From Huisong 慧嵩 (fl. 511–560) to Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664): The 'Borderland Complex' in the Transmission of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma*

LU HUANG 黃露
Temple University
lu.huang@temple.edu

Abstract: Born in Gaochang 高昌 and already a specialist in the *Heart of Scholasticism with Miscellaneous Additions* (Skt. **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*; Ch. *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論) at a young age, Huisong was sent by his king to Northern China. Later, despite repeated invitations from the king of Gaochang, Huisong refused to return to his homeland, which he considered as 'peripheral and barbaric' (*bianbi* 邊鄙). Huisong's determination to stay in China contributed to the transmission of Abhidharma. An examination of Huisong's social network reveals that there are two lines that connect Huisong to Xuanzang. However, in the *Study Notes on the Treasury of*

* I appreciate Marcus Bingenheimer's help with the current research, as well as Chen Jinhua, Fu Xinyi, John Kieschnick, Qi Guanxiong, Shen Weirong, and Wu Jiang's valuable comments. I am also grateful for the 2020 Glorisun International and Intensive Program on Buddhism with Princeton University, during which I not only was inspired by the idea of 'borderland complex,', but also presented an initial draft of the paper in the Transmission of Buddhism in Asia and Beyond conference. Needless to say, all errors here are my own.

Abhidharma (*Jushe lun ji* 俱舍論記), a text compiled by Xuanzang's student Puguang 普光 (fl. 645–664), the arguments of the two most significant figures on these lines of transmission were refuted with evidence from the Indian texts newly translated by Xuanzang. This shows not only the doctrinal linkage, but also the differences between Huisong and Xuanzang. While for Huisong China was indeed a center of Buddhist studies as opposed to the 'barbaric' Gaochang, Xuanzang and Puguang most likely regarded China as a Buddhist borderland as opposed to India. These 'Borderland complexes' motivated both scholarly exchange and the construction of religious orthodoxy.

Keywords: Huisong, Xuanzang, Puguang, Borderland Complex, Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma

DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.15239/hijbs.04.02.03

I. Introduction

It is well known that around 628, the Tang pilgrim Xuanzang arrived at Gaochang (in present–day Xinjiang) and was warmly received by Qu Wentai 麴文泰 (r. 619–640), the king of Gaochang.[1] Less well known is the story of another monk, who traveled in the opposite direction around 100 years earlier,[2] but shared a similar interest with Xuanzang in Abhidharma scholasticism. This monk, Huisong,[3] was born in Gaochang, an oasis state on the northern

---

1 *Da Tang Da Cien si sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 6. 255b15–26.

2 Most likely in 531. See the following section.

3 Huisong, the Abhidharma scholar, should not be confused with another Huisong 慧嵩 (362/420?–440/459?), who participated in the translation project of *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經) led by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 (385–433). *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *T* no. 2145, 55: 14.103a28–b1. The Huisong from Gaochang has not been widely studied in modern scholarship. Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1896–1989) mentions Huisong's contribution to Abhidharma

route of the Silk Road.[4]

> Gaochang, the former territory of the King of Anterior Jushi Kingdom (*Jushi qian wang* 車師前王),[5] used to be administered by the Han Empire. It ranges two hundred *li* from east to west, five hundred li[6] from south to north, and is surrounded by many great mountains. Some say that the Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (156 BCE–87 BCE) sent troops on a punitive expedition toward the west. Exhausted from the journey, the most fatigued soldiers thence settled [in Gaochang]. The terrain is high but spacious and has a large population. Therefore, it was named Gaochang ['high and prosperous']. Others say that there was a Gaochang Garrison[7] (*Gaochang lei* 高昌

---

studies in northern China. Lü, *Zhongguo Foxue*, 128. Lai Yonghai 賴永海 discusses Huisong and the Abhidharma scholastic tradition (*Pitan xuepai* 毗曇學派) in Northern Dynasties. Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao*, 74. Elizabeth Kenney describes Huisong description of 'the little wisdom of rotten Confucians' as 'dregs' as an example of the portrait of Confucianism in Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*. Kenney, 'The Portrait', 15.

4 One of the earliest studies of Gaochang Buddhism was in the sixth chapter of Ryōtai Hadani's *Xiyu zhi Fojiao*. More research followed with the archaeological discoveries in Turfan, such as Ogasawara, 'Kōshō Koku no Bukkyō Kyogaku', 136–147; Oda, 'Kikushi Kōshō Koku Jidai no Butsuji nitsuite', 68–91. Yan, 'Qushi Gaochangguo siyuan yannjiu', 129–142; Wang, 'Gaochang zhi Xizhou', 79–83; Wang, 'Gaochang Buddhism', 23–45.

5 This refers to the king of Anterior Jushi kingdom (*Jushi qianguo* 車師前國). This kingdom is one of the eight kingdoms after the split of Gushi 姑師 at around 108 BCE. According to Wang Su 王素, Gushi was the name of the place before the split, while Jushi was used afterwards. This explains why there is no Jushi 車師 mentioned in *Shiji* 史記, but more occurrences of Jushi 車師 than Gushi 姑師 in *Hanshu* 漢書. For more detailed discussion of the political history of this area, see Wang, *Gaochang Shi Gao*, 5. Dani, *History of Civilizations*, 304. The author would like to thank Li Jiasheng for his help on Gaochang history.

6 *Li*, or the 'Chinese mile', is a traditional Chinese unit of distance. See Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 237.

7 In 48 BCE, Emperor Yuan of Han 漢元帝 (75 BCE–July 8, 33 BCE)

> 壘) dating back to the Han, and the kingdom was named after it. It was four thousand and nine hundred li east of Chang'an. Both the administrator of the Western Regions (*Xiyu zhangshi* 西域長史) and *Wuji* Commandant (*Wuji xiaowei* 戊己校尉)[8] of the Han Empire resided there. The Jin Dynasty (266–420) established this place as the Gaochang Commandery. When Hexi 河西 was controlled by Zhang Gui 張軌 (255–314), Lü Guang 呂光 (338–399) and then Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 (368–433), they appointed prefects to govern Gaochang. It takes thirteen days from Gaochang to Dunhuang. 高昌者, 車師前王之故地, 漢之前部地也. 東西二百里, 南北五百里, 四面多大山. 或云: '昔漢武遣兵西討, 師旅頓弊, 其中尤困者因住焉. 地勢高敞, 人庶昌盛, 因名高昌'. 亦云: '其地有漢時高昌壘, 故以為國號'. 東去長安四千九百里. 漢西域長史及戊己校尉並居於此. 晉以其地為高昌郡. 張軌、呂光、沮渠蒙遜據河西, 皆置太守以統之. 敦煌十三日行.[9]

Gaochang was a transportation hub between China and the Western Regions.[10] The earliest known name of this region was Gushi 姑師, which split into eight small kingdoms during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han. After a series of wars with the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Han Empire finally seized control of the kingdom of Anterior Jushi (*Jushi qianguo* 車師前國) in 60 BCE. During the Former Liang (317–376), a Gaochang Commandery (*jun* 郡) was established in this region and governed consecutively by the Former Qin (350–394), the Later Liang (386–403), the Western Liang (400–421), and the Northern Liang (397–439). In 439, the Juqu 沮渠 rulers of the Northern Liang moved to Gaochang after being defeated by the Northern Wei (386–534). In 442, Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 (?–444)

---

assigned the *Wuji* Commandant to govern this place and built it as a military garrison. See Wang, *Gaochang shigao*, 1.

[8] For *Wuji Xiaowei*, see Hulsewé, 'China in Central Asia', 79.

[9] *Beishi* 97.3212.

[10] *Fozu tongji*, *T* no. 2035, 49: 32.313a1–2: Thus, it is known that Yiwu, Gaochang, and Shanshan are all gates to the Western Regions (故知伊吾高昌鄯善並西域之門戶).

defeated the prefect of the Gaochang commandery and established the Great Liang, which existed until 460.[11] These twin insights guide our attempt to extend Menander 1500 into an agent with its own intentionality.[12]

Although the rulers of Gaochang were not ethnically Han Chinese,[13] the influence of Chinese culture was always present due to a large Chinese population.[14] When the Qu 麴 kings seized control of the land in 500,[15] they followed the political structure of the Chinese state and Confucian statecraft.[16] The impact of Chinese culture is reflected in the very beginning of Huisong's biography:[17]

> Shi Huisong, whose clan and tribe are unknown, was a native of the Kingdom of Gaochang. This kingdom was where the Juqu princes of the [Northern] Liang sought shelter [in the 440s]. Therefore,

---

[11] Zhang & Rong, 'A Concise History', 15–16.

[12] How to define Chinese identity is a thorny question, since it is a synthesis of different regional cultures from ancient times. However, the Qin and Han dynasties did contribute to the formation of a shared Han identity. See Xu, 'Huaxia lunshu', 114. Ge, *Lishi Zhongguo*, 10–14. Wang, *Lishi jiyi*, 290.

[13] Yang, 'Lun Juqu Wuhei', 80–83.

[14] Zhang & Rong, 'A Concise History', 17.

[15] Ibid, 14.

[16] There are three versions of Huisong's biographies: (1) 'Qi Pengcheng shamen Shi Huisong zhuan' 齊彭城沙門釋慧嵩傳 in Daoxuan's *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 7.482c24–483a25; (2) Qi Huisong 齊慧嵩 in Tan'e's 曇噩 (1285–1373) *Xinxiu kefen liuxue seng zhuan*, *X* no. 1522, 77: 17.215b24–c15; (3) *Huisong shengzhi* 慧嵩生知 in Yishu's 義楚 (895?–968/977?) *Shishi liutie*, *B* no. 79, 13: 10.202a5–8. I will focus on the biography written by Daoxuan and use the other two as references. The biography by Daoxuan was first translated into English by Wang Xin. Here, I am presenting a more literal translation.

[17] *Wengui* 文軌 used to be the written language (*wen* 文) and the transportation track (*gui* 軌). Using the same written language and transportation track signifies the unification of a country. To state that Huisong's family is familiar with '*Huaxia zhi wengui* 華夏之文軌' is another way to describe their assimilation of *Huaxia* culture.

Huisong's ancestors knew how to write Chinese.[18] Huisong entered the monastic life at an early age. Intelligent and quick to learn, he was able to understand the meaning of a text soon after opening the scroll. He immersed himself in Buddhist texts and was especially versed in the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*.[19] At that time, he was highly esteemed by his country. Huisong's elder brother, who was a Confucian Erudite (*boshi* 博士) esteemed by the royal family, valued Confucian texts, but showed no interest in Buddhist doctrines. Impressed by Huisong's brightness, the brother tried to persuade Huisong to return to secular life and offered to teach him moral norms. Huisong said, 'The small wisdom of pedantic Confucian scholars is not worthy of learning. It is just rubbish. What else is there to talk about?' [However,] Huisong's brother kept interfering with [his study of Buddhism.] Once his brother asked him about the hidden meanings of the *Forest of Changes* (*Yilin* 易林). Huisong had not read secular books before, but could unpack the meaning of the text immediately after opening the scroll. His views were even better than previous interpretations. Although surprised, his brother

---

[18] *Za apitan xinlun* is not extant in Sanskrit or Prakrit. Scholars have debated its Sanskrit title. In Bart Dessein's English translation, the Sanskrit title is rendered as **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*. Charles Willemen posits that its Sanskrit title should be *Miśrakābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, with evidence from a Uigur translation of Sthiramati's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṭīkā Tattvārthānama* discussed by Kudara Kōgi. Since the discussion of the Sanskrit name of *Za apitan xinlun* is not the focus of current research, I choose to follow the more commonly used title **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* with a footnote. See Dessein, 'Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra'; Willemen, 'Kumārajīva's "Explanatory Discourse"', 156–110. Kudara, 'Uiguru-yaku Abhidharma', 371.

[19] *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 7.482c25–483a8. For a discussion of *Hua* 華/Xia 夏, *Han* and *Zhongguo* 中國, see Yang, *Becoming Zhongguo*, 34–37. In antiquity, *Hua* 華 and *Xia* 夏 were seldom combined. *Hua* 華 or *Xia* 夏broadly refers to the civilizational identity that emerged in the Yellow River region. These two characters were later combined to *Huaxia* (such as Daoxuan's usage in this paragraph) with the core state/states titled *Zhongguo*, meaning the 'central country/countries). See Holcombe, 'Chinese Identity', 35.

> still did not believe in the richness and profundity of Buddhism. Huisong then showed him an Abhidharma verse and asked for an explanation. He tried numerous interpretations. Some of them were completely erroneous. Huisong criticized them all and offered his own interpretation. His brother was suddenly awakened. He started to believe in Buddhism wholeheartedly and understood the profound doctrines. He then let Huisong travel and study freely. 釋慧嵩, 未詳氏族, 高昌國人. 其國本沮渠涼王避地之所. 故其宗族皆通華夏之文軌焉. 嵩少出家, 聰悟敏捷, 開卷輒尋, 便了中義, 潛蘊玄肆, 尤翫《雜心》, 時為彼國所重. 嵩兄為博士, 王族推崇, 雅重儒林, 未欽佛理, 覩嵩英鑒, 勸令反俗, 教以義方. 嵩曰: '腐儒小智, 未足歸賞, 固當同諸糟粕, 餘何可論?' 兄頻遮礙, 乃以《易林》祕隱問之. 嵩初不讀俗典, 執卷開剖, 挺出前聞. 兄雖異之, 殊不信佛法之博要也. 嵩以《毘曇》一偈, 化令解之. 停滯兩月, 妄釋紛紜. 乃有其言, 全乖理義. 嵩總非所述, 聊為一開. 泠然神悟, 便大崇信佛法, 博通玄奧, 乃恣其遊涉.[20]

Huisong's family was thus to a degree Sinicized.[21] Huisong's brother was not only a devout follower of Confucianism, but also had the title of 'Erudite' (*boshi* 博士). *The Forest of Changes* (*Yilin* 易林), a divination book modelled on *The Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), is full of themes such as ancient sage kings and Confucian virtues.[22] *The History of the Northern Dynasties* also records that Chinese classics such as the *Mao Commentary* (*Maoshi* 毛詩), the *Analects*

---

[20] The confidence that Chinese culture has the attractive power to assimilate 'non-Chinese' people, i.e., Sinification, is a distinctive feature of Chinese civilization. See Poo, *Enemies of Civilization*, 153.

[21] As Charles Holcombe points out, the elites across East Asia shared a common literate culture during the period before the unification of China in Sui dynasty (581–618). See Holcombe, 'Chinese Identity', 32.

[22] Tuoba is a subgroup of the Xianbei 鮮卑 people who speak a non-Chinese language that might have had some relationship with later Mongolic language. Shimunek, 'Languages of Ancient Southern Mongolia and North China', 415. For more on the Xianbei, see Holcombe, 'The Xianbei', 1–38; and Hu, 'An Overview', 95–164.

of Confucius (*Lunyu* 論語), and the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經) were all taught in schools of Gaochang despite using a non–Chinese Hu 胡 language. On the other hand, the Qu kings were also quite hospitable to Buddhism, at least on the surface. Not only was Huisong able to live a monastic life at a young age, but he was also officially sent by his king to Northern China, which was ruled by non–Chinese Tuoba 拓跋[23] kings at that time.[24]

> Buddhist teachings were widespread during the last years of the Tuoba Wei. To promote Buddhism, the king of Gaochang sent Huisong and his younger brother to the [Wei] court along with envoys. [There] Huisong was highly esteemed by the Counselor-in-chief Gao [Huan] 高歡 (496–547).[25] At that time, the Śāstra master Zhiyou (d.u.) was renowned for his outstanding intelligence. Huisong thus followed him to learn the *Abhidharma* and the *Chengshi [lun]*.[26] Huisong was entrusted and given the task of taking lecture notes. He already gave talks when still a novice, and immediately ascended to the top seat after full ordination. He analyzed and explained the

---

[23] This is a period when ethnic identities within China were very diverse. There were millions of people who lived inside China but maintained their distinct group identities. However, this is also a period with fair amount of cultural exchange and interactions. The Tuoba non-Chinese rulers, just like the Qu kings in Gaochang, also assimilated some Chinese culture because they had many Hua/Xia subjects. Chinese dominated the writing system. Even the funerary practice generally followed the customs in former Chinese dynasties. See Bai, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao*, 518. Tamura, 'Chūgoku shijō', 7. Bai, 'Beichao', 475–498.

[24] This sentence is quoted by *Mihashi Tokugen* 御橋悳言 (1876–1950) in his commentary on *Chronicles of the Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors* (*Jinnō Shōtōki* 神皇正統記) as evidence of using *Shimen* 釋門 to represent *Fomen* 佛門. See Heike monogatari, 'Jinnō Shōtōki Chūkai', 155.

[25] Gao Huan was a warlord and the highest official title he earned was Great Counselor-in-chief (*Da chengxiang* 大丞相). See Holcombe, 'Chinese Shōgun', 219.

[26] There are some debates on the Sanskrit title of Harivarman's *Treatise that Accomplishes Reality* (Skt. *ital; Ch. *Chengshi lun* 成實論). For a brief introduction, see Willemen, 'The Sanskrit Title'.

> *sūtra*s during assemblies, and even convinced intelligent opponents, who [afterwards] would come to prostrate and take refuge in him. After completing his studies and gaining great fame, his home country [Gaochang] invited him to return. Huisong said, 'one as knowledgeable as I is not suited to such a peripheral and barbaric place'. He then traveled around Ye 鄴 [in southern Hebei] and Luo 洛 [in present-day Henan], with the wish to propagate the Way. Afterwards [the king of Gaochang] again requested [his return]. Huisong still refused to change his mind. The king of Gaochang then killed three generations of his family. Hearing this, Huisong told his followers, 'Doesn't the *sūtra* say that the three realms are impermanent and there is no pleasure in any existence. Everyone is constantly experiencing the eight kinds of suffering in the three destinations. Is that really surprising?' 于時元魏末齡, 大演經教. 高昌王欲使釋門更闢, 乃獻嵩并弟, 隨使入朝. 高氏作相, 深相器重. 時智遊論師, 世稱英傑, 嵩乃從之, 聽《毘曇》、《成實》, 領牒文旨, 信重當時. 而位處沙彌, 更搖聲略. 及進具後, 便登元座, 開判經誥, 雅會機緣, 乃使鋒銳剋敵, 歸依接足. 既學成望遠, 本國請還. 嵩曰: '以吾之博達, 義非邊鄙之所資也'. 旋環鄴洛, 弘道為宗. 後又重徵, 嵩固執如舊. 高昌乃夷其三族. 嵩聞之, 告其屬曰: '經不云乎?: "三界無常, 諸有非樂." 況復三途八苦, 由來所經, 何足怪乎?'[27]

It seems that Huisong was not hesitant to use pejorative terms such as 'peripheral and barbaric' (*bianbi* 邊鄙) to characterize his hometown. He was proud of his scholarly achievement in Buddhism and claimed that 'one as knowledgeable as I is not suited to such a peripheral and barbaric place'. (以吾之博達, 義非邊鄙之所資也) This might have been a result of Gao Huan's patronage to Buddhism and the scholastic atmosphere in Northern China, where he not only was able to study with Master Zhiyou, but also had vibrant debates with other Buddhists who harboured different opinions. Large groups of followers might have also contributed to his favorable attitude towards China.[28]

---

[27] *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 7.483a8–19.

[28] According to *Annals of the Qi* (*Qi benji* 齊本紀) in *The History of the*

Unlike Xuanzang who travelled to India without permission, Huisong was sent officially by the King of Gaochang to study Buddhism in the Northern Wei. On one hand, this indicates a favorable policy towards Buddhism, which is also evinced by the establishment of many Buddhist temples and a system of monastic officials.[29] However, the king's killing of three generations of Huisong's family betrays that Qu Jian might not have been a devout Buddhist. At the least, his fury at a subject openly disobeying his order trumped any Buddhist reservations about taking life. He was more likely using Buddhist monastics for political ends.[30] As indicated by previous scholars, the non–Chinese rulers such as Qu kings in Gaochang and Tuoba in Wei may have been in intense competition, not only economically and militarily,[31] but also culturally.[32] Therefore, it is understandable

---

Northern Dynasties, Gao Huan became the prime minister (*xiang* 相) in the first year of Yongxi 永熙 reign (532–534). As stated in section 'Record of Gaochang' (*Gaochang zhuan* 高昌傳) of the *Book of Wei* (*Weishu* 魏書), one year before Gao Huan became the prime minister, i.e., 'in the first year of Putai 普泰 reign (531–532), Qu Jian sent envoys and paid tribute' (普泰初, 堅遣使朝貢). Therefore, although Gaochang had sent envoys several times in the first half of the sixth century, the most likely time for Huisong to have arrived in Luoyang was 531, since he met Gao Huan soon after. See Yao, 'Shi lun Gaochang guo de fojiao yu fojiao jiaotuan', 193.

29 Nishino, 'Kōji-shi Kōshōkoku niokeru keiten no juyō nitsuite', 722.

30 Tang, 'Xinchu Tulufan wenshu zhengli fajue jingguo ji wenshu jianjie', 94.

31 The conflicts between Tuoba Wei and the garrisons in its northern frontier started in 523, which is also the reason for Gao Huan's rise. See Holcombe, 'Chinese Shōgun', 220.

32 Liu, 'Ethnicity and the Suppression of Buddhism in Fifth-Century North China', 19. Whether Han 漢, Juqu 沮渠, Qu 麴, or Tuoba 拓跋 can be characterized using the modern category of 'ethnicity' is a thorny question. Some scholars question the usefulness of the concept of ethnicity or doubt whether we could apply it to people in the steppes. The author is following Walter Pohl and Charles Holcombe that although ethnicity might not be able to precisely characterize the identities of Juqu, Qu, or Tuoba, it is still meaningful to 'invoke something like a concept of ethnicity' for better understanding of their group con-

that Qu Jian hoped to cultivate more local scholars not only in Chinese classics, but also in Buddhism, and was extremely angry when Huisong insisted on staying in Tuoba Wei.[33]

In 550, Gao Huan's heir Gao Yang 高洋 (526–559) declared himself Emperor of the Northern Qi (550–577) after deposing Yuan Shanjian 元善見 (524–551), the last emperor of the Eastern Wei (534–550).[34] Huisong's quick intelligence somehow offended the paramount monastic leader (*shangtong* 上統) when discussing Buddhist doctrines.[35] This eventually led to him being dispatched to Xuzhou 徐州. As the monastic leader (*sengtong* 僧統) of Xuzhou, he continued to lecture in areas like Peng 彭 and Pei 沛,[36] and even attracted followers in the regions of Jiangbiao 江表[37] and Henan 河南.[38]

In a way, Huisong's trajectory is the opposite of that of Xuanzang. While Xuanzang was dissatisfied by the available textual resources in China and strove to seek the authentic message of Buddhism

---

sciousness and the competition among them. See Holcombe, 'Chinese Identity', 37. Pohl, 'Ethnicity and Empire', 190.

33 Tuoba Wei is used here since it is not certain whether this incident happened during Northern Wei (386–534) or Eastern Wei (534–550).

34 Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, 102; Tao, 'Gao Huan fuzi bafu shulun', 51. For more information about the ruling bloc of Eastern Wei and Northern Qi, see Wang, 'Dong Wei, Bei Qi de tongzhi jituan'.

35 During the reign of Tianbao 天保 (550–559) in Northern Qi, 'Ten monastic leaders' (*shitong* 十統) were established. The head of the ten was titled the paramount monastic leader (*shangtong* 上統), and this position was served by Fashang 法上 (495–580). See Zhao, *Protection of The Dharma*, 21. This incident is mentioned in both Daoxuan and Tan'e's account, but not in Yishu's 'Huisong sheng zhi'.

36 Peng 彭 refers to Pengcheng 彭城, a county (*jun* 郡) in Northern Qi. It is in current-day Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu. Pei 沛 is also a county, which is in Suzhou 宿州, Anhui.

37 Also known as Jiangnan 江南, it refers to the area to the south of Yangtze River in its broadest sense.

38 Henan 河南, which literally means 'the south of the river', refers to the middle and lower areas of the Yellow River.

in India, Huisong endeavored to study and preach Buddhism in China. Xuanzang, despite the hardships of the journey, launched his pilgrimage to the west. Huisong, despite the risk of losing his entire family, continued to live and teach in Chinese cities like Yecheng 鄴城[39] and Luoyang. From Xuanzang's view,[40] China might have been a borderland[41] compared to India. Huisong, on the other hand, regarded Gaochang as a borderland compared to China. While Xuanzang's 'borderland complex'[42] eventually led to his pilgrimage and his vast

---

[39] Huisong's influence in Yecheng is discussed in Yinshun, *Fojiao shidi kao lun*, 22–23.

[40] There is a famous narrative in Daoxuan's account of Xuanzang's trip that describes Xuanzang's feeling when arriving on Mount Gayā. Xuanzang signed that he lived in 'peripheral and barbaric' (*bianbi* 邊鄙) and even fainted on the spot. See *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 4.451a7–9. English translation in Chen, 'The Borderland Complex', 75. Before Xuanzang's returning, monks of Nālandā University tried to persuade him to stay in India, since China is a country of barbarians, while India is the land of Buddha's birth. See *Da Tang Da Cien si sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 5. 246a. English translation in Needham, *Science and Civilisation*, 209–10.

[41] Regarding China as a border country is not only Xuanzang's mentality. Dao'an 道安 (312–385) lamented in various works that he was born into China, a 'border country' (*bianguo* 邊國) or a 'different country' (*yiguo* 異國), rather than India (Tianzhu 天竺), a 'state of sages' (*shengbang* 聖邦). Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), Sengrui 僧叡 (c. 352–436), Faxian 法顯 (337–c. 422) shared similar perceptions. In *Biography of Eminent Monk Faxian* (*Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳), Faxian explicitly calls Central India (Zhong Tianzhu 中天竺) the Central State (*Zhongguo* 中國) See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *T* no. 2145, 55: 6.45a11, 6.46a8–9, 6.69c15–17; *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 1.333b1; *Zhonglun xu*, *T* no.1564, 30: 1.1a22–23. *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, *T* no. 2085, 51: 1.858a19–20. Also see Yoshikawa, 'Chūdo, hendo no ronsō', 76–77. Hu, 'Faxian's (法顯 342–423) Perception of India', 225.

[42] 'Borderland Complex' is a term first used by Antonino Forte to describe the feeling of inadequacy due to being in the borderland of Buddhism rather than the center. Chen Jinhua further discusses this concept in East Asia Buddhism and its connection with the construction of sacred sites and lineages. Forte, 'Hui-chih',

translation projects, Huisong's decision to stay in China advanced the study of Abhidharma in the pre-Xuanzang period.

II. From Huisong to Xuanzang: transmission lines

Huisong died during the reign of Tianbao 天保 (550–559) in *Xubu* 徐部 (in present–day Jiangsu). Zhinian 志念 (535–608) is the only disciple mentioned in Huisong's biography.[43] Zhinian first studied Mahāyāna treatises such as **Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論) and **Daśabhūmikasūtraśāstra* (*shidi jing lun* 十地經論). Attracted by Huisong's reputation as 'the Confucius of Abhidharma' (*Pitan Kongzi* 毘曇孔子), he came to study with Huisong. Afterwards Zhinian became an expert in the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* and lectured frequently on this text. Among Zhinian's numerous disciples, Huixiu 慧休 (548–646?) was essential for passing on the *Abhidharma* teachings. Huixiu studied the **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha*, the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, and the **Vibhāṣa*[44] with Zhinian.[45] Later

---

125–127; Chen, 'The Borderland Complex', 65–106; Nicol, 'Outsiders', 29.

[43] *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 7.483a23–24.

[44] There are three versions of **Vibhāṣa*s in Chinese translation. The first is the Treatise of the Commentary (Skt. **Vibhāṣaśāstra*; Ch. *Piposha lun* 鞞婆沙論, *T* no. 1547, vol. 28) translated by Saṁghabhūti et al. in 383. See *Gaoseng zhuan*. *T* no. 50, 2059:1.328b08–10. Based on an ambiguous reference in the biography of Saṃghadeva, Willemen et al. point out that Saṃghadeva likely revised the translation. See *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 1.329a6–7. Willemen, Dessein, and Cox, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*, 232; The second is the *Treatise of the Commentary of Abhidharma* (Skt. **Abhidharmavibhāṣaśāstra*; Ch. *Apitan piposha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論, *T* no. 1546, vol. 28), translated by Buddhavarman (Fotuobamo 浮陀跋摩; 390/438?–440/489?) and Daotai 道泰 (373/426?–428/477?) between 437 and 439 in Liangzhou. The third is the *Treatise of the Great Commentary of Abhidharma* (Skt. **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣaśāstra*; Ch. *Apidamo dapiposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論; *T* no. 1545, vol. 27), translated by Xuanzang during 657–660. For discussion of the *Vibhāṣa* compendia, Willemen, 'Remarks', 261; *idem*, 'Sarvāstivāda', 1077.

Huixiu became one of Xuanzang's earliest Buddhist teachers and taught Xuanzang the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, presumably with interpretations he had learned from his teacher Zhinian, who had studied the text under Huisong.[46] In other words, according to this line of transmission, Xuanzang is a third–generation student of Huisong via Zhinian and Huixiu.

The second line of transmission goes from Huisong, via Daoyou 道猷 (d.u.), Jingsong 靖嵩 (537–614), and Daoji 道基 (576?–637), to Xuanzang. Daoyou is mentioned as Huisong's student in Zhinian's biography. Later, Daoyou had an influential student, Jingsong, who studied the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* with him.[47] Jingsong was also versed in the **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha*, the **Vibhāṣa*, and the **Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra*.[48] Jingsong in turn passed on the knowledge of Abhidharma to Daoji,[49] who wrote the *Profound Meaning and Annotated Extract of *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* (*Zaxin xuanzhang bing chao* 雜心玄章并抄), a commentary on the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*.[50] Daoji was also one of the earliest Abhidharma teachers of Xuanzang.[51] According to this line of transmission, then Xuanzang was a fourth–generation student of Huisong.

III. 'Master Nian' 念法師 and 'Master Song' 嵩法師 in the *Jushe lun ji* 俱舍論記

The main text transmitted from Huisong to Xuanzang was the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, a commentary on Dharmaśreṣṭhin's *Heart Treatise of the Abhidharma* (Skt. **Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*;

---

45 *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 15.544b18–19.

46 Ibid, 4.447a29.

47 Ibid, 10.501b23–24.

48 Ibid, 10.501b26.

49 Ibid, 10.502a23–24.

50 Ibid, 14.532b27–28.

51 Ibid, 4.446c26–447a2.

Ch. *Apitan xinlun* 阿毘曇心論). It was written by the western Sarvāstivādins after the Vaibhāṣikas held a council in Kashmir and claimed to be the authority within Sarvāstivāda.[52] Despite the Vaibhāṣikas' continuous attack on the views of these 'Western Masters'[53] (*xifang shi* 西方師), the 'Western Masters' continued to compile their own works, although gradually absorbing Vaibhāṣika views. The **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* was one of these works. It was widely studied by Chinese Abhidharma scholar-monks from the Northern and Southern dynasties (386–589) to the Sui dynasty (581–618).[54] Other Abhidharma texts mentioned in these monks' biographies include Gandhāran Kātyāyanīputra's **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha*, and its earlier commentary (the **Vibhāṣa*s).

This shows that monks on the lines from Huisong to Xuanzang were largely influenced by non–Vaibhāṣika texts, like the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, the **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha*, and the early **Vibhāṣa*s. This dominance ended with Xuanzang's journey to India, after which he and his team translated almost all important Vaibhāṣika Abhidharma texts, including five of the six 'feet' (*zu* 足),[55]

---

[52] This council is mentioned in *Posoupandou fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2049, 50: 1.189a1–26; *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 51: 886b22–887a17. It is also mentioned in Tibetan sources such as *Bu ston chos 'byung*. Although there are some discrepancies in these accounts as regards to whether this is a council within Sarvāstivāda or among different schools, the first hypothesis is more possible according to Willemen, Dessein, and Cox, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*, 118.

[53] This is viewed from the geographical location of Kashmir. The term 'Western Master' occurs in Vaibhāṣika works such as **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*, or **Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā*. This title never occurs in *Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* or **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*. For a few instances, see *Apidamo da piposha lun*, *T* no. 1545, 27: 43.223c21–22, 54. 279a4, 127.665c4.

[54] For a generation discussion of scholar-monks studying **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* during this period, see Dessein, 'The Abhidharma School', 58–60.

[55] The five 'feet' translated by Xuanzang and his team are **Saṅgītiparyāyapāda* (*T* no. 1536, vol. 26), **Dharmaskandhapāda* (*T* no. 1537, 26), **Vijñānakāyapāda*

the 'body' (*shen* 身)—the *Treatise on the Arising of Wisdom through the Abhidharma* (Skt. **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna*, Ch. *Apidamo Fazhi lun* 阿毘達磨發智論), as well as the *Great Abhidharma Commentary* (Skt. **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣaśāstra*; Ch. *Apidamo da piposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論), the Kashmiri commentary on the 'body'. Xuanzang and his team also translated later Vaibhāṣika works such as the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic* (Skt. **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*; Ch. *Apidamo shun zhengli lun* 阿毘達磨順正理論) and the *Abhidharma Treatise Illuminating Tenets* (Skt. **Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā*; Ch. *Apidamozang xianzong lun* 阿毘達磨藏顯宗論).

The translation of these works greatly enriched the intellectual landscape of Chinese Abhidharma scholasticism. Compared to the pre–Xuanzang period, they now had access to works in both the Vaibhāṣika and non–Vaibhāṣika traditions of Abhidharma, as well as to later works that recorded the debate among these subsects, such as *The Treasury of the Abhidharma and Its (Auto) Commentary* (Skt. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*; Ch. *Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論). Compared to Indian Sarvāstivāda scholars, they had additional access to Chinese Abhidharma commentaries by previous scholar–monks, who had been diligently compiling commentaries on works like the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*. This gave Xuanzang and his disciples the confidence to differentiate and judge the divergent views they found in the scriptures.

For instance, in the *Jushe lun ji*, which is attributed to Xuanzang's disciple Puguang but for the most part is a record of Xuanzang's teachings on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*,[56] the opinions of two

---

(*T* no. 1539, vol. 26), **Prakaraṇapāda* (*T* no. 1542, vol. 26), *Dhātukāyapāda* (*T* no. 1540, vol. 26). **Prajñaptipāda* (*T* no. 1538, vol. 26) is not translated by Xuanzang. See *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no. 1821, 41: 1.8b26–c6. Willemen, 'Remarks', 260.

[56] This is recorded in Puguang's biography. See *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2061, 50: 4.727a10–11: Xuanzang then secretly taught Puguang the oral teachings of Sarvāstivādins. Puguang was thus able to write the commentary (乃密授光, 多是記憶西印薩婆多師口義. 光因著疏解判). The author would like to thank Fu Xinyi for pointing out this sentence.

earlier Chinese Abhidharma scholars, i.e., 'Master Nian' (Zhinian) and 'Master Song' (Jingsong), are regularly cited and evaluated. Puguang's record of these views as well as his judgments are precious materials for investigating the evolution of doctrinal understanding among Chinese Abhidharma scholars during the period from Huisong to Xuanzang.

An example is the debate concerning *paracittajñāna* (*taxinzhi* 他心智), the ability to read the thoughts of others. The corresponding excerpt of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* is from the 'Chapter of the Exposition of the Cognitions' (*Jñānanirdeśa*; 'Fenbie zhi pin' 分別智品). Below the Sanskrit (Skt.) version edited by Pradhan is given next to Paramārtha's (Zhendi 真諦; 499–569) (Ch.–P) and Xuanzang's (Ch.–X) translations.[57]

> Skt.: anāsravaṃ paracittajñānaṃ tathaiva | svasatyākāratvāccaturākāraṃ mārgajñānatvāt |[58]
> Ch.–P: 釋曰：無流他心智亦如此, 由緣自諦行相故, 亦成四行相, 唯道智故.[59]
> Ch.–X: 他心智中, 若無漏者, 唯有緣道四種行相, 由此即是道智攝故；[60]
> Likewise,[61] the uncontaminated (*anāsrava*)[62] cognition of an-

---

[57] Completed by Paramārtha in 562, *The Treatise of the Commentary on the Treasury of Abhidharma* (*Apidamo jushe shilun* 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論) is the first Chinese translation of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

[58] P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 396L4.

[59] *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 19. 286c26–27: The explanation is: the uncontaminated cognition of another's thoughts is likewise. Since it grasps the modes of its own truth, it has four modes. This is because it is only constituted by the cognition of the path.

[60] *Apidamo jushe lun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 26.135c9–11: Among cognitions of another's thoughts, those uncontaminated ones only grasp the four modes of the path. Therefore, they are constituted by the cognition of the path.

[61] This refers to the former sentence that explains the modes of the cognitions of four noble truths respectively. Each cognition grasps the four modes of its own truth. For example, the cognition of the suffering grasps the four modes of

other's thoughts has four modes. This is because of the mode (*ākāra*)[63] of its own truth (*satya*),[64] i.e., because it is [constituted by] the cognition of the path (*mārgajñāna*).[65]

Skt.: samalaṃ punaḥ | jñeyasvalakṣaṇākāraṃ[66]
Ch.–P: 復有垢, 如應知自相.[67]
Ch.–X: 有漏自相緣[68]

---

the truth of suffering, which are impermanence (*anitya*; *wuchang* 無常), unsatisfactoriness (*duḥkha*; *ku* 苦), emptiness (*śūnya*; *kong* 空), and no-self (*anātma*; *wuwo* 無我). See Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 343.

[62] Pruden's English version mistakes this to be contaminated. See Pruden, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, 1099.

[63] Ākāra has a rich history of meaning. In the context of Sarvāstivāda path theory, it refers to the sixteen modes of the four noble truths. For more discussion on the usage of this term, see Zhao, *A Study of the Usages and Meanings of Ākāra in Abhidharma*, 62–97.

[64] Here Paramārtha translate *svasatya* literally as '*zidi* 自諦', while Xuanzang translate it as '*dao* 道' according to the context, since the 'own truth' (*svasatya*; *zidi* 自諦) of 'uncontaminated cognition of another's thoughts' (*anāsrava paracittajñāna*; 無漏他心智) is 'the truth of the path' (*mārgasatya*; *daodi* 道諦). The four 'modes' (*ākāra*) of *mārgasatya* is 'path' (*mārga*; *dao* 道), 'conformity' (*nyāyata*; ru 如, 'practice' (*pratipattita*; *xing* 行), and 'deliverance' (*nairyāṇikata*; *chu* 出). See Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 343. *mārgaṃ caturbhirmārgato nyāyataḥ pratipattito nairyāṇikataśca*. *Apidamo jushe shilun T* no. 1559, 29: 16.286c26–287a3: 以四相觀道謂道如行出. *Apidamo jushe lun T* no. 1558, 29: 23.135c9–15: 觀道聖諦修四行相一道二如三行四出.

[65] This translation is based on the Sanskrit version with reference to the two Chinese translations as well as Pruden's English translation. The author would like to thank David Carpenter for his comments on an earlier version of translation.

[66] Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 396L5–6.

[67] *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 19.286c27–28: Again, the contaminated (cognition of another's thoughts) cognizes the specific characteristics of that to be known.

[68] *Apidamo jushelun*, *T* no.1558, 29: 26.135c4: The contaminated (cognition of another's thoughts) cognizes the specific characteristics.

Again, the mode of the contaminated (cognition of another's thoughts) consists of the specific characteristics of its object.[69]
Skt.: sāsravaṃ paracittajñānaṃ jñeyānāṃ cittacaittānāṃ yat svalakṣaṇaṃ tadākārayati svalakṣaṇagrāhakatvāt |[70]
Ch.–P: 若有流他心智, 是自所應知心及心法如. 如彼相, 思想亦爾, 能取別相為境故.[71]
Ch.–X: 若有漏者, 取自所緣心心所法自相境故. 如境自相, 行相亦爾, 故此非前十六所攝.[72]
The contaminated cognition of another's thoughts grasps the specific characteristics of its object, i.e., the mind and mental factors. Therefore, it [also] takes these specific characteristics for its mode.

Skt.: ubhayamapi tu ekaikadravyagocaram yadā cittaṃ gṛhṇāti na tadā cittānāṃ yadā vedanāṃ na tadā saṃjñāmityevamādi |[73]

---

[69] *Svalakṣaṇa* refers to the characteristic unique to an individual *dharma*. See P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 341. *svabhāva evaiṣāṃ svalakṣaṇam*. *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 16.271a7–8: 別相者是彼各各自性. *Apidamo jushe lun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 23. 118c22–23: 身受心法各別自性名為自相. For more discussion on *svalakṣaṇa*, see Cox, 'From Category to Ontology', 574–76.

[70] Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 396L7–8.

[71] *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 19.286c28–287a1: As for the contaminated cognition of another's thoughts, it consists of the mind and mental factors that it cognizes. Its modes are the same with the characteristics of those, since it takes specific characteristics as its object.

[72] *Apidamo jushe lun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 26.135c11–13: As for contaminated cognition of another's thoughts, it takes the specific characteristics of its object, i.e., the mind and mental factors. Its modes are the same with the specific characteristics of the object. Therefore, they are not constituted by the sixteen [modes] discussed above.

[73] Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 396L8–10.

> Ch.–P: 此二種, 偈曰:緣一物為境. 釋曰:是時若緣心為境, 不能緣心法為境. 若緣受, 不能緣想, 如此等.[74]
>
> Ch.–X: 如是二種, 於一切時, 一念但緣一事為境, 謂緣心時, 不緣心所, 緣受等時, 不緣想等.[75]
>
> These two (either the uncontaminated cognition or the contaminated cognition) only take one thing (*dravya*) as its object (*gocara*) at a time. When it grasps the mind, it cannot grasp mental factors. When [it grasps] the feeling, it cannot grasp the perception, and so forth.

The main point that triggered the dispute was the question of whether the uncontaminated (*anāsrava*; *wulou* 無漏) cognition of another's thoughts has four modes of the truth of the path (*mārga-satya*; *daodi* 道諦). If this is the case, why can the contaminated (*sāsrava*; *youlou* 有漏) cognition of another's thoughts not have the four modes of the truth of the suffering (*duḥkha-satya*; *kudi* 苦諦) and the four modes of the truth of the origin of suffering (*samudaya-satya*; *jidi* 集諦)?[76] This might have been a long-lasting debate in the field of Abhidharma at that time, since there were several different answers provided by Abhidharma scholars from the sixth to the seventh century. Puguang listed a few views here, by Master Yuan 遠法師,[77] Master Nian 念法師, and Master Song 嵩法師 respectively.

---

[74] *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 19.286c26–287a3: These two, the verse says: to take one thing as the object. The commentary says: when it takes the mind as the object, it cannot take mental factors as the object. If it grasps feeling, it cannot grasp perception, and so on.

[75] *Apidamo jushe lun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 26.135c13–15: These two [cognitions] always only take one thing as the object at one time. This means: When grasping the mind, it does not grasp the mental factors; When grasping the feelings and so on, it does not grasp perception and so on.

[76] *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no.1821, 41: 26.387b8–11.

[77] Master Yuan most likely refers to Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523–592).

To state past interpretations. First, as Master Yuan states, the cognition of the path (*mārgajñāna*; *daozhi* 道智) is the preparatory practice for reading other's uncontaminated thoughts. Thus, the cognition of other's uncontaminated thoughts has four modes of the path. The cognition of other's contaminated thoughts does not need the cognition of the suffering (*duḥkhajñāna*; *kuzhi* 苦智) and the cognition of the origin of suffering (*samudayajñāna*; *jizhi* 集智) as preparatory practices. Therefore, it does not have the eight modes of suffering and so on. 敘古解者. 第一, 遠法師云: '知他無漏心, 道智為加行故, 作道四行. 知他有漏心, 不以苦、集智為加行, 所以不作苦、集八行相'.

Second, as Master Nian from Wei[78] states, if the cognition of other's uncontaminated thoughts has the four modes of the path, it can fully comprehend the activity (*yong* 用) of another's thoughts. If the cognition of another's contaminated thoughts does not grasp the eight modes of the suffering and the origin of suffering, it cannot comprehend the activity of another's thoughts thoroughly. If it knows suffering, it does not know the origin of suffering. If it knows the origin of suffering, it does not know suffering. Thus, it does not take the eight modes of the suffering and the origin of suffering. 第二, 魏念法師云: '若知他無漏心, 作道下四行相, 即知他心用盡. 若知他有漏心, 不作苦等八行相, 即知他心用不盡. 知苦不知集, 知集不知苦. 所以不作苦、集八行相'.

Third, as Master Song from Pengcheng says, the subject (*nengyuan* 能緣) and the object (*suoyuan* 所緣) should match in terms of principle (*li* 理) and activity (*shi* 事). Since the uncontaminated thoughts as the object contemplates the principle, the cognition of this mind also should contemplate the principle. Thus, the cognition of another's uncontaminated mind takes the four modes of the path. Since the contaminated thought as the object contemplates the activity, the cognition of this thought also should contemplate the activity. Therefore, the cognition of another's contaminated thoughts does not grasp the

[78] Wei County 魏郡 is in current-day Hebei.

> eight modes of the suffering and the origin of suffering. 第三, 彭城嵩法師云: '能緣所緣, 理事須等. 所緣無漏心既是理觀, 能緣他心智還須作理觀知. 故知他無漏心, 作道下四行相. 所緣有漏心既是事觀, 能緣他心智還須事觀知, 故知他有漏心, 不作苦、集八行相'.[79]

Two of the three masters mentioned here relate to Huisong. Master Nian from Wei (*Wei nian fashi* 魏念法師) refers to Zhinian,[80] Huisong's immediate disciple, Master Song from Pengcheng (*Pengcheng Song fashi* 彭城嵩法師) most likely refers to Jingsong,[81] Huisong's second-generation disciple. However, Puguang does not accept the views of these 'ancient sages' (*gude* 古德), and in the next part refutes all of them.

> The Second is to show the mistakes of these views. First, to refute Master Yuan: Since it is stated in the *Fundamental Treatise* that the eight cognitions during the level of training (*śaikṣa*; *youxue* 有學) can serve as the similar and immediately antecedent conditions (*samanantara-pratyaya*; *deng wujian yuan* 等無間緣) for every single other, isn't it contradictory to say that the cognition of the path is the preparatory practice for the cognition of another's thoughts? Second, the argument against Master Nian: There are also four

---

[79] *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no.1821, 41: 26.387b12–23.

[80] As one of the leading scholars in Abhidharma in Sui dynasty, Zhinian is frequently mentioned in other monks' biographies under the title Nian *fashi* 念法師 or Nian *lunshi* 念論師. For instance, in monk Daojie's 道傑 (573–627) biography, it is mentioned that Daojie learned from the Wei ital Master Nian 魏念論師. In Zhinian's biography, this monk Daojie is mentioned as Zhinian's student. *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 529b6–7.

[81] Although both have song in their name, Huisong is usually referred to as Master Huisong from Gaochang 高昌國慧嵩法師 (*T* no. 2060, 50: 11.508c7). The title Pengcheng Song *fashi* usually refers to Jingsong (*T* no. 1824, 42: 1.17c8; *T* no. 2061: 1.717a6–7). More evidence that Song *fashi* in *Jushe lun ji* refers to Jingsong is that his opinion always comes after Zhinian. Given the fact that Huisong is Zhinian's master, it is not very possible that Puguang always states disciple's opinion first and then the master's opinion.

> modes in the uncontaminated thoughts. Knowing only one mode is still not thorough. Thus, it should not take the modes of the Path. Third, the argument against Master Song. Since during the [stage of] contaminated warmth (*ūṣman*; *nuan* 煖)[82] and others, [the meditator] contemplates the principle, the cognition of [this meditator's] thoughts also should contemplate the principle. If one argues that [the meditator] is not really contemplating the principle but just contemplating something similar to the principle, the cognition of this meditator's thoughts should also contemplate something similar to the principle, rather than contemplating the activity. 第二, 出過非者. 一, 破遠法師云: '本論既言, "有學八智展轉相望, 皆容作等無間緣", 而言道智他心加行, 豈不相違?' 二, 破魏念法師云: '無漏心上亦有四行, 知一非餘, 還不知盡, 應當不作道下行相'. 三, 破嵩法師云: '有漏煖等既作理觀, 能緣他心智應亦作理觀. 若言非真理觀, 是似理觀, 亦應他心智作似理觀知, 非事觀知'.[83]

This shows the growing ability of Xuanzang and his successors to question the positions of the previous generations of Chinese Abhidharma specialists, since they had access to a wider range of Indian texts. For instance, to criticize the view that the cognition of the path is the preparatory practice for the cognition of another's mind, Puguang cites the Fundamental Treatise (*benlun* 本論). Oftentimes called the 'Fundamental Treatise by Kātyāyanīputra' (*Jiayan benlun* 迦

---

[82] This refers to the stage of warmth, the first stage of the four preparatory stages (*prayoga*; *jiaxing wei* 加行位). During this stage, the practitioner meditates on the sixteen modes of the four noble truths. See Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 343L12–14: kleśendhanadahanasyāryamārgāgneḥ pūrvarūpatvāt | taccatuḥsatyagocaram | tadūṣmagataṃ prākarṣikatvāccatuḥsatyālambanam | ṣoḍaśākāram. *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 16.271b21–24: 是能燒惑薪, 四聖道火前起相故, 故說名暖. 偈曰：具四諦為境, 有十六種行. 釋曰：此暖善根由位長故, 具緣四諦為境, 有十六行. *Apidamo jushelun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 23.119b24–27: 是能燒惑薪聖道火前相, 如火前相故名為煖. 此煖善根分位長故, 能具觀察四聖諦境, 及能具修十六行相. For a more detailed explanation on these stages, see Dhammajoti, 'Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma', 435–39.

[83] *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no. 1821, 41: 26.387b23–c2.

延本論), the text can refer to Gandhāran **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha* or its Kashmiri Sanskritized version **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna*, both of which are extant in Chinese translations. However, the passage Puguang is quoting, which talks about the similar and immediately antecedent conditions of the eight cognitions in the level of training, can only be found in *Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna*.[84] This indicates that this part might have been added by the Vaibhāṣikas during the rewriting process and Puguang was most likely quoting from the **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna*. Employing arguments from the newly translated (*xinfan* 新翻)[85] **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna* to interrogate views of past Chinese Abhidharma scholars revealed the tendency of Xuanzang's team to import and adopt Indian 'orthodoxy' when facing doctrinal disputes.[86] This tendency also happened later when Puguang was presenting a 'right view' (*zhengjie* 正解).

> Third, to state the right views. ... The second view: It is possible to contemplate [the object] in detail if the contemplation is cheerful. Thus, the cognition of another's uncontaminated thoughts grasps the four modes of the path. When contemplating with disgust, one is willing to discard [the object] as a whole. Thus, the cognition of another's contaminated mind does not grasp the eight modes

---

[84] *Apidamo fazhilun*, *T* no. 1544, 26: 9. 962c24–963a28.

[85] The predicate 'newly translated' (*xinfan* 新翻) constantly occurs in the writings of Xuanzang's disciples. See, for example, *Apidamo da piposha lun*, *T* no. 1545, 27: 5a16–17. This might relate to Xuanzang's critical attitude toward some of his predecessors. See Barrett, 'Kill the Patriarchs', 94–96.

[86] Similar polemics between followers of Xuanzang's 'new' teachings and those 'old' Chinese Buddhist exegetical traditions also happened in Yogācāra. See, for instance, *Weishi ershi lun shuji*, *T* no. 1834, 43: 985b10. In *Yuqie lun ji*, *T* no. 1828, 42: 520c21–22, there is evidence that scholars from the 'old' traditions criticize the 'new' translations. Eric M. Greene also provides evidence of such polemics from Dunhuang. See Greene, 'The Dust Contemplation', 2. The difference in the Abhidharma case here is that Jingsong and Zhinian had already died when Puguang was writing *Jushe lun ji*, and thus were unable to argue against Puguang.

of the suffering and the origin of suffering. As the seventy-third volume of the **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra* says, the uncontaminated mind and mental states of another are subtle and superior. They are not the object of one's contaminated cognition of another's mind. This is true. What is the reason that one's uncontaminated cognition of another's mind cannot know another's contaminated mind and mental states? When a uncontaminated cognition cognizes an contaminated object, the mode of the object is different from this cognition. This means that when the uncontaminated cognition contemplates an contaminated object, it always contemplates the disgusted activity in general. Therefore, it is certain that this cognition cannot contemplate another's contaminated mind and mental states individually to become the cognition of another's mind. This is because when uncontaminated cognitions[87] cognize contaminated objects, they feel disgusted at the objects and would like to discard them as a whole rather than contemplating them individually. When contemplating uncontaminated thoughts, delight arises, and they would like to contemplate them both in general and individually. Seeing or hearing something unpleasant, one would discard it after a general glimpse rather than contemplate it individually. For a beloved object this is not the case. After seeing or hearing it in general, one would also like to contemplate it individually. Since it is impossible for the uncontaminated cognition to contemplate another's contaminated thoughts individually, the uncontaminated cognition of anther's contaminated thought cannot arise. This is because the cognition of another's thoughts always contemplates another's mind and mental states individually... 第三述正義者. … 第二解云: '欣觀容可別知, 故知他無漏心, 作道下四行相. 厭觀必欲總遣, 故知他有漏心. 不作苦、集八行觀. 故《正理》七十三云, "他身無漏心、心所法細故、勝故, 非己有漏他心智境. 其理可然. 何緣己身無漏他心智, 不能知他有漏心、心所? 於有漏境無漏智生, 行相所緣異此智故. 謂無漏智緣有漏時, 必是總緣厭背行

[87] Only uncontaminated (*anāsrava*; *wulou* 無漏) cognition can be called Noble (*ārya*; *sheng* 聖) Cognition. See *Apidamo jushelun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 26. 134b24–25.

> 相, 是故決定不能別緣他心、心所成他心智. 以諸聖智緣有漏時, 必於所緣深生厭背, 樂總棄捨, 不樂別觀. 緣無漏時生欣樂故, 既總觀已, 亦樂別觀. 如有見聞非所愛事, 總緣便捨, 不樂別緣. 於所愛中則不如是. 總見聞已, 亦樂別緣. 是故於他有漏心等, 必無聖智一一別觀, 成緣有漏心無漏他心智…"[88]

Here, Puguang is quoting a passage from the **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*, a Vaibhāṣika text composed after the *Abhidharmakośa*. While questioning the views of past Chinese Abhidharma scholars, Puguang seems again to favor the newly translated Vaibhāṣika texts such as the **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna* and the **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*. In another case, Puguang explicitly criticizes Master Nian through a quotation from the **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣaśāstra* and points out that Zhinian is following the view of Western Masters.[89] Given the fact that these Indian texts themselves are the results of sectarian debates within the Sarvāstivāda School, Xuanzang and Puguang's favorable attitude towards the Kashmiri Vaibhāṣikas reveals a different kind of borderland complex compared to that of Huisong. While Huisong regarded China as superior to his provincial hometown in Gaochang, Xuanzang, after his journey to the west, was more or less convinced of the authority of Indian Buddhists. Before his journey west, Xuanzang had studied Abhidharma texts with Huixiu and Daoji, both of whom can be traced back to an earlier generation of monks in China who specialized in Abhidharma. Nonetheless, he seemed to be less committed to that legacy, than to the new texts he brought back from India. Trying to use the standard of orthodoxy set up by Indian scholars to refute views of past Chinese masters not only reflects Xuanzang's and Puguang's doctrinal preference, but also how they perceived their home 'borderland' vis–á–vis an imagined 'center'.

---

[88] *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no. 1821, 41: 26. 387b12–388a11. For the corresponding passage in **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*, see *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, *T* no. 1562, 29: 73. 737a15–28.

[89] *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no. 1821, 41: 3.69a17.

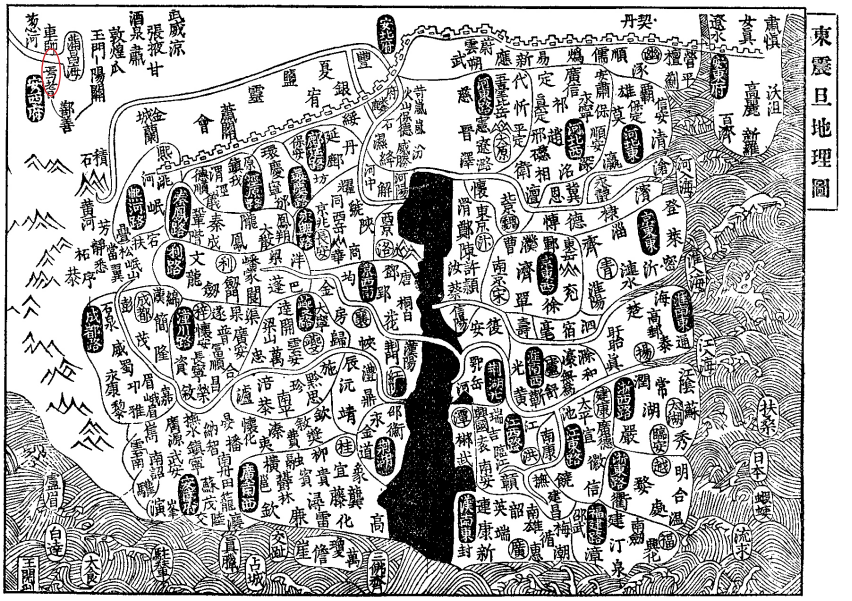

FIG. 1 'Geographic Map of China to the East' (*Dong Zhengdan dili tu* 東震旦地理圖) in Zhipan's 志磐 (d. after 1269) *A General Record of the Buddha and Other Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀). Huisong travelled from Gaochang (marked as Jushi 車師 on the map) to the east.[90]

[90] *Fozu tongji*, *T* no. 2035, 49: 32.312.

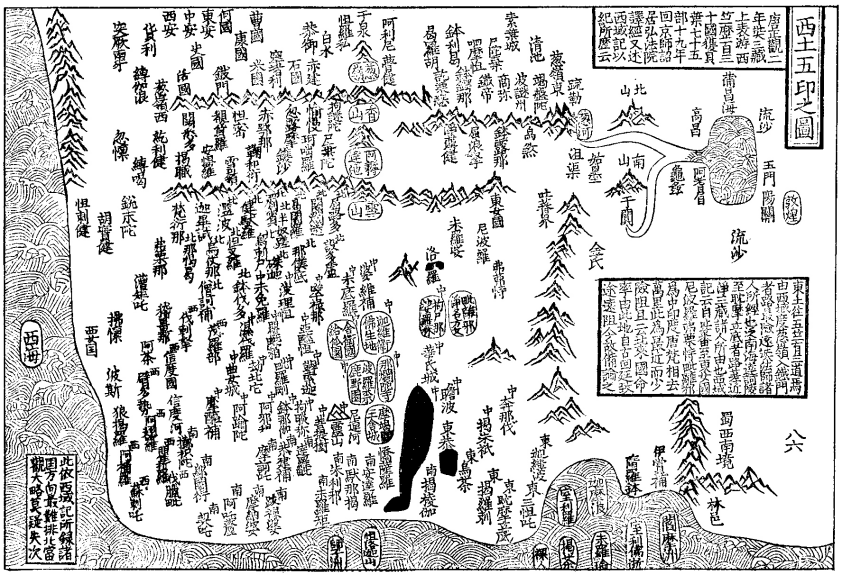

FIG. 2 'Map of the five Indian States in the West' (*Xitu Wuyin zhitu* 西土五印之圖) in Zhipan's *Fozu tongji*. Xuanzang travelled through Gaochang to the west.[91]

[91] Ibid, 314.

FIG. 3 Major places mentioned in this paper[92]

[92] The map was created using QGIS 3 on the open-source base map of Natural Earth, with data obtained from https://www.naturalearthdata.com/downloads/. The geographical coordinates of the places are acquired from Buddhist Studies Place Authority Databases (https://authority.dila.edu.tw/place/). The precise historical boundaries of these regions are not under current research. Therefore, only points are indicated here.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

B	*Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Lan.
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
X	*Manji zoku zōkyō* 卍字續藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, *Manji zoku zōkyō*.

Primary Sources

Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ of Vasubandhu. Edited by Pralhad Pradhan. Patnam: Jayasawal Research Institute, 1967.

Apitan piposha lun 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 [**Abhidharmavibhāṣaśāstra*; Treatise of the Commentary on the Abhidharma]. 60 *juan*. Trans. Buddhavarman 浮陀跋摩 (390/438?–440/489?) and Daotai 道泰 (373/426?–428/477?) between 437 and 439. *T* no. 1546, vol. 28.

Apidamo dapiposha lun 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 [**Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣaśāstra*; Treatise of the Great Commentary on the Abhidharma]. 200 *juan*. Trans. Xuanzan 玄奘 (602–664) between 657 and 660. *T* no. 1545, vol. 27.

Apidamo jushe lun 阿毘達磨俱舍論 [*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*; Commentary on the Treasury of Abhidharma]. 30 *juan*. Trans. Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664) between 614 and 654. *T* no. 1558, vol. 29.

Apidamo jushe shilun 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 [*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*; Commentary on the Treasury of Abhidharma]. 22 *juan*. Trans. Paramārtha 真諦 (499–569) between 564 and 568. *T* no. 1559, vol. 29.

Apidamo shun zhengli lun 阿毘達磨順正理論 [**Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*; Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic of Abhidharma]. 80 *juan*. Comp. Saṃghabhadra 眾賢 (active in the 5th c.), trans. Xuanzan 玄奘 (602?–664). *T* no. 1562, vol. 29.

Beishi 北史 [The History of Northern Dynasties]. 100 *juan*. By Li Yanshou 李延壽 (d.u.) et al., in ca. 659. References made to the edition of Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1974.

Chu sanzang ji ji 出三藏記集 [Collection of records concerning the Translation of the Three Storehouses]. 15 *juan*. Initially compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) in 515. *T* no. 2145, vol. 55

Da Tang Da Cien si sanzang fashi zhuan 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Cien Monastery in the Great Tang Dynasty]. 10 *juan*. By Huili 慧立 (615–?) and Yancong 彥悰 (active in early 7th c.). *T* no. 2053, vol. 50.

Fozu tongji 佛祖統紀 [A General Record of the Buddha and Other Patriarchs]. 54 *juan*. Comp. Zhipan 志磐 (d. after 1269) between 1258 and 1269. *T* no. 2035, vol. 49

Gaoseng Faxian zhuan 高僧法顯傳 [Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian]. 1 *juan*. By Faxian 法顯 (337–422). *T* no. 2085, vol. 51.

Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks]. 14 *juan*. Initially completed by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) sometime between 519 and 522 (final version probably completed ca. 530). *T* no. 2059, vol. 50.

Hanshu 漢書 [The Book of Han]. 100 *juan*. By Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE) et al., in ca. 111 CE. References made to the edition of Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1962.

Jinnō Shōtōki chūkai 神皇正統記注解 [Commentary on Chronicles of the Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors]. By Heike Monogatari 御橋悳言 (1876–1950). References made to the edition of Kyoto: Yagi shoten八木書店, 2001.

Jushe lun ji 俱舍論記 [*Study Notes on the Treasury of Abhidharma*]. 30 *juan*. By Puguang 普光 (fl. 645–664). *T* no. 1821, vol. 41.

Piposha lun 鞞婆沙論 [**Vibhāṣa*śāstra; Treatise of the Commentary]. 14 *juan*. Initially translated by Saṁghabhūti 僧伽跋澄 (332/390?382/431?) et al., in 381. *T* no. 1547, vol. 28.

Shiji 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian]. 130 *juan*. By Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c.145 BC–c. 86 BC), in ca. 94BCE. References made to the edition of Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2014.

Shishi liutie 釋氏六帖 [Six Books of the Sakya clan]. 24 *juan*. Comp. Yichu 義楚 (fl. 895–968) in 954. B no. 79, vol. 13.

Weishi ershi lun shuji 唯識二十論述記 [Study Notes on the Twenty

Verses on Consciousness–only]. 2 *juan*. By Kuiji 窺基 (632–682). *T* no. 1834, vol. 43.
Weishu 魏書 [The History of Wei]. 114 *juan*. By Wei Shou 魏收 (506–572) in 554. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1974.
Xinxiu kefen liuxue seng zhuan 新修科分六學僧傳 [Newly Compiled Monk Biographies Categorized by the Six Pāramitās]. 30 *juan*. Comp. Tan'e 曇噩 (1271–1368) in 1366. *X* no. 1522, vol. 77.
Xu Gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳 [Extended Biographies of Eminent Monks]. 30 *juan*. Initially completed by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) in 645. *T* no. 2060, vol. 50.
Yuqie lunji 瑜伽論記 [Study Notes on the Yogācārabhūmiśāstra]. 24 *juan*. By Dullyun 遁倫 (d.u.). *T* no. 1828, vol. 42.
'Zhonglun xu' 中論序 [Preface to the Treatise of the Middle Way]. By Sengrui 僧叡 (355–439). Included in Zhonglun 中論, *T* no. 1564, Vol. 30.

Secondary Sources

Bai Cuiqin 白翠琴. *Wei Jin Nanbeichao minzu shi* 魏晋南北朝民族史 [An Ethnic History of the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties]. Chengdu: Sichuan minzu cubanshe 四川民族出版社, 1996.
Bai Yunxiang 白雲翔. 'Beichao shiqi minzu wenhua jiaoliu yu ronghe de hongguan kaocha: Yi Beichao muzang yicun wei zhongxin' 北朝時期民族文化交流與融合的宏觀考察: 以北朝墓葬遺存為中心 [The Confluence of Cultures during the Northern Dynasties Period from the Aspect of Tomb Findings]. In *Early Medieval North China: Archaeological and Textual Evidence*, edited by Shing Müller, Thomas O. Höllmann, and Sonja Filip, 475–498. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019.
Barrett, Timothy H. 'Kill the Patriarchs!' In *The Buddhist Forum*, edited by Tadeusz Skorupski, 87–97. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990.
Chen, Jinhua. 'The "Borderland Complex" in East Asian Buddhism: A Discussion of the Development of Sacred Space and Genealogies'. In *Buddhist Transformations and Interactions: Essays in Honor of Antonino Forte*, edited by Victor H. Mair.

Amherst, 65–106, New York: Cambria Press, 2017.
Cox, Collett. 'From Category to Ontology: The Changing Role of Dharma in Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma'. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 32, no. 5–6 (2004): 543–597.
Dani, Ahmad Hasan. *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Volume 3. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999.
Dharmatrāta. *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*: *Heart of Scholasticism with Miscellaneous Additions*. Translated by Bart Dessein. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999.
Dhammajoti, Kuala Lumpur. *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma*. Hong Kong: The Buddha-Dharma Centre of Hong Kong, 2015.
Dessein, Bart. 'The Abhidharma School in China and the Chinese Version of Upaśānta's **Abhidharmahṛdayasūtra*'. *The Eastern Buddhist* 41, no. 2 (2010): 49–70.
Forte, Antonino. 'Hui-chih (fl. 676–703 A.D.), a Brahmin Born in China'. *Estratto da Annali dell'Instituto Universitario Orientale* 45 (1985): 125–27.
Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光. *Lishi Zhongguo de nei yu wai: Youguan 'Zhongguo' yu 'zhoubian' gainian de zai chengqing* 歷史中國的內與外: 有關 '中國' 與 '周邊' 概念的再澄清 [The Inside and Outside of Historical China: A Reclarification of the Concept of 'China' and its 'Borders']. Hong Kong: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue chubanshe 香港中文大學出版社, 2017.
Graff, David A. *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.
Greene, Eric M. 'The Dust Contemplation'. *The Eastern Buddhist* 48, no. 2 (2017): 1–50.
Hadani Ryōtai 羽溪了諦. *Xiyu zhi Fojiao* 西域之佛教 [Buddhism in Western Regions]. Translated by He Changqun 賀昌群. Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館, 1933.
Holcombe, Charles. 'Chinese Identity during the Age of Division, Sui, and Tang'. *Journal of Chinese History* 4, no. 1 (2020): 31–53.
———. 'Chinese Shōgun: Gao Huan (496–547)'. *The Historian* 76, no. 2 (2014): 217–236.
———. 'The Xianbei in Chinese History'. *Early Medieval China* 19 (2013): 1–38.
Hu, Alex J. 'An overview of the history and culture of the Xianbei

("Monguor"/"Tu")'. *Asian Ethnicity* 11, no. 1 (2010): 95–164.
Hulsewé, Anthony François Paulus. *China in Central Asia: the Early Stage: 125 B.C.–A.D. 23*. Leiden: Brill, 1979.
Hu–von Hinüber, Haiyan. 'Faxian's (法顯 342–423) Perception of India: Some New Interpretations of His Foguoji 佛國記'. *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* XI (2011): 223–247.
Lü Cheng 呂澂. *Zhongguo Foxue yuanliu lüejiang* 中國佛學源流略講 [Short Lectures on the Origins of Chinese Buddhism]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1979.
Kenney, Elizabeth. 'The Portrait of Confucianism in Further Biographies of Eminent Monks 續高僧傳'. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 48, no. 1 (1999): 12–17.
Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義. 'Uiguru–yaku Abhidharma Ronsho ni mieru Ronshi・Ronsho no Bonmei' ウイグル訳アビダルマ論書に見える論師・論書の梵名' [Sanskrit Names of *ācārya*s and *śāstra*s Found in Uigur *Abhidharma* Texts]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyu* 印度學佛教學研究 [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 31, no. 1 (1982): 374–371
Lai Yonghai 賴永海. *Zhongguo Fojiao tongshi* 中國佛教通史 [A General History of Chinese Buddhism]. Vol. 1. Jiangsu: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe 江苏人民出版社, 2010.
Lan Jifu 藍吉福 et al., comps. *Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編 [Buddhist Canon: Supplementary Sections]. 36 vols. Taipei: Huayu chubanshe 華宇出版社, 1985.
Liu, Shufen. 'Ethnicity and the Suppression of Buddhism in Fifth–Century North China: The Background and Significance of the Gaiwu Rebellion'. *Asia Major*, Third Series, 15, no .1 (2002): 1–21.
Manji zoku zōkyō 卍字續藏經 [Manji Extended Buddhist Canon]. 150 vols. Taipei: Shin Wen Feng Publishing Company 新文豐出版公司, 1968–1970. Reprint of Nakano et al., comps., *Dai Nihon zoku zōkyō* 大日本續藏經.
Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilisation, volume 1: Introductory Orientations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1956.
Nishino Takeshi 西野健. 'Kōji–shi Kōshōkoku ni okeru keiten no

juyō ni tsuite' 麹氏高昌国 にお ける經典の受容 につ いて' [The Acceptance of Scriptures in the Qoco Kingdom Ruled by the Qu Family]. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyu* 印度學佛教學研究 [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 52.2 (2004): 722–720.

Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久. 'Kikushi Kōshō Koku Jidai no Butsuji nitsuite' 麹氏高昌国時代の仏寺について [A Study of Buddhist temples in the Kingdom of Gaochang]. *Ryūkokudaigaku ronshū* 龍谷大学論集 [The Journal of Ryukoku University] 433 (1989): 68–91.

Ogasawara Senshū 小笠原宣秀. 'Kosho Koku no Bukkyō kyogaku' 高昌国の仏教教学 [Buddhism in the Kingdom of Gaochang]. In *Bukkyō shigaku ronshū: Tsukamoto hakase shōju kinen* 仏教史学論集：塚本博士頌寿記念 [Essays on the History of Buddhism presented to Professor Zenryu Tsukamoto on his retirement from The Research Institute for Humanistic Studies], edited by Tsukamoto hakase Shōju kinenkai 塚本博士頌寿記念会, 136–147. Kyoto: Tsukamoto hakase Shōju kinenkai 塚本博士頌寿記念会, 1961.

Pohl, Walter. 'Ethnicity and Empire in the Western Eurasian Steppes'. In *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, ca. 250–750*, edited by Nicola Di Cosmo and Michael Maas, 189–205. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Poo, Mu–chou. *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes towards Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.

Pruden, Leo M. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*. Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 1988–1990.

Sato Shingaku 佐藤心岳. 'Ryōshū no Bukkyō: Tokuni Bukkyō no denpa no jitsujō o chūshin to shite' 涼州の仏教 –とくに仏教の伝播の実情を中心として [Buddhism in Liang–chou, with an Emphasis on the Circumstances of its Dissemination]'. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyu* 印度學佛教學研究 [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 28, no. 2 (1980): 818–821.

Shi Yinshun 釋印順. *Fojiao shidi kaolun* 佛教史地考論 [A Study of the History of Buddhism]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2011.

Shimunek, Andrew. *Languages of Ancient Southern Mongolia and*

North China: A Historical–Comparative Study of the Serbi or Xianbei Branch of the Serbi–Mongolic Language Family, with an Analysis of Northeastern Frontier Chinese and Old Tibetan Phonology. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017.

Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, eds. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [Buddhist Canon Compiled under the Taishō Era (1912–1926)]. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會, 1924–1932.

Tang Changru 唐長孺. 'Xinchu Tulufan wenshu zhengli fajue jingguo ji wenshu jianjie' 新出吐魯番出文書整理發掘經過及文書簡介 [Recently Discovered Turfan Manuscripts: Presentation of the Text and Re–editing]. *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 [Journal of Oriental Studies] 54 (1982): 83–100.

Tamura Jitsuzō 田村實造. 'Chūgoku shi jō no minzoku idōki: Goko, Hoku Gi jidai no seiji to shakai' 中國史上の民族移動期:五胡, 北魏時代の政治と社會 [The Migration of Nations in Chinese History: Politics and Society in the Period of Five Barbarians and Northern Wei]. Tokyo: Sōbunsha 創文社, 1985.

Xu Zhuoyun 許倬雲. *Huaxia lunshu: Yige fuza gongtongti de bianhua* 華夏論述: 一個複雜共同體的變化 [A Discussion of Huaxia: The Change of a Complex Community]. Taibei: Yuanjian tianxia wenhua 遠見天下文化, 2015.

Yao Chongxin 姚崇新. 'Shilun Gaochangguo de Fojiao yu Fojiao jiaotuan'. 試論高昌國的佛教與佛教教團 [A Study on Buddhism and Buddhist Monastics in the Kingdom of Gaochang]. In *Zhonggu yishu zongjiao yu Xiyu shi lun gao* 中古藝術宗教與西域史論稿 [Studies on medieval arts, religions and the history of Western Regions], by Yao Congxin 姚崇新, 183–231. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 2011.

Wang Mingke 王明珂. *Huaxia bianyuan: Lishi jiyi yu zuqun rentong* 華夏邊緣:歷史記憶與族群認同 [The Border of Huaxia: Historical Memory and Ethnic Identity]. Taibei: Yunchen wenhua 允晨文化, 1997.

Wang Su 王素. *Gaochang shigao: Tongzhi bian* 高昌史稿: 統治編 [The History of Gaochang History: The Governing]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1998.

———. 'Gaochang zhi Xizhou siyuan sangang zhidu de yanbian' 高

昌至西州寺院三綱制度的演變 [The Development of the System of 'Three Heads' from Gaochang to Xizhou]. *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 8 (1985): 79–83.

Wang, Xin. 'Gaochang Buddhism and the Silk Road'. *International Journal of Korean History* 19, no. 1 (2014): 23–45.

Wilkinson, Endymion. *Chinese History: A New Manual*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000.

Willemen, Charles, Bart Dessein, and Collet Cox. *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Willemen, Charles. 'Sarvāstivāda'. In *Buddhism and Jainism*, edited by Sarao, Karam TS, and Jefferey D. Long, 1076–1078. New York: Springer, 2017.

———. 'Kumārajīva's 'Explanatory Discourse' about Abhidharmic Literature'. *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies* 12 (2008): 37–83.

———. 'The Sanskrit Title of Harivarman's *Chengshi Lun* 成實論 (T. 1646)'. *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studie*s 4 (2006): 244–50.

———. 'Remarks about the history of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism'. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* [Yearbook of Oriental Studies] (2014): 255–68.

Yang Rongchun 楊榮春. 'Lun Juqu Wuhei yu Daliang Zhengquan' 論沮渠無諱與大涼政權 [A Discussion of Juqu Wuwei and the Regime of Daliang]. *Qinghai shifan daxue xuebao* 青海師範大學學報 [Journal of Qinghai Normal University] 40.1 (January 2018): 74–85.

Yang, Shao-yun. *Becoming Zhongguo, Becoming Han: Tracing and Re-conceptualizing Ethnicity in Ancient North China, 770 BC–AD 581*. Master's thesis, National University of Singapore, 2007.

Yan Yaozhong 嚴耀中. 'Qushi Gaochangguo Siyuan Yanjiu' 曲氏高昌國寺院研究 [A Study of Buddhist Temples in the Kingdom of Gaochang Ruled by the Qu Family]. *Wenshi* 文史 [Culture and History] 34 (1992): 129–42.

Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫. 'Chūdo, hendo no ronsō' 中土, 邊土の爭論 [The Debates over the Central Lands and the Borderlands]. *Shisō* 思想 [Idea] 579 (1972): 70–86.

Zhang Guangda, and Rong Xinjiang. 'A Concise History of the Turfan Oasis and its Exploration'. *Asia Major* 11, no. 2 (1998): 13–36.

Zhao, Fei. *A Study of the Usages and Meanings of Ākāra in Abhidharma*. Master's thesis, University of Washington, 2016.

Zhao Shanshan. *Protection of the Dharma in Daoxuan's Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*. Master's thesis, McMaster University, 2019.