakleśabhūmikas* (p.170a12-13) are: anger 忿 (*krodha*), anger 嫌 (*krodha*)⁴¹, hypocrisy 覆 (*mrakṣa*), vengefulness 恨 (*upanāha*), selfishness 慳 (*mātsarya*), envy 嫉 (*īrṣyā*), deceit 誑 (*māyā*), craftiness 諂 (*śāṭhya*), pride 憍 (*mada*), and violence 害 (*vihimsā*).

* the *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.170a13-14) are: faith 信 (*śraddhā*), tranquility 猗 (*praśrabdhi*), energy 進 (*vīrya*), shame 慚 (*hrī*), modesty 愧 (*apatrāpya*), absence of greed 不貪 (*alobha*), absence of hatred 不恚 (*adveṣa*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), kindness 不害 (*avihimsā*), and equanimity 捨 (*upekṣā*); i.e. the same as in the *Prakaraṇapāda* and in the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra*, but in different order.

* there further are five *akuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.170a14-15): ignorance 無明 (*avidyā*), sleepiness 睡 (*middha*), excitedness 掉 (*auddhatya*), shamelessness 無慚 (*āhrīkyā*), and disregard 無愧 (*anapatrāpya*). It is remarkable that here *auddhatya* is enumerated both with the *kleśamahābhūmikas* and with the *akuśalamahābhūmikas*. We will return to this problem in our Conclusion.

* the sixth group, the *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* (p.170a15) are: ignorance 無明 (*avidyā*), sleepiness 睡 (*middha*), and excitedness 掉 (*auddhatya*); i.e. three of the five *akuśalamahābhūmikas*, again including *auddhatya*!⁴² The *mahābhūmikas* (feeling (*vedanā*) upto wisdom (*prajñā*)) are further stated to be *anivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* (p.170a16), antipole of the *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas*.

The fact that the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* enumerates ten *mahābhūmikas* (as in the *Dhātukāya*), ten *kleśamahābhūmikas* (as in the *Dhātukāya* and in the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra*), ten *parīttakleśabhūmikas* (as in the *Dhātukāya*), and ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (as in the *Prakaraṇapāda* and in the

41 嫌 is stated to be an equivalent for the Sanskrit 'krodha' in NAKAMURA, H., op.cit., p.328. This would give us twice 'krodha' (忿 and 嫌). Since the list of *parīttakleśabhūmikas* is identical with the one of the *Dhātukāya*, exception made for the double occurrence of 'krodha', it is not unlikely that the second mentioning of 'krodha' is mistakenly for 'pradāśa'. We will, however, not take this hypothesis into consideration in our Conclusion.

42 *Āhrīkyā* and *anapatrāpya*, the only two *akuśalamahābhūmikas* not mentioned among this latter category of *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* are the only *akuśalamahābhūmikas* mentioned in the *Samyuktābhidharmahrdayaśāstra*.

Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra), and further has a group, called *akuśalamahābhūmikas*, group in which also a *kleśamahābhūmika* is enumerated, and which does not occur in the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra*, suggests that the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* was written later than Ghoṣaka's work.

The **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra** – in the translation by Hsüan-tsang – (T.Vol. 27, Nr. 1545), has all groups of the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*, except for the group of *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* (and the *anivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas*):

* the *mahābhūmikas* (p.220a2-4) are: feeling 受 (*vedanā*), conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), contact 觸 (*sparsā*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), attention 作意 (*manaskāra*), resolve 解脫 (*adhimokṣa*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*), concentration 三摩提 (*samādhi*), and wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*); i.e. the same as in the *Dhātukāya* (in slightly different order) and in the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin, and the same and in the same order as in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*.

* the *kleśamahābhūmikas* (p.220a5-7) are: lack of confidence 不信 (*āśraddhya*), sloth 懈怠 (*kauśīdya*), heedlessness 放逸 (*pramāda*), excitedness 掉舉 (*auddhatya*), ignorance 無明 (*avidyā*), forgetfulness 忘念 (*muṣitasmr̥titā*), lack of mindfulness 不正知 (*asamprajanya*), distraction 心亂 (*vikṣepa*), unreasoned attention 非理作意 (*ayoniśomanaskāra*), and false resolve 邪解脫 (*mithyādhimokṣa*); i.e. the same as in the *Dhātukāya*, the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra*, and in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*, but in different order.

* the *parittakleśabhūmikas* (p.220a29-b2) are: anger 忿 (*krodha*), vengefulness 恨 (*upanāha*), hypocrisy 覆 (*mrakṣa*), spite 惱 (*pradāśa*), craftiness 諂 (*śāṭhya*), deceit 誑 (*māyā*), pride 憍 (*mada*), selfishness 慳 (*mātsarya*), envy 嫉 (*īrṣyā*), and violence 害 (*vihimsā*); i.e. the same as in the *Dhātukāya*, but in different order.

* the *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.220b2-4) are: faith 信 (*śraddhā*), energy 精進 (*vīrya*), shame 慚 (*hrī*), modesty 愧 (*apatrāpya*), absence of greed 無貪 (*alobha*), absence of hatred 無瞋 (*adveṣa*), tranquility 輕安 (*praśrabdhi*), equanimity 捨 (*upekṣā*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), and kindness 不害 (*avihimsā*); i.e. the same and in the same order as in the *Prakarāṇapāda*, and the same (but in different order) as in the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra* and in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*.

* the *akuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.220b4-6) are: ignorance 無明 (*avidyā*), lethargy 惛沈 (*styāna*), excitedness 掉舉 (*auddhatya*), shamelessness 無慚 (*āhrīkyā*), and disregard 無愧 (*anapatrāpya*). It is to be remarked that, also here, *auddhatya* was also mentioned among the *kleśamahābhūmikas*. It is further to be noticed that ‘*styāna*’ is listed here, whereas in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* ‘*middha*’ was listed.

The work of Upaśānta, **Abhidharmahṛdaya** (T.Vol. 28, Nr. 1551), has ten *mahābhūmikas* and ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (pp.836c17-837a26):

* the *mahābhūmikas* (p.836c17-27) are: conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), contact 觸 (*sparsā*), wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), resolve 解脫 (*adhimokṣa*), attention 作意 (*manaskāra*), concentration 三摩提 (*samādhi*), and feeling 受 (*vedanā*). These are the same, and given in the same order, as in the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin.

* the *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.837a7-19) are: absence of greed 不貪 (*alobha*) absence of hatred 不瞋 (*adveṣa*), shame 慚 (*hrī*), modesty 愧 (*apatrāpya*), faith 信 (*śraddhā*), tranquility 猗 (*praśrabdhi*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), kindness 不害 (*avihiṃsā*), energy 精進 (*vīrya*), and equanimity 捨 (*upekṣā*); i.e. ‘*hrī*’, ‘*apatrāpya*’ and ‘*avihiṃsā*’ as in the *Prakaraṇapāda*.

This work, written posterior to the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, does not show Vaibhāṣika influence, but follows Dharmaśreṣṭhin’s example in having ten *mahābhūmikas*, and ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas*. However, in the lists themselves, Vaibhāṣika influence is seen in the fact that the ten elements enumerated as *kuśalamahābhūmikadharmas* are the ones we also find in the two *Vibhāṣās* (T.1545 and T.1546), not the ones we find in the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin.

The work of Dharmatrāta, **Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya**, (T.Vol. 28, Nr.1552) has the five groups of the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, but only has two *akuśalamahābhūmikas*.

* the *mahābhūmikas* (p.881a3-11) are: conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), contact 觸 (*sparsā*), wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), resolve 解脫 (*adhi-mokṣa*), attention 憶 (*manaskāra*), concentration 定 (*samādhi*), and feeling

受 (*vedanā*); i.e. the same as in the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin, and in the same order, the same, also, as in the *Dhātukāya*, the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*, the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* and the work of Upaśānta.

* the *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.881a25-b6) are: absence of greed 不貪 (*alobha*), absence of hatred 不恚 (*adveṣa*), shame 慚 (*hrī*), modesty 愧 (*apatrāpya*), faith 信 (*śraddhā*), tranquility 猗息 (*praśrabdhi*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), kindness 不害 (*avihiṃsā*), energy 精進 (*vīrya*), and equanimity 捨 (*upekṣā*); i.e. the same as in the *Prakaranapāda*, *Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra*, *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* and *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, but in different order, the same and in the same order as in the work of Upaśānta.

* the *kleśamahābhūmikas* (p.881b7-16) are: false resolve 邪解脫 (*mithyādhimokṣa*), unreasoned attention 不正知 (*ayoniśomanaskāra*), lack of mindfulness 不順智 (*asamprajanya*), forgetfulness 失念 (*muṣitasmr̥titā*), lack of confidence 不信 (*āśraddhya*), sloth 懈怠 (*kausīdya*), distraction 亂 (*vikṣepa*), ignorance 無明 (*avidyā*), excitedness 掉 (*auddhatya*), and heedlessness 放逸 (*pramāda*); i.e. the same as in the *Dhātukāya*, the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra*, and the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* and *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, but in different order.

* the *akuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.881b27-c2) are: shamelessness 無慚 (*āhrīkyā*), and disregard 無愧 (*anapatrāpya*); i.e. only two of the five we had in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, the two not mentioned among the *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*.

* the *parīttakleśabhūmikas* (p.881c3-16) are: anger 忿 (*krodha*), vengefulness 恨 (*upanāha*), deceit 誑 (*māyā*), selfishness 慳 (*mātsarya*), envy 嫉 (*īrṣyā*), spite 惱 (*pradāśa*), craftiness 諂 (*śāṭhya*), hypocrisy 覆 (*mrakṣa*), pride 高 (*mada*), and violence 害 (*vihiṃsā*); i.e. the same as in the *Dhātukāya* and the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*.

The *Abhidharmakośa* (T.Vol. 29, Nr. 1558), has ten *mahābhūmikas*, ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas*, six *kleśamahābhūmikas*, two *akuśalamahābhūmikas*, ten *parīttakleśabhūmikas*, and four *aniyatabhūmikas*,

* the *mahābhūmikas* (p.19a13-22) are: feeling 受 (*vedanā*), conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), contact 觸 (*sparsā*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*),

attention 作意 (*manaskāra*), resolve 解脫 (*adhimokṣa*), and concentration 三摩地 (*samādhi*); i.e. the same as in the *Dhātukāya*, the works of Dharmaśreṣṭhin, Upaśānta and Dharmatrāta, and in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāsāstra* and *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāsāstra*.

* the *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.19a26-b28) are: faith 信 (*śraddhā*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), tranquility 輕安 (*praśrabdhi*), equanimity 捨 (*upekṣā*), shame 慚 (*hrī*), modesty 愧 (*apatrāpya*), absence of greed 無貪 (*alobha*), absence of hatred 無瞋 (*adveṣa*), kindness 不害 (*avihiṃsā*), and energy 勤 (*vīrya*); i.e. the same as in the *Prakaraṇapāda*, *Abhidharmāmṛtarasasāstra*, *Abhidharmavibhāṣāsāstra*, *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāsāstra*, and *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*.

* the *kleśamahābhūmikas* (p.19b28-c12) are: ignorance 癡 (*avidyā*), heedlessness 逸 (*pramāda*), sloth 怠 (*kauśīdya*), lack of confidence 不信 (*āśraddhya*), lethargy 惛 (*styāna*), and excitedness 掉 (*auddhatya*); i.e. five of the ten *kleśamahābhūmikas* we find in the *Dhātukāya*, *Abhidharmāmṛtarasasāstra*, *Abhidharmavibhāṣāsāstra*, *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāsāstra*, and *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, and adding ‘*styāna*’, which was mentioned among the *akuśalamahābhūmikas* in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāsāstra*.

* the *akuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.20a7-12) are: shamelessness 無慚 (*āhrīkya*), and disregard 無愧 (*anapatrāpya*); i.e. two of the *akuśalamahābhūmikas* of the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāsāstra* and the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāsāstra*, the same as in the *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*.

* the *parīttakleśabhūmikas* (p.20a12-20) are: anger 忿 (*krodha*), hypocrisy 覆 (*mrakṣa*), selfishness 慳 (*mātsarya*), envy 嫉 (*īrṣyā*), spite 惱 (*pradāśa*), violence 害 (*vihiṃsā*), vengefulness 恨 (*upanāha*), craftiness 諂 (*śāṭhya*), deceit 誑 (*māyā*), and pride 憍 (*mada*); i.e. the same as in the *Dhātukāya*, *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāsāstra* and *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, but in different order.

* There further are four ‘*aniyatabhūmikas*’ (p.20a20-21): regret 惡作 (*kaukr̥tya*), sleepiness 睡眠 (*middha*) – mentioned among the *akuśalamahābhūmikas* in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāsāstra*, initial thought 尋 (*vitarka*), and sustained thought 伺 (*vicāra*), seen as *kuśalamahābhūmikas* in the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin.

Since the *Abhidharmakośa* is to a very large extent a – Sautrāntika – criticism of Sarvāstivāda ideas, this position is to be seen as the end of an evolution, starting with the *Dhātukāya*.

This latter fact is attested in the *Nyāyānusāraśāstra* (T.Vol.29, Nr.1562). Here, ten *mahābhūmikas*, ten *kuśalamahābhūmikas*, six *kleśamahābhūmikas*, two *akuśalamahābhūmikas*, ten *parīttakleśabhūmikas*, and four *aniyata-bhūmikas* are enumerated.

* the *mahābhūmikas* (p.385a27-29) are: feeling 受 (*vedanā*), conceptual identification 想 (*saṃjñā*), thinking 思 (*cetanā*), contact 觸 (*sparsā*), engagement 欲 (*chanda*), wisdom 慧 (*prajñā*), mindfulness 念 (*smṛti*), attention 作意 (*manaskāra*), resolve 解脫 (*adhimokṣa*), and concentration 三摩地 (*samādhi*); i.e. the same and in the same order as in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

* the *kuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.391a18-20) are: faith 信 (*śraddhā*), heedfulness 不放逸 (*apramāda*), tranquility 輕安 (*praśrabdhī*), equanimity 捨 (*upekṣā*), shame 慚 (*hrī*)⁴³, modesty 愧 (*apatrāpya*), absence of greed 無貪 (*alobha*), absence of hatred 無瞋 (*adveṣa*), kindness 不害 (*avihiṃsā*), and energy 勤 (*vīrya*); i.e. the same and in the same order as in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

* the *kleśamahābhūmikas* (p.391b27) are: ignorance 癡 (*avidyā*), heedlessness 逸 (*pramāda*), sloth 怠 (*kauśīdya*), lack of confidence 不信 (*āśraddhya*), lethargy 惛 (*styāna*), and excitedness 掉 (*auddhatya*); i.e. the same and in the same order as in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

* the *akuśalamahābhūmikas* (p.391c26) are: shamelessness 無慚 (*āhrīkyā*), and disregard 無愧 (*anapatrāpya*); i.e. the same and in the same order as in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

* the *parīttakleśabhūmikas* (p.392a4) are: anger 忿 (*krodha*), hypocrisy 覆 (*mrakṣa*), selfishness 慳 (*mātsarya*), envy 嫉 (*īrṣyā*), spite 惱 (*pradāśa*), violence 害 (*vihimsā*), vengefulness 恨 (*upanāha*), craftiness 諂 (*śāṭhya*), deceit 誑 (*māyā*), and pride 憍 (*mada*); i.e. the same and in the same order as in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

* the *aniyatabhūmikas* (p.392a27) are: regret 惡作 (*kaukrtya*), sleepiness 睡眠 (*middha*), initial thought 尋 (*vitarka*), and sustained thought 伺 (*vicāra*); i.e. the same and in the same order as in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

43 In the prose commentary, p.391a16, however, the usual 慚.

From the above analysis, we come to underneath scheme:

Abbreviations:	mahā°	mahābhūmikas
	kleśa°	kleśamahābhūmikas
	paritta°	parittakleśabhūmikas
	kuśala°	kuśalamahābhūmikas
	akuśala°	akuśalamahābhūmikas
	nivṛtā°	nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas
	aniyata°	aniyatabhūmikas

	mahā°	kleśa°	paritta°	kuśala°	akuśala°	nivṛtā° aniyata°
Dhātukāya	10	10	10			
Prakarāṇa 1	10	10	10	0		
Hṛdaya 1	10	0	0	10 7 + vitarka, vicāra, amoha		
Prakarāṇa 2	10	10	10	10 7 + hrī, apatrāpya, avihiṃsā		
Amṛtarasa	12 10 + vīrya, śraddhā, upekṣā (no sparśa)	10	10 atimāna (no vihiṃsā)	10 7 + hrī apatrāpya avihiṃsā		
Vibhāṣā	10	10 9 + auddhaya	10	10	5 1 + āhrīkya, anapatrāpya + auddhatya, which also is a kleśa° + middha	3 which are also akuśala°
Mahāvibhāṣā	10	10	10	10	5 1 + āhrīkya, anapatrāpya + auddhatya, which also is a kleśa° + styāna	0
Hṛdaya 2	10	0	0	10	0	0
Saṃyukta	10	10	10	10	2 āhrīkya anapatrāpya	0
Kośa	10	6 (5 are other forms of the mahā°)	10	10	2	4 2 + vitarka, vicāra
Nyāyānusāra	10	6	10	10	2	4

* * *

Conclusion

The *Abhidharmahrdaya* of Dharmaśreṣṭhin neither has the category of *kleśamahābhūmikas*, nor the category of *parīttakleśabhūmikas*, while both categories appear in both versions of the *Prakaranapāda*. In this way, one might suggest that the work is to be dated prior to the *Prakaranapāda*.

P'u-kuang 普光, in his commentary to the *Abhidharmakośa* 'Chü-she Lun Chi' 俱舍論記 (T.1821)⁴⁴, states that the *Prakaranapāda* was written in the beginning of the 300 years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa (between 350 and 400 B.C.⁴⁵). In his introduction to Saṅghavarman's translation of the *Samyuktābhidharmahrdayaśāstra*, Chiao-ching 焦鏡 informs us that Dharmaśreṣṭhin wrote his work between the Ch'in and the Han-dynasties (i.e. between 220 B.C. and 220 A.D.)⁴⁶. This makes dating Dharmaśreṣṭhin's work prior to the *Prakaranapāda* not impossible. (It should also be noted that already E. FRAUWALLNER, Ch. WILLEMEN, and T. KAWAMURA suggested that the *Abhidharmahrdaya* was written prior to the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*.⁴⁷) Since the category of *kuśalamahābhūmikas*, category which appears in Dharmaśreṣṭhin's work – be it not using the latter term – only appears in the second Chinese version of the *Prakaranapāda*, the one translated by Hsüan-tsang, it seems that the category called *kuśalamahābhūmika* is a younger category. The *Abhidharmahrdaya* should thus be dated later than the *Prakaranapāda* is. The fact that the *Abhidharmahrdayaśāstra* does not know the categories of *kleśamahābhūmikas* and of *parīttakleśabhūmikas* is then to be explained as that the latter work is not 'based' on one or more of the works belonging to the *ṣaṭpādābhidharma*, but is an 'independent' systematization of the Abhidharma as it has been transmitted. That in Hsüan-tsang's translation of the *Prakaranapāda*, the four categories are

44 T. Vol. 41, Nr.1821, p.8b24-c12.

45 For an overview of the studies concerning the life-time of the Buddha, see HIRAKAWA, A., *A History of Indian Buddhism – from Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, Honolulu 1990, pp.22-23; BECHERT, H., (Ed.), *The Dating of the Historical Buddha*, Göttingen 1991-1992.

46 «Ch'u San-tsang Chi Chi» 出三藏記集, T. Vol. 55, Nr.2145, p.74b23-24.

47 FRAUWALLNER, E., *WZKSO XV* (1971): 71; WILLEMEN, Ch., op.cit., pp.iii-iv; KAWAMURA, T., *Abidatsumaronsho no Shiryōteki Kenkyū*, Kyōto 1976, p.41. See also YAMADA, R., *Daijō Bukkyō Seiritsuron Jōsetsu*, Kyōto 1959, p.113; and RYOSE, W.R., "The position of the *Abhidharmahrdaya* in the Historical Development of Sarvāstivāda Thought", *Abhidharma Research Institute* Nr.5 (1986): 3-4.

enumerated is then easily to be explained as that Hsüan-tsang ‘updated’ the first version of the work.⁴⁸ This fact might also explain why the second version of the *Prakaraṇapāda* knows the term ‘*kuśalamahābhūmika*’, while the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin – although enumerating ten such factors – does not know the term.

The *Abhidharmāmṛtarasāśāstra*, attributed to Ghoṣaka⁴⁹, mentioning all four categories to be found in the *Prakaraṇapāda*, then, is to be dated later than Dharmaśreṣṭhin’s work⁵⁰.

The *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*, attributed to Buddhavarman, a commentary on the *Jñānaprasthāna* and most probably to be dated in the beginning of the third century A.D., was translated into Chinese during the Northern Liang (397-439).⁵¹ It is the first work that mentions the category of *akuśalamahābhūmikas*. It is to be remarked that *auddhatya* is mentioned both among the *kleśamahābhūmikas* and among the new category of *akuśalamahābhūmikas*. Also a new category of *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* is added. In the latter category, *auddhatya* is again enumerated.

As in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*, also in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*⁵² *auddhatya* is enumerated in the categories of *kleśamahābhūmikas* and of *akuśalamahābhūmikas*. The superfluous category of *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* (consisting of three of the five *akuśalamahā-*

48 We hereby follow the opinion of YAMADA Ryūjō who suggests that Dharmaśreṣṭhin’s work is not a summary of the *Vibhāṣā*, but precedes it. See also COX., C., op.cit., p.49, n.77.

49 In the «*Ch’u San-tsang Chi Chi*» 出三藏記集, T.Vol.55, Nr. 2145, p.32b6, the work is stated to be of an anonymous author. This is attested in the «*Chung Ching Mu-lu*» 眾經目錄, T.Vol.55, Nr.2146, p.142c3. The «*Ta-t’ang Nei-tien Lu*» 大唐內典錄, T.Vol. 55, Nr. 2149, p.231a18 and the «*Li-tai San-pao Chi*» 歷代三寶記, T.Vol.49, Nr.2034, p.60b20, state that it is the work of an anonymous author of between the Wei and the Wu (i.e. between 220 and 280 A.D.).

50 Also SAKURABE, H., *Kusharon no Kenkyū*, Kyōto 1969, pp.57 ff., dates the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasāśāstra* between the *Jñānaprasthāna* and the *Mahāvibhāṣā*; VAN DEN BROECK, J., *La Saveur de L’Immortel*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1977, p.81, suggests a dating contemporaneous with or somewhat later than the *Mahāvibhāṣā*.

51 See HIRAKAWA, A., op.cit., p.135.

52 According to the Chinese tradition, the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* is the work of 500 arhats, united in Kaśmīr, at the time of the second synod of Pāṭaliputra. This tradition is incorrect, since, in the work, Kaniṣka is referred to as a “former king”; the work thus is posterior to Kaniṣka.

bhūmikas) of the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* is dropped. This may prove that Hsüan-tsang's translation is younger than the one of Buddhavarman. The fact that both works twice mention *auddhatya*, gives the impression that heterogeneous lists were combined, without realizing that one factor came to occur twice through this combination. This may also explain why in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* the list of five *akuśalamahābhūmikas* includes *middha*, while in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, the list of five *akuśalamahābhūmikas* includes *styāna*.

Since Upasānta, in his *Abhidharmahrdaya*, refers to the masters of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' repeatedly⁵³, he must have written this work, which is an adaptation of Dharmaśreṣṭhin's work⁵⁴, later than the 'Mahāvibhāṣā'. In this way, Upasānta must have lived around the third century A.D.⁵⁵. That his work – although to be dated later than the *Abhidharmāmṛtarasāśāstra* and the *Vibhāṣās* – only enumerates the categories *mahābhūmikadharmas* and *kuśalamahābhūmikas* is then to be explained as that the author follows his example Dharmaśreṣṭhin. That the *kuśalamahābhūmikas* are the same as those to be found in the *Vibhāṣās* may prove that the work is posterior to the *Vibhāṣā*.

The *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya* is the work of the second of three persons called Dharmatrāta, who lived in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.⁵⁶. This work is an adaptation of the work of Dharmaśreṣṭhin, based on the 'Vibhāṣā'. We thus find all categories of mental dharmas we also found in

53 e.g. T. Vol.28, Nr.1551, p.841c17, p.855a28 and p.855c27.

54 See e.g. T. Vol. 28, Nr.1552, p.869c18, where Upasānta is referred to as the author of a commentary on Dharmaśreṣṭhin's work.

55 KIMURA, T., *Kimura Taiken Zenshu IV – Abidatsumaron no Kenkyū*, Tōkyō 1974, p.230, states that Upasānta must have lived one generation prior to Dharmatrāta, author of the *Samyuktābhidharmahrdayaśāstra*. WATANABE, U., MIZUNO, K., and OISHI, H., *Abidatsumaron*, Kokoyaku Issaikyō, Bidon-bu, Vol. XXI (1932) p.124, situate Upasānta around 300 A.D. See also RYOSE, W.R., op.cit., p.6.

56 The first is Bhadanta Dharmatrāta, Dārṣṭāntika, and one of the four masters of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā', author of the «Ch'u Yao Ching» 出曜經 (T. Vol.4, Nr.212); the third is a Dhyāna master of the beginning of the fifth century, whose name is linked to the «Ta-mo-to-lo Ch'an Ching» 達磨多羅禪經 (T. Vol.24, Nr. 618). Information about the dates of Dharmatrāta, author of the *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, is given by Chiao-ching in his introduction to the work in the «Ch'u San-tsang Chi Chi» 出三藏記集, T. Vol.55, Nr. 2145, p.74b25: "Later, when the Chin 晉 were restored (i.e. 317 A.D.), there was the venerable Dharmatrāta".

the latter work. It is remarkable how in the category of *akuśalamahābhūmikas*, *auddhatya*, which – being also a *kleśamahābhūmika* – posed some problems in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* and in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, does no longer appear in the enumeration. Also *styāna* and *middha*, equally posing some problems in the two previously mentioned works, are dropped.

The *Abhidharmakośa*, work of Vasubandhu, who lived in the fifth century⁵⁷, is generally seen as a final systematization of Sarvāstivāda Scholasticism (from Sautrāntika viewpoint). Comparing this work with the work of Dharmatrāta, we see some specification concerning the *kleśamahābhūmikas*: five of them are stated to be other forms of the *mahābhūmikas*; and we find the new group of *aniyatabhūmikas*, parallel with the category of *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*. Comparing the category of *aniyatabhūmikas* with the category of *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* of the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*, it is remarkable how two of the four elements of this last category (*vitarka* and *vicāra*) already posed some problems in earlier works. Of the other two elements enumerated in this list, ‘*middha*’ was part of both the *akuśalamahābhūmikas* and *nivṛtāvyākṛtamahābhūmikas* in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*, but was replaced by ‘*styāna*’ in the list of *akuśalamahābhūmikas* in the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*. *Auddhatya* and *avidyā* only occur in the category of *kleśamahābhūmikas*.

The *Nyāyānusāraśāstra* by Saṃghabhadra⁵⁸, eventually, is, although refuting the Sautrāntika ideas of the *Abhidharmakośa*, in its enumeration of

57 i.e. Opinion of FRAUWALLNER, E., *On the Date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu*, Rome 1951; HIRAKAWA, A., op.cit., p.137; and HIRAKAWA, A., *Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya – Part I*, Tōkyō 1973, p.ix. ANACKER, S., *Seven Works of Vasubandhu – the Buddhist Psychological Doctor*, Delhi 1984, pp.7-11, gives the fourth century for the life-time of Vasubandhu.

For the theories concerning one or two Vasubandhus, see TAKAKUSU, J., “The Life of Vasubandhu”, *T’oung-pao* 1904: 269-296; FRAUWALLNER, E., *On the Date*, esp. pp.54-57; PRADHAN, P., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, Patna 1975, p.13-14; HIRAKAWA, A., op.cit., pp.iii-x; NAKAMURA, H., *Indian Buddhism – a Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Tōkyō 1980, p.109; MEJOR, M., “The Problem of two Vasubandhu’s reconsidered”, *Indologica Taurinensia*, Vol. XV-XVI (1989-1990): 275-283.

58 For the relative dating of Saṃghabhadra posterior to Vasubandhu, author of the *Abhidharmakośa*, see COX, C., op.cit., pp.53-55.

mental dharmas, an exact copy of the *Abhidharmakośa*. This proves that the enumeration of mental dharmas as it is given in the *Abhidharmakośa* is the final systematization of mental dharmas as to Sarvāstivāda viewpoint.

This brings us to the following chronology of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma Works:

Samgītiparyāya (T.1536)

Dharmaskandha (T.1537)

Prajñaptiśāstra (T.1538)

Vijñānakāya (T.1539)

Dhātukāya (T.1540)

Prakaraṇapāda (T.1541, T.1542)

Abhidharmahr̥daya 1 (T.1550)

Jñānaprasthāna (T.1543, T.1544)

Abhidharmāmṛta-
rasaśāstra (T.1553)

Abhidharmavibhāṣā
(T.1546)

Abhidharmamahā
vibhāṣā (T.1545)

Abhidharmahr̥daya 2 (T.1551)

Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya (T.1552)

Abhidharmakośa (T.1558, T.1559)

Nyāyānusāraśāstra (T.1562)

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