

***Ekottarika-āgama* Studies**

Anālayo

© 2016 Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation
All rights reserved

Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation
Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C.
<http://www.ddc.com.tw>

Printed in Taiwan, R.O.C.

North American distributor:
Chan Meditation Center (New York, NY)
Tel: 1-718-592-6593
Fax: 1-718-592-0717

Distributor for Taiwan and all other regions:
Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation
E-mail: market@ddc.com.tw
Fax: 886-2-2896-0731

Contents

List of Tables and Plates	vii
DILA Series	ix
Foreword	xi
Introduction	1
<i>Bhayabherava-sutta</i> (MN 4)	9
<i>Cūlasīhanāda-sutta</i> (MN 11)	31
<i>Kakacūpama-sutta</i> (MN 21)	51
<i>Bhaddāli-sutta</i> (MN 65)	87
<i>Makhādeva-sutta</i> (MN 83) Part 1	113
<i>Makhādeva-sutta</i> (MN 83) Part 2	141
<i>Makhādeva-sutta</i> (MN 83) Part 3	165
<i>Isigili-sutta</i> (MN 116)	215
<i>Saccavibhaṅga-sutta</i> (MN 141)	239
<i>Jiṅṇa-sutta</i> (SN 16.5)	249

<i>Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta</i> (SN 56.11)	267
<i>Etadagga-vagga</i> (AN 1.14.5)	301
<i>Sela-sutta</i> (Sn 3.7)	325
<i>Subhā-therīgāthā</i> (Thī 396)	345
<i>Gotamī-apadāna</i> (Ap 17)	359
<i>Bhaddā-apadāna</i> (Ap 27 & 28)	381
<i>Padīpadāna-jātaka</i> (Paññāsa-jā 4.5)	413
Appendix (1): Mahāyāna	443
Appendix (2): Hīnayāna	473
Appendix (3): Theravāda	497
Abbreviations	523
References	525
Index	625
Plates	649

List of Tables

Table 1: Translated <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> Discourses	5
Table 2: The Three Turnings	298
Table 3: Bodhisattva and <i>Yāna</i> References in T 125	470

List of Plates

Plate 1: Lion Capital	649
Plate 2: The cakravartin Māndhātṛ	650
Plate 3: A Paccekabuddha	651
Plate 4: Turning the Wheel of Dharma (1)	652
Plate 5: Turning the Wheel of Dharma (2)	653

Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (DILA) Series

In 1994, Master Sheng Yen (1930–2009), the founder of Dharma Drum Buddhist College, began publishing the series of the Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies. The purposes of publishing this series were to provide a venue for academic research in Buddhist studies supported by scholarships from the Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies, to encourage top-quality Buddhist research, and to cultivate an interest in Buddhist research among the readership of the series. Moreover, by encouraging cooperation with international research institutions, Master Sheng Yen hoped to foster the academic study of Buddhism in Taiwan.

In keeping with this vision, in order to promote different aspects of exchange in academic research, we at Dharma Drum Buddhist College began to publish three educational series in 2007:

- Dharma Drum Buddhist College Research Series (DDBC-RS)
- Dharma Drum Buddhist College Translation Series (DDBC-TS)
- Dharma Drum Buddhist College Special Series (DDBC-SS)

In July 2014, the Taiwanese Ministry of Education deliberated on the merging of the Dharma Drum College of Humanities and Social Sciences and the Dharma Drum Buddhist College into the newly formed Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (DILA).

The new DILA incarnations of the former three series are now:

- Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts Research Series (DILA-RS)
- Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts Translation Series (DILA-TS)
- Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts Special Series (DILA-SS)

Among our goals is the extensive development of digital publishing and information to adapt to the interactive and hyper-connective environment of the Web 2.0 age. This will allow research outcomes to be quickly shared and evaluated through the participation of individual users, through such media as blogs, shared tagging, wikis, social networks and so on. Our hope is to work towards developing an open environment for academic studies (perhaps called Science 2.0) on digital humanities that will be more collaborative and efficient than traditional academic studies. In this way, the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts will continue to help foster the availability of digital resources for Buddhist studies, the humanities, and the social sciences.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Huimin' with a stylized flourish at the beginning.

Bhikṣu Huimin
President, Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts
15 August, 2014

Foreword

Debates about the school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, doubts about the identity of the translator, criticisms of the quality and consistency of the translation – these and other problems have placed the *Ekottarika* in an insecure position vis-à-vis the other *Āgamas* translated into Chinese. Apparent "Mahāyāna influences" or "interpolations" have led to uncertainties about the status of the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* (Taishō 125) as the genuine *Āgama* of any of the early Indian schools.

These and many other questions about the *Ekottarika-āgama* are adroitly addressed by Bhikkhu Anālayo in the essays brought together in this volume. The author draws on original texts – not only in Chinese but also in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Pāli – side by side with current research to present balanced and original assessments that enable us to step beyond the impasses of earlier ideas. Three appendices carefully examine the troubled terms Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna, and Theravāda, opening fresh perspectives. An enhanced understanding of the role of these terms in the development of Buddhist thought and practice allows a clearer picture of the "Mahāyāna elements" of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to emerge.

Each essay in this collection is structured around a translation or translations of texts from the *Ekottarika-āgama*, comparing these discourses with their counterparts in Pāli. The translations add to those from the other *Āgamas* already published by the author, and to the pioneering annotated translations of *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses into French and English by Thích Huyèn-Vi and Bhikkhu Pāsādika. Together with his ongoing publication of sections of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, they make portions of

the Chinese *Āgamas* accessible to modern English-speaking readers for the first time.

The topics include Paccekabuddhas (p. 215ff and 249ff), the "foremost nuns" who were disciples of Śākyamuni (p. 301ff), and the distinctive physical marks that identify a Buddha. The texts chosen for comparison and translation are drawn not only from the four main Pāli *Nikāyas*, but also from other collections like the *Therīgāthā*, the *Apadāna*, and the *Paññāsa-jātaka* – a florilegium that itself demonstrates Buddhism's intricate inter-textuality.

Anālayo's researches clarify those of his predecessors. His examination of the problem of the use of the adjective "noble" for the four truths lends support to the previous suggestions of K.R. Norman and others (p. 239ff). Like those undertaken from the time of Étienne Lamotte (1903–1983), if not earlier, his essays reveal that the very idea of a "counterpart" or "parallel" can be problematic, and they call for flexibility in comparative research. In the case of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, Bhikkhu Anālayo discusses instances in which passages or partial texts from different sources have been merged to create new texts. He identifies this process as "discourse merger", and concludes that in a few cases such mergers would have taken place in the written medium, presumably in China, after the Indic original had reached China by oral transmission.

Bhikkhu Anālayo is a leading figure in a new wave of research into and translation of the early Buddhist textual traditions, in particular the Chinese *Āgamas*, in relation to the Pāli *Nikāyas*. His broad sweep is characterized by a lack of dogmatism and a remarkable attention to detail; it covers not only the "primary *Āgamas*" but also the "separate translations" which are too often neglected.

Anālayo's meticulous studies fill in the gaps to give a broader picture of the evolution of early Buddhist thought that provides a surer basis for deeper understandings. They demonstrate that the practice of comparing available sources without pride or preju-

dice is the most appropriate methodology for Buddhist studies, and I hope that this methodology will become the rule.

The excursions into the *Ekottarika-āgama* presented in this volume bring this *Āgama* out of the cold and advance our understanding not only of the *Āgama* traditions but of the Pāli and other Buddhist scriptures. These fascinating essays plumb the breadth and the depth of the Buddhadharma to breathe new life into the field of Buddhist studies.

Peter Skilling
Nandapurī
28 October, 2015

Introduction

The identity of the translator as well as the school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* now found in the Taishō edition as entry number 125 under the title 增壹阿含, translated into Chinese from a Middle Indic original,¹ has been a matter of continuous discussion among academics. As far as the first of these two topics is concerned, recent research makes it safe to conclude that the text to which we have now access must for the most part be the translation done by Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念) in 384 C.E., instead of being a re-translation by Gautama Saṅghadeva.² Regarding the school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, I will return to this topic in more detail below (p. 165ff).

Another characteristic aspect of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection is its incorporation of textual material and ideas that are distinctly later than those found in other early discourse collections.³ This is a topic to which I will come back in subsequent chapters, where I study the tendency of this collection to merge material that elsewhere belongs to distinct discourses (p. 51ff), and the occurrence of material related to emerging Mahāyāna thought in the first of the three appendices.

¹ Waldschmidt 1980: 137 comments that the *Ekottarika-āgama* was translated "from some Middle Indic or mixed dialect of Prakrit with Sanskrit elements".

² Hung and Anālayo 2016 and Radich and Anālayo 2016; a position taken previously by, e.g., Lévi and Chavannes 1916: 191 note 1, Bagchi 1927: 159 and 337, Yinshùn 1962/1983: 91, Lü 1963: 242, Lamotte 1967: 105, Waldschmidt 1980: 169 note 168, Mayeda 1985: 102, Enomoto 1986: 19, Matsumura 1989: 364–367, Legittimo 2005: 3 note 7, Anālayo 2006: 145f, Nattier 2007: 195f note 48, Lín 2009: 130–136, and Park 2012: 202f.

³ Allon 2014: 24 note 18 points out the similarity between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* in their tendency to incorporate additional material.

Contents

The studies in the chapters that follow are revised versions of previously published articles. Each study builds around a partial or complete translation of an *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, followed by an examination of aspects that I felt to be of further interest.

In the first chapter (MN 4) I take up the theme of seclusion and fear, drawing on the Buddha's autobiographical report of his pre-awakening practices. In the following chapter I then turn to the notion of the Buddha's lion's roar (MN 11).

With the next two chapters I examine a feature peculiar to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which is the merging of what in other collections are distinct discourses (MN 21 & MN 22 as well as MN 65 & MN 66).

The motif of the wheel-turning king and its employment in a tale of a former life of the Buddha is the object of study in the next three chapters (MN 83), of which the last in particular has considerable bearing for assessing the nature of the *Ekottarika-āgama* extant in Chinese translation.

Then I take up the notion of Paccekabuddhas (MN 116) and the four noble truths (MN 141), two topics that I continue to study in the next two chapters (SN 16.5 and SN 56.11), the second of which examines what according to tradition was the Buddha's first discourse with which he set in motion the wheel of Dharma.

Several *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses offer significant perspectives on the topic of women in Buddhism, a topic which I begin to explore based on a list of eminent nuns (AN 1.14.5). Next I study the Buddha's special physical marks in relation to the conversion of the brahmin Sela (Sn 3.7).

With the next four chapters I return to the topic of women in Buddhism, examining the story of Subhā (Thī 396f), the passing away of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī (Ap 17), the former lives of two

Bhaddās (Ap 27 & 28), and a past life of the Buddha as a princess (Paññāsa-jā 4.5).

In the three appendices I discuss Mahāyāna elements in the *Ekottarika-āgama* (appendix 1) and the themes of Hīnayāna (appendix 2) and Theravāda (appendix 3).

Conventions

Since a considerable part of my target audience will be familiar mainly with the Pāli canon, in what follows I employ Pāli terminology, except for anglicized terms like "bodhisattva", "Dharma", or "Nirvāṇa", without thereby intending to take a position on the original language of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses or to suggest that Pāli language is in principle preferable. I hope that this will facilitate access to my studies by those who are more familiar with Pāli terms. For the same reason, I have arranged my studies in the sequence in which the respective discourses are found in the Pāli canon. The original order of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses translated and studied in the present monograph can be seen in table 1 below.

In the case of *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses that have a parallel in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, I adopt the paragraph numbering used in the English translation by Ñāṇamoli (1995/2005) in order to facilitate comparison. In the notes to the translations, I discuss selected differences in relation to the Pāli and other parallels. Abbreviations in the translation are usually found as such in the Chinese original. These are reproduced in the translations with an ellipsis. Instructions in the original that indicate the need to recite the elided text are given in italics.

In the translated texts, I use square brackets [] to indicate supplementation and angle brackets ⟨ ⟩ to mark emendation. In order to facilitate cross-referencing, I use square brackets in subscript to provide the pagination of the original Chinese text on which the

translation is based and to indicate the pagination of the original paper, as well as superscript for its footnote or endnote numbering, whenever these differ from the present annotation.⁴ When quoting various text editions, I have occasionally standardized or adjusted the punctuation.

Translation Terminology

When translating *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses, I have attempted to stay close to the terminology adopted by Bhikkhu Bodhi in his renderings of the Pāli equivalents, to facilitate comparison. In the case of 苦, equivalent to *dukkha*, however, I simply keep the Pāli term, which at times does stand for outright "pain", but on many an occasion refers to "unsatisfactoriness", where translations like "suffering" or "pain" fail to convey adequately the sense of the passage in question.⁵ The standard rendering of *bhagavant* in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is 世尊, literally "World Honoured One", in which case I follow Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation of the corresponding Pāli term and adopt the rendering "Blessed One". For 慈 I use the Pāli equivalent *mettā*, and for 漏, corresponding to *āsava*, I employ the rendering "influx".⁶

Of the four *Āgamas* preserved in Chinese, the *Ekottarika-āgama* is perhaps the most challenging to translate, wherefore my renderings in the following pages are at times only tentative, which holds especially for reconstruction of proper names.

⁴ Due to revision of the original papers, at times these references to the earlier pagination or footnote numbering are not in sequential order.

⁵ Cf. below p. 291.

⁶ For a more detailed discussion of the term *āsava* cf. Anālayo 2012i: 80–82.

Table 1: Translated *Ekottarika-āgama* Discourses

EĀ no.:	Pāli no.:	Pāli title:
EĀ 5	AN 1.14.5	<i>Etadagga-vagga</i>
EĀ 12.6	SN 16.5	<i>Jiṇṇa-sutta</i>
EĀ 19.2	SN 56.11	<i>Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta</i>
EĀ 23.1 (& 52.2)	Ap 27& 28	<i>Bhaddā-apadāna</i>
EĀ 27.1	MN 141	<i>Saccavibhaṅga-sutta</i>
EĀ 27.2	MN 11	<i>Cūlasīhanāda-sutta</i>
EĀ 29.6	AN 4.77	<i>Acinteyya-sutta</i>
EĀ 31.1	MN 4	<i>Bhayabherava-sutta</i>
EĀ 38.7	MN 116	<i>Isigili-sutta</i>
EĀ 38.9	Thī 396f	<i>Subhā-therīgāthā</i>
EĀ 43.2	Paññāsa-jā 4.5	<i>Padīpadāna-jātaka</i>
EĀ 49.6	Sn 3.7	<i>Sela-sutta</i>
EĀ 49.7	MN 65 & 66	<i>Bhaddāli-sutta</i>
EĀ 50.4	MN 83	<i>Makhādeva-sutta</i>
EĀ 50.8 (& 43.5)	MN 21 & 22	<i>Kakacūpama-sutta</i>
EĀ 52.1 (& 38.11)	Ap 17	<i>Gotamī-apadāna</i>

Titles of the original publications:

"Beautiful Eyes Seen with Insight as Bereft of Beauty – Subhā Therī and Her Male Counterpart in the Ekottarika-āgama" (2014a); cf. below p. 345ff.

"The Buddha's Past Life as a Princess in the Ekottarika-āgama" (2015b); cf. below p. 413ff.

"The Chinese Parallels to the Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta (2)" (2013a); cf. below p. 267ff.

"The Conversion of the Brahmin Sela in the Ekottarika-āgama" (2011d); cf. below p. 325ff.

- "Discourse Merger in the Ekottarika-āgama (1), The Parallel to the Bhaddāli-sutta and the Latukikopama-sutta, Together with Notes on the Chinese Translation of the Collection" (2015e); cf. p. 87ff.
- "Discourse Merger in the Ekottarika-āgama (2), The Parallels to the Kakacūpama-sutta and the Alagaddūpama-sutta" (2014/2015); cf. p. 51ff.
- "The Ekottarika-āgama Parallel to the Saccavibhaṅga-sutta and the Four (Noble) Truths" (2006); cf. p. 239ff.
- "The Hīnayāna Fallacy" (2014f); cf. p. 473ff.
- "Karma and Female Birth" (2014g); cf. p. 381ff.
- "The Lion's Roar in Early Buddhism – A Study Based on the Ekottarika-āgama Parallel to the Cūḷasīhanāda-sutta" (2009d); cf. p. 31ff.
- "Living in Seclusion and Facing Fear –The Ekottarika-āgama Counterpart to the Bhayabherava-sutta" (2011e); cf. p. 9ff.
- "Mahāyāna in the Ekottarika-āgama" (2013c); cf. p. 443ff.
- "Miracle-working Nuns in the Ekottarika-āgama" (2015g); cf. p. 359ff.
- "A Note on the Term Theravāda" (2013d); cf. p. 497ff.
- "Outstanding Bhikkhunīs in the Ekottarika-āgama" (2014i); cf. p. 301ff.
- "Paccekabuddhas in the Isigili-sutta and Its Ekottarika-āgama Parallel" (2010d); cf. p. 215ff.
- "Pratyekabuddhas in the Ekottarika-āgama" (2015h); cf. p. 249ff.
- "The Tale of King Ma(k)hādeva in the Ekottarika-āgama and the Cakravartin Motif" (2011i); cf. p. 113ff.
- "The Tale of King Nimi in the Ekottarika-āgama" (2012j); cf. p. 141ff.
- "Two Versions of the Mahādeva Tale in the Ekottarika-āgama, A Study in the Development of Taishō No. 125" (2013i); cf. p. 165ff.

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to Naomi Appleton, Rod Bucknell, Adam Clarke, Lance Cousins, Max Deeg, bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, Richard Gombrich, Friedrich Grohmann, Paul Harrison, Peter Harvey, Tse-fu Kuan, Jan Nattier, K.R. Norman, Reiko Ohnuma, Antonello Palumbo, bhikkhu Pāsādika, Todd LeRoy Perreira, Michael Radich, Mike Running, Lambert Schmithausen, Martin Seeger, Synchen Shi, Jonathan Silk, Peter Skilling, Judith Snodgrass, Ken Su, and Monika Zin for comments and suggestions made in regard to one or more of the articles collected in this volume, and to the editors of the respective journals and volumes for their kind permission to reprint the material. I apologize for any shortcomings in the following pages.

Bhayabherava-sutta (MN 4)

*Succo secessus bibito
et succo tranquillitatis gustato
terroris et peccati expers fit
jucundum religionis succum bibens.*¹

Introduction

The present chapter provides an annotated translation of a discourse from the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* that parallels the *Bhayabherava-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. Central themes taken up in the two discourses are the difficulties of dwelling in seclusion and how to face the arising of fear.

Judging from the picture that emerges from a perusal of the early discourses, dwelling in seclusion appears to have been a highly esteemed practice in the thought-world of early Buddhism.² [204] The theme of a secluded way of life is a recurrent topic in the *Sutta-nipāta*, where especially the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta*, according to

* Originally published in 2011 under the title "Living in Seclusion and Facing Fear –The Ekottarika-āgama Counterpart to the Bhayabherava-sutta", in *Buddhism as a Stronghold of Free Thinking? Social, Ethical and Philosophical Dimensions of Buddhism*, S.C.A. Fay and I.M. Bruckner (ed.), 203–231, Nuestdal: Edition Ubuntu.

¹ Dhṛ 205, rendered into Latin by Fausböll 1855/1974: 37; for an English translation see p. 29f.

² The practice of seclusion comes up in a circumstantial description in the *Maḥāsakuludāyi-sutta* and its parallel, which report that some of the Buddha's disciples would join the community only once a fortnight, MN 77 at MN II 8,28: *santi kho pana me ... sāvaka ārañṇakā* (B^ε: *ārañṇikā*) ... *te anvaddhamāsaṃ* (S^ε: *anvaḍḍha*^o) *saṃghamajjhe* (C^e and S^ε: *saṅgha*^o) *osaranti*. MĀ 207 at T I 783a16: 或我弟子過半月一入衆; for a translation of MĀ 207 cf. Anālayo 2009b.

tradition a record of sayings of Paccekabuddhas,³ stands out for its poetic portrayal of the beauty of a solitary lifestyle.⁴

According to the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels, one of the rare occasions when the Buddha admonished his personal attendant Ānanda concerned the need to avoid excessive socializing. The different versions of this discourse agree that the Buddha warned against forsaking seclusion for companionship, as this will prevent the development of concentration and the attainment of liberation.⁵ In the same vein, according to the eight thoughts of a great man, [205] recorded in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and a range of parallels, the Buddha's teaching is for one who dwells in seclusion, not for one who delights in company.⁶

³ Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2014h: 35f and below p. 238.

⁴ [3] Sn 35–75, with a Gāndhārī counterpart in Salomon 2000: 105–112, and another parallel in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 357,18 to 359,15; cf. also the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 294,13.

⁵ [4] According to MN 122 at MN III 110,24, attaining the happiness of deeper concentration and temporary or perpetual liberation is only possible for a monk who, instead of socializing, "dwells alone and withdrawn from company", *eko gaṇasmā vūpakaṭṭho viharati*. MĀ 191 at T I 738a28 describes such a monk as one who, instead of delighting in company, "always delights in staying alone in remote areas", 常樂獨住遠離處者. The Tibetan version in Skilling 1994: 196,12 similarly speaks of a monk who, instead of delighting in company, "dwells alone apart from company", *tshogs las gcig pu logs shig na gnas pa*.

⁶ [5] AN 8.30 at AN IV 229,1: *pavittassāyaṃ dhammo, nāyaṃ dhammo saṅgaṇikārāmassa*. MĀ 74 at T I 540c24: 道從遠離, 非樂聚會, 非住聚會, 非合聚會得. T 46 at T I 835c17: 道法隱處, 樂眾非道. EĀ 42.6 at T II 754a21: 此法應閑居者之所行, 非在憊鬧之所行. A similarly emphatic statement can be found in AN 8.53 at AN IV 280,26 (cf. also Vin II 259,3), according to which whatever leads to seclusion instead of company should categorically be considered as the teaching and discipline taught by the Buddha, *ime dhammā ... pavivekāya saṃvattanti no saṅgaṇikāya ... ekaṃsena ... dhāreyyāsi: eso dhammo eso vinayo etaṃ satthu sāsanān ti*. Hudson 1976: 103 sums up: "only by

A discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, together with counterparts in the two main *Samyukta-āgama* collections extant in Chinese, presents joining the community as an option for those who do not find solace in seclusion.⁷ [206] Although community life was certainly an important value in early Buddhism, nevertheless, as a verse in the *Sutta-nipāta* proclaims, to train oneself in seclusion is (reckoned) supreme among noble ones.⁸

Several discourses report that the Buddha himself still went on solitary retreats, which on occasion apparently lasted for a period of two or even three months.⁹ According to the *Udumbarika-(sīhanāda)-sutta* and its parallels, a secluded life style is characteristic of all those who have reached awakening.¹⁰ [207] The discourses indicate that the Buddha not only enjoyed being by himself, but also practised seclusion as a way of setting an example for others.

solitude ... can one truly approach the Dhamma in its immediacy"; cf. also Anālayo 2009h on various aspects of seclusion, *viveka*.

⁷ [6] SN 6.13 at SN I 154,15: *sevetha pantāni senāsanāni* (S^c: *sayanāsanāni*), *ca-reyya samyojanavippamokkhā* (C^c: *saññyojana*^o), *sa ce ratim nādhigacchaye* (B^e, C^e and S^e: *nādhigaccheyya*) *tatha, saṅghe* (B^e: *saṅghe*) *vase rakkhitatto satimā* (B^e and C^e: *satimā*). SĀ 1191 at T II 322c24: 習近邊床座, 斷除諸煩惱, 若不樂空閑, 入衆自攝護 (adopting the variant 床 instead of 林). SĀ² 104 at T II 411a11: 處靜有敷具, 應斷於結縛, 若不能愛樂, 還應住僧中.

⁸ [7] Sn 822: *vivekaṃ yeva sikkhetha, etad ariyānam uttamam*.

⁹ [8] Cf., e.g., SN 54.11 at SN V 325,19, which reports that the Buddha went on a retreat for three months (for other references to the Buddha retiring for a period of similar duration cf. SN 45.12 at SN V 13,8 and Vin III 230,3), where the parallel SĀ 807 at T II 207a9 and T 1448 at T XXIV 32c7 speaks of two months, but another parallel, D 1 *kha* 62b3 or Q 1030 *ge* 58a3, also mentions a three-month period. The *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: 204,4, also records an occasion when the Buddha went on a retreat for three months. For a study of SN 54.9 in the light of its parallels cf. Anālayo 2014h.

¹⁰ [9] DN 25 at DN III 54,11 (B^e, C^e, and S^e have the title *Udumbarika-sutta*, whereas E^c reads *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta*) DĀ 8 at T I 49a20, T 11 at T I 225c18, and MĀ 104 at T I 595a24.

The role of the Buddha in this respect is highlighted in the *Bhaya-bherava-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel, in which seclusion and the example set by the Buddha form a recurrent theme.

The *Bhayabherava-sutta*, found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*,¹¹ has as its counterpart the first discourse in the thirty-first chapter of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, translated below.¹² In addition to this complete parallel in Chinese translation, a version of this discourse has also been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.¹³ [208]

Translation

On the Higher [Mind]¹⁴

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park.

2. At that time the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi approached the Blessed One, exchanged greetings, and sat to one side. Then the brahmin said to the Blessed One: "To stay in secluded dwellings, caves,

¹¹ MN 4 at MN I 16,14 to 24,9.

¹² The translated discourse is EĀ 31.1 at T II 665b17 to 667a3, sections of which have already been translated by Bareau 1963: 37–39 and 68. The paragraph numbering I have added to the translation follows Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005 and for this reason at times does not follow the proper numerical order.

¹³ [¹⁴] SHT I 164c+g, Waldschmidt et al. 1965: 93 (identified by Schlingloff 1967: 421), SHT IV 32 folio 33–41, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 130–34, SHT IV 165 folio 15–16, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 190f, SHT IV 500 folio 4, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 222, and SHT IX 2401, Bechert and Wille 2004: 195. A reference to the present discourse as the (*bhaya*)[*bh*]*airavaparyāye* can be found in SHT I 36 A2, Waldschmidt et al. 1965: 27, and in SHT IV 36 V2, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 259.

¹⁴ [¹⁶] The summary verse at T II 673c11 refers to EĀ 31.1 as "higher", 增上, which I take to be an abbreviation of 增上之心, the "higher mind" (equivalent to *adhicitta*), mentioned in EĀ 31.1 at T II 666b21, hence my reconstruction of the title as "On the Higher [Mind]". MN 4 instead has the title "Discourse on Fear and Dread", *Bhayabherava-sutta*; on the term *bhayabherava* cf. also Schmithausen 2013: 443f note 15.

and [solitary] places is quite a hardship, and going by oneself to stay alone and apply the mind is quite difficult."¹⁵

The Blessed One said: "It is like this, brahmin, as you said, [to stay in] secluded dwellings, caves, and [solitary] places is quite a hardship, [209] and going by oneself to stay alone and apply the mind is quite difficult.

3. "For this reason in the past, at the time when I had not yet achieved Buddhahood and was still practising as a bodhisattva, I regularly reflected like this: 'To stay in secluded dwellings,¹⁶ caves, and [solitary] places is quite a hardship, and going by oneself to stay alone and apply the mind is quite difficult.'"

The brahmin said to the Buddha: "If there are clansmen, who out of firm faith go forth to train in the path, the recluse Gotama now is very much a leader for them, benefitting them much by providing them with an example, encouragement, and guidance."

The Blessed One said: "It is like this, brahmin, as you said. I am very much a leader for whatever clansmen, who out of firm faith go forth to train in the path, benefitting them much by providing them with an example, encouragement, and guidance, [665c] since on seeing me they all arouse a sense of shame and approach secluded dwellings, caves, and [solitary] places amidst mountains or marshes."¹⁷

¹⁵ [¹⁷] In MN 4 at MN I 16,20 the brahmin first takes up the topic of the Buddha's role in regard to his disciples and only after that turns to the difficulties of dwelling in seclusion. MN 4 also does not mention caves and differs in so far as at MN I 16,31 the brahmin concludes that "one would think the forests will rob a monk, who has not attained concentration, of his mind", *haranti maññe mano vanāni samādhiṃ alabhamānassa bhikkhuno*.

¹⁶ [¹⁸] Adopting the variant 居 instead of 靜, in accordance with the two earlier instances of this phrase.

¹⁷ [¹⁹] The second part of this passage, beginning with "since on seeing me ...", is without a counterpart in MN 4. The point this passage appears to make is the

4. "At the time [when I was still a bodhisattva], I in turn had this reflection: 'Any recluses or brahmins whose bodily conduct is impure and who frequent secluded dwellings and solitary places with impure bodily conduct, their efforts are in vain, their practice is not genuine, [they will experience] fear as well as evil and unwholesome states.'¹⁸

"But I now frequent secluded dwellings and [solitary] places with a bodily conduct that is pure. ^[210] To frequent secluded and quiet places with any impure bodily conduct is not found in me. The reason is that my bodily conduct is now pure. I am very much a leader for arahants who have purity of bodily conduct and who delight in secluded dwellings, caves, and [solitary] places.'¹⁹ Like this, brahmin, seeing in myself such purity of bodily conduct, I delight in secluded dwelling places, [experiencing] increasing joy.

5–7. "At the time [when I was still a bodhisattva], I in turn had this reflection: 'Any recluses or brahmins, whose [verbal and] mental conduct is impure,²⁰ or whose livelihood is impure,

arousing of *saṃvega* in the disciples on seeing the example set by the Buddha; on *saṃvega* cf. also Coomaraswamy 1943.

¹⁸ ^[20] MN 4 at MN I 17,14 only mentions the manifestation of unwholesome fear and dread as a consequence of withdrawing into seclusion with impure bodily conduct, without referring to the vanity of such efforts and the lack of genuineness of such practice.

¹⁹ ^[21] Instead of highlighting the Buddha's role as a leader among arahants of pure bodily conduct, MN 4 at MN I 17,17 points out that the Buddha is one among noble ones of pure bodily conduct (who withdraw into seclusion), *ye hi vo ariyā parisuddhakāyakamantā ... tesam ahaṃ aññatamo* (B^o and S^c: *aññataro*).

²⁰ ^[22] Whereas in the present passage EĀ 31.1 at T II 665c11 only mentions mental conduct, its subsequent exposition also covers verbal conduct (the counterpart to the present passage in MN 4 at MN I 17,23 does refer to impurity of verbal conduct, *aparissuddhavacīkammanta*). Such irregularities are a common fea-

and who frequent secluded dwellings and solitary places, even though they practise like this, yet [their practice] is not genuine, they are filled with all [kinds] of evil and unwholesome states. [211] That is not found in me. The reason is that now my bodily, verbal, and mental conduct, as well as my livelihood, is pure.

"Whatever recluses or brahmins,²¹ who have bodily, verbal and mental purity, as well as purity of livelihood, they delight in staying in seclusion and in dwelling with purity in [solitary] places. That is the case with me. The reason is that I now have purity of bodily, verbal, and mental conduct, as well as purity of livelihood. I am very much a leader for arahants who have bodily, verbal, and mental purity, as well as purity of livelihood, and who delight in staying in seclusion and in quiet places.'

"Like this, brahmin, given that I have bodily, verbal, and mental purity, as well as purity of livelihood, when staying in seclusion and quiet places I [experience] increasing joy.

14. "At the time [when I was still a bodhisattva], I in turn had this reflection: 'That is, [some] recluses or brahmins are much affected by fear and dread.²² At the time they stay in se-

ture of *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses, evident right away in the next line of EĀ 31.1 at T II 665c12, where the earlier mentioned fear as a consequence of resorting to seclusion with impure conduct is no longer found (although fear would be implicit in the general reference to "evil and unwholesome states"). Zürcher 1991: 288 explains that in early translations in general "there is a strong tendency to avoid the monotonous effect of ... verbatim repetition ... by introducing a certain amount of diversification and irregularity", as a result of which "in the same translated scripture we often find various alternative forms and longer or shorter versions of the same cliché."

²¹ [23] Adopting a variant that adds 諸.

²² [24] MN 4 at MN I 17,32 (§§8–12 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 103) lists mental obstructions corresponding to the five hindrances as causes for the arising of fear when withdrawing into seclusion, with *abhijjhālu kāmesu tibbasārāga* as

clusion and in quiet places, they in turn [experience] fear and dread, evil and unwholesome states. But I now am never affected by fear when staying in solitary seclusion and quiet places.' That is, [some] recluses or brahmins stay in secluded and quiet places with a mind [filled with] fear and dread,²³ whereas in me that is not found, the reason is that I now never have fear and dread. I enjoy staying in secluded and quiet places. Whatever fear and dread [can arise] in the mind on staying in secluded dwellings, [212] that is not found in me.²⁴ The reason is that I am now already free from such misery,²⁵ no longer being affected in the same way [as those recluses and brahmins]. Like this, brahmin, having seen this benefit of being without fear, I [experience] increasing joy.

13. "Whatever recluses or brahmins denigrate others and [unduly] exalt themselves, even though they stay in secluded dwellings and [solitary] places, yet they have impure perceptions.²⁶ But I, brahmin, do not denigrate others, [666a] and I also do not [unduly] exalt myself. Any [undue] self-exaltation or denigration of others is not found in me. The reason is because I am now without arrogance. I am very much a leader for noble beings who

first, *uddhata avūpasantacitta* (C^e: *avupasanta*^o) as fourth and *kaṅkhī vecikicchī* (B^e and S^e: *vicikicchī*) as fifth, thereby not employing the standard terms used in enumerations of the five hindrances. These five mental obstructions are without a counterpart in EĀ 31.1. Next MN 4 at MN I 19,3 (§13 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 103) refers to self-praise, mentioned in EĀ 31.1 at T II 665c28 after fear.

²³ [25] Adopting the variant 者 instead of 調.

²⁴ [26] Adopting a variant that adds 有.

²⁵ [27] Adopting the variant 已 instead of 以.

²⁶ [28] MN 4 at MN I 19,5 does not refer to impure perceptions, instead of which it mentions, as is the case throughout its exposition, the problem of unwholesome fear and dread.

are without arrogance. Having seen this benefit, I [experience] increasing joy.

15. "Whatever recluses [and brahmins] seek for material benefits, they cannot bring themselves to rest.²⁷ But I now am without any seeking for material benefits. The reason is that I am one who is without such seeking now, being contented on my own.²⁸ I am very much a leader for those who are contented on their own. Having seen this benefit, I [experience] increasing joy. [213]

16. "Whatever recluses or brahmins whose minds are lazy, they will not be energetic on frequenting secluded and quiet places. That is not found in me. The reason is that I now have a mind full of vigour. Therefore I am very much a leader for noble ones who are not lazy, who have a mind full of vigour. Having seen this benefit in myself, I [experience] increasing joy.

17. "At the time [when I was still a bodhisattva], I moreover had this reflection: 'Whatever recluses or brahmins who, being often forgetful,²⁹ dwell in secluded places, even though they practise like this, yet they will be possessed by evil and unwholesome states. But I now am free from all forgetfulness. Again, brahmin, to be one who is forgetful, that is not found in me. I am very much a leader for those noble ones who are not

²⁷ [²⁹] MN 4 at MN I 19,21 does not draw out the repercussions of being desirous of material gains (or of honour and fame, also mentioned in MN 4). The commentary on this passage, Ps I 117,5, records an entertaining story of a monk who went to stay in a cemetery so as to become known as an undertaker of ascetic practices and thereby acquire material gains (on dwelling in a cemetery cf. Vism 76,15). After it had become dark, a ruminating ox so frightened the monk that he spent the whole night without getting any rest. This tale in a way illustrates the theme of lack of rest mentioned also in EĀ 31.1.

²⁸ [³⁰] Adopting the variant 自 instead of 同.

²⁹ [³¹] MN 4 at MN I 20,1 mentions being "forgetful", *mutṭhassati*, and "without clear comprehension", *asampajāna*.

forgetful.' Having now seen this benefit, I [experience] increasing joy when staying in secluded dwelling places.

18. "At the time [when I was still a bodhisattva], I moreover had this reflection: Whatever recluses or brahmins whose mind is scattered and not concentrated, they will in turn be possessed by evil and unwholesome states and take part in evil practices. But my mind now is totally free from being scattered, I constantly have a unified mind. Any scattered mind and lack of concentration are not found in me. The reason is that I constantly have a unified mind. I am very much a leader for noble ones with a mind unified in concentration.' Having now seen this benefit,³⁰ if I dwell in secluded quiet places, I [experience] increasing joy.

19. "At the time [when I was still a bodhisattva], I moreover had this reflection: 'Whatever recluses or brahmins who are ignorant and dull, like a herd of sheep,³¹ those men will in turn be possessed by evil and unwholesome states. That is not found in me. [214] Rather, I am now constantly endowed with wisdom, I have no ignorance. Staying in secluded dwellings and being endowed with conduct like this, that is found in me. I now have accomplished wisdom. I am very much a leader for noble beings who have accomplished wisdom.' Having now seen this benefit, if I stay in secluded dwellings, I [experience] increasing joy.

20. "While I was staying in secluded dwellings,³² if the branch of a tree broke, or a bird or an animal ran by, at that time I had this reflection: 'This is [what causes] great fear in a forest.' [666b] Then I further had this reflection: 'If fear comes, I will seek a means to prevent it from coming again.'

³⁰ [32] Adopting a variant that adds 義 after 此.

³¹ [33] The comparison with a herd of sheep is not found in MN 4.

³² [34] MN 4 at MN I 20,27 speaks of going on purpose to *cetiya*s on auspicious nights; on which cf. also von Simson 1995: 172 and Dietz 1997.

"If fear and dread came while I was walking, then at that time I did not sit or lie down, determining to discard that fear and dread, and [only] afterwards I sat down. Suppose fear and dread came while I was standing, then at that time I did not walk or sit down, determining to discard that fear and dread, and [only] afterwards I sat down. If fear and dread came while I was sitting, I did not walk [or stand], determining to discard that fear and dread, and [only] afterwards I walked.³³ If fear and dread came while I was lying down, then at that time I did not walk or even sit up, determining to discard that fear and dread,³⁴ and [only] afterwards I sat up.³⁵ [215]

21. "Brahmin, you should know, whatever recluses and brahmins who throughout day and night do not understand the path to awakening, I now declare that those men are thoroughly deluded.³⁶ But I, brahmin, throughout day and night understand the path to awakening, applying myself to it with an energetic mind that is not deceived.

22–23. "With intention that is not scattered, with a constantly unified mind, free from perceptions of sensual desire, with [directed] awareness and [sustained] contemplation, with mindfulness and supported by rapture and happiness,³⁷ I dwelled in the first absorption. Brahmin, this is reckoned the first [higher

³³ [35] Adopting the variant 行 instead of 坐.

³⁴ [36] Adopting a variant without 使.

³⁵ [37] Adopting the variant 坐 instead of 臥.

³⁶ [38] MN 4 at MN I 21,20 instead speaks of recluses and brahmins who mistake night for day and day for night; part of such a statement has been preserved in SHT IV 32 folio 37 V2, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 131; cf. note 52 below.

³⁷ [40] MN 4 at MN I 21,35 qualifies the happiness and rapture experienced with the first absorption as "born of seclusion", *vivekaja*.

state of] mind that constitutes a condition of happiness for oneself here and now.³⁸

24. "Discarding [directed] awareness and [sustained] contemplation, with internal joy and rapture concurrent with a unified mind that is free from [directed] awareness and [sustained] contemplation, concentrated, mindful, and rapturous,³⁹ I dwelled in the second absorption. Brahmin, this is reckoned the second [higher state of] mind that leads to happiness here and now. [216]

25. "Seeing and knowing within myself the absence of any desirous attention, aware of bodily pleasure, as sought after by noble ones,⁴⁰ guarding mindfulness and happiness, I dwelled in the third absorption. Brahmin, this is reckoned the third [higher state of] mind [that leads to happiness here and now].

26. "Again, having left behind pleasure and pain, being also without any delight or sadness, free from pleasure and pain, guarding mindfulness and purity, I dwelled in the fourth absorption. Brahmin, this is reckoned the fourth higher state of mind, a dwelling with awareness and knowledge in relation to one's own mind.⁴¹

27. "Then, while I stayed in a secluded dwelling and was in the possession of these four higher states of mind, relying on this concentrated mind, flawlessly pure, free from fettering ten-

³⁸ [41] This specification, which relates the development of absorption to the recurrent theme of dwelling in joy (as a result of withdrawing into seclusion), is without a counterpart in MN 4. A recurrent reference in the Sanskrit fragments to *sparśavihāra* suggests that the Sanskrit version had a specification similar to EĀ 31.1; cf. SHT IV 165 folio 15 V8 and R1, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 190, and SHT IX 2401 Vd, Bechert and Wille 2004: 195.

³⁹ [42] MN 4 at MN I 21,³⁷ qualifies the second absorption as a mental condition of "inner confidence/serenity", *ajjhata sampasāda*.

⁴⁰ [43] According to MN 4 at MN I 22,4, noble ones describe this state as a dwelling in happiness with mindfulness and equanimity.

⁴¹ [44] This sentence is without a counterpart in MN 4.

dencies, having obtained fearlessness, I cognized my own past lives during countless aeons. At that time I recollected my past lives: one birth, two births, three births, four births, five births, ten births, twenty births, thirty births, forty births, fifty births, a hundred births, a thousand births, aeons of arising and dissolution, in all their details, [recollecting that] 'I formerly arose there, with such a given name, such a family name, eating food like this, experiencing pleasure and pain like this, passing away from there I was reborn here, dying here I was reborn there'; from beginning to end I completely understood its causes and conditions.⁴²

28. "Brahmin, you should know that during the first period of the night I attained this first [higher] knowledge, [666c] discarding ignorance and no longer [being] obscured, [217] with a mind that delights in dwelling in seclusion and that is aware and knows in relation to itself.⁴³

29. "Again, relying on this concentrated mind, flawless and free from fettering tendencies, a mind that rests in concentration and has obtained fearlessness, I also came to know the being born and passing away of living beings. With the divine eye I moreover saw living beings of various types being born and passing away, of good or bad appearances, in good or bad destinies, attractive or ugly, in accordance with their good or bad conduct. I completely distinguished that, whatever living beings who have undertaken bad bodily conduct, bad verbal conduct, bad mental conduct, who have slandered noble ones,

⁴² [45] A reference to causes and conditions is not found in MN 4. According to the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1977: 118,11, the pre-awakening knowledge of recollecting his past lives stimulated the future Buddha's investigation of the causes underlying the process of rebirth.

⁴³ [46] This specification, which relates each of the higher knowledges to the main theme of joyfully dwelling in seclusion, is without a counterpart in MN 4.

who have constantly been holding wrong views and been associated with wrong view, with the destruction of the body at death they are reborn in hell.

"Whatever living beings have undertaken good bodily conduct, cultivated good verbal conduct, and cultivated good mental conduct, who have not slandered noble ones, who have constantly cultivated right view and been associated with right view, with the destruction of the body at death they are reborn in a good realm in heaven.

"Thus with the divine eye that is purified and flawless I saw living beings of various types being born and passing away, of god or bad appearance, in good or bad destinies, attractive or ugly, in accordance with their former conduct, I completely distinguished it.

30. "Brahmin, you should know that during the middle period of the night I attained this second [higher] knowledge, no longer [being] obscured, [with a mind] that delights in secluded dwellings and that is aware and knows in relation to itself.

31. "Again, relying on this concentrated mind, with its flawless purity and freedom from fettering tendencies, a state of mind that has attained concentration and has attained fearlessness, [218] I attained the destruction of the influxes in the mind. I knew that 'this is *dukkha*' as it really is, not falsely.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ [47] MN 4 at MN I 23,14 instead applies the full scheme of the four noble truths to *dukkha* and to the influxes (*āsava*). Nakamura 2000: 211 holds that the lack of a reference to the four noble truths indicates that their occurrence in MN 4 "must be a later addition". A more plausible explanation would be that the present passage in EĀ 31.1 is the result of an abbreviation in the original text of the full statement of the four truths and for this reason only the first part of what would have been a full exposition of the four noble truths is found. In fact just knowing *dukkha* on its own would hardly suffice for the breakthrough to awakening. Thus the report of the Buddha's awakening in the remainder of

32. "Then, at that time, when I had attained this mental condition, I attained liberation of the mind from the influx of sensuality, from the influx of existence, and from the influx of ignorance. By attaining liberation I in turn attained knowledge of liberation, knowing as it really is that birth and death have been extinguished, the holy life has been established, what had to be done has been done, there will be no more coming again to a womb.

33. "Brahmin, this is reckoned the third [higher] knowledge that I attained in the last period of the night, [being] no longer obscured.

34. "How is it, brahmin, do you have this thought: 'The Tathāgata [still] has sensuality, ill-will, and ignorance in his mind, and without having eradicated these, he stays in secluded dwelling places?' Brahmin, you should not see it like this. The reason is that the Tathāgata has now discarded all influxes forever, he continually delights in secluded dwellings and not in the company of men. Because I now see two benefits,⁴⁵ I delight in secluded dwellings and [solitary] places. What are the two? In addition to it being for myself a [suitable] way of living, ^[219] dwelling in secluded places concurrently [serves] to deliver incalculable sentient beings [by setting an example for them]."⁴⁶

EĀ 31.1 makes it fairly probable that the present reference originally described a more comprehensive insight than just knowing that "this is *dukkha*".

⁴⁵ [48] Adopting a variant that adds 二 after 此, in line with the ensuing question "what are the two?"

⁴⁶ [10] MN 4 at MN I 23,34 explains that the two reasons for the Buddha's dwelling in seclusion are: "seeing a pleasant abiding here and now for myself and out of compassion for later generations", *attano ca diṭṭhadhammasukhavihāraṃ sampassamāno pacchimañ ca janataṃ anukampamāno* (cf. also the similar statement in AN 2.3.9 at AN I 60,35).

35. At that time, the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi said to the Buddha: "Out of compassion for living beings you deliver them all."⁴⁷ The brahmin further said to the Buddha: "Enough, Blessed One, enough, what has been said suffices. It is as if something crooked had been straightened up,⁴⁸ like someone gone astray who has found the [right] path, like a blind person who has obtained eyes,⁴⁹ like someone who sees a light in the darkness. In the same way the recluse Gotama has taught the Dharma with innumerable means. [667a] I now go for refuge to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the community, and from now on take on myself the five precepts of no more killing living beings [etc.], having become a lay disciple."⁵⁰

At that time the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi, having heard what the Buddha said, was delighted and received it respectfully. [220]

Study

From the perspective of the main theme of the *Bhayabherava-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel, a noteworthy difference

⁴⁷ [50] A reference to delivering living beings is not found in Jāṇussoṇi's statement in MN 4.

⁴⁸ [51] Adopting the variant 伸 instead of 申.

⁴⁹ [52] The image of a blind person regaining eye-sight is not found in MN 4.

⁵⁰ [53] MN 4 at MN I 24,7 also reports that he took refuge, although notably SHT IV 32 folio 41 R3f, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 134, gives the impression that the Sanskrit version did not record his taking of refuge (in fact the editors remark: "damit endet, abweichend vom Pāli, wo Jāṇussoṇi Laienanhänger wird, das Bhayabhairavasūtra"). A number of other Pāli discourses also report that the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi took refuge, cf. MN 27 at MN I 184,16, SN 12.47 at SN II 77,1, AN 2.2.7 at AN I 57,15, AN 3.55 at AN I 159,21, AN 3.59 at AN I 168,7, AN 4.184 at AN II 176,5, AN 6.52 at AN III 364,3, AN 7.47 at AN IV 56,18, AN 10.119 at AN V 236,1, AN 10.167 at AN V 251,24, and AN 10.177 at AN V 273,13. The recurrent reports of Jāṇussoṇi's conversions have already been noted by Tsuchida 1991: 77.

can be found in the respective introductory sections. Although the parallel versions agree on the two main points made by the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi, they differ in regard to the sequence in which he presents them.

According to the *Bhayabherava-sutta*, Jāṇussoṇi begins by referring to the Buddha's role as a guide for his disciples, after which the brahmin takes up the topic of the difficulties when living in seclusion. On reading the Pāli account, these two points appear like two separate ideas.

In the *Ekottarika-āgama* account, however, Jāṇussoṇi first turns to the difficulties of living in seclusion and then proceeds to the Buddha's role in providing guidance and encouragement to his disciples. In reply, the Buddha then explains that it is precisely due to seeing his secluded lifestyle that his disciples are inspired to resort to secluded dwellings themselves. In this way, in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version a relationship between the two statements emerges. The disciples face the difficulties of living in seclusion thanks to being inspired by the example set for them by the Buddha.

The perspective that the *Ekottarika-āgama* version provides in this way suits the remainder of both discourses well, where the autobiographical account of the Buddha's own practice of seclusion and consequent attainment of absorption and liberation fills out in detail what makes him a guide and inspiration for his disciples. [221]

Another difference germane to the same theme occurs in relation to the contrast made in both versions regarding recluses or brahmins who retire into seclusion without having established the required level of purity, compared to the Buddha's way of dwelling in solitude. Whereas the *Bhayabherava-sutta* keeps reiterating that lack of purity or the presence of mental defilements will result in the experience of unwholesome fear and dread, the *Ekot-*

tarika-āgama version is less consistent in this respect. Here the Pāli version brings out a central theme with more clarity, namely the fearfulness of seclusion.⁵¹

The *Bhayabherava-sutta* reports the Buddha referring to some recluses and brahmins who mistake day for night, or night for day, a passage also preserved in the Sanskrit fragment parallel.⁵² In contrast to these, the Buddha knows day for being day and night for being night, for which he rightly deserves praise as someone who is free from delusion, arisen for the benefit and welfare of gods and men.⁵³

This description is puzzling, since it is difficult to imagine someone who mistakes day for night or night for day, and it seems even more peculiar to propose that one able to recognize day for being day should be considered as someone who is free from delusion and who has arisen for the benefit of gods and men.

The Pāli commentary explains this statement by describing how someone who has attained *jhāna* with a white *kaṣiṇa* object emerges unexpectedly from this *jhāna* during the night. Due to the after-effect of the *kaṣiṇa*, this person mistakes night for being day time. Or else some birds usually active only during the day might chirp at night and cause someone who hears them from in-

⁵¹ [55&56] To appreciate the significance of this topic, it needs to be kept in mind that from an ancient Indian perspective, as reflected in early Buddhist texts, nature is often seen as dangerous and threatening; cf. Schmithausen 1991: 29 and 1997: 24 as well as Boucher 2008b: 54, and on fear in general in Pāli texts Giustarini 2012. That fear was indeed considered a problem for monastics can be deduced from the *Ākaṅkheyya-sutta* and its parallels, where absence of fear occurs among a range of wishes a monk might have; cf. MN 6 at MN I 33,26 (= AN 10.71 at AN V 132,17) and MĀ 105 at T I 596a3.

⁵² SHT IV 32 folio 37 V2, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 131: (*saṃ*)*jjñ[o]* *divamse ca [d](i)vasa [sa]*.

⁵³ MN 4 at MN I 21,20; I already drew attention to this difference in Anālayo 2005: 2f.

side a dwelling to mistake night for day.⁵⁴ These explanations appear somewhat contrived and do not fit this passage from the *Bhayabherava-sutta* too well, since the Buddha's statement does not seem to be concerned with only a momentary mistaking of day for night or night for day.

Here the *Ekottarika-āgama* version offers a more straightforward presentation, in that the contrast made in its presentation is between deluded recluses and brahmins, who do not understand the path to awakening, be it day or night, and the Buddha, who understands the same at all times.⁵⁵ This serves as a meaningful summary of the Buddha's practice described up to this point, thereby highlighting his clarity on what needed to be done before describing his meditative cultivation that indeed led to his attainment of awakening.

Another difference can be found in relation to the Buddha's attainment of the four absorptions, which the *Ekottarika-āgama* version presents as his experience of happiness here and now, thereby linking them more closely to a main theme in the discourse, the joy that can result from dwelling in seclusion.⁵⁶ The same difference recurs in relation to the three higher knowledges,

⁵⁴ Ps I 121,18, followed by working through both examples in the opposite way, describing how someone attains *jhāna* with a dark *kaṣiṇa* and emerges in the daytime, or else someone hears a night bird during day time.

⁵⁵ Although offering a more straightforward presentation, it needs to be kept in mind that this could be the result of a translator rendering a knotty passage in such a way as to make it comprehensible. On this hypothesis, the version of this statement found in MN 4 (and also attested in the Sanskrit fragment) might have been on purpose formulated in this way in order to illustrate that the Buddha's insight into reality is based on recognizing things for what they really are. Judging from the commentarial explanation, however, the passage was not perceived by the reciters as easily comprehensible, motivating them to come up with an attempt to make sense of it that is hardly convincing.

⁵⁶ Cf. above note 38.

where the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse again makes a point of indicating that their attainment comes about in a mind that has reached fearlessness and that delights in dwelling in seclusion.

Keeping in mind the complementary perspectives provided by the parallel versions in each of these instances helps to get a clearer grasp of the central message of the discourse. Following the *Ekottarika-āgama* version's introductory account, the topic the brahmin Jāṇussoṇi had on his mind would have been the fearfulness of dwelling in seclusion. The continuity of the discourse then reveals the Buddha's role as a source of inspiration for his disciples when braving this fearful condition.⁵⁷ [222] This role comes up again at the end of both discourses, when the Buddha points out that one of the two reasons for his secluded lifestyle is to provide an example to be emulated.

Another factor that counters fear, which is taken up in detail in both versions, comes from purity of conduct,⁵⁸ as well as purity of the mind by overcoming a whole host of mental defilements.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ [59] The role of recollecting the Buddha as a source of fearlessness is also prominent in the *Dhajagga-sutta*, SN 11.3 at SN I 219,27, with parallels in Waldschmidt 1932: 47 and 1959/1967: 379, Sander 1987: 137, SHT VII 1687A, Bechert and Wille 1995: 96, Or. 15003/171, Wille 2006: 118, SĀ 980 at T II 254c19, SĀ 981 at T II 255a26, EĀ 24.1 at T II 615a17, and Skilling 1994: 268,7 and 292,1 (for *sūtra* quotations cf. the survey in Skilling 1997b: 403f). Harrison 1992/1993: 218 comments that the *Dhajagga-sutta* shows that "as a specific remedy against fear when meditating in wild and solitary places ... the practice of *buddhānussati* must have assumed quite early on the nature of an apotropaic technique."

⁵⁸ [60] The importance of a foundation in proper conduct for being able to dwell in seclusion is also highlighted in the *Bhaddāli-sutta* and its parallel, MN 65 at MN I 440,17 and MĀ 194 at T I 747c6.

⁵⁹ [61] For a survey of these cf. Weerasinghe 1997: 615f. Although this does indicate the need for a certain degree of maturity in order to be able to withdraw into seclusion (cf. also AN 10.99 at AN V 202,4 and Ud 4.1 at Ud 35,18), it is

The basic point made in this way appears to be that fear tends to reflect the condition of one's own mind. Whereas the presence of defilements or even of misconduct would naturally elicit fear if a potentially frightening situation manifests, to the degree to which purification has been undertaken, [223] fear should be less prone to manifest.

Besides internal factors, however, external factors can also cause the arising of fear. In such a case, both versions recommend facing fear as and when it occurs. The two discourses make it clear that this requires retaining whatever posture one is in when fear arises. Instead of reacting to what has caused the fear, one faces the mental condition of fear itself. This brings into play a key factor of mindfulness practice, where the task is to remain aware of the presence of a hindrance in the mind, including restlessness.⁶⁰

By in this way facing fear when it arises and continuing to purify the mind, the joy of seclusion is shown eventually to culminate in the happiness and bliss to be experienced through the absorptions and the supreme happiness of liberation. In this way, the *Bhayabherava-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel throw into relief the importance of living in seclusion and facing fear as essential ingredients of the path to awakening.

"Having savoured the taste of seclusion,
The taste of [inner] peace,

noteworthy that in AN 5.114 at AN III 138,27 new monks (*nava acirapabbajita*) are encouraged to withdraw into seclusion in forests. In fact Vin I 92,22 makes a special allowance for a newly ordained monk to be exempted from the otherwise obligatory need to live in dependence on a teacher if he finds solace in living in seclusion in a remote forest dwelling.

⁶⁰ [62] MN 10 at MN I 60,11 (= DN 22 at DN II 300,10) and MĀ 98 at T I 584a24. Another parallel, EĀ 12.1 at T II 568a9, merely lists the five hindrances without giving detailed instructions. For comparative studies cf., e.g., Kuan 2008 and Anālayo 2013g.

[One] is free from anxiety and evil,
Savouring the joyful taste of the Dharma."⁶¹

⁶¹ [⁶³] Dhṛp 205 (cf. also Sn 257): *pavivekarasaṃ pītṽā* (B^e: *pitṽā*), *rasaṃ upasa-massa ca, niddaro hoti nippāpo, dhammapīṭirasaṃ pivaṃ* (C^e: *pibaṃ*), which has a counterpart in Uv 28.5, Bernhard 1965: 355: *pravivekarasaṃ jñātvā, ra-saṃ copasaṃsaya vai, nirjvaro bhavati niṣpāpo, dharmapīṭirasaṃ piban* (for a translation cf. Hahn 2007: 101). The Chinese parallels in T 212 at T IV 742c10 and T 213 at T IV 792a25 read: 解知念待味, 思惟休息義, 無熱無飢想, 當服於法味 (for a translation cf. Willemen 1978: 125). The Tibetan parallel in Beckh 1911: 98 or Zongtse 1990: 288 reads: *legs par nyer zhi'i ro dang ni, rab tu dben pa'i ro shes pa, rims nad med cing sdig med la, chos la dga' ba'i ro dag 'thung* (for translations cf. Rockhill 1883/1975: 133, Iyer 1986: 331, and Sparham 1983/1986: 140).

Cūlasīhanāda-sutta (MN 11)

Introduction

In the present chapter, I investigate the theme of the lion's roar. After surveying occurrences of lion's roars in the Pāli *Nikāyas* and Chinese *Āgamas*, I examine more closely the lion's roar attributed to the Buddha in the *Cūlasīhanāda-sutta*, based on a translation and study of its *Ekottarika-āgama* counterpart.

The lion's roar is a recurrent motif in the discourses collected in the four main Pāli *Nikāyas* and their counterparts in the Chinese *Āgamas*. Most of these instances are related to the Buddha or his disciples, although at times those outside of the Buddhist dispensation attempt a lion's roar, which usually miscarries.

An example for such unsuccessful lion's roars can be found in the *Pāṭika-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and its *Dīgha-āgama* parallel, which report how the naked ascetic Pāṭikaputta, after making a public announcement of his impending defeat of the Buddha in a contest of magical powers, failed to show up at the gathering where this contest was to take place. Even after repeatedly being invited to come, he is depicted as still unable to face the Buddha. The messenger sent to fetch him comes to the conclusion that Pāṭikaputta's earlier proclamation was not a genuine lion's roar, but instead was comparable to a jackal trying to imitate a lion.¹

* Originally published in 2009 under the title "The Lion's Roar in Early Buddhism – A Study Based on the Ekottarika-āgama Parallel to the *Cūlasīhanāda-sutta*" in the *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 22: 3–23.

¹ DN 24 at DN III 24,17 and DĀ 15 at T I 69a5; cf. also SHT IV 32 folio 17 R4f, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 120, and for a study of this episode Anālayo 2015a: 23 and 2016e. Another claim to defeat the Buddha, which also ends unsuccessfully (although in this case the debater did face and discuss with the

A similar judgement was passed on the wanderer Sarabha, who after disrobing as a Buddhist monk had declared in public that he had left the Buddha's dispensation, having reached realization in regard to the teachings of the Buddha. When invited by the Buddha in front of a congregation of wanderers to specify what he had realized, Sarabha was unable to reply. His companions thereupon compare his inability to substantiate his earlier claim to a jackal trying to roar like a lion.²

These two instances bring out a central nuance of the image of a lion's roar, in that one should be able to substantiate such a proclamation in a debate.³ Additional detail about what makes up a true lion's roar can be gathered from the *Kassapasīhanāda-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and its parallels, which depict various possible criticisms of a lion's roar. These are that someone roars a lion's roar in an empty place, instead of amidst the assemblies, or that the roar is made without real self-confidence.⁴ A lion's roar fails to command respect not only if one is unable to defend the claim one has made, [6] as illustrated in the examples above, but

Buddha), is according to EĀ 37.10 at T II 716a26 a lion's roar, although the parallel versions MN 35 at MN I 233,24 and SĀ 110 at T II 36b16 do not consider this instance to be a lion's roar.

² AN 3.64 at AN I 187,35, SĀ 970 at T II 250c5, and SĀ² 204 at T II 450a20; cf. also folio 169b, Pischel 1904: 817.

³ Manné 1996: 32 explains that lion's roars are "utterances which the speaker is willing to defend in public", in line with "the Vedic tradition of challenges in debate".

⁴ [3] DN 8 at DN I 175,1 and DĀ 25 at T I 104b3; cf. also SHT VI 1296, Bechert and Wille 1989: 70, and fragments Hoernle 149/Add. 98 R6–8 and Pelliot bleu 340 R6–9, Hartmann 1991: 151f. DN 25 at DN III 57,19 concludes an occasion where the Buddha confronts the allegation that he might be afraid of facing assemblies with the remark that, by rejecting such insinuations, the Buddha had roared a lion's roar; such a qualification is not made in the parallel versions DĀ 8 at T I 49b22, T 11 at T I 224b22, and MĀ 104 at T I 595c7.

also if one is not able to satisfy and inspire others with one's explanations.

A number of discourses show that the basis for the Buddha's self-confidence when making a lion's roar was in particular his possession of the ten powers and the four intrepidities of a Tathāgata.⁵ The close relationship of these qualities to the Buddha's lion-like nature becomes particularly evident in a Sanskrit fragment of a *Daśabala-sūtra*, which has a drawing of a winged lion after each of the Buddha's powers.⁶

⁵ [4] The ten powers feature as the grounds for the Buddha's lion's roar in, e.g., AN 10.21 at AN V 33,7, AN 10.22 at AN V 37,6, SĀ 348 at T II 98a14, SĀ 684 at T II 186c16, SĀ 701 at T II 189a8 (cf. also SĀ 702 and SĀ 703), EĀ 46.4 at T II 776b15, T 780 at T XVII 717c14, T 781 at T XVII 718c18, and T 802 at T XVII 747b13 (with a different power at T XVII 747c17); cf. also the short statements in SĀ 1227 at T II 335c5, SĀ² 54 at T II 392b18, and EĀ 51.3 at T II 816c8. AN 6.64 at AN III 417,13 then lists six powers as the basis for the Buddha's lion's roar, as do SĀ 686 at T II 187b28 and SĀ 687 at T II 187c14. According to Endo 1997/2002: 20, the development of the notion of ten powers "seems to have had an intermediate phase where only six powers of the Buddha are mentioned". A set of five powers, again as the basis for the Buddha's lion's roar, occurs in AN 5.11 at AN III 9,15. For Sanskrit fragments relevant to the ten powers cf., e.g., Lévi 1910: 443f, de La Vallée Poussin 1911: 1063f, Waldschmidt 1932: 209–225, Waldschmidt 1958, Sander 1987: 181–192, SHT VI 1220R and SHT VI 1457R, Bechert and Wille 1989: 15 and 143, SHT IX 2018, SHT IX 2066, and SHT IX 2162, Bechert and Wille 2004: 41, 82 and 119, and Chung 2009. The four intrepidities occur on their own as the grounds for the Buddha's lion's roar in AN 4.8 at AN II 9,3 and EĀ 27.6 at T II 645b28 (with a different intrepidity at T II 645c7). Only three intrepidities occur in the case of the above quoted AN 3.64 at AN I 186,33. Sanskrit fragments referring to the four intrepidities are, e.g., SHT IV 623 folio 5, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 252, SHT VI 1504, Bechert and Wille 1989: 166, and SHT IX 2323, Bechert and Wille 2004: 173.

⁶ [5] Table I in Waldschmidt 1958: 386f.

In the *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* a listing of the ten powers and four intrepidities occurs as part of a lion's roar made in reply to a wrong allegation by the former Buddhist monk Sunakkhatta,⁷ somewhat similar in nature to the above discussed instance of the ex-monk Sarabha. Such occurrences further underline the significance of the lion's roar in a debate.

The nuance of a challenge in debate does not exhaust the implications of the image of a lion's roar. Several discourses that relate the Buddha's lion's roar to his possession of the ten powers and four intrepidities indicate that the content of his lion's roar is a teaching on the impermanent nature of the five aggregates of clinging.⁸ [7] The delivery of such a lion's roar instils fear in others, especially among *devas* who are of long life, as it makes them realize that even their existence is bound to come to an end.⁹ In these contexts, the lion's roar stands for a revelation of truth in general.¹⁰ Such teachings are lion's roars because they instil fear, similar to the fear experienced by other animals when they hear the roar of a lion.¹¹

⁷ [6] MN 12 at MN I 69,31, with a counterpart in T 757 at T XVII 592c2.

⁸ [7] SN 12.21 at SN II 28,1, SN 12.22 at SN II 28,17, and EĀ 46.3 at T II 776a21.

⁹ [8] SN 22.78 at SN III 85,20 and AN 4.33 at AN II 33,21 (here the teaching delivered is on the nature of personality, *sakkāya*, its arising, its cessation, and the path to its cessation).

¹⁰ [9] The close relationship of the lion's roar to proclaiming a truth is reflected in MĀ 137 at T I 645b22, paralleling a passage on the nature of the *Tathāgata* as one who speaks the truth in AN 4.23 at AN II 24,2, which exemplifies the truthfulness of the words of a *Tathāgata* with his roaring a lion's roar before any assembly. Although the lion's roar is thus in a way also a proclamation of truth, it does not seem to share the magical potency often associated with public asseverations of truth, on which cf. also, e.g., Burlingame 1917, Hopkins 1932: 317–323, Lüders 1959: 487–505, Brown 1968, Wayman 1968, and Harvey 1993: 67–79.

¹¹ Heim 2003: 546 notes that "the *Tathāgata* delivering his teaching ... in exactly the same way that a lion's roar causes brutes of the forest to quake in

This salutary aspect of the lion's roar is relevant to situations that go beyond facing an opponent in debate. Instead, here the lion's roar stands for a teaching strategy whose purpose is to stir up a sense of urgency and thereby lead others towards liberation.¹² This complements the image of the lion's roar in early Buddhist discourse which, besides the defensive function of meeting a challenge in a debate, also has the positive function of promoting the progress of a disciple on the path to awakening.

The lion imagery in a teaching context receives additional explanation in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, according to which a lion, after having roared its lion's roar, sets out hunting in a careful manner. Similarly the Tathāgata, on roaring the lion's roar of his teachings, does so in a careful manner.¹³ The imagery of a lion is in fact recurrently associated with the Buddha, [8] and besides the nuances of royalty and carefulness also conveys a sense of aloofness and independence.¹⁴

fear ... suggests that some fear is valuable, in that it can replace complacency with urgency".

¹² According to Brekke 1999: 450, "the function of the Buddha in the simile of the lion is to create fear through his teaching ... and when this fear is effectively translated into religious motivation one will strive to attain *nirvāṇa*."

¹³ [10] AN 5.99 at AN III 122,8: *sakkaccaṃ yeva tathāgato dhammaṃ deseti*. A rather extended teaching by the Buddha in DN 26 at DN III 79,5 receives the title "a lion's roar discourse on the wheel-turning king", *Cakkavatti-sihanāda-sutta* in the PTS edition, although B^o, C^o, and S^o only have the title *Cakkavattisutta*.

¹⁴ [11] Cf. e.g. Sn 107,5: *durāsadā hi te bhagavanto sīhā va*, according to which those like the Buddha are difficult to approach like lions. Brekke 1999: 448 comments that the nuances underlying this image are that a "lion ... is aloof, separate and completely detached". According to SN 48.51 at SN V 227,14, a lion is reckoned foremost among animals due to its superior strength, speed, and courage. These qualities make the lion an obvious choice as a symbol of royalty and supremacy; in fact Bareau 1960: 248 notes that a range of *Vinayas* present the motif of a lion as the most prominent image to be used for adorning Buddhist

Although the lion imagery is thus closely related to the Buddha, lion's roars can also be made by a disciple.¹⁵ Examples are a

stūpas. A famous example of the use of this motif is the lion capital from Sārnāth; cf. below p. 649 (already published in Huntington 1985: 47 fig. 4.5). This capital features four adorsed lions with open jaws, as if just about to roar a lion's roar, standing on a drum adorned with a wheel right beneath their forefeet; cf. also Bareau 1960: 248, Irwin 1973: 716, Pandey 1978: 27, and Deeg 2003: 42. This pillar was apparently still witnessed *in situ* by Xuánzàng (玄奘); cf. T 2087 at T LI 905b23, translated in Beal 1884: 46. For a form of representation with the lion in the middle of the wheel cf. Zin 2015: 56. Bareau 1971b: 17 explains that, although the lion was "not only rare in India but most likely unknown in the middle basin of the Ganges where Buddha spent all his life, this animal plays an important role in Indian symbolism ... the lion symbolizes royalty." The same image also plays a role in the Jain tradition, where the lion was the animal chosen to represent Mahāvīra; cf. Schubring 1962/2000: 24. Deo 1956: 560 notes instances where other Jains, because of their skill at debating, are also acclaimed as lions; on the lion's roar as an epithet of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa cf. Verardi 2011: 221. As a symbol of kingship, supremacy, etc., the lion is of course a recurrent motif in many cultures.

¹⁵ [12] The ability to roar a lion's roar is explicitly associated with all arahants in SN 22.76 at SN III 84,4 and its parallel MĀ 120 at T I 610a5. SĀ 1101 at T II 289c24 relates the ability of disciples to proclaim a lion's roar to their insight into the four noble truths (cf. also SĀ² 97 at T II 408b16, although in this case the lion's roar on the four noble truths is made by the Tathāgata). In SĀ 911 at T II 228c10 and SĀ² 126 at T II 421c20 a lay disciple's proclamation before a king, made to dispel the rumour that Buddhist monks are allowed to accept gold or silver, is also qualified as a lion's roar; the same is the case when Anāthapiṇḍika defeats the views held by other wanderers in SĀ 968 at T II 249a24 and SĀ² 202 at T II 448c27; or when he makes a proclamation before the Buddha in SĀ 1241 at T II 340a25. EĀ 17.1 at T II 582a9 even speaks of a lion's roar when Rāhula asks the Buddha about how to practise mindfulness of breathing. According to the listing of eminent disciples in AN 1.14.1 at AN I 23,24, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja was foremost among monks who roar a lion's roar. The listing of eminent disciples in EĀ 4.3 at T II 557b19 reckons him instead foremost in defeating outsiders. For a study of tales related to Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja cf., e.g., Lévi and Chavannes 1916: 205–275, Ray 1994: 151–162, and Strong 1979.

monk and on another occasion a nun, who indicate that they intend to announce their attainment of the final goal in front of the Buddha as their lion's roar.¹⁶

The disciple most frequently associated with the image of the lion's roar appears to be Sāriputta. [9] One of the lion's roars by Sāriputta is made in order to defend himself against a wrong allegation by another monk, who has raised the accusation that Sāriputta had slighted him.¹⁷ Another instance occurs after Sāriputta has successfully answered a question by the Buddha, although at first he has been uncertain about how to reply to it. Once the Buddha has left, Sāriputta gives vent to his self-confidence by telling his companions that he felt ready to face any question the Buddha might want to ask him.¹⁸ Notably, in both instances it is not Sāriputta himself but his companions who reckon his proclamations to be a lion's roar.¹⁹

Other lion's roars proclaimed by Sāriputta express his deep conviction that nobody, be it in the past or in the future, could surpass the Buddha in respect to being awakened.²⁰ The Buddha

¹⁶ [13] Th 175 and Thī 332. However, not all declarations of having attained the final goal are reckoned as lions' roars; cf. also Katz 1982/1989: 29–31.

¹⁷ [14] The qualification of his defence as a lion's roar occurs in AN 9.11 at AN IV 374,15, MĀ 24 at T I 452c17, and EĀ 37.6 at T II 712c23.

¹⁸ [15] SN 12.32 at SN II 55,26, fragment S 474 folio 18 R8, Tripāṭhī 1962: 55, MĀ 23 at T I 452b3, and SĀ 345 at T II 95c7.

¹⁹ [16] A proclamation made by Mahākassapa in SĀ 1143 at T II 302c12 and SĀ² 118 at T II 417c7 is only qualified as a lion's roar by the reciters of the discourse.

²⁰ [17] This proclamation is reckoned by the Buddha to be a lion's roar in DN 16 at DN II 82,8, DN 28 at DN III 99,12, SN 47.12 at SN V 159,11, DĀ 18 at T I 76c5, T 18 at T I 255a25, and SĀ 498 at T II 130c13. In EĀ 38.10 at T II 725b4 a proclamation by King Pasenadi regarding the faith-inspiring qualities of the Buddha and his disciples is also recognized as a lion's roar, although the qualification of being a lion's roar is not used in the parallel discourses MN 89 at

was quick to point out that this proclamation was made without actual knowledge of the qualities of other awakened ones in past and future times.

An instance where the Buddha teaches his disciples how to roar a lion's roar can be found in the *Cūḷasīhanāda-sutta* and its parallels.²¹ This seems to be the only instance where the Buddha actually formulates the contents of what his disciples should proclaim as their lion's roar in a situation of being challenged by contemporary wanderers and recluses.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Cūḷasīhanāda-sutta* presents this lion's roar with significant differences, which warrant a closer study of this particular case and its import for assessing the nature of a lion's roar in early Buddhist thought. [10] In addition to the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, translated below,²² another parallel to the *Cūḷasīhanāda-sutta* can be found in the *Madhyama-āgama*.²³

Translation

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Sāvattihī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park.²⁴ At that time a group of many monks had entered Sāvattihī. Then the group of many monks had this reflection: "It is still too early in the morning for us to collect alms, let us approach the village of

MN II 124,24, AN 10.30 at AN V 69,24, and MĀ 213 at T I 797b16, nor in a parallel preserved in the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 238b21, with its Tibetan counterpart in D 6 *tha* 86a4 or Q 1035 *de* 82b8.

²¹ [18] MN 11 at MN I 63,24, MĀ 103 at T I 590b5, and EĀ 27.2 at T II 643c2.

²² [19] The translated discourse is EĀ 27.2 at T II 643c2 to 644b18.

²³ [20] MĀ 103 at T I 590b5 to 591b24.

²⁴ [22] MN 11 at MN I 63,24 gives the same location, whereas MĀ 103 at T I 590b6 places the discourse at Kammāsadhamma in the Kuru country.

the heterodox wanderers for some discussion."²⁵ Then the group of many monks in turn approached the village of the heterodox [wanderers]. Having arrived, they exchanged greetings, and sat down to one side.²⁶

3. Then the wanderers asked the ⟨monks⟩:²⁷ "The recluse Gotama proclaims this teaching to his disciples: 'Monks, you should completely learn this teaching, entirely realize and understand it, and having realized and understood it, you should together receive it respectfully!'

"We also proclaim this teaching to our disciples: 'You should completely learn this teaching, entirely realize and understand it and, having realized and understood it, you should together receive it respectfully!' What is the difference between the recluse Gotama and us? ^[11] What is there that is superior or inferior? That is to say, he proclaims teachings and we also proclaim teachings, he instructs and we also instruct."

When the group of many monks had heard this statement, they expressed neither agreement nor disagreement, but got up from their seats and left. Then this group of many monks said to each other: "We should go and report this matter to the Blessed One."

Then the group of many monks entered Sāvattthī to collect alms and, having eaten and put away their robes and bowls, with the sitting mat over their left shoulders, they approached the Blessed One. They paid respect with their heads at his feet

²⁵ [23&24] Adopting the variant 論議 instead of 論義. The reference in EĀ 27.2 at T II 643c5 to a "village", 村, of these wanderers is unusual, and one would rather expect a reference to a park inhabited by them, 園, or to their place, 所.

²⁶ [25] Adopting a variant without 已在一面坐.

²⁷ [26] EĀ 27.2 at T II 643c7 here uses 道人, literally "men of the path", instead of the term 比丘 employed elsewhere in the discourse.

and sat down to one side. Then the group of many monks fully reported what had happened to the Blessed One.²⁸

5. At that time the Blessed One told the monks: "If those heterodox wanderers pose such a question, you should employ this rejoinder to reply to them: 'Is there a single final goal or are there many final goals?' If those brahmins are capable of giving an unbiased answer,²⁹ then they will answer like this: 'There is a single final goal, there are not many final goals.'

"[They should be asked]: 'As for that final goal, is the presence of sensual desire the final goal or is the absence of sensual desire the final goal?' [They will answer]: 'Regarding the final goal, the absence of sensual desire is to be regarded as the final goal.'

"[They should be asked]: 'How is that final goal, is the presence of ill-will the final goal or is the absence of ill-will the final goal?' [They will answer]: 'Regarding the final goal, the absence of ill-will is the final goal, the presence of ill-will is not the final goal.'

"[They should be asked]: 'How is it, is the presence of delusion the final goal or is the absence of delusion the final goal?' [They will answer]: 'Regarding the final goal, the absence of delusion is the final goal.'

"[They should be asked]: 'How is that final goal, is the presence of craving the final goal or is the absence of craving the

²⁸ [27] The beginning part of MN 11 and MĀ 103 differs considerably; cf. the discussion below.

²⁹ [28] EĀ 27.2 at T II 643c22 here switches from the earlier 外道/異學 to 梵志, whereas the parallel versions MN 11 and MĀ 103 consistently refer to *paribbājakas*/異學 in this section. Such variation in translation terminology of what would probably have been a single term in the Indic original appears to be a regular trait of the *Ekottarika-āgama*; cf. also above p. 14f note 20.

final goal?' [They will answer]: ^[12] 'Regarding the final goal, the absence of craving is the final goal.'

"[They should be asked]: 'How is that final goal, ^[644a] is the presence of clinging the final goal or is the absence of clinging the final goal?' [They will answer]: 'Regarding the final goal, the absence of clinging is the final goal.'³⁰

"[They should be asked]: 'How is that final goal, is it [to be attained] by one who is wise or by one who is not wise?' [They will answer]: 'Regarding the final goal, it is [to be attained] by one who is wise.'

"[They should be asked]: 'As for this final goal, is the final goal for one who is quarrelsome or is the final goal for one who is not quarrelsome?' They will answer:³¹ 'Regarding the final goal, that final goal is for one who is not quarrelsome.'³²

6. "Monks, there are these two views. What are the two views? That is, they are the view of existence and the view of non-existence."³³

7. "Whatever recluse or brahmin who does not understand the origin and the result of these two views will consequently have a mind with sensual desire, a mind with ill-will, a mind with delusion, a mind with craving, and a mind with clinging, he will be one who lacks wisdom, he will be with a quarrel-

³⁰ [29] In its series of enquiries, MĀ 103 at T I 590c16 presents craving and clinging together. MN 11 at MN I 65,1, however, agrees with EĀ 27.2 at T II 643c28 in treating these two as separate queries.

³¹ In the original, EĀ 27.2 at T II 644a5, the phrase 彼當作是說 occurs in the middle of the reply, probably through an accidental shift of text.

³² MN 11 at MN I 65,11 continues with another query not found in MĀ 103, whether the final goal is for one who enjoys and delights in conceptual proliferation, *papañca*. On the significance of *papañca* cf. the detailed study by Nāṇananda 1971.

³³ MN 11 at MN I 65,17 and MĀ 103 at T I 591a8 note that those who hold one of these two views will oppose those who adopt the other view.

some mind, and he will not take part in practice that is in conformity [with the final goal]. Such a person does not become liberated from birth, old age, disease, death, worry, dejection, pain, vexation, and from multifarious kinds of distress; he will not be liberated from *dukkha*.

8. "Whatever recluse or brahmin who understands [these two views] as they really are will not have delusion or ill-will in the mind and will continuously take part in practice that is in conformity [with the final goal]. [Such a person] will in turn attain liberation from birth, old age, disease, and death, I say, he now [cuts off] *dukkha* at its basic root.

"In this way, monks, there is this sublime teaching, which is reckoned an unbiased teaching. Whoever does not practice this unbiased teaching will succumb to five views.³⁴ [13]

9. "Now I shall explain the four [types of] clinging. What are the four [types of] clinging? They are reckoned to be clinging to sensual desires, clinging to views, clinging to rules, and clinging to a self.³⁵ These are reckoned to be the four [types of] clinging.

³⁴ EĀ 27.2 at T II 644a15: 五見. From the context it remains unclear what these "five views" refer to, nor is a similar statement found in the parallel versions. Judging from the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan counterpart, these could be the five views that affirm the survival of a percipient self after death, the survival of an impercipient self, the survival of a self that is neither-percipient-nor-non-percipient, the annihilation of the self, and the advocating of Nirvāṇa here and now; cf. MN 102 at MN II 228,23 and Skilling 1994: 314,3, as well as a reference to this fivefold division in SHT IV 32 folio 1 V6, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 109, and in Vibh 378,16.

³⁵ In regard to the fourth type of clinging, MN 11 at MN I 66,2 instead speaks of clinging to a doctrine of self, *attavādupādāna*. MĀ 103 at T I 591a22, however, agrees with EĀ 27.2 at T II 644a16 in reading 我受. The corresponding expression *ātmopādāna* can be found in fragment S 474 folio 12 R6, Tripāṭhī 1962: 43 (where the original apparently reads *atmopādāna*). For a discussion

10. "If there are recluses or brahmins who thoroughly understand the notion of 'clinging to sensual desires', although they understand the notion of clinging to sensual desires, it does not follow that they therefore thoroughly discern the notions of all [types of] clinging. They begin by discerning the notion of clinging to sensual desires, but then they do not discern the notions of clinging to views, clinging to rules, and clinging to a self. The reason is that those recluses or brahmins are not able to discern the notions of these three types of clinging. This is the reason.

11. "If there are recluses or brahmins [who, in an attempt] to discern thoroughly all [types of] clinging, discern clinging to sensual desires and clinging to views, [yet] they do not discern clinging to rules and clinging to a self. The reason is that those recluses or brahmins are not able to discern these two [types of] clinging.

12. "If there are recluses or brahmins [who attempt] to be able to discern thoroughly all [types] of clinging, yet they are not endowed with [such ability], as they are [only] able to discern clinging to sensual desires, clinging to views, and clinging to rules, but they do not discern clinging to a self. The reason is that those recluses or brahmins are not able to discern clinging to a self. That is the reason why these recluses or brahmins as well, in spite of their [attempt] to discern thoroughly all [types of] clinging, are also not endowed with [such ability].

"These are reckoned the four [types of] clinging. What is their significance, what is their distinctive mark? The four [types of] clinging are reckoned to arise because of craving.³⁶ [14]

of the significance of this difference in regard to the formulation of the fourth type of clinging cf. Anālayo 2008d.

³⁶ This short statement on craving as what underlies all four types of clinging is without a counterpart at this juncture in MN 11 and MĀ 103, which instead con-

13. "Like this, ^[644b] monks, this is a sublime teaching by properly discerning. If one does not practise [discerning] all of these [types of] clinging, one is not reckoned as unbiased. The reason is that the significance of the teachings is not easy to comprehend, not easy to understand, compared with the significance of what is not Dharma, what has not been proclaimed by a fully awakened Buddha.³⁷

14. "Monks, you should know, the Tathāgata is thoroughly able to discern all [types of] clinging in their entirety. Because of being able to discern all [types of] clinging in their entirety and in conformity [with the Dharma], he is able to discern clinging to sensual desires, clinging to views, clinging to a self, and clinging to rules.³⁸ The reason is that the Tathāgata thoroughly discerns all [types of] clinging, in conformity with the Dharma, not in contradiction to it.

16. "Because of what do these four [types of] clinging arise? Thus these four [types of] clinging arise because of craving, because of craving they grow, and this clinging comes into operation.³⁹

tinue directly with the theme of the proper teacher and only turn to craving, etc., later, when EĀ 27.2 also comes back to this theme and takes it up in more detail; cf. §16.

³⁷ MN 11 at MN I 66,32 and MĀ 103 at T I 591b3 differ in so far as they describe the inefficacy of placing confidence in a teacher who does not understand all four types of clinging. They thereby come back to a point made in their introductory sections, where the Buddha had taught four principles to the monks, the first of which is confidence in their teacher.

³⁸ ^[39] Notably at this point the sequence has changed, with clinging to rules mentioned last.

³⁹ ^[40] MN 11 at MN I 67,17 continues tracing the condition for the arising of clinging from craving via feeling, contact, the six sense-spheres, name-and-form, consciousness, and formation to ignorance. MĀ 103 at T I 591b11 pro-

17. "One who in turn becomes unable to give rise to these [types of] clinging, due to not giving rise to these [types of] clinging, he is not afraid. Due to not being afraid, he in turn attains Nirvāṇa, knowing as it really is: 'Birth and death have been extinguished, the holy life has been established, what had to be done has been done, there is no further existence to be experienced.'

"Like this, monks, there is this sublime teaching. If one understands it according to reality, then one is endowed with all teachings, with the root of the practice of the teachings. The reason is because this teaching is superbly sublime, proclaimed by all Buddhas, it is devoid of deficiency in regard to any form of practice.⁴⁰

"Therefore, monks, [in such a teaching] there exists a first-grade recluse, a second-grade recluse, a third-grade recluse, and a fourth-grade recluse. Beyond [these] there is no further recluse that is superior, that could surpass these. You can roar a lion's roar like this."⁴¹

Having heard what the Buddha had said, the monks were delighted and received it respectfully. [15]

Study

A noteworthy difference between the *Ekottarika-āgama* version and its two counterparts manifests right away with the beginning of the discourse. The *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions do not report an actual encounter between the monks and

ceeds directly from clinging to ignorance, without mentioning any of the intervening links.

⁴⁰ [42] This passage is without counterpart in the two parallel versions.

⁴¹ [43] MN 11 does not conclude with a lion's roar, which it only has at the beginning of the discourse; cf. MN I 64,1. MĀ 103 has its version of the lion's roar here and also at the beginning of the discourse, T I 590b10 and 591b23.

heterodox wanderers. Instead, according to them the Buddha delivered the present instruction to prepare the monks in case they should be challenged by heterodox wanderers.⁴² In these two versions, the challenge posed to the monks is only hypothetical, not an actual event.

The nature of the challenge also differs in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions, as the imaginary heterodox wanderers query the claim made by the monks that only among them the four types of true recluse can be found, whereas other dispensations are devoid of these. On hearing this, and one might think quite reasonably, the heterodox wanderers question the basis for such a proclamation.

According to the Buddha's instruction, the monks should reply by proclaiming that the Buddha had taught them four principles as a basis for their proclamation. These four principles are:

- they have confidence in their teacher,
- they have confidence in their teaching,
- they are practising their moral obligations,
- they live in harmony with and feel affection for other disciples of the Buddha.⁴³

On hearing this, and one might again think quite reasonably, the heterodox wanderers state that the same applies to them as well, in that they have confidence in their own teacher, etc. When faced with this reply, the monks should ask a series of questions about the nature of the final goal.

Compared with the *Ekottarika-āgama* account, this progression seems somewhat artificial. It would be beside the point to

⁴² [44] MN 11 at MN I 64,2 and MĀ 103 at T I 590b10.

⁴³ [45] In relation to the third principle, MĀ 103 at T I 590b21 adds that they also have confidence in regard to their moral obligations, 信戒德具足, something that, although not mentioned explicitly in MN 11 at MN I 64,13, would be to some degree implicit in the circumstance that they were willing to fulfil them.

present confidence in one's own teacher, etc., as a ground for making a claim in a discussion with those who follow a different teacher. Instead of presenting such an argument, one would expect the Buddha to be able to devise more intelligent ways of preparing his monks for such a situation. Unlike the quite reasonable queries made by the heterodox wanderers, [16] the four principles to be employed by the Buddhist monks do not seem to be particularly convincing assertions.⁴⁴

The same is also the case for the claim that these four principles are intended to defend. In fact this is the lion's roar found in all versions, although the *Ekottarika-āgama* account differs in that it has this lion's roar only at its conclusion. In the two parallel versions, the lion's roar stands already at the beginning of the discourse. According to them, the Buddha started the delivery of this particular teaching by encouraging his monks to roar a lion's roar, and the remainder of the discourse is an explanation of what the monks can base themselves on when making such a proclamation.

Besides the positioning within the discourse, the nature of the lion's roar also differs. In the *Ekottarika-āgama* account, the lion's roar simply affirms that, in a teaching that is based on understanding all types of clinging, the four true recluses can be found. A discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* clarifies that the reference to the four true recluses stands for those who have reached the four levels of awakening.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ [46] Manné 1996: 21 comments that "it is difficult to see how these points support the challenge, the *sihanāda*, at the beginning of this sutta."

⁴⁵ [47] AN 4.239 at AN II 238,7; cf. also the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* and its parallels, which clarify that the four types of true recluses can only be found in a teaching that involves the practice of the noble eightfold path, DN 16 at DN II 151,15, DĀ 2 at T I 25a26, T 6 at T I 187c7, T 7 at T I 204a5, and fragment 485 no. 216 Rb–c, Waldschmidt 1950: 75; cf. also Waldschmidt 1948: 230, Bateau 1971a: 104, and Kiblinger 2005: 34.

The lion's roars in the *Cūlasīhanāda-sutta* and the *Madhyama-āgama* version go further than the one in the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse. After affirming the existence of the four types of true recluse in their own dispensation, according to these two versions the monks should also proclaim, as part of their lion's roar, that the dispensations of others are devoid of true recluses.⁴⁶

The *Ekottarika-āgama* version of the lion's roar does not have the somewhat derogatory remark found in the parallel versions, in spite of the fact that in its account the occasion for the lion's roar is an actual encounter with and a challenge by others. In contrast, in the two parallel versions the adversaries are only imagined.

Moreover, in the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse the lion's roar comes as a natural climax at the end of the discourse, whereas its positioning at the beginning of the other versions conveys a considerably more provocative impression. In sum, the lion's roar in the *Ekottarika-āgama* breathes a considerably less competitive spirit than its counterparts. [17]

This would better accord with the lack of competitiveness attributed in other discourses to the Buddha.⁴⁷ According to a dis-

⁴⁶ [48] MN 11 at MN I 63,29: *suññā parappavādā samaṇehi aññe* (B^c: *samaṇebhi aññehi* and S^c: *samaṇehi aññebhi*). MĀ 103 at T I 590b13: 異道一切空無沙門梵志. Of the versions of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, only T 6 at T I 187c8 does not have a comparable remark. The same type of remark can also be found in AN 4.239 at AN II 238,8, SĀ 979 at T II 254b12, and SĀ² 110 at T II 413c11.

⁴⁷ [49] As Freiberger 2000b: 5 points out, to declare that the teachings of others are devoid of [true] recluses implies "that the ideal of 'what an ascetic ought to be' is realized only in the Buddhist saṅgha", which does seem to spring from a competitive attitude. In contrast, Wijebandara 1993: 98 notes that in general the discourses give the impression that "characteristic of the Buddha's attitude is its unpolemic nature", which he relates to the circumstance that "the Buddha did not believe that to win in argument meant one held a correct view." I already drew attention to the contrast between the lion's roars in EĀ 27.2 and its parallels in Anālayo 2005: 6f.

course in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and its parallel in the *Samyukta-āgama*, the Buddha claimed quite explicitly that he did not dispute with others, only others might dispute with him.⁴⁸

For evaluating the kind of lion's roar a Buddha might teach to his disciples, a telling indication can be gathered from an injunction given in the *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel on the proper modes of speech to be employed when teaching. The two versions agree that one should avoid disparaging others, and instead just teach the Dharma.⁴⁹ This injunction seems to stand in some degree of contrast to the type of lion's roar found in the *Cūlasīhanāda-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel. According to these discourses, the Buddha actually encouraged his disciples to proclaim that the dispensations of others are devoid of true recluses.

When evaluated within the context of other passages that present the Buddha or his disciples roaring a lion's roar, the lion's roars in the *Cūlasīhanāda-sutta* and the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse stand out even more for their unusual nature.

According to other discourses, when actually being defamed by others, the Buddha and Sāriputta respond by simply proclaiming what is true on their side as their lion's roar, without counter-attacking. This is particularly evident in the instance in which Sāriputta is accused by one of his fellow monks of having slighted the latter. Without in any way referring to the other monk, according to the different records of this event Sāriputta simply illustrates the humble nature of his mind with various similes, making it clear that for one like him it is not possible to undertake the type of action of which he has been accused.⁵⁰ The three versions

⁴⁸ [50] SN 22.94 at SN III 138,26: *nāhaṃ ... lokena vivadāmi, loko ... mayā vivadati* and SĀ 37 at T II 8b16: 我不與世間諍, 世間與我諍.

⁴⁹ [51] MN 139 at MN III 231,27 and MĀ 169 at T I 701c17.

⁵⁰ [52] AN 9.11 at AN IV 374,25, MĀ 24 at T I 453a4, and EĀ 37.6 at T II 713a9.

agree that as a result of Sāriputta's lion's roar the other monk comes forward and asks to be forgiven for his wrong accusation. This incident reveals the power of the lion's roar in being a non-contentious but at the same time fearless proclamation of truth.

In sum, it seems that, in the case of the *Cūlasīhanāda-sutta* and its Chinese parallels, the type of lion's roar found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version fits better with the implications of a lion's roar reflected in other discourses. Based on an actual challenge by others, the Buddha teaches his disciples that they should respond to such a challenge by first establishing common ground with their challengers through ascertaining the nature of the final goal. Once agreement on the nature of the final goal has been reached, [18] they should proceed to point out that progress towards this final goal requires insight into all four types of clinging. This much clarified, they can then conclude with a lion's roar that the four stages of spiritual perfection are to be found in a teaching that is based on insight into these four types of clinging.

In contrast, the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions start off with a lion's roar that has a derogatory nuance to it and then try to back this up with arguments that do not fulfil this purpose. In contrast to their presentation of the type of lion's roar a Buddha would teach his disciples, the main aspect of a lion's roar in other early Buddhist discourses appears to be a fearless proclamation of a truth in a way that is not derogatory. Its main functions are to clarify wrong allegations and to present one's position in a debate, or else to stir up a sense of urgency as a teaching method aimed at encouraging progress on the path to liberation.

Kakacūpama-sutta (MN 21)

Introduction

In the present chapter I study a peculiar feature of the *Ekottarika-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation, namely the occurrence of discourses in this collection that combine material which in other transmission lineages forms separate discourses, a phenomenon to which I refer as "discourse merger".¹

My exploration begins with a survey of a range of instances of such apparent discourse merger in order to offer a general impression of this characteristic of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection. Then I proceed to a case study based on translating the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallels to the *Kakacūpama-sutta* and the *Alagaddūpama-sutta*. In the final part of the article I take up a few more instances of discourse merger in the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection that confirm conclusions that suggest themselves from the case study.

Cases of Apparent Discourse Merger in the *Ekottarika-āgama*

Discourse merger as a characteristic feature of the *Ekottarika-āgama* has already been examined by Lamotte in a study published nearly fifty years ago. In this study Lamotte comes to the conclusion that the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection contains an abundance of composite discourses artificially forged by putting side by side

* Originally published in 2014/2015 under the title "Discourse Merger in the *Ekottarika-āgama* (2), The Parallels to the *Kakacūpama-sutta* and the *Alagaddūpama-sutta*" in the *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 12: 63–90.

¹ In Anālayo 2008a: 10f I briefly drew attention to this pattern; cf. also below p. 87ff.

discourses or portions of discourses borrowed from other canonical texts.²

The discourse studied by Lamotte, found among the Tens, begins with an eulogy of Sāriputta by *devas*.³ Then comes an episode in which a *yakkha* hits Sāriputta on the head while the latter is seated in diamond meditation.⁴ Next follows another tale in which the monk Sañjīva, a disciple of the former Buddha Kakusandha, has similarly attained diamond concentration and is mistaken for dead by passers-by who attempt to cremate him. He survives the cremation with body and robes intact. After relating this episode, the Buddha describes Sāriputta's wisdom, before speaking a set of stanzas in praise of Sāriputta. [64]

Lamotte identifies distinct sources for each of the five parts of the discourse,⁵ concluding that this case confirms the tendency evident in the *Ekottarika-āgama* of discourses artificially forged together.

² Lamotte 1967: 106: "une ... particularité de l'*Ekottara* sur laquelle je voudrais attirer l'attention est l'abondance des Sūtra composites, artificiellement forgés en mettant bout à bout des Sūtra ou des portions de Sūtra empruntés à d'autres textes canoniques."

³ EĀ 48.6 at T II 7939a.

⁴ On this expression cf. Anālayo 2011c: 301f note 180 and below p. 443ff.

⁵ Regarding the parallels to one of these episodes, involving Sañjīva, it is noteworthy that the discourse counterparts in MN 50 at MN I 333,17, MĀ 131 at T I 620c17, T 66 at T I 864c14, and T 67 at T I 867a27 (the episode is also found in D 4094 *ju* 75b4 or Q 5595 *tu* 85a8 and parts of it are preserved in Sanskrit fragment SHT IV 412 folio 8V, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 26f) also report another episode to have taken place at the time of the Buddha Kakusandha (involving mischief done by Māra), and this episode has a counterpart in another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 45.4 at T II 772b9 (the preceding part of EĀ 45.4 at T II 772a26 reports Māra preventing the Buddha Gotama from receiving alms; for a similar tale cf. SN 4.18 at SN I 114,6 and SĀ 1095 at T II 288a13).

In addition to the case studied by Lamotte, an example of apparent discourse merger can be found in a discourse from the Threes of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which combines elements that in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Madhyama-āgama* are found in the *Cūlagosinṅga-sutta* and the *Upakkilesa-sutta* as well as in their respective parallels.⁶ This case is somewhat complex, as it also shows the type of doubling of textual passages that is common for early discourses in general, which in the present case is evident in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* parallels to this *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse.

The *Cūlagosinṅga-sutta* and the *Upakkilesa-sutta*, as well as their two *Madhyama-āgama* parallels, share a description of the Buddha not being recognized by the park keeper of a grove where the monk Anuruddha and his two companions live. They also share a detailed account of the harmonious cohabitation of these three monks.

A difference is that the *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel take place at Kosambī and their narrative introduction refers to a quarrel that had broken out among the monks

⁶ My survey of apparent instances of discourse merger in this chapter is not intended to be comprehensive, but merely aims at providing examples by way of illustration. I also focus only on instances that involve an apparent merger of material found among the early discourses. Thus I do not take up cases like, e.g., EĀ 45.1 at T II 769b15, which combines the story of Māgandiya trying to offer his daughter to the Buddha (for a Pāli counterpart cf. Dh-p-a III 193,1) with a version of the *Valāhassa-jātaka* (cf. Jā 196 at Jā II 127,23). In relation to the Māgandiya tale I would nevertheless like to note an entertaining element in EĀ 45.1 at T II 769c6 where, after the Buddha has refused to accept Māgandiya's daughter, an old monk urges the Buddha to accept, adding that otherwise he was ready to accept the girl for himself. Needless to say, the Buddha sternly rebukes him for this suggestion. On old monks in Pāli texts cf. also von Hinüber 1997: 72–74.

at Kosambī.⁷ In contrast, the *Cūlagosīṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel take place at Nādikā and their narrative introduction does not have any explicit relationship to the quarrel among the Kosambī monks.⁸ The main body of the respective discourses also differs substantially, as in the *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel the Buddha gives detailed meditation instructions to help these three monks to surmount problems in their meditation practice.⁹ In contrast, the *Cūlagosīṅga-sutta* and its parallels report the range of attainments eventually reached by the same three monks.¹⁰

The actual discourses must be depicting two different occasions, since it is hardly possible for the same group of monks to receive meditation instructions on how they can overcome a series of obstacles to the attainment of absorption and then, on the same occasion, be able to report their successful mastery of all four absorptions and the four immaterial attainments. A substantial period of time must be allowed to have elapsed between their reception of instructions on how to overcome obstructions to absorption attainment and their ability to declare their attainments.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse is situated at Kosambī and begins by reporting the quarrel among the Kosambī monks,¹¹ [65] similar to the *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel. Yet it introduces Anuruddha and his companions by describing their mastery of the four absorptions, thereby paralleling the *Cūlago-*

⁷ MN 128 at MN III 152,24 and its parallel MĀ 72 at T I 532c10.

⁸ MN 31 at MN I 205,15 and its parallel MĀ 185 at T I 729b29.

⁹ MN 128 at MN III 157,28 and its parallel MĀ 72 at T I 536c18; cf. also SHT VI 1384, Bechert and Wille 1989: 109, D 4094 *ju* 276a3 or Q 5595 *thu* 20a5, and an Uighur fragment, von Gabain 1954: 27f.

¹⁰ MN 31 at MN I 207,30, MĀ 185 at T I 730a29, and Senior Kharoṣṭhī fragment 12, Silverlock 2015.

¹¹ EĀ 24.8 at T II 626b11.

siṅga-sutta and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel.¹² Although the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse does appear to have merged two originally different occasions, in this case the situation becomes complex due to the doubling of the introductory narration in the *Cūlagosīṅga-sutta* and the *Upakkilesa-sutta*, as well as in their *Madhyama-āgama* parallels. Especially the detail of the Buddha not being recognized by the park keeper could hardly have occurred twice.¹³ Such a doubling of textual passages is a recurrent occurrence in orally transmitted material and comparative study of the early discourses can bring to light several instances of this type in the Pāli discourses and the other *Āgamas*.

A simpler instance of the phenomenon of apparent discourse merger can be found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection. The discourse begins with an explanation of each of the links of dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*),¹⁴ similar to a discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya*.¹⁵ Next the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse reports Ānanda's statement that dependent arising, even though deep, does not appear that deep to him.¹⁶ Such a statement is also found in the *Mahānidāna-sutta* and its parallels.¹⁷ Whereas in the *Mahānidāna-sutta* and its parallels the Buddha counters Ānanda's presumption with a detailed exposition of dependent arising, in the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse he instead counters it by relating the tale of an *asura* king who taught his son that the ocean is

¹² EĀ 24.8 at T II 629a24.

¹³ For a more detailed discussion cf. Anālayo 2011c: 203ff.

¹⁴ EĀ 49.5 at T II 797b15.

¹⁵ SN 12.2 at SN II 2,12.

¹⁶ EĀ 49.5 at T II 797c22.

¹⁷ DN 15 at DN II 55,8, DĀ 13 at T I 60b6, T 14 at T I 242a2, and MĀ 97 at T I 578b14; T 52 at T I 844b18 differs in so far as Ānanda rather affirms the profundity of dependent arising, which according to Vetter 1994b: 142 would be the result of a later change.

deeper than the youngster had thought. The tale ends with the indication that the *asura* king was the Buddha in a former life and the son was Ānanda in a former life.¹⁸

Another example of apparent discourse merger occurs among the Sevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The discourse offers a description of the destruction of the world by the successive appearance of seven suns, an event similarly depicted in a discourse among the Sevens of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, in parallels preserved in Sanskrit fragments, in a *Madhyama-āgama* discourse, in an individual translation preserved in Chinese, and in a discourse quotation in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikāṭīkā*, extant in Tibetan. The central topic taken up at the outset of these versions is impermanence,¹⁹ which the description of the destruction of the world illustrates.

Later texts like the *Lokapaññatti*, *Lokaprajñapti*, *Visuddhimagga*, and *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, which also take up the motif of the seven suns, tend to focus increasingly on cosmological matters.²⁰

[66] In line with this tendency, the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse precedes the appearance of the seven suns with a general cosmological description.²¹ After the episode of the seven suns, the *Ekot-*

¹⁸ EĀ 49.5 at T II 798a12.

¹⁹ AN 7.62 at AN IV 100,5, Dietz 2007: 105f (recurrent references to impermanence in a Schøyen fragment), MĀ 8 at T I 428c9, T 30 at T I 811c24, and Dietz 2007: 95,3 (the introductory passage on impermanence in the Tibetan discourse quotation).

²⁰ Dietz 2007: 93 notes that the descriptions of the appearance of the seven suns in the *Lokapaññatti*, *Lokaprajñapti*, *Visuddhimagga*, and *Śikṣāsamuccaya* "are marked by the omission of the refrain ... 'all compounded things are impermanent etc.'", thereby exemplifying how such cosmological interests can result in a loss of focus on the main teaching about impermanence.

²¹ EĀ 40.1 at T II 735c15 begins with the monks discussing how even Mount Meru is bound to be destroyed, which the Buddha then takes as the starting point for giving a detailed description of Mount Meru and other mountains.

tarika-āgama version continues with an account of the formation of the world,²² which leads up to a description of the gradual decline of originally luminous beings similar to what can be found in the *Aggañña-sutta* and its parallels.²³ The resultant and rather long *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse gives the impression of being the outcome of a combination of originally unrelated textual pieces, which have been placed together to satisfy an interest in cosmological descriptions.

Another example is a discourse among the Eights of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which begins with the topic of the observance day (*uposatha*) and in this respect is similar to an exposition found in three consecutive discourses in the *Ānguttara-nikāya* and their parallels.²⁴ In the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse this topic then leads on to the theme of the appearance of the Buddha Maitreya in the future, to a past life of the Buddha as a princess,²⁵ a tale found in the Pāli tradition as a *jātaka* outside of the *Jātaka* collection, and to the meeting of the bodhisattva with the past Buddha Dīpaṃkara.

²² EĀ 40.1 at T II 737a5.

²³ DN 27 at DN III 84,26, Waldschmidt 1970 (Sanskrit fragments), DĀ 5 at T I 37b28, T 10 at T I 218b14, MĀ 154 at T I 674b16, and a discourse quotation in D 4094 *ju* 192b1 or Q 5595 *tu* 219b4; cf. also the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 338,13.

²⁴ In AN 8.41 at AN IV 248,20 and AN 8.42 at AN IV 251,6 the Buddha addresses the monks on the topic of the observance day; in AN 8.43 at AN IV 255,17 he instead addresses Visākhā. The parallels MĀ 202 at T I 770a20, T 87 at T I 911a2, and T 88 at T I 912a24 correspond in this respect to AN 8.43, whereas T 89 at T I 913a21 and the discourse under discussion, EĀ 43.2 at T II 756c17 (which also differs in so far as it does not compare the observing of the eightfold *uposatha* to the conduct of arahants), are addressed to monks and thus closer in this respect to AN 8.41 and AN 8.42.

²⁵ EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a26; for a translation and comparative study of this past life of the Buddha as a princess cf. below p. 413ff.

The meeting of the bodhisattva who was to become the Buddha Gotama with the former Buddha Dīpaṃkara recurs in a discourse among the Nines of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.²⁶ This discourse precedes its reference to this meeting by reporting how the Buddha gave Ānanda a teaching on the importance of friendship, *kal-yāṇamittatā*, which has parallels in a discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, Sanskrit fragments, two discourses in the *Samyukta-āgama*, and a parallel preserved in Tibetan translation.²⁷ Just as the discourse from the Eights of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the present discourse from the Nines appears to be the result of a combination of originally unrelated textual pieces.

In his study of discourse merger mentioned earlier, Lamotte also notes that the compilers responsible for such forging at times took some liberty with their sources by developing and transforming them in order to introduce Mahāyāna notions.²⁸ The occurrence of Mahāyāna-related material in such apparent discourse merger can also be seen in a discourse among the Nines and another discourse among the Elevens of the collection.

The discourse found among the Nines relates an episode where Sakka finds his throne being occupied by a *yakkha*, an event similarly recorded in a discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and its paral-

²⁶ EĀ 44.10 at T II 768c20.

²⁷ SN 45.2 at SN V 2,15 and its parallels in a Sanskrit fragment, SHT I 533 folio 106 R3ff, Bechert and Wille 1989: 215f, as well as in SĀ 726 at T II 195b18, SĀ 768 at T II 200c6, and D 300 *sha* 305a1 or Q 966 *lu* 334b4; corresponding to EĀ 44.10 at T II 768c9.

²⁸ Lamotte 1967: 116 concludes that EĀ 48.6 "est un exemple typique de ces Sūtra composites artificiellement forgés par les diascévastes de l'*Ekottarāgama* en mettant bout à bout d'autres Sūtra ou fragments de Sūtra. Mais ces compilateurs prennent quelques libertés avec leur sources, les développent et, au besoin, les transforment pour introduire des convictions qui leur sont chères et généralement inspirées du Mahāyāna."

lels.²⁹ Based on this tale, the Buddha then describes his practice of *mettā* for seven years and its beneficial results, [67] a description found in a range of other discourses, including another discourse in the same *Ekottarika-āgama*.³⁰ Next in the discourse under discussion Ānanda intervenes and queries what would happen if someone wished to go forth when no Buddha has arisen, in reply to which the Buddha affirms that even just going forth on one's own will enable one to reach the destruction of the influxes.³¹ This then leads on to a discussion of the three *yānas* and to the Buddha's affirmation that these are taught by Buddhas of past, present, and future times.³²

The reference to the three *yānas* shows the influence of Mahāyāna thought in the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection in a form not attested in Pāli discourses or other Chinese *Āgamas*. Such influences form a recurrent trait of this collection elsewhere and are not confined to what appear to be cases of discourse merger.³³

²⁹ SN 11.22 at SN I 237,16 and parallels in a Sanskrit fragment, Waldschmidt 1959: 241, SĀ 1107 at T II 291a28, and SĀ² 36 at T II 385a7, corresponding to EĀ 45.5 at T II 772c16.

³⁰ AN 7.58 at AN IV 89,4 and It 1.22 at It 15,5, with parallels in Sanskrit fragments, Tripāthī 1995: 168ff, SHT IV 412.32, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 64ff, MĀ 61 at T I 496b5, MĀ 138 at T I 645c21, and EĀ 10.7 at T II 565b28; corresponding to EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a1.

³¹ EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a20.

³² EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a25: 過去將來三世諸佛, 盡當說三乘之法.

³³ Pace Legittimo 2014: 70, who comments on the consideration of the *Ekottarika-āgama* as "the most Mahayanised Āgama among the extant Āgamas. This last point has been repeated over the last decades in Buddhist scholarship 'like a mantra'. Nonetheless ... the mere emphasis in the *Ekottarikāgama* on certain topics that gained an increased importance in the early phases of Mahāyāna does not suffice to categorize these issues as Mahayanic. Many of these topics are also discussed – although with less emphasis – in the other extant parallel versions of the early sūtras." In Anālayo 2013c (cf. below p. 443ff) I have shown that the *Ekottarika-āgama* not only refers to the three vehicles and the conduct

As already mentioned, another example of Mahāyāna-related material influencing a case of apparent discourse merger can be found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The discourse in question starts with an exposition of the fruitfulness of giving to the General Sīha, found similarly in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* and its parallels, as well as in another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.³⁴ In the discourse under discussion the topic of giving leads on to an invitation for a meal, in relation to which *devas* inform the General Sīha of the level of awakening attained by the monastic recipients of the food offering, information in which he shows little interest. This part has parallels in a discourse in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* and its *Madhyama-āgama* counterparts, where the one who is informed by the *devas* is rather the householder Uggā.³⁵ In the *Ekottarika-āgama* version the Buddha then lauds Sīha for giving with the impartial mind of a bodhisattva.³⁶

The two cases from the Nines and Elevens just mentioned also display another noteworthy feature, namely a doubling of parallels. Whereas it is less surprising to find the Buddha's description of his practice of *mettā* for seven years in two different *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses, the fact that the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* discourse

of a lay bodhisattva, but also mentions the *ekajātipratibaddha* bodhisattva; it records an exposition on the six *pāramitās* given to the bodhisattva Maitreya as well as a visit paid by a monk to another Buddha in a different Buddhafield who then teleports monks from that Buddhafield so that they can receive teachings from the Buddha of this Buddhafield; and it even uses the term *hīnayāna*. These are clearly elements not found in other *Āgamas* or their Pāli *Nikāya* counterparts. Thus the characterization of the *Ekottarika-āgama* as having distinct Mahāyāna elements that set it apart from other extant collections of early discourse is a correct assessment and not merely a mantra repeated by scholars.

³⁴ AN 5.34 at AN III 39,6, with parallels in a Sanskrit fragment, Pauly 1959: 242ff, and in EĀ 32.10 at T II 680c24; corresponding to EĀ 52.6 at T II 826a4.

³⁵ AN 8.22 at AN IV 215,7 and MĀ 38 at T I 481a12.

³⁶ EĀ 52.6 at T II 826b25: 斯名菩薩之心, 平等惠施, 若菩薩布施之時。

to Sīha also has two *Ekottarika-āgama* parallels, and that these differ from each other, is remarkable.

A doubling of discourses as such is not an unusual feature and is also found in the Pāli *Nikāyas*, but such occurrences usually involve the doubling of the same text. That is, the same discourse or part of a discourse has been allotted to more than one collection, presumably reflecting its popularity among reciters of different collections. What makes the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the discourse to Sīha and other such instances in the same collection noteworthy is that such doublings can involve substantially different versions of what in other transmission lineages is a single discourse.³⁷ [68]

An instance of such doubling as part of an apparent discourse merger can be found in relation to a discourse among the Tens. The discourse begins with the Buddha's refusal to recite the code of discipline, because an impure monk is present in the assembly, an episode also recorded in a discourse in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* and a range of parallels.³⁸ The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse then

³⁷ A doubling that does not involve discourse merger can also be observed, e.g., in the case of two versions of the Buddha's encounter with a drunken elephant, EĀ 18.5 at T II 590c11 and EĀ 49.9 at T II 803b29; for a Pāli version of this encounter cf. Vin II 194,37. Although recording the same event, these two discourses differ substantially from each other, as do the verse(s) spoken by the Buddha on this occasion, giving the impression that the two versions stem from originally separate sources. Another doubling involves the tale of the former king Ma(k)hādeva, EĀ 1 at T II 551b26 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c21; cf. below p. 165ff. Besides differences in content, one of the two versions shows such distinctively different Chinese translation terminology as to make it safe to conclude that it could not stem from the translator(s) responsible for the other version as well as for most of what is now the remainder of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

³⁸ AN 8.20 at AN IV 204,28, MĀ 37 at T I 478b18, MĀ 122 at T I 610c27, T 33 at T I 817a12, T 34 at T I 818a13, T 35 at T I 819a7, T 64 at T I 862b11, an event also recorded in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 180c26, the

continues with a description of the seven Buddhas of the past and their assemblies,³⁹ a piece that has a counterpart in the *Mahāpa-dāna-sutta* and its parallels,⁴⁰ among which one parallel is also found as a discourse in the same section of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁴¹

Another instance of doubling combined with apparent merger corresponds to what in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and in each of the two *Samyukta-āgamas* are single discourses in which the Buddha encourages Mahākassapa to give up his ascetic practices.⁴² One version of this episode occurs among the Ones of the *Ekottarika-āgama*,⁴³ the other version is found among the Sevens of the same collection.⁴⁴

The parallel found among the Sevens continues from the basic episode common to the different versions with the need of Mahākassapa to remain until the coming of the next Buddha, clearly a case of expansion with later material.⁴⁵ The parallel among the Ones has the unique feature that here Mahākassapa proclaims that he would have become a Paccekabuddha, had he not met the Bud-

Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 239b9, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Dutt 1984c: 107,2 (abbreviated reference), and the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Vin II 236,9; corresponding to EĀ 48.2 at T II 786a28.

³⁹ EĀ 48.2 at T II 786c4; Kuan 2013a: 629 comments that possibly Zhú Fóniàn "borrowed the legend of the seven Buddhas ... and inserted it into EĀ 48.2"; on EĀ 48.2 cf. also Palumbo 2013: 126f.

⁴⁰ DN 14 at DN II 2,15, Sanskrit fragments, Waldschmidt 1956: 68ff and Fukita 2003: 36ff (cf. also Wille 2009: 80), DĀ 1 at T I 1c19, T 2 at T I 150a18, and T 4 at T I 159b12; cf. also T 212 at T IV 683c24.

⁴¹ EĀ 48.4 at T II 790a28.

⁴² SN 16.5 at SN II 202,6, SĀ 1141 at T II 301c7, and SĀ² 116 at T II 416b8.

⁴³ EĀ 12.6 at T II 570a23.

⁴⁴ EĀ 41.5 at T II 746a21; cf. also Anālayo 2013c: 13 notes 29 and 30.

⁴⁵ The relationship between Mahākassapa and the coming of Maitreya recurs in another discourse, EĀ 48.3 at T II 787c2 (= T 453 at T XIV 421a6; cf. also Anālayo 2015h: 21 note 48), which also exhibits distinct features of lateness.

dha.⁴⁶ The Paccakabuddha motif does not occur in any of the other versions, including the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel found among the Sevens of the collection.

It is against the background of such instances of discourse merger in the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection that the case study to which I now turn is best evaluated.

The *Kakacūpama-sutta* and the *Alagaddūpama-sutta*

The main topic of the *Kakacūpama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel is the need for patience. The two discourses begin by reporting that the monk Moliya Phagguṇa had been closely associating with the nuns, becoming angry if anyone should be critical of them, just as the nuns would get upset if anyone should find fault with Moliya Phagguṇa.⁴⁷ On being informed of this, the Buddha reminds Moliya Phagguṇa of the fact that he has gone forth and thus should not behave in this way, but should rather train in developing patience. [69]

The Buddha then describes the proper attitude of former monks who followed his injunction to take only a single meal. Next he relates the tale of the housewife Vedehikā reputed for her patience who, on being tested by her maidservant Kālī, turns out to be rather impatient. The Buddha encourages the monks in his audience to remain patient in any situation, which he illustrates with various comparisons that lead up to the simile of the saw, according to which one should remain without hostility even if cruel bandits were to cut one to pieces.

⁴⁶ For a translation and study cf. below p. 249ff.

⁴⁷ MN 21 at MN I 122,11 and its parallel MĀ 193 at T I 744a7. SN 12.32 at SN II 50,19 and its parallel MĀ 23 at T I 451a6 (cf. also a Sanskrit fragment, Nagashima 2009: 138) report that Moliya Phagguṇa eventually disrobed, which Sāriputta then took as an indication that Moliya Phagguṇa did not find satisfaction in the Buddha's teaching.

In the case of the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, the main theme is dogmatic adherence to views, contrasted with the realization of not-self. The two discourses begin with the monk Ariṭṭha's mistaken belief that sensual indulgence is not an obstacle for progress on the path to awakening.⁴⁸ Being reproached by other monks for this view, Ariṭṭha holds on to it firmly.⁴⁹ The Buddha clarifies Ariṭṭha's view to be a misunderstanding and to be in contrast to what he had taught.

This leads on to a warning that mere learning of various teachings in the form of the nine (or twelve) *aṅgas*,⁵⁰ without examining their meaning, is comparable to grasping a snake in such a way that one will get bitten.⁵¹ The teachings should be considered as comparable to a raft, which enables crossing over, instead of being something to hold on to for its own sake. In both versions the Buddha continues by examining six standpoints for views, before giv-

⁴⁸ MN 22 at MN I 130,2 and its parallel MĀ 200 at T I 763b3.

⁴⁹ His firmly holding on to his view forms part of the introductory narration to a *pācittiya* regulation against such dogmatic attitudes in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 682a9, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 367a3, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 56c12, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1442 at T XXIII 840b21, with its Sanskrit and Tibetan counterparts in Yamagiwa 2001: 86,7 and 87,8, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 106a3, and the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Vin IV 133,32. Vin II 27,26 reports that Ariṭṭha eventually disobeyed.

⁵⁰ On the *aṅgas* cf. Anālayo 2016a.

⁵¹ Gombrich 1996: 23 explains that "the simile rests on the fact that 'misunderstood' in Pali, *duggahīta*, literally means 'badly grasped'. A man who hunts a water snake and when he finds it grasps it by the coils or tail gets bitten and may even die, because he has grasped it badly." Similarly, in the case of those like Ariṭṭha "the advantages they derive from their learning are being able to criticise others and to quote; but they do not get what should be the real benefit of such learning. Because they have misunderstood the teaching, it only does them harm."

ing a penetrative exposition of not-self that leads up to a simile of people carrying away twigs from Jeta's Grove.

A discourse found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, translated below, begins with Moliya Phagguna associating closely with the nuns, but then relates this to the issue of sexual intercourse and the simile of the snake.⁵²

Translation of EĀ 50.8

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying in Sāvathī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park.

2. At that time the monk Moliya Phagguna was going about together with the nuns, furthermore the nuns were in turn also fond of going about together with him. Their being together [was such] that there were people who made fun of the monk Moliya Phagguna.⁵³ The nuns thereupon became angry about this, they were upset and displeased. When people spoke badly about the nuns, then the monk Phagguna also got upset and displeased. [70]

3. Then a group of many monks said to the monk Phagguna: "Why are you now [so] intimate with the nuns and do the nuns in turn also associate with you [so much]?"⁵⁴ Phagguna replied: "Now as I understand the teaching and discipline proclaimed by

⁵² The translated text is EĀ 50.8 at T II 812c2 to 813b22.

⁵³ MN 21 and MĀ 193 do not mention that people were making fun of Moliya Phagguna.

⁵⁴ This enquiry has no counterpart in either MN 21 and MĀ 193 or MN 22 and MĀ 200. In MN 21 at MN I 122,21 and MĀ 193 at T I 744a11 a single monk or a group of monks report to the Buddha that Moliya Phagguna associates excessively with the nuns, whereupon the Buddha calls him to his presence. In MN 22 at MN I 130,7 and MĀ 200 at T I 763b5 monks hear about Ariṭṭha's mistaken view and confront him on this matter, without any reference to nuns or his behaviour.

the Tathāgata,⁵⁵ for one who transgresses by having sexual intercourse, this does not suffice for being reckoned an offence."⁵⁶

The group of many monks said in turn: "Stop, stop, monk,⁵⁷ do not say this! Do not slander the teachings proclaimed by the Tathāgata! Slandering the teachings proclaimed by the Tathāgata is not a small transgression. Moreover, the Blessed One has with innumerable means spoken about the defilement of sexual intercourse. That one who engages in sexual intercourse does not incur an offence is not at all reasonable. You should relinquish this evil view right away. By upholding it you will experience immeasurable *dukkha* for a long time." Yet the monk Phagguṇa intentionally associated [with the nuns] and did not change his behaviour.⁵⁸

4. Then the group of many monks approached the Blessed One, paid homage with their heads at his feet, and said to the Blessed One: "In the city of Sāvattḥī there is one monk, called

⁵⁵ Adopting the variant 戒 instead of 誠.

⁵⁶ MN 22 at MN I 130,6 just speaks of engaging in things that are obstructive, *antarāyikā dhammā*, and MĀ 200 at T I 763b4 of "engaging in sensuality", 行欲. Here EĀ 50.8 at T II 812c10 is more outspoken with its reference to 犯婬. In the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, which like the *Ekottarika-āgama* is attributed to the translator Zhù Fóniàn (竺佛念), 犯婬 occurs in several contexts related to the *pārājika* of engaging in sexual intercourse; cf., e.g., T 1428 at T XXII 809a21, 815b21, or 959a8.

⁵⁷ The term "monk", 比丘, is unusual as a direct form of address used between monks, as it is only the Buddha who is regularly shown to address a monk or a group of monks in this way. The standard form of address among monks in other early discourses could be either the simple "you", 汝, used in the present discourse in the preceding exchange, or else "venerable friend", 賢者 or 尊者. One would not expect the usage of the term "monk" to occur in the way it does in the present context in a text transmitted in an Indian setting familiar with the way monks usually address each other.

⁵⁸ According to MĀ 200 at T I 763b14, the monks unsuccessfully tried three times to get Ariṭṭha to give up his view.

Phagguna, who associates together with the nuns, and the nuns moreover also keep associating with him, coming and going [to meet] the monk Phagguna. We have approached him to persuade him to change that behaviour, yet both [of them] thereupon do it still more frequently.⁵⁹ He does not relinquish his distorted view and does not act in accordance with the true Dharma."⁶⁰

5. At that time the Blessed One told one of the monks: "You approach that monk Phagguna and say: 'The Tathāgata calls you.'" At that time the monk, having received the instruction from the Tathāgata, approached the monk Phagguna [and said]: "You should know that the Tathāgata is calling you."

Hearing what that monk had said, the monk Phagguna approached the Blessed One, paid homage with his head [at the Buddha's] feet, and sat to one side. At that time the Blessed One asked that monk: "Are you indeed intimate with the nuns?"⁶¹ That monk replied: "It is like this, Blessed One!"

The Buddha said to the monk: "You are a monk, how can you associate [so much] together with the nuns? You are presently a clansman's son who has shaved off hair and beard, [71] has put on the three monastic robes, and out of firm faith has gone forth to train in the path."⁶² [813a] The monk Phagguna said

⁵⁹ In MN 22 at MN I 131,31 and MĀ 200 at T I 763b28 the monks only report their inability to get him to give up his view, but do not refer to any type of conduct based on the view.

⁶⁰ The reference to relinquishing his distorted view at this juncture in EĀ 50.8 is unexpected, since the monks have so far not mentioned any view in their report to the Buddha.

⁶¹ In MN 22 at MN I 132,9 and MĀ 200 at T I 763c5 the Buddha instead enquires after Ariṭṭha's view.

⁶² The reminder of having left the household life has a counterpart in MN 21 at MN I 123,19 and its parallel MĀ 193 at T I 744a28. As in the present context

to the Buddha: "Indeed, Blessed One, I am a clansman's son who out of firm faith has gone forth to train in the path."

The Buddha told the monk: "This is not proper behaviour (*dharmā*) for you. Why do you associate [so much] together with the nuns?" The monk Phaggunā said to the Buddha: "I heard it being taught by the Tathāgata that for one who engages in sexual intercourse this does not suffice for being reckoned an offence or obstruction."

6. The Buddha said to the monk: "You foolish person. How is it that you state that the Tathāgata [proclaims] engaging in sexual intercourse not to be an offence? I have with innumerable means spoken of the defilement of sexual intercourse. Why do you now say this: 'The Tathāgata proclaims that sexual intercourse is not an offence.' You would do well to guard yourself against such a verbal transgression, so that you do not for a long time experience [*dukkha* in retribution for] that offence."

7. The Buddha said: "You now just stop and wait until I have further asked the monks about this."⁶³

8. At that time the Blessed One said to the monks: "Have you heard me say to monks that sexual intercourse is not an offence?" The monks replied: "Blessed One, we have indeed

in EĀ 50.8, this provides a contrast to Moliya Phaggunā's excessively close association with the nuns.

⁶³ An injunction to stop is not found in MN 22 or MĀ 200. Before asking the monks about their understanding of his teaching regarding sensuality, in MN 22 at MN I 132,25 the Buddha asks if they think Ariṭṭha has even a glimmering grasp of this teaching and discipline, which they deny. Thereupon Ariṭṭha sits in silent dismay and the Buddha declares that he will be known for his evil view. Ariṭṭha's sitting in silent dismay also occurs in MĀ 200 at T I 764a7, where this happens after the Buddha has enquired about the understanding of the other monks and come to the conclusion that Ariṭṭha has misrepresented him and committed a serious offence.

not heard the Tathāgata say that sexual intercourse is not an offence. The reason is that the Tathāgata has with innumerable means spoken of the defilement of sexual intercourse.⁶⁴ If someone says that there is no offence in this, then this is not correct."

9. The Buddha said to the monks: "It is well, it is well, monks, as you say, I have with innumerable means spoken of the defilement of sexual intercourse."⁶⁵

10. At that time the Blessed One spoke again to the monks:⁶⁶ "You should know, suppose a foolish person studies the practice of the teachings, namely the discourses (*sutta*), prose-and-verse (*geyya*), stanzas (*gāthā*), expositions (*veyyākaraṇa*), historical narratives (*nidāna*), quotes (*itivuttaka*), legends (*apa-dāna*), birth stories (*jātaka*), answers to questions (*vedalla*), marvels (*abbhutadhamma*), ^[72] explanations of meaning (*upa-desā*), and inspired utterances (*udāna*).⁶⁷ Even though he recites

⁶⁴ In MN 22 at MN I 133,7 and MĀ 200 at T I 763c16 the monks at this juncture mention several similes, which the Buddha had delivered to illustrate the disadvantages of sensual pleasures; cf. the survey in Anālayo 2011c: 148f note 17 and table 3.2. Whereas in MĀ 200 this is the first time these similes come up, in MN 22 the monks have already mentioned them when trying to convince Ariṭṭha of his wrong view, and the Buddha has also listed them when rebuking Ariṭṭha. MN 22 and MĀ 200 agree that the Buddha repeats the set of similes in his reply to the monks, after they have proclaimed the similes in front of him.

⁶⁵ According to MN 22 at MN I 133,20, the Buddha at this juncture categorically declared that it is impossible to engage in sensual pleasures without having sensual desires.

⁶⁶ In MĀ 200 at T I 764a10 the Buddha first encourages the monks to enquire from him, or from other monks, if they do not fully understand his teachings, before describing the predicament of a foolish person who learns the various teachings in the form of the twelve *aṅgas* without understanding their meaning.

⁶⁷ My translation is based on the identification of the counterparts to the twelve *aṅgas* in the present passage by Nattier 2004b: 194 and on what I assume to

those teachings, he does not understand their meaning. By not examining their meaning, he also does not follow the Dharma. What is appropriate for following the Dharma, that practice he never follows.

"The reason why he recites those teachings is that he wishes afterwards to debate together with people,⁶⁸ scheming for victory or defeat, and not for them to help himself. Having recited the teachings, he [still] transgresses their restrictions.⁶⁹

"It is like a man who goes outside of a village wishing to hunt for a poisonous snake. As he sees a very large snake, on having reached it, he takes hold of it by the tail with his left hand.⁷⁰ Yet that snake turns around with the head and bites his hand. Because of this his life then comes to an end.

"It is just like that if a foolish person is careless, learning the teachings of the twelve divisions of the scriptures properly, yet without examining their meaning. The reason is that he thereby does not fathom the meaning of the true Dharma.

11. "Then suppose there is [instead] a son of a good family who takes care to guard himself against carelessly learning the teachings, the discourses, prose-and-verse, stanzas, expositions, historical narratives, quotes, legends, birth stories, answers to questions, marvels, explanations of meaning, and inspired

be the probable significance of these *āngas*; cf. in more detail Anālayo 2016a. I have added the Pāli counterparts in brackets so as to facilitate comparison. The order of the twelve *āngas* in EĀ 50.8 differs not only from the more commonly found sequence in other textual collections, but also from other listings of the twelve *āngas* in the same *Ekottarika-āgama*, as can conveniently be seen in the survey in Nattier 2004b: 193f.

⁶⁸ The problem of learning the teachings just for the sake of debating is also mentioned in MN 22 at MN I 133,28, but not in MĀ 200.

⁶⁹ The problem of transgressing the restrictions is not taken up in MN 22 or MĀ 200.

⁷⁰ Adopting the variant 捫 instead of 扞.

utterances. Having recited these teachings, that person deeply understands their meaning. ^[813b] Due to understanding the teachings deep in meaning, he follows the instructions without misconduct.

"The reason why he recites the teachings is not because his mind [is concerned with] victory or defeat in debating with others. The reason why he learns to recite the teachings is his wish to collect them for himself, so that he can examine them. The reason why he recites the teachings is so that they bear fruit according to his aspiration.⁷¹ Because of this he gradually approaches Nirvāṇa.

"This is like a man who goes outside of his village wishing to hunt for a poisonous snake. Having seen a snake, holding iron pliers he first pinches its head and then catches it by the neck so that it cannot move.⁷² ^[73] If that poisonous snake turns around its tail, wishing to harm the man, it will never reach him. Monks, the reason is that he has caught it by the neck.

"The son of a good family is also just like that. He learns to recite, reciting aloud and completely, and he examines the meaning. He follows the Dharma and never commits any misconduct. Because of this he gradually gets to approach Nirvāṇa. The reason is that he has taken hold of the true Dharma.

12. "Therefore, monks, those of you who understand my meaning should remember and respectfully receive it. Those of you who do not understand it should come and ask me again [about it]. The Tathāgata is right now present, regretting it later will be of no use."⁷³

⁷¹ Adopting the variant 其 instead of 有.

⁷² Adopting the variant 鉗 instead of 鑷.

⁷³ A similar injunction is found in MN 22 at MN I 134,26, but not in MĀ 200.

At that time the Buddha told the monks:⁷⁴ "Suppose there is a monk in the great community who makes such a statement: '[As] I fully understand the precepts that have been proclaimed by the Tathāgata, for one who engages in sexual intercourse, this does not suffice for being reckoned an obstructive offence.' The monks should tell that monk: 'Stop, stop, do not say this! Do not slander the Tathāgata by saying these words. The Tathāgata never spoke these words.'

"If this monk changes in relation to what he has transgressed, then it is well. If he does not change that behaviour, you should admonish him again and a third time. If he should change, it is well. If he does not change, he has committed a *pācittiya*. Again, if the monks hide this affair and do not cause it to be exposed, all of them have committed a *pācittiya*. Thus, monks, I have established the precept."

At that time the monks heard what the Buddha said, were delighted, and received it respectfully.

Study of EĀ 50.8

Examining the above discourse from the viewpoint of internal coherence, it is noteworthy that, when the monks inform the Buddha of Phagguna's excessive association with the nuns, they just indicate

⁷⁴ The remainder of EĀ 50.8 does not have a counterpart in MN 22 or MĀ 200, but seems to stem from a *Vinaya* context. As mentioned above in note 49, Ariṭṭha's obstinate holding on to his wrong view leads to a *pācittiya* regulation in the different *pātimokkhas*, according to which a monk who misrepresents the teachings should be reprimanded three times. If he still does not relinquish his view, he has fallen into an offence; cf. Dharmaguptaka rule 68, T 1429 at T XXII 1019c14, Kāśyapīya rule 55, T 1460 at T XXIV 663a9, Mahāsāṅghika rule 45, Tatia 1975: 23,16, Mahīśāsaka rule 48, T 1422 at T XXII 197c13, Mūlasarvāstivāda rule 55, Banerjee 1977: 38,3, Sarvāstivāda rule 55, von Simson 2000: 219,1, and Theravāda rule 68, Pruitt and Norman 2001: 70,1; as well as the comparative survey in Pachow 1955: 150.

that "he does not relinquish his distorted view", without any further specification of what kind of view underpins his way of way of behaving.⁷⁵ Proper adjustment to the narrative context would have required that the monks first inform the Buddha of the content of Phagguna's view. In fact when Phagguna meets the Buddha, the latter starts the discussion by enquiring about his associating with the nuns. [74] Had the Buddha known about Phagguna's view, it would have been more natural for him to enquire about this rather grave misunderstanding and misrepresentation of his teaching.

This in itself minor point highlights a basic problem in the above *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, namely the assumption that close association with the nuns results from the view that engaging in sex is unproblematic for a monk. The relationship between these two topics is not self-evident. The *Kakacūpama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel do report that the Buddha contrasted Phagguna's excessive associating with nuns with the fact that he had gone forth from the household life and thus should leave behind the type of thoughts and attitudes of a householder.⁷⁶ This does not imply, however, that Phagguna necessarily had sexual intentions. It just seems to reflect the fact that close association between males and females is inappropriate in a monastic setting. In fact if a monk holds the view that having sexual intercourse is not an offence, one would rather expect that he would associate frequently with laywomen, as his chances to engage in what he deems unproblematic would be higher.

That the present discourse is indeed a patchwork of different textual pieces becomes evident in its last section, which reports the Buddha promulgating a rule against what in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is Phagguna's clinging to his wrong view.

⁷⁵ Cf. above note 60.

⁷⁶ Cf. above note 62.

Now the same wrong view was according to the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* rather upheld by Ariṭṭha, a name that has its counterpart in the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel in 阿梨吒.⁷⁷ The same transcription can be found in the account of this episode in the Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka *Vinayas*, and the closely similar 阿利吒, in the Mahāsāṅghika and Sarvāstivāda *Vinayas*.⁷⁸ The only variant in this respect occurs in the Chinese translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*,⁷⁹ yet in this case we fortunately also have access to a Sanskrit version, which indeed speaks of Ariṣṭa, and the Tibetan translation, which has the corresponding 'chi ltas.⁸⁰

In sum, these six *Vinayas* agree with the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel that the name of the monk who held on to the view that engaging in sensuality is not an offence was Ariṭṭha/Ariṣṭa. This in turn makes it safe to conclude that the fact that in the *Ekottarika-āgama* he is rather called 茂羅破群 is the result of conflating the story of the monk who associates closely with nuns,⁸¹ Moliya Phagguna, with the story of the monk Ariṭṭha.⁸² [75]

⁷⁷ MĀ 200 at T I 763b3.

⁷⁸ The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 682a10, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 367a3, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 56c12, and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 106a3. The Theravāda *Vinaya* agrees with MN 22 in speaking of Ariṭṭha, Vin IV 133,33.

⁷⁹ T 1442 at T XXIII 840b22: 無相, a standard rendering of *animitta*.

⁸⁰ Yamagiwa 2001: 86,8 and 87,9.

⁸¹ EĀ 50.8 at T II 812c3.

⁸² Different suggestions on the school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* have offered arguments in support of a Mahāsāṅghika affiliation, or else a Dharmaguptaka or a Sarvāstivāda affiliation; cf., e.g., the survey in Mayeda 1985: 102f. In the case of each of these suggested school affiliations, the presentation in EĀ 50.8 would disagree with the respective extant *Vinaya*. On the school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in more detail cf. below p. 211 ff.

In relation to the present case of apparent merger of what in the *Majjhima-nikāya* are the *Kakacūpama-sutta* and the *Alagaddūpama-sutta*, it is noteworthy that another discourse, found among the Eights in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, also has extracts from both discourses. In what follows I translate the first part of this discourse.⁸³

Translation of the First Part of EĀ 43.5

Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Sāvaththī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park. At that time the Blessed One said to the monks: "I will now teach you the simile of the raft, [760a] pay proper attention with a collected mind."⁸⁴ The monks replied: "Indeed, Blessed One." [Thus] the monks received this instruction from the Buddha.

The Blessed One said: "Why is it called the 'simile of the raft'? If while travelling on a road you are caught by robbers, you should hold on to your mind and not give rise to evil sentiments. You should arouse a mental attitude of *mettā*, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity, pervading all directions with it,⁸⁵ immeasurable, boundless, and incalculable."⁸⁶

⁸³ The translated section is taken from EĀ 43.5 at T II 759c29 to 760a26.

⁸⁴ The simile of the raft is found in MN 22 at MN I 134,30 and its parallel MĀ 200 at T I 764b19, as well as in a discourse quotation in D 4094 *nyu* 74b6 or Q 5595 *thu* 119b7 and in T 1509 at T XXV 63c7, translated in Lamotte 1944/1981: 64.

⁸⁵ Adopting a variant that adds 慈悲喜, in keeping with the formulation found later in EĀ 43.5 at T II 760a11.

⁸⁶ The need to maintain mental balance and practise either just *mettā* or all four *brahmavihāras* is the topic of the simile of the saw in MN 21 at MN I 129,15 and its parallel MĀ 193 at T I 746a12. Whereas MN 21 only speaks of practising *mettā*, MĀ 193 mentions all four *brahmavihāras*. References to this simile in MĀ 30 at T I 465a9 and SĀ 497 at T II 130a23 speak only of *mettā*; a reference in MN 28 at MN II 186,11 does not mention any of the *brahmavihāras*.

"You should keep your mind like the earth. Just as this earth receives what is pure and also receives what is impure, it receives excrement and urine, and all that is dirty and loathsome, yet the earth does not give rise to a discriminatory mental attitude, it does not say: "This is attractive, this is repulsive."⁸⁷ Now your practice should also be like this. Suppose you are being captured by robbers: do not give rise to evil thoughts or to a discriminatory mental attitude.

"As the earth, so water, fire, and wind also receive what is loathsome and receive as well what is attractive; they all are without a discriminatory mental attitude. Arouse a mental attitude of *mettā*, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity towards all living beings. The reason is that the practice of wholesome states could still be given up, let alone that one could be fond of evil states.⁸⁸

"It is just as if there were a person who has encountered a fearful and difficult situation.⁸⁹ He wishes to get across that difficult situation and reach a place of safety. He runs around at will, searching for a safe place. He sees a large river that is very deep and wide. There is no boat or bridge that could be used to cross over and reach the other shore. [76] Whereas the place where he stands is very fearful and difficult, the other shore is not affected [by fear and difficulty].

⁸⁷ An injunction to develop a mental attitude comparable to the earth and the other elements, which do not react when filth is thrown at them, can be found in MN 62 at MN I 423,18, where this instruction is addressed by the Buddha to his son Rāhula and, after also mentioning space, leads on to the cultivation of the four *brahmavihāras*. Notably, instructions on the elements are absent from the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to MN 62, EĀ 17.1 at T II 582a13.

⁸⁸ My translation follows the indication in Hirakawa 1997: 951 that 翫習 can render *priyatā*.

⁸⁹ Adopting a variant that adds 猶 to 如.

"Then that person ponders and reflects: 'Now this river is very deep and also wide, and there is nothing to be used to cross over.'⁹⁰ Now I could gather wood and grass, bind them together as a raft and try to cross over. Having relied on this raft I can get from this shore to the other shore.' Then that person gathers wood and grass, binds them together as a raft, and tries to cross over.⁹¹ Relying on this raft he gets from this shore to the other shore.⁹²

"Having crossed over to that shore that person further reflects: 'This raft has been of much benefit to me, using this raft I gained relief from distress and from being in a fearful position, I got to reach a place that is not affected by [by fear]. Now I will not let go of this raft, but keep it for my own use afterwards.'

"How is it, monks, in the place which that person has reached, will he afterwards be able to make use of the raft himself, or will he not be able to do so?" The monks replied: "He will not, Blessed One. That person has now already obtained the fruition of his aspirations. After that, of what further use is the raft for him?"

The Buddha said to the monks: "Even so, one should let go of wholesome *dharma*s, let alone what is contrary to the Dharma."⁹³

Study of the First Part of EĀ 43.5

The above discourse begins by announcing the simile of the raft, which in the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* and its parallels illustrates

⁹⁰ Adopting two variants that add 今 and 無由得渡.

⁹¹ Adopting the variant 求 instead of 而, in accordance with the previous description.

⁹² Adopting two variants that add 依此筏已 and 得, in keeping with the previous description.

⁹³ A similar injunction concludes the simile of the raft in MN 22 at MN I 135,24 and its parallel MĀ 200 at T I 764c13, as well as in D 4094 *nyu* 75a6 or Q 5595 *thu* 120a7 and T 1509 at T XXV 63c8.

the appropriate attitude towards the teachings, in continuity with the simile of the snake. After this announcement, however, the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse shifts to the subject matter of the *Kakacūpama-sutta* and its parallels by describing the need for equanimity when being caught by robbers. This is the topic of the simile of the saw in the *Kakacūpama-sutta* and its parallels.

Next the above *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse continues by illustrating an attitude of patience with the example of the elements, which in the *Majjhima-nikāya* are instead found in the *Mahārāhulovāda-sutta*. This case is particularly interesting, since the *Mahārāhulovāda-sutta* has a parallel among the Twos of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, yet this discourse does not have the instruction on developing patience by following the example of the elements.⁹⁴ [77]

Eventually the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated above does come round to delivering the simile of the raft. The remainder of the discourse, which I have not translated, continues with a description of the Buddha's pre-awakening experience, including an account of how he confronted Māra when he was on the seat of awakening.⁹⁵

That this discourse is the result of patchwork is fairly evident from the narrative disruption between the Buddha's announcement that he will teach the simile of the raft and its actual delivery, making it safe to assume that other material has been interpolated between the announcement and the simile itself.

The narrative discontinuity is not only evident in the fact that the announcement of the simile leads on to unrelated material, it can also be seen in the transition from this material to the actual simile. After having mentioned the arousing of the *brahmavihā-*

⁹⁴ Cf. above note 87. This leaves open the possibility that such instructions were originally also found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to MN 62, EĀ 17.1, and were later displaced to become part of EĀ 43.5.

⁹⁵ EĀ 43.5 at T II 760b7.

ras towards all beings, the discourse continues with the statement "the reason is that the practice of wholesome states could still be given up, let alone that one could be fond of evil states." This seems to be a corrupted version of the conclusion drawn at the end of the simile of the raft that "one should let go of wholesome *dharmas*, let alone what is contrary to the Dharma", which is similarly found in the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* and its parallels.⁹⁶ Whereas at this juncture the statement makes sense, the in itself already somewhat puzzling formulation found earlier has no self-evident relationship to the previously mentioned *brahmavihāra* practice, even though it is introduced with the connecting phrase "the reason is that". Thus it seems safe to conclude that this discourse is the result of combining textual pieces of different origins.

In this way, textual pieces stemming from the *Kakacūpama-sutta* and the *Alagaddūpama-sutta*, as well as their parallels, have become building blocks for this discourse among the Eights of the *Ekottarika-āgama* as well as for the discourse translated above in full from the Elevens of the same collection.

Besides illustrating such merger, the present case also shows to some extent the feature of doubling of discourse parallels, in so far as the two discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* are each partial parallels to a single discourse in the *Majjhima-nikāya*. Another noteworthy feature is that the remainder of the second *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse shows the integration of later material, [78] such as Māra challenging the bodhisattva on the seat of awakening, which in the Pāli canon can only be found in the commentarial literature.⁹⁷ As discussed in the first part of this chapter, both the doubling of

⁹⁶ Cf. above note 93.

⁹⁷ Jā I 72,1. For a survey of other instances of incorporation of later elements in the *Ekottarika-āgama* cf. Anālayo 2010c: 7.

discourses and the integration of late material are recurrent features of discourse merger in this collection.

More Cases of Discourse Merger

Another noteworthy feature of the present case is that it involves two discourses that in the *Majjhima-nikāya* follow each other immediately (MN 21 and MN 22). The same holds for another case of discourse merger found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Although this discourse is for the most part a parallel to the *Sela-sutta* in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (also found in the *Sutta-nipāta*), it incorporates several textual pieces that appear to stem from the *Assalāyana-sutta* and its parallels.⁹⁸ This discourse (EĀ 49.6) thus combines material from what in the *Majjhima-nikāya* are two adjacent discourses (MN 92 and MN 93), just as the discourse that directly follows it in the *Ekottarika-āgama* (EĀ 49.7) combines material from what in the *Majjhima-nikāya* are two adjacent discourses (MN 65 and MN 66), this being the case of merger I study in the next chapter.⁹⁹ In this case the type of narrative inconsistency that emerges through closer study suggests that the merger did not happen during oral transmission, but would have taken place in some way in the written medium.¹⁰⁰

The sequence of these two pairs in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, MN 65 and MN 66 as well as MN 92 and MN 93, is determined by thematic continuity. This leaves open the possibility that a similar sequence could have been observed in a different discourse collection that has versions of these discourses. Although certainly not decisive in itself, this does give the impression that these cases

⁹⁸ Cf. Anālayo 2011c: 546 note 89 and for a translation and study of the part of EĀ 49.6 that corresponds to the *Sela-sutta*, MN 92 and Sn 3.7, below p. 325ff.

⁹⁹ EĀ 49.7 at T II 800b27 to 801c13.

¹⁰⁰ The same holds for a polemical reference to the *hīnayāna*, which also shows traces of having come into being in a written medium; cf. below p. 473ff.

of merger might have been produced by combining anyway adjacent discourses. The same possibility holds for the main case studied in this chapter, where two *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses combine material from what in the *Majjhima-nikāya* are two adjacent discourses, the *Kakacūpama-sutta* and the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* (MN 21 and MN 22).

Narrative inconsistency of the type found in the present case study can also be identified in another instance of discourse merger, found among the Sevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The discourse begins with King Pasenadi expressing his opinion that some ascetics who have just passed by must be arahants, whereupon the Buddha points out that only through close acquaintance can one know if someone is indeed an arahant.¹⁰¹ [79] Records of this episode in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the two *Samyukta-āgamas* continue by indicating that these were actually sham ascetics employed by Pasenadi as spies,¹⁰² giving the impression that the king perhaps tried to test whether the Buddha was able to recognize that they were not genuine arahants.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse has no such indication about the true nature of these ascetics, instead of which it continues somewhat abruptly with the tale of the seer Asita's visit to some brahmin seers who try to curse him.¹⁰³ This tale is also found in the *Assalāyana-sutta* and its parallels,¹⁰⁴ which I mentioned above in relation to another case of discourse merger involving the *Sela-*

¹⁰¹ EĀ 40.9 at T II 742b3 to 742b21.

¹⁰² SN 3.11 at SN I 79,8 (cf. also Ud 6.2 at Ud 66,5), SĀ 1148 at T II 306a9, and SĀ² 71 at T II 399b11; cf. also T 212 at T IV 748c5.

¹⁰³ EĀ 40.9 at T II 742b21 to 742c22.

¹⁰⁴ MN 93 at MN II 154,29, MĀ 151 at T I 665b26, T 71 at T I 878a2; this part of the discourse is also preserved in a discourse quotation in D 4094 *ju* 110a4 or Q 5595 *tu* 126a3, and in the as yet unpublished Schøyen fragments 2380/37 and 2380/44.

sutta, where this tale forms part of a debate between the Buddha and his visitor on the brahminical claim to superiority among the four classes (*vaṇṇa*) of Indian society. This is clearly the original location of the Asita tale as, once the brahmin seers find out that their curses are ineffective, Asita gives them a teaching on the lack of foundation of their belief that brahmins are superior to others.

In contrast, the *Ekottarika-āgama* version continues after this episode with the topic of what makes one an arahant, even though the tale of Asita does not bear any relation to this theme. In this way, the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse gives the impression that a text originally concerned with the theme of the ability to recognize if someone is an arahant has been expanded through interpolation of another story taken from a version of the *Assalāyana-sutta*. In its present form, the Asita tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* no longer illustrates mistaken brahminical presumptions, but rather centres on mistaken notions of what leads to kingship or rebirth in heaven, which does not fit the narrative context particularly well.¹⁰⁵

Another example of an apparent discourse merger that results in narrative inconsistency can also be found among the Sevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This discourse combines what in the Pāli tradition are two separate discourses given to the lay disciple Mahānāma. The first part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse parallels a discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya*.¹⁰⁶ In this discourse the Buddha assures Mahānāma that he will not meet an evil rebirth even if he were to pass away suddenly. The Buddha compares this to breaking a pot full of oil that has been placed in water, whereupon the oil will rise to the water's surface. After a brief reference to the Buddha's pre-awakening ascetic practices, the second part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse continues similar to

¹⁰⁵ I already drew attention to this in Anālayo 2011c: 555 note 133.

¹⁰⁶ SN 55.21 at SN V 369,1; corresponding to EĀ 41.1 at T II 744a2 to 744a21.

a discourse in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and its parallels.¹⁰⁷ [80] In this *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse the Buddha informs Mahānāma of a meeting he had with Jain ascetics during which he expressed his criticism of their belief that self-mortification is the path to freedom, getting them to admit that he experienced more pleasure than even the king. The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse continues with a simile contrasting a large amount of water to a single drop to illustrate the mass of *dukkha* left behind by a noble disciple in contrast to the small amount of *dukkha* still remaining, which has a counterpart in yet another discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and its *Samyukta-āgama* parallel.¹⁰⁸

That this *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse is indeed a patchwork of originally separate texts suggests itself from an inconsistency in a formal aspect of the Buddha's narration of his past encounter with the Jains. This narration is throughout worded in the first person singular, with the Buddha indicating "then I said to the Nigaṇṭhas".¹⁰⁹ Yet, in the midst of their discussion he instead introduces his next reply by stating "the Blessed One said".¹¹⁰

Another inconsistency occurs when the Buddha proceeds from the description of his pre-awakening six-year ascetic practices to his encounter with the Jains by stating that "at that time I moreover went to ...", making it clear that this encounter should be placed during this period of six years.¹¹¹ This renders the ensu-

¹⁰⁷ MN 14 at MN I 92,26 and its parallels MĀ 100 at T I 587b13, T 54 at T I 849a12, and T 55 at T I 850c1 (for a reference in *Vyākhyāyukti* literature cf. Skilling 2000b: 342), corresponding to EĀ 41.1 at T II 744a27 to 744b21.

¹⁰⁸ SN 56.57 at SN V 463,1 and SĀ 440 at T II 113c14.

¹⁰⁹ The discussion begins in EĀ 41.1 at T II 744b1 with 我爾時往至彼所，語尼捷子，and then continues with the Buddha introducing his replies at T II 744b6, 744b11, and 744b13 with 我爾時復語尼捷子曰。

¹¹⁰ EĀ 41.1 at T II 744b17: 世尊告曰。

¹¹¹ EĀ 41.1 at T II 744a27: 我爾時復遊在仙人窟中。

ing comparison between the Buddha's and the king's happiness meaningless, since during the time of his asceticism the Buddha-to-be could not have claimed to live in greater happiness than the king.

In his description to Mahānāma, according to the *Ekottarika-āgama* version the Buddha states three times that one cannot reach happiness through happiness. He does so first when introducing his encounter with the Jains, then when discussing with them, and a third time on drawing out the implications of his superior happiness compared to that of the king.¹¹²

Yet this statement made three times is precisely the belief upheld by the Jains, which the comparison between the king's and the Buddha's happiness is meant to counter. The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel in fact attribute such a statement to the Jains.¹¹³ For further confirmation the Jain *Sūyagaḍa* can be consulted, which takes exactly this position.¹¹⁴ One would not expect such confusion in the attribution of a key statement of the discourse to the Buddha instead of to his opponents to occur in an Indian setting familiar with the contrast between the tenets upheld by the Buddhists and by the Jains respectively. [81]

Conclusion

The above surveyed cases clearly bear out the correctness of Lamotte's assessment of the *Ekottarika-āgama* as having an abundance of composite discourses artificially forged by putting side by side discourses or portions of discourses borrowed from other

¹¹² EĀ 41.1 at T II 744a26, 744b9, and 744b20: 不可從樂至樂.

¹¹³ MN 14 at MN I 93,36 and MĀ 100 at T I 587b28.

¹¹⁴ *Sūyagaḍa* 1.3.4.6, Bollée 1988: 19,11, criticizes the assumption that happiness can be gained through happiness; cf. also Jacobi 1895/1996: 269 note 4. The correspondence of this criticism to the present passage in MN 14 has already been noted by Bronkhorst 1993/2000: 27 note 4.

canonical texts.¹¹⁵ At times closer inspection suggests that such merger of discourses would have happened in the written medium and thus presumably in China, given that the Indic original reached China by oral transmission.¹¹⁶ This does not hold for all the cases of merger surveyed in this chapter, however, some of which might equally well have already occurred earlier during oral transmission. What remains certain, however, is that these merger cases conflate what earlier were distinct textual pieces.

¹¹⁵ Dhammajoti 2015: 27f, having noted the profusion of Mahāyāna ideas in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, comes to a conclusion that similarly suggests itself from the cases of merger, in that "it is therefore risky to put too much weight on the content or form of a given *sūtra* in this collection in arguing for it being the 'original form' of a canonical discourse, on the basis of its often briefer description or absence of a particular list."

¹¹⁶ T II 549a11; Palumbo 2013: 77 sums up that "the *Ekottarika-āgama*, however, was the memory treasure of Dharmananda, and there is no evidence that its Indic original was ever put down in writing."

Bhaddāli-sutta (MN 65)

Introduction

In the present chapter I continue studying the topic of discourse merger in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, broached in the previous chapter. In what follows I take up one more such instance, namely an *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse that corresponds to two separate discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Madhyama-āgama*. Inasmuch as discourse merger studied here and in the previous chapter has considerable bearing on our understanding of the nature and transmission history of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection preserved in Chinese translation, in this chapter I also critically examine suggestions made in a recent study by Antonello Palumbo regarding the circumstances of the translation of this *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.

I begin with a study of the seventh discourse in chapter forty-nine of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which combines material found in the *Majjhima-nikāya* in the *Bhaddāli-sutta* (MN 65) and the *Laṭukikopama-sutta* (MN 66), as well as in their *Madhyama-āgama* parallels.¹ I first summarize the two *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses and their *Madhyama-āgama* parallels, then give a translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* version, and in the final part of this chapter turn to a discussion of the transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama* inasmuch as this seems relevant to the present study.

* Originally published in 2015 under the title "Discourse Merger in the Ekottarika-āgama (1), The Parallel to the Bhaddāli-sutta and the Latukikopama-sutta, Together with Notes on the Chinese Translation of the Collection" in the *Singaporean Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2: 5–35.

¹ [2] In Anālayo 2008a: 10 I already drew attention to the peculiar nature of EĀ 49.7 and EĀ 50.8.

The *Bhaddāli-sutta* and the *Laṭukikopama-sutta*

The *Bhaddāli-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel report that the Buddha instructed his monks to take only a single meal per day. Bhaddāli refuses to comply,² a refusal he keeps up even when the Buddha offers him an alternative by way of compromise. For the three months of the rainy season Bhaddāli keeps up the same attitude. Just before the Buddha is about to set out wandering again, other monks prompt Bhaddāli to approach the Buddha and confess his transgression. [7]

Before accepting this confession, the Buddha draws Bhaddāli's attention to the fact that his refusal to follow the rule promulgated by his teacher has become public knowledge. He then contrasts Bhaddāli's behaviour to the type of conduct that any out of a listing of seven types of noble disciple would have shown. Next he explains the importance of having a sound foundation in moral training in order to be able to withdraw into seclusion and practise successfully.

Bhaddāli then enquires why only some monks are repeatedly admonished. The Buddha explains that the degree of admonishment depends on how a particular monk reacts on being admonished. Bhaddāli has another query about why in earlier times there were fewer rules and more monks reached final knowledge. In reply, the Buddha points to the general growth of the monastic community in gains, renown, etc., which has led to the need for more rules and also to fewer monks becoming accomplished in the practice. The final parts of the *Bhaddāli-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel report the Buddha delivering a simile of a thoroughbred horse to Bhaddāli.

² [3] MN 65 at MN I 437,25 and its parallel MĀ 194 at T I 746b27; for a more detailed comparative study of MN 65 and MN 66 cf. Anālayo 2011c: 358–367.

The *Laṭukikopama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin with the monk Udāyin approaching the Buddha and expressing his appreciation for the rule on abstaining from food after noon.³ Udāyin relates an incident when a monk in the past had gone begging during a stormy night and thereby frightened a woman.

The Buddha then illustrates the predicament of those who do not submit to the training with the example of a weak animal's inability to break free from a feeble bond, whereas a strong elephant is able to break free even from a solid leash. Another set of two similes contrasts a poor man in wretched living conditions, [8] unable to give them up, with a rich man who is able to let go of his many possessions and go forth.

Next the Buddha divides the arising of sensual thoughts into four distinct cases. Some tolerate them, others dispel them, either slowly or quickly, and still others are fully liberated from them. The topic of sensuality leads on to the contrast between ignoble pleasures and commendable pleasures. The latter pleasures are those experienced during absorption attainment, an indication which leads to a tour of the four absorptions and the four immaterial attainments from the viewpoint of what in each case needs to be overcome to progress from one to the next.

The discourse from the *Ekottarika-āgama* translated below combines the beginning part of the *Bhaddāli-sutta*, namely Bhaddāli's refusal to follow the rule on eating a single meal and his subsequent repentance, with part of the *Laṭukikopama-sutta*, namely begging at night and thereby frightening a woman.⁴

³ [4] MN 66 at MN I 448,3 and its parallel MĀ 192 at T I 741a9.

⁴ [5] The translated discourse is EĀ 49.7 at T II 800b27 to 801c13. I have divided the discourse into sections and numbered these for ease of reference during my subsequent discussion; the numbering and the divisions are not found in the Chinese original and they also do not correspond to Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005.

Translation of EĀ 49.7

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park.

2. At that time the Blessed One told the monks: "I always take my meal in a single sitting [per day], and my body is at ease, strong, and thriving. Monks, you should also take a single meal [per day], and your body will be at ease, [800c] strong, and thriving, enabling you to cultivate the holy life." [9]

3. Then Bhaddāli said to the Blessed One:⁵ "I cannot endure a single meal. The reason is that my strength will become feeble."⁶ The Buddha said: "If you approach a house for meals, you can eat one part [there] and take one part back to your hut."⁷

Bhaddāli said to the Buddha: "I cannot endure undertaking this practice either." The Blessed One said: "I permit you to break your fast and partake of the food [you have taken back] throughout the day."⁸

Bhaddāli said to the Buddha: "I also can't endure being allowed to undertake this practice." Then the Buddha remained silent and did not reply.

⁵ [6] My identification of the proper name follows Akanuma 1930/1994: 86.

⁶ [7] According to MN 65 at MN I 437,27, he explained that this would worry him, which the commentary Ps III 148,12 glosses to mean that he would be worried if he could live like this for his whole life. According to MĀ 194 at T I 746b28, he was worried that with a single meal he would not be able to settle the matter (of nourishing himself).

⁷ [8] In MN 65 at MN I 437,28 such a permission to keep food for later applies to occasions when Bhaddāli is invited for a meal; according to MĀ 194 at T I 746c1 he could take away food for later consumption after coming along when the Buddha had been invited.

⁸ [9] Such an additional option is not recorded in MN 65 or MĀ 194. It does in fact not fit the context too well, since with such an allowance Bhaddāli's concerns about getting enough food would have been allayed, leaving little reason for him to refuse undertaking this mode of conduct.

4. At that time, towards nightfall,⁹ Kāḷudāyin put on his robes, took his bowl, and entered the town to beg alms. At that time it was extremely dark.¹⁰ [10] Then Kāḷudāyin (gradually) approached the house of a householder.¹¹ Yet the wife of that householder was pregnant. When she heard that outside a recluse was begging alms,¹² she took rice and went out to give him alms. However, Kāḷudāyin's complexion was very dark and at that time it was moreover about to rain, lightning was flashing all around.¹³

Then the householder's wife, on coming out of the door, saw a recluse with a very dark complexion. She right away shouted in alarm: "This is a ghost!" Then she called out to herself: "Oh, I have seen a ghost!" Then she straight away had a miscarriage and the baby died.¹⁴ Then Kāḷudāyin returned to

⁹ [10] For what follows, the parallels are MN 66 and MĀ 192, both of which present the event as something that Udāyin told the Buddha.

¹⁰ [11] In MN 66 at MN I 448,33 the monk who went begging was also Udāyin himself, whereas MĀ 192 at T I 741b9 just speaks of a monk in general. A similar incident is recorded in the Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka *Vinayas*, T 1428 at T XXII 662c8 and T 1421 at T XXII 54a19, as leading to the promulgation of a rule on not eating at the wrong time, and in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 359b25, for occasioning a rule on not going begging at the wrong time.

¹¹ [12] Adopting an emendation suggested in the CBETA edition of 慚 to 漸.

¹² [13] According to MĀ 192 at T I 741b10, she had been outdoors, washing a pot. MN 66 at MN I 448,34 also records that she had been washing a pot, which presumably would have happened outdoors.

¹³ [14] Adopting the variant 泄 instead of 卮. MĀ 192 at T I 741b11 also refers to lightning, which is not mentioned in MN 66.

¹⁴ [15] MĀ 192 at T I 741b12 also records that she had a miscarriage. MN 66 at MN I 449,1 does not mention a miscarriage, instead it reports that the frightened woman abused Udāyin once she found out that he was a monk (her abuse is also reported in MĀ 192). Another occurrence of the motif of a monk frightening a pregnant woman and thereby causing a miscarriage can be found in T

the monastery,¹⁵ being worried and sad. He sat thinking to himself, regretting it in vain. [11]

5. At that time in the city of Sāvattthī there was this bad rumour: "The recluses, sons of the Sakyan, have a charm whereby the children of others will be miscarried." The men and women said among each other: "Now these recluses behave improperly, they do not know the time for [begging] food. Compared to white-clad laymen, what is the difference?"

6. Then a group of many monks heard people discussing with each other about this matter: "The recluses, sons of the Sakyan, do not know what is proper, they come [begging] without scruples." Those among the precept-observing monks who were complete [in their practice of] the precepts also blamed themselves: "It is true that we are improperly eating without limits, acting without [regard for] the proper time. It is true that we are wrong." They together approached the Buddha, paid homage with their heads at his feet, and told the Blessed One all that had happened.

7. The Buddha then told one monk: "Go and summon Kāḷudāyīn and bring him here." Having received the Buddha's instruction, that monk then approached Kāḷudāyīn to call him. On hearing that the Buddha had summoned him, [wanting] to see him, Kāḷudāyīn approached the Blessed One, paid homage with his head at [the Buddha's] feet, and sat down to one side.

8. Then the Blessed One asked Kāḷudāyīn: "Did you indeed yesterday at nightfall enter the town to beg alms, go to the householder's house, and cause the householder's wife to have a miscarriage?" Kāḷudāyīn said to the Buddha: "Indeed, Blessed One."

129 at T II 845a8, translated in Tokiwai 1898: 49; cf. also Lévi and Chavannes 1916: 264 or Strong 1979: 74.

¹⁵ [16] What follows has no counterpart in MN 66 or MĀ 192.

The Buddha said to Kāḷudāyin: ^[801a] "Why do you not distinguish the proper time, instead of entering the town to beg alms when it is about to rain? This is not proper for you. You are a clansman's son who has gone forth to train in the path, yet you are greedily attached to food." ^[12] Then Kāḷudāyin rose from his seat and said to the Blessed One: "From now on I will not dare to transgress again. I only wish that the Blessed One accepts my repentance."

9. Then the Blessed One said to Ānanda: "Quickly strike the wood to gather all the monks in the community assembly hall." Having received the Buddha's instruction, Ānanda had all the monks gather. When they had gathered in the assembly hall, he went forward to inform the Buddha: "The monks have gathered, Blessed One, you know the right time [to join them]."

10. At that time the Blessed One went to the assembly hall, sat in its centre, and said to the monks: "Buddhas, Blessed Ones of the distant past, all ate in a single sitting and their disciples also ate in a single sitting. Even Buddhas and the community of their disciples in the future shall also all eat in a single sitting.

"The reason is that this way of practice is an essential teaching. One should eat in a single sitting. If one is able to eat in a single sitting, the body will be at ease and the mind will gain clarity of understanding. When the mind has gained understanding, one gains the roots of all that is wholesome. Having gained the roots of what is wholesome, one in turn gains concentration. Having gained concentration, one knows as it really is. What does one know as it really is?

"That is, one knows the truth of *dukkha* as it really is, one knows the truth of the arising of *dukkha* as it really is, one knows

the truth of the cessation of *dukkha* as it really is, and one knows the truth of the way out [of *dukkha*] as it really is.¹⁶

"You are clansmen's sons who have gone forth to train in the path, [13] leaving behind the eight deeds of the world,¹⁷ yet you do not know the proper time. You are like other people who have greedy desires, what is the difference? [In contrast], brahmins have their own distinct brahminical principles; heterodox practitioners have their own distinct heterodox practitioner's principles."¹⁸

11. Then Upāli said to the Blessed One: "As Tathāgatas of the past and Buddhas of the future all eat in a single sitting, I only wish that the Blessed One restricts the time for the monks to eat."

The Blessed One said: "The Tathāgata as well has this understanding [that a restriction is required], it was just that there was no violation. There must be an offence before his eyes, only then shall he set a restriction."

12. Then the Blessed One told the monks: "I solely eat in a single sitting. You should also eat in a single sitting. [From] now on you should eat by noon, do not go beyond that time.

"You should also train in the practice of begging alms. How does a monk train in the practice of begging alms? Thus, monks,

¹⁶ [¹⁷] For a discussion of the absence of the qualification "noble" in *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses cf. below p. 239ff.

¹⁷ [¹⁸] EĀ 49.7 at T II 801a18: 世八業. Perhaps this refers to the 世八法 (or 世間八法), which are the eight worldly conditions of profit and loss, honour and disgrace, praise and blame, pleasure and misery.

¹⁸ [¹⁹] EĀ 49.7 at T II 801a18: 外道, literally "outside path". For want of a better term, here and elsewhere I use the translation "heterodox", in the sense that these practitioners were, together with Buddhist monastics, members of the recluse (*samaṇa*) community in ancient India, but dissented from the Buddhists on points of doctrine and practice.

[train by begging alms just] for the purpose of supporting life, being neither pleased on getting them nor being distressed on not getting them. When you get food, then eat attentively. Be without greedy attachment in the mind, just wishing to make the body get its maintenance, to discard past feelings, [801b] [14] without further creating new ones, and to make your strength be ample and full. Monks, like this one is reckoned to be begging alms [properly].

"Monks, you should eat in a single sitting. How does a monk eat in a single sitting? [As soon as] one gets up one has 'broken' the meal [session] and should not eat further. Monks, like this one is reckoned to be eating in a single sitting.

"Monks, you should also eat [just] the food you got. How does a monk eat [just] the food he got? Monks, upon having already got [food] and eaten [from] it, what about more [food] that might be prepared for you? If while eating one gets some further [food], then it is not proper to eat further. Like this monks, eat [just] the food you got.

13. "Monks you should also have [only] three robes to wear, you should sit under trees, sit in a quiet place, you should sit in the open as an ascetic practice, you should wear patchwork robes, you should stay in cemeteries, and you should wear rag robes.

"The reason is that I praise a person who has few desires. I shall teach you now, you should be like the monk Kassapa. The reason is that the monk Kassapa himself undertakes the eleven/twelve ascetic practices and also teaches others the undertaking of these important practices.¹⁹ [15]

¹⁹ [20] The present passage in EĀ 49.7 at T II 801b12 refers to eleven ascetic practices, 頭陀十一法行, with a variant mentioning twelve (reading 二 instead of 一). The count of the ascetic practices varies between eleven and twelve in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. EĀ 5.1 at T II 558c24 and EĀ 49.2 at T II 795a26 refer to eleven, EĀ 49.3 at T II 795c10 refers to eleven with a variant

"I shall now admonish you, you should be like the monk Mogharāja.²⁰ The reason is that the monk Mogharāja wears coarse robes and does not wear them to adorn himself. Therefore I teach and admonish you, monks, so that you remember to practise in this way. Monks, you should undertake this training."

14. At that time Bhaddāli did not approach the Blessed One until the three months [of the rainy season] had passed. Then, for the first time in these three months, Ānanda approached the monk Bhaddāli and said:²¹ "In the community all are now mending their robes. Thus the Tathāgata will [soon] be travelling among the people. [If] you don't approach him now, it will be of no use to regret it later."

15. Ānanda brought Bhaddāli to the Blessed One. [Bhaddāli] paid homage with his head at [the Buddha's] feet and further said to the Buddha: "May the Blessed One accept my repentance, from now on I shall not transgress further. The

reading twelve, EĀ 23.3 at T II 612a19 has twelve with a variant reading eleven, EĀ 4.2 at T II 557b8 and EĀ 48.3 at T II 788c27 refer to twelve (the listing of twelve in EĀ 4.2 has already been noticed by Boucher 2008b: 191 note 8). On variations in listings of the ascetic practices in general cf., e.g., Bapat 1937, Ganguly 1989: 21–23, Nanayakkara 1989: 584, Dantinne 1991: 24–30, Ray 1994: 293–323, and Wilson 2004: 33.

²⁰ [21] EĀ 49.7 at T II 801b13: 面王比丘; cf. Akanuma 1930/1994: 428. He also features in the list of outstanding monks in EĀ 4.6 at T II 558a14 and its counterpart in AN 1.14.4 at AN I 25,16. The two lists agree that Mogharāja was outstanding for the quality also highlighted in the present context, namely his wearing of coarse robes.

²¹ [22] MN 65 at MN I 438,9 and MĀ 194 at T I 746c26 report that the monks were making a robe for the Buddha. In both versions Bhaddāli then approached these monks, whereupon they told him that he should reconsider the situation, lest later on it will be more difficult for him. Bhaddāli then went to see the Buddha on his own, without being accompanied by Ānanda.

precept had been laid down by the Tathāgata, but I refused it. I wish to be forgiven." He spoke in this way three times.²² [16]

16. Then the Buddha said: "I accept your repentance. In future you should not again transgress.²³ The reason is that I recall my own innumerable births and deaths, where I have been a donkey, or a mule, a camel, an elephant, a horse, a pig, a sheep, and by relying on grass I nourished this body [made] of the four elements. Or else I have been in hell and swallowed hot iron balls. Or else I have been a hungry ghost, continuously eating pus and blood. Or I had a human body, eating the five cereals. Or I had the body of a *deva*, eating spontaneously [manifesting] ambrosia. During innumerable aeons I had a bodily appearance and lived in competition [for food], never getting sated.

"Upāli you should know, it is just as fire catches on fire-wood, never getting sated, [801c] it is just as the great ocean swallows rivers without getting sated. Now ordinary mankind is like this too, greedy for food without getting enough of it."

17. Then the Blessed One spoke this poem:

"Birth and death are without end,
All because of greedy desires;
Resentment increases the evil thereof,

²² [23] According to MN 65 at MN I 438,28 and MĀ 194 at T I 747a14, in reply to Bhaddāli's request to be forgiven, the Buddha drew Bhaddāli's attention to the fact that his obstinate behaviour had become public knowledge.

²³ [24] What follows is without a counterpart in MN 65 and MĀ 194. The only point of distant resemblance is that both versions at a later juncture refer to recollection of past lives as part of their description of the results to be expected by someone who fully submits to the training; cf. MN 65 at MN I 441,31 and MĀ 194 at T I 748a15. Note also the shift in the course of paragraphs 16 and 18 from the Buddha being in conversation with Bhaddāli to his addressing Upāli.

Being cultivated by the fool."

18. "Therefore Bhaddāli, you should remember to have few desires and know contentment. Do not give rise to greedy perceptions and to disorderly thoughts. Like this, Upāli, you should undertake this training."^[17]

19. Having heard the Tathāgata's admonition, Bhaddāli then went to stay in a secluded place and reproached himself. Cultivating the supreme holy life for whose sake a clansman's son goes forth to train in the path, he came to know as it really is that birth and death have been extinguished, the holy life has been established, what had to be done has been done, there will be no further experiencing of becoming. At that time Bhaddāli became an arahant.

20. At that time the Blessed One said to the monks: "The monk Sirigutta is the foremost among my disciples for [receiving] much food and drink."²⁴

Then the monks, having heard what the Buddha had said, were delighted and received it respectfully.

²⁴ [²⁵] EĀ 49.7 at T II 801c12: 吉護比丘; cf. Akanuma 1930/1994: 621 and T 2128 at T LIV 475c15. The Pāli commentarial tradition knows a layman and stream-enterer by this name; cf. the tale in Dhp-a I 434,18 (translated Burlingame 1921: 92–99; cf. also Malalasekera 1937/1995: 753f s.v. Garahadinna); a reference to him occurs also in Th-a II 211,5. According to the tale in question, Sirigutta invited the Jains for a meal and humiliated them by causing them to fall into a ditch filled with filth, thereby proving that they were not omniscient. In revenge, Garahadinna tried a similar ruse with the Buddha, with the difference that the ditch was filled with glowing coals. The Buddha divined it all and through his magical power avoided that any harm occurred. The basic storyline recurs in a range of other texts, but with the difference that here Śrīgupta is the one who invited the Buddha to a meal intending to harm him with hidden fire and poisoned food; for a survey of various versions of this tale cf. Lamotte 1944/1981: 184f note 4 and Zin 2006: 124–133, to which the *Śrīgupta-tāvadāna* in Straube 2009: 94ff could now be added; cf. also below note 26.

Study

The Narrative Flow of EĀ 49.7

Surveying the narrative flow of the above-translated discourse, a striking feature is the at times rather abrupt change between its various protagonists. ^[18] The discourse begins with Bhaddāli who refuses to follow the ruling on taking a single meal (1–3). Then the scene shifts to Kāḷudāyīn's begging and its repercussions, up to his repentance (4–8), followed by the Buddha giving a general instruction to the monks that have been summoned by Ānanda, among them also Upāli (9–13). Then the discourse reverts to Bhaddāli who repents and eventually becomes an arahant (14–19), with interim references to Upāli. The final part of the discourse has a conclusion that praises the monk Sirigutta (20), who has not been mentioned before.

The shift from Bhaddāli (3) to Kāḷudāyīn (4) is unexpected, but in itself not problematic, since it could simply be that the Bhaddāli story has now come to an end and the narrative continues with another event. This assumption becomes somewhat problematic, however, when the Buddha promulgates the rule on eating in a single sitting (10), which he already did at the outset (2). The second promulgation (10) has a rationale, as it takes place in response to the incident of going begging at night and thereby frightening a woman. This follows a basic principle underlying *Vinaya* rules, namely that they are pronounced in response to a precedent. The discourse in fact explicitly refers to this principle, in that, for the Tathāgata to make a rule, "there must be an offence before his eyes, only then shall he set a restriction." From the viewpoint of narrative logic, the precedents leading to the rule described at the present juncture (10) should come before the rule to Bhaddāli (2), which is about the reactions the rule

caused. The precedents should not come after the promulgation of the rule, as is currently the case.

Moreover, the ruling given at the present juncture (10) does not fully address the issue at hand, since eating at a single time does not necessarily exclude the possibility that someone may go begging late. To stop the possibility of future incidents of the type caused by Kāḷudāyin, a rule on abstaining from food after noon would be required. Since monks are not allowed to keep food overnight, this would automatically exclude the possibility that they go begging after noon has passed. [19]

The choppy progression of the narration becomes particularly evident when Bhaddāli reappears (14), introduced by the indication that he "did not approach the Blessed One until the three months [of the rainy season] had passed". This would have its natural placement after the Buddha had remained silent, once Bhaddāli had refused to follow the rule (3). In contrast, it does not seem to have any connection to the intervening events related to Kāḷudāyin. This gives the impression that the part on Kāḷudāyin has been inserted in the midst of the Bhaddāli tale.

The textual confusion becomes worse when, while teaching Bhaddāli, the Buddha suddenly addresses the simile of the firewood to Upāli (16). Upāli had been present earlier, presumably as one of the monks Ānanda had summoned on behalf of the Buddha. But now, at the end of the rainy-season retreat, when Ānanda has brought Bhaddāli to the Buddha's presence, there is no reason why Upāli should be there and why the Buddha should suddenly turn to him. That this is indeed a textual corruption can be seen from the instruction given by the Buddha after he has spoken a poem on greedy desires (17). The instruction (18) begins "therefore Bhaddāli, you should remember to have few desires and know

contentment", but then concludes: "like this, Upāli, you should undertake this training."²⁵

The perplexing shifting from one protagonist to another continues right up to the end of the discourse with the appearance of Sirigutta (Śrīgupta), who has not been part of any of the earlier events. He does appear in another discourse found earlier in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, although there he is a layman who offers beverages and food to the Buddha and his monks.²⁶ [20] His ap-

²⁵ [26] EĀ 49.7 at T II 801c5: 是故, 跋提婆羅, 當念少欲知足, 無起貪想, 興諸亂念. 如是, 優波離, 當作是學.

²⁶ [27] EĀ 45.7 at T II 773c22, which uses the alternative 尸利掘 to render his name; for a summary of the tale cf. Lévi 1908: 158f. Here the layman Sirigutta/Śrīgupta has prepared a great variety of food and beverages to offer to the Buddha and his disciples, EĀ 45.7 at T II 774a18. This is part of an attempt to harm them, as both are poisoned. When the first part of his ruse to make the Buddha fall into a ditch filled with fire has not worked, Sirigutta/Śrīgupta confesses his evil intentions. The Buddha forgives him and then miraculously transforms the beverages and food by speaking a set of stanzas so that the poison disappears and they can be consumed by his disciples and himself. Yijing (義淨) reports that this transformation led to a custom to be observed by monastics on receiving food; cf. T 2125 at T LIV 209c17, translated in Takakusu 1966: 39. Fǎxiǎn (法顯) and Xuánzàng (玄奘) refer to the place where the ditch built by Sirigutta/Śrīgupta was found; cf. T 2085 at T LI 862c15, translated in Deeg 2005: 551 (107), and T 2087 at T LI 921a2, translated in Beal 1884/2001: 151; cf. also the discussion in Deeg 2005: 409f. In view of EĀ 45.7, I assume that the reference in EĀ 49.7 at T II 801c12 to being the foremost among disciples for "much beverages and food", 多飲食, refers back to the story about Sirigutta/Śrīgupta recorded in EĀ 45.7. Therefore I have supplemented in my translation that he "received" much of these, presumably as a karmic result from having offered food and drink to the Buddha and his community, even though originally done with evil intention. In fact just partaking of much food and drink would not be a quality that merits being highlighted, given that the according of the rank of being an outstanding disciple is to generate inspiration through qualities that are worth being emulated; cf. Anālayo 2014i.

pearance in the present context comes as an additional confirmation of a tendency to assemble different narrative bits and pieces that are in some way or another related to the topic of food.

The above inconsistencies make it safe to conclude that what we have here is not an originally single narrative preserved in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which through subsequent expansion would have become two different discourses of the type now found in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Madhyama-āgama*. Instead, it seems clear that the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated above results from a merger of originally separate narrations related to the topic of monks and food, similar in kind to the instances of discourse merger surveyed in the previous chapter. [21]

The Translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*

This kind of merger of what appear to be originally separate episodes, as in the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated above, is an unusual occurrence for orally transmitted discourses. During oral transmission, a discourse can of course incorporate textual material from elsewhere, or else part of a discourse can be lost.²⁷ But this would normally not result in something similar to the cases of merger discussed in the previous and the present chapter.²⁸ That this is probably not the result of an error during oral transmission finds confirmation in the abrupt shift between the names of Bhaddāli and Upāli in the final part of the discourse

²⁷ [28] An example of incorporation of material would be the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta* (DN 22); cf. Anālayo 2014d: 91–100 (on MN 10 cf. Anālayo 2011c: 73–97 and 2013g). An example of loss of a substantial portion of text would be the *Chabbisodhana-sutta* (MN 112); cf. Anālayo 2008b and 2011c: 635–639.

²⁸ [29] For a comparative study of the *Majjhima-nikāya* that shows how various types of transmission errors have had their impact on this collection as well as the parallel versions cf. Anālayo 2011c.

translated above (18). Oral transmission tends to standardize rather than introduce variations of this type.

By way of providing a background for this characteristic of discourse merger in the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, in what follows I survey other aspects relevant to an appreciation of the circumstances of the *Ekottarika-āgama* translation.

In addition to instances of merger, a polemical reference to the *hīnayāna* can be found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This reference gives the impression of having come into being in the written medium, [22] more specifically in the Chinese written medium.²⁹ Moreover, differences in translation terminology make it safe to conclude that another discourse was added wholesale to the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China.³⁰

Another indication pointing in the same direction emerges from a recent detailed study by Palumbo (2013) of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and a partial commentary on this work, the so-called *Fēnbìé gōngdé lùn* (分別功德論), or according to Palumbo rather the *Zēngyī āhán jīng shū* (增一阿含經疏). Palumbo (2013: 127) convincingly shows that a Sarvāstivāda *prātimokṣa* preserved in Chinese translation from a Dūnhuáng (敦煌) manuscript exhibits such a close degree of similarity with part of a discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* as to make it clear "that the translator(s) or editor(s) of the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* [*Ekottarika-āgama*] made use of the *prātimokṣa* text ... as a building block for the composite sūtra 48.2."³¹

Taken together, these indications give the impression that the *Ekottarika-āgama* now extant in the Taishō edition as number 125 went through some degree of development in China itself.

²⁹ Cf. below p. 460ff.

³⁰ Cf. below p. 165ff.

³¹ [³³] Cf. also Palumbo 2013: 142–144.

This supports the impression that at least some of the cases of merging of discourses discussed above would also be the result of something that happened only when the Indic collection had already reached China. [23]

In his detailed study of the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the so-called *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn*, Palumbo (2013) brings together a wealth of details that clearly confirm that some alteration did take place in China. This much can thus be taken as a firm basis for future studies, that is, the *Ekottarika-āgama* as we now have it is the result of a reworking of the material that reached China.

Regarding the actual circumstances of such a reworking, Palumbo's reconstruction of the situation could be summarized as follows: The reciter of the collection, Dharmanandin (or, according to Palumbo, Dharmananda),³² had forgotten part of the Indic original. This motivated the translation team under the leadership of Dào'ān (道安) to supply other material to make up for the gaps.³³

In the context of the present chapter it is of course not possible to do full justice to Palumbo's monograph, which would require a proper review. Hence in the remainder of this chapter I only critically examine some aspects of his reconstruction inasmuch as they seem to me to be of relevance for assessing the occurrences of discourse merger in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that forms the topic of the present and the previous chapter. [24]

³² [34] Palumbo 2013: 5 note 12; the introduction to the collection at T II 549a10 gives his name as 曇摩難提 (*tánmónántí*).

³³ [35] Palumbo 2013: 276 envisages that "the entire translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* would transform into much more of a collective undertaking, and other members of the group – Zhu Fonian, Dao'an, the other foreign masters – could step in on occasion to supply the missing portions. Versions of individual sūtras that were known within the group might even have been chosen to replace those that Dharmananda had initially recited."

To begin with, it seems to me that this kind of scenario would not fully explain the type of merger in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. I find it highly improbable that a lapse of memory by a reciter renowned for having memorized two *Āgamas* could explain the shift of names from Bhaddāli to Udāyin within a single passage, resulting in an instruction being addressed to one of them in its first part and to the other in its second part. This is not the kind of variation to be expected from orally recited material, but rather something that can naturally happen during hasty or careless copying from a written passage.

The scenario reconstructed by Palumbo would also not explain the finding of a text with substantially different translation terminology as part of the collection. This is the case for discourse EĀ 50.4, which is one of two versions of the same story found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, concerning King Mahādeva.

All four proper names that occur in the two tales are rendered differently, and otherwise similar descriptions are translated in different ways. Standard pericope descriptions and key terminology are translated differently. Translations used in discourse EĀ 50.4 never occur anywhere else in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Even the introductory and the concluding phrase used in this discourse are never found anywhere else in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.³⁴ Given the staggering amount of differences in what is a relatively short narrative piece held in common between the two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, it is simply impossible to assume that this discourse could have been produced by the same translator(s) that is/are responsible for the rest of the collection.³⁵ [25]

³⁴ Cf. below p. 183f.

³⁵ [37] Palumbo 2013: 275 note 13 sees even such major differences as "the expression of a different and arguably earlier stage in the process of translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing* rather than as the product of one or more different translators" (note that according to his reconstruction the earlier and later

With all due allowance for changes in translation terminology, etc., the sheer amount of differences found does not leave room for any other conclusion.

Not only does Palumbo's reconstruction not satisfactorily explain these findings, it is also based on assumptions which I find difficult to follow.³⁶ One of these is the rationale for a revision which, according to his reconstruction, was that the reciter of the collection had forgotten parts of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Another is his dating of the so-called *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn*, based on which it would seem that the revision of the *Ekottarika-āgama* must have taken place before the time of Kumārajīva and thus was probably undertaken by the translation team itself. [26] In what follows I will first discuss the dating issue, and then turn to the presumed rationale for the revision.

stages of translation would have taken place shortly after each other). Palumbo 2013: 280 note 21 then also objects to the quantitative analysis by Hung 2013: 129f, stating that "there does not seem to be any cogent reasoning behind the ... conclusion" that individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses "cannot be ascribed to Dharmananda and Zhu Fonian", a criticism raised again by Palumbo 2013: 132 note 76 as follows: "Hung 2013 rejects the attribution of these parallels [i.e. the individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses] to the initial translation by Zhu Fonian and Dharmananda." Yet Hung 2013: 130 only states that "the individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses also differ from the translation terminology used in the rest of T 125. This makes it improbable that these discourses and T 125 stem from the same translator, although firm conclusions in this respect require further research." This to my mind does not convey a wholesale rejection, nor does it state that these "cannot be ascribed" to certain translators. Instead I see Hung as correctly stating that his research points in that direction, which it indeed does, but leaving the situation open for future research to confirm his findings or otherwise bring up evidence that disproves them.

³⁶ [38] I am also not convinced by Palumbo's assumption that there have been four redactions of the *Ekottarika-āgama* translation, a topic which in the context of the present chapter I cannot discuss in detail.

Palumbo convincingly shows that the commentary on the first part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* extant in the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn* must have come into being as part of the original translation efforts. Given that the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn* reflects the part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* now extant in the Taishō edition on which it comments, this version would in essence correspond to the text finalized by the translation team under the guidance of Dào'ān.³⁷

Without intending to dispute in any way that elements in the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn* must indeed go back to the original translation efforts, it seems to me that we cannot exclude that at that time mere notes were taken of discussions that took place in relation to the actual translation. Such notes might originally not have been intended for publication. If someone later should have undertaken a revision of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, it would have been only natural for the same person(s) to produce a version of these notes that is in line with the revised *Ekottarika-āgama*.

The arguments offered by Palumbo for dating the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn* that I will take up in what follows are related to the translation activities of Kumārajīva. One of these arguments is that the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn* espouses the view that *Vinaya* material is not meant for circulation outside the circle of those who have received full ordination.³⁸ [27] According to Palumbo (2013: 204), this was "blatantly disavowed in 405" when Kumārajīva received a manuscript enabling him to complete his translation of the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* in 406, whereupon "a new era had started, in which the precepts could not only be circulated, but also com-

³⁷ [39] According to Palumbo 2013: 281, "what has been handed down to us is in essence, if certainly not in shape, the very improbable *Ekottarika-āgama* that Dharmananda, Zhu Fonian, Dao'an and the others laboriously produced."

³⁸ [40] T 1507 at TXXV 46c21: 不可示沙彌及以白衣; a view also expressed in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, T II 549a27: 外國不通與沙彌, 白衣共視也; cf. also T 2145 at T LV 64b23.

mented upon in written form, and even made the object of public lectures."

Another argument for dating the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn* takes up a reference to the Buddha's disciple Kātyāyana as the author of the *Jñānaprasthāna* of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, which Palumbo (2013: 210) believes to be a view that must have "already been discarded by the time Kumārajīva translated the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (A.D. 402–406)".³⁹ Moreover, two quotations in the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn* from the so-called Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* and from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* rely on translations of these works done before Kumārajīva, instead of quoting the translations done by him.⁴⁰

These quotations do indeed give the impression that at the time the respective passages came into being, Kumārajīva's translations were not yet in circulation. Once the quotations were in place, however, there would have been little need for someone publishing these notes to replace them with the translations by Kumārajīva that in the meantime would have become available. [28]

Regarding the reference to Kātyāyana, other works of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, such as the *Dharmaskandha* and the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, are attributed by tradition to chief disciples of the Buddha, such as Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, and Mahākauṣṭhila.⁴¹ This makes it less surprising for the notion that Kātyāyana was the author of the *Jñānaprasthāna* not be immediately rectified as soon as Kumārajīva had translated the *Dà zhìdù lùn*.

As for the suggestion by Palumbo (2013: 256) that "the esoteric view of the vinaya, which is repeatedly expressed in the commentary [i.e. the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn*] ... cannot be reconciled with the

³⁹ [41] T 1507 at T XXV 42c21.

⁴⁰ [42] Palumbo 2013: 229–234.

⁴¹ [43] Anālayo 2014d: 153 note 76.

state of things after the translation of the Sarvāstivāda vinaya in A.D. 405–406", I am under the impression that this conclusion does not fully take into account the nature of such monastic attitudes. The stricture against allowing access to *Vinaya* regulations for those who have not received full ordination is an aspect of monastic conduct. The issue at stake is that a fully ordained monastic should not teach such matters to laity or even novices. In fact the *Dà zhìdù lùn*, translated by Kumārajīva, takes the same position.⁴² Such an attitude also finds explicit expression in the translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, undertaken three centuries later.⁴³ It is thus not possible to assume that any such indication could only have come into being before the time of Kumārajīva. [29]

In my view the above arguments raised by Palumbo for dating the *Fēnbié gōngdé lùn* are not conclusive and the possibility remains open that this work could have been finalized during or after the time of Kumārajīva's translation activities.

The other assumption by Palumbo that I would like to discuss here is that part of the Indic original of the *Ekottarika-āgama* had been forgotten, which motivated the translation team to supply their own discourses. This assumption is based on the indication by Dào'ān that the reciter had forgotten some of the summary verses (*uddāna*).⁴⁴ Palumbo (2013: 276) comments:

how could Dharmananda forget the brief *uddānas*, and not the much longer *sūtras* that those mnemonic verses were supposed to summarize? The impression is that the Chinese monk [i.e., Dào'ān] is glossing over a far more embarrassing

⁴² [44] T 1509 at T XXV 66a12: 此毘尼中說, 白衣不得聞。

⁴³ [45] T 1442 at T XXIII 672c4: 毘奈耶教是出家軌式, 俗不合聞。

⁴⁴ [46] T II 549a17: 失其錄偈。

situation ... Dharmananda may in fact have been unable to recite at least part of the sūtras of the relevant vargas.

Here I think it needs to be kept in mind that *uddānas* are not just summaries, but rather often meaningless strings of words, taken from different discourses in a particular chapter. Such meaningless strings of words are considerably more difficult to memorize and keep in memory than the discourses to which they refer, because the latter are built out of meaningful phrases that together form the theme of a particular discourse.

Moreover, these *uddānas* are not required in an actual teaching situation, but only come into their own when the whole collection needs to be recited chapter-wise, [30] such as for the purpose of translation. In such a situation they serve to ascertain that the discourses are recited in their proper order.

Judging from variations between renderings of the same term found in an *uddāna* and in the respective discourse elsewhere in the Chinese *Āgamas*, it seems that the *uddānas* were recited apart from the collection and thus also translated separately.⁴⁵ In the case of a Dharma teacher like Dharmanandin/Dharmananda, who apparently had been travelling for quite some time, it seems quite conceivable that he still remembered the material he had been using regularly for preaching purposes, but no longer remembered all of the *uddānas*.

In fact, once Dào'ān was willing to record explicitly that part of the *uddānas* had been forgotten, why would he not similarly have been willing to record that part of the discourses had been forgotten, if that had indeed been the case? Numbers of *Āgama* discourses have been translated individually into Chinese, as well as partial *Āgama* collections or extracts (such as T 100, T 101, and T

⁴⁵ [47] Cf. the study of this feature of the *Ekottarika-āgama's* *uddānas* by Su 2013: 205–207.

150A). There seems to be no compelling reason why Dào'ān and his collaborators could not have produced a partial *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, had the reciter of the original indeed forgotten major parts of it. Thus it seems to me that the assumption that there was a need for the translation team to supplement discourses that had been forgotten is not convincing.

In sum, the hypothesis that an integration of new material into the *Ekottarika-āgama* took place during the actual translation and with the sanction of the entire team, including the reciter of the collection and Dào'ān, is to my mind not persuasive. Instead, as far as I can see, a more probable scenario would be that something took place subsequently, after the translation.

Be that as it may, the detailed research by Palumbo confirms the basic impression derived from other studies of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in so far as it can safely be concluded that this collection did undergo substantial change in China. [31] It thus needs to be reckoned as a case apart from the other *Āgamas* and their Pāli *Nikāya* counterparts, which show no signs of having remained open to comparable changes at so late a time.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ [48] On the main time frame reflected by the discourses in the four Pāli *Nikāyas* cf. Anālayo 2012e.

Makhādeva-sutta (MN 83) Part 1

Introduction

The present chapter provides a translation of the first part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Makhādeva-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, followed by a study of the *cakravartin* motif found in this part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse. The extant versions of the discourse under discussion are:

- The *Makhādeva-sutta* preserved in Pāli.¹
- The "Discourse on Mahādeva's Mango Grove", found in the *Madhyama-āgama*.²
- A discourse without title found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and translated below and in the next chapter.³
- The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* contains also a partial and somewhat different version of the same discourse, which I translate in the next chapter but one.⁴

* Originally published in 2011 under the title "The Tale of King Ma(k)hādeva in the Ekottarika-āgama and the Cakravartin Motif" in the *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 9: 43–77.

¹ MN 83 at MN II 74,14 to 83,14.

² MĀ 67 at T I 511c21 to 515b1.

³ ^[4&12] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c21 to 810b19. The part translated below is found at T II 806c21 to 808b17. In my notes, I often take into account only differences between EĀ 50.4 and MN 83, only at times covering also the other parallel versions, as to attempt a comprehensive survey of variations among all versions would go beyond the bounds of what is feasible in annotation. A survey of the main differences between the parallel version of the present discourse can be found in Anālayo 2011c: 466–474. I study and translate the remainder of EĀ 50.4 in the next chapter; cf. below p. 141ff.

⁴ ^[6] EĀ 1 at T II 551b27 to 552a22 and T II 553c5 to 553c23; the first of these two parts has been translated in Huyèn-Vi 1985: 40–42. The tale occurs in the context of a narrative according to which the monk Uttara, to whom Ānanda

- Another partial version can be found as a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikāīkā*.⁵
- The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* also contains a version of the present tale.⁶ [44]
- Another version can be found in the Pāli *Jātaka* collection.⁷
- In addition, a collection of *jātakas* assembled under the heading of the six perfections and preserved in Chinese translation contains yet another version of this tale.⁸

Translation of EĀ 50.4 (first part)

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Exalted One,⁹ together with a great company of one thousand two hundred and

entrusted the preservation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, had in a former life been a descendant of King Mahādeva; cf. EĀ 1 at T II 552a25 and below p. 165ff.

⁵ [7] D 4094 *ju* 76b2 to 77b4 or Q 5595 *tu* 86a8 to 87b8, which does not have the story of Nimi; on this work cf. Mejer 1991: 63f, Skilling and Harrison 2005: 699, and Dhammadinnā 2012: 66–70.

⁶ [9] D 1 *kha* 53a1 to 56b7 or Q 1030 *ge* 48b6 to 52b2. The Mahādeva tale and the Nimi tale recur as separate stories in D 1 *kha* 194b or Q 1030 *ge* 183a and D 1 *kha* 196a or Q 1030 *ge* 184b; cf. also Yao 2007.

⁷ [10] Jā 9 at Jā I 137,13 to 139,30. The tale of King Nimi can be found in Jā 541 at Jā VI 95,12 to 129,17.

⁸ [11] Tale no. 87 in a collection of tales on the six perfections, 六度集經 (reconstructed as **Satpāramitā-saṃnipāta-sūtra* by Durt 1999: 247), T 152 at T III 48b26 to 49b23, which has been translated by Chavannes 1910: 321–328. The tale of King Nimi can, moreover, be found as tale no. 38 in T 211 at T IV 608b8 to 608c12, translated by Willems 1999: 220f.

⁹ [13] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c21 here uses the form 婆伽婆, which does not appear to recur anywhere else in the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, where *bhagavant* is usually rendered with the standard translation 世尊, found also throughout the rest of the present discourse. Jan Nattier, in an email dated 13 April 2010, suggested that this could be a sign that the present discourse was absorbed into the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection from a pre-existing translation; cf. also below p. 165ff.

fifty monks,¹⁰ had stopped in Mahādeva's Grove, to the east of the town of Mithilā in the Magadha country.¹¹

2. Then the Blessed One arose after the meal to do walking meditation among the trees in the grove, together with Ānanda.¹² The Buddha smiled. Ānanda thought: "Tathāgatas, free from attachment, fully and rightly awakened, do not smile in vain. Now what caused the smile? Certainly there is a reason for it. I shall ask him."

Adjusting his robes, Ānanda knelt down on his right knee and,¹³ holding his palms together [in respect] towards the Buddha, he asked: "Tathāgatas, free from attachment, fully and rightly awakened, do not smile in vain. Now what caused the smile? Certainly there is a reason for it. I wish to hear the reason for the smile."

3. The Buddha told Ānanda: "I will tell you. In the past, at the beginning of this auspicious aeon, right here there existed a wheel-turning king,¹⁴ ruler of the four continents, [807a] by the name of Mahādeva.¹⁵

¹⁰ [14] MN 83 does not give a count of the monks present.

¹¹ [15] The statement about the location appears to be based on some error in transmission or translation, as Mithilā was the capital of the Videha country and thus not in the Magadha country; cf., e.g., Rhys Davids 1903/1997: 37 or Malalasekera 1938/1998: 635.

¹² [16] MN 83 does not report what preceded the Buddha's smile.

¹³ [17] MN 83 does not mention that Ānanda knelt down.

¹⁴ [18] MN 83 does not indicate that he was a wheel-turning king, hence it has no counterpart to the subsequent section on his seven jewels.

¹⁵ [19] EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a1: 大天, a rendering found similarly in MĀ 67 at T I 511c29 and in the Chinese *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, T 1448 at T XXIV 58c1, with its Tibetan equivalent *lha chen po* in D 1 *kha* 53a1 or Q 1030 *ge* 48b6, an expression similarly used in D 4094 *ju* 76b2 or Q 5595 *tu* 86a8. The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* in Dutt 1984a: 111,19 has the corresponding form *mahādeva*, found also in *Karmavibhāṅga*, Kudo 2004: 48,10, and in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 450,18.

"He had a long life and was free from disease. He was handsome and vigorous, and he governed by way of the right Dharma, without oppressing the people. He possessed the seven treasures, which had [manifested] spontaneously. What are the seven?

"One: the wheel-treasure,
two: the elephant-treasure,
three: the horse-treasure, [45]
four: the jewel-treasure,
five: the woman-treasure,
six: the steward-treasure,
seven: the general-treasure."

The Buddha told Ānanda: "King Mahādeva had been a young prince for eighty-four thousand years, he acted as a crown prince for eighty-four thousand years, and he ascended [to occupy] the throne of a noble king for eighty-four thousand years."

Ānanda asked the Buddha: "What is the wheel-treasure?" The Buddha told Ānanda: "On the fifteenth day of the month, it being the full-moon day, having washed and cleaned himself, the king went up on top of the eastern hall together with his women and, looking towards the east, [he saw] a golden wheel with a thousand spokes. The wheel was at a height of seven lengths of a palm tree (*palm trees have a single straight*

The C^o and E^o editions of MN 83 speak of King Makhādeva, whereas B^o and S^o use the name King Maghādeva. A Bhārhut *stūpa* inscription refers to Maghādeva, Cunningham 1879 plate 48 or Barua 1934: 82; cf. also Cowell 1895/2000: 32 and Lévi 1912: 497. The version of the present tale in the introductory section of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 1 at T II 551b29, transcribes the name as 摩訶提婆; cf. also T 152 at T III 48c4: 摩調, T 194 at T IV 122a23: 摩訶提披, and T 744 at T XVII 553b25: 摩調, which the same work explains as referring to 大天.

trunk).¹⁶ It remained at the height of seven such palm trees. The wheel was of pure gold, which had a purplish hue.

"Having seen the wheel, the king thought: 'This wheel is a superb wheel, I wish to be able to take hold of it, [can I]?' As soon as he had this thought, the wheel moved close to the king's left hand and then into his right hand.¹⁷

"The king said to the wheel: 'Conquer for me all those that have not been conquered, take for me all lands that do not belong to me, in accordance with the Dharma, not against the Dharma!' After he said this, the wheel went back up into the sky where it remained, with its rim pointing towards the east and the hub pointing towards the north.

"The king gave order to get the fourfold army ready, equipped with their weapons and drawn up to his left and right, ready with their commanders and armed troops, in order to pursue the [course] indicated by the wheel in the sky. They followed the wheel's lead towards the east and completely toured the eastern realm. In the evening, the king and his armed troops stayed overnight wherever the wheel had lowered itself. ^[46]

All the minor kings in the eastern realm came forwards for an audience, paying tribute with golden bowls filled with silver grains and silver bowls filled with golden grains, [saying]:

¹⁶ ^[20] Adopting a variant without 以樹. The part that I have put in round brackets and italics appears to be an explanatory gloss added by the translator.

¹⁷ ^[21] In MĀ 67 at T I 512a18 the king supports the wheel with his left hand and rotates it with his right hand: 以左手撫輪，右手轉之. A description of the appearance of the wheel in MN 129 at MN III 172,24 (otherwise unrelated to the present discourse) indicates that the king holds a water vessel in his left hand and sprinkles the wheel with the right hand, a description that underlines the significance of the wheel as an emblem of royalty. Gokhale 1966: 21 notes that the choice of the wheel in this context stands in contrast to the "sceptre or rod (*daṇḍa*) [which] is the common symbol used for the authority of the state in Kauṭalyan and *Dharmaśāstra* theories"; cf. also Ling 1973/1976: 179.

'Welcome Great King, the lands in this eastern realm, with their treasury of jewels and people, are entirely at the king's disposal, we wish you to stay and dwell governing them. We shall be obedient to your majesty's instruction.'

"King Mahādeva replied to the minor kings: 'If you wish to comply with my instructions, then each of you should return to your home country and instruct the people in the ten wholesome [courses of action], so that they do not engage in what is deviant.'

"[After] these orders had been given and the instructions were complete, the wheel moved above the ocean and, rotating in empty space, the wheel proceeded,¹⁸ spontaneously opening up a path in the middle of the ocean that was a league in width. The king and his fourfold army followed the wheel as before, touring the southern realm.

"All the minor kings in the southern realm came forwards for an audience, all paying tribute with golden bowls filled with silver grains and silver bowls filled with golden grains, saying: 'Welcome your Majesty the King, the lands in this southern realm, with their treasury of jewels and people, are entirely at the king's disposal, we wish you to stay and dwell governing them. We shall be obedient to your Majesty's decrees.'

"[King] Mahādeva replied to the kings: 'If you wish to comply with my decrees, ^[807b] then each of you should return to your home country and instruct the people in the ten wholesome [courses of action], so that they do not engage in what is deviant.'

"[After] these orders had been given and the instructions were complete, the wheel turned westwards and proceeded to the western realm. The kings of the western realm all offered

¹⁸ [22] Adopting the variant 輪 instead of 轉 and the variant 虛 instead of 雲.

their tribute, [all took place] just as what had already happened in the southern direction.¹⁹ The wheel then turned north and toured the northern realm. The kings of the northern realm all came forwards for an audience, ^[47] paying tribute completely according to the Dharma as the previous [kings].²⁰

"Having circled in four days the whole of Jambudīpa and the four oceans,²¹ they returned home to the town of Mithilā. The [wheel] remained in mid air in front of the palace entrance, at a height of seven palm trees, its rim facing east. The king in turn entered his palace."

The Buddha told Ānanda: "In this way Mahādeva obtained the wheel-treasure." Ānanda further asked the Buddha: "How did Mahādeva in turn obtain the elephant-treasure?"

The Buddha told Ānanda: "On a later fifteenth day of the month, it being the full-moon day, having washed and cleaned himself, Mahādeva went up on top of the eastern hall together with his women and, looking towards the east, he saw in the midst of the sky a white royal elephant by the name of Mānhū.²² It came approaching through empty space and then stopped, with his seven limbs evenly [proportioned] and with

¹⁹ [23] Adopting the variant 已 instead of 比.

²⁰ [24] My translation does not follow the original syntax, which reads: 盡如前法, literally "completely according to the previous Dharma".

²¹ [25] On the term Jambudvīpa cf. Wujastyk 2004.

²² [26] EĀ 50.4 at T II 807b11: 滿呼, where the first character has the meaning "full" and the second can according to Pulleyblank 1991: 126 represent *x* in Early Middle Chinese, giving the impression that perhaps the underlying Indic original could have been *pūrṇaka*, which occurs as a proper name, e.g., in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 245,10: *āyuṣmāṃ pūrṇako*; on the *yakṣa* Pūrṇaka cf. DeCaroli 2004: 71. In MN 129 at MN III 173,31 the elephant-treasure has the name Uposatha, in MĀ 67 at T I 512b14: 于娑賀.

six tusks in his mouth,²³ [wearing] golden headgear, a necklace with gold and jade ornaments, and the body adorned on both sides with gold and silver netting embroidered with pearls. The elephant had magical potency, being able to change its form at will.

"On seeing it, Mahādeva thought: 'Can I obtain this elephant? With it [much] could be done.' When the thought was completed, the elephant stood in mid air right in front of the king.

"The king thereupon instructed it with five commands.²⁴ The king further thought: 'I will try out this elephant's ability.' At sunrise the next day, the king mounted this elephant. In a moment, [the elephant] toured the four seas, returned to its departure place to the east of the palace entrance, and stood there facing east.

"Ānanda, in this way Mahādeva obtained the elephant-treasure." Ānanda further asked the Buddha: "How did Mahādeva in turn obtain the horse-treasure?"^[48]

The Buddha told Ānanda: "On a later fifteenth day of the month, it being the full-moon day, having washed and cleaned himself, Mahādeva went up on top of the western hall together with his women and, looking towards the west, he saw a dark purplish-coloured royal horse, by the name of Valāhaka. It

²³ [27] MĀ 67 at T I 512b14 similarly speaks of seven limbs, 有七支. The elephant in MN 129 at MN III 173,30 is also qualified as being of sevenfold standing, which the sub-commentary (B^s II 357) explains as referring to the tail, head, trunk, and four feet.

²⁴ [28] Regarding the training of an elephant, the otherwise unrelated MN 125 at MN III 133,7 describes six commands: "take up, put down!", "go forward, go back!", and "get up, sit down!" The parallel version in MĀ 198 at T I 758a1 has eight commands: "lie down, get up! Go, come back! Take up, put down! Bend, stretch!"

came approaching through the sky, proceeding without any movement of the body, adorned with golden headgear, a necklace with gold and jade ornaments, and with jewelled netting with bells on both sides. The horse had magical potency, being able to change its form at will.

"On seeing it, Mahādeva thought to himself: 'Can I get to mount this [horse]?' As soon as he completed this thought, the [horse] came up right in front of the king.

"The king thereupon had the wish to mount it in order to try it out.²⁵ At sunrise the next morning, the king mounted it and went east. In a moment, [the horse] toured the four seas and returned to its departure place to the west of the palace entrance and stood there facing west.

"Ānanda, in this way Mahādeva obtained the horse-treasure." Ānanda asked the Buddha: "How did Mahādeva in turn obtain the jewel-treasure?"

The Buddha told Ānanda: ^[807c] "On a later fifteenth day of the month, it being the full-moon day, having washed and cleaned himself, Mahādeva went up on top of the eastern hall together with his women and,²⁶ looking towards the east, he saw a miraculous jewel. The jewel's size was one foot six inches long, it had eight facets and a dark purplish colour of [red] beryl. At a height of seven palm trees it came approaching through the sky.²⁷

"On seeing it, Mahādeva thought: 'Can I get this jewel and examine it?' As [soon as] he thought this he could take hold of it.

²⁵ ^[29] Adopting the variant 欲乘 instead of 乘欲.

²⁶ Following a correction in the CBETA edition of 大王 to read 大天.

²⁷ ^[30] In relation to this and the subsequent treasures, MĀ 67 and MN 129 just mention that these manifested to the king, without indicating in what way they arrived.

"Then the king had the wish to try it out. At midnight, he had the fourfold army assembled and with the jewel suspended on top of a banner they marched out of the city. The jewel illuminated all directions for [a distance of] twelve leagues and the army troops were able to see each other just as if it were day, [49] without any difference. As the brilliance of the jewel spread, people were startled and got up, all of them saying: 'It is daybreak.' The king returned to the palace and put up the banner inside of the palace, so that inside and outside of it there was always light, not differing from daytime.

"Ānanda, in this way Mahādeva obtained the jewel-treasure." Ānanda asked the Buddha: "How did Mahādeva in turn obtain the beautiful woman-treasure?"

The Buddha told Ānanda: "On a fifteenth day of the month, it being the full-moon day, having washed and cleaned himself, Mahādeva went up on top of the eastern hall together with his women and, looking towards the east, he saw a woman-treasure from the warrior [caste], by the name of Mānāhēli.²⁸ She was handsome beyond comparison, beautiful and bright, not too tall, not too short, not too stout, not too slim, not too fair, not too dark.

"[Her body exuded] warmth in winter and coolness in summer, the pores of her body gave off the scent of sandalwood and from her mouth came a scent like a bowlful of lotuses.²⁹ She did not have any of the assemblage of bad attitudes of women, her character was harmonious and she was foremost in willingness to comply with instructions. She came approaching through empty space until she reached the king.

²⁸ [31] EĀ 50.4 at T II 807c13: 曼那呵利, explained in an inter-textual remark appended to the name within the text itself, presumably by the translator, as having the meaning of "carrying away one's heart", 奪情.

²⁹ [32] Adopting the variant 優 instead of 憂.

"Ānanda, in this way Mahādeva obtained the beautiful woman-treasure." Ānanda asked the Buddha: "How did Mahādeva in turn obtain the steward-treasure?"

The Buddha told Ānanda: "On a fifteenth day of the month, it being the full-moon day, having washed and cleaned himself, Mahādeva was leading his women up on top of the northern hall and, looking towards the north, he saw the steward-treasure, by the name of Āluótuōzhī.³⁰ He was handsome and beautiful, not too long, not too short, not too fat, not too thin. His body had a golden hue and he had dark purplish hair. [50]

"The white of his eye and the pupil were bright, able to see treasure stores with the seven precious substances hidden in the earth,³¹ those that are protected by owners and those that are ownerless and can be taken for the king's purposes. [808a] He was clever and wise, capable at [devising] the right method or plan. He came approaching through empty space until he arrived in front of the king. He said to the king: 'I have already come, from now on let the king be at ease and not worry!³² I shall provide the king with treasures, so that there will be no shortage.'

"The king thereupon put the steward to the test by embarking on a boat with him and putting out to sea. The king told the steward: 'I wish to get gold and silver treasures.' The steward said to the king: 'Let us return to the shore, I shall supply the treasures.' The king said: 'I wish to get the treasures that are in the water, no need to go ashore.'

"The steward in turn rose from his seat, adjusted his clothing, knelt down on his right knee and with his palms held to-

³⁰ [33] EĀ 50.4 at T II 807c21: 阿羅哞吱 (with a variant reading as 阿羅哞吱大), explained in an inter-textual gloss as meaning a "banner of wealth", 財幢.

³¹ [34] Adopting a variant that adds 中 to 地.

³² [35] Adopting the variant 後 instead of 往.

gether paid homage to the water. From amidst the water there spontaneously emerged [a piece of] golden headgear,³³ as large as the hub of [the wheel] of a chariot, and in an instant the boat was full. The king said: 'Enough, do not get more gold, the boat will sink.'

"Ānanda, in this way Mahādeva obtained the steward-treasure." Ānanda further asked the Buddha: "How did Mahādeva in turn obtain the general-treasure?"

The Buddha told Ānanda: "On a fifteenth day of the month, it being the full-moon day, having washed and cleaned himself, Mahādeva was leading his women up on top of the southern hall and, looking towards the south, he saw a general called Bīpīnā.³⁴ He was handsome and beautiful, with hair of the colour of pearl and the body of a greenish hue, not too long, not too short, not too fat, not too thin.

"His eyes had a penetrating vision and he knew the thoughts in the minds of other people. He knew the right time for [implementing] the schemes and planned movements of the armed forces, [when] to advance and [when] to retreat. [51] He came approaching through empty space until he reached the king. He said to the king: 'I wish that the king is at ease and does not worry about the world or about attacks from any of the four directions, your courtiers will deal [with such matters] themselves.'

³³ [36] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808a9: 頂, literally "head" or "top", with a variant reading: "spear head", 鋌. A description of the abilities of the steward-treasure in another discourse in the same *Ekottarika-āgama* speaks simply of taking out the seven precious substances from the water, EĀ 39.8 at T II 732c8: 居士即前長跪叉手向水, 尋時水中七寶踊。

³⁴ [37] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808a14: 毘毘那, explained in an inter-textual remark as meaning "fearless", 無畏。

"The king wished to try him out. At midnight he thought that he wished for the fourfold army to assemble. As soon as he had this thought, the entire fourfold army assembled. The king again thought that he wished to proceed towards the east. The army promptly proceeded towards the east, with the general in front and the king in the middle, surrounded on all sides by the fourfold army. [When] the king thought that he wished to advance, they advanced; [when] the king thought that he wished to return, they returned.

"Ānanda, in this way Mahādeva obtained the general-treasure." The Buddha told Ānanda: "In this way Mahādeva gained the seven treasures."

4. The Buddha told Ānanda: "Having governed the world for a long time, King Mahādeva then addressed the attendant, called [by the name of his profession as] 'barber', who was combing his hair:³⁵ 'If there is a white hair, then pull it out and show it to me!'

"[When] the barber had examined the hair for a long time, he saw that there was a white hair.³⁶ He then told the king: 'Having earlier been instructed [to look out for it], now I have seen a white [hair].' The king said: 'Pull it out and show it to me.' The barber pulled out the white hair with golden tweezers and

³⁵ ^[38] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808a25: 劫北, where the first character stands for aeon, *kappa*, whereas the second according to Pulleyblank 1991: 31 represents the sound *pək* in Early Middle Chinese, with the Taishō edition note 16 giving the name as *kappaka*. Generation after generation of wheel-turning kings keep on addressing their barber as 劫北 and request him to keep a look out for their first white hair. Since it is improbable that a single barber was thought to have a lifespan as long as all generations of wheel-turning kings from Mahādeva to Nimi taken together, I take 劫北 to be a way of addressing him by the name of his occupation.

³⁶ ^[39] In MN 83 at MN II 75,7 many hundreds and thousands of years pass by before the barber is able to discover a white hair.

put it on the king's hand. The king took hold of the white hair and then spoke a poem: ^[808b]

"[Right] on top of my own head,
The ruining of health has manifested,
The body's messenger has come to summon me,
The time to enter on the path has arrived.'^[52]

"The king thought: 'I have already had the best of the five [types] of human pleasures. Now I shall go forth, [having shaved] off hair and beard and donned Dharma robes.'³⁷

"He summoned the crown prince Dīghāyu and told him:³⁸
'Prince, on my head a white hair has already appeared. I have been sated with the five [types] of pleasure in the world already, now I wish to seek divine pleasures. I now wish to shave my hair and beard, wear Dharma robes, and go forth to practise the path. You shall now become the head of the government of the country. Appoint your eldest [son] as the crown prince. Take good care to have the barber in turn watch out for a white hair. A white hair having appeared, hand over the country to your crown prince and go forth just like me, [having shaved] off hair and beard and donned Dharma robes.'

"The king told the crown prince: 'Now I dutifully pass on to you the burden of this noble throne. You should make sure this

³⁷ [40] Adopting the variant 披 instead of 被.

³⁸ [41] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b4: 長生, a name that recurs in EĀ 24.8 at T II 627a29 as the counterpart to prince Dīghāyu mentioned in another tale at Vin I 343,30. Several parallels to this tale similarly employ 長生 to refer to this prince; cf. MĀ 72 at T I 534a3, T 152 (no. 10) at T III 5a21, T 161 at T III 386a8, T 212 at T IV 694a11, and T 1421 at T XXII 159b7. For a representation of this tale from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa cf. Anālayo 2010b: 66. Another tale that more closely parallels the present instance, as it also involves a king renouncing the throne in favour of his son in order to go forth, can be found in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 457,8, which speaks of prince Dīrghāyu. MN 83 does not mention the name of the crown prince.

noble throne is in turn passed on [like this] from generation to generation, do not let this custom die out. If this custom dies out, you will in turn be just like the people in the border countries.³⁹ If you let this wholesome practice die out, you will in turn be reborn in a region devoid of Dharma.'

5. "Having given these orders and admonishments, Mahādeva in turn handed over the country to his crown prince Dīghāyu and bestowed some farmland on the barber."⁴⁰

The Buddha told Ānanda: "In this town, in this grove and on this [spot of] earth, Mahādeva [shaved] off his hair and beard, put on Dharma robes, and entered on the path.

6. "In this place he practised the four divine abodes of *mettā*, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity for eighty-four thousand years.⁴¹ At the end of his life, he attained rebirth in the Brahmā realm. When Mahādeva had gone forth for seven days, the woman-treasure passed away."⁴²

(to be continued in the next chapter)⁴³ [53]

³⁹ [42] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b11: 便為邊地人也, probably corresponding to the expression *paccantimā janapadā* found, e.g., at Vin I 197,20. MN 83 at MN II 75,28 instead states that by discontinuing this practice the prince would be the "last man", *antimapurisa*.

⁴⁰ [43] In MN 83 at MN II 75,16 the king grants the barber a village.

⁴¹ [44] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b15: 梵行, which in its general usage rather stands for *brahmacariya*, although in the present context it is clear that *brahmavihāra* is meant. Soothill and Hodous 1937/2000: 178 note 四梵行 as an alternative for 四無量; cf. also Bronkhorst 1993/2000: 94 note 32 and, for a similar case, Nattier 2003a: 265 note 355. MN 83 at MN II 76,18 at this point indicates that he not only practised the *brahmavihāras* for eighty-four thousand years, but also spent the same time period as child, crown prince, and king.

⁴² [45] The passing away of the woman-treasure is not reported in MN 83.

⁴³ [46] For a translation of the remainder of EĀ 50.4 cf. below p. 141ff.

Study

A narrative motif that takes up much space in the part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated above is the detailed description of the seven treasures with which, according to tradition, a wheel-turning king is endowed. Whereas the Pāli version does not have even a passing reference to the *cakravartin*, the *Bhaiṣaj-yavastu* parallel and the discourse quotation in the *Abhidharma-kośopāyikāṭīkā* introduce Mahādeva as a wheel-turning king and briefly list his seven treasures.⁴⁴ A full description of the seven treasures can also be found in the *Madhyama-āgama* version.⁴⁵

Of particular interest in regard to the differing degrees to which the *cakravartin* motif appears in the parallel accounts is the fact that the version of the present tale found in the introductory section of the *Ekottarika-āgama* does not introduce Mahādeva as a wheel-turning king, although it does present his first descendant as a wheel-turning king endowed with the seven treasures.⁴⁶ This gives the impression that this version could reflect an interim stage in the application of the *cakravartin* motif.

It is perhaps also noteworthy that the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated above does not give a full account of the king's reaction to the disappearance of the seven treasures when describing what happened after King Mahādeva went forth, although the same discourse does have such a narrative when describing what happened after the son of King Mahādeva had gone forth.⁴⁷ Since

⁴⁴ [47] D I *kha* 53a7 or Q 1030 *ge* 49a5 and D 4094 *ju* 76b2 or Q 5595 *tu* 86b1.

⁴⁵ [48] MĀ 67 at T I 512a3.

⁴⁶ [49] EĀ 1 at T II 552a16.

⁴⁷ [50] In relation to King Mahādeva, EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b17 notes the disappearance of the woman-treasure only, not of the other six treasures (this comes after the concluding section of the part of the discourse translated above), whereas in relation to his son, EĀ 50.4 at T II 808c13 reports how all seven treasures disappeared and the new king was sad, but was then told by his courtiers to take counsel from his father.

the same discourse otherwise applies its narrative descriptions to all possible instances, this irregularity could also be a sign that the *cakravartin* narrative was subsequently applied and perhaps gradually expanded.

A comparable pattern of disagreement among parallel discourse versions in regard to the narrative space given to the *cakravartin* motif can be observed in relation to another discourse, the *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta*. Here it is the Pāli version that has a detailed description of the seven treasures of a wheel-turning king, whereas its parallels only list them.⁴⁸ [54]

The variations among the parallel versions of the *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* and the parallel versions of the discourse on Ma(k)hādeva seem to reflect an increasing interest among Buddhist narrators in the image of the wheel-turning king, motivating them to explore this motif when a suitable opportunity presented itself.

Nevertheless, the notion of a world ruler as such appears to be rather early. In what follows, I briefly survey some of the relevant observations made by various scholars, without any pretension at being exhaustive.

As already pointed out a century ago by Jacobi (1910: 336) in an encyclopaedia article on the *cakravartin*, "the idea of a universal monarch ... is very ancient in India",⁴⁹ noting that in the

⁴⁸ [51] MN 129 at MN III 172,13, with the parallels MĀ 199 at T I 762b28 and D 4094 *ju* 67a2 or Q 5595 *tu* 74b6. Here the *cakravartin* motif serves the function of indicating that, if the happiness of a wheel-turning king were compared to a pebble, the happiness of being reborn in heaven compares to a great mountain. This description of heavenly pleasures is preceded by an account of the suffering in hell and of being reborn among animals, the purpose of the discourse being to drive home the fact that evil deeds have bitter fruits, just as wholesome deeds have pleasurable results.

⁴⁹ [52] Przyluski 1927: 179–185 holds that the conception of the *cakravartin* had Babylonian origins, evident in a description of the city governed by the *cakravartin* as encircled by seven walls in the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* and its parallel

early literature such a king is referred to with the expression *saṃrāj*, the term *cakravartin* then being found in the *Maitrī Upaniṣad*.⁵⁰

In a paper on the *cakravartin* in the *Purāṇas*, Sastri (1940: 310) notes that a reference to seven treasures, *sapta ratna*, is already found in Vedic texts, although not yet linked to the *cakravartin*. Zimmer (1951: 129), studying the notion of the universal king in ancient India, then goes so far as to propose that the concept of a *cakravartin* goes back "not only to the earliest Vedic, but also to the pre-Vedic ... traditions of India".

Horsch (1957: 64), examining the notion of the wheel in a range of texts, points out that in the *Ṛgveda* and also the *Avesta* the *cakra* already signifies sovereignty. In a paper published in the same year, Wijesekera (1957: 267) concludes that the wheel of the *cakravartin* as a symbol of universal sovereignty "has an antecedent in Indra's *cakra* of conquering might and paramount dominion", already attested in the *Ṛgveda*.

As part of his study of kingship in early India, Drekmeier (1962: 203) indicates that "the concept of a state ... under the rule of a *chakravartin* goes back at least to the tenth century B.C."

Armelin (1975: 6), in a monograph dedicated to the *cakravartin* in brahminical and Buddhist texts, [55] confirms that the idea of such a ruler can already be found in Vedic times, although the use of the term *cakravartin* for this idea originated later.

References to the ancient roots of the *cakravartin* motif continue with subsequent scholarly publications, such as encyclopa-

in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, DN 17 at DN II 170,17 and T 1451 at T XXIV 393a4; cf. also the Sanskrit fragment parallel, Waldschmidt 1951: 306 §34.2, and the Chinese parallels T 5 at T I 169c21, T 6 at T I 185b18, T 7 at T I 201a8, and MĀ 68 at T I 515b26. A similar description is also found in a different context in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 194,3.

⁵⁰ [53] *Maitrī Upaniṣad* 1.4, Radhakrishnan 1953/1992: 797.

dia entries on the term,⁵¹ as well as other publications that touch on this theme.⁵² Thus it seems safe to conclude that a reference to a wheel-turning king need not in itself be a sign of lateness and could have come into being well before the reign of Asoka.

In its occurrence in the early discourses, the *cakravartin* functions as a worldly counterpart to the Buddha, both being unique in their respective fields and deserving the same honour and type of funeral. At the same time, the texts do not fail to make it clear that the Buddha's spiritual sovereignty is vastly superior to any worldly dominion, even that of a *cakravartin*.⁵³

As part of the parallelism between the *cakravartin* and the Buddha, the seven treasures of the wheel-turning king find their match in the seven factors of awakening.⁵⁴ This set of seven treas-

⁵¹ [⁵⁴] Nanayakkara 1977: 592, like Jacobi, traces the origins of the idea of a *cakravartin* to the world ruler, *samrāj*, mentioned in the *Rgveda*. Mahony 2005: 1350 points out that the "notion that the king was to have extensive rule dates at least as far back as the high Vedic era (1200–800 BCE) and possibly to the centuries preceding".

⁵² [⁵⁵] Strong 1983: 48 comments, regarding the *cakravartin*, that "in India, the concept goes back at least to the tenth century B.C." Gombrich 1988: 82 observes that the notion of "a world-ruler of untrammelled power is a commonplace of the ideology informing Vedic ritual". Chakravarti 1996: 6 notes that "the word ... *cakkavatti* already existed in sixth century B.C. vocabulary." Trainor 1997: 33 comments that the "notion of a universal monarch has a long history in south Asia, dating back to the Vedic period." Collins 1998: 470: remarks that "the Wheel-turning king ... is found in pre-Buddhist Brahmanical and in Jain literature."

⁵³ [⁵⁶] Bareau 1971b: 16 comments that "the devotees of the epoch were convinced that only a king who dominated the entire world could be compared to Buddha, yet they took care to show clearly, by means of several significant traits, that the temporal sovereign would remain inferior to the Beatific."

⁵⁴ [⁵⁷] SN 46.42 at SN V 99,1; cf. also, e.g., SHT VIII 1857, Bechert and Wille 2000: 50f, MĀ 58 at T I 493a12, T 38 at T I 822a28, SĀ 721 at T II 194a6 (cf. also SĀ 722), EĀ 39.7 at T II 731b15, and Skilling 1997b: 280. An attempt to

ures appears to be characteristic of the Buddhist conception of a *cakravartin*, as Jain and Purāṇic texts provide different listings of the treasures of a wheel-turning king.⁵⁵

The theme of the basic contrast between material treasures and mental 'treasures' can also be seen in the present instance, where the glorious possessions of the king of the past lead up to his act of renunciation and practice of the *brahmavihāras*. The discourse does not stop at this substitution of the seven magnificent material treasures of a universal monarch with the mental wealth of a mind suffused with *mettā*, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity. At the end of the discourse, in a part translated in the next chapter, Mahādeva's renunciation of the throne and practice of the *brahmavihāras* are set in contrast to the path to liberation taught by the Buddha. Needless to say, this Dharma is vastly superior to the

match the seven treasures with the seven factors of awakening one by one can be found in Spk III 154,19, translated in Gethin 1992: 182f. This parallelism has also found its expression in art where, as noted by Bénisti 1981: 72ff, representations of the seven treasures accompany not only a *cakravartin*, but at times also the Buddha.

⁵⁵ [58] Whereas the listing of seven treasures seems to be standard in Buddhist texts (cf., e.g., Mvy no. 3622–3628, Sakaki 1926: 251), the Jain *Thāṇaṅga* 7.558, Jambūvijaya 1985: 232,9, lists two sets of treasures of a wheel-turning king, of which one set of seven comprises material treasures (wheel, umbrella, leather, staff, sword, jewel, and cubic stone), whereas the other set of seven treasures is composed of living beings (general, steward, carpenter, priest, woman, horse, and elephant). As already noted by Zin 2012: 150 note 8, listings of the treasures of a *cakravartin* can also be found in the *Matsyapurāṇa* and the *Vāyupurāṇa*. The *Matsyapurāṇa* 142.63, Joshi 2007: 500, lists wheel, chariot, queen, jewel, horse, elephant, and gold. The *Vāyupurāṇa* 57.68, Sharma 2008: 377, lists wheel, chariot, jewel, spouse, treasure, horse, and elephant. The same text then continues with two sets of seven, of which the first covers inanimate items (57.69): wheel, chariot, jewel, sword, bow, flag, and treasure, whereas the second set comprises living beings (57.70): queen, priest, general, chariot-maker, minister, horse, and elephant.

Dharma of King Mahādeva. Such a superior Dharma is the inheritance that Ānanda should pass on intact to future generations, an injunction that clearly reveals the soteriological function of the whole discourse.⁵⁶ [56]

The hearer of the discourse is being gradually prepared for this final message in a way that merits further inspection. By way of introduction to this topic, it is worthy noting that the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse begins with a smile of the Buddha, reported similarly in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Madhyama-āgama* discourses.⁵⁷ The versions of the present tale found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection as well as in the collection of *jātakas* assembled under the heading of the six perfections, preserved in Chinese translation, further highlight the significance of this smile by describing that lights of five different colours emanated on this occasion from the Buddha's mouth.⁵⁸ Judging from the report by the Chinese pilgrim Xuánzàng (玄奘), this smile had apparently been considered sufficiently important for a *stūpa* to be erected in the place where it was believed to have happened.⁵⁹

Such a smile of the Buddha is a recurrent motif in Buddhist narrative literature. Another instance among the early discourses can be found, for example, in the *Ghaṭṭikāra-sutta* and several of its parallels,⁶⁰ introducing another narrative that purports to record

⁵⁶ [59] EĀ 50.4 at T II 810b11.

⁵⁷ [60] MN 83 at MN II 74,15 and MĀ 67 at T I 511c25.

⁵⁸ [61] EĀ 1 at T II 551c6 and T 152 at T III 48b27.

⁵⁹ [62] T 2087 at T LI 909b8, translated in Beal 1884/2001: 74.

⁶⁰ [63] MN 81 at MN II 45,3, MĀ 63 at T I 499a12, and the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 317,8. Another similar instance of the Buddha displaying a smile in relation to a past event at the time of the former Buddha Kassapa can be found in AN 5.180 at AN III 214,25, of which no parallel seems to be known.

a former life of the Buddha.⁶¹ In such instances, a smile by the Buddha functions as an indicator that, if a request is made (usually by Ānanda), the Buddha will deliver a tale of the past.⁶²

The Pāli commentarial tradition makes a point of indicating that the smile of the Buddha is of a quite different order from the smiling and laughing of other people.⁶³ The significance of this difference is such that the analysis of mental states in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* allocates a distinct category to the state of mind on the occasion when an arahant smiles.⁶⁴

Whether or not this was the original purpose, it seems to me that the fact that the tale is introduced by a smile could have the effect of alerting the audience that a smiling attitude to what is

⁶¹ [64] On the *jātaka* nature of this tale cf. Anālayo 2010b: 71–84.

⁶² [65] This function of the smile is, however, not an invariable pattern. A different role played by the smile of the Buddha can be seen, e.g., in SN 1.35 at SN I 24,18 and its parallel SĀ 1277 at T II 351a26 (not in SĀ² 275), where the Buddha, on being asked to forgive inappropriate behaviour, smiles, which then does not lead on to a story from the past. Besides the Buddha, Mahāmoggallāna is also on record for displaying smiles that then lead to the revealing of some bizarre instances of karmic retribution that he has just witnessed in the present, a standard occurrence throughout the *Lakkhana-saṃyutta*, which only in the first instance, SN 19.1 at SN II 254,23, gives the description of his smile in full (cf. also Vin III 105,1); for counterparts cf. SHT IV 30f V2+3+7, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 87, SĀ 508 at T II 135a14, SĀ 509 at T II 135b20, SĀ 510 at T II 135c23, and SĀ 523 at T II 137b15. On the role of Mahāmoggallāna as one who discloses karmic retribution cf. Gifford 2003.

⁶³ [66] Ps III 279,8 (commenting on MN 81). On the wonderful manifestations that accompany the smile of the Buddha when he makes a prediction, a context clearly different from the present occurrence, cf., e.g., the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 67,16. On the Buddha's smile cf. also Balbir 2013: 91–97.

⁶⁴ [67] This is the *hasituppādacitta*, which Bodhi 1993: 45 explains as "a citta peculiar to Arahants, including Buddhas ... its function is to cause Arahants to smile about sense-sphere phenomena."

about to be narrated will not be altogether inappropriate. This appears, in fact, to be a thread running through much of the *cakravartin* narrative in the parallel versions of the present discourse. Close inspection of the above translated *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse brings to light an underlying tendency towards humour when delivering the basic teaching on the contrast between past wheel-turning kings and the present Buddha. [57] The description of the seven treasures of the *cakravartin* employs considerable narrative entertainment and playful symbolism when drawing out the details of the glory of those kings of the past.⁶⁵

The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse describes the wheel-treasure as being of pure gold colour with a purplish hue and having a thousand spokes. It proceeds from the east via the south to the west, etc. This description obviously mirrors a sunrise, when the sun similarly manifests to the east, with thousands of golden rays of sunshine that at the time of sunrise have a purplish hue, before proceeding to the south and then to the west.⁶⁶ [58]

The king then hesitantly wonders if he will be able to take hold of it, whereupon the wheel comes closer to make it possible

⁶⁵ [68] For an example of a relief depicting the glory of a wheel-turning king, in this case the *cakravartin* Māndhātṛ, recognizable by his 'royal gesture' with the right arm lifted towards the sky, causing a rain of jewels, etc., to descend, cf. below plate 1 p. 650; on this particular gesture cf. Coomaraswamy 1929, and on portrayals of Māndhātṛ in art Zin 2001: 313ff.

⁶⁶ [69] The description of this treasure in MĀ 67 at T I 512a9 indicates that its colour was similar to that of a flame, 色如火. The sun symbolism of the wheel has already been noticed by Senart 1882a: 15f and 138–141; cf. also, e.g., Rhys Davids 1910: 202 note 3 and 1922: 736, Coomaraswamy 1935/1998: 25, Horsch 1957: 79, Wijesekera 1957: 267, and Scharfe 1987: 302. Brown 1990: 96 remarks that the progression of the wheel is reminiscent of "the wheels of the king's war chariot, the tracks of which mark off the king's domain"; on the significance of the wheel as a symbol of righteousness cf. also, e.g., Ghoshal 1959: 268 and de Silva 2003: 35.

for him to do so. This could be paralleling a supernormal power that according to early Buddhist texts can be developed by those who have gained mastery of the four absorptions. With the help of such supernormal power, meditators are held to be able to touch and stroke the sun and the moon with their own hands at will.⁶⁷

Guided by the wheel, King Mahādeva then sets out to conquer the whole world. The description of this conquest, with the king marching at the head of his fourfold army, but nevertheless proceeding without battle or fighting, would quite probably have had an entertaining impact on an audience in ancient India acquainted with the horrors of real warfare.⁶⁸

Those who are to be conquered offer no resistance. Having taken their wealth in their hands, instead of running off to hide with it, they approach King Mahādeva and offer it all to him. They then invite the king, who has just marched into their territory at the head of his army, to stay and dwell there, informing him that the whole country is at his disposal and they themselves will obey his instructions. The amusing description reaches a climax when

⁶⁷ [70] Cf., e.g., DN 2 at DN I 78,7 and its parallels DĀ 20 at T I 86a11 (the corresponding section in what is the actual parallel to DN 2, DĀ 27, is abbreviated and thus needs to be supplemented from DĀ 20), T 22 at T I 275b12, and the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: 246,21; on this type of supernormal ability cf. also Anālayo 2016e.

⁶⁸ [71] A detailed description of the suffering of war and fighting can be found, e.g., in MN 13 at MN I 86,27 and its parallels MĀ 99 at T I 585a29, T 53 at T I 847b2, and EĀ 21.9 at T II 605a28. Rhys Davids 1921: 63 note 2 considers the description of the *cakravartin's* conquest to be "a parody on the ordinary methods of conquest". Tambiah 1976: 46 comments that "one cannot help but wonder whether this account of the rolling celestial wheel is not meant to be at least partly an ironical commentary and a parody of the mode of warfare by force and bloodshed and stratagem practiced by the kings of that time."

the king tells those he has just conquered that they should now go back home and ensure that the populace adopts moral behaviour, a stark contrast to the immoral activities that usually accompany a real conquest.⁶⁹

The remaining treasures also appear to be making fun of the fantasies of an ancient Indian king. In view of the rather tiring modes of locomotion in ancient India, who would not wish for a flying elephant and a flying horse, with which it is possible to tour the whole world in a moment?⁷⁰ The magical jewel whose brilliance can turn night into day would have been of similar attraction at a time that did not know the wonders of modern-day electricity. Needless to say, an important purpose of such illumination, as the description indicates, is that it allows the king to march out with his army at night and thereby puts him at a considerable advantage over any enemy. [59]

The really entertaining part, however, comes with the human treasures. Here we find the parody of male fantasy at its very best,⁷¹

⁶⁹ [72] Rhys Davids 1921: 64 note 3 points out that "to enjoy this paragraph as it deserves the reader should bear in mind the kind of method of which it is a parody, the laws that would be made, say, by an Assyrian or Hun conqueror ... for his conquered foes." Collins 1996: 444 note 6 comments that in this way the wheel-turning king "does not depose the kings he defeats and install someone else in their stead, which was standard practice among Indian kings; nor does he intend to unseat them and collect taxes himself"; Collins 1996: 429 concludes that the whole description "strikes me as obvious and superb deadpan humor".

⁷⁰ [73] The description in MN 129 at MN III 174,6+18 makes a point of indicating that the tour of the whole world by elephant or horse finished in time for the king to have his breakfast.

⁷¹ [74] The present instance well illustrates a tendency noted by Collins 1998: 476 for descriptions of the *cakravartin*, where "moments of incongruous delicacy or farce ... can serve to signal – at least to those in the audience who are inclined to take the hint – that flattering exaggeration is becoming ironic overexaggeration."

with its description of a woman that is perfectly beautiful, just the right size and appearance. She serves as a heater in winter, while in summer she is cool, her bodily pores smell of sandalwood and her mouth gives off the scent of a lotus. Besides these bodily attractions, she is also obedient and devoid of any of the bad attitudes of women.⁷²

Next comes the steward, whose ability to provide the king with wealth is such that even in the middle of the water he is able to produce treasures at will. The in itself already rather comical description of his marvellous abilities takes a hilarious turn when the king has to stop him from getting more gold, as he fears that their boat will sink.

Of similar marvellous power is the general, who at a mere thought of the king has all orders carried out, something that in view of the difficulties of communicating orders in an ancient Indian battle situation would have been particularly appealing.

Notably, all of these treasures appear on the *uposatha* day, when the king has washed himself, dressed in clean clothes, and gone with his women to the top of his hall. That is, he is doing just what a good male lay disciple of the Buddha will do on the *uposatha* day, namely wash himself, dress in clean clothes, and approach the next Buddhist monastery in the company of his wife or wives, ready to worship the three treasures he can encounter there: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the monastic community.

This recurrent reference to religious observance in a way already prepares the audience for what is to come next, namely Mahādeva's total renunciation of the glory of kingship and power in order to go forth, all at the mere sight of a single white hair on his head.

⁷² [75] MN 129 at MN III 175,12 indicates that she is never unfaithful to the king in thought, let alone with the body.

In this way, the motif of the *cakravartin*, inherited from ancient Indian thought, exhibits several humorous aspects in its Buddhist usage. This in turn suggests that the significance of the *cakravartin*, at least in early Buddhist discourse, need not from the outset have been the providing of a model that Buddhist kings could emulate.⁷³ With this I do not intend to deny the dharmic aspects of the *cakravartin* as one who governs peacefully and justly by way of Dharma, [60] nor the fact that in the course of time the idea of such a dharmic king exerted considerable influence on notions of kingship in Buddhist countries.⁷⁴

Yet, in the present discourse the dharmic aspects of the *cakravartin* seem to serve their main function as part of a dynamic that

⁷³ [76] According to Spiro 1977: 790, the suggestion "that the myth of the *cakkavatti* ... constitutes a model for the behavior of real kings, let alone provides a charter for a real political system, is hard to credit"; cf. also Thapar 1973/1997: 146: "it is unlikely that the *cakravartin* idea was a fully developed political concept in the pre-Mauryan period."

⁷⁴ [77] Thus, e.g., Gonda 1956: 145 observes that "the Buddhists increased the prestige of the sovereign by their theory of the 'wheel-turning' king", to which Gonda 1957: 148 adds that "it must, however, be emphasized that the *cakravartin* idea was largely theoretical and perhaps even utopian in character." Spiro 1970/1982: 171 notes that "the Buddhist notion of a Universal Emperor (*Cakkavattī*) ... had had a long history in Burma. Even today it continues to inform Burmese politics." Reynolds 1972: 20 points out that, "particularly in the later strata of the tradition, the appearance of such a figure [i.e., a *cakravartin*] who will re-establish proper order and harmony in the world becomes an important element in the Buddhist tradition, an element which ... has a significant impact on political affairs." Gokhale 1994/2001b: 130 even goes so far as to suggest that "in the *cakkavatti* ideal the early Buddhists create[d] the apotheosis of the state." Apple 2010: 119 concludes that "the model of the *Cakravartin* king would come to shape the imperial ideals of kingship and socio-political order throughout history in Southeast, Central, and East Asia until colonial times (seventeenth to eighteenth century)."

proceeds in stages from the average type of king to a Dharma king, then from a Dharma king to the Dharma of renunciation, and then from the Dharma of renunciation to the supreme Dharma of liberation.⁷⁵

In the context of the overall soteriological message of the discourse, the description of the Dharma king is thus not primarily meant to encapsulate Buddhist notions of kingship. It rather has the function of expressing indirect criticism of the aggressive and unjust rule, which is against the Dharma, with which the audience of the discourse would have been familiar. This criticism is expressed with a good dose of humour and set within an entertaining narrative setting that seeks to inculcate doctrinal values.

In this way, far from being merely the result of a passive adoption of a pan-Indian ideal, the above description of the *cakravartin* is a good example of how the early Buddhists employed humorous tales and entertaining descriptions, taken from the ancient Indian narrative and symbolic repertoire, in order to deliver a doctrinal teaching on the superiority of renunciation and liberation.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ [78] As Collins 1998: 475 points out, "the panegyrics of the CV [*cakravartin*] always come with a caveat: 'a form of felicity, yes: but not the best'." In other words, the description of such felicity clearly has the function of providing a lead onto the superior felicity of renunciation and liberation. For a study of the *cakravartin* motif in the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* as similarly exemplifying doctrinal teachings in a humorous narrative setting cf. Gethin 2006. Palumbo 2012: 304f comments that "the Wheel-Turning king ... has been spectacularly misconstrued in significant swaths of modern scholarship ... in ancient Buddhist literature ... he was an allegorical reminder that world rulership is not of this world: the grandest monarch is not as good as the one who forsakes the immensity of his power to embrace the renunciant's life."

⁷⁶ [79] The present case could perhaps be considered to be yet another case for the tendency to inclusivism in early Buddhist thought, on which cf. also the articles collected in Oberhammer 1983, as well as Mertens 2004, Kiblinger 2005, Ruegg 2008: 97–99, Anālayo 2011a and 2011h.

Makhādeva-sutta (MN 83) Part 2

Introduction

With the present chapter I continue translating and studying the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Makhādeva-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.¹

In the part of the discourse translated in the previous chapter, the Buddha smiles when being at a certain spot and, on being asked by Ānanda for the reason, relates the story of a wheel-turning king of the past by the name of Mahādeva. After describing in detail the seven precious possessions of this wheel-turning king, the Buddha relates how, at the sight of the first white hair on his head, King Mahādeva abdicates the throne in favour of the crown prince Dīghāyu, instructing him to follow the same mode of conduct of renouncing the throne when the first white hair manifests on his head. The remaining part of the discourse translated below sets in at this juncture in the narrative.

Translation of EĀ 50.4 (second part)

"King Dīghāyu, having ascended the throne, on the fifteenth day of the month, it being the full-moon day, went up on top of the eastern hall together with his women and, looking towards the east, he saw a beautiful woman, handsome ...

* Originally published in 2012 under the title "The Tale of King Nimi in the *Ekottarika-āgama*" in the *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 10: 69–94.

¹ [2] The translated part of EĀ 50.4 is found at T II 808b17 to 810b19. As in the previous chapter, here, too, I often take into account only differences between EĀ 50.4 and MN 83 in my notes, only at times covering also the other parallel versions.

as [described] above ... who came approaching through empty space. In due course, Dīghāyu came to be endowed with the seven treasures.

7. "Having become the head of the government of the country, King Dīghāyu ruled over the four continents. [Then] Dīghāyu said to the barber: 'From now onwards, if while combing my hair you see a white hair, do come and tell me!'

He had been on the noble throne for the full length of eighty-four-thousand years, [70] [when] a white hair in turn manifested. The barber told the king: 'A purely white hair has manifested.' The king said: 'Pull it out, come, and put it on my palm.' The barber pulled it out with golden tweezers and put it on the king's hand. The king held the white hair and gave expression to a poem:

"[Right] on top of my own head,
The ruining of health has manifested,
The body's messenger has come to summon me,
The time to embark on the path has arrived.'

"The king thought: 'I have already had the best of the five [types] of human pleasures. Now I shall go forth, having removed hair and beard and having donned Dharma robes.'

"He summoned the crown prince Crown-topknot and told him:² 'Prince, I have already white [hair] on my head. [808c] I have already been sated with the five [types] of pleasure in the world, [now] I shall seek divine pleasures. I wish to go forth now to practise the path, shaving off my hair and beard and wearing Dharma robes.'

² [3] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b29: 冠髻, with a variant reading as 冠結. The proper name in the present passage might be similar to Skt. *uṣṇīṣaśiras*. Another possibility would be to follow the indication in Mvy no. 5841, Sakaki 1926: 380, that 冠 corresponds to *kholā*, and then perhaps reconstruct the name such as Skt. *kholakeśin*. MN 83 does not mention the name of the prince.

"You shall become the head of the government of the country now. Appoint your eldest [son] as the crown prince. Take good care to have the barber in turn watch out for a white hair. If a white hair appears, hand over the country to your crown prince and go forth like me, having removed hair and beard and having donned Dharma robes.'

"The king told the crown prince: 'Now I dutifully pass on to you the burden of this noble throne. You should make sure this noble royal throne is in turn passed on [like this] from generation to generation, do not let this custom die out in turn. If this custom dies out, you will in turn be like the people in the border countries. If you let this wholesome practice die out, you will in turn be reborn in a region devoid of Dharma.'

8. "Having given these orders and admonishments, King Dīghāyu handed over the country to his crown prince Crown-topknot and bestowed some farmland on the barber." [71]

The Buddha told Ānanda: "In this town, this grove, and this [spot of] earth, King Dīghāyu removed his hair and beard, put on Dharma robes and embarked on the path.

9. "In this place he practised the four divine abodes of *met-tā*, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity for eighty-four thousand years. At the end of his life, he attained rebirth in the Brahmā realm."

The Buddha told Ānanda: "After King Dīghāyu had gone forth for seven days, the seven treasures spontaneously disappeared.³ King Crown-topknot was sad and unhappy. On seeing the king's displeasure, the courtiers in turn asked the king: 'Why is your majesty displeased?' The king replied to the courtiers: 'Because the seven treasures have disappeared.' The courtiers

³ [4] The present section on the disappearance of the seven treasures and how this motivated the king to visit his father for advice is without a parallel in MN 83.

told the king: 'Let the king not be sad!' The king said: 'How could I not be sad?' The courtiers said: 'Your father, the [former] king, dwells in a grove nearby to practise the holy life. You can approach him to receive advice. He will certainly instruct the king in the Dharma that will bring about [a reappearance of] the treasures.'

"The king right away gave order to get the [chariot] harnessed. When the courtiers had in turn complied with the order to get the [chariot] harnessed, they in turn told the king. Together with the company of courtiers the king mounted a chariot adorned with the seven precious substances and, wearing the five insignia [of a king] – which are a bejewelled turban, a feathered parasol, a sword, a fan, and bejewelled shoes – he went towards the grove, followed by his retinue of courtiers.

"On arriving, he descended from his chariot, set aside the five insignia, and entered the gate of the grove on foot. He approached his father, the [former] king, paid respect with his head at [his father's] feet, and sat back to one side. Holding his hands with palms together [in homage], he said: 'The seven treasures of the king have by now all disappeared.'^[72]

"The father had before been sitting in meditation. On hearing what had been said, he raised his head and replied: 'Prince, as regards this noble Dharma of kings, this is not to be inherited from one's father's possession. You have to practise the Dharma yourself and comply with it.'

"The king asked again: 'What is the guideline of the Dharma for a noble wheel-turning king?' The father replied: 'Reverencing the Dharma, respecting the Dharma, recollecting the Dharma, cultivating the Dharma, [making] the Dharma endure, [making] the Dharma shine, [making] the Dharma become great; with the undertaking of these seven principles a noble king in turn should govern properly and can obtain the treasures.'

"The king asked further: 'How to reverence the Dharma ... up to ... [make] the Dharma become great?' [809a] The father replied: 'You should train in making gifts to the poor, instruct the people to practise filial piety by supporting both of their parents and to observe regularly the fasting day four times [a month, each after a] period of eight [days]. Teach them how to act with patience and how to discard sexual desires, jealousy, and foolish activities. These seven principles are befitting the Dharma of a noble king.'

"The king received the teaching. Having taken leave to withdraw, he paid respect, performed seven circumambulations, and returned.⁴ Then, always upholding his father's decrees, he respectfully undertook the seven principles, declaring far and near the vast and lofty royal instructions. The king in turn opened the treasure store and made gifts to the poor. He supported and looked after orphans and the aged, no person in the four directions was not taken care of reverentially.

"Then, on the fifteenth day of the month, it being the full-moon day, having washed and cleaned himself, the king went up on top of the eastern hall together with his women and, looking towards the east, [he saw] a purplish-coloured golden wheel with a thousand spokes, a wheel that was at a height of seven palm trees. Approaching through empty space at a height of seven palm trees from the ground, it stood in mid air. [73]

"The king thought: 'I wish to get this wheel, can I?' The wheel lowered itself until it reached the king's left hand and continued moving into his right hand. The king said to the wheel: 'Conquer for me all those that have not been conquered, take

⁴ [5] Usually in the early discourses only three circumambulations are mentioned; cf. *Anālayo* 2011c: 21. The motif of seven circumambulations recurs elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*; cf. EĀ 52.1 at T II 821c17 and below p. 369 note 24.

for me all lands that do not belong to me, in accordance with the Dharma, not against the Dharma!"

"With his hand the king hurled the wheel back into the sky. The wheel stood in the midst of the sky near the eastern gate of the palace with its rim pointing towards the east and the hub pointing towards the north.⁵

"After the wheel [had appeared] the white elephant manifested, then the dark purplish-coloured horse manifested, then the miraculous jewel manifested, then the beautiful woman manifested, then the steward manifested, and then the general manifested.

"These seven treasures appeared and he tried them out, just as King Mahādeva [had done]. After eighty-four thousand years had passed like this, the king gave a grant to the barber and also gave orders to his crown prince, handing over the country's affairs, and went forth to embark on the path, all just like the Dharma of previous kings."

The Buddha told Ānanda: "King Crown-topknot in this town, this grove, and at this [spot of] earth removed his hair and beard, put on Dharma robes, and practised the four divine abodes of *mettā*, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity for eighty-four thousand years. At the end of his life, he was reborn in the Brahmā realm."

10. The Buddha told Ānanda: "Continuing from King Mahādeva's son and grandson,⁶ for eighty-four-thousand generations the noble wheel-turning kings [ascended] the throne without letting this wholesome custom perish.⁷

⁵ [6] Adopting the variant 北 instead of 比.

⁶ [7] Adopting a variant that adds 天 to 大.

⁷ [8] EĀ 50.4 T II 809a22 actually speaks of eighty-four thousand "years" at this point, 歲, to which a variant adds "generations", 代. A reference to years would not fit the present context, although its occurrence could easily be a case of accidental

12. "The last noble king, called Nimi,⁸ governed by the right Dharma. He was wise in his interactions with people and careful to be truthful, without deception.⁹ He was endowed with the thirty-two characteristics and his complexion was like a red lotus flower.¹⁰ [74]

copying from earlier references to eighty-four thousand. Hence in my rendering I adopt the variant reading. This is supported by the parallel versions, which at the present junction speak of eight-four-thousand generations; cf. MN 83 at MN II 78,8, MĀ 67 at T I 514b5, and D 1 *kha* 54b2 or Q 1030 *ge* 50a6. MN 83 at MN II 78,11 adds that they practised the four *brahmavihāras* for eighty-four thousand years and that each of them for the same time period had also been a child, a crown prince, and a king; this part corresponds to §11 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 694.

⁸ [9] EĀ 50.4 at T II 809a23: 荏, which according to Mathews 1963: 466 among others means "alternating". This might be an attempt to render *nimi*, for which Monier-Williams 1899/1999: 551 s.v. *nimi* gives "the closing or winking of the eyes, twinkling". In fact EĀ 50.4 at T II 809c9 indicates that the king was similar to Sakka in regard to not blinking his eyes, both thereby differing in this respect from the average human being. Moreover, the text itself explains 荏 to convey the sense of 不胸音, where if 胸 should be an error for 胸, found below at T II 809c9, the idea would be "not blinking" one's eyes. MN 83 at MN II 78,28 gives the name of this king as Nimi; cf. also MĀ 67 at T I 514b8: 尼彌. T 152 at T III 48c27 and T 211 at T IV 608b9 render his name as 南, which according to Chavannes 1910: 324 points to Nami, whereas Willemen 1999: 220 translates the same as Nemi. The Tibetan *Bhaiṣajyavastu* at D 1 *kha* 54b2 or Q 1030 *ge* 50a7 renders his name as *mu khyud*, "rim", Skt. *nemi*. Dīp 3.35, Oldenberg 1879: 28,24, records his name as Nemiyo. Jā 541 at Jā VI 96,17 reports that soothsayers told the king that his newborn son had come to "round off" the number of descendants. The king then associated the idea of "rounding off" with the "rim" of a wheel and decided to give his son the name *nemi*, "rim". For an explanation of the name of the twenty-second Jain Tīrthaṅkara that similarly involves the sense of *nemi* as a wheel-rim cf. Jacobi 1884/1996: 277 note 1 and von Glasenapp 1925/1999: 317.

⁹ [10] Adopting the variant 妄 instead of 忘.

¹⁰ [11] MN 83 does not mention his possession of the thirty-two characteristics. Whereas in Pāli discourses these are only associated with the Buddha (cf., e.g.,

"He delighted in generosity, in giving to recluses and brahmins, in supporting and looking after orphans and the aged, and in helping and giving to the poor. At the four gates of the town and in the middle of the town he had storehouses established with gold and silver, various jewels, elephants, horses, chariots, clothes, beds and mattresses, medicines for the sick, perfumes and flowers, and beverages and food.

"All single [men] were each provided with a wife and various gifts were given in accordance with what people desired. The king kept the six fasting days,¹¹ [809b] and provided orders that inside and outside all should keep the eightfold restraint on such days. The leaders of the heavenly assembly would all come down [on such occasions] and administer the eight precepts.¹²

13. "Sakka, the ruler [of the *devas*] and the *devas* of the Thirty-three all praised the people of that country: 'It is excel-

MN 91 at MN II 136,6), in the course of time these characteristics appear to have been applied also to his previous lives, and even to his family members; cf. Lüders 1913: 883 for the former and Zin 2003 for the latter, and for a comparative study of the thirty-two characteristics Anālayo 2011c: 528–539.

¹¹ [¹²] EĀ 50.4 at T II 809a29: 六齋. Soothill and Hodous 1937/2000: 139 explain that these are "the six monthly *poṣadha* or fast days: the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, and 30th. They are the days on which the Four Mahārājas 四天王 take note of human conduct and when evil demons are busy, so that great care is required and consequently nothing should be eaten after noon, hence the 'fast.'" The corresponding part in MN 83 at MN II 78,30 only mentions his keeping of the *uposatha* days on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth of each fortnight, without going into other details of his administering of the country. Hu-von Hinüber 1996: 90f clarifies that in such references the fourteenth and the fifteenth day are alternatives, so that the overall count for a fortnight will be two *uposatha* days for laity, one of which falls on the eighth and the other on the fourteenth or the fifteenth; the last is also the *uposatha* for monastics to recite the code of rules.

¹² [¹³] Adopting the variant 授 instead of 受.

lent, it is a good fortune to encounter such a Dharma king, who gives various gifts in accordance with what people desire and who is able to observe a pure observance day (*uposatha*) without blemish.¹³

"Sakka, the ruler of the *devas*, said to the *devas*: 'Would you like to get to see King Nimi [here]?' They all answered: 'We wish to see him [here], if you in turn can get him to come here.'

"Sakka, the ruler of the *devas*, gave orders to the heavenly maiden Qióngbíní:¹⁴ 'Go to the town of Mithilā and tell King Nimi: "Dear, you have attained a great good fortune, all the *devas* here praise your lofty virtues and have sent me to ask dutifully whether you would consent to come here briefly, as all the *devas* very much wish to meet you.'"

"Having received the orders, Qióngbíní in turn went down in an instant, just as [swiftly] as a person might bend or stretch an arm. She stood in the middle of the empty sky in front of the royal palace. The king was seated on the palace roof, being waited on by a single woman. He was reflecting on the world, wishing that all would in turn obtain peace and that no being should be suffering or in distress.¹⁵ [75]

"[Hovering] in the midst of the sky, Qióngbíní snapped her fingers to get attention. The king raised his head. He saw a great light above the palace and heard these words: 'I am an envoy from Sakka, the ruler of the *devas*, I was dispatched to approach the king.' The king replied: 'I did not know; what are the orders decreed by the ruler of the *devas*?'"

¹³ [14] In MN 83 at MN II 79,3 their praise is about his ruling in accordance with the Dharma.

¹⁴ [15] EĀ 50.4 at T II 809b7: 窮鼻尼, explained in an inter-textual remark to stand for being "very handsome", 極端正. In MN 83 at MN II 79,12 Sakka goes himself to invite Nimi.

¹⁵ [16] Such a reflection is not reported in MN 83.

"The heavenly maiden replied: 'The ruler of the *devas* dutifully sends his regards. All the deities praise your virtues and hope to meet you. Will you consent to a brief [visit]?' The king assented by remaining silent.

"The heavenly maiden returned and told the ruler of the *devas* in turn: 'Your decree has been announced and accomplished. He has agreed to come for a visit.'

14. "The ruler of the *devas* gave orders to his royal attendant to harness a flying horse-chariot [adorned] with the seven precious substances and to descend to the town of Mithilā to meet King Nimi. Having received the orders, the royal attendant harnessed the horse-chariot and in turn right away descended.¹⁶

"The king was sitting in the company of a group of courtiers in the city.¹⁷ The chariot stopped in mid air in front of the king. The charioteer said: 'The ruler of the *devas* has sent this chariot to receive you. The *devas* in their dignified appearance are waiting [for you]. You can mount the chariot in turn. Do not turn back longingly.'

"The greater and minor courtiers, on hearing that the king was to leave, were unhappy. They all got up and, standing with their palms held together [in homage], they said: 'After the king has left, what are the decrees to be obeyed by your assembled courtiers?' The king said: 'Dear ones, you should not be sad. After I am gone, make gifts, [observe] the fasting day, support the people, administer the country, just as [you do] when I am there. I will soon be back.' When the king had completed admonishing and giving orders, the chariot descended to the ground and the king in turn mounted the chariot. [76]

¹⁶ [¹⁷] MN 83 at MN II 80,2 indicates that the charioteer had the name Mātali and that his chariot was drawn by a thousand thoroughbred horses.

¹⁷ [¹⁸] MN 83 does not refer to the king's courtiers, to their reaction, or to the king instructing them before departing.

"The royal attendant asked the king: 'Which way shall we take?' The king said: 'What do you mean?'"¹⁸ The royal attendant answered: ^[809c] 'There are two ways, one proceeds through the evil realms, the other through the good realms. Those who practise what is evil, through their evil ways reach realms of suffering. Those who cultivate what is wholesome, by engaging in wholesome ways they reach realms of happiness.' The king said: 'I wish that today we take the way through both the good and the evil realms.'

"Having heard it, the charioteer took a while to understand it. He said: 'Very good, great king.' The charioteer then drove in the middle between the two ways, so that it was possible to see the good and the evil [destinies] completely, until they arrived at the heaven of the Thirty-three.

15. "The ruler of the *devas* and the *devas* saw the king coming at a distance. Sakka, the ruler of the *devas*, said: 'Welcome great king.' He [then] gave the order that they were to be seated together."¹⁹

The Buddha told Ānanda: "[When] the king in turn sat close to Sakka, the appearance of the king and of Sakka, the ruler [of the *devas*], their clothing and the sound of their voices were just the same. The *devas* thought: 'Which one is Sakka, the ruler of the *devas*, and which one is the king?' They further thought: 'The nature of humans is to blink [their eyes], but both do not blink.' They felt each very astonished that there was no difference [between the two]. The ruler of the *devas* saw that the *devas* were puzzled and thereupon thought: 'I shall ask the king to get him to stay, afterwards they will understand [who is who].'

¹⁸ [19] Their exchange in MN 83 is briefer, as Nimi immediately understands what the charioteer is referring to.

¹⁹ [20] MN 83 does not report that Sakka had Nimi sit with him together, presumably on his throne.

"Sakka, the ruler [of the *devas*], said to the *devas*: 'Dear ones, do you wish that I ask the king to get him to stay?' The *devas* said: 'We really wish you would get him to stay!' The ruler of the *devas* said to Nimi: 'Great king, will you stay here? I will supply you with the five types of pleasure.' Because of this [exchange], the *devas* recognized [who was who]. [77]

"The human king said to the ruler of the *devas*: 'It is well. As you have offered me this grant in turn, I express the wish that all *devas* may have a lifespan without limit.'²⁰ In the same way, the host invited the guest to accept up to three times.

"[Then] Sakka, the ruler [of the *devas*], said to the king: 'Why do you not [want] to stay?' The king replied: 'I shall go forth to cultivate the path. In this heaven the conditions for training in the path are not there.' The ruler of the *devas* said: 'Why [do you want to] undertake the path?' The king said: 'I have been so instructed by my father, the [former] king. If a white hair appears, the Dharma is that I should go forth.' Hearing this, Sakka became silent and did not reply, letting him go so that he might embark on the path.

"The king had remained in the heavens for a very short while, enjoying himself with the five pleasures. In the meantime, on earth twelve years had already passed. As he was about to take his leave, the king spoke about the true Dharma to the *devas*.²¹

²⁰ [21] For the king to give a blessing instead of assenting by remaining silent would imply that he does not accept the offer. In MN 83 at MN II 80,19 he explicitly declines, expressing this with the word *alam*. He then indicates that he wants to return in order to act in accordance with the Dharma and observe the *uposatha*, without referring to his father's instruction to go forth.

²¹ [22] MN 83 does not report for how long Nimi stayed in the heaven of the Thirty-three, nor does it record that he gave a teaching on departing.

16. "Sakka gave orders to the royal attendant: 'Take King Nimi back to his home country.' Having received the order, the royal attendant harnessed [the chariot]. When it was harnessed, he told the king: 'The king can mount the chariot.'

"Then, having taken leave of Sakka, the ruler [of the *devas*], and the *devas* in turn, the king mounted the chariot. Proceeding along the way [taken] earlier, he returned to his palace in Mithilā. The royal attendant returned to heaven.

17. "Several days after having descended and returned, the king gave orders to the barber: 'If you see a white hair, tell me.' After several days, on his head a white hair manifested.²² With golden tweezers the barber pulled out the white hair and put it into the king's hand. Having seen it, the king gave expression to a poem: [810a]

"[Right] on top of my own head,
The ruining of health has manifested,
The body's messenger has come to summon [me],
The time to embark on the path has arrived.' [78]

"The king thought: 'I have already had the best of the five [types] of human pleasures. Now I shall go forth, having shaved hair and beard and having donned Dharma robes.' The king summoned the crown prince, [called] Terminator of Wholesomeness,²³ and told him: 'A white hair has already appeared to me. I have already been sated with the five [types] of pleasure of the world, now I wish to seek divine pleasures. I shall go forth to practise the path, having removed my hair and beard and having donned Dharma robes. Prince, I now hand over the affairs of this country to you. Look after the barber

²² [23] Adopting a variant that adds 生 after 白髮.

²³ [24] EĀ 50.4 at T II 810a4: 善盡. MN 83 at MN II 82,16 gives his name as Kaḷārajanaka.

well. If a white hair appears, hand over the country to your crown prince and go forth to practise the path.

"Prince, now employing this noble [way of succeeding to] the royal throne has accumulated [up to] you, do not let this custom perish. If this custom perishes, you will in turn be like the people in the border countries."

18. The Buddha told Ānanda: "King Nimi handed over the country's administration to his crown prince and, having granted land to the barber, in this town, grove, and [spot of] earth he removed his hair and beard, donned Dharma robes, and went forth to cultivate the path.

19. "Seven days after he had [begun] to cultivate the path, the wheel and the jewel disappeared; the elephant, the horse, the woman, the steward, and the general all [manifested their] impermanence.²⁴ In this grove the [former] king for eighty-four thousand years practised the divine abodes, *mettā*, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity. After passing away, he was reborn in the Brahmā realm.

20. "The next king, [by the name of] Terminator of Wholesomeness, did not follow his father's actions. The right Dharma was abandoned. Consequently the seven treasures did not appear again. The wholesome conduct was not continued.²⁵

"A fivefold decrease set in. People's lifespan became shorter, their appearance became shabby. They lacked strength, had many diseases, and were without knowledge. Once the fivefold decline had set in,²⁶ [79] poverty and hardship ensued. Hardship and poverty in turn led to theft. [The thief] was brought to

²⁴ [25] MN 83 does not report the disappearance of the seven treasures.

²⁵ [26] MN 83 at MN II 82,17 just briefly reports that the king did not go forth, broke the good practice, and thus was the last man, *antimapurisa*. MN 83 has no counterpart to the ensuing description in EĀ 50.4.

²⁶ [27] Adopting the variant 已 instead of 以.

the king, who was informed: 'This man took what was not given.' The king gave orders that he should be [taken] outside [of the town] and be executed.

"The citizens, hearing that those who take what is not given were executed by the king, all became evil. Each took a sharp sword or started to make swords themselves. Due to this, the killing of living beings arose. Thereupon two evils had manifested, [stealing and killing].

"In turn there was adultery with another's wife. The husband criticized both [culprits]. The [adulterer] said of himself: 'I did not do it.' Thereupon four evils had been accomplished. With divisive speech [leading to] quarrelling there were then five evils.

"Quarrelling led to abuse, so there were six evils. Saying what is hypocritical [took place], so there were seven evils. [Some] were jealous of others' harmony, so there were eight evils. [Some] cherished [such] anger that their complexion changed, so there were nine evils. [Some] had a mind full of doubt and confusion, so there were ten evils. With the ten evils having come to fulfilment, the fivefold decline in turn increased."

21. The Buddha said to Ānanda: "Do you wish to know who at that time was King Mahādeva, the first in this auspicious aeon? It was me.²⁷ Ānanda, do you wish to know who at

²⁷ [²⁸] The discourse versions and the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* agree in identifying Ma(k)hādeva as a former life of the Buddha; cf. MN 83 at MN II 82,22, MĀ 67 at T I 515a7, and D 1 *kha* 56a2 or Q 1030 *ge* 51b6. Neumann 1896/1995: 1109 note 200 considers the section in MN 83 at MN II 82,19–24 that identifies King Makhādeva as a former life of the Buddha to be a commentarial interpolation. According to Windisch 1908:10, it is difficult to believe that the historical Buddha should already have identified tales found among the early discourses as *jātakas*. Tanabe 2002/2003: 50 suggests that the tale of King Nimi is based

that time was the king called Nimi, who ruled without fault for eighty-four thousand years? It was you.²⁸ Do you wish to know who was the last king at that time, called Terminator of Wholesomeness, who went contrary to the path and let the noble king's custom perish? It was Devadatta.²⁹

"Ānanda, ^[810b] at that time you inherited from the noble wheel-turning king Mahādeva a wholesome inheritance, continuing in turn what he had established without discontinuity, efficiently and according to the Dharma, not contrary to the Dharma. ^[80]

"Ānanda, I am now the unsurpassable king of Dharma. Now my inheritance is the unsurpassable wholesome Dharma. I carefully request you, as a son of the Sakyans, do not become a man of the border countries, do not let the practice of this custom perish!" Ānanda asked the Buddha: "What will cause the practice of this custom to perish?"³⁰

The Buddha told Ānanda: "Even though King Mahādeva practised the wholesome Dharma, he did not attain the destruction of the influxes, he did not transcend the world,³¹ he did

on an ancient Indian tale that was adopted as a story reporting a previous life of the Buddha and then introduced into the Buddhist canon. On the general tendency of parables to become *jātakas* cf. also Anālayo 2010b: 56–71.

²⁸ ^[29] According to the Pāli and Chinese *Jātaka* collections, Nimi was rather a past life of the Buddha; cf. Jā 541 at Jā VI 96,17 and T 152 at T III 48c25. The same identification is also found in the *Lalitavistara*; cf. Lefmann 1902: 170,16. Jā 9 at Jā I 139,28 and Jā 541 at Jā VI 129,16 then report that Ānanda had been Makhādeva's barber and subsequently Sakka's charioteer Mātali, who took King Nimi to the heaven of the Thirty-three.

²⁹ ^[30] No such identification is found in MN 83.

³⁰ ^[31] MN 83 does not report an enquiry by Ānanda and also differs in the wording of the Buddha's indications, although the main import of the two versions is similar.

³¹ ^[32] Adopting a variant that adds 未.

not attain the crossing over, he did not eradicate desire, he did not attain the uprooting of the twenty-one fetters,³² he did not discard the sixty-two views, he did not purify himself from the three impurities, he did not attain penetrative knowledge, he did not attain the true path to liberation, he did not attain Nirvāṇa. Mahādeva's practice of the wholesome Dharma did not go beyond being reborn in the Brahmā realm.

"Ānanda, the Dharma I have come to know now is supreme and unconditioned.³³ The Dharma I reached is the ultimate truth, it is above *devas* and men. This Dharma of mine is free from the influxes, it is free from desire, it has as its essence cessation and transcendence,³⁴ penetrative liberation, real recluseship, and the attainment of Nirvāṇa.

"Ānanda, I now carefully request you to make use of this supreme path of Dharma. Do not [allow] an increasing decline of my Dharma.³⁵ Do not become a man of the border countries. Ānanda, if it occurs that a disciple lets the practice of this Dharma perish, then he is a man of the border countries. If he is able to make this Dharma prosper, then he is the Buddha's eldest son and has accomplished family membership. Ānanda, you should accomplish family membership. Do not exterminate the practice of the clan. Ānanda, the Dharma I taught to you, earlier and later, is all out of concern for you. You should train yourself like this."

When the Buddha had spoken, Ānanda was delighted and received it respectfully. [81]

³² [33] Adopting a variant that reads 一 instead of 億.

³³ Adopting a variant that adds 今.

³⁴ Adopting the variant 減度神 instead of 減沒度.

³⁵ Adopting the variant 減 instead of 滅.

Study

A central motif in the various versions of the Discourse on Ma(k)hādeva is the peaceful relinquishing of the throne at the sight of a first white hair on the head. The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse speaks in this context of the white hair as the "body's messenger"; the parallel versions instead refer to the white or grey hair as a divine messenger.³⁶

The notion of a divine messenger serves to set a contrast to the way the average person reacts on seeing the divine messenger of old age. The *Devadūta-sutta* and its parallels depict an evil-doer brought before King Yama, who enquires whether the culprit had ever seen the divine messengers, one of them being old age. On seeing another grow old, did it never occur to the evil-doer that he too would grow old and thus should avoid evil and do what is good?³⁷

In the present tale King Mahādeva and his descendants are shown to be of a rather different calibre, as a single white hair suffices for them to renounce the throne, as well as all of their glorious possessions. At the first sign of old age, they go forth to practise a life dedicated to renunciation and the meditative cultivation of the *brahmavihāras*.

The episode of the white hair appears to be a key scene in the discourse, an importance reflected in the fact that it has been de-

³⁶ EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b1: 身使來召, whereas the other versions speak of a divine messenger, *devadūta*/天使/*lha yi pho nya*, cf. MN 83 at MN II 75,18 (cf. also Jā 9 at Jā I 138,24), MĀ 67 at T I 513c8, T 211 at T IV 608b24, D 1 *kha* 53b6 or Q 1030 *ge* 49b4, and D 4094 *ju* 77a2 or Q 5595 *tu* 87a3, as does the version of the present tale found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 1 at T II 552a1: 天使. On the notion of a divine messenger cf. also Anālayo 2007a.

³⁷ MN 130 at MN III 180,12, AN 3.35 at AN I 138,21, DĀ 30.4 at T I 126b25, T 24 at T I 331a8, T 25 at T I 386a5, MĀ 64 at T I 504a15, T 42 at T I 827b7, T 43 at T I 828c23, T 86 at T I 909c13, EĀ 32.4 at T II 674c17, T 212 at T IV 668c28, and T 741 at T XVII 547a25.

picted in a Bhārhut relief.³⁸ The same motif recurs among the Jains and elsewhere in Indian literature.³⁹ [82]

The *Ekottarika-āgama* version stands alone in combining its description of the long succession of ideal kings with narrative pieces that in other *Nikāya* or *Āgama* discourses appear in a different context, in line with the cases of discourse merger discussed above.⁴⁰ One of these narrative pieces is the need for the successor of a wheel-turning king to receive instruction in proper rulership, which has a counterpart in the Discourse on the Wheel-turning King in the *Dīgha-nikāya* and its parallels in the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Madhyama-āgama*.⁴¹

Another such piece in the present *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse is the description of the general deterioration of living conditions and morality due to improper rulership by the time of Nimi's successor, who did not continue the type of conduct upheld by his forefathers. This is also found in the Discourse on the Wheel-turning King and its parallels.⁴²

Judging from the above examples, perhaps the fascination exerted by the motif of the *cakravartin* on early Buddhist narrators

³⁸ Cf. Barua 1934: 82–85, Schlingloff 1981: 102, Cummings 1982: 44 plate 7, Sarkar 1990: 124, and Lal Nagar 1993: 160f, and for further references Grey 1994: 233f. Lüders 1941/1966: 153 notes that the presentation in the relief appears to be close to the version in MN 83 at MN II 75,17, where Ma(k)hādeva only informs the crown prince, whereas in Jā 9 at Jā I 138,21 he also informs the ministers.

³⁹ An occurrence of the motif of the grey or white hair can be found in the Jain *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* 1.95; cf. Jacobi 1883: 10, translated in Hertel 1908: 25. On the same motif in Indian literature in general cf. Bloomfield 1916: 57–58; for parallels to the notion of the messenger of death in European literature cf. Morris 1885.

⁴⁰ Cf. above p. 51ff.

⁴¹ DN 26 at DN III 60,9, DĀ 6 at T I 39b24, and MĀ 70 at T I 520c14.

⁴² DN 26 at DN III 65,15, DĀ 6 at T I 40b23, and MĀ 70 at T I 522a28.

and reciters facilitated an intrusion of narrative pieces originally stemming from a version of the Discourse on the Wheel-turning King into the present context.⁴³

The narrative in the Discourse on the Wheel-turning King shows considerable underlying humour.⁴⁴ In my study of the first part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated in the previous chapter, I already noted the humour that seems evident in the description of the *cakravartin*. Needless to say, the humour evident in such passages has a didactic purpose and thus is of a subtle type, quite different from attempts to make an audience roar with laughter.⁴⁵

The same tendency to humour continues through the remainder of the discourse, which describes King Ma(k)hādeva spending four periods of eighty-four thousand years as a child, a prince, a

⁴³ On parallelisms between the tales in DN 26 and MN 83 cf. also Wiltshire 1990: 188. Another instance of such narrative enhancement would appear to be the description of how Sakka invited King Nimi to sit together with him, and thus presumably share his throne. Descriptions of Sakka sharing his throne with a wheel-turning king can be found in the Māndhātṛ tale; cf. MĀ 60 at T I 495b17 and the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 222,17. The sharing of the throne is not mentioned in a *jātaka* version of this story, Jā 258 at Jā II 312,16.

⁴⁴ Comments on DN 26 from this perspective can be found in Rhys Davids 1921: 53, Gombrich 1988: 83f, Collins 1998: 480–496, and Anālayo 2010b: 97–113.

⁴⁵ The suggestion by Clasquin 2001: 97 that "ancient Buddhism was opposed to humour and laughter" appears to be based on a lack of distinguishing laughter from humour, as already pointed out by Clarke 2009: 313. The suggestion by Clasquin that the *sekhiya* rule against laughter at Vin IV 187,16 means that laughter is "a matter requiring confession and expiation in front of the entire assembly of fellow monastics" seems to confuse the different categories of rules in the *Vinaya*, as the *sekhiya* rules do not carry such penalty. Moreover, the issue at stake is only unrestrained laughter in public, which appears to have been considered inappropriate according to ancient Indian etiquette. Needless to say, humour is not restricted to laughter. Thus this rule or other strictures against laughter do not imply that humour was in principle opposed in early Buddhism.

king, and a recluse;⁴⁶ and his descendants living their lives according to the same pattern for eighty-four thousand generations.⁴⁷ This description exemplifies a general tendency of numbers in an oral tradition to have a symbolic function, rather than expressing a precise numerical value.

The number seven in a symbolic sense stands for a complete time cycle.⁴⁸ Seven as a basic temporal unit multiplied by the twelve months of the year results in eighty-four. [83] Eighty-four further enhanced by being multiplied by a thousand leads to the number eighty-four thousand, a number that occurs often in Buddhist literature and simply represents a very long time span or a vast quantity.

A literal reading of this description in the Ma(k)hādeva tale would not only be absurd, it would also miss the humour inherent in various narrative episodes in the discourse.⁴⁹ To appreciate the central message conveyed by this tale, it needs to be borne in mind that the period of ancient Indian history that saw the rise of Buddhism was characterized by a tendency towards political centralization.

⁴⁶ EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a5 and its discourse parallels MN 83 at MN II 76,17 and MĀ 67 at T I 513a28. DN 17 at DN II 196,3 reports the same for King Mahāsudassana.

⁴⁷ EĀ 50.4 at T II 809a22 (adopting a variant reading) and its parallels MN 83 at MN II 78,8 and MĀ 67 at T I 514b5; cf. also D I *kha* 54b2 or Q 1030 *ge* 50a6. MN 83 at MN II 78,24 and D I *kha* 54b2 or Q 1030 *ge* 50a6 even explicitly indicate that King Ma(k)hādeva and each of his descendants spent their fourth life period of renunciation in the same mango grove in Mithilā.

⁴⁸ Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2011c: 471 note 158.

⁴⁹ [49] In relation to *jātakas* in general, Peris 2004: 37 comments that this type of tale "is not, nor was meant to be taken with the seriousness of a realistic biography ... its 'truth' is, rather, metaphorical – and metaphorical with a moralistic intention."

As is common in political history all over the world, the early stages of such political centralization are often marked by a ruthless push to power among petty kings or among rulers and their descendants. This push to power finds its expression in Buddhist texts reporting how King Pasenadi passed away while trying to rally forces against his son who had usurped the throne,⁵⁰ or how King Bimbisāra was cruelly put to death by his son Ajātasattu in a bid for power.⁵¹

Ling (1973/1976: 68) explains that in ancient India

the king, especially as he grew older and his sons came to manhood, was always at risk from the latter's jealousy. Various safeguards against this danger were set out in the Indian manuals of kingship ... these ... indicate a general agreement that the ambition of princes constituted a perennial danger to the security of the king.

Against this background, the description of the peaceful succession of eighty-four thousand kings, who at the slightest indication of old age are willing to resign peacefully, hand over all power

⁵⁰ [50] Ps III 355,5 and T 1451 at T XXIV 239a10; cf. also T 211 at T IV 583a27, translated in Willemen 1999: 56, as well as, e.g., Malalasekera 1938/1998: 172, Bareau 1981: 53, and Amritananda 1983: 68f.

⁵¹ [51] A reference to Ajātasattu's patricide can be found in DN 2 at DN I 85,16, with further details provided in the commentary at Sv I 135,13, a translation of which can be found in Bodhi 1989: 54–56; cf. also the parallels DĀ 27 at T I 109c9, EĀ 43.7 at T II 764a16, and the *Sanḅhabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: 251,22. According to *Mahāvamsa* 4.1, Geiger 1958: 21,1, this was only the first instance in a series of patricides among his successors. On the succession of patricides among Ajātasattu's descendants cf. also Lamotte 1958/1988: 93; on the motif of the prince killing his father cf. Ling 1973/1976: 68. The Jain tradition has a somewhat different record of his succession to the throne and his father's death; cf. Deo 1956: 85. For a detailed study of Ajātasattu narratives cf. Radich 2011.

and control to the heir apparent, and spend the rest of their lives secluded from sensual pleasures in renunciation, would not have failed to have its effect on the ancient Indian audience.

This suggests that the depiction of the harmonious succession of kings involves a witty criticism of rulership in ancient India. In this way, with a touch of humour the present tale highlights the superiority of renunciation over the insatiable drive for power among Indian kings. [84]

In a country where much spiritual endeavour was and still is aimed at a vision of the gods, the description of these virtuous kings reaches its culmination point when the gods are so impressed with King Nimi's exemplary conduct that they wish to meet him. The entertaining description reaches yet another climax when King Nimi, instead of remaining in heaven and enjoying the bliss of celestial pleasures, prefers to return home in order to continue performing wholesome deeds.

Notably, his decision is taken after the completion of his journey to heaven, a journey during which he witnessed the fruition of good and bad karma. In this way, with what appears to be a good dose of humour aimed at popular aspirations to heavenly pleasures, the present tale delivers a typical Buddhist teaching by depicting how an exemplary human being will give priority to wholesome conduct over indulgence in sensual pleasures, be these human or divine.

It is against this description of ideal rulership that the Buddha's final message stands out, highlighting that no matter how ideal one may imagine a ruler to be, the real answer to the human predicament can only be found by undertaking the path to liberation. Thus the depiction of the wheel-turning king in the first part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, just as the exemplary kingship described subsequently, is an integral expression of the early Buddhist attitude towards worldly power, which is seen as vastly

inferior to renunciation and liberation. In sum, the soteriological message of the discourse as a whole is to highlight the superiority of mastery of one's own mind over worldly dominion.⁵²

⁵² [52] An example that reflects this attitude would be Dhp 103, according to which victory over oneself is superior to victory gained a thousand times over a thousand foes each time. For Indic language parallels cf. Uv 23.3, Bernhard 1965: 291, Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* 305, Brough 1962/2001: 167, Patna *Dharmapada* 378, Cone 1989: 204; cf. also the *Uttarājjhayaṇa* 9.34, Charpentier 1922: 98,17.

Mahādeva-sutta (MN 83) Part 3

Introduction

The focus of the present chapter is on understanding the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection. By way of providing a basis for an assessment of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, I begin with a case study of a doubling of the same tale found in different parts of this collection, namely the tale of the former king Mahādeva, already taken up in the two previous chapters. I first translate another version of this tale found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*.¹ Then I compare narrative and terminological aspects of this version with another version of the same tale that occurs among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which I translated in the previous two chapters. Based on the indications that result from this comparison, I then survey relevant information related to the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

The shorter Mahādeva tale found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* occurs in the context of a narrative, according to which the monk Uttara, to whom Ānanda entrusts the preservation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, had in a former life been a descendant of King Mahādeva. The narrator of the tale is Ānanda, who relates the story of Mahādeva to Mahākassapa. [6]

* Originally published in 2013 under the title "Two Versions of the Mahādeva Tale in the Ekottarika-āgama, A Study in the Development of Taishō No. 125" in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), 1–70, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.

¹ [8] The text translated below is EĀ 1 at T II 551b26 to 552a22 and T II 553c5 to 553c23; the first of these two parts has already been translated in Huyên-Vi 1985: 40–42.

Translation

In the distant past, in this auspicious aeon, the Tathāgata Kakusandha, an arahant, fully and rightly awakened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, a well-gone one, a knower of the world, a supreme person, a leader on the path of Dharma, a teacher of gods and humans, called a Buddha, an assembly of fortunes, had emerged in this world.²

At that time there was a king called Mahādeva, ^[551c] who governed by relying on the Dharma, never being unfairly partial. He had an extremely long lifespan and was handsome beyond comparison, rare to find in the world. For eighty-four thousand years he enjoyed himself as a prince, for eighty-four thousand years he governed as a crown prince by relying on the Dharma [of princes], and for eighty-four thousand years he governed the continent by relying on the Dharma of kings.³

Kassapa,⁴ you should know that at that time the Blessed One was dwelling in the Mango Grove.⁵ After his meal, he

² [9] The former Buddha Kakusandha is not mentioned in any of the parallel versions.

³ [10] A description of the successive periods of eighty-four thousand years spent by Mahādeva as a youth, etc., can also be found in MN 83 at MN II 76,18, MĀ 67 at T I 513a27, and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a4.

⁴ [11] For Ānanda, who according to tradition was junior to Kassapa, to address the latter by his proper name stands in an interesting contrast to another episode, noted by von Hinüber 1991: 124 and found at Vin I 92,37. On being asked to assist Mahākassapa in an ordination, Ānanda indicates that he does not dare to pronounce Mahākassapa's name (which he would need to do during the motion). On the way tradition depicts these two disciples and their interrelation cf. also, e.g., Przyluski 1926: 296 and 376f, Migot 1952: 539f, Frauwallner 1956: 161, Bareau 1971a: 140, Tilakaratne 2005, von Hinüber 2008: 25f, and Anālayo 2016b: 171–174.

⁵ [12] MN 83 at MN II 74,15 (E^e as well as C^e) introduces the location as Makhādeva's Mango Grove (B^e and S^e: Maghadeva's Mango Grove). MĀ 67 at T I

was doing walking meditation in the courtyard, [7] as was his usual custom. I ⟨was⟩ his attendant.⁶ At that time the Blessed One in turn smiled, and from his mouth five-coloured rays emerged.⁷ Having seen it, I knelt down in front of the Blessed One and said: "Buddhas do not smile in vain. I wish to hear the whole story. A Tathāgata, an arahant, fully and rightly awakened, never smiles in vain."

Then, Kassapa, the Buddha told me: "In the distant past, in this auspicious aeon, a Tathāgata by the name of Kakusandha, an arahant, fully and rightly awakened, emerged in this world. In this place, he taught the Dharma to his disciples in full.⁸ Again, in this auspicious aeon the Tathāgata Konāgamana, an arahant, fully and rightly awakened, also emerged in the world. At that time in this place here, that Buddha also taught the Dharma to his disciples in full. Again, in this auspicious aeon the Tathāgata Kassapa, an arahant, [8] fully and rightly awakened, emerged in the world. In this place here, the Tathāgata Kassapa also taught the Dharma to his disciples in full."⁹

At that time, Kassapa, I knelt down in front of the Buddha. I said to the Buddha: "I wish that the Buddha Sakyamuni also

511c24 and D 1 *kha* 53a1 or Q 1030 *ge* 48b6 similarly refer to Mahādeva's Mango Grove, 大天椏林 or *lha chen po'i ā mra'i tshal*. EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c22 just speaks of Mahādeva's Grove, 大天園。

⁶ [13] My translation follows an emendation suggested in the 佛光 edition that replaces 及 with 乃。

⁷ [14] A smile by the Buddha, but without any reference to five-coloured rays, is also reported in MN 83 at MN II 74,16: *sitaṃ patvākāsi* (B^o, C^e, and S^c: *pāvā-kāsi*), MĀ 67 at T I 511c25: 欣然而笑, EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c24: 便笑, and D 1 *kha* 53a1 or Q 1030 *ge* 48b7: 'dzum pa mdzad do. Only T 152 at T III 48b27 has the same motif of the Buddha's smile being accompanied by the manifestation of five-coloured rays: 欣然而笑, 口光五色。

⁸ [15] Adopting a variant without 復於。

⁹ [16] A reference to the three former Buddhas is not found in the parallel versions.

teaches the Dharma fully to his disciples in this place here.¹⁰ Then this place will have served in continuation and without interruption for four Tathāgatas as their diamond seat."¹¹

At that time, Kassapa, Sakyamuni Buddha sat there and told me: "Ānanda, I have been seated here in the past. In this auspicious aeon a king appeared in the world whose name was Mahādeva ... *up to* ... for eighty-four thousand years he edified [his subjects] by relying on the Dharma of kings and educated them by way of virtue.

"After many years, he in turn told his barber:¹² 'If you see white hair on my head, then tell me right away.' Then that person, having heard the king's order, after some years saw a white hair that had appeared on the king's head.¹³ He in turn knelt down in front of the great king and said: [9] 'Great king, you should know that on your head a white hair has appeared.'

"Then the king told that man: 'Take golden tweezers, pull out the white hair, and place it in my hand.' At that time, having received the king's order, that man in turn took golden tweezers and pulled out the white hair. Then, having seen the white hair, the great king at that time gave expression to a poem:

"Just now on my head,

¹⁰ [17] Adopting a variant without 後.

¹¹ [18] The motif of sitting on the same place as used by former Buddhas (and by King Mahādeva) is not found in the parallel versions.

¹² [19] Adopting the variant 北 instead of 比.

¹³ [20] Whereas MN 83 at MN II 75,6 reports that many years passed by before the barber discovered a white hair, MĀ 67 at T I 513c1, D 1 *kha* 53b3 or Q 1030 *ge* 49b1 and D 4094 *ju* 76b6 or Q 5595 *tu* 86b6 just indicate that this happened at a later time, 於後時 / *dus gzhan zhig*. In EĀ 50.4 at T II 808a26, on receiving the instruction, the barber examines the hair for a long time and thereupon discovers a white hair.

A hair [indicating] decay and disappearance has appeared, [552a]
The divine messenger has come,
It is the proper time to go forth.¹⁴

"Now I have already tasted human happiness, I shall now strive for merits by which one rises to the heavens, shave off my hair and beard, [10] put on the three Dharma robes, and out of firm faith go forth to train in the path and leave behind these many troubles.¹⁵

"At that time King Mahādeva said to his first[born], the crown prince by the name of Dīghāyu: 'Dear, do you know now that on my head a white hair has appeared? My intention is to shave off my hair and beard, put on the three Dharma robes, and out of firm faith go forth to train in the path and leave behind these many troubles.

"You succeed to my throne, govern by relying on the Dharma. Do not neglect this, going against my instruction and acting like an ordinary person. The reason is if there should be such a person, who disobeys my instruction, then he is acting like an ordinary person.¹⁶ An ordinary person for long dwells

¹⁴ [21] Adopting the variant 應 instead of 當; on variations regarding the reference to a divine messenger cf. below notes 54 and 55.

¹⁵ [22] A reference to an aspiration by Mahādeva to leave behind the many troubles is not reported in the parallel versions.

¹⁶ [23] According to MN 83 at MN II 75,28 and D 4094 *ju* 77a6 or Q 5595 *tu* 87b1, by discontinuing the practice instituted by Mahādeva the crown prince would become the last man, *antimapurisa* or *skyes bu tha chad*, or according to D I *kha* 54a3 or Q 1030 *ge* 50a1 just a common man, *skyes bu tha shal*. MĀ 67 at T I 513c21 indicates that by acting like this he would let people fall into extremes, 人民墮在極邊. According to EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b11, by not following the example set by his father, the crown prince would be like border-country people and be reborn in a region without Dharma, 便為邊地人也 ... 便生無法處.

in the three unfortunate destinies and amidst the eight difficult circumstances.¹⁷

"At that time King Mahādeva, having handed over the throne to the crown prince and granted treasures to the barber,¹⁸ in that place in turn shaved off his hair and beard, put on the three Dharma robes and out of firm faith went forth to train in the path and leave behind these many troubles. [11] He well cultivated the holy life for eighty-four thousand years, practising the four[fold] even-mindedness (*brahmavihāra*) of *mettā*, compassion, [sympathetic] joy, and equanimity. At the end of his life he passed away and was reborn in the Brahmā heaven.

"Then King Dīghāyu kept in mind the instructions of his father, the king, and never gave them up even for a moment. He governed by relying on the Dharma, not being unfairly partial. Soon, after less than ten days, he in turn also became a wheel-turning king endowed with the seven treasures, that is, the seven treasures of the wheel-treasure, the elephant-treasure, the horse-treasure, the jewel-treasure, the precious woman-treasure, the steward-treasure, and the general-treasure.¹⁹ These are reckoned the seven treasures. He also had a thousand sons who were brave and wise,²⁰ able to get rid of many troubles and to dominate the four directions.

¹⁷ [24] Such a reference is not found in the parallel versions.

¹⁸ [25] MN 83 at MN II 75,16 reports that the king granted a village to the barber; according to EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b13 he bestowed some farmland on the barber.

¹⁹ [26] Whereas MN 83 does not mention the seven treasures at all, the other versions associate these already with Mahādeva; cf. MĀ 67 at T I 512a2, EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a2, D 1 *kha* 53a6 or Q 1030 *ge* 49a5, D 4094 *ju* 76b2 or Q 5595 *tu* 86b1, and T 152 at T III 48c7.

²⁰ [27] A description of the thousand sons of Mahādeva's son Dīghāyu is not found in the parallel versions. The motif of having a thousand vigorous sons occurs in D 1 *kha* 53b1 or Q 1030 *ge* 49a6 and in D 4094 *ju* 76b3 or Q 5595 *tu* 86b3, where it is associated with Mahādeva instead.

"Then King Dīghāyu, [following] the example of the previous king (*as above*) ... composed the poem:²¹

"Just now on my head,

A hair [indicating] decay and disappearance has appeared, [12]

The divine messenger has come,

It is the proper time to go forth.

"Now I have already tasted human happiness. I shall now strive for merits by which one rises to the heavens, shaving off my hair and beard, putting on the three Dharma robes, and out of firm faith go forth to train in the path and leave behind these many troubles.'

"At that time King Dīghāyu said to his first[born], the crown prince by the name of Sudassana:²² 'Dear, do you know now that on my head a white hair has appeared? My intention is to shave off my hair and beard, put on the three Dharma robes and out of firm faith go forth to train in the path and leave behind these many troubles.

"You succeed to my throne, govern by relying on the Dharma. Do not neglect this, going against my instruction and acting like an ordinary person. The reason is that if there should be such a person, who disobeys my instruction, then he is acting like an ordinary person. An ordinary person for long dwells

²¹ [28] My translation follows the 宋, 元, and 明 editions, which continue here with the remainder of the discourse. The present section is only found at the end of this fascicle in the Taishō edition, T II 553c5 to 553c23.

²² [29] My rendering of the third king's name 善觀 as Sudassana is based on another occurrence of the same name in EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a21: 善觀辟支佛, counterpart to the Paccekabuddha Sudassana in its parallel MN 116 at MN III 69,11; cf. also Akanuma 1930/1994: 642. Whereas most of the other versions do not provide the name of the third king, EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b29 gives his name as 冠髻 (with a variant reading as 冠結).

in the three unfortunate destinies and amidst the eight difficult circumstances.'

"Then King Dīghāyu well cultivated the holy life for eighty-four thousand years, practising the four[fold] even-mindedness of *mettā*, compassion, [sympathetic] joy, and equanimity. At the end of his life he passed away and was reborn in the Brahmā heaven.

"Then King Sudassana kept in mind the instructions by his father, the king, and never gave them up even for a moment. He governed by relying on the Dharma, ^[13] not being unfairly partial."

[Ānanda said]: "Kassapa, do you know who at that time was Mahādeva? Could he have been someone else? Do not see it like this. The king at that time is now Sakyamuni. He who at that time was the King Dīghāyu is now me, Ānanda.²³ He who at that time was Sudassana is now the monk Uttara. At that time he constantly accepted the Dharma of kings, never gave it up or forgot it, did not discontinue it. Then King Sudassana, keeping the command of his father, the king, governed by relying on the Dharma and did not discontinue the king's teaching. The reason is that the instructions given by one's father, the king, are a hard thing to disobey."

Study

My comparative study of the above tale falls into three parts. In the present first part I examine the reference to three former Buddhas in relation to the often proposed Mahāsāṅghika affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Then I examine narrative differ-

²³ [30] EĀ 50.4 at T II 810a27 instead identifies Ānanda as the last of the series of kings who kept up the way of ruling instituted by Mahādeva. According to Jā 9 at Jā I 139,28, Ānanda had been Mahādeva's barber.

ences between the above tale and the other *Ekottarika-āgama* version, before surveying differences in translation terminology between these two, and finally returning to the issue of the collection's school affiliation at the end of this chapter. [14]

Three Former Buddhas in the Mahādeva Tale

Of the different versions of the *Mahādeva* tale, the narrative translated above from the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* is the only one to mention three former Buddhas. The motif of the Buddha's smile that signals the impending delivery of a canonical *jātaka*, combined with the indication that in the same place three former Buddhas had also been seated, does recur in a different context in the *Mahāvastu*.²⁴ However, in the *Mahāvastu* tale the Buddha is not a former king, but rather a young brahmin unwilling to visit the former Buddha Kāśyapa.

The *Mahāvastu* version of this tale also stands alone among its parallels in bringing in three former Buddhas.²⁵ Given that the *Mahāvastu* is a *Vinaya* text of the Lokottaravāda-Mahāsāṅghika

²⁴ [32] The *Mahāvastu* reports the Buddha informing Ānanda that in this spot three former Tathāgatas, arhats, Fully Awakened Ones, had been seated: the Blessed One Krakucchanda, the Blessed One Kanakamuni, and the Blessed One Kāśyapa, Senart 1882b: 318,11: *etasmin ānanda pṛthivīpradeśe trayāṇāṃ tathāgatānām arhatāṃ samyaksambuddhānāṃ niṣadyā abhūsi bhagavato krakucchandasya bhagavato ca kanakamunisya bhagavato ca kāśyapasya*. Similar to the description given in the above translated *Ekottarika-āgama* tale, according to the *Mahāvastu* this information then motivates Ānanda to invite the Buddha to sit in this place as well, so that it will have been made use of by four Tathāgatas.

²⁵ [33] The parallel versions that also have the episode of the smile mention only the former Buddha Kassapa, MN 81 at MN II 45,14 and MĀ 63 at T I 499a16. The episode of the smile is absent from two other parallels which, however, do refer to the former Buddha Kāśyapa in their narration. These are the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Gnoli 1978: 22,25, and an *Avadāna* collection preserved in Chinese translation, T 197.10 at T IV 172c20.

tradition,²⁶ this similarity in the motif of the three former Buddhas introducing a past life of the Buddha – as a young brahmin in the *Mahāvastu* and as a king in the Mahādeva tale – may be one of the reasons why Bareau finds indications that point to a Mahāsāṅghika affiliation in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*.²⁷ [15]

Further perusal of the introductory section brings to light other such indications.²⁸ The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* reports that at the outset of the first communal recitation, *saṅgīti*, Ānanda was hesitant to take on the role of reciting the discourses, suggesting that Mahākassapa should rather be given this role.²⁹ The Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese translation reports a similar hesitation by Ānanda, who suggests that another monk should take up the role of the reciter.³⁰ Such a hesitation is not mentioned in the accounts of the first *saṅgīti* in the *Vinayas* of other schools.³¹

The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* also reports that, at the conclusion of Ānanda's exposition of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, there was an earthquake, a rain of celestial flowers, and the gods

²⁶ [34] On the *Vinaya* nature of the *Mahāvastu* cf. Tournier 2012.

²⁷ [35] Bareau 1955: 57 notes that "les indications contenues dans la préface de la traduction chinoise de l'*Ekottarāgama* montrent que, selon toutes probabilités, la recension de celui-ci ainsi traduite appartenait à une secte mahāsāṅghika." Bareau does not provide further indications regarding the particular passages he has in mind.

²⁸ [36] I already drew attention to these passages in Anālayo 2009k.

²⁹ [37] EĀ 1 at T II 549b29; T 1507 at T XXV 31c18 explains that Ānanda respected him not only for his seniority, but also because Mahākassapa had been his father for five hundred past lives.

³⁰ [38] T 1425 at T XXII 491b24.

³¹ [39] The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 968b15, the (Haimavata?) **Vīṇayamātrkā*, T 1463 at T XXIV 818a15, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 191a18, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 406b29, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 448b13, and the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Vin II 287,12.

in the sky expressed their approval.³² [16] Similar miraculous manifestations taking place at the conclusion of the first *saṅgīti* are reported in the *Mahāvastu*, whereas *Vinayas* of other traditions do not mention such occurrences.³³

Yet, the same introductory section also presents problems with the Mahāsāṅghika identification. The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* reports that at the first *saṅgīti* Ānanda recited the four *Āgamas* in the sequence *Ekottarika*, *Madhyama*, *Dīrgha*, *Samyukta*.³⁴ According to the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese translation, however, he rather recited them in the sequence *Dīrgha*, *Madhyama*, *Samyukta*, *Ekottarika*.³⁵ Again, according to the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* the *Kṣudraka* collection contains Mahāyāna scriptures.³⁶ The Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* instead notes that the *Kṣudraka* collection contains tales related to Pratyekabuddhas and arhats.³⁷ [17]

Although these two indications do not sit too well with the Mahāsāṅghika hypothesis, they could be the result of an overall trend in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* towards enhancing itself vis-à-vis other *Āgamas* and towards giving pre-

³² [40] EĀ 1 at T II 550c7: 時地大動，雨天華香至于膝，諸天在空歎善哉。

³³ [41] The *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 71,12, reports the other monks asking Mahākāśyapa why there is an earthquake, the sound of celestial drums, and a rain of celestial flowers, *kin tu, bhoḥ, dhutadharā samakampi, medinī sasaritā samamudrā, devadundubhiravāś ca manojñā, divyamālyavikiraṇaṃ ca bhavanti?*

³⁴ [42] EĀ 1 at T II 549c28: 契經今當分四段，先名增一，二名中，三名曰長多瓔珞，雜經在後為四分 (adopting the variant 先 instead of 次); according to T 1507 at T XXV 32a23, the division into four *Āgamas* and the placing of the *Ekottarika* in first place was originally devised by Ānanda.

³⁵ [43] T 1425 at T XXII 491c16: 尊者阿難誦如是等一切法藏，文句長者集為長阿含，文句中者集為中阿含，文句雜者集為雜阿含，所謂根雜力雜覺雜道雜，如是比等名為雜，一增，二增，三增，乃至百增，隨其數類相從，集為增一阿含。

³⁶ [44] EĀ 1 at T II 550c10: 方等大乘義玄邃，及諸契經為雜藏。

³⁷ [45] T 1425 at T XXII 491c20: 雜藏者，所謂辟支佛，阿羅漢，自說本行因緣。

dominance to Mahāyāna teachings. In such a context, a rearrangement of the sequence of the *Āgamas* that places the *Ekottarika* in first position would be a natural occurrence, just as an interpretation of the *Kṣudraka* collection as being the canonical repository of Mahāyāna teachings.

The precise nature of the *Kṣudraka* collection is in fact not a straightforward matter.³⁸ In the Theravāda tradition one also finds different perspectives on this matter. The reciters of the *Dīgha-nikāya* differ from those who recite the *Majjhima-nikāya* on whether at the first *saṅgīti* the *Khuddaka-nikāya* was allocated to the basket of discourses or to the basket of Abhidharma.³⁹ Modern-day Theravāda traditions also disagree on what works should be included in this collection and thereby considered canonical, with the Burmese incorporating works such as the *Nettipakaraṇa*, the *Milindapañha*, and the *Peṭakopadesa*, whereas in other Theravāda countries these are not considered to be part of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*.⁴⁰

Although the two indications contrary to the Mahāsāṅghika hypothesis are not decisive, it needs to be noted that problems with the Mahāsāṅghika hypothesis also manifest elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.^{18]} One example is the regular reference in this collection to twelve *aṅgas*,⁴¹ whereas the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* speaks of only nine.⁴² This discrepancy could be due to the *Vinaya* preserving an earlier record of the listing of *aṅgas* than the *Ekottarika-āgama*,

³⁸ [46] For a survey of different versions of this collection cf. Lamotte 1956.

³⁹ [47] Sv I 15,22.

⁴⁰ [48] Cf., e.g., Abeynayake 1984: 33–46, Collins 1990: 108 note 11, and von Hinüber 1996/1997: 42f.

⁴¹ [49] A reference to twelve *aṅgas* can be found in EĀ 29.5 at T II 657a2, EĀ 39.1 at T II 728c6, EĀ 49.1 at T II 794b14, and EĀ 50.8 at T II 813a25; for a survey of these listings cf. Nattier 2004b: 193f.

⁴² [50] T 1425 at T XXII 227b25; a discrepancy already noted by Hirakawa 1963: 63f.

given that the listing of twelve appears to have developed out of an earlier listing of nine.⁴³ Therefore this is also not conclusive.

The same also applies to a discrepancy in the count of monastic rules, where the *Ekottarika-āgama* speaks of two hundred and fifty rules,⁴⁴ a number the actual count in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese translation does not seem to reach.⁴⁵ That this is also not conclusive can be seen by turning to the Theravāda tradition, where an even more significant discrepancy in this respect occurs. Discourses in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* speak of just over a hundred and fifty rules,⁴⁶ [19] whereas the actual count of rules in the Theravāda *Vinaya* results in two hundred and twenty-seven.⁴⁷ According to an explanation proposed by the Pāli commentary, not all of the rules recorded in the *Vinaya* had been promulgated by the time of the coming into being of these *Āṅguttara-nikāya* discourses.⁴⁸

⁴³ [51] Lamotte 1956: 263 note 2, Kalupahana 1965: 616, von Hinüber 1994: 122, and Nattier 2004b: 168.

⁴⁴ [52] EĀ 48.2 at T II 787b10: 有二百五十戒.

⁴⁵ [53] The Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1426 at T XXII 555b15, gives the following listing: 已說四波羅夷法, 已說十三僧伽婆尸沙法, 已說二不定法, 已說三十尼薩耆波夜提法, 已說九十二波夜提法, 已說四波羅提提舍尼法, 已說眾學法, where the *śaikṣa* rules are not counted. According to Pachow 1955: 11, the *śaikṣa* rules are sixty-six (cf. T 1425 at T XXII 399b7), which together with the seven *adhikaraṇa-samatha* (where it is anyway doubtful if these should be considered as "rules" properly speaking) would result in an overall count of two hundred and eighteen rules.

⁴⁶ [54] AN 3.83 at AN I 230,17: *sādhikam ... diyaḍḍhasikkhāpadasatam*, an expression found again in AN 3.85 at A I 231,18, AN 3.86 at A I 232,33, and AN 3.87 at A I 234,11.

⁴⁷ [55] The Theravāda *pātimokkha* for *bhikkhus* comprises four *pārājika*, thirteen *saṅghādisesa*, two *aniyata*, thirty *nissaggiya pācittiya*, ninety-two *pācittiya*, four *pāṭidesanīya*, seventy-five *sekhiya*, and seven *adhikaraṇasamatha*.

⁴⁸ [56] Mp II 346,30: *tasmim samaye paññattasikkhāpadān' eva sandhāy' etaṃ vuttaṃ*; cf. also, e.g., Dutt 1924/1996: 75f, Law 1933: 21, Bhagvat 1939: 64, Pachow 1955: 8f, Misra 1972: 33, Dhirasekera 1982/2007: 145, and von Hinüber 1995: 15.

In this way, these various points for or against the Mahāsāṅghika hypothesis do not seem to allow the drawing of a definite conclusion. Moreover, assessing the significance of Mahāsāṅghika elements in the introductory section, such as the appearance of three Buddhas in the Mahādeva tale found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, would also depend on ascertaining when this introduction became the preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection and when it reached its present form.

Narrative Differences between the Two Mahādeva Tales

The appearance of three former Buddhas in the Mahādeva tale in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* is also remarkable in so far as the version of the Mahādeva tale found among the Elevens does not have any reference to past Buddhas. Such a difference would be more easily understandable if this motif had been found in the longer version only, [20] as one could then imagine that it had been abbreviated in the shorter extract. Given that the version in the introduction is the shorter of the two, it is remarkable that the motif of three Buddhas does not recur in the longer version of the same tale in the same discourse collection.

Elsewhere the *Ekottarika-āgama* shows considerable interest in past Buddhas, to the extent that it has two records of the past Buddha Dīpaṃkara predicting the future Buddhahood of the one who was to become the Buddha Sakyamuni.⁴⁹ This makes it safe to conclude that there would have been no reason for the reciters of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to exclude a reference to former Buddhas from the version of the Mahādeva tale now found among the Elevens, had such a reference been originally found in it.

⁴⁹ [57] EĀ 20.3 at T II 599b14 and EĀ 43.2 at T II 758b26. Dīpaṃkara is not mentioned in the early discourses in the four Pāli *Nikāyas* or in other Chinese *Āgamas*. In the Theravāda tradition, his predicting of Sakyamuni's Buddhahood occurs only in the late *Buddhavaṃsa*, stanza 2.60 at Bv 13,1; cf. also below p. 429f note 50.

The absence of any reference to former Buddhas is not the only narrative difference between the two Mahādeva tales. The version found among the Elevens also does not report any miraculous manifestations accompanying the Buddha's smile. [21] According to the description given in the introductory section to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, "the Blessed One smiled and from his mouth five-coloured rays emerged". Elsewhere the *Ekottarika-āgama* recurrently describes various miraculous events, so that there would have been little reason for the reciters of the longer version of the Mahādeva tale to omit a description of the five-coloured rays, had this been part of the story they had received from their predecessors.

Another difference is that the version in the introduction does not present Mahādeva as a wheel-turning king,⁵⁰ but only qualifies his son in this way. Comparing the different versions of the Mahādeva tale gives the impression that the motif of the wheel-turning king was subsequently added to the narration.⁵¹ The Pāli

⁵⁰ [58] The qualification of Mahādeva as "governing the continent" in EĀ 1 at T II 551c4: 治化天下 does not seem to imply world dominion and thus would not be an implicit reference to his status as a wheel-turning king. EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c29 describes his dominion as encompassing all four continents (which according to ancient Indian cosmology make up the whole world): 四天下, an expression found also in the description of Mahādeva's dominion as a wheel-turning king in T 152 at T III 48c19: 四天下. MĀ 67 at T I 513c13 uses the same expression 四天下 when describing the dominion handed over by Mahādeva to his son. MĀ 67 at T I 512a1 also employs the expression 天下 when depicting the range of his army, which I take to imply that, without the wheel-treasure that opens up the path through the ocean, his army would have been able to control only Jambudvīpa as one of the four continents. In sum, I take it that the reference in EĀ 1 at T II 551c4 to 天下 would refer to Jambudvīpa, not to the whole world of four continents that are governed by a wheel-turning king.

⁵¹ [59] Cf. also above p. 128.

version does not have the motif of the wheel-turning king at all and thus appears to testify to an early stage of textual development, before this motif had made an impact on the discourse. [22] The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* version and the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikāṭīkā* identify Mahādeva as a wheel-turning king and briefly list his seven treasures.⁵² The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the discourse found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* not only identify Mahādeva as a wheel-turning king, but also provide a detailed description of each of his seven treasures.⁵³

When viewed against what appears to be a gradual development in the parallels, the Mahādeva tale in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* seems to reflect an intermediary stage in the application of the motif of the wheel-turning king to the Mahādeva tale, as this conception already manifests in relation to Mahādeva's son, whose seven treasures are listed without a detailed description, but has not yet been applied to Mahādeva himself.

The stanzas spoken by Mahādeva, once white hair has been discovered, vary in each of the extant versions. A noteworthy detail here is that the other versions agree in speaking of the white hair as a "divine messenger",⁵⁴ with the sole exception of the tale found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, [23] which instead speaks of the "body's messenger".⁵⁵ The reference in the tale among the Elevens appears to be the result of a confusion bet-

⁵² [60] D I *kha* 53a7 or Q 1030 *ge* 49a5 and D 4094 *ju* 76b2 or Q 5595 *tu* 86b1.

⁵³ [61] MĀ 67 at T I 512a3 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a2.

⁵⁴ [63] MN 83 at MN II 75,18 and Jā 9 at Jā I 138,24 use the expression *devadūta*, MĀ 67 at T I 513c8 and EĀ 1 at T II 552a1 the corresponding expression 天使, and D I *kha* 53b6 or Q 1030 49b4 and D 4094 *ju* 77a2 or Q 5595 *tu* 87a3 the equivalent *lha yi pho nya*.

⁵⁵ [64] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b1: 身使.

ween *deva* and *deha*, a confusion that evidently did not occur in the tale found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

All versions agree that the sight of the white hair stirred Mahādeva to go forth, with the version in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* being the only one to add to his inspiration to go forth that he wanted to "leave behind these many troubles".⁵⁶ On deciding to go forth, according to the introduction Mahādeva bestows treasures on the barber.⁵⁷ According to the version among the Elevens, he gives him some farmland.⁵⁸

The two *Ekottarika-āgama* versions also disagree on who of their protagonists should be identified as being a past life of Ānanda. According to the account found in the introduction, Ānanda was the son of Mahādeva. According to the discourse found among the Elevens, he was the last in a series of eighty-four thousand generations of descendants of Mahādeva who kept up the custom instituted by Mahādeva.⁵⁹ In sum, the version in the introduction differs from its *Ekottarika-āgama* counterpart as follows: [24]

- mention of three former Buddhas,
- description of miraculous manifestations accompanying the Buddha's smile,
- Mahādeva is not introduced as a wheel-turning king,
- white hair is a "divine messenger", instead of the "body's messenger",
- Mahādeva goes forth and "leaves behind these many troubles",

⁵⁶ [65] EĀ 1 at T II 552a4: 離於眾苦.

⁵⁷ [66] EĀ 1 at T II 552a11: 財寶.

⁵⁸ [67] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b13: 田業.

⁵⁹ [68] EĀ 1 at T II 553c20 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 810a28 (where he is then followed by a king who did not keep up the custom instituted by Mahādeva, identified in EĀ 50.4 as a past life of Devadatta); according to T 1507 at T XXV 34b28, Ānanda was the wheel-turning king Dīghāyu (and thus the son of Mahādeva): 阿難白引往昔為轉輪聖王, 名曰長壽.

- Mahādeva bestows on the barber treasures, instead of farmland,
- Ānanda was the son of Mahādeva.

The differences between two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* are of such magnitude that it seems safe to conclude that they belong to different transmission lineages. In other words, these two are not a shorter and a longer version of the same story with some variations, but rather two different narrative developments of the same motif.

When evaluated from the perspective of oral transmission, it seems highly unlikely that these two different versions of the Mahādeva tale could have come into being within the same text. Not only their coming into being must have happened independently, it seems also difficult to imagine that they would have been transmitted orally over long periods as parts of the same text. Oral transmission tends to stereotype, wherefore within a single text differences naturally tend to become less during the period of transmission.⁶⁰

For the two versions to stand side by side within the same text, [25] exhibiting the number of differences they do, the most natural scenario would be that one of them is a later addition to the *Ekot-*

⁶⁰ [69] With this suggestion I do not intend to propose that it is impossible for some differences to exist within the same orally transmitted text. An example from the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* would be AN 6.44 at AN III 347,16 and AN 10.75 at AN V 137,19, where the same introductory narration leads to two different replies given by the Buddha, as a result of which one discourse is found among the Sixes, whereas the other is located among the Tens. Here two diverse records of how the Buddha reacted to a particular situation have been transmitted alongside each other within the same text. The case of the two Mahādeva tales is different, however, in that an execution of the same narrative motif within the same textual collection has resulted in numerous differences of various types.

tarika-āgama at a time when this collection was no longer transmitted orally.

Different Translation Terminology in the Two Mahādeva Tales

Due to their diverse narrative coverage, the two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* have only four proper names in common (leaving aside the name of Ānanda in the frame story). These four are the name of the location and the names of the first three kings. In the other versions, the location is invariably given as Ma(k)hādeva's Mango Grove,⁶¹ combining the name of the king with an indication of the type of grove in which he lived. In the *Ekottarika-āgama* versions, however, the account in the introduction only speaks of the type of grove, whereas the version among the Elevens speaks just of Mahādeva's Grove and thus does not refer to the kind of trees found in this grove.⁶² [26] However, these different renderings may just be based on different Indic originals.

In the case of the proper names of the kings, the names of the third king in the two versions definitely go back to different originals.⁶³ The names of the first and second king, however, can safely be considered as being based on the same Indic term. Whereas the version in the introduction employs a transcription of Mahādeva as 摩訶提婆, the version among the Elevens translates his name as 大天.⁶⁴ In the case of the second king, both versions opt for a

⁶¹ [70] In addition to being found in the parallel versions of the Mahādeva tale, the name of this grove occurs also in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 450,18, which reports that a *ṛṣi* by the name of Śroṇaka went to stay in the *mahādevāmravana*, thereby also employing the king's name together with an indication that this was a mango grove.

⁶² [71] EĀ 1 at T II 551c5: 甘梨園 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c22: 大天園.

⁶³ [72] EĀ 1 at T II 553c9: 善觀 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b29: 冠髻 (or 冠結).

⁶⁴ [73] EĀ 1 at T II 551b29 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a1.

translation of the name, the introduction using 長壽, whereas the version among the Elevens instead employs 長生.⁶⁵

The net result of this is that all four proper names that are common to the two actual tales differ. When evaluating this finding, however, it needs to be kept in mind that in the course of translating a whole work it can easily happen that the same proper name is rendered differently. Thus, for example, a listing of famous seers found twice in the *Dīrgha-āgama*, by the same translator Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念) who is also credited with translating the *Ekottarika-āgama*, shows several variations.⁶⁶ Listings of the same seers in the *Madhyama-āgama* also show variations within the same collection.⁶⁷ A particularly striking case occurs in a *Samyukta-āgama* discourse,^[27] where the name of the monk Koṇḍañña is rendered in two different ways in the same discourse, with the shift from one transcription to the other occurring rather suddenly, in the middle of the text.⁶⁸ Such instances indicate that the lack of con-

⁶⁵ [74] EĀ 1 at T II 552a5 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b4.

⁶⁶ [75] DĀ 10 at T I 87a16 and DĀ 26 at T I 105b24; cf. also Meisig 1990.

⁶⁷ [76] MĀ 152 at T I 667c23 (repeated at 668a7) and MĀ 158 at T I 680c6, which show the following variations for some of the names of these famous *ṛsis*: 毗奢蜜哆羅 / 毗奢蜜哆邏, 夜婆陀撻尼 / 夜陀撻尼, 應疑羅婆 / 應疑羅娑, and 婆憩 / 婆和 (in the first case the difference occurs already within MĀ 152, where the reading in the main text of the first instance is found as a variant reading for the second instance, the reverse then being the case for MĀ 158).

⁶⁸ [77] SĀ 379 at T II 104a11 reports that the Buddha, who has just set in motion the wheel of Dharma, for a second time asks 僑陳如 (=Koṇḍañña) if he has understood the Dharma, whereupon 拘隣 (=Koṇḍañña) replies that he has indeed understood, 復告尊者僑陳如: 知法未? 拘隣白佛: 已知. Both transcriptions are listed in Akanuma 1930/1994: 43 as alternatives for the same name of Aññāta Koṇḍañña. Up to this point, SĀ 379 has been using the transcription 僑陳如, employed also in parallel versions to this discourse found in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 788b24, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 104c18, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1450 at T XXIV 128a9 as well as T 1451 at T XXIV 292b29 and at T XXIV 406c5, and the Sarvāsti-

sistency in the rendering of proper names in the two versions of the Mahādeva tale found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is in itself far from being conclusive and the two versions could still stem from the same translator.

Besides proper names, however, the two versions also show other differences in translation terminology. Mahādeva's rule as a king is depicted in the introduction with the phrase 以法治化, whereas the discourse among the Elevens employs the expression 治以正法. Here the difference between the reference to *dharmā* (法) and to *saddharma* (正法) may simply be due to different expressions in the originals.⁶⁹ [28]

When taking up the length of his lifespan, the introduction uses the expression 壽命, whereas the version among the Elevens just speaks of 壽.⁷⁰ Again, when describing the periods of Mahādeva's life as a young prince and as a crown prince, the introduction uses the expressions 童子身 and 太子身, whereas the version among the Elevens speaks of 童子時 and 太子時.⁷¹

Although the above variations in the expressions used to render what are specific aspects of the story are not of much significance, variations also occur in relation to what would be pericope descriptions. When Ānanda kneels down to ask the Buddha why he smiled, the introduction uses the expression 前長跪,

vāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 448c14. From this point onwards, SĀ 379 keeps on using 拘隣, a transcription found also in a version of this discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 24.5 at T II 619b6. Unlike SĀ 379, the other versions are consistent in their translation terminology. Su 2010: 28 note 46 suggests that this sudden shift of terminology in SĀ 379 could be the result of an incompletely carried out revision, during which earlier instances of 拘隣 were replaced with 橋陳如.

⁶⁹ [78] EĀ 1 at T II 551c1 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a1.

⁷⁰ [79] EĀ 1 at T II 551c1 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a1. The usage in EĀ 50.4 would explain the choice of the rendering 長生 instead of 長壽 for the second king.

⁷¹ [80] EĀ 1 at T II 551c2 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a5.

whereas the version among the Elevens instead employs 右膝著地.⁷²

When it comes to Mahādeva's going forth, the introduction narrates that he "shaved off hair and beard", 剃除鬚髮, and "put on three Dharma robes", 著三法衣, in order to "train in the path", 學道. According to the discourse among the Elevens, he "removed hair and beard", 下鬚髮, and "put on Dharma robes", 著法服, in order to "enter on the path", 入道.⁷³ [29]

Although one would expect a pericope to be rendered with some degree of consistency, each of these variations is in itself still not conclusive. Given the time gap that must have occurred between the translation of the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the rendering of a discourse found in its last part of Elevens, it would not be surprising if the translator was not consistent in his renderings. In fact Zhú Fóniàn does not appear to have been a translator with particularly consistent translation terminology.

Moreover, Dào'ān (道安) reports that the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* was undertaken during a time of warfare and therefore under conditions that would certainly not have been conducive to a consistency check of the translation terminology.⁷⁴ In fact the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection often shows a considerable degree of inconsistency of translation terminology.

What gives further weight to these variations, however, is the circumstance that some of the expressions used in the discourse found among the Elevens do not make an appearance elsewhere

⁷² [81] EĀ 1 at T II 551c7 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c26.

⁷³ [82] EĀ 1 at T II 552a3 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b14. In the case of the expression 下鬚髮, besides nine occurrences in EĀ 50.4, the same EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b6 and 810a3 also has the alternative phrase 剃鬚髮.

⁷⁴ [84] T II 549a18.

in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁷⁵ This is the case for the complete phase 著法服, as only 法服 on its own occurs in other *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses. In contrast, the expression found in the version in the introduction, 著三法衣, occurs frequently elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁷⁶ In such contexts, the phrase 學道, found in the introduction version, occurs also regularly, [30] whereas 入道 makes its appearance only rarely in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and in any case not as part of the pericope description of someone's going forth.⁷⁷ Again, the expression 剃除鬚髮, found in the introduction, is standard in descriptions of going forth (if beard and hair are mentioned at all), whereas the phrase 下鬚髮 does not seem to recur elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the discourse among the Elevens being the only instance where this expression occurs.

⁷⁵ [85] In what follows, my indications are based on a digital search of the CBETA edition which, with its manifold advantages, also comes with the limitations that inevitably go with digital searching.

⁷⁶ [86] EĀ 9.1 at T II 562a27, EĀ 9.2 at T II 562b20, EĀ 16.4 at T II 579b26, EĀ 24.2 at T II 616c8, EĀ 24.4 at T II 618a23, EĀ 28.4 at T I 652a5, EĀ 29.9 at T II 658c7, EĀ 32.4 at T II 676b22, EĀ 35.7 at T II 700b23, EĀ 38.6 at T II 720b22, EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b15, EĀ 38.11 at T II 726a15, EĀ 41.5 at T II 739b29, EĀ 42.3 at T II 752c1, EĀ 42.4 at T II 753b9, EĀ 43.7 at T II 763c21, EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a12, EĀ 46.10 at T II 780b28, EĀ 47.9 at T II 784c12, EĀ 49.9 at T II 804c11, EĀ 50.8 at T II 812c29, and EĀ 51.3 at T II 816a9 (here and below, I only take into account separate discourses, disregarding recurrence of a particular expression in the same discourse).

⁷⁷ [87] Except for EĀ 50.4, I have only been able to locate this expression in two discourses. One of these is EĀ 8.3 at T II 561a19+24, where the phrase 入道 is used in a reference to the Tathāgata. The other is EĀ 12.1 at T II 568a2+9 and 569b9, where the expression 一入道 qualifies the practice of *satipaṭṭhāna*, thereby being a counterpart to the expression *ekāyano maggo* in the parallel MN 10 at MN I 55,31 (= DN 22 at DN II 290,8); on this expression cf. the discussion in Gethin 1992: 59–66, Kuan 2001: 164, Anālayo 2003: 27–29, Sujato 2005: 177–186, Harrison 2007: 208, Nattier 2007: 196–199, Wen 2011, and Anālayo 2013g.

In other words, the expressions 著三法衣, 入道, and 下鬚髮 to describe Mahādeva's going forth in the discourse found among the Elevens appear to be specific to this particular text, differing from the terminology that is used in such contexts elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This gives the impression that such variations are not just different choices employed by the same translator who is working on a long text in difficult conditions. It would not be easy to devise a reasonable explanation why the same translator should change his translation terminology just for this one discourse. [31]

The above instances are not the only ones of this type. The discourse among the Elevens mentions that after the meal the Buddha got up, 食後起.⁷⁸ The version of the Mahādeva tale in the introduction and two other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that report what the Buddha did after his meal do not mention that he got up and thus just use the phrase 食後.⁷⁹

The discourse among the Elevens provides the information that the Buddha was staying in [Mahādeva's] grove with the expression 園中止.⁸⁰ This phrase does not appear to recur elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which instead tends to report the Buddha's sojourn in a grove simply with 園中, as is the case for the Mahādeva tale found in the introduction,⁸¹ or even just with 園.

The Mahādeva tale located among the Elevens begins by indicating that the Buddha was in the company of a great community

⁷⁸ [88] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c23.

⁷⁹ [89] EĀ 1 at T II 551c5, EĀ 17.1 at T II 581c13, and EĀ 41.10 at T II 743a6.

⁸⁰ [90] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c22. One instance that bears some similarity to the expression used in EĀ 50.4 can be found in EĀ 51.7 at T II 818b21, where Anāthapiṇḍika informs his son of the fact that the Buddha is "staying in my grove", 止吾園中. As in this case the 止 precedes the reference to the grove, the formulation does not match the expression found in EĀ 50.4.

⁸¹ [91] EĀ 1 at T II 551c5. Other occurrences of this type are too numerous to be listed separately.

of monks, 與大比丘僧, numbering one thousand two hundred and fifty.⁸² Whereas the version found in the introduction does not report the number of monks that were staying together with the Buddha, [32] other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that present the Buddha in the company of the same number of monks instead use the expression 與大比丘眾,⁸³ an expression also regularly employed when the number of monks is instead five hundred, or even more than one thousand two hundred and fifty.⁸⁴ That is, the usual rendering of such references to the community of monks accompanying the Buddha in the *Ekottarika-āgama* employs 眾 instead of 僧.

The version among the Elevens describes the Buddha addressing Ānanda with the phrase 佛語阿難.⁸⁵ This formulation does not appear to occur elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,⁸⁶ which instead records instances where Ānanda is being addressed by his teacher with the expression 佛告阿難,⁸⁷ or alternatively 世尊告

⁸² [92] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c22.

⁸³ [93] EĀ 30.3 at T II 660a2 and EĀ 45.7 at T II 773c21.

⁸⁴ [94] Although references to five hundred monks are too numerous to be listed separately, examples of the phrase 與大比丘眾 used in relation to the much higher number of monks that were held to have accompanied previous Buddhas can be found in EĀ 20.3 at T II 597b18, EĀ 23.1 at T II 610b1, EĀ 30.3 at T II 665a13, EĀ 43.2 at T II 758a8, and EĀ 52.2 at T II 824a23.

⁸⁵ [95] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c28, which is the first of twenty occurrences of this phrase in this discourse, although in one instance in EĀ 50.4 at T II 809a22 the phrase 佛告阿難 can be found, with the (for EĀ 50.4) probably more original variant reading 佛語阿難.

⁸⁶ [96] There are, however, two instances where the expression 佛語 occurs when the Buddha addresses someone else; cf. EĀ 31.2 at T II 667b20 and EĀ 33.2 at T II 686a14.

⁸⁷ [97] EĀ 32.5 at T II 676c2, EĀ 40.5 at T II 739b18, EĀ 40.10 at T II 743c27, EĀ 42.3 at T II 750c22, EĀ 44.10 at T II 768c8, EĀ 45.2 at T II 770c22, EĀ 45.3 at T II 772a17, EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a19, EĀ 46.8 at T I 780a13, EĀ 48.2 at

阿難. [33] In other words, the verb employed in the *Ekottarika-āgama* in such contexts is 告 instead of 語. The version in the introduction uses the corresponding phrase 佛告我, where the proper name 阿難 is not mentioned since here Ānanda himself narrates what happened.⁸⁸

A similar pattern holds in cases when Ānanda asks the Buddha a question. The Mahādeva tale among the Elevens uses the form 阿難問佛,⁸⁹ not found elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which instead uses 阿難白佛言 when Ānanda is asking the Buddha a question.⁹⁰

It seems to me that these examples of phrases that describe standard situations are fairly conclusive evidence of different translators at work. With all due consideration given to variations in terminology during a prolonged translation carried out under difficult circumstances, the above pattern clearly points to a peculiarity of the idioms employed in the Mahādeva tale among the Elevens that differs markedly from the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.

This impression finds further confirmation in other variations between the two versions of the Mahādeva tale that involve key terminology which could reasonably well be expected to be used consistently by the same translator. [34] This would be the case at

T II 786b8, EĀ 48.3 at T II 787c11, EĀ 48.4 at T II 791b8, EĀ 49.8 at T II 802a1, EĀ 49.9 at T II 804a12, and EĀ 51.8 at T II 820b13.

⁸⁸ [98] EĀ 1 at T II 551c9.

⁸⁹ [99] EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a6, which together with the abbreviation 問佛 and the alternative expression 阿難復問佛 occurs ten times in the discourse.

⁹⁰ [100] EĀ 23.5 at T II 613b21, EĀ 23.6 at T II 613c24, EĀ 26.9 at T II 642a24, EĀ 36.5 at T II 703b27, EĀ 40.5 at T II 739b22, EĀ 42.3 at T II 751c11, EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a18, EĀ 48.2 at T II 787b22, and EĀ 51.8 at T II 820b15. When Ānanda asks several questions, the phrase for subsequent instances then tends to become 阿難復白佛言.

least when it comes to translating a single work, which does not leave much time for the translator to change his translation terminology in the way this might happen with works by the same translator rendered at different stages of his working career.

One example is the householder-treasure, one of the seven treasures that are the property of a wheel-turning king. Whereas the introduction speaks of 典藏寶, the discourse among the Elevens uses the phrase 主藏寶.⁹¹ The expression used in the introduction recurs in another listing of the seven treasures in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,⁹² but the phrase employed in the discourse found among the Elevens does not seem to recur elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

In this case, however, it could still be that the same translator has come up with different ways of rendering the householder-treasure, as other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* employ still another rendering as 居士寶.⁹³ Such an explanation would, however, not be convincing when it comes to another discrepancy that involves the rendering of the term arahant. This discrepancy occurs in the context of a standard set of epithets that describes the Buddha as being an arahant who is fully awakened. The introduction uses the expression 至真, followed by 等正覺. In contrast, the version among the Elevens employs 無所著,^[35] followed by the same 等正覺.⁹⁴ The qualification of a Buddha as 至真, 等正

⁹¹ [101] EĀ 1 at T II 552a18 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a4.

⁹² [102] EĀ 36.5 at T II 707c11.

⁹³ [103] EĀ 17.7 at T II 583b28, EĀ 23.1 at T II 609c15, EĀ 24.4 at T II 617b29, EĀ 39.7 at T II 731b17, and EĀ 39.8 at T II 731c21. Yet another rendering can be found in EĀ 48.3 at T II 788a12: 守藏之寶 (which also differs from the other instances by having this treasure as its last).

⁹⁴ [104] EĀ 1 at T II 551b27 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 806b27; on 至真 and 無所著 cf. the discussion in Nattier 2003b: 214 and 217ff.

覺 appears to be the standard translation used elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁹⁵

A similar type of difference also manifests in relation to the term *brahmavihāra*, which the introduction renders as 四等心, whereas the discourse among the Elevens employs 四梵行.⁹⁶ The introduction's version's expression 四等心 recurs in several other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,⁹⁷ but the rendering 四梵行 does not seem to occur anywhere else apart from the Mahādeva discourse found among the Elevens.

On considering all of the above noted differences, it seems to me unavoidable to conclude that the two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* were not translated by the same person. The magnitude of differences surveyed so far needs to be considered against the background that the two versions of the Mahādeva tale have relatively little text in common. [36] The first part of the rather short introductory account, which refers to three former Buddhas and reports Ānanda's request for the Buddha to sit in the same place, is without a counterpart in the discourse found

⁹⁵ [105] Instances of this usage are too numerous to be listed fully, hence I content myself with just giving the first few references in the collection: EĀ 10.10 at T II 566a17, EĀ 12.4 at T II 569c7, EĀ 13.5 at T II 574a27, EĀ 17.2 at T II 582c28, etc. An exception to this pattern is EĀ 26.9 at T II 639b9, which uses the expression 無所著, 等正覺 to qualify the Buddha, although the same discourse also has the standard rendering 至真 at T II 639c22. This discourse has several elements testifying to late influence, particularly evident in an explicit reference to the Hinayāna, EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a5; for a more detailed study cf. below p. 473ff. Thus the occurrence of the expression 無所著, 等正覺 may well be an indication that EĀ 26.9 contains material that is not original to the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.

⁹⁶ [106] EĀ 1 at T II 552a14 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b15.

⁹⁷ [107] EĀ 24.6 at T II 624b29, EĀ 26.9 at T II 639b5, EĀ 27.8 at T II 646b6, EĀ 29.10 at T II 658c19, EĀ 31.2 at T II 667c21, EĀ 38.9 at T II 724b24, and EĀ 48.3 at T II 789b12.

among the Elevens. Instead of a reference to former Buddhas, the discourse among the Elevens has a long description of the seven treasures of a wheel-turning king. Moreover, this version continues after the third generation of kings with its narration leading up to the final of eighty-four thousand generations of kings, exploring his life and conduct in much detail, none of which is mentioned at all in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

In this way, what the two versions have in common is the tale of Mahādeva who on seeing the first white hair renounces his throne and goes into seclusion to practise the *brahmavihāras*. The introduction then repeats this with few variations for the next two kings, after which it concludes. That is, the actual amount of text that is common to the two versions is fairly small. To find such a number of variations in this relatively short portion of text is surely significant. With all due consideration to the possibility of scribal errors and inconsistency of translation terminology by the same translator, the differences noted above must be the result of different translators at work.

The evidence surveyed so far shows that the two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* appear to be based on different original narrations, which were then translated by different translators. The version found among the Elevens shows recurrent disagreements with translation terminology employed elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, indicating that this discourse was not part of the original translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* into Chinese.⁹⁸ [37]

⁹⁸ [108] This in turn provides a significant indication regarding the nature of the 分別功德論, T 1507, which has a brief reference to the Mahādeva tale at T XXV 32c8. According to this reference, King Mahādeva and eighty-four thousand generations of kings after him practised the *brahmavihāras*, moreover, Mahādeva was the only *mahāpuruṣa* among them (which I take to refer to his status as the Buddha in a former life). The eighty-four thousand generations

This suggestion finds corroboration on considering the placement of the Mahādeva tale among the Elevens in the fiftieth chapter of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Each of the first three discourses among the Elevens in the fiftieth chapter of the *Ekottarika-āgama* begins with the Buddha taking up an elevenfold topic and then continue with his detailed explanation of this topic.⁹⁹ [38&39] This conforms to what one would expect under the header of "Elevens", as the point of such a subdivision in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, found similarly in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, is precisely to collect discourses which in some way involve the number eleven.¹⁰⁰

are not mentioned in EĀ 1, but only in EĀ 50.4 at T II 809a22, making it probable that T 1507 refers to this discourse. In other words, by the time of the coming into being of this reference in T 1507, EĀ 50.4 must have already been part of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Regarding T 1507, Mori 1970: 456 explains that, after the completed translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, "the commentary was done later consulting the former's translation already made for their mutual concord." Nattier 2012: 15 points out that T 1507 "originally thought to be a translation of a commentary on an Ekottarikāgama appears, at this point, to be a commentary on T125 itself"; cf. also below p. 463 note 71 and, for a detailed study of T 1507, Palumbo 2013.

⁹⁹ [110] EĀ 50.1 at T II 806b13, EĀ 50.2 at T II 806b26, and EĀ 50.3 at T II 806c10 each begin by mentioning a set of eleven, followed by the enquiry about what these eleven are, 云何(名)為十一, which then leads on to a detailed exposition. The fact that in this chapter only these three discourses match the category of Elevens has already been noted by Yinshùn 1962/1983: 759, who points out that in the previous chapter only EĀ 49.1, EĀ 49.2, EĀ 49.3, EĀ 49.4, EĀ 49.6, EĀ 49.7, and EĀ 49.10 fit the same category.

¹⁰⁰ [109] Whereas the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* go up to Elevens, the original conception of the numerical collection appears to have gone only from Ones to Tens. As pointed out by von Hinüber 1996/1997: 40, in the case of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* "originally, it seems, AN had only ten Nipātas. This can be deduced from the fact that at the end of the Dasakanipāta not only groups of 10 items occur as the title implies, but also groups of 20 (AN V 304), 30 (AN V 305), and 40 (AN V 306) items, which is typical for the last chapter of a text." In fact the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara

1932: 188,25, speaks of an *Ekottarika-āgama* that goes up to Tens only. A count from Ones to Tens is also mentioned in the description of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the account of the first council or communal recitation in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 407c1: 若經說一句事二句事乃至十句事者, 此即名為增一阿笈摩. The corresponding passage in the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* appears to reflect a development from an original collection of Tens to a collection of Elevens, as it explains that the *Ekottarika-āgama* goes from Ones to Tens and from Tens to Elevens, T 1428 at T XXII 968b20: 從一事至十事, 從十事至十一事, 為增一. An account of the compilation of the *Tripiṭaka*, 撰集三藏及雜藏傳, T 2026 at T XLIX 4a19, confirms that the *Ekottarika* collection goes from Ones to Tens, to which discourses related to eleven were added to form the Elevens. Przyłuski 1926: 105 notes 1 to 4 points out that several specifications given in T 2026 at T XLIX 3a27 about the numerical sections of the *Ekottarika-āgama* correspond to T 125, but differ from the situation in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*. This makes its indication of the gradual development of the *Ekottarika* collection from a collection of Tens to a collection that also covers Elevens directly relevant to the case of T 125. In fact, Dào'ān's (道安) preface to T 125 at T II 549a6 explains that the term *ekottarika* means increasing by one up to Tens, 數終十, 令加其一, 故曰增一也 (on the corresponding passage in T 2145 at T LV 64b2 cf. Palumbo 2013: 40). It seems to me that the use of the phrase 故曰 makes it clear that this is a word explanation of the term 增一, not a description of the actual condition of T 125, which is taken up at a later point in Dào'ān's preface. Therefore I think it is more probable that the expression 令加其一 refers to the character of this collection as increasing by one, not as conveying the idea that one more *nipāta* has been added to the original ten *nipātas*. The translation of this part of the preface by Legittimo 2014: 73 as "one was added to these. This is why it is called 'increased by one'" is not convincing; the name of the collection would hardly have been derived from the fact that a later addition was made to it. Palumbo 2013: 40 note 70 holds that the notion "that 'numbers end with ten' (*shu zhong shi* 數終十 in the preface) is a purely Chinese notion." Yet the division of texts into tens is well attested throughout the early Buddhist textual collection and has according to Renou 1957: 2 precedents in Vedic literature. In sum, it seems to me reasonable to assume that this explanation, given at the outset of the preface, reflects awareness of the original conception of the numerical collections. The

The fourth discourse among the Elevens in this chapter of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is the Mahādeva tale, which does not contain even a single occurrence of the number eleven. The same is the case for subsequent discourses in this chapter.¹⁰¹ In view of its detailed exposition of the seven treasures of a wheel-turning king, the Mahādeva tale could have naturally found a placing among the Sevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.¹⁰² Among the Elevens, however, the Mahādeva tale is clearly a misfit.¹⁰³ [40]

same type of explanation is also found in T 1507 at T XXV 32a26: 以一為本, 次至十, 一二三隨事增上故曰增一 (although a variant reading changes ten to eleven), which, as mentioned in the previous note, would be referring to the original conception of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, not to the actual condition of T 125, which was of course known to the author(s) of T 1507, cf., e.g., T XXV 34b6: 誦增一, 正得十一事.

¹⁰¹ Particularly noteworthy is that EĀ 50.7 at T II 812b16 (just as EĀ 52.5 at T II 825c23 and EĀ 52.6 at T II 826a4) takes up a topic involving fives, which is a clearly out of place in a chapter on Elevens.

¹⁰² [111] This is, in fact, the placing of another detailed exposition of the seven treasures of a wheel-turning king in EĀ 39.8 at T II 731c24.

¹⁰³ [112] Although not each and every discourse in the numerical collections clearly exhibits this pattern (cf. Allon 2001: 14f), the fact that such a misfit can be a sign of a problem in transmission can be illustrated with the example of the *Karajakāya-sutta*. The *Karajakāya-sutta* occurs among the Tens of the *An-guttara-nikāya*, AN 10.208 at AN V 299,11, but does not bear a relation to the number ten. Comparative study of this discourse in the light of its parallels makes it highly probable that at some point in its transmission the *Karajakāya-sutta* lost an exposition on the ten courses of action, which would have been the original reason for its inclusion among the Tens; cf. Anālayo 2009c, Martini 2012, and Dhammadinnā 2014. In the case of T 125, even discourses whose text can be found with very few differences in wording outside of the *Ekottarika-āgama* as individual translations attributed to translators active before the time of the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* have a placing in the collection that conforms to the basic numerical principle: EĀ 30.3 at T II 660a1 (corresponding to T 128b at T II 837c12) is found among the Fours and at some point in its long exposition indeed broaches a topic related to four,

Another peculiarity in translation terminology further confirms the fact of a later addition. The Mahādeva discourse found among the Elevens begins with the phrase "at one time the Blessed One", rendered 一時婆伽婆, followed by an indication that "at that time the Blessed One", 爾時世尊.¹⁰⁴ The rendering of *bhagavant* as 婆伽婆 does not recur anywhere else in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,¹⁰⁵ nor is it found in the *Dirgha-āgama* (T 1) or in the *Udānavarga* (T 212), [41] attributed to the same translator Zhú Fóniàn.

Instead, the peculiar opening of the discourse, with 一時婆伽婆 followed by subsequent occurrences of *bhagavant* rendered instead as 世尊, recurs in a group of *Madhyama-āgama* discourses now found individually in the Taishō edition, but which appear to have been translated by the same translator.¹⁰⁶ Notably, six dis-

followed by a question as to what these four are, T II 665a16: 云何為四, and in reply to this question comes a short listing of the four. EĀ 48.3 at T II 787c2 (corresponding to T 453 at T XIV 421a6) is placed among the Tens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and has indeed a reference to ten perceptions, T II 789b5: 此十想者. On these two discourses cf. also Lévi and Chavannes 1916: 191 and 263 as well as the study of T 453 by Legittimo 2010b.

¹⁰⁴ [113] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c21. On the standard opening phrase of a discourse cf. Anālayo 2014b: 41–45.

¹⁰⁵ [114] The expression 婆伽婆 occurs also in T 1507 at T XXV 35b16, explicitly introduced as an equivalent to 世尊; cf. also the comment above note 98 regarding a reference to the Mahādeva tale in T 1507.

¹⁰⁶ [115] Before turning to the relevant instances, I need to record my indebtedness to Jan Nattier for having drawn my attention to this pattern and for having already suggested, in an email dated 13 April 2010, that the occurrence of the expression 一時婆伽婆 could be a sign that the present discourse was absorbed into T 125 from another translation. Discourses that open with the 一時婆伽婆 phrase, followed by the alternative rendering of *bhagavant* as 世尊 throughout the rest of the discourse, are T 47 at T I 837a9, T 49 at T I 839a8, T 50 at T I 842b6, T 51 at T I 843c16, T 53 at T I 846c8, T 56 at T I 851a26, T 58 at T I 853c23, T 60 at T I 856a7, T 64 at T I 862b8, T 65 at T I 863b13 (adopting the variant reading 伽 instead of 加), T 66 at T I 864b5, T 70 at T I 875a14, T

courses out of this group list the epithets of the Buddha, [42] and each of them precedes the qualification 等正覺 with the term 無所著,¹⁰⁷ the expression also used in the Mahādeva tale among the Elevens. In spite of these similarities, however, as the research by Hung (2013) shows, in other respects the translation terminology in the Mahādeva tale now found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* differs from this group of *Madhyama-āgama* discourses, so that for the time being the provenance of the Mahādeva tale now found among the Elevens remains unclear.¹⁰⁸

What is indubitably clear, however, is that the phrase 一時婆伽婆 found in the introduction to the second Mahādeva tale fur-

73 at T I 879a11, T 75 at T I 882a23, T 77 at T I 886a28, T 79 at T I 888b18, T 82 at T I 901b26, T 83 at T I 902b7, T 90 at T I 913c7, T 91 at T I 915a7, and T 94 at T I 917b16; whereas T 55 at T I 849b26 has the reading 一時婆伽婆, which is then also followed by 世尊 in the rest of the discourse. This formula appears to be a common characteristic of the twenty-four discourses that according to the research by Hung et al. 2009/2010, based on indications by Mizuno, appear to be from the same translator, except for T 92 and T 93 (although the formulation 一時婆伽婆, found in T 55, recurs in T 89 at T I 913a20, which presumably does not belong to this group). T 92 and T 93 begin by indicating that the Buddha had passed away and thus naturally do not have a counterpart to the above phrase. The 一時婆伽婆 phrase also occurs in several *Saṃyukta-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses preserved as individual translations. However, in the case of one such instance of 一時婆伽婆 in T 133 at T II 855c6, the arahant epithet of the Buddha is rendered in the alternative way, 至真, 等正覺; cf. T II 855c11. Thus T 133 does not concord with the way the arahant epithet of the Buddha is rendered in the individual *Madhyama-āgama* discourses listed in the note below and in EĀ 50.4.

¹⁰⁷ [116] T 60 at T I 858a2, T 66 at T I 864c7, T 73 at T I 879c4, T 75 at T I 882b18, T 92 at T I 916b10, and T 93 at T I 917a21.

¹⁰⁸ [117] The research by Hung 2013 also shows that the twenty-four *Madhyama-āgama* discourses mentioned above in note 106 differ substantially from the translation terminology employed in the rest of T 125, making it improbable that these stem from the same translator; cf. also above p. 105f note 35.

ther confirms that another translator must have been at work. The introduction and conclusions of a discourse are stereotyped to such a degree that it can safely be expected that the same way of rendering will be used consistently by someone engaged in the translation of a single work.

Besides the peculiar phrasing found at the beginning of the second Mahādeva tale, its conclusion also shows the signs of another translator being at work. The second Mahādeva tale concludes with the expression 佛說是已, followed by reporting Ānanda's delight.¹⁰⁹ This phrase does not recur elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,^[43] which instead regularly uses the phrase 聞佛所說 to introduce the delight of those who have heard what the Buddha had taught. With this additional evidence, I think it is now time to come to a definite conclusion. The second Mahādeva tale must stem from the hand of another translator.

By way of winding up my comparative study of the two versions of the Mahādeva tale, it seems clear that these two discourses are based on different original narrations and have been rendered into Chinese by different translators. This in turn provides strong evidence for concluding that an already existing translation of the Mahādeva tale was not part of the original text and was incorporated among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ ^[118] EĀ 50.4 at T II 810b18. I am indebted to Jen-Jou Hung for this finding.

Since the first Mahādeva tale, EĀ 1, does not have a formal conclusion, I did not notice this feature of EĀ 50.4 when comparing the two versions. Thanks to the discussion in Hung 2013: 127f, this additional feature of EĀ 50.4 has come to light, corroborating that a different translator must have been at work.

¹¹⁰ ^[119] Palumbo 2013: 113f notes that Mizuno already identified EĀ 50.4 as an interpolation (my ignorance of Japanese has prevented me from consulting Mizuno myself). This contrasts with the assessment by Legittimo 2010a: 153f that the *Ekottarika-āgama* has been passed on faithfully without any change, "sans interpolations ou censures, et sans être soumis aux manipulations des idéologies changeantes des siècles suivants, le recueil a conservé fidèlement les données an-

The motivation for such integration of the Mahādeva tale's depiction of an ideal Buddhist king from elsewhere into the *Ekottarika-āgama* could be related to political considerations, given that the history of Buddhism in China is one of constant struggle for the emperor's recognition. The depiction of the ideal Buddhist ruler in the Mahādeva tale would have come in handy for propaganda purposes in such a setting, providing an example for how, from a Buddhist perspective, [44] an emperor should conduct himself.¹¹¹

In a study of models of Buddhist kingship in early medieval China, Palumbo (2012: 316) highlights in particular the penchant of the translator Zhú Fóniàn in this respect, noting that "Zhú Fóniàn's vision of a world ruled by Buddhist holy men, whom a devout monarch would reverence and the masses obey, was absolutely unprecedented in China."

In my study of the Mahādeva tale found among the Elevens in the last two chapters,¹¹² I suggested that the original point of the depiction of the wheel-turning king in this tale was precisely not the providing of a model to be emulated. Instead, in this discourse the wheel-turning king seems to function as a humorous persiflage of ancient Indian kingship. This persiflage in turn forms part of a soteriological project that replaces the acme of worldly king-

ciennes telles qu'elles furent transmises jusqu'au jour de sa traduction"; cf. also Legittimo 2010b: 256: "the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* collection remained unchanged since its translation at the end of the fourth century."

¹¹¹ [120] In a study of the writings of Xuánzàng (玄奘) from the perspective of their intended impact on the emperor, Deeg 2009: 51 speaks of "the *speculum*-motive: the intention to hold a mirror in front of his ruler to show him how an ideal Buddhist kingdom looks like." Pāsādika 2010: 95 comments on a *jātaka* tale found in EĀ 52.9 at T II 829b11 (translated in Pāsādika 2007) that this narration appears to present a "subtle criticism, warning and simultaneously encouragement towards renewal discreetly addressed to those in power in early medieval China".

¹¹² Cf. above p. 113–164.

ship with the superior principle of renunciation, and this in turn leads up to the Buddha's disclosure of the supreme path to liberation. Nevertheless, tradition soon took such tales as providing a model of the dharmic king, a model exerting considerable influence on notions of kingship in various Buddhist countries and traditions.

An employment of the Mahādeva tale in the ancient Chinese setting would be well in line with this tendency.¹¹³ The wish to provide a depiction of an ideal Buddhist king could also explain a peculiar feature of the Mahādeva tale found among the Elevens. Unlike its parallel versions, this *Ekottarika-āgama* tale has narrative pieces that appear to stem from a different discourse that also describes a wheel-turning king, [45] found separately in the Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda, and Theravāda traditions, and known in Pāli as the *Cakkavatti(sīhanāda)-sutta*.¹¹⁴

One of these pieces found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version of the Mahādeva tale as well as in the *Cakkavatti(sīhanāda)-sutta* and its parallels describes in detail the negative repercussions on the whole country that ensued when a king, on ascending the throne, did not follow the tradition of dharmic kingship established by his predecessors. People became short-lived, diseased, and poor, poverty led to theft, which in turn led to a general increase in crime and a deterioration of living conditions.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ [122] DuBois 2004: 539 speaks of "the participation of Chinese political actors in worship of Maitreya and reinterpretation of the cakravartin".

¹¹⁴ [123] B^e, C^e, and S^e have the title *Cakkavatti-sutta*, whereas in E^e the title is *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda-sutta*.

¹¹⁵ [124] This narration is found in EĀ 50.4 at T II 810a14, which has counterparts in DN 26 at DN III 65,15, DĀ 6 at T I 40b23, and MĀ 70 at T I 522a28 (a similar parallelism can be found between EĀ 50.4 at T II 808c13 and DN 26 at DN III 60,9, DĀ 6 at T I 39b24, and MĀ 70 at T I 520c14); cf. also above p. 159f.

Such pieces would have made the Mahādeva tale a presentation of the wheel-turning king worth including alongside other discourses that take up this motif in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, so as to provide a model of Buddhist kingship to the ancient Chinese audience. [46]

The *Ekottarika-āgama* Translation

The original translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* appears to have been based on a text recited orally in 384 by Dharmanandin/Dharmananda,¹¹⁶ which was then translated by Zhú Fóniàn.¹¹⁷ Whereas early Tripiṭaka catalogues such as T 2145 (出三藏記集) just report this translation,¹¹⁸ about two hundred years after the original translation the catalogue T 2034 (歷代三寶紀), known for not being particularly reliable,¹¹⁹ reports that Gautama Saṅghadeva, the translator of the extant *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26), subsequently did a retranslation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.¹²⁰ Such a retranslation is not mentioned in Saṅghadeva's biography in T 2059 (高僧傳), which only records his *Madhyama-āgama* translation.¹²¹

Closer study of the translation terminology used in the extant *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26) and in the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) makes it clear that this is so different as to make it safe to conclude that these two collections have not been translated by the same translator.¹²² [47] An alternative explanation would be that

¹¹⁶ [125] Dào'ān indicates that Dharmanandin/Dharmananda was a reciter of two *Āgamas*, T II 549a11: 誦二阿含, presumably the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* then translated by Zhú Fóniàn.

¹¹⁷ [126] The catalogue 出三藏記集, T 2145 at T LV 6a13, mentions a still earlier *Ekottarika* translation, which appears to be the collection now found as T 150A.

¹¹⁸ [127] T 2145 at T LV 71b29.

¹¹⁹ [128] Cf., e.g., Nattier 2008: 14f.

¹²⁰ [129] T 2034 at T XLIX 70c12.

¹²¹ [130] T 2059 at T L 329a23.

¹²² Hung and Anālayo 2016, Radich 2016, and Radich and Anālayo 2016.

Saṅghadeva only revised the already translated *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125). Yet, even that is not entirely straightforward, since by that time Dharmanandin had left China. Without access to the orally recited original, it is not easy to see how Saṅghadeva could have carried out a revision of the text. Lín (2009) suggests that it may have been rather the original translator Zhú Fóniàn himself who did a revision. For the original translator it would be natural to do a revision of his own work which, as mentioned earlier, had originally been carried out under difficult conditions.

According to the preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* by Dào'ān (道安), the translation undertaken in 384 had four hundred and seventy-two discourses in forty-one fascicles.¹²³ [48] Dào'ān's indications given at this point in his introduction were based on his own supervising of the copying of the original translation and were apparently made just before his passing away.¹²⁴ This makes his description a first-hand eyewitness report and therefore different from information provided in catalogues that were compiled centuries later.¹²⁵

The extant *Ekottarika-āgama* has indeed four hundred and seventy-two discourses (not counting the introduction),¹²⁶ but

¹²³ [134] T II 549a15+26: 四十一卷 ... 四百七十二經。

¹²⁴ [135] At T II 549a17 Dào'ān mentions his own role in checking the translation. Matsumura 1989: 361 note 10 comments that "the fact that Dào'ān died in 384 proves that this introduction was written in the very year when [the] *Ekottarika* was translated. Therefore the information provided in this introduction is highly reliable."

¹²⁵ [136] Even the 出三藏記集, T 2145 at T LV 10b21, in spite of being presumably based on Dào'ān's no longer extant catalogue, gives a different fascicle count for the *Ekottarika-āgama* which is less than what Dào'ān mentions in his introduction, speaking of only thirty-three fascicles, 增一阿鎗經三十三卷。

¹²⁶ [137] T 125 has fifty-two chapters, of which the first corresponds to the introduction. Thirty-three of the remaining chapters have the standard count of ten discourses. The others are as follows: three discourses (chapters 7 and 30), four

these come in fifty-one fascicles. If Dào'ān's indications are correct, which seems fairly probable, they point to a consistent number of discourses in combination with a substantial difference in actual volume, an increase of over 24 per cent. Although some degree of variation in fascicles can result from a bare rewriting of the same text, such difference could also be a sign of a change of the original translation. ^[49] The second of these two possibilities finds support in a discrepancy, further discussed by Su (2013), in relation to the summary verses, *uddānas*. According to Dào'ān the first twenty-six fascicles of the *Ekottarika-āgama* carried *uddānas*.¹²⁷ This does not fully correspond to the present situation, where what roughly corresponds to the first half of the *Ekottarika-āgama* does have *uddānas* for the most part, but some are missing. Moreover, as pointed out by Su, references in other

discourses (chapter 6), five discourses (chapters 5, 36, and 41), six discourses (chapter 48), seven discourses (chapters 13, 28, and 45), nine discourses (chapter 52), eleven discourses (chapters 17, 19, 31, and 44), twelve discourses (chapters 32 and 38), and thirteen discourses (chapter 20). The count of discourses, without taking into account the introduction, is thus indeed four hundred and seventy two. According to Legittimo 2014: 80 note 44, however, "in the present *Taishō* edition, the *Ekottarikāgama* actually contains 476 sūtras. One sūtra was mistakenly attached to the previous one. Thus, in the present state, the *Ekottarikāgama* seems to contain 475 sūtras. Three to four sūtras therefore remain unaccounted for, which is an increase of less than 1 per cent compared with the numbers given in the preface"; cf. also Legittimo 2014: 76: "the extant collection seems to contain three or four more sūtras than at the time of its translation." This is not correct and is the result of a counting error.

¹²⁷ ^[139] T II 549a16: 上部二十六卷全無遺忘, which is followed by an indication that the *uddānas* for the second half were lost, 下部十五卷失其錄偈也. Dào'ān then continues by reporting that with his helpers he worked to restore what had been lost, which might imply that they restored some of the lost *uddānas*, of whose important function Dào'ān was apparently well aware; cf. T II 549a16. In fact, as discussed by Su 2013, the second half of the *Ekottarika-āgama* does have some *uddānas*, although considerably less than the first part.

works to discourses presumably once found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* translated into Chinese can no longer be located in what we have now as entry no. 125 in the Taishō edition.

Taken together, these discrepancies and what emerges from a comparison of the two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* suggest that some sort of revision of the translated collection took place. Regarding a possible revision of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, what previous scholarship has found out about other works by the translator Zhú Fóniàn is significant:

- Legittimo (2007) points out similarities between T 384 (菩薩從兜術天降神母胎說廣普經) attributed to Zhú Fóniàn and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, of which a version had already been translated previously (T 474).¹²⁸ [50]
- Legittimo (2008) notes parallelism between the same T 384 and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, of which, too, a Chinese translation was already in existence (T 263).
- Pu (2008: 43f) notes parallelism between T 309 (最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經) attributed to Zhú Fóniàn and the previously translated T 630 (成具光明定意經).
- Nattier (2010) then takes up T 309 for a closer examination and points out several cases of parallelism with T 221 (放光般若經), with T 630 (成具光明定意經), and with T 403 (阿差末菩薩經), all translated prior to T 309.
- Palumbo (2013: 127) shows that a Sarvāstivāda *prātimokṣa* preserved in Chinese translation from a Dūnhuáng (敦煌)

¹²⁸ [141] Legittimo 2007: 1082 notes that one such similarity, found between T 384 and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, also manifests in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 45.4 at T II 772b19. The passage in question provides a listing of five nutriments alternative to the standard listing of four nutriments found elsewhere in the early discourses. This alternative fivefold presentation reckons the eight liberations as a type of nutriment, 八解脫食.

manuscript has served as the basis for a part of *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse 48.2.

Nattier (2010: 251) concludes that the case of T 309 shows that, instead of translating an Indic original, Zhú Fóniàn was "drawing substantial material from existing Chinese scriptures while at the same time reframing and rearranging it within a genuinely new composition".

Based on an examination of the biographical section on Zhú Fóniàn in the catalogue T 2145 (出三藏記集), Nattier (2010: 253) then distinguishes between two periods in Zhú Fóniàn's career. The first belongs to the final part of the fourth century, when he was working in close association with foreign monks. The second period lies mainly in the fifth century, when he worked predominantly on his own. [51] According to her conclusions, works produced by Zhú Fóniàn on his own during this second period stand a chance of being the result of a more creative approach on his side, instead of constituting renderings of Indic originals.¹²⁹ If Zhú Fóniàn should indeed have done a revision of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, then this revision would fall into the second period of his activities identified by Nattier.¹³⁰

Regarding the fact that the number of discourses now found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* matches the indications given by Dào'ān (道安), from the viewpoint of a reviser of the translation it would have made sense to keep an eye on maintaining a constant count of discourses during a process of textual revision that incorporates additional textual material, in order to avoid casting doubt on the authenticity of the material contained in the collection. Putting the repute of the collection unnecessarily in doubt by not

¹²⁹ [142] Future research on works attributed to Zhú Fóniàn during this second period of his activities might also benefit from the observations in Silk 2006: 49.

¹³⁰ As discussed above, p. 102ff, I do not find the alternative scenario developed by Palumbo 2013 convincing.

ensuring some degree of correspondence with the known overall count of discourses would have resulted in the exact opposite of what a revision would have tried to accomplish, namely making sure the collection is considered sufficiently important and genuine even by those with stringent attitudes to canonicity, so that it is perceived as worth the effort of passing it on to future generations.

Maintaining the same discourse count could have been accomplished if the Mahādeva tale had replaced a short discourse found among the Elevens, similar to those three that stand at the beginning of the fiftieth chapter in which the Mahādeva tale is found as the fourth discourse.¹³¹ As a result of changes of this type, [52] the *Ekottarika-āgama* would indeed have become more voluminous than it had been before, without affecting the count of discourses.

Changes of this type would also naturally lead to a loss of some *uddānas*, namely whenever a discourse that is immediately

¹³¹ [143] Regarding the possibility that some discourses were replaced by new material, it is perhaps significant that the survey in Akanuma 1929/1990: 120–156 shows that the *Ekottarika-āgama* has a considerably lower percentage of parallels in the corresponding Pāli *Nikāya* than the other *Āgamas* preserved in Chinese translation; cf. also Lü 1963: 244, who observes that "of its 472 sūtras, only 135, that is less than one third of its contents, agree with the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*." This stands in contrast to *Ekottarika-āgama* Sanskrit fragments, where the survey in Tripāṭhī 1995: 31 shows considerable parallelism with the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. The same is also the case for the partial *Ekottarika-āgama*, T 150A, where Harrison 1997: 276 in his detailed study concludes that of the forty-four discourses found in this collection "36 have close parallels in the Pāli *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, while five have parallels in the complete Chinese translation of the *Ekottarikāgama*, the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T 125)." The fact that T 125 differs so much from other *Āgamas* and *Nikāyas* could be the result of a process of revision during which some of its original discourses were lost and need not be the result of school affiliation only.

followed by an *uddāna* is being replaced by another discourse without an *uddāna*. This would also explain the discrepancy between *Ekottarika-āgama* quotes in T 2121 (經律異相) and the actual discourses now found in the extant Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, discussed by Su (2013), in that T 2121 might be quoting from the original *Ekottarika-āgama* translation, before its revision.

Alternatively, however, it could also be that at times two discourses were merged into one. This would then make space for the addition of the Mahādeva tale or other new material while keeping the discourse count constant. As discussed in previous chapters, there is in fact considerable evidence for the occurrence of such a merger elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.¹³² [53]

Besides providing information on the size and discourse count of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, by the very fact of its existence the preface by Dào'ān also provides a clue as to why someone might wish to add material to an existing collection that has already been accepted as canonical. As pointed out by Lancaster (1999: 537f), the emphasis at that time in China on translating canonical material of Indian origins had the following result:

[It] helped to create the situation where contemporary Buddhist works of China were denied an avenue for distribution. Unless a Buddhist document was a translation from the Indic ... [it] would not be included in the collection that was copied and spread from place to place. With this restriction on inclusion, works written in China were neglected. Even the great sage Daoan 道安 found it necessary to append his writings as prefaces to the *jīng* [i.e., the canonical scripture, such as the *Ekottarika-āgama*]. In that way, his work would be copied when the *jīng* was reproduced; otherwise, there was no way to publish. In this situation,

¹³² Cf. above p. 51–111.

it is not surprising to find a large number of pseudographs, Chinese works claiming to be translations from Sanskrit.¹³³

The danger of already accomplished work getting lost would have become particularly clear by the beginning of the fifth century, when besides Zhú Fóniàn's translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, another *Madhyama-āgama* translation carried out in 398 by Saṅghadeva had come into circulation, as a result of which Zhú Fóniàn's *Madhyama-āgama* translation seems to have lost favour and eventually disappeared.¹³⁴ [54] The biographical account of Saṅghadeva in T 2059 (高僧傳) makes a point of indicating that the translation of the two *Āgamas* transmitted by Dharmanandin/Dharmananda (and translated by Zhú Fóniàn) had not been executed well.¹³⁵

If by the beginning of the fifth century the bad repute of Zhú Fóniàn's two *Āgama* translations and in particular the loss of popularity of his *Madhyama-āgama* translation were in the air, it would have been quite understandable if he should have decided to undertake a revision of his *Ekottarika-āgama* translation in order to ensure that at least this work would be considered worth passing on by future generations, instead of being also replaced by some other translation.¹³⁶

¹³³ [146] On the related problem of explanations given during translation that then become part of the translated text cf. Funayama 2006.

¹³⁴ [147] Judging from T 2147 at T LV 178b20 and T 2148 at T LV 216a15, the *Madhyama-āgama* translation by Zhú Fóniàn (referred to as a translation by Dharmanandin/Dharmananda) was lost by the time of the early seventh century. This in turn also meant that Dào'ān's preface to the *Madhyama-āgama*, to which he alludes at T II 549a5, was lost. Thus even appending one's writings to a canonical text did not always ensure that these were transmitted to future generations.

¹³⁵ [148] T 2059 at T L 328c28.

¹³⁶ On the apparently felt need to ensure that the *Ekottarika-āgama* translation is considered worth transmission cf. also below p. 458f.

Regarding a somewhat creative attitude that might have informed such a revision, the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* furnishes another significant indication. The text provides an instruction that, in case the name of a particular location where a discourse took place has been forgotten, one should simply supply the name of any of the well-known cities where the Buddha usually dwelled.¹³⁷ A similar instruction is also found in T 1507 (分別功德論).¹³⁸ [55]

The *Ekottarika-āgama* and T 1507 might be the first instances of such an instruction coming to the attention of the Chinese readership, as similar indications made in the Mahāsāṅghika and Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayas* were only translated at a later time into Chinese.¹³⁹

Independent of whether this indication was part of the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* from the outset or was added to it based on an extract from some other source, the original point of this instruction needs to be understood in the light of what appears to be a general lack of interest in ancient India for historical details.¹⁴⁰ In other words, in an ancient Indian setting the suggestion to supplement any location freely would have been under-

¹³⁷ [149] EĀ 1 at T II 550b13.

¹³⁸ [150] T 1507 at T XXV 33b19; on this work cf. above note 98 and Palumbo 2013.

¹³⁹ [151] T 1425 at T XXII 497a6 and T 1451 at T XXIV 328c15 and 575b29; cf. also Schopen 1997/2004: 395–407.

¹⁴⁰ [152] Coward 1986: 305 explains that "the early Buddhists shared ... the Indian indifference to historical details. Historical events surrounding a text are judged to be unimportant." According to Pollock 1989: 610, behind the ancient Indian attitude towards historical details stands "a model of 'truth' that accorded history no epistemological value or social significance". Gokhale 1994/2001a: 1 adds that according to tradition "the Buddha does not indulge in 'low' talk (*tiracchānakathā* ...) ... [such as] tales of kings and their high ministers, armies and wars ... now precisely these are the stuff out of which the chronicles of history are made."

stood to be simply an expression of the relative unimportance of locations and other such narrative details.

When considered from an ancient Chinese viewpoint this instruction acquires quite a different significance, given the concern of the Chinese with historical record keeping. In an ancient Chinese setting the implication would be that, ^[56] according to the text itself, even such crucially important information as the location where something took place can be freely supplemented. In the case of a translator who already had a tendency towards a more creative rendition, it seems not too farfetched to assume that he would feel some addenda to improve on the same text would be quite in line with "the Buddha's intention".

In the case of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, such an interpretation of this instruction would find further encouragement in the nature of the collection itself, which is an anthology of various texts that often bear little relation to each other. This is the case with the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* to a greater extent than with other *Āgamas* and *Nikāyas*, where often a stronger sense of thematic cohesion makes itself felt.¹⁴¹

In this way the historical setting and the nature of the collection might explain why, as clearly shown by a close study of the two versions of the Mahādeva tale, a substantial text was added in China as a discourse to the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.

This in turn provides some background for assessing the topic of the school affiliation of the collection, a topic which I explored above in relation to the introductory section of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in particular.¹⁴² The assessment by Bareau, discussed above, concords with that of several other scholars, who have pointed to

¹⁴¹ ^[153] Legittimo 2012: 350 observes that "due to its numerical scheme ... the *Ekottarika-āgama* shows a particular propensity ... to incorporate new material".

¹⁴² Cf. above p. 173ff.

evidence in support of the hypothesis that the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection extant in Chinese stems from a Mahāsāṅghika line of transmission.¹⁴³

Hiraoka (2013), however, points out narrative affinities between texts found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and in the Sarvāstivāda tradition(s). Yet, it needs to be kept in mind that such type of affinities do not necessarily have a decisive bearing on the question of the school affiliation of a discourse collection, since narrative material easily travels across different traditions, texts, and reciter lineages.¹⁴⁴ In the present case in fact, as already stated by Harrison (2002: 19), the *Ekottarika-āgama* in fact "can hardly be Sarvāstivādin".

Given the finding that an entire discourse became part of the collection only in China, it is quite possible that other pieces of various origins also made their way into the collection only at that time. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to use individual instances in the way they are now found in the Chinese text as definite evidence for or against the school identity of the reciters who transmitted this collection before it reached China.

Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of comparative studies of the early discourses a common pattern can be observed that also sheds some light on the *Ekottarika-āgama*.¹⁴⁵ As a general tendency, discourses from the four Pāli *Nikāyas* are often close to discourses

¹⁴³ [31] Cf. Mayeda 1985: 102f and for recent contributions Pāsādika 2010, Kuan 2012, 2013a, 2013b, and 2013c.

¹⁴⁴ An illustrative example would be the observation by Radich 2011: 27 in relation to the Ajātaśatru narrative that the two narratives that "match most closely to that of the MSV [Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya] (even more than the Sarvāstivāda works just discussed) are from traditions quite distant from it: Jaina texts, and Sv [*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*]".

¹⁴⁵ My assessment in what follows is based on Anālayo 2011c and a range of comparative studies published in article form.

in the *Dīrgha-āgama* (T 1) as well as to discourse quotations in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* (T 1428) and the **Śāriputrābhidharma* (T 1548), whenever these are extant. Another group, distinct from the former, whose members have much in common, comprises the two *Samyukta-āgama* collections (T 99 and T 100) as well as discourse quotations in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharmakośopāyikaṭīkā* (D 4094 and Q 5595). The *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26) and discourse quotations in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (T 1435), whenever extant, are also members of this group, although at times exhibiting their own specific idiosyncrasies.

In the case of a number of discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) that give the impression of being genuinely early material, these at times involve substantially different presentations compared to all of the discourse material mentioned so far. This in turn makes it fairly probable that the reciters responsible for transmitting the Indic original of the *Ekottarika-āgama* belonged to a tradition which at a comparatively early time in the history of Buddhism followed its own trajectory. This would fit the case of the Mahāsāṅghika tradition(s) and would also explain the Mahāsāṅghika elements identified by various scholars in the extant collection.

Yet, due to the problems discussed in the previous pages, in particular the occurrence of discourse merger as well as the finding that material has been added in China, it seems to me impossible to force the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection into the mould of one school affiliation or another. Instead, I contend that the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, as now extant in Chinese translation, is as a whole best considered as not being amenable to an identification of its school affiliation.

In the case of *Āgama* material, school affiliation is after all only something that during transmission gradually affects texts whose beginnings predate the coming into existence of the different Buddhist schools. In view of this it is quite natural if a such school af-

filiation, acquired during transmission, could also be lost during a later stage of transmission.¹⁴⁶ This is precisely what seems to have happened when the *Ekottarika-āgama* reached China.

In this way the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection extant in Chinese offers an illustrative example of the multitude of influences that can shape a discourse collection. At the same time it serves as a reminder that the attribution of school affiliation is merely one of the categories that can be employed to handle a particular text, and in the present case clearly not the most useful one.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ An example for a comparable process, albeit affecting only parts of a single discourse in some editions, is the intriguing finding by Karashima 2014 of what he refers to as a "Sarvāstivāda encroachment" on DĀ 10 that must have happened during the written transmission of the Dharmaguptaka *Dirgha-āgama* in China.

¹⁴⁷ Boucher 2008a: 190 notes that "the problem with always seeing *nikāya* as at the heart of ... differences is that it occludes other possible explanations ... we might do well to consider explanations ... beyond our modern proclivity for school affiliation." Hartmann 2013: 48 concludes a study of the *Maitreya-samitināṭaka* and the *Maitrisimit* by noting that, if his observations are correct, then the question of school affiliation pursues something of little, if any, relevance to authors and users of the text in question, "dann geht die Frage nach der Schulzugehörigkeit bei vielen Werken ... einfach ins Leere, dann zielt sie nämlich auf Kategorisierungen, die für Verfasser und Benutzer offenbar keine Wirklichkeit oder zumindest keine praktische Bedeutung besessen haben."

Isigili-sutta (MN 116)

Introduction

In this chapter I explore the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. In addition to providing a translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* version, the present chapter is in particular concerned with the information the *Isigili-sutta* and its parallel provide about the concept of a Paccekabuddha, a topic to which I will return in the next but one chapter on the *Jiṇṇa-sutta*.¹

Whereas arahants and the Buddha are a recurrent feature in the early discourses, Paccekabuddhas are mentioned with considerable less frequency.² One of the relatively rare instances where they do feature is the *Isigili-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.³ The discourse begins with the Buddha stating that Mount Isigili, which in contrast to other mountains around Rājagaha already had the same name in past times, had been the abode of several Paccekabuddhas. The Buddha then lists their names, after which he delivers a set of stanzas on various Paccekabuddhas and their qualities. [6] The counterpart to the *Isigili-sutta* in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, translated below,⁴ helps to appreciate the significance of

* Originally published in 2010 under the title "Paccekabuddhas in the Isigili-sutta and its Ekottarika-āgama Parallel" in the *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 6: 5–36.

¹ Cf. below p. 249ff.

² [1] In the words of Gombrich 1979: 80, "when the *paccekabuddha* is mentioned in Pali literature, it is usually only as the category between the *sammā-sambuddha* and the *sāvaka*; the figure has hardly any life outside this context."

³ [2] MN 116 at MN III 68,1 to 71,6.

⁴ [3] The translated discourse is EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a6 to 723c5.

the Paccekabuddha in the early stages of Buddhist thought as reflected in the Pāli discourses and their *Āgama* parallels.

Translation

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Rājagaha, on Mount Gijjhakūṭa,⁵ together with a great company of five hundred monks.

2. At that time the Blessed One said to the monks: "Do you see this Mount Gijjhakūṭa?" The monks replied: "Yes, we see it."

[The Buddha said]: "You should know that in the distant past this mountain had another name, [not the same as the present one].⁶ Do you also see this Mount Vepulla?" The monks replied: "Yes, we see it."

[The Buddha said]: "You should know that in the distant past this mountain had another name, not the same as the present one. Do you see this Mount Paṇḍava?" The monks replied: "Yes, we see it."

[The Buddha said]: "In the distant past this mountain had another name, not the same as the present one. Do you see this Mount Vebhāra?" The monks replied: "Yes, we see it."

[The Buddha said: "In the distant past this mountain had another name, not the same as the present one]. Do you see this Mountain of Seers?"⁷ The monks replied: "Yes, we see it."

3. [The Buddha said]: "In the distant past this mountain had the same name, not a different name. The reason is that this Mountain of Seers has always been a place inhabited by bodhi-

⁵ [6] In MN 116 at MN III 68,2, the Buddha is staying on Mount Isigili itself.

⁶ [7] Adopting the variant 汝 instead of 卿.

⁷ [8] Mount Isigili in MN 116 at MN III 68,21; on °gili versus °giri, cf. the discussion below.

sattvas possessed of spiritual power, by arahants who have attained awakening, and by seers. Moreover, Paccekabuddhas delighted in staying there. I will now tell you the names of these Paccekabuddhas.⁸ [7] You should listen and pay careful attention!

4. "There was a Paccekabuddha called Ariṭṭha,⁹
[a Paccekabuddha called] Upariṭṭha,
a Paccekabuddha [called] Shěndizhòng,
a Paccekabuddha [called] Sudassana,
a Paccekabuddha [called] Niṭṭha,
a Paccekabuddha [called] Paṇḍita,
a Paccekabuddha [called] Vimala,
a Paccekabuddha [called] Dishēniànguān,
[a Paccekabuddha called] Anuruddha,
[a Paccekabuddha called] Anidassana,
[a Paccekabuddha called] Jina,
[a Paccekabuddha called] Vijaya,
[a Paccekabuddha called] Jídà, and
a Paccekabuddha [called] Jíléidiànguāngmíng.

"Monks, these were Paccekabuddhas at the time when the Tathāgata had not yet appeared in the world. At that time on

⁸ [10] Before announcing the names of Paccekabuddhas, according to MN 116 at MN III 68,26 the Buddha reported a folk-etymological explanation for the name of the mountain; cf. the discussion below.

⁹ [11] The lists of Paccekabuddhas in the two versions appear to have just three names in common, identified by the editor of the Taishō edition as Ariṭṭha, Upariṭṭha, and Sudassana. Besides the three names common to the two versions, MN 116 at MN III 69,9 lists Tagarasikhī, Yasassī, Piyadassī, Gandhāra, Piṇḍola, Upāsabha, Nītha, Tatha, Sutavā, and Bhāvitatta. B^o, C^o, and S^o designate each of these as a Paccekasambuddha, whereas E^o uses the expression Paccekabuddha. Similar variations can be found in regard to a listing of recipients of offerings in MN 142 at MN III 254,30, where C^o agrees with E^o in speaking of a Paccekabuddha, whereas B^o and S^o refer to a Paccekasambuddha.

this mountain there were five hundred Paccekabuddhas, who were dwelling on this Mount of Seers.¹⁰ When the Tathāgata was in the Tusita heaven, wishing to come and take birth, the *devas* of the Pure Abodes came here and each said: 'Let everywhere in the world this Buddha-field be purified! In two years a Tathāgata will appear in the world.'

"Having heard what the *devas* had said, the Paccekabuddhas all rose up into space and spoke this poem: [723b]

"At the time when Buddhas have not yet appeared,
 This place is a noble and sacred dwelling
 For Paccekabuddhas who have awakened on their own
 And always dwell on this mountain.
 This is called the Mount of Seers,
 Dwelled on by Paccekabuddhas,
 By seers and arahants;
 At no time is it bereft of them'. [8]

"At that time the Paccekabuddhas autocombusted their bodies while being up in space and attained final Nirvāṇa. The reason is that there cannot be two [types of those] who are called Buddhas in the world, therefore they entered Nirvāṇa. [Just as] among travelling merchants there cannot be two leaders, and in one country there cannot be two kings, so in one Buddha-field there cannot be two [types of] honoured ones, this is the reason.

"In the distant past there was a king called Xīyì in Rājagaha, who was constantly recollecting the suffering in hell, and also recollecting [the suffering] of hungry ghosts and in the animal realm. Then the king thought: 'Now, I constantly recollect the suffering in hell, in the animal realm, and among hungry ghosts.

¹⁰ [23] From this point onwards, the two versions diverge completely and have nothing any more in common.

It is not proper for me now to enter these three evil paths again. It is proper for me now to give up my rule over the country completely, [give up] my wife, children, and servants, and to go forth out of firm faith to practise the path.'

"Then the great King Xīyì, being weary of such suffering, gave up his rule, shaved off his hair and beard, put on the three Dharma robes, and went forth to practise the path. He stayed in an empty and secluded place. Having disciplined himself, he contemplated the five aggregates. Contemplating them, he realized that they are impermanent, that is: 'This is bodily form, this is the arising of bodily form, this is the cessation of bodily form ... feelings ... perception ... formations ... consciousness *is also like that*. They are all impermanent.'

"When he was properly contemplating these five aggregates, that all that is of a nature to arise is of a nature to cease completely, having contemplated their nature, he accomplished the awakening of a Paccekabuddha. Then, when the Paccekabuddha Xīyì had accomplished the fruit of awakening, he spoke this poem:

"Recollecting the suffering in hell,
Among animals and in the five [lower] paths,
I renounced and now have practised the path.
Alone I depart, free from sorrow.'

"At that time this Paccekabuddha lived on the Mount of Seers. Monks, you should know, by this expedient means, knowing that on this mountain there have always dwelled bodhisattvas possessed of spiritual power, [9] arahants who have attained awakening, and those who train in the path of seers. For this reason it is called the Mountain of Seers and has no other name.

"When no Tathāgata has appeared in the world, there are always *devas* who come to pay respect at this Mount of Seers.

The reason is that on this mountain there are only arahants, there are no deluded people.

"When Maitreya Buddha descends to this world, each of these mountains will have another name, [723c] but this Mountain of Seers will not have another name.¹¹ In this auspicious aeon, this mountain will not have another name.

"Monks, you should frequent this mountain and hold it in high regard. That will in turn be for your benefit and welfare. Like this, monks, you should train yourselves."

Then the monks, having heard what the Buddha had said, delighted in it and received it respectfully.

Study

Placing the *Isigili-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel side by side, a minor difference is that, although they agree on the names of the mountains enumerated by the Buddha, they differ in the sequence in which they list them. In the *Isigili-sutta*, this listing runs: (1) Vebhāra, (2) Paṇḍava, (3) Vepulla, (4) Gijjhakūṭa, (5) Isigili. Compared to the Pāli listing, the *Ekottarika-āgama* version has the sequence (4), (3), (2), (1), (5). Apart from the last item, which in any case stands out as the only mountain that does not change its name, the listings adopt precisely the reverse sequence.¹²

When it comes to the listing of Paccekabuddhas, the differences are more pronounced, as the two versions appear to have only three names in common. These three do, however, occur in nearly the same places, as Aritṭha and Uparitṭha are the first and second in both versions, whereas Sudassana comes fifth in the Pāli listing and fourth in its Chinese counterpart.

¹¹ [26] A reference to Maitreya is not found in MN 116.

¹² [27] According to Ps IV 127,14, the Buddha had listed the mountains in order, *paṭipāṭiyā*. Thus the sequence in the two versions would presumably reflect a clockwise and an anti-clockwise survey of the mountains surrounding Rājagaha.

Before coming to this list of Paccekabuddhas, each of the two discourses has a passage that is not found in the other version. In the case of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, ^[10] the passage not found in its Pāli parallel indicates that there had been "bodhisattvas possessed of spiritual power" among those who inhabited this mountain in the past. This reference to bodhisattvas seems to reflect a developed stage of the bodhisattva concept, not attested to in the Pāli discourses and other *Āgamas*.¹³ The passage found only in the *Isigili-sutta* gives the following information on the mountain:

In former times five hundred Paccekabuddhas had for a long time been dwelling on this Mount Isigili. They were seen entering this mountain, and having entered they were no longer seen. Hence people, on seeing this, spoke like this: "This mountain swallows up (*gilati*) those seers (*isi*)" – thus the name "Isigili", "Isigili" arose as its designation.¹⁴

The *Ekottarika-āgama* version refers to this mountain as 仙人山, which suggests that the name found in its Indic original would have been Isigiri / Rṣigiri. The name Rṣigiri is attested, for example, in the *Mahābhārata* as the name of one of the mountains surrounding Rājagaha.¹⁵ This gives the impression that the etymology proposed in the Pāli version would have arisen only after the

¹³ [28] The present instance exemplifies a recurrent tendency in the *Ekottarika-āgama* of incorporating a type of thought that came to particular prominence with the Mahāyāna; cf. in more detail below p. 443ff.

¹⁴ [29] MN 116 at MN III 68,25: *bhūtapubbaṃ ... pañca paccekabuddhasatāni imasmim isigilismim pabbate ciranivāsino ahesuṃ. te imaṃ pabbataṃ pavisantā dissanti, pavittā na dissanti. tam enaṃ* (C^e: *ena*) *manussā disvā evam āhamsu: ayaṃ pabbato ime isī gilatī ti; isigili, isigili* (C^e and S^e: *isigilī* for the second instance) *tveva samaññā udapādi*; on the expression *bhūtapubbaṃ* cf. Tanabe 2002/2003.

¹⁵ [30] Mbh 2.799, noted by Lüders 1954: 45; cf. also Law 1938/1991: 3 and 10 as well as Bapat and Hirakawa 1970: 220 note 28.

equivalence between Middle Indo-Aryan °*gili* and °*giri* was no longer understood and °*gili* was felt to be in need of some explanation, which then led to imagining a relation to *gilati*.¹⁶ This in turn implies that this etymology would be a later addition to the discourse. In this way both versions, alongside considerable similarities, show signs of what appear to be later developments.

The remaining parts of both discourses then proceed quite differently from each other. Before coming to an overall assessment of the *Isigili-sutta* and its parallel, in what follows I explore the information on Paccekabuddhas provided in these sections of the two versions, especially regarding the significance of the qualification *pacceka*, the solitary nature of Paccekabuddhas, and their inability to co-exist with a Buddha.

After listing the names of Paccekabuddhas that lived on the Mount of Seers, the *Isigili-sutta* continues with a set of stanzas which describe the qualities of several other Paccekabuddhas;¹⁷ the discourse then ends without the standard conclusion found in other Pāli discourses. [11] This set of stanzas is still in use nowadays in the Theravāda tradition as a protective chant, a *paritta*.¹⁸

¹⁶ [31] Caillat 1968: 178. On the relationship of Middle Indo-Aryan *l* to Sanskrit *r* cf., e.g., Pischel 1900/1981: 210–213 (§§256–259), Geiger 1916: 59 (§44), Lüders 1954: 31–76 (§§25–86, of which §37 is specifically on *gilati* and §43 on *Isigili*), Lamotte 1958/1988: 560 (who refers to the discussion of the *Laghulovāda* by Lévi 1912, on which cf. also Lévi 1896), von Hinüber 1985/2001: 176 (§ 217), and Norman 1994/1996: 99.

¹⁷ [32] Winternitz 1920/1968: 37 considers this listing of names in prose and then in verse to be a sign of lateness, as this type of pattern is more frequent in later Buddhist Sanskrit literature; cf. also Barua 1971/2003: 530.

¹⁸ [33] Kloppenborg 1983: 42 comments that "images of Paccekabuddhas were used for the purpose of protection. This could well be the outcome of their reputation for extended practice of *mettā*, popularly believed to be a protective power which counteracts inimical influences", a protective power she then suggests to underlie the use of the *Isigili-sutta* as a *paritta*; cf. also Cooray 2004: 246.

Regarding these Paccekabuddhas, the Pāli stanzas specify that they had awakened in a way that is *pacceka*.¹⁹ The term *pacceka* occurs elsewhere in the Pāli discourses to qualify truth, *paccekasacca*.²⁰ In that context, the term refers to various views held by other recluses and brahmins, hence it conveys the meaning of an "individual truth" or perhaps a "private truth", in the sense of a personal opinion held to be true.²¹

In other passages, the word *pacceka* designates ladies of the royal household, *paccekā itthī*, each of whom is seated on a separate elephant when accompanying the king during an outing.²² Another occurrence qualifies gods who reign in their own respective heavenly sphere, *pacceka vasavattin*.²³

Other instances describe an offering of pairs of robes, *pacceka dussayuga*, given to each of the monks present on that occasion,²⁴ or stanzas, *pacceka-gāthā*, each of which is spoken by one out of a group of *devas* in turn.²⁵

The sense conveyed by these occurrences of *pacceka* is that of being "individual", "separate", or "private".²⁶ This usage suggests

¹⁹ [34] MN 116 at MN III 69,25: *paccekam ev' ajjhagamūṃ subodhiṃ* (B^c: *ajjhagamāṃ*).

²⁰ [35] AN 4.38 at AN II 41,6; cf. also, e.g., DN 33 at DN III 269,12 (= DN 34 at DN III 291,5), AN 10.20 at AN V 30,7 (whose introductory section = AN 10.19 at AN V 29,12), and Sn 824, as well as Mvy no. 426, Sakaki 1926: 35.

²¹ [36] Cf. Jayatilleke 1963/1980: 354–356.

²² [37] DN 2 at DN I 49,30.

²³ [38] DN 20 at DN II 261,16.

²⁴ [39] MN 52 at MN I 353,13.

²⁵ [40] DN 20 at DN II 253,16 and SN 1.37 at SN I 26,14; a usage also found in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1977: 121,9: *pratyekapratyekaṃ gāthābhir abhiṣṭuyāma*, in which case the Chinese counterpart, T 1450 at T XXIV 125a2, reads "each", 各, and the Tibetan counterpart, Waldschmidt 1957: 75,11, "each one", *re res*.

²⁶ [41] Cooray 2004: 250 note 1 sums up that *pacceka* in the Pāli discourses conveys "the idea of separation".

that the qualification *pacceka* in the stanza in the *Isigili-sutta* is intended to convey that a *paccekabuddha* is one who attains awakening individually. Other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* confirm that Paccekabuddhas awaken on their own, without a teacher.²⁷

An alternative interpretation suggested by Norman (1983b) is that *pacceka* or its Sanskrit equivalent *pratyeka* could be an incorrect backformation from *pratyaya*.²⁸ On this interpretation, the idea behind this particular type of Buddha would be that they awaken owing to an external "condition" (*pratyaya*), in that some external stimulus or peculiar event leads to their awakening.

This interpretation would suit a set of stories held in common by the Jain and Buddhist traditions, which report how four kings reached awakening because of some external condition.²⁹ In the Pāli canon, these tales are found in the *Jātaka* collection. The external signs that caused these kings to develop insight and become Paccekabuddhas were:

- the sight of a mango tree despoiled of its fruit, [12]
- the sound caused by two bangles on the arm of a woman,³⁰
- the sight of a bird harassed by other birds for a piece of meat,³¹

²⁷ [42] EĀ 26.9 at T II 642b20 and EĀ 51.3 at T II 816c5: 無師自覺. Nyanatiloka 1952/1988: 140 sums up that according to tradition a Paccekabuddha "has realized Nibbāna without having heard the Buddha's doctrine from others. He comprehends the four noble truths individually (*pacceka*), independent of any teacher, by his own effort."

²⁸ [43] Cf. also Boucher 1998: 491. However, von Hinüber 1985/2001: 193 (§248) prefers the suggestion by Smith that the derivation is from **prāpteyabuddha*; cf. also Schmithausen 1999: 249.

²⁹ [44] The text of these tales can be found in Jacobi 1886: 34–55; for comparative studies of the Buddhist and Jain versions of these narrations cf., e.g., Pavolini 1899, Charpentier 1908, and Wiltshire 1990: 118–166.

³⁰ [45] This image can already be found in Sn 48; cf. below note 68.

³¹ [46] The simile of the bird that has got hold of a piece of meat and is thereupon attacked by other birds, who try to take it from him, can be found in MN 54 at MN

- the sight of a bull in rut being killed by another bull.³²

Two other *jātaka* tales report the attainment of Paccekabodhi on seeing a withered leaf fall.³³ In these cases, too, it is clearly an external condition that is responsible for the break-through to awakening.

With another tale in the same *Jātaka* collection, however, the situation is less clear-cut. This tale reports several Paccekabuddhas-to-be committing very minor misdeeds, such as drinking from the water vessel of a companion instead of their own, or looking at a pretty woman, etc.³⁴ When they later reflect on their faulty behaviour, they feel remorse and have the wish to remove such defilement for good, which in turn triggers insight and leads to Paccekabodhi. In these cases, the proximate cause of the development of insight is remorse and, unlike the previous instances, in several of these cases the narration explicitly indicates that the break-through to awakening took place at a temporal distance from the external event.

Other tales found in the commentary on the *Sutta-nipāta* depict kings who have attained a certain level of *jhāna* and then, in order to protect their attainment, go forth and eventually become Paccekabuddhas.³⁵ In these instances, the idea of an external condition (*pratyaya*) does not seem to be relevant at all.

I 364,28 and its parallel MĀ 203 at T I 774a27. The same image is referred to, e.g., in MN 22 at MN I 130,26 (cf. also Vin II 25,33 or Vin IV 134,21 and T 1428 at T XXII 682a24) and its parallel MĀ 200 at T I 763c17, as well as in, e.g., SĀ² 185 at T II 440a6, EĀ 16.1 at T II 578b21, and T 203.96 at T IV 486c20. Franke 1906: 345 notes that a counterpart to this simile occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, which describes an eagle who, being in possession of a piece of meat, is attacked by other eagles.

³² [47] Jā 408 at Jā III 375,15–383,27, for a summary of a counterpart in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* cf. Panglung 1981: 163.

³³ [48] Jā 378 at Jā III 239,22 and Jā 529 at Jā V 248,23.

³⁴ [49] Jā 459 at Jā IV 113,19–119,11.

³⁵ [50] Three tales that report how kings go forth to protect an attainment of concentration they have reached and then become Paccekabuddhas can be found

In the *jātaka* tales mentioned above that allot a prominent role to an external condition, the stanzas do not refer to becoming or being a Paccekabuddha, but only speak of an act of renunciation.³⁶ That is, the notion of becoming a Paccekabuddha is found only in the prose sections. Now the prose sections of the *Jātaka* collection tend to be later than the stanzas and often have incorporated a variety of ideas and tales from a range of different sources that are not necessarily Buddhist.³⁷ Such tales therefore could reflect a later understanding of the term and need not be expressions of the early Buddhist conception of a Paccekabuddha.

Judging from the passages surveyed above, in its use in the early discourses the term *pacceka* rather conveys the sense of being "individual". This becomes particularly evident when this term qualifies a Brahmā as *pacceka-brahmā*.³⁸ A Brahmā could

at Pj II 118,26, Pj II 119,14, and Pj II 127,29; the respective attainments are the first *jhāna*, the fourth *jhāna*, and *mettā* developed up to *jhāna* level. Pj II 63,2 reports how yet another king makes *mettā* developed up to the level of *jhāna* the basis for becoming a Paccekabuddha, although in this instance an external condition does play a role, as his practice of *mettā* takes place after he has just averted major bloodshed between his army and the forces of another king.

³⁶ [51] In Jā 408 at Jā III 380,9+13+17+21 each of the four stanzas concludes by indicating that "on having seen this, I [went forth] to live the life of a monk", *taṃ disvā bhikkhācariyaṃ carāmi*. Thus the theme of the verses is the act of renunciation, not the attainment of Paccekabodhi; cf. also Wiltshire 1990: 121 and Collins 1992: 275. The same holds for Jā 378, where the first stanza at Jā III 241,7 also mentions the theme of going forth (here in the form of an encouragement to a king), and for Jā 459, where each of the stanzas refers to going forth, Jā IV 116,19+22+25+28 and 117,3: *tasmā pabbajito ahaṃ*. In both cases no reference to the notion of Paccekabodhi occurs in the stanzas.

³⁷ [52] Cf., e.g., Franke 1906, Winternitz 1920/1968: 90f, Cummings 1982: 17, Norman 1983a: 79, Sarkar 1990: x, Laut 1993: 503, Kulasuriya 1996: 10f, Peris 2004: 36, and Anālayo 2010b: 56.

³⁸ [53] SN 6.6 at SN I 146,24 and AN 10.89 at AN V 171,3; cf. also the corresponding *pratyekabrahmā* in the *Karmavibhaṅga*, Lévi 1932: 34,8 (or Kudo

indeed be one who dwells individually or separately, [13] in the sense of being without a retinue, but it would be difficult to relate its status to an external condition (*pratyaya*).³⁹

The idea of awakening through an external condition also does not seem to be relevant to the case of awakening to Paccekabodhi reported in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-sutta*, which depicts King Xīyì becoming a Paccekabuddha without mentioning any external condition. It is after reflecting on the fearfulness of rebirth in the lower realms that Xīyì decides to go forth and his actual awakening takes place by way of contemplating the impermanent nature of the five aggregates. This supports the impression that the issue at stake is not the particular mode of arriving at awakening that marks someone off as a Paccekabuddha. In fact the same contemplation led according to the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and some of its parallels to the awakening of the former Buddha

2004: 44,1 and 45,1) and the *pratyekabrāhmaṇa* in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 103,1 and 457 (cf. Edgerton 1953/1998: 379 and Jones 1949/1973: 81 note 1 on *pratyekabrāhmaṇa* probably standing for *pratyekabrahmā*).

³⁹ [54] Norman 1983b: 106 note 73 suggests that "the fact that the pacceka-buddhas were thought of as being inferior to the sammāsambuddhas seems to have led to the idea that the word *pacceka* meant 'inferior'. This probably accounts for such compounds as *pacceka-brahma* in Pali and *pratyeka-brahman* and *pratyeka-rājan* in Buddhist Skt." Yet, SN 6.6 and AN 10.89 do not give the impression that these Paccekabrahmās were "inferior", in fact the Paccekabrahmā mentioned in AN 10.89 had, according to AN V 171,8, been declared by the Buddha to be a non-returner (the subcommentary notes that he had taken birth in the Pure Abodes, Mp-ṭ III 347 (B^o): *suddhāvāsalo*). From an early Buddhist perspective he would have to be considered very much a superior type of Brahmā. The subcommentary to SN 6.6, Spk-ṭ I 244 (B^o), then explains that to fare singly, without a retinue, is what characterizes a Paccekabrahmā, *paccekabrahmā ti ca ekacārī brahmā, na parisacārī brahmā ti*, confirming the impression gained from the Pāli discourses that the qualification *pacceka* was not understood to convey that a Paccekabrahmā is inferior to other Brahmās.

Vipassin.⁴⁰ In this way the awakening realized by King Xīyì does not show any evident relation to an external cause and rather seems to follow the same basic pattern as the realization gained by the Buddha Vipassī.

Elsewhere the *Ekottarika-āgama* similarly relates the awakening of another Paccekabuddha to contemplation of the impermanent nature of the five aggregates.⁴¹ Yet another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection reports how a prince, who had been indulging in sensual pleasures with his entourage of ladies, realizes their impermanent nature and consequently goes forth. Having gone forth, he contemplates that whatever is of a nature to arise is also of a nature to cease, and in turn becomes a Paccekabuddha.⁴²

The tale of his disenchantment with his female companions reminds one of the traditional account of Gotama's going forth, according to which he had similarly realized the lack of satisfaction to be found in indulging in sensual pleasures with his entourage of dancing girls and thereupon decided to go forth.⁴³

That progress to Paccekabodhi can take place by way of the standard approaches to awakening is also reflected in two discourses in the *Samyukta-āgama*. These report that the development of the four *satipaṭṭhānas* and understanding the four noble truths result in Paccekabodhi.⁴⁴ A discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* adds an-

⁴⁰ [55] DN 14 at DN II 35,15, T 3 at T I 156b20, and Sanskrit fragments S 462 R5 and S 685 V1f, Waldschmidt 1953: 50; cf. also Fukita 2003: 143 (122.5 and 123.2).

⁴¹ [56] EĀ 51.3 at T II 815c12: 觀此五陰身已, 所謂習法, 皆是盡法, 即於座上得辟支佛。

⁴² [57] EĀ 38.11 at T II 727a15: 思惟有習之法, 皆是磨滅, 成辟支佛。

⁴³ [58] Cf., e.g., Jā I 61,21.

⁴⁴ [59] According to SĀ 393 at T II 106b15, all those who attain awakening as a Paccekabuddha do so because of understanding the four noble truths, 若得辟

other relevant factor, which is the cultivation of the five faculties (*indriya*).⁴⁵

In sum, although occurrences of the term *Pratyayabuddha* can be found in Buddhist literature, these need not reflect the original sense of this particular type of awakened being in early Buddhist thought.⁴⁶ The tales of kings becoming *Paccekabuddhas*, common to the Buddhist and Jain traditions, may perhaps best be understood as specific instances where external conditions played a central role, [14] rather than as the norm for attaining *Pacceka-*bodhi, at least from an early Buddhist viewpoint.⁴⁷

A discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, not otherwise related to the *Isigili-sutta*, states that *Paccekabuddhas* have no disciples; they live without followers, and do not teach the Dharma to others.⁴⁸

支佛道證，彼一切知四聖諦故。SĀ 635 at T II 176a11 points out that through frequent cultivation of the four *satipaṭṭhānas* one can become a *Paccekabuddha*, 於四念處修習多修習 ... 得辟支佛 (SĀ 635 envisages this as one of various alternative attainments, such as becoming an arahant, etc.).

⁴⁵ [60] EĀ 32.1 at T II 674a3 stipulates the cultivation of the five faculties (faith or confidence, energy, mindfulness, concentration, and wisdom) as a necessary requirement for reaching any level of awakening, including that of a *Paccekabuddha*.

⁴⁶ [61] For a survey of terminological variations cf. Wiltshire 1990: 301f.

⁴⁷ [62] Norman 1983b: 99 points out himself that "the only criterion available for the assessment of the correctness or otherwise of the suggestion that the original form of the term was *pratyaya-buddha* is whether it makes better sense than the traditional derivation from *pratyeka-buddha*." Judging from the instances surveyed above, Wright 2001: 14 is right when he comments on the hypothesis by Norman that "the evidence, however, points rather strongly in the opposite direction."

⁴⁸ [63] EĀ 32.5 at T II 676c18 indicates that *Paccekabuddhas* have no disciples, 無弟子, adding that they live alone, without followers, and do not teach the Dharma to others, 獨逝無伴侶, 不與他說法; cf. also Fujita 1975: 127 note 84. According to Hirakawa 1997: 107, 伴侶 can render *sahāya*, which according to Monier-Williams 1899/1999: 1195 can stand for "companion", but also

From the viewpoint of this mode of presentation, a Paccekabuddha is *pacceka*, "individual", not so much in relation to his awakening, but rather in the sense that he does not have a following of disciples with whom he shares the Dharma. Such lack of a following would imply a significant difference between a Paccekabuddha and a fully awakened Buddha. Both types of Buddha awaken on their own,⁴⁹ but only a fully awakened Buddha takes up the role of teaching the Dharma to humankind.

Another significant indication regarding the "individual" nature of Paccekabuddhas, given in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-sutta*, is that on Mount Isi five hundred Paccekabuddhas were dwelling together at the same time. Although in the early discourses the number five hundred has a predominantly symbolic value,⁵⁰ it nevertheless does imply that there was a substantial congregation of Paccekabuddhas.

for "follower" or "adherent". Given the earlier reference to disciples and the subsequent mention of not teaching, the sense of being without followers seems to me the more probable of these alternatives.

⁴⁹ [64] According to SN 56.11 at SN V 422,3 (= Vin I 11,1), the Buddha claimed to have reached realization on his own among things unheard of before; for the parallel versions cf., e.g., Chung 2006, Anālayo 2012a, and below p. 267ff. According to SN 22.58 at SN III 66,15, SĀ 75 at T II 19c3, and SĀ 684 at T II 186c6, discovering the path to awakening on one's own marks the decisive difference between a Tathāgata and an arahant. Thus King 1980/1992: 30 is not correct in assuming that the Paccekabuddha "seems to be the only teacher-less attainer of Nibbāna recognized in Theravāda Buddhism".

⁵⁰ [65] (C.A.F) Rhys Davids 1937: 410 explains that the number five is "a comprehensive unit in Indian thought ... probably derived from the *pañcaṅgulika* formation of the human hand". (T.W.) Rhys Davids and Stede 1921/1993: 388 s.v. *pañca* comment that the number five hundred has lost its "original numerical significance ... psychologically five hundred is to be explained as a 'great hand', i.e. the five fingers magnified to the 2nd decade, and is equivalent to an expression like 'a lot', a number that is "especially frequent in recording a company of men, a host of servants, animals in a herd, etc., wherever the single constituents form a larger ...

The *Isigili-sutta* also mentions five hundred Paccekabuddhas, although from its presentation it is not entirely clear if these perhaps lived on the same mountain at different times. In the *Ekottarika-āgama* account this is definitely not the case, since they all decide to autocombust on being told that the Buddha is about to take birth, which of course implies that these "five hundred" Paccekabuddhas were living at the same time. Indications that Paccekabuddhas are not invariably solitary hermits can also be found in the *Mahāvastu* and in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*.⁵¹

The same idea would also work for the *Isigili-sutta*, since it is on observing the behaviour of Paccekabuddhas that people come up with the idea that the mountain swallows them. This tale reads more naturally if one assumes that at least some of these Paccekabuddhas, referred to in the text in the plural as *isī*, were living at the same time.

Hence, although a Paccekabuddha would naturally be given to solitary dwelling, in fact all Buddhas are portrayed as being fond of seclusion,⁵² such a taste for solitude need not be seen as the most distinctive characteristic of Paccekabuddhas, [15] as at times they are depicted as living in the company of others.⁵³

whole". Hence Bareau 1971a: 80f takes the number five hundred to represent "many" (beaucoup); and Wagle 1966: 16 speaks of "a sizable group"; cf. also Feer 1884: 114 and Wiltshire 1990: 176, who in relation to the notion of five hundred Paccekabuddhas comments that "no precise significance need be attached to this number since it is a literary stereotype denoting a sizeable collection of people."

⁵¹ [66] The *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 347,18, describes a Paccekabuddha who had various other Paccekabuddhas as his attendants, *tena dāni pratyekabuddhena ye paricāritā pratyekabuddhā*. The *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: 15,6, reports how a group of five hundred Paccekabuddhas went to beg for alms together.

⁵² [67] Cf. e.g. DN 25 at DN III 54,11 and its parallels DĀ 8 at T I 49a20, T 11 at T I 225c18, and MĀ 104 at T I 595a24.

⁵³ [68] Ruegg 2004: 56 explains that "in Buddhist tradition continued by both the Prajñāpāramitā and the Abhidharma, the category of Pratyekabuddha is sub-

Another noteworthy indication given in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-sutta* is that, although the five hundred Paccekabuddhas evidently could co-exist,⁵⁴ none of them should be present when a Buddha is born. Hence on hearing the news that a Buddha is about to take birth, they rise into the air and autocom-bust.⁵⁵ A similar tale is found in the *Mahāvastu*.⁵⁶

divided into two", distinguishing between those who live a solitary life and those who live in a group; cf. also Feer 1881: 520, Kern 1896: 62 note 1, de La Vallée Poussin 1918: 153 note 5, and Yonezawa 1999: 24 note 2. Ray 1994: 244 note 30 points out that "no such explicit distinction appears in the hagiographies, and pratyekabuddhas are depicted in both ways as if these were simply two modes of the same way of life."

⁵⁴ [69] Malalasekera 1938/1998: 95 comments that "there does not seem to be any limit to the number of Pacceka Buddhas who could appear simultaneously."

⁵⁵ [70] The Pāli discourses do not report such an act by Paccekabuddhas. However, it is noteworthy that according to SN 4.23 at SN I 121,19 and SN 22.87 at SN III 123,9 on the same Mount Isigili the monks Godhika and Vakkali committed suicide. Given that the self-cremation of the Paccekabuddhas does involve a conscious decision to end life, the parallelism is striking, since both of these monks are reckoned to have passed away as fully awakened ones, although there is some ambivalence about their level of awakening previous to committing suicide; cf. the discussion of these two cases in, e.g., de La Vallée Poussin 1919: 689f and 1922: 25, Thomas 1933/2004: 131, de La Vallée Poussin 1936, Filliozat 1963: 32f, Thakur 1963: 108f, Lamotte 1965: 160–162, Filliozat 1967: 73, Wiltshire 1983: 131–135, Berglie and Suneson 1986: 31–38, Becker 1990: 547, Keown 1996: 14–17, Koike 2001: 151–157, Delhey 2006: 34–41, Oberlies 2006: 218, Anālayo 2007b: 162f, Bingenheimer 2007: 51–54, Choong 2009: 41, Delhey 2009, and Anālayo 2011j.

⁵⁶ [71] Senart 1882b: 357,3; cf. also Senart 1882b: 197,1 and Bu ston's History of Buddhism, Obermiller 1932/1986: 7. Wilson 2003: 41 comments that "these solitary Buddhas committed their bodies to the flames in what may be seen through the lenses of Vedic-Hindu mortuary rites as a sacrificial act of passing the torch to their successor." An auto-combustion of Paccekabuddhas is also described in the *Sanghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1977: 92,16, although here this act forms the background narration to a gift of robes to the bodhisattva who had

The *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-sutta* specifies that the Paccekabuddhas had taken this action because they knew that there could be only one (type of) Buddha at a time in the world.⁵⁷ Judging from the illustration provided in the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, this incompatibility has to do with leadership. Merchants on a journey need to have a single leader, who takes decisions to be followed by all, in order to pass safely through what in ancient times would often have been potentially dangerous territory. Similarly, a country should have a single king in order to be led in unity through any crisis like facing enemies or other threats. Just as the leader of merchants or the king of the country cannot properly exercise his function unless he is the only one to hold this position, so too the role of a Buddha apparently requires the absence of others who have reached awakening on their own.

Thus even though Paccekabuddhas by their very nature would not be engaging in teaching activities and therefore stand little chance of in some way competing with the Buddha, even if only in the eyes of the population, they nevertheless cannot co-exist with a Buddha. Notably, this is the case already when Gotama is about to take birth, that is, when for a number of years he will still be a bodhisattva, not yet a fully awakened Buddha. Yet, even co-existence with a bodhisattva who is in the final life of his career is apparently not possible for Paccekabuddhas.⁵⁸

just gone forth. For a description of a Bhārhut relief that could be depicting this act of auto-combustion cf. Lüders 1941/1966: 44.

⁵⁷ [72] EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b7: 所以然者, 世無二佛。The *Mahāvastu* also reports that *devas* from the Pure Abodes had told the Paccekabuddhas to clear the place in time for the bodhisattva to take birth, Senart 1882b: 357,4: *riṃcatha buddhakṣetram*.

⁵⁸ [73] The same notion is reflected in Pj II 129,1, according to which the Paccekabuddha Mātanga, qualified as the last of the Paccekabuddhas (that had been living previous to the Buddha Gotama), decided to enter final Nirvāṇa as soon as *devas* informed him that the bodhisattva had taken birth.

Of further interest in this respect are the *Bahudhātuka-sutta* and its parallels. The parallel versions show some variations inasmuch as, whereas the Pāli and Tibetan versions stipulate the impossibility of the co-existence of two fully awakened Buddhas (*sammāsambuddha*),⁵⁹ Chinese parallel versions speak of the impossibility of the co-existence of two Tathāgatas,⁶⁰ or just of two Buddhas.⁶¹

Although such variations could be a result of imprecision or variation in transmission or translation, [16] it could also be that the original idea was just that a fully awakened Buddha is without equal. If this should indeed have been the case, then the impossibility of such a Buddha co-existing with Pāccekabuddhas would have developed only subsequently. As a natural result of increasing systematization, qualities originally related to a Buddha only would then in turn have been applied to Pāccekabuddhas as well.

Another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* goes further, as it proclaims that the whole aeon in which a Buddha arises will be without Pāccekabuddhas.⁶² Since this stands in direct opposition to the description in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-*

⁵⁹ [74] MN 115 at MN III 65,15: *dve arahanto sammāsambuddhā* and D 297 *sha* 300a7 or Q 963 *lu* 329a4: *rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas gnyis*; cf. also AN 1.15 at AN I 27,38.

⁶⁰ [75] MĀ 181 at T I 724a1 and T 1537 at T XXVI 502b14 speak of the impossibility of the co-existence of two Tathāgatas, 二如來; the same holds for the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 199,11.

⁶¹ [76] T 776 at T XVII 713b18 speaks just of the impossibility of the co-existence of two Buddhas, 二佛; the same holds for a listing of impossibilities in DĀ 3 at T I 31a15 and DĀ 18 at T I 79a7; cf. also T 1509 at T XXV 237a22.

⁶² [77] EĀ 50.10 at T II 814a13: "In an aeon when no Buddhas appear in the world, at that time there are as well Pāccekabuddhas who appear in the world. This is called a small aeon. In an aeon when a Tathāgata appears in the world, at that time and in that aeon there are no Pāccekabuddhas who appear in the world. This is called a great aeon."

sutta, where five hundred Paccekabuddhas live in the same aeon as the Buddha Gotama and only pass away shortly before his birth, this passage seems to reflect a further development of the idea that the co-existence of Paccekabuddhas with a Buddha is a sheer impossibility.

Looking back on the *Isigili-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel, as noted above, the first parts of both versions appear to have incorporated later additions. The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse refers to bodhisattvas and the Pāli version presents a folk-etymology of the name Isigili. These two aspects suggest that some degree of development took place in both versions before they came to have their present shape. Given that their subsequent parts are completely different, the most natural explanation for this divergence would be that these parts are later expansions, which manifested in different forms as the result of developments specific to the respective reciter traditions within which the two versions were transmitted.

If this should indeed have been the case, then the common starting point of the two versions would have been a relatively brief reference by the Buddha to the constancy of the name of the Mount of Seers, explaining that this mountain was frequented in former times by Paccekabuddhas, such as Ariṭṭha, Upariṭṭha, and Sudassana.

This mountain also features in the concluding section of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, where, after noting the persistence of its name up to the time of Maitreya, the Buddha instructs his monks that they "should frequent this mountain and hold it in high regard", as this will be for their benefit and welfare. This concurs with the impression that the focus of the discourse would originally have been on the Mount of Seers. The same theme is reflected in the title of the Pāli version, which announces the topic of the discourse to be the Isigili. The rationale behind highlighting the inspiring nature of the Mountain of Seers as a dwelling place of former awakened

ones would presumably have been to encourage the monks to frequent this mountain for secluded living and intensive meditation. [17] Such encouragement would be in line with a recurrent emphasis in other discourses on the need to withdraw into seclusion.⁶³

From this viewpoint, the Paccekabuddhas themselves would not have been central to this discourse, as their function would have been mainly to enhance the importance of the mountain. Nevertheless, the fact that reference is made to them in both versions suggests that, from a comparative perspective, this reference probably belongs to an early version of the discourse.

Such reference made to Paccekabuddhas in the present text and in other early discourses entails that, according to early Buddhist thought, full awakening can be reached even when the dispensation of a Buddha is not in existence. In fact, a discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and its parallels report that the Buddha considered his awakening a rediscovery of an ancient path, trodden by awakened ones of the past.⁶⁴ This squares well with the notion of other Buddhas or awakened ones in former times.

Judging from the later part of both versions, this basic notion of Paccekabuddhas must have aroused increasing interest, since both versions expand on it, albeit in different ways. Whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* version approaches this topic in a narrative mode, the *Isigili-sutta* does so in verse form, concluding with an injunction given by the Buddha to the monks that they should revere those Paccekabuddhas of past times.⁶⁵ The theme of the

⁶³ [78] For a case study cf. above p. 9ff.

⁶⁴ [79] SN 12.65 at SN II 106,15, with parallels in SĀ 287 at T II 80c27, EĀ 38.4 at T II 718c6, T 713 at T XVI 827b7, T 714 at T XVI 828b21, T 715 at T XVI 830a24, and a Sanskrit fragment, Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 80 (I.32); cf. also Lévi 1910: 440 and Tripāṭhī 1962: 103.

⁶⁵ [80] MN 116 at MN III 71,3: *paccekabuddhā ... parinibbute vandatha*; cf. also Skilling 1996: 182 note 112 and Wiltshire 1990: 7, who comments that this

inspiring nature of those Paccekabuddhas in fact pervades the stanzas found in the Pāli version, suggesting that the apparent development of this discourse from a nucleus held in common with its parallel was particularly influenced by such feelings of reverence and veneration. The stanzas could, however, have been originally intended to enhance the inspiration provided by the Mountain of Seers as a dwelling place of former awakened ones, thereby poetically continuing what appears to be the original theme of the discourse.

Such interest aroused by the figure of the Paccekabuddha was evidently not only felt among ancient generations of Buddhists,⁶⁶ but also had its influence within the Jain tradition, as testified to by the tales mentioned above of kings that become Paccekabuddhas due to some particular external event. One of these events, namely the sound caused by two bangles on the arm of a woman, [18] is a motif already mentioned in a stanza in the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta*, which according to the Pāli commentarial tradition was spoken by a former Paccekabuddha.⁶⁷

The image conveyed by this stanza takes up what in the world in general is perceived as sensually attractive – bangles adorning the arm of a woman – showing that this can issue in an insight powerful enough to lead to the awakening of a Paccekabuddha. This image sums up in a few words the basic contrast seen in the

listing "would seem to imply that paccekabuddhas held or were intended to hold some special significance for those to whom the Buddha's discourse was addressed."

⁶⁶ [81] On the significance of Paccekabuddhas in early Buddhist thought cf. also below p. 249ff; for a brief survey of Japanese scholarship on the notion of a Paccekabuddha cf. de Jong 1976: 322.

⁶⁷ [82] Pj II 46,21 indicates that each of the verses in the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* was spoken by a Paccekabuddha. Pj II 95,21 then reports the tale associated with this particular verse; cf. also Salomon 2000: 8f.

Buddhist and the Jain traditions between liberation and the world of sensual enjoyment, which on closer inspection reveals its unsatisfactory nature and thereby inspires renunciation and the quest for liberation. The stanza in question reads:

"Having seen shining golden [bangles]
Well-forged by a goldsmith's son,
Clashing together [when worn] as a pair on an arm,
Fare singly like a rhinoceros."⁶⁸

⁶⁸ [83] Sn 48: *disvā suvaṇṇassa pabhassarāni, kammāraputtēna suniṭṭhitāni, saṅghaṭṭamānāni duve bhujasmim, eko care khaggavisāṇakappo*; cf. also Ap 2.22 at Ap 9,27. Although this stanza is not found in a counterpart to the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 357ff, it does occur in a Gāndhārī parallel; cf. Salomon 2000: 107 (no. 16). On the question of whether *khaggavisāṇakappa* refers to the horn of the rhinoceros or to the rhinoceros itself cf., e.g., Jayawickrama 1949/1977: 22f, Jones 1949/1973: 250 note 1, Edgerton 1953/1998: 202 s.v. *khadga-viṣāṇa*, Kloppenborg 1974: 59f, Bautze 1985: 414, Saddhatissa 1985: 8 note 1, Norman 1996/2001, Jamison 1998: 253, Schmitthausen 1999: 233 note 13, Salomon 2000: 10–14, Wright 2001: 3–5, Caillat 2003: 38, Anālayo 2014h: 36f, and Jones 2014. For a description of the Indian rhinoceros according to Megasthenes cf. McCrindle 1877: 59.

Saccavibhaṅga-sutta (MN 141)

Introduction

In the present chapter I study the *Ekottarika-āgama* version of the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*, in particular in relation to a significant difference to be found between the Pāli and the *Ekottarika-āgama* versions of this discourse. This difference points to the possibility that at an earlier time references to the four noble truths in this and other discourses may have been without the qualification "noble".

The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* takes up a subject that according to tradition stands at the very heart of early Buddhist philosophy and practice, the four noble truths.¹ The Pāli version has three Chinese counterparts. One of these Chinese parallels is found in the *Madhyama-āgama*,² another parallel is an individual translation.³ The third Chinese parallel to the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* occurs in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, translated below.⁴ [147]

Translation

[Discourse on the Four Truths]⁵

* Originally published in 2006 under the title "The Ekottarika-āgama Parallel to the Saccavibhaṅga-sutta and the Four (Noble) Truths" in the *Buddhist Studies Review*, 23.2: 145–153. © Equinox Publishing Ltd. 2006. The original paper had a discussion of the translatorship attribution of the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*, for which cf. above p. 1 and 202f.

¹ MN 141 at MN III 248,1 to 252,28.

² MĀ 31 at T I 467a28 to 469c8.

³ T 32 at T I 814b8 to 816c27, attributed to 安世高. Harrison 1997: 277 lists T 32 among translations by 安世高 that might stem from an *Ekottarika-āgama* collection; cf. also Harrison 2002: 4 on the opus of 安世高.

⁴ EĀ 27.1 at T II 643a26 to 643c1.

⁵ [11] The title follows Anesaki 1908: 144; the original has no title.

1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park.

2. At that time the Blessed One addressed the monks: "Monks, this is reckoned to be the teaching that we always proclaim, that is, the four truths. With countless means I have investigated this teaching, analyzing its meaning and widely explaining it to humankind.

3-4. "What are the four? That is, the teaching about the truth of *dukkha* is a teaching I have with countless means investigated, ^[643b] analyzing its meaning and widely explaining it to humankind. With countless means I have proclaimed the truths of arising, of cessation, and of the path, investigating this teaching, analyzing its meaning, and widely explaining it to humankind.

5. "Monks, you should associate with the monk Sāriputta, honour and respect him! The reason is that the monk Sāriputta with countless means proclaims these four truths, he widely explains them to humankind. When the monk Sāriputta analyzes their meaning to living beings and to the four assemblies, widely explaining them to humankind, incalculable numbers of living beings are freed from the stains and attain the pure eye of the Dharma.

"Monks, you should associate with the monks Sāriputta and Moggallāna, honour and respect them! The reason is that the monk Sāriputta is a parent to beings. By means of [his help] having been born, they are raised to grow up by the monk Moggallāna.

The reason is that the monk Sāriputta proclaims to humankind the essential teaching about becoming accomplished in the four truths. The monk Moggallāna proclaims to humankind the essential teaching about becoming accomplished in the supreme, about becoming accomplished in dwelling without in-

fluxes. You should associate with the monks Sāriputta and Moggallāna!"

6. Having said this, the Blessed One returned to his meditation hut.

7–9. Then, soon after the Blessed One had left, Sāriputta addressed the monks: "One who is able to attain [insight into] the teaching of the four truths, such a person swiftly attains good fortune. ^[148]

10–20. "What are the four? That is, [there is] the truth of *dukkha*, whose meaning I have in turn with countless means widely explained. What is the truth of *dukkha*? That is, birth is *dukkha*, old age is *dukkha*, disease is *dukkha*, death is *dukkha*, dejection, sorrow, and vexation are *dukkha*, association with what is disliked is *dukkha*, dissociation from what is liked is *dukkha*, not obtaining what one wishes is *dukkha*, in short, the five aggregates of clinging are *dukkha*. This is reckoned to be the truth of *dukkha*.

21. "What is the truth of the arising of *dukkha*? That is, it is the fetter of craving.

22. "What is the truth of cessation? That is, the truth of cessation is the final and remainderless cessation of the fetter of craving and lust. This is reckoned to be the truth of cessation.

23–31. "What is the truth of the path? That is, it is the noble eightfold path of right view, right intention, right speech, right effort, right livelihood, right action, right mindfulness, and right concentration. This is reckoned to be the truth of the path. Those living beings, who are able to hear this teaching on the four truths, will quickly attain good fortune."

32. At the time when the venerable Sāriputta proclaimed this teaching, countless and incalculable numbers of beings, who heard this teaching, were freed from the stains and obtained the pure eye of the Dharma.

[They thought]: "We have quickly attained good fortune. The teaching proclaimed by the Blessed One to us [leads to] a peaceful abiding and a fortunate state."

[The Buddha said]: "For this reason, [members of] the four assemblies, seek the means to practise these four truths. Monks, you should train in this way."

At that time the monks, having heard what the Buddha had said, ^[643c] were delighted and received it respectfully.

Study

What makes the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated above interesting is not just what it says, but even more so what it does not say, since it does not use the qualification "noble" in regard to the four (noble) truths.⁶ At first sight, this absence could strike an odd note, since the expression "four noble truths" is so familiar that to speak just of "four truths" could give the impression of some translation error. ^[149]

As the preceding chapters would have shown,⁷ among the four *Āgamas* extant in Chinese the *Ekottarika-āgama* is not the best-preserved collection. Thus one might wonder how seriously this reference to "four truths" should be taken. However, the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* does employ the qualification "noble" in regard to the eightfold path.⁸ This makes it at

⁶ [14] Cf., e.g., EĀ 27.1 at T II 643a28: 四諦. T 32 at T I 814b8 uses just the expression "four truths", 四諦, or just "truth", 諦 (in relation to one of them), but at times alternatively has the expressions 賢者四諦 or 賢者諦; cf., e.g., T 32 at T I 814b18 and 815c15. MĀ 31 speaks of the "four noble truths", 四聖諦; cf., e.g., MĀ 31 at T I 467b3.

⁷ Cf. above p. 51ff, 87ff, and 165ff.

⁸ [16] EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b22: 賢聖八品道. EĀ 46.8 at T II 779a12 also introduces all four as the "four truths", but then at T II 779a13 qualifies the truth of the path as a "noble truth".

least safe to conclude that there would not have been an intentional choice to omit this qualification in regard to the "four truths", as in such a case one would not expect the qualification "noble" to be found at all.

The absence of the attribute "noble" is not confined to the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*, as *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses in general speak only of the "four truths".⁹ The same is also the case for several discourses found in a partially preserved *Samyukta-āgama* translation.¹⁰ In contrast, discourses in the *Dīrgha-āgama* collection, the *Madhyama-āgama* collection, and the completely preserved *Samyukta-āgama* collection regularly use the expression "four noble truths".

References to the four truths without the qualification "noble" also occur in several individual translations, for example in a parallel to the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*,¹¹ in two parallels to the *Mahā-*

⁹ [17] EĀ 4.1 at T II 557a20, EĀ 24.5 at T II 619a9, EĀ 25.1 at T II 631a8, EĀ 26.9 at T II 639b8, EĀ 28.1 at T II 649b20, EĀ 28.3 at T II 650b17, EĀ 29.6 at T II 657c29, EĀ 29.9 at T II 658c9, EĀ 30.2 at T II 659c25, EĀ 30.3 at T II 665b8, EĀ 31.9 at T II 672c20, EĀ 37.8 at T II 714c5, EĀ 37.10 at T II 717a25, EĀ 39.8 at T II 733a25, EĀ 41.2 at T II 745a17, EĀ 42.4 at T II 753c6, and EĀ 45.5 at T II 773b11 (not taking into account verses, where the absence of the qualification "noble" could be due to the need to fit the syllable count).

¹⁰ [18] SĀ² 81 at T II 402a23, SĀ² 92 at T II 405b15, SĀ² 152 at T II 431b21, and SĀ² 184 at T II 439c13 refer to the "four truths" (not taking into account verses). SĀ² 322 at T II 481c8 uses the expression "four truths", but then at T II 481c10 refers to the "four noble truths". SĀ² 198 at T II 445b9 qualifies only the first truth as a "noble truth", whereas the other three are simply "truths". A similar pattern occurs in SĀ² 340, which at T II 487b20 qualifies the first truth as a "noble truth", and then covers the remaining three without bringing in any truth qualification at all.

¹¹ [19] T 3 at T I 157a8 (attributed to 法天), parallel to DN 14 at DN II 41,15, which only refers to *dukkha*, its arising, its cessation, and the path, and then sums up that these are the "four truths".

parinibbāna-sutta,¹² in a parallel to the *Dasuttara-sutta*,¹³ in a parallel to the *Mahāgopālaka-sutta*,¹⁴ and in a parallel to the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta*.¹⁵ [150]

References to the four truths that do not use the qualification "noble" can additionally be found in the Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, and Sarvāstivāda *Vinayas*. The same *Vinayas*, however, do employ the qualification "noble" in their version of what according to the traditional account was the first discourse given by the Buddha in the Deer Park at Vārāṇasī, which I study in the next chapter but one.¹⁶

A closer examination of the Pāli version of this discourse brings to light that the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta* presents the second noble truth as something that needs to be abandoned.¹⁷ Yet,

¹² [20] T 6 at T I 188b9 (by an unknown translator; cf. also Park 2010), parallel to DN 16 at DN II 155,23, and T 7 at T I 204b3 (attributed to 法顯), parallel to DN 16 at DN II 153,7. In both instances the Pāli passages do not refer to the four noble truths at all.

¹³ [21] T 13 at T I 234a29 (attributed to 安世高), parallel to DN 34 at DN III 277,8.

¹⁴ [22] T 123 at T II 546b21 (attributed to Kumārajīva), parallel to MN 33 at MN I 221,33, which instead refers to the noble eightfold path.

¹⁵ [23] T 109 at T II 503c9 (attributed to 安世高), parallel to SN 56.11 at SN V 422,30: *imesu catusu ariyasaccesu*.

¹⁶ [24] The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* speaks only of the "four truths" in T 1428 at T XXII 606a19 and 910a4, but then uses the qualification "noble" in its version of the Buddha's first discourse at T XXII 788a14; cf. also below p. 267ff. The Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* speaks of the "four truths" in T 1421 at T XXII 105b12, but then uses the qualification "noble" in its version of the first discourse at T XXII 104b28. The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* refers to the "four truths" in T 1435 at T XXIII 122b23, 122c1+9, 131c25, 193a11, 244b12, and 368b16, but then uses the qualification "noble" in its version of the first discourse at T XXIII 448b19.

¹⁷ [25] SN 56.11 at SN V 422,12: *tam kho pan' idaṃ dukkhasamudayam ariyasaccam pahātabbam*, which Bodhi 2000: 1845 translates as: "this noble truth of the origin of suffering is to be abandoned."

what needs to be abandoned is the origin of *dukkha*, not the noble truth itself. This statement would be more meaningful without the expression "noble truth".¹⁸

From a grammatical viewpoint, the readings *dukkhasamudayaṃ ariyasaccaṃ* and *dukkhanirodhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ*, found in the PTS edition of the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta* and the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*,¹⁹ are puzzling, as one would rather have expected *dukkhasamudayo* and *dukkhanirodho*.²⁰

Weller takes *dukkhasamudayaṃ* and *dukkhanirodhaṃ* to be a faulty transformation of an earlier Māgadhī nominative *dukkhasamudaye* and *dukkhanirodhe*, undertaken in analogy to the correct transformation of the neuter *dukkhe* to *dukkhaṃ* and without taking into account that a Māgadhī nominative in *-e* could also be a masculine form and thus should not be transformed into *-aṃ*, but into *-o*.²¹

Norman suggests that the expression *ariyasaccaṃ* was added later, an addition during which an *-m-* was inserted in order to avoid hiatus, producing *dukkhasamudaya-m-ariyasaccaṃ* and *dukkhanirodha-m-ariyasaccaṃ*. Norman envisages the development that led to this to have taken place in two stages: [151]

¹⁸ [26] Woodward 1930/1979: 358 note 1 observes that a Burmese manuscript has a variant reading without *ariya* and comments: "but we must omit *ariya-saccaṃ*, otherwise the text would mean 'the Ariyan truth about the arising of Ill is to be put away'." Norman 1984: 385 explains that "what the Buddha said was that pain should be known, its origin given up, its cessation realised, and the path to its cessation practised. Woodward did not, therefore, go far enough. He should have suggested the removal of the word *ariya-saccaṃ* from all four" truth statements.

¹⁹ [27] SN 56.11 at SN V 421,25+29 (cf. also B^c) and MN 141 at MN III 250,33 and 251,3 (cf. also B^c).

²⁰ [28] The corresponding passages in the C^e and S^e editions do in fact read *dukkhasamudayo* and *dukkhanirodho*.

²¹ Weller 1940: 77; cf. also Johansson 1973/1998: 24 and Harvey 2009: 218f.

The original form ... was ... *idaṃ dukkhaṃ, ayaṃ dukkha-samudayo, ayaṃ dukkha-nirodho, ayaṃ dukkha-nirodha-gāmini-paṭipadā* ... Their designation as *saccāni* led to the introduction of the word *-sacca* into each item: *cattāri saccāni – dukkha-saccaṃ samudaya-saccaṃ nirodha-saccaṃ magga saccaṃ* ... When the truths became known as *ariya-saccāni*, then this word was added ... The introduction of the word *ariya-* ... gave a set: **dukkha-ariya-saccaṃ* etc.²²

Norman's suggestion finds support in a substantial number of references to "four truths" in Chinese discourses and *Vinayas*, which appear to reflect the second stage described by him, when

²² Norman 1984: 385f. This proposed development puts into perspective the argument by Harvey 2009: 198 that, since according to SN 56.11 at SN V 422,9 "the second *ariya-sacca* is to be abandoned", the expression *sacca* should be understood to carry the sense of "reality" rather than "truth". Since this formulation appears to be the result of an interpolation of the term *ariya-sacca*, the original point of the passage would of course have been that the origin of *dukkha* is to be abandoned. Harvey 2013a: 28 or 2013b: 51 then lists three passages as contrary to the meaning "truth", which in addition to the above formulation are that according to SN 56.11 at SN V 422,7 the Buddha understood that "this is the noble truth of *dukkha*", where again the apparent interpolation of *ariya-sacca* would be responsible for the formulation (which originally might just have been "this is *dukkha*"), and that SN 56.13 at SN V 425,17 (a discourse without parallels) identifies the five aggregates with the first *ariya-sacca*. The last passage is probably best read as a truncated version of a standard phrase found, e.g., at SN 56.11 at SN V 421,23, according to which the gist of the first *ariya-sacca* is that the five aggregates are *dukkha*, a formulation that is unproblematic as a truth statement. In sum, the three passages mentioned by Harvey seem to reflect problems or developments that occurred during the transmission of the texts, instead of enabling us to assess the original intention behind the usage of the term *sacca* in early Buddhist discourse. In view of SN 56.27 and its parallel SĀ 417 (cf. below notes 24 and 25), the nuance of "truth" does in fact seem to be quite relevant for *sacca*; cf. also Pandita 2015 who argues for considering both nuances of meaning as relevant, "truth" and "reality".

the qualification "noble" had not yet been added to all truth statements. These passages support the impression that the qualification "noble" could have originally been found just in some selected instances, and only during the process of oral transmission the same qualification would have been applied to all references to the four (noble) truths, in line with a natural tendency of oral transmission to standardize.

A discourse where this qualification must have been present from the outset can be found in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, according to which the four truths are called noble because they are taught by the Tathāgata, who is a noble one.²³ Without the qualification "noble", the statement in this discourse would no longer be meaningful.

Another discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya* explains that the four noble truths are so called because they are such and not otherwise.²⁴ This explanation does not seem to be concerned with the qualification "noble", but rather with the reason why the term "truth" is used. Therefore the statement made in this discourse would be meaningful even without the qualification "noble", but not without the term "truth".

The same does not hold for its *Samyukta-āgama* parallel, however, which alongside specifying that the four noble truths are such and not otherwise also mentions that they are truths for noble ones.²⁵ In the case of this *Samyukta-āgama* discourse the term "noble truth" is required for its definition to work, similarly to the

²³ [29] SN 56.28 at SN V 435,28: *tathāgato ariyo, tasmā ariyasaccānī ti vuccanti.*

This discourse does not seem to have a known parallel.

²⁴ [30a] SN 56.27 at SN V 435,18: *tathāni avitathāni anaññathāni, tasmā ariya-saccānī ti vuccanti.* Norman 1990/1993: 172 comments that the qualification *avitathāni anaññathāni* "would seem ... to be the reason why they are called 'truths'".

²⁵ [30b] SĀ 417 at T II 110c5: 是聖所諦, 是名苦聖諦, thereby additionally indicating that this is a truth for noble ones.

case of the *Samyutta-nikāya* discourse just mentioned, according to which the four noble truths are taught by the Tathāgata.

According to yet another *Samyutta-nikāya* discourse and its *Samyukta-āgama* parallel, a Tathāgata is so called because of his insight into the four noble truths.²⁶ This explanation would work even if the statement were to use merely the expression "four truths". The same is the case for the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* and the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta*.

In this way it seems that, with most of the occurrences of the expression "four noble truths", the passages in question would remain meaningful even if one were to assume that at an earlier stage these passages only spoke of the "four truths". Given that by realizing these truths through the attainment of stream-entry, as depicted in the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated above, the ennobling potential of the four truths manifests, it is perhaps not surprising if the term "noble" came to be used with increasing frequency to qualify the four truths. [152]

Needless to say, leaving aside the qualification "noble" need not in any way belittle the indubitable importance of the four (noble) truths. In the end, their status as truths and their awakening potential remains the same, independent of whether or not they explicitly receive the epithet "noble".²⁷

²⁶ [31] SN 56.23 at SN V 433,21: *catunnaṃ ariyasaccānaṃ yathābhūtaṃ abhisambuddhattā tathāgato arahaṃ sammāsambuddho ti vuccati*, a statement found similarly in its parallel SĀ 402 at T II 107c26: 於四聖諦平等正覺, 名為如來, 應, 等正覺.

²⁷ I will come back to the topic of the significance of Norman's finding in the next but one chapter on the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*; cf. below p. 274f.

Jiṇṇa-sutta (SN 16.5)

Introduction

In the present chapter I return to the topic of Paccekabuddhas in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, already broached in the penultimate chapter on the *Isigili-sutta*. As in the earlier chapter, my study is part of an attempt to appreciate the significance of the figure of the Paccekabuddha in Buddhist thought.

Among the Chinese *Āgamas* and the Pāli *Nikāyas*, the *Ekottarika-āgama* stands out for having a substantial number of tales and references related to Paccekabuddhas. Another story to which I will return in a subsequent chapter involves a housewife who, on seeing a Paccekabuddha out on the road begging for his food, falls in love with him. Being informed by her that she is particularly enchanted by his beautiful eyes, the Paccekabuddha gouges out one of them. After this rather drastic action, he gives her a short but penetrating teaching which, on being put into practice by her, leads the housewife to a heavenly rebirth.¹ [11]

Inasmuch as the motif of the Paccekabuddha is concerned, the protagonist of the *Ekottarika-āgama* story delivers a substantial doctrinal teaching, which confirms that Paccekabuddhas were not invariably seen by tradition as "silent Buddhas".² In keeping with the restricted soteriological function of a Paccekabuddha, how-

* Originally published in 2015 under the title "Pratyekabuddhas in the Ekottarika-āgama" in the *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 8: 10–27.

¹ EĀ 38.9 at T II 724a7 to 724b27; cf. below p. 345ff.

² [3] The fact that Paccekabuddhas usually do not have disciples is explicitly stated in EĀ 32.5 at T II 676c18, however, cf. also above p. 230f. EĀ 31.2 at T II 667c21 clarifies that neither a Paccekabuddha nor an arahant could equal the way of teaching of a Buddha.

ever, the housewife does not attain stream-entry or any other level of awakening, but is rather reborn in a Brahmā world. [12]

The depiction of the autocombustion of Paccekabuddhas in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-sutta* reflects another characteristic regularly associated with them.³ This in a way follows from the fact that they awaken without a teacher, namely that Paccekabuddhas are expected to live only during periods when no Buddha (and no Buddha's dispensation) is in existence.⁴

The discourse translated in the present chapter offers further perspectives on the motif of the Paccekabuddha, in particular linking it to the personality of Mahākassapa. The basic storyline in the discourse revolves around the Buddha inviting Mahākassapa to give up his ascetic conduct and live a more comfortable life style in view of his advanced age.⁵ The same plot recurs in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, in two *Samyukta-āgamas*, as well as in another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,⁶ although without the Paccekabuddha motif being found in any of these versions.

Translation

Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove, the Squirrels' Feeding Place, accompanied by a great community of five hundred monks.

³ [4] EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a29; cf. above p. 215ff.

⁴ [9] EĀ 50.10 at T II 814a14 even distinguishes between two types of aeon, one in which a Buddha appears in the world and the other when Paccekabuddhas appear; cf. above p. 234 note 62.

⁵ [11] The translated discourse is EĀ 12.6 at T II 570a23 to 570b19, which has already been translated into French by Huyên-Vi 1989: 124–126. The parallel SN 16.5 has the same setting, the Bamboo Grove at Rājagaha, whereas the parallels SĀ 1141, SĀ² 116, and EĀ 41.5 take place at Jeta's Grove.

⁶ [10] SN 16.5 at SN II 202,6 to 203,26, SĀ 1141 at T II 301c7 to 301c30, SĀ² 116 at T II 416b8 to 416c6, and EĀ 41.5 at T II 746a21 to 746c24.

At that time the venerable Mahākassapa was a forest dweller. When the time came, he begged for food without discriminating between poor and rich. [When meditating] he sat alone and in a solitary place, never moving or changing [posture], at the root of a tree, sitting out in the open, or in a wilderness area. He wore robes of [at least] five patches, keeping to three robes [only]. [At times] he stayed in a cemetery. He took a single meal, eating it [before] noon. [In spite of] being old and advanced in age, he was undertaking [such] ascetic practices. ^[13]

At the time right after the meal, the venerable Mahākassapa went and in turn [sat] under a tree [to practise] meditative concentration. Having [practised] meditative concentration, he rose from his seat, arranged his robes, ^[570b] and approached the Blessed One.⁷ Then the Blessed One saw from afar that Kassapa was coming. The Blessed One said: "Welcome, Kassapa."⁸ Then Kassapa approached the Blessed One, paid respect with his head at [the Blessed One's] feet, and sat to one side.

The Blessed One said: "Kassapa you are now old and advanced in age, you are feeble and worn out. You can now give up begging for food ... *up to* ... undertaking [such] ascetic practices. You can also accept invitations by householders and accept [ready-made] robes."⁹

⁷ ^[12] Among the parallel versions, only SĀ 1141 at T II 301c9 and SĀ² 116 at T II 416b10 report that he had been sitting in meditation before he approached the Buddha.

⁸ ^[13] In none of the parallels does the Buddha explicitly welcome Mahākassapa in this way.

⁹ ^[14] EĀ 12.6 at T II 570b5: 可受諸長者請, 并受衣裳; the translation by Huyên-Vi 1989: 125 "et prendre s'il faut le train d'un bourgeois aisé et reprendre la vie d'un laïc" does not do justice to the original.

Kassapa replied: "I will not follow the Tathāgata's injunction now.¹⁰ The reason is that, if the Tathāgata had not accomplished supreme and right awakening, I would have accomplished Pacceka-buddhahood.¹¹

"Pacceka-buddhas are all forest dwellers.¹² When the time comes, they beg for food without discriminating between poor and rich. [When meditating] they sit alone and in a solitary place, never moving or changing [posture], at the root of a tree, sitting out in the open, or in a wilderness area. They wear robes of [at least] five patches, keeping to three robes [only]. [At times] they stay in a cemetery. They take a single meal, eating it [before] noon. They undertake [such] ascetic practices. I will not venture to give up my original practice now to train in other forms of conduct instead."¹³ [14]

¹⁰ [15] In SN 16.5 at SN II 202,16, SĀ 1141 at T II 301c13, and SĀ² 116 at T II 416b15 Mahākassapa does not openly declare that he will not follow the Buddha's instruction, but instead points out that he has for a long time been observing ascetic practices and recommending them to others. In EĀ 41.5 at T II 746a24, however, he also openly expresses disagreement, here formulated in terms of his inability to accept (householders' gifts of) robes and food because he enjoys rag robes and begging for alms. SN 16.5 provides a listing of his forms of conduct which mentions forest dwelling, begging for alms, rag robes, three robes, as well as several praiseworthy mental qualities. SĀ 1141 lists just forest dwelling, rag robes, and begging for alms, and SĀ² 116 mentions only rag robes.

¹¹ [16] EĀ 12.6 at T II 570b6: 當如來不成無上正真道者, 我則成辟支佛; the translation by Huyên-Vi 1989: 125 "si je ne parvenais au stade de Bouddha, je deviendrais un Pratyekabouddha" is not correct.

¹² [17] This whole paragraph has no counterpart in the parallel versions, which do not refer to Pacceka-buddhas at all.

¹³ [18] In SN 16.5 at SN II 203,4, SĀ 1141 at T II 301c16, and SĀ² 116 at T II 416b19 he describes the two benefits of his mode of practice, namely a pleasant abiding for himself and his compassionate concern for others by setting an example. The second of these benefits receives more detailed coverage in EĀ

The Blessed One said: "It is well, it is well, Kassapa, you are benefitting many, causing countless human beings to cross over, so that all *devas* and human beings far and wide can cross over [*samsāra*].

"Kassapa, the reason is that if these ascetic practices exist in the world, then my Dharma will also exist for a long time in the world. If the Dharma exists in the world, then the paths to heaven will increase and the three evil destinies will in turn decrease; and stream-entry, once-return, non-return, and the paths of the three *yānas* will all be preserved in the world.¹⁴

"Monks, you should all train just as Kassapa practises. Monks, you should train in this way."¹⁵

Then the monks, having heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and received it respectfully.

Study

A central motif in the different versions of this discourse is Mahākassapa's ascetic conduct,¹⁶ thrown into relief as something he wants to continue to observe even when the Buddha has personally invited him to live a more comfortable life in view of his advanced age. The version translated above stands alone, however, in reporting that the Buddha explicitly reckoned the ascetic practices as a factor that will ensure the longevity of the Dhar-

41.5 at T II 746a25, where Mahākassapa depicts the predicament of future monks who are attached to good food and nice robes.

¹⁴ [19] The parallel versions differ considerably; cf. the discussion below.

¹⁵ [20] The parallel versions do not have a comparable injunction that the monks should emulate the example of Mahākassapa.

¹⁶ [21] The listing of outstanding disciples, AN 1.14.1 at AN I 23,18 and EĀ 4.2 at T II 557b8, reckons him foremost in the undertaking of ascetic practices. His eminency in this respect is also recorded in the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 395,23, and in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 64,14.

ma.¹⁷ The *Samyutta-nikāya* version has no general statement by the Buddha on the ascetic practices. It only records that the Buddha permitted Mahākassapa to continue the practices of wearing rag robes, begging for food, and dwelling in the forest.¹⁸ The two *Samyukta-āgama* versions go a step further and proclaim that one who disparages the ascetic practices disparages the Buddha.¹⁹ [15] The other *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse launches into a long description of the deterioration of conditions after the Buddha's demise, one aspect of which is failure to undertake the ascetic practices.²⁰

The *Samyutta-nikāya* discourse makes it clear that undertaking ascetic practices was actually an expression of Mahākassapa's compassion for later generations, explained in the discourse itself as implying that later generations will follow his example.²¹ In the

¹⁷ [22] For a study of the notion of the decline of the Dharma cf. Nattier 1991.

¹⁸ [23] SN 16.5 at SN II 203,23.

¹⁹ [24] SĀ 1141 at T II 301c25 and SĀ² 116 at T II 416b28, both of which continue by indicating that one who praises ascetic practices praises the Buddha. The reason given in both discourses is that the Buddha himself had spoken in praise of undertaking ascetic practices.

²⁰ [25] EĀ 41.5 at T II 746b9.

²¹ [26] SN 16.5 at SN II 203,5: *pacchimaṃ ca* (B^e, C^e, and S^e: *pacchimañ ca*) *janataṃ anukampamāno*, *appeva nāma pacchimā janatā diṭṭhanugatiṃ* (B^e, C^e, and S^e: *diṭṭhānugatiṃ*) *āpajjeyyūṃ* (C^e and S^e: *āpajjeyya*). Shults 2014: 248f, in a review of Anālayo 2012d, assumes that the implications of the expression *pacchimañ ca janataṃ anukampamāno* can be clarified only by resorting to the Pāli commentaries, which he therefore considers to be the background for my entry on *viveka* for the *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. According to the editorial guidelines, my task was just to summarize relevant information from the Pāli texts and avoid footnoting, hence I just briefly referred to two occurrences of the phrase *pacchimañ ca janataṃ anukampamāno* in MN 4 at MN I 23,32 and AN 2.3.9 at AN I 61,1 in relation to the Buddha's *viveka*, without further discussion. However, a digital search for the phrase would have led Shults to the passage in SN 16.5. An alternative route would have been con-

two *Samyukta-āgama* parallels to the discourse translated above, Mahākassapa describes how future generations will recall that monks at the time of the Buddha undertook and spoke in praise of forest dwelling, wearing rag robes, and begging for alms.²² The other *Ekottarika-āgama* version describes in detail how future monks would feel free to indulge their desires and attachments if they were to think that monks at the time of the Buddha were also living in a lax manner. It concludes that this would lead to their downfall and eventual rebirth in hell.²³ In sum, in different ways the parallel versions throw into relief the importance of Mahākassapa's ascetic conduct as a source of inspiration. [16]

Mahākassapa's inspirational role in adopting ascetic conduct is also reflected in the *Mahāgosīṅga-sutta* and its parallels, which agree that he not only engaged in ascetic practices himself, but also encouraged others to do so.²⁴

In the present case, however, it is noteworthy that this role of Mahākassapa in providing a source of inspiration for future generations comes in conjunction with his proclamation that he would have become a Paccakabuddha, had the Buddha not attained full awakening.²⁵

sultation of relevant scholarship, such as the detailed study of *anukampā* in Pāli sources by Aronson 1980/1986, who p. 11 indeed refers to SN 16.5 and explains that "Mahākassapa, like [the] Buddha, ... undertook beneficial activities with the hope that others would follow him and benefit similarly." Given that Shults 2014: 248 states that he "certainly would like to know the real significance of the phrase *pacchimañ ca janataṃ anukampamāno*", each of these avenues of research could have easily clarified the issue for him.

²² [27] SĀ 1141 at T II 301c18 and SĀ² 116 at T II 416b21.

²³ [28] EĀ 41.5 at T II 746a27.

²⁴ [29] MN 32 at MN I 214,2 and its parallels MĀ 184 at T I 727c2, EĀ 37.3 at T II 711a7, and T 154.16 at T III 81b16.

²⁵ [30] In what appears to be a partial commentary on the *Ekottarika-āgama*, Mahākassapa is presented as formerly having been a Paccakabuddha; cf. T 1507

The other versions neither bring in the motif of the Paccekabuddha, nor do they refer to the three *yānas*. The present *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse is in this respect in line with a general tendency evident elsewhere in this collection to incorporate later elements not found in this way in other Chinese *Āgamas* or their Pāli discourse parallels, in particular material related to emerging Mahāyāna thought.²⁶ Another general tendency in *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses is that the motif of the Paccekabuddha is considerably more prominent as an actual form of practice or ideal than in other early discourses found outside of this collection.

Given that in the present episode the notion of Paccekabuddhahood forms the counterpart to what in the other versions is the inspirational role of a chief disciple of the Buddha, it seems fair to conclude that the notion of the Paccekabuddha could have had an inspirational function similar to that of Mahākassapa.²⁷

Such an inspirational role also seems to underlie other passages. Another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* reports how someone in a situation of danger and great distress takes refuge in all Paccekabuddhas in the hope that they will be able to release him from this hardship: "I also take refuge in all Paccekabuddhas, who awaken on their own, without a teacher. May I be released from this disaster!"²⁸ [17] Another discourse in the same collection in-

at T XXL 30c5: 迦葉以本是辟支佛 (cf. also T XXL 31b20 and 39a17 as well as the discussion in Palumbo 2013: 185–188). Since a Paccekabuddha will not be reborn, this form of presentation must have originated with someone not too familiar with Buddhist doctrine, making it probable that it reflects the editorial influence of a Chinese hand, instead of stemming from an Indian original.

²⁶ [31] For a survey of Mahāyāna elements in the *Ekottarika-āgama* cf. below p. 443ff.

²⁷ [32] On the inspirational role of Paccekabuddhas cf., e.g., Wiltshire 1990: 66f and 76ff.

²⁸ [33] EĀ 24.2 at T II 615c5: 諸辟支佛無師自覺亦復自歸, 使脫此厄. According to EĀ 32.1 at T II 674a6, the path to such awakening on one's own as a

dicates that even just worshipping the relics of a Paccekabuddha has the potential to lead to rebirth in the heaven of the Thirty-three.²⁹

Yet another *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse reflects a cult of Paccekabuddhas as one of four types of living beings that are considered worthy of a *stūpa* (the other three are a Buddha, the disciple of a Buddha, and a wheel-turning king).³⁰ Another such reference in the *Ekottarika-āgama* explains that Paccekabuddhas deserve a *stūpa* because they have awakened on their own, without having had the assistance of a teacher.³¹

References to *stūpas* for Paccekabuddhas are found not only in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, however, but also in Pāli discourses.³² The Paccekabuddha in fact features regularly in the early discourses in lists of those who are worthy of gifts. Such lists present Paccekabuddhas as superior to arahants or other noble disciples, but inferior to a fully awakened Buddha.³³ By integrating the Pacceka-

Paccekabuddha has in common with other types of awakening that it requires the cultivation of the five faculties. EĀ 38.11 at T II 727a15 and EĀ 51.3 at T II 815c12 report actual instances of awakening as a Paccekabuddha as the result of contemplation of impermanence; cf. above p. 228 notes 41 and 42. That Paccekabuddhas are of course also themselves subject to the law of impermanence and will pass away is made explicit in EĀ 26.9 at T II 641a20.

²⁹ [34] EĀ 51.3 at T II 817a2; cf. also Legittimo 2009: 1203.

³⁰ [35] EĀ 52.1 at T II 823b13.

³¹ [36] EĀ 26.9 at T II 642b20.

³² [37] DN 16 at DN II 142,16 (cf. also the parallels DĀ 2 at T I 20b23 and T 7 at T I 200a24) and AN 4.245 at AN II 245,17; cf. also Kloppenborg 1974: 23.

³³ [38] MN 142 at MN III 254,29 and its parallels MĀ 180 at T I 722b16, D 4094 *ju* 255b2 or Q 5595 *tu* 291a3, Tocharian fragment YQ 1.20 1/2 a6, Ji et al. 1998: 182, and Uighur fragment folio 9a 2684, Geng and Klimkeit 1988: 202; cf. also SHT III 979 R6, Waldschmidt et al. 1971: 242, which refers to this type of presentation. AN 9.20 at AN IV 395,1 and its parallels MĀ 155 at T I 677c8, T 73 at T I 879c2, and T 74 at T I 881b12. AN 10.16 at AN V 23,4. Lists of this type in the *Ekottarika-āgama* can be found, e.g., in EĀ 23.1 at T

buddha, as an awakened one from the past or the distant future, into what otherwise comprises the present Buddha and his disciples, the hierarchy of gifts becomes invested with a timeless validity that applies to past, ^[18] present, and future times. In the absence of a living Buddha, a Paccekabuddha then becomes the topmost recipient of gifts. Other discourses suggest that such concern with worthiness to receive gifts was a significant issue in the tradition, as they report occasions when a gift given to a former Paccekabuddha yielded abundant fruit for its giver.³⁴

II 609b19, EĀ 47.3 at T II 781b24, and EĀ 48.5 at T II 792a24; cf. also EĀ 27.5 at T II 645b6 which, although not corresponding to the pattern found in the other passages listed above, is also related to the theme of making offerings to Paccekabuddhas. Another instance relevant to the present topic is EĀ 41.4 at T II 739b3, where Ānanda is puzzled by the fact that the Buddha has given a list of those worthy of merit without mentioning Paccekabuddhas or disciples at various levels of awakening. The placing of the Paccekabuddha between the arahant and the Buddha recurs also in EĀ 28.5 at T II 653a10 and EĀ 42.3 at T II 751a18 in a list of levels of awakening (cf. also T II 552b7, which is part of the introduction to the collection), as well as in a listing of seats in EĀ 24.6 at T II 625c5. Moreover, EĀ 43.5 at T II 761b1, EĀ 51.3 at T II 816c9, and EĀ 52.1 at T II 823b13 list the Paccekabuddha alongside the *sāvaka* (cf. also T II 551a21, which is part of the introduction to the collection). EĀ 17.3 at T II 583a5 reckons the Paccekabuddha as one of two persons that rarely arise in the world, the other of course being a Buddha.

³⁴ [39] SN 3.20 at SN I 92,4 and its parallels SĀ 1233 at T II 337c8, SĀ² 60 at T II 394b15, and EĀ 23.4 at T II 613a5 report the fruitfulness of giving to a former Paccekabuddha combined with the dire consequence of not having had an attitude of faith towards him; cf. also Ud 5.3 at Ud 50,16, where not giving to a Paccekabuddha and instead behaving disrespectfully has disastrous results. Another instance of a similar type can be found in MĀ 66 at T I 508c26, which reports that in a past life Anuruddha offered food to a Paccekabuddha, as a result of which he reaped abundant merit. Parallels to this tale in the Chinese canon are, e.g., T 44 at T I 829b19, T 190 at T III 928b21, and T 203 at T IV 470c25. In the Pāli tradition, versions of this tale are found only in the commentaries; cf. a short reference in Th-a III 72,23 (commenting on Th 910) and

Artistic representations confirming a cult of Paccekabuddhas are not easily identified. Owing to their outward resemblance to Buddhas or monks in general, it is only when an associated inscription contains explicit indications that it becomes possible to determine that a particular image is indeed intended to represent a Paccekabuddha.³⁵ One such case is extant from Thailand, where the inscription makes it clear that the figure is indeed a Paccekabuddha.³⁶ [20]

Regarding the function of the Paccekabuddha motif taken over by Buddhists from common ancient Indian lore, I doubt that this served to accommodate non-Buddhist sages within the Buddhist fold.³⁷ The early discourses show a recurrent tendency to set the followers of the Buddha apart from those of other traditions; in fact the Buddha's claim to awakening is explicitly based on the

a more detailed version in Dh-p-a IV 120,23. For another tale involving an offering to a Paccekabuddha cf. EĀ 52.2 at T II 824b18.

³⁵ [40] Kloppenborg 1974: 27 comments that "the fact that the *paccekabuddha* is described as having the outward appearance of a monk ... sheds some light on the problem of why images or representations of *paccekabuddhas* are so strikingly rare. Most probably representations in art of *paccekabuddhas* occurred, but they cannot be distinguished from those of monks, unless an inscription shows that these are indeed images of *paccekabuddhas*." Skilling 2013: 132 note 64 adds that although "to aspire to Pratyekabodhi does not seem to have been a popular option ... there is occasional epigraphical or other evidence for this."

³⁶ [41] Cf. below p. 651. Given the absence of an *uṣṇīṣa*, the image could alternatively only have been of a monk, similar to image 100, Plate LIII in Griswold 1957. However, it is not entirely clear if the absence of an *uṣṇīṣa* is characteristic of representations of Paccekabuddhas in general; cf. also Zin 2003 for cases documenting that not only Buddhas were depicted with an *uṣṇīṣa*.

³⁷ [42] This has been suggested, e.g., by Kloppenborg 1974: 6: "the concept of the *paccekabuddha* ... presented the opportunity to include pre-buddhist recluses and seers in Buddhism ... in order to find a legitimate place within Buddhist teaching, these ascetics had to fit in the system."

statement that he had realized what had been unheard of before.³⁸ In other words, he openly claimed to have made a new discovery. This does not seem to require authentication by integrating ancient Indian sages into the Buddhist fold.

Besides, once the notion of past Buddhas was in place, there would not have been any need to provide further authentication from the past. Given the ranking of recipients of gifts discussed above, it would indeed be rather surprising if such ancient Indian sages were placed in a position superior to arahants. Yet this is precisely the position of the Paccekabuddha.

In some passages famous ancient brahmin sages are not included in the Buddhist fold, but instead are quite openly dismissed as bereft of true vision.³⁹ Had there been a felt need to include non-Buddhist sages in the Buddhist tradition, these ancient sages could have been turned into Paccekabuddhas, instead of being brushed aside as blind and unknowing. The same tendency continues with *jātakas* where ancient Indian ascetics are clearly shown to be inferior to Paccekabuddhas, instead of being identified with them.⁴⁰

The references above give the impression that the Paccekabuddha had a more specifically Buddhist function than the mere

³⁸ Cf. below p. 293ff.

³⁹ [⁴⁴] Cf., e.g., DN 13 at DN I 238,21 and its parallels DĀ 26 at T I 105b24 and an as yet unpublished *Dirgha-āgama* Sanskrit fragment of the *Vāsiṣṭha-sūtra*, folio 449r (I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of the fragments). The three versions agree in providing a list of ancient Indian seers who are then disqualified as being blind and bereft of true vision.

⁴⁰ [⁴⁵] Two examples are Jā 490 at Jā IV 328,23, where a Paccekabuddha humbles the pride of an ascetic by rising into the air and letting dust from his feet fall onto the other's matted hair, and Jā 496 at Jā IV 372,1, where a Paccekabuddha is shown to be a superior recipient of gifts compared to an ascetic endowed with the five higher knowledges (*abhiññā*).

accommodating of non-Buddhist sages. Given that the Paccekabuddha is so prominent in the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, the function of this motif could have had some relation to developments within Buddhist thought at a stage preceding and overlapping with the initial stages of the emergence of the bodhisattva ideal and Mahāyāna thought, [21] reflected in several *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses. The various passages found in this collection give the impression that, perhaps only for a brief period, the concept of the Paccekabuddha was of considerable relevance.

Here it seems to me significant that in the discourse translated above the Paccekabuddha motif takes the place of what in the parallel versions is Mahākassapa's role as a source of inspiration for future generations.

A different approach to the role of Mahākassapa in relation to future generations can be seen in the other *Ekottarika-āgama* version, which continues after the plot common to the parallel versions by relating Mahākassapa to the future Buddha Maitreya.⁴¹ This seems to be an allusion to a tale found elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and in a number of other sources, according to which Mahākassapa will remain until the time of the future Buddha Maitreya, to whom he will pass on the Buddha's robe.⁴² Here Mahākassapa's function is to bridge the period between one Buddha and the next, thereby clearly acting as an emblem of the

⁴¹ [47] EĀ 41.5 at T II 746c13.

⁴² [48] EĀ 48.3 at T II 789a6, preceded by a reference to his undertaking of ascetic practices (= T 453 at T XIV 422b18; cf. Anālayo 2013i: 39f note 112). For studies and translations of this tale cf., e.g., Przyluski 1914: 521–528, Lévi and Chavannes 1916: 193–197, Leumann 1919: 22, Przyluski 1923: 331–334, Lévi 1929: 40–46, Lamotte 1944/1981: 191–195, Jaini 1988/2001: 475–477, Ray 1994: 114f, Deeg 1999: 153–169, Silk 2003: 181–207, Klimburg-Salter 2005: 543–545, and Tournier 2014: 5–18.

continuity of the Dharma. His role of ensuring the continuity of the Dharma is also central in the accounts of the first *saṅgīti*.⁴³

In the discourse translated above, he proclaims that he would have become a Paccekabuddha, had there been no Buddha. In this way Mahākassapa quite plainly states that for one like himself full awakening was certain, independent of whether or not a Buddha existed. This goes a step further than just setting an example for future generations, in that it affirms the possibility of attaining awakening in the absence of a Buddha. [22]

Several *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses report actual predictions that someone will become a Paccekabuddha in the distant future.⁴⁴ Such predictions fall into the same category, in that they clearly convey the message that awakening will always be possible, even when the Buddha and his teaching have disappeared.⁴⁵ The same theme recurs in the context of the relation between making offerings and a Paccekabuddha. According to two discourses in the *Ekottarika-āga-*

⁴³ [49] The different *Vinayas* agree in presenting Mahākassapa as the convenor of the first *saṅgīti*; cf. the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 966c18, the (Haimavata?) **Vinayamāṭṭkā*, T 1463 at T XXIV 818a11, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 490b28, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 190b28, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 402c19, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 447b5, the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Vin II 285,4, and for a comparative study that takes into account other relevant texts as well the classic by Przyluski 1926.

⁴⁴ [50] Instances of such predictions can be found in EĀ 35.7 at T II 700b23 (attainment after sixty aeons), EĀ 38.11 at T II 726a16 (attainment after twenty aeons), and EĀ 49.9 at T II 804c12 (attainment after sixty aeons). A description of the manifestation of light at the time a Buddha predicts that someone will in the future become a Paccekabuddha occurs in EĀ 43.2 at T II 758b17.

⁴⁵ [51] Oldenberg 1881/1961: 299 comments on the function of the Paccekabuddha in general: "der Begriff des Paccekabuddha sollte wohl in erster Linie eben dies besagen, daß auch in solchen Zeiten der Zugang zu Erlösung ernstem und kraftvollem Streben nicht verschlossen ist."

ma, undertaking the practice of giving and making offerings can act as a support for oneself to become a Paccekabuddha in the future.⁴⁶

The fact that a Paccekabuddha embodies the possibility of attaining awakening independently of the existence of a Buddha would have acquired increasing significance once the Buddha Gotama had passed away and his followers were struggling to ensure the survival of their tradition alongside competing groups in ancient India. The lack of direct contact with the living Buddha as the object in which to take refuge as a Buddhist disciple must have made itself acutely felt, leading to a range of developments in the Buddhist traditions. As an emblem of the possibility of attaining awakening by relying entirely on oneself, in such a setting the figure of the Paccekabuddha could easily have become a worthy object of worship and a source of inspiration.

Needless to say, to feel inspired by the Paccekabuddha motif does not necessarily imply aspiring to become a Paccekabuddha oneself. It could just have served as an inspiration for those aiming at attaining arahantship by relying on the teachings left behind by Gotama Buddha, as well as their followers and supporters. In their aspiration to reach this goal, the notion that full awakening is always possible, even when the teachings have disappeared, would have offered a strong source of support. It would have provided a sense of security precisely at a time when the followers of the deceased Buddha were struggling to preserve these teachings.

With the growing prominence of the bodhisattva ideal and the increasing popularity of the possibility of becoming a fully awakened Buddha oneself,⁴⁷ the symbol of the Paccekabuddha would have in turn lost importance.⁴⁸ [23] This new ideal no longer needed

⁴⁶ [52] EĀ 32.10 at T II 681a26 and EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a14.

⁴⁷ [53] On this development cf. in more detail Anālayo 2010b and 2017b.

⁴⁸ [54] Bareau 1985: 649 comments that "le culte des *pratyekabuddha* ... paraît avoir diminué depuis le voyage de Fa-hien." Perhaps of interest here is also

the Paccekabuddhas as an emblem of self-reliant awakening. From the viewpoint of the bodhisattva, Paccekabuddhas would have lost the significance they perhaps had earlier, instead of which past Buddhas would have come to the foreground in their function of predicting and confirming the bodhisattva's progress on the path to Buddhahood.

Probably as a remnant of its former significance, the Paccekabuddha has its place in standard references to the three *yānas* of practising for arahantship, for becoming a Paccekabuddha, or for attaining full Buddhahood, such as found in the discourse translated above.⁴⁹

Given the much more powerful inspiration provided by the idea of becoming a fully awakened Buddha oneself, the motif of the Paccekabuddha would have naturally become more like a fossil carried along by the tradition. In this way, the Paccekabuddha might have served as an important source of inspiration during a brief period, soon to be eclipsed by the bodhisattva ideal.

At present this is just a hypothesis based on surveying the early discourses, where in general the Paccekabuddha appears to be some-

that at times listings of recipients of gifts, such as for example EĀ 23.1 at T II 609b19, list one on the path to Paccekabuddhahood, followed by a Paccekabuddha, then one on the path to becoming a Tathāgata (i.e. a bodhisattva), and a Buddha. Such listings show the parallelism of the two concepts and at the same time place the bodhisattva in a hierarchically superior position vis-à-vis the Paccekabuddha.

⁴⁹ [55] References to these three *yānas* abound in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. For occurrences where the Paccekabuddha is explicitly mentioned (leaving aside instances that just refer to the three *yānas*, 三乘) cf., e.g., EĀ 24.6 at T II 626a21 (which uses the rendering 緣覺, instead of the phrase 辟支佛 used elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*), EĀ 32.10 at T II 681a26 (adopting a variant reading that adds 佛道 to the list), EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a14, EĀ 45.5 at T II 773b9, and EĀ 48.5 at T II 792b11 and c2. On the three *yānas* cf. also, e.g., Nattier 2003a: 138–141 and Dhammajoti 2011.

what peripheral, but then acquires considerably more prominence in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, supposing my admittedly hypothetical reconstruction to be correct, the fact that the standard sequence arahant / Paccekabuddha / Buddha as an ascending hierarchy of recipients of gifts became a hierarchy of spiritual aspirations would to some degree reflect a historical development. This development would have proceeded from aspiring to arahantship at a time when the Buddha was alive, via an interim period of aspiring to attain awakening even at a time when a Buddha was no longer alive but his teachings were still available, [24] or perhaps even no longer available, to the wish to become a Buddha oneself.

⁵⁰ [56] A more detailed study of the Paccekabuddha motif as part of an examination of the notion of *mahākaruṇā* is at present under preparation by Dhamma-dinnā.

Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta (SN 56.11)

Introduction

In this chapter I return to the topic of the four (noble) truths, broached in the last chapter but one on the *Saccavibhāṅga-sutta*. With the present chapter I instead turn to the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*. In another study dedicated to the same discourse, I examined parallels to this discourse from the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions.¹ In the present study I cover the remaining parallels found in *Āgama* and *Vinaya* literature that has been preserved in Chinese translation.

Among these remaining parallels are two versions of the Discourse on Turning the Wheel of Dharma found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The first of these two versions occurs as a discourse on its own among the Twos of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.² The second *Ekottarika-āgama* version is part of a longer discourse that reports the events after the Buddha's awakening, found among the Threes.³ [10]

Another version of the Discourse on Turning the Wheel of Dharma can be found in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, preserved in Chinese translation, as part of a biography of the Buddha.⁴

* Originally published in 2013 under the title "The Chinese Parallels to the Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta (2)" in the *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 5: 9–41.

¹ Anālayo 2012a, reprinted in Anālayo 2015i.

² [3] EĀ 19.2 at T II 593b24 to 593c10.

³ [4] EĀ 24.5 at T II 619a8 to 619b19; for a French translation of the relevant section of EĀ 24.5 cf. Bureau 1988: 81f.

⁴ [6] T 1421 at T XXII 104b23 to 105a2; translated into French by Bureau 1963: 174f.

Similar to the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* also has a version of the present discourse embedded in its biography of the Buddha, extant in Chinese.⁵

I begin by translating the two discourses from the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁶

Translation (1), The First *Ekottarika-āgama* Discourse

Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was at Vārāṇasī in the Deer Park, the [Dwelling of] Seers.

Then the Blessed One said to the monks:⁷ "There are these two things that one training in the path ought not to become involved with. What are the two things? That is, they are the state of being attached to sensual pleasures and their enjoyment, which is lowly and the state of the commoner, and the assemblage of these [self-inflicted] pains with their manifold vexations. These are reckoned the two things that one training in the path ought not to become involved with. [11]

"Having left behind these two things in this way, I have myself reached the essential path that leads to the attainment

⁵ [7] T 1428 at T XXII 788a6 to 788c7; translated into French by Bareau 1963: 175–177.

⁶ [8&10] The translated discourses are EĀ 19.2 at T II 593b24 to 593c10 and EĀ 24.5 at T II 619a8 to 619b19, the second being an extract from a longer discourse.

⁷ [9] EĀ 19.2 gives no explicit indication that these are the five monks. The corresponding parts in the *Vinaya* versions translated below also do not explicitly mention the five monks, even though the context makes it clear that they form the audience of the discourse. This makes it probable that the same applies to EĀ 19.2, in that the lack of an explicit reference to the five monks may well be a sign that this discourse is an extract from a longer account. The tale of how the five left the bodhisattva when he gave up his ascetic practices is recorded in EĀ 31.8 at T II 671c5, so that the reciters of the *Ekottarika-āgama* were aware of the situation that, according to the traditional account, formed the background to the Buddha's exposition on the two extremes.

of full awakening, to the arising of vision, ^[593c] to the arising of knowledge, [whereby] the mind attains appeasement, attains the penetrative knowledges, accomplishes the fruits of recluseship, and reaches Nirvāṇa.

"What is the essential path that leads to attainment of full awakening, that arouses vision, arouses knowledge, [whereby] the mind attains appeasement, attains the penetrative knowledges, accomplishes the fruits of recluseship, and reaches Nirvāṇa? That is, it is this noble eightfold path, namely right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. This is reckoned to be the essential path that I have reached.

"I have now attained right awakening, arousing vision, arousing knowledge, the mind attaining appeasement, attaining the penetrative knowledges, accomplishing the fruits of recluseship, and reaching Nirvāṇa. Monks, you should train in this way, abandon the above [mentioned] two things and cultivate this essential path. Monks, you should train in this way."

Then the monks, having heard what the Buddha had said, were delighted and received it respectfully.

Translation (2), The Second *Ekottarika-āgama* Discourse

At that time the Blessed One said to the five monks: "You should know that there are these four truths. What are the four? They are the truth of *dukkha*, the truth of the arising of *dukkha*, the truth of the cessation of *dukkha*, and the truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*.

"What is reckoned to be the truth of *dukkha*? That is, birth is *dukkha*, old age is *dukkha*, disease is *dukkha*, death is *dukkha*, [as well as] grief, vexation, affliction, worry, and pains that cannot be measured; association with what is disliked is *dukkha*, dissociation from what is liked is *dukkha*, not getting

what one wishes is also *dukkha*; stated in brief, the five aggregates of clinging are *dukkha*. This is reckoned to be the truth of *dukkha*.

"What is the truth of the arising of *dukkha*? That is, it is grasping conjoined with craving that leads to acting carelessly with a mind that keeps being lustfully attached. This is reckoned to be the truth of the arising of *dukkha*. [12]

"What is the truth of the cessation of *dukkha*?⁸ It is being able to bring about the eradication and cessation without remainder of that craving, so that it will not arise again. This is reckoned to be the truth of the cessation of *dukkha*.

"What is reckoned to be the truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*? That is, it is the noble eightfold path, namely right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. This is reckoned to be the teaching of the four truths.

"Again, five monks, with this teaching of the four truths, in regard to things not heard before, vision arose [in me] about the truth of *dukkha*, knowledge arose, understanding arose, awakening arose, clarity arose, and wisdom arose. Again, the truth of *dukkha* is real, it is certain, it is not vain, it is not false, it is certainly not otherwise than as it has been declared by the Blessed One, therefore it is reckoned to be the truth of *dukkha*.

"In regard to things not heard before, vision arose [in me] about the truth of the arising of *dukkha*, knowledge arose, understanding arose, awakening arose, clarity arose, and wisdom arose. Again, the truth of the arising of *dukkha* is real, it is certain, it is not vain, it is not false, it is certainly not otherwise

⁸ EĀ 24.5 at T II 619a15+17 precedes this and the next question with 彼, which I have not translated, on the assumption that this is a textual error.

than as it has been declared by the Blessed One, therefore it is reckoned to be the truth of the arising of *dukkha*.

"In regard to things not heard before, vision arose [in me] about the truth of the cessation of *dukkha*, knowledge arose, understanding arose, awakening arose, wisdom arose, and clarity arose. Again, the truth of the cessation of *dukkha* is real, it is certain, it is not vain, it is not false, it is certainly not otherwise than as it has been declared by the Blessed One, therefore it is reckoned to be the truth of the cessation of *dukkha*.

"In regard to things not heard before, vision arose [in me] about the truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*, knowledge arose, understanding arose, awakening arose, [619b] clarity arose, and wisdom arose. Again, the truth of the path leading out of *dukkha* is real, it is certain, it is not vain, it is not false, it is certainly not otherwise than as it has been declared by the Blessed One, therefore it is reckoned to be the truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*.

"Five monks, you should know, those who do not understand as they really are these four truths in three turnings and twelve modes do not accomplish the supreme (arrival) at truth,⁹ which is perfect and right awakening. Because I discerned these four truths in three turnings and twelve modes, understanding them as they really are, [13] therefore I accomplished the supreme arrival at truth, which is perfect and right awakening."

At the time when this teaching was being spoken, Aññāta Koṇḍañña attained the pure eye of Dharma, eliminating all [mental] dust and stain. Then the Blessed One said to Koṇḍañña: "Have you now reached the Dharma, have you attained the

⁹ My translation is based on emending 正 to read 至, in line with the formulation used right away in the next sentence.

Dharma?" Koṇḍañña replied: "So it is, Blessed One, I have attained the Dharma, I have reached the Dharma."

Then the spirits of the earth, having heard these words, made the proclamation: "Now at Vārāṇasī the Tathāgata has turned the wheel of Dharma that *devas* and men, Māra and Māra's [retinue of] *devas*, humans and non-humans are unable to turn. Today the Tathāgata has turned this wheel of Dharma. Aññāta Koṇḍañña has attained the ambrosial Dharma."

Then the Four Heavenly Kings heard the proclamation made by the spirits of the earth and in turn proclaimed: "... Aññāta Koṇḍañña has attained the ambrosial Dharma."

Then the *devas* of the Thirty-three heard it from the Four Heavenly Kings, the Yāma *devas* heard it from the *devas* of the Thirty-three ... *up to* ... the Tuṣita *devas* in turn heard the proclamation ... *up to* ... the Brahmā *devas* also heard the proclamation: "At Vārāṇasī the Tathāgata has turned the wheel of Dharma that has not been turned by *devas* and men,¹⁰ Māra and Māra's [retinue of] *devas*, humans and non-humans. Today the Tathāgata has turned this wheel of Dharma." Then [Koṇḍañña] came to be called Aññāta Koṇḍañña.

Study (1)

The first of the above two discourses from the *Ekottarika-āgama* reports only the rejection of the two extremes, similar in this respect to the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta*.¹¹ These two discourses, the first of the two *Ekottarika-āgama* versions and the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to the *Ariyapariyesanā-*

¹⁰ [11] The present passage no longer mentions an inability to turn the wheel of Dharma.

¹¹ [12] MĀ 204 at T I 777c25 to 778a2; cf. also Anālayo 2012a: 27f. EĀ 19.2 is located among the Twos of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, which is in keeping with the main topic of this discourse being the rejection of the *two* extremes.

sutta, have been interpreted by Bareau as evidence that some reciters were not aware of the four noble truths as the theme of the Buddha's first discourse, or even refused to consider it as such.¹² [14]

In both cases his hypothesis is flawed by the methodological problem that Bareau did not consider all relevant versions. In the present case his discussion does not take into account the second *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated above.¹³ Given that this second version is part of the same discourse collection and does have an exposition of the four truths, it becomes obvious that the reciters of the *Ekottarika-āgama* were aware of the four truths as the theme of the Buddha's first discourse and did not refuse to consider it as such. Therefore the first *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse is probably best understood as an extract from a longer account of the events surrounding the delivery of the Buddha's first teaching.¹⁴

Besides confirming that Bareau's hypothesis is in need of revision,¹⁵ the fact that the second *Ekottarika-āgama* version refers to

¹² [13] According to Bareau 1963: 181, MĀ 204 and EĀ 19.2 "nous montre[nt] qu'à une lointaine époque, une partie au moins de docteurs du Bouddhisme ignoraient quel avait été le thème du premier sermon ou refusaient de considérer comme tel les quatre saintes Vérités."

¹³ [14] Schmithausen 1981: 202 note 11 already pointed out that EĀ 24.5 has the portions of the first discourse that are not found in EĀ 19.2.

¹⁴ [15] This would in fact be in line with an observation made by Bareau 1963: 9 himself that such short discourses appear to be extracts from longer accounts: "les petits *Sūtra* contenus dans le *Samyuktāgama*, *Samyuttanikāya*, *Ekottarāgama* et *Āṅguttaranikāya* ... ces *Sūtra* courts apparaissent bien plutôt comme des extraits commodes tirés des textes plus longs." This observation provides a considerably more convincing explanation of the situation than the hypothesis that the teaching expressed in the form of the four noble truths is late.

¹⁵ [16] Zafropulo 1993: 111 even goes so far as to consider it paradoxical to doubt the relationship of the noble truths to the Buddha's awakening: "l'association des Āryasatyāni à l'événement de la Saṃbodhi du Maître est tellement bien attestée, qu'il semblerait quasi paradoxal (au sens étymologique du mot) de vouloir essayer de la minimiser ou de la mettre en doute."

the four truths is of further significance in that the truths are not described as "noble". This qualification is used in the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse only for the eightfold path, not for any of the truths. As discussed above in the chapter on the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*, the absence of the qualification "noble" in relation to the four truths gives the impression that at an early stage the qualification "noble" was not used invariably when the four truths were mentioned. [15]

Norman (1984: 386f) suggests that in several contexts even the entire expression *ariyasacca* was added later. He considers such an addition of the expression *ariyasacca* to have been inspired by occurrences of the expression *ariyasacca* in short statements found elsewhere. One example he gives for such short statements is a reference to teaching "the four noble truths ... *dukkha*, its arising, the path, and its cessation".¹⁶ Another example given by him is a succinct statement of the type "the four noble truths: the noble truth of *dukkha*, the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*, the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*, and the noble truth of the path to the cessation of *dukkha*".¹⁷ The occurrence of the expression "noble truth" in such a short statement would then have led to the same

¹⁶ [20] Th 492: *cattāri ariyasaccāni ... dukkhaṃ samudayo maggo nirodho*, on which Norman 1984: 390 note 8 comments that "the order of the last two items is reversed for metrical reasons"; on similar reversals in the order of referring to the third and fourth truth cf. Anālayo 2011g: 26f.

¹⁷ [21] DN 34 at DN III 277,8: *cattāri ariyasaccāni: dukkhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ, dukkhasamudayaṃ* (C^e and S^e: *dukkhasamudayo*) *ariyasaccaṃ, dukkhanirodhaṃ* (C^e and S^e: *dukkhanirodho*) *ariyasaccaṃ, dukkhanirodhagāminī paṭipadā* (B^e, C^e, and S^e: *paṭipadā*) *ariyasaccaṃ*. Norman 1984: 379f mentions Th 492 and the passage from DN 34 as examples for what he refers to as the "mnemonic set", on which Norman 1984: 387 then comments that "the word *ariya-sacca* ... its presence in the 'mnemonic' set doubtless led to its introduction there [i.e. in passages such as SN 56.11] by analogy."

expression being used also in other passages, where it was not originally found. [16]

Norman's reconstruction does not mean that the teaching on the four truths as such is a late addition to the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*,¹⁸ and it certainly does not imply that early Buddhist thought did not have a notion of truth as such.¹⁹ Norman's discussion means only that an early version of the first teaching given by the Buddha in the form of the four truths did not employ the expression *ariyasacca* to designate each of these four singly when explaining their implications.

Such additions of the expression *ariyasacca*, taken from one context and added to other passages, would be a natural occurrence for material that was orally transmitted over long periods. Oral tradition tends to stereotype, thereby facilitating memorization, with at times little sensitivity to the individual context.²⁰ It would therefore not be surprising if the expression *ariyasacca* or the qualification "noble" was originally found in some contexts only, but during oral transmission came to be applied to other passages.

The influence of the tendency to stereotype is also relevant for the remainder of the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* and its parallels. As Gombrich (2009: 103f) points out,

¹⁸ [22] After a detailed survey of Norman's discussion, Anderson 1999/2001: 20 comes to the unexpected conclusion that "Norman's evidence, however, demonstrates that the four noble truths were not part of the earliest form of the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*."

¹⁹ [23] This has been suggested by Batchelor 2012: 92f, who reasons that "one implication of Norman's discovery is that the Buddha may not have been concerned with questions of 'truth' at all ... if Mr. Norman is correct, the Buddha may not have presented his ideas in terms of 'truth' at all."

²⁰ [24] As von Hinüber 1996/1997: 31 explains, "pieces of texts known by heart may intrude into almost any context once there is a corresponding key word."

the "first sermon" that has come down to us is chock full of metaphors and technical terms which the Buddha at that stage had not yet explained ... the disciples who made up the original audience could have had no idea what the Buddha was talking about when he used these terms.²¹

Just as with the four truths, this does not mean that the teachings expressed by these technical terms, such as, for example, "the five aggregates of clinging", were not given at all and should be considered later additions in themselves. It means only that the texts we have are not verbatim records of what the Buddha said, but rather are the final products of a prolonged oral transmission. [17]

I continue with a translation of the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* version.²²

Translation (3), The Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*

The Buddha further said [to the five monks]:²³ "In the world there are two extremes that one should not become involved with. The first is lustful attachment to craving for sensual pleasures, proclaiming that there is no fault in sensual pleasures. The second is the wrong view of tormenting the body, which has not a trace of the [right] path.

"Abandon these two extremes and in turn obtain the middle path that gives rise to vision, knowledge, understanding, and awakening, and that leads to Nirvāṇa! What is reckoned to be the middle path? That is, it is the eight[fold] right [path] of right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. This is the middle path.

²¹ [25] Cf. also Rewata Dhamma 1997: 40.

²² [26] The translated part is taken from T 1421 at T XXII 104b23 to 105a2.

²³ [27] The five (monks) are explicitly referred to in the preceding phrase, T 1421 at T XXII 104b23: 五人.

"Again, there are four noble truths, which are the noble truth of *dukkha*, the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*, the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*, and the noble truth of the path to the cessation of *dukkha*.

"What is the noble truth of *dukkha*?^[104c] That is, birth is *dukkha*, old age is *dukkha*, disease is *dukkha*, death is *dukkha*, sadness and vexation are *dukkha*, association with what is disliked is *dukkha*, dissociation from what is liked is *dukkha*, loss of what one wishes for is *dukkha*, in short, the five aggregates of clinging are *dukkha*. This is reckoned to be the noble truth of *dukkha*.

"What is reckoned to be the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*? That is, it is craving for existence,²⁴ which comes together with the arising of defilements, delighting with attachment in this and that. This is reckoned to be the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*.

"What is reckoned to be the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*? That is, it is the eradication of craving, its cessation and extinction without remainder, Nirvāṇa. This is reckoned to be the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*.

"What is reckoned to be the noble truth of the path to the cessation of *dukkha*? That is, it is the eight[fold] right path. This is reckoned to be the noble truth of the path to the cessation of *dukkha*.

"Regarding this Dharma, which I had not heard before, vision arose, knowledge arose, understanding arose, awakening arose, insight arose, and wisdom arose.^[18] Regarding this Dhar-

²⁴ [28] T 1421 at T XXII 104c3: 有愛. As already noted by Choong 2000: 166, Delhey 2009: 69 note 4, and Anālayo 2011c: 70 note 216, the three types of craving regularly listed in such contexts in the Pāli canon – craving for sensual pleasures, for existence, and for annihilation – are only rarely mentioned in parallel versions; cf. also Anālayo 2016f.

ma, which I had not heard before and which should be understood, vision arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose. Regarding this Dharma, which I had not heard before and which has been understood, vision arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose.

"Regarding this noble truth of *dukkha* ... regarding this noble truth of *dukkha* which should be understood ... regarding this noble truth of *dukkha* which I had not heard before and which has been understood, vision arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose.

"Regarding this noble truth of the arising of *dukkha* ... regarding this noble truth of the arising of *dukkha* which should be eradicated ... regarding this noble truth of the arising of *dukkha* which I had not heard before and which has been eradicated, vision arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose.

"Regarding this noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha* ... regarding this noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha* which should be realized ... regarding this noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha* which I had not heard before and which has been realized, vision arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose.

"Regarding this noble truth of the path to the cessation of *dukkha* ... regarding this noble truth of the path to the cessation of *dukkha* which should be developed ... regarding this noble truth of the path to the cessation of *dukkha* which I had not heard before and which has been developed, vision arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose.

"Having understood as it really is this wheel of Dharma in three turnings and twelve modes, I attained supreme and full awakening."

When this teaching was delivered, the earth quaked six times and Koṇḍañña attained among all teachings the pure eye of Dharma that is remote from [mental] stains and free from [mental] dust. The Buddha asked him: "Koṇḍañña, have you

understood? Koṇḍañña, have you understood?" Koṇḍañña replied: "Blessed One, I have understood."

On hearing this, the spirits of the earth told the spirits in the sky, the spirits in the sky told the *devas* of the Four Heavenly Kings, the *devas* of the Four Heavenly Kings told the *devas* of the Thirty-three, and so on in turn up to the Brahmā *devas*, saying: "Now at Vārāṇasī the Buddha has turned the supreme wheel of Dharma that has not been turned before, that recluses, brahmins, *devas*, Māra, Brahmā, and the whole world has not turned before."

All the *devas* were delighted and sent down a rain of various kinds of flowers. [105a] Everywhere there was a brilliant light as if stars had fallen to the ground and in mid air the [*devas*] performed divine music. [19]

Study (2)

A noteworthy feature of the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* version is its description of a rain of flowers, a brilliant light, and divine music. The other canonical versions preserved in Chinese do not report such miraculous events. However, a description that is to some degree comparable occurs in the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*. According to the Pāli account, the turning of the wheel of Dharma resulted in earthquakes throughout the ten-thousand-fold world system and an immeasurably brilliant light appeared in the world and surpassed the majesty of the *devas*.²⁵

²⁵ [29] SN 56.11 at SN V 424,4: *ayaṅ ca dasasahassī* (B^c: *dasasahassi*) *lokadhātu saṅkampi* (E^c: *saṅkampi*) *sapakampi sampavedhi*, *appamāṇo ca uḷāro* (S^c: *oḷāro*) *obhāso loke pātur ahoṣi atikkamma* (S^c: *atikkammeva*) *devānaṃ devānu-bhāvan ti*. Earthquakes are also mentioned in several biographies of the Buddha preserved in Chinese translation; cf. T 189 at T III 644c20, T 190 at T III 812b20, and T 196 at T IV 149a10, often together with other miraculous occurrences such as a great light, divine music, or a rain of flowers.

The absence of any reference to earthquakes or else to celestial flowers and divine music in the canonical parallel versions makes it fairly safe to conclude that these are probably later developments.²⁶ The same does not seem to be the case, however, for the acclamations of the turning of the wheel of Dharma in various celestial realms,²⁷ which are reported in all canonical versions.²⁸

Elsewhere the discourses collected in the Pāli *Nikāyas* and Chinese *Āgamas* abound with references to various *devas*. These discourses report that the Buddha and his disciples repeatedly went to the heavens for shorter or longer visits to discuss various topics with *devas*, or that they were visited by *devas* who wanted to ask a question or make some statement. [20] In view of such passages there seems to be little ground for assuming that the celestial acclamations of the turning of the wheel of Dharma must in principle be later than the remainder of the discourse.²⁹

²⁶ [30] According to Przyłuski 1918: 424, Waldschmidt 1944: 107, Frauwallner 1956: 158, and Bareau 1979: 79, listings of three causes for earthquakes found in some discourses appear to be earlier than listings of eight causes for earthquakes. This conclusion would be supported by the finding that earthquakes are not reported in the Chinese canonical parallels to SN 56.11, except for the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* version, as only the listings of eight causes mention the turning of the wheel of Dharma as an occasion for the earth to quake. For a study of earthquakes in Buddhist literature cf. Ciurtin 2009 and 2012.

²⁷ [31] Bareau 1963: 182 considers these descriptions to be late: "la mise en mouvement de la Roue de la Loi remue le monde des dieux de la terre à l'empyrée ... ceci confirme l'hypothèse émise plus haut et selon laquelle le texte du premier sermon serait postérieur au récit primitif de l'Éveil."

²⁸ [32] Celestial acclamations are not mentioned in T 191 at T III 954b2, which reports only that eighty thousand *devas* attained stream-entry.

²⁹ [33] In the context of a discussion of supernormal powers, Fiordalis 2010/2011: 403 comments that "scholars have been too quick to conclude ... that Buddhism rejects the miraculous wholesale in favor of some sort of rational humanism that reflects modern predilections"; cf. also Anālayo 2015a and 2016e.

The picture that in this way emerges from a comparative study of the Chinese parallels to the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* seems to me to exemplify a general pattern. It is undeniable that supernormal occurrences, such as encounters with celestial beings and psychic abilities, are an integral part of the teachings of early Buddhism in the way these have been preserved in the texts. It would not do justice to the material at our disposal if we were to consider only the doctrinal teachings as authentic aspects of early Buddhism and summarily dismiss the miraculous aspects as later accretions.

However, this should not blind us to the fact that some miracles do appear to be the result of later developments.³⁰ Just as the texts do not support a total dismissal of miraculous elements as invariably late, they equally clearly show that with the passage of time some of these elements become more prominent. Examples in the present case are the earthquakes, the rain of divine flowers, etc.

Besides the reference to earthquakes, another peculiarity of the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* in relation to the celestial repercussions of the turning of the wheel of Dharma is that the *devas* proclaim that this wheel cannot be turned back by anyone in the world.³¹ [21] Most of the Chinese parallel versions instead indicate that this wheel had not been turned by others or that others were unable to turn it.³² The idea that others might try to interfere with the turning of the wheel is found only in the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*. This could be the result of an error in transmission,

³⁰ Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2015a and 2016e.

³¹ [35] SN 56.11 at SN V 423,20: *appativattiyaṃ* (B^e and S^e: *appaṭivattiyaṃ*) *sa-maṇeṇa vā brāhmaṇeṇa vā ... kenaci vā lokasmin ti*.

³² [36] An exception is the *Kṣudrakavastu* version, which merely states that this turning of the wheel is of great benefit for others; cf. T 1451 at T XXIV 292c7 = T 110 at T II 504b14 and Anālayo 2012a: 40.

whereby an original reading "cannot be turned", *appavattiyam*, became "cannot be turned back", *appaṭivattiyam*.³³

The last version to be translated stems from the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*.³⁴

Translation (4), The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*

"[Five] monks,³⁵ one gone forth should not be involved with the two extremes of delighting in and developing craving for sensual pleasures, or with the practice of self-[inflicted] suffering, which is an ignoble teaching that afflicts body and mind, and which does not enable one to accomplish what is to be done.

"Monks, having left these two extremes behind, there is in turn a middle path for vision and understanding, for knowledge and understanding, for perpetual quietude and appeasement, for accomplishing penetrative knowledge and attaining full awakening, for accomplishing [real] recluship and proceeding [towards] Nirvāṇa.

"What is called the middle path for vision and understanding, for knowledge and understanding, for perpetual quietude and appeasement, for accomplishing penetrative knowledge and attaining full awakening, for accomplishing [real] recluship and proceeding [towards] Nirvāṇa? It is this noble eight [fold] right path of right view, right thought,³⁶ right speech,

³³ [37] An original reading *appavattiyam* would be in line with the reading *apra-vartyam* found in the corresponding passage in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1977: 136,24 and in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 334,15.

³⁴ [38] The translated part is taken from T 1428 at T XXII 788a6 to 788c7.

³⁵ [39] Although the present passage does not explicitly indicate that the five monks are meant, this is explicitly indicated a little earlier, T 1428 at T XXII 787c28: 佛告五人言。

³⁶ [40] The listing of the path factors in T 1428 at T XXII 788a12 has as its second member 正業 and as its fourth 正行. On the assumption that the listing corre-

right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. This is reckoned the middle path for vision and understanding, [22] for knowledge and understanding, for perpetual quietude and appeasement, for accomplishing penetrative knowledge and attaining full awakening, for accomplishing [real] recluse-ship and proceeding [towards] Nirvāṇa.

"[There are] four noble truths. What are reckoned to be the [four] noble truths? They are the noble truth of *dukkha*, the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*, the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*, and the noble truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*.

"What is the noble truth of *dukkha*? Birth is *dukkha*, old age is *dukkha*, disease is *dukkha*, death is *dukkha*, association with what is disliked is *dukkha*,³⁷ dissociation from what is liked is *dukkha*, not to get what one wishes is *dukkha*, said in short, the five aggregates of clinging are *dukkha*. This is reckoned to be the noble truth of *dukkha*.

"Again, the noble truth of *dukkha* should be understood. I have already understood it. [For this], the eight[fold] right path of right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration should be cultivated.

"What is the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*? It is being conditioned by craving, which is the origin for being born, to-

sponds to the standard sequence of the path factors, I take 業, which usually renders just *karman*, in the alternative sense of *abhisamskāra*, listed by Hirakawa 1997: 660 as one of the possible equivalents for 業. In EĀ 17.10 at T II 586b6, 正業 also stands in the place of right thought and 正行 in the place of right action.

³⁷ [41] Adopting a correction suggested in the CBETA edition of 僧 to 僧.

gether with sensual desire related to the experience of pleasure.³⁸
This is reckoned to be the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*.

"Again, this noble truth of the arising of *dukkha* should be eradicated. I have already realized its eradication. [For this], the eight[fold] right path of right view ... *up to* ... right concentration should be cultivated.

"What is called the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*? The perpetual cessation of that craving, its fading away, its eradication, its giving up, release from it, deliverance from it, its perpetual cessation, its appeasement, and detachment from it.³⁹ This is reckoned to be the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*.

"Again, this noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha* should be realized. I have already realized it. [For this], the eight[fold] right path of right view ... *up to* ... right concentration should be cultivated.

"What is the noble truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*? It is this noble eight[fold] path of right view ... *up to* ... right concentration. This is reckoned to be the noble truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*.

"Again, this noble truth of the path leading out of *dukkha* should be cultivated. [23] I have already cultivated this noble truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*.

"Knowledge arose, vision arose, awakening arose, understanding arose, [788b] insight arose, wisdom arose, and I attained realization that this is the noble truth of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before. Again, knowledge arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of *dukkha*, which is a

³⁸ [42] Adopting the variant 受 instead of 愛.

³⁹ [43] My translation follows the indication in Hirakawa 1997: 669 that 櫛窟 renders *ālaya*.

teaching not heard before and which should be understood. Again, knowledge arose, vision arose, awakening arose, understanding arose, insight arose, and wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before and which I have already understood. This is reckoned to be the noble truth of *dukkha*.

"Knowledge arose, vision arose, awakening arose, understanding arose, insight arose, and wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before. Again, knowledge arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before and which should be eradicated. Again, knowledge arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before and which I have already eradicated. This is reckoned to be the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*.

"Knowledge arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before. Again, knowledge arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before and which should be realized. Again, knowledge arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before and which I have already realized. [This is reckoned to be the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*.]

"Knowledge arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before. Again, knowledge arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*, which is a teaching not heard before and which should be cultivated. Again, knowledge arose ... *up to* ... wisdom arose that this is the noble truth of the path leading out of *duk-*

kha, which is a teaching not heard before and which I have already cultivated. [This is the noble truth of the path leading out of *dukkha*.] These are reckoned to be the four noble truths.

"As long as I had not cultivated these four noble truths in three turnings and twelve modes, not understood them as they really are, I had not accomplished supreme and complete awakening. When I had understood these four noble truths in three turnings and twelve modes as they really are, I had accomplished supreme and complete awakening and I was without doubts and obstructions.

"When the Tathāgata proclaims these four noble truths and there is nobody among the assemblies who realizes them, then the Tathāgata has not turned the wheel of Dharma for them. [24] When the Tathāgata proclaims these four noble truths and there is someone among the assemblies who realizes them, then the Tathāgata has turned the wheel of Dharma for them, which recluses and brahmins, Māra, the *devas* [of the retinue] of Māra, *devas* and men in the world are not able to turn.

"Therefore an effort should be made to cultivate the four noble truths, the noble truth of *dukkha*, the noble truth of the arising of *dukkha*, the noble truth of the cessation of *dukkha*, and the noble truth of the path that leads out of *dukkha*. You should train like this."

At the time when the Blessed One proclaimed this teaching to the five monks, Aññāta Koṇḍañña attained the arising of the eye of Dharma, eliminating [mental] stains and [mental] dust. Then the Blessed One, knowing what Aññāta Koṇḍañña had attained in his mind, in turn spoke these words: "Aññāta Koṇḍañña already knows, Aññāta Koṇḍañña already knows." From then onwards he was called Aññāta Koṇḍañña.

Then the spirits of the earth heard what the Tathāgata had said and in turn each proclaimed: "Just now the Tathāgata, the

arahant, the perfectly awakened one, being at Vārāṇasī, at the Seers' [Dwelling Place], in the Deer Park, has turned the supreme wheel of Dharma that has not been turned before, [788c] which recluses and brahmins, Māra, the *devas* [of the retinue] of Māra, *devas* and men are not able to turn."

When the spirits of the earth made this proclamation, the Four Heavenly Kings heard it ... the *devas* of the Thirty-three ... the Yāma *devas* ... the Tusita *devas* ... the Nimmānaratī *devas* the Paranimmitavasavattī *devas* in turn each proclaimed: "Just now the Tathāgata, the arahant, the perfectly awakened one, being at Vārāṇasī, at the Seers' [Dwelling Place], in the Deer Park, has turned the supreme wheel of Dharma [that has not been turned before], which recluses and brahmins, Māra, the *devas* [of the retinue] of Māra, *devas* and men are not able to turn." At that time in an instant this proclamation was made in turn by each [of the various *devas*] and reached as far as the Brahmā *devas*.

Study (3)

The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* version highlights that the setting in motion of the wheel of Dharma takes place once "the Tathāgata proclaims these four noble truths and there is someone among the assemblies who realizes them." This in fact reflects the main point of the discourse, whose purpose in all versions is to show how the Buddha communicated his own realization of Nirvāṇa in such a way to his five former companions that one of them was able to attain stream-entry.⁴⁰ [25]

⁴⁰ [44] According to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan 1967: 371,4 (6.54c), the wheel of Dharma refers to the path of vision, i.e., stream-entry; cf. also the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1936: 580,24.

Understood in this way, the motif of the wheel of Dharma expresses the conjunction of a core teaching of early Buddhism with its actual and successful practice.

The importance accorded by tradition to this motif is widely reflected in its popularity in Buddhist art.⁴¹ [26] A well-known representation is a Gupta-period image from Sārnāth, which shows the seated Buddha with his hands in the gesture of setting in motion the wheel of Dharma.⁴² The ornamented halo surrounding the Buddha is flanked by a *deva* on each side, one of whom appears to be raising the right hand to the ear as if listening. If this is indeed the case, then this could be a pictorial reference to hearing the celestial proclamation that the Buddha has set in motion the wheel of Dharma.

The Buddha is flanked by two winged lions. Although these probably just have an ornamental function as a support for the crossbars, given the present narrative context they bring up an association with the motif of the lion's roar, discussed above.⁴³ Below the seated Buddha in the centre is the wheel of Dharma, with an antelope on each side, reflecting the location of the first sermon at the Migadāya.⁴⁴ The wheel is surrounded by the first five disciples, who listen with respectfully raised hands.

Notably, besides the five monks a woman and a child or perhaps a dwarf are depicted. According to Huntington (1986: 40), "the female and the dwarf/child are probably donor figures pre-

⁴¹ [45] For a survey cf., e.g., Schlingloff 2000: 62f. Even seals used by Mūlasarvāstivāda monastics to represent the community should according to the *Vinaya* prescriptions carry the wheel image; cf. Schopen 1996/2004: 232.

⁴² Cf. below p. 652.

⁴³ [46] Cf. above p. 31ff. Pandey 1978: 29f notes other examples where representations of the first sermon depict lions.

⁴⁴ [47] According to Schlingloff 2000: 63, the animals depicted in such representations are blackbuck antelopes (*antelope cervicapra*), *kṛṣṇasāra*.

sent as patrons of the image." If the woman represented should indeed be the donor of the stele,⁴⁵ then this would be yet another pointer to the important role of female donors in ancient Indian art.⁴⁶

Such a pictorial reference to a woman and a child or a dwarf is absent from another relief that depicts the same scene.⁴⁷ This version has the main elements of the first image, the seated Buddha with his hands in the gesture of setting in motion the wheel of Dharma, flanked by two celestial attendants, and below the Buddha the wheel of Dharma, [27] with an antelope on each side and the first five disciples listening with respectfully raised hands.

The employing of a scheme of four truths when setting in motion the wheel of Dharma, depicted in these two reliefs, appears to be based on an analogy with Indian medical diagnosis. Although we do not have certain proof that ancient Indian medicine had such a scheme,⁴⁸ this needs to be considered in light of the fact that extant āyurvedic treatises in general stem from a later period. Since the comparison of the four truths to medical diagnosis is explicitly made in several early Buddhist texts,⁴⁹ [28] it seems probable that some such diagnostic scheme was known and in use in daily life.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ [48] On the tendency for donors to be represented in Indian art in the 9th to 12th centuries cf. Bautze-Picron 1995: 63. For other instances where depictions of the human audience of the first sermon vary from the count of five cf. Pandey 1978: 43.

⁴⁶ [49] Cf., e.g., Vogel 1929/1930: 13–15, Law 1940, Dutt 1962: 128–131, Willis 1985, Roy 1988, Schopen 1988/1997: 248–250, Dehejia 1992, Willis 1992, Singh 1996, Barnes 2000, Shah 2001, Skilling 2001b, Osto 2008: 110–113, Kim 2012, Mokashi 2012, and Rao 2012: 133–160.

⁴⁷ Cf. below p. 653.

⁴⁸ [50] Cf. Har Dayal 1932/1970: 159, Filliozat 1934: 301, and Wezler 1984: 312–324. Already Oldenberg 1881/1961: 374 note 2 had expressed doubts as to whether the fourfold scheme was a case of borrowing by the Buddhists.

⁴⁹ [51] For a more detailed discussion cf. Anālayo 2011g.

⁵⁰ [52] Zysk 1995: 149 comments that "there is little doubt that the system of Buddhist monastic medicine and Hindu *āyurveda* derived from a common

The significance of employing such a diagnostic scheme needs to be considered within the narrative setting of the present discourse. Needless to say, with the sources at our disposal it is not possible to reconstruct what actually happened. This does not mean, however, that the narrative cannot be studied with an eye to its internal coherence.

According to the narrative setting of the *Dhammacakkappa-vattana-sutta* and its parallels, the recently awakened Buddha had set himself the task of conveying his realization of Nirvāṇa to his five former companions. These five would have seen asceticism as the path to deliverance and considered a deviation from ascetic practices as veering off into some form of sensual indulgence. In such a context, the teaching of a middle path that avoids these two extremes is an obvious starting point. It may well be, as suggested by some versions, that the five needed some time to ponder over this, to them, new approach to liberation.⁵¹ In this new approach, the appropriate attitude of right view (factor 1) informs one's intention (factor 2) conduct (factors 3 to 5), and meditative cultivation of the mind (factors 6 to 8), the whole becoming an eight-fold path.

With the eightfold path disclosed,⁵² it would be natural for the Buddha to base his teaching on what would have been common

source. Contrary to the view accepted by most orthodox Hindus, the origin of this shared system of healing is to be found among the ancient communities of heterodox wandering ascetics, or *śramaṇas*"; cf. also Wujastyk 1995: 20f.

⁵¹ [53] Cf. Anālayo 2012a: 35f.

⁵² [54] Given the narrative setting, it is only to be expected that the middle path comes first and that this path then later comes to be integrated in the full exposition of the four truths, *pace* Pande 1957: 227, who reasons that "the section on the Four Truths comes suddenly upon the preceding one, and in fact contains a second, more comprehensive, summary of the doctrine with the result that the eightfold path is needlessly repeated. This repetition shows that when §§ 4–5 were composed there was as yet no intention of speaking of the 'four

ground among ancient Indian recluse traditions, [29] namely the quest for a solution to the problem of *dukkha*.⁵³ When attempting to explain his discovery to his audience, it would have been logical for the Buddha to explain first of all his understanding of *dukkha* (first truth).

The first truth presents the five aggregates of clinging as a summary of the fact of *dukkha*,⁵⁴ which would make it clear that a translation of this term as "suffering" fails to convey adequately the range of meaning of *dukkha* in this context.⁵⁵ The five aggreg-

truths', for, if that had been the case, the sermon would most probably have begun with them and let the path come in its proper place." Instead, as Dessein 2007: 21 points out, "as the eight constituent parts of the noble path can all be seen as characteristic for a 'middle mode of progress', while this is not the case for the three other truths, it is not unlikely that the fourth truth was the first to be proclaimed by the Buddha" (although Dessein then adopts the in my view unconvincing hypothesis that the four truths as a set would be a later modification).

⁵³ [⁵⁵] Cf., e.g., the *Thāṇaṅga* 1.45, Jambūvijaya 1985: 9,2, according to which Mahāvīra's attainment of liberation implied that he had eradicated all *dukkha*. As Hamilton 1997: 279 points out, "in the religious milieu in which he lived in north India in the fifth century BCE the Buddha was not alone in such a quest."

⁵⁴ [⁵⁶] Those of the Chinese versions (translated in my two studies) that explain the first noble truth do consider the five aggregates of clinging as a summary of the preceding instances of *dukkha* (although the relevant passage in T 1450 at T XXIV 128b5 is abbreviated, the corresponding passage in Gnoli 1977: 137,24 makes it clear that the same holds also for the *Sanḅhabhedavastu*). These versions do not support the hypothesis by Vetter 1998, based on some variant readings in Pāli texts that add *pi* after the reference to the five aggregates of clinging, that the five aggregates of clinging are just considered to be an alternative instance of *dukkha*; cf. also Anālayo 2011c: 805 note 239.

⁵⁵ [⁵⁷] Gunaratna 1968/2008: 5f points out that "the popular rendering of *dukkha* as 'suffering' is not quite satisfactory since the word 'suffering' is likely to convey the idea of pain only ... the word *dukkha* must awaken in our minds not only thoughts of pain and distress, but also all those thoughts about the unsat-

gates of clinging are unsatisfactory, but they are not always suffering.⁵⁶ The fact that none of the five aggregates is capable of yielding lasting satisfaction can be understood through introspection, confirming that they are indeed *dukkha* in this sense. The translation "suffering", however, turns the quality of *dukkha* from something to be understood into something to be believed, since introspection properly carried out will reveal that the five aggregates are not always suffering. [30]

Much less are the five aggregates consistently "pain",⁵⁷ which in my view is an even worse translation of *dukkha*. Such a rendering is easily confused with pain as one of the three feelings. The five aggregates of clinging are *dukkha* only in the sense of being "unsatisfactory"; even when they result in an experience of pleasure and joy, this will not be able to provide lasting satisfaction because sooner or later any pleasure or joy is bound to succumb to the law of impermanence and thereby becomes a case of not getting what one wishes, one of the aspects of *dukkha* in the first noble truth.⁵⁸

isfactory and illusory nature of the things of this world ... [about] their failure to satisfy completely"; cf. also Anālayo 2003: 244f.

⁵⁶ [58] SN 22.60 at SN III 69,16 and its parallel SĀ 81 at T II 21a3 (translated with references to further parallels in Anālayo 2013f) agree in indicating that each aggregate is not entirely painful, but also productive of happiness, which is why living beings become attached to them. Passages such as these make it plainly evident, I think, that *dukkha* as a term to characterize all conditioned experiences needs to be translated in a way that clearly marks a difference from its use in reference to what are painful feelings or experiences.

⁵⁷ [59] The translation "pain" was used by Rhys Davids 1880/2000: 52 in his rendering of the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*, alternating with the translation "suffering". The arguments in favour of the translation "pain" by Harvey 2009: 213–216 seem to me unconvincing.

⁵⁸ Pandita 2015: 347f does not seem to appreciate fully the implications of impermanence as an aspect of *dukkha*. The problem of impermanence is change

Besides building on the commonly accepted fact of *dukkha*, the Buddha was about to teach to the five something "not heard before", according to a recurrent reference in the various versions. This conveys that he had discovered what was substantially different from contemporary religious doctrines and philosophies. Therefore, when communicating his discovery, he had to find new ways of expression that differed from the philosophies and doctrines proposed by his contemporaries. At the same time, however, his teaching had to rely to some degree on concepts and ideas already known in order to be understood. In other words, in teaching the middle way the Buddha himself had to follow a middle way in his use of concepts and expressions.

In such a situation the employment of a scheme presumably known to his audience as a form of medical diagnosis has its proper place. Independently of whether or not one accepts the traditional report that this teaching originated with the Buddha, the employment of such a scheme reflects a thoroughly pragmatic approach; it points directly to a psychological attitude towards *dukkha* and its solution.

In this way the use of a medical diagnosis scheme provides the appropriate frame for the essential teaching that the cause for the arising of *dukkha* is to be found within one's own mind, that one's own craving is responsible for *dukkha* (second truth).⁵⁹ Not only

against one's wish and beyond one's control. Thus impermanence is not just the type of change that raises the value of enjoyment by providing limitation (as per a quote he gives from Freud) and thus avoiding monotony, but much rather points to a fundamental predicament underlying the tendency to seek for pleasure in what is *dukkha*, in the sense of being incapable of providing lasting satisfaction, and *anattā*, in the sense of being outside of one's complete control.

⁵⁹ [60] According to Batchelor 2012: 95, however, the implication of the second noble truth described in the first discourse is that "craving is what arises from *dukkha*, rather than the other way round." His suggestion is based on identify-

the cause, but also the solution, the cessation of *dukkha*, can be found within one's own mind (third truth). [31] This makes it clear

ing the five aggregates mentioned in the first noble truth with links like consciousness and name-and-form, etc., which in the standard presentation of dependent arising, *paṭicca samuppāda*, lead to the arising of craving. His line of reasoning is based on considering only interim links in the standard formulation of *paṭicca samuppāda*, without taking into account the beginning and end points. According to the beginning point, the root cause for craving is ignorance. In the case of an arahant, then, consciousness and name-and-form, etc., are still *dukkha*, yet this does not lead to the arising of craving, precisely because of the absence of ignorance. According to the end point, craving leads via birth, old age, and disease (mentioned explicitly as instances of *dukkha* in the first noble truth) to "the arising of this whole mass of *dukkha*". There can be little doubt that the standard presentation of *paṭicca samuppāda* intends to show that ignorance leads via craving to *dukkha*, not that *dukkha* leads to craving. In support of his hypothesis, Batchelor 2012: 96 mentions Sn 862 to 874 as what he considers to be an "earlier version" of *paṭicca samuppāda*. Yet, Sn 862 to 874 does not explicitly mention either craving or *dukkha* as a general characteristic of existence (Sn 873 does use the term, but this reference is to a type of feeling mentioned alongside *sukha*, not to the general characteristic). Thus this discourse is of no direct relevance to the question of the relationship between craving and *dukkha*. A discourse that is of direct relevance to this question is SN 12.23 at SN II 31,34 (for a study and translation cf. Bodhi 1980), where *paṭicca samuppāda* is taken beyond the arising of *dukkha* in order to show what arises from *dukkha*. Instead of presenting *dukkha* as leading to the arising of craving, however, according to this discourse *dukkha* is the proximate cause for "faith" or "confidence", *saddhā*, which eventually leads to liberation; a presentation similarly found in its parallels MĀ 55 at T I 491a7: 習苦便有信 and D 4094 *ju* 50a6 or Q 5595 *tu* 54b4: *sduḡ bsnḡal gyi rgyu can gyi dad pa*; cf. also the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan 1967: 39,2: *duḡkhopaniṣac chraddhā*. Thus the conclusion by Batchelor 2012: 100 that "the problem with craving is not that it causes suffering (although obviously sometimes it does) but that it prevents one from entering the eightfold path" (which then leads him to the idea that "the ceasing of craving gives rise to the eightfold path", p. 101) is contrary to the position taken in the early Buddhist canonical discourses.

that the final goal is not something that takes place only after death, but instead is something that can be realized here and now.

Such realization here and now then requires the middle-path approach delineated in the eightfold path (fourth truth). Expressed in medical terms, the core teaching could be represented in this way:

disease:	<i>dukkha</i>
pathogen:	craving
health:	Nirvāṇa
cure:	eightfold path

The suggestion that the scheme of the four truths was inspired by popular medical diagnosis certainly does not diminish the value of the actual insight into them.⁶⁰ What is actually realized is the attainment of Nirvāṇa, the cessation of *dukkha*, and it is only in order to express this realization in a form comprehensible to others that the scheme of the four truths has its place. With the attainment of Nirvāṇa, *dukkha* is fully understood (as one knows what completely transcends *dukkha*),^[32] craving is eradicated, the cessation of *dukkha* is realized, and the cultivation of the eightfold path reaches its consummation.⁶¹

⁶⁰ [61] Halbfass 1991/1992: 245 reasons that "if the 'four noble truths' had, indeed, been borrowed from an earlier medical scheme, the intense sense of discovery, of a new and overwhelming insight, which the early Buddhists and apparently the Buddha himself attached to the 'four truths', would be hard to understand."

⁶¹ [62] Schmithausen 1981: 218 sees a contrast between "Liberating Insight as a comprehension of the four Noble Truths ... [and] a fundamentally different view according to which Liberating Insight is considered to be ... an anticipatory experience, or a comprehension based on such an experience, of Nirvāṇa". In reply, Stuart 2013: 25 argues that "the cessation model and the realization-of-the-truths model ... may very well have originally been positive and negative sides of the same coin." (His argument concerns the cessation of perception and feeling, but the same would hold also for the cessation of *dukkha*

In this way, the four noble truths as what according to tradition marks the beginning of the Buddha's teaching activities have the realization of Nirvāṇa as their foundation. Independent of whether one considers texts like the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* and its parallels to be descriptive or prescriptive, a meditative "experience", by way of the realization of the cessation of *dukkha* through the attainment of Nirvāṇa, clearly assumes a central role for the foundational teachings in early Buddhist thought.⁶² [33]

experienced with the attainment of Nirvāṇa in general). Stuart 2013: 44 adds that in spite of the apparent difference between a "state of cessation and a ... realization of the Four Noble Truths, the practice said to lead to these states may very well have originally been singular"; cf. also Anālayo 2017a.

⁶² [63] Cf., e.g. Gómez 1987a: 355, who explains that the Buddha's awakening "represents the human experience around which the religion would develop its practices and ideals. This was the experience whereby Śākyamuni became an 'Awakened One' (*buddha*). His disciples came to believe that all aspects of Buddhist doctrine and practice flow from this experience of awakening (*bodhi*)." Yet, according to Sharf 1995a: 246 and 259 "the Buddhist emphasis on 'inner experience' is in large part a product of modern and often lay-oriented reform movements", being "a product of twentieth-century reforms inspired in part by Occidental models." Here he uses the term 'experience' in a Western philosophical sense as something that entails phenomenal properties. Now the observation by Sharf 2000: 271 that this notion of "religious experience is a relatively late and distinctly Western invention" does not mean that religious experiences were not a central feature of early Buddhism before Western scholars began to describe them. In fact, it seems to me that an appreciation of the role of 'experience' in early Buddhist thought needs to approach the matter from the viewpoint of the concepts and ideas that are used within the Buddhist tradition, instead of imposing modern Western concepts. Here a central term would be *āyatana*, which stands for experience through any of the six senses (the five bodily senses and the mind considered as a sixth sense), for the meditative experience of the immaterial spheres during deep concentration, and for the experience of Nirvāṇa. As regards the last, SN 35.117 at SN IV 98,3 speaks of a "sphere of experience that should be known", *āyatane vedītabbe*, namely – and I wonder if this can be appreciated based on Western concepts of "ex-

In order to convey that this realization takes place as the culmination of a path of practice, the threefold turning has its place. Here the parallel versions employ different ways of presenting these three turnings. They either apply the three turnings to one truth after the other, or else they relate each turning to all four truths. Presented schematically, the basic grid looks as in table 2 (through which some versions work row by row, while others go through it column by column).⁶³

The Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda versions list all four truths and only then take up the three turnings. The Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, and Theravāda versions present the first truth in terms of the three turnings and then turn to the next truth, etc.

perience" – precisely the cessation of the six senses and their corresponding perceptions. According to the commentary Spk II 391,3, this description refers to Nirvāṇa. The parallel SĀ 211 at T II 53b12 similarly reads 入處當覺知, where 入處 corresponds to *āyatana*, and 當覺知 to "should be realized". Ud 8.1 at Ud 80,9, in a discourse explicitly introduced as being related to the topic of Nirvāṇa, emphatically asserts that "there is that sphere of experience", *atthi ... tad āyatanaṃ*. This is then followed by describing that therein the four elements representative of ordinary experience as well as the notions informing the immaterial spheres are absent; cf. also Uv 26.24f, Bernhard 1965: 329, and T 213 at T IV 791a9. Therefore I would contend that modern-day "*vipassanā*" traditions, with all their idiosyncrasies, can nevertheless be seen to stand in a continuum with early Buddhist thought in their quest for Nirvāṇa as a "sphere of experience that should be known"; cf. also Dhammadinnā 2014: 105f note 92 and for a critical reply to Sharf from the viewpoint of the Tibetan tradition Gyatso 1999. Sarbacker 2005: 41 points out that meditative experiences "are significant aspects of the religious lives of these practitioners and are not simply verbal constructions that can be explained away through recourse to notions of 'interpretation' and 'rhetoric'." Therefore (ibid. p. 49), "to argue that meditative methodologies are not meant to be put into practice or that they are simply textualized and ritualized is to draw significantly unwarranted conclusions."

⁶³ [⁶⁴] I am indebted to Rod Bucknell (email dated 27 April 2012) for drawing my attention to this pattern.

Table 2: The Three Turnings

<i>dukkha</i> :	its arising:	its cessation:	the path:
should be understood	should be eradicated	should be realized	should be cultivated
has been understood	has been eradicated	has been realized	has been cultivated

The second *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, however, just refers to the three turnings and the resulting twelve modes, without working through them in detail, so that it falls into neither of the two groups. Perhaps the second *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse here preserves an earlier presentation, when the three turnings and twelve modes were just mentioned, without being worked out in full,⁶⁴ similar in type to the brief reference to the five aggregates or the bare listing of the factors of the eightfold path in the previous part of the discourse. This need not imply that the idea of three turnings as such is late,^[34] but only that a full exposition of this idea may not have been part of the discourse from the outset.⁶⁵

Even though the full exposition given in most versions might be late, the fact that it is a formalized mode of presentation in

⁶⁴ [⁶⁵] Feer 1870: 431 comments that "tous les textes sont d'accord pour nous représenter l'évolution duodécimale comme partie intégrante, comme partie essentielle de la première prédication du Buddha", yet "je ne puis voir là une des formes primitives de l'enseignement." Schmithausen 1981: 203 suggests that "it is not likely that this rather sophisticated and schematic account of the Enlightenment of the Buddha is the original one."

⁶⁵ [⁶⁶] Such a full exposition would be a natural occurrence in orally transmitted texts and need not be motivated by any particular agenda, *pace* Bronkhorst 1993/2000: 106, who comments that it is "likely that these ... are later additions to the text", which he then considers to be "evidence that the Buddhists themselves did not feel comfortable about recognizing the Four Noble Truths as liberating insight" and therefore (if I understand him correctly) felt a need to elaborate on them.

itself is not necessarily a sign of lateness. Ong (1982/1996: 34f) explains that

[in an] oral culture, to solve effectively the problem of retaining and retrieving carefully articulated thought, you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped for ready oral recurrence ... in an oral culture, to think through something in non-formulaic, non-patterned, non-mnemonic terms ... would be a waste of time, for such thought, once worked through, could never be recovered with any effectiveness.

Thus formulaic presentations of the above type need not invariably be a sign of lateness, but could be a reflection of the oral setting in which these presentations came into existence.⁶⁶

The reference to the three turnings makes it clear that the scheme of four truths serves as a shorthand for what is, in actual practice, a more or less prolonged development. This begins with the recognition that something needs to be done about these four truths. The fact of *dukkha* needs to be fully understood, craving needs to be eradicated, the cessation of *dukkha* needs to be realized, and the eightfold path needs to be cultivated. This development continues until it eventually finds its culmination when *dukkha* has indeed been fully understood, craving has indeed been eradicated, the cessation of *dukkha* has indeed been realized, and the eightfold path has been successfully cultivated to its consummation point. Having completed this trajectory himself, and having enabled others to follow the same trajectory, the Buddha had, according to the traditional account, set in motion the wheel of Dharma.

⁶⁶ [67] Bateau 1963: 180, however, holds that "l'examen des Vérités selon les trois cycles et les douze aspects, par sa sécheresse et sa logique, sent déjà nettement l'Abhidharma."

Etadagga-vagga (AN 1.14.5)

Introduction

In this chapter, I translate and study the list of outstanding nuns found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This list of outstanding nuns is part of a survey of all four assemblies, which comprises monks, nuns, male lay followers and female lay followers. Each of these four assemblies is considered an integral and necessary part of a Buddhist community.¹

Overall, the number of outstanding disciples of each of the four assemblies listed in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is greater than the number in its *Aṅguttara-nikāya* counterpart. In the case of the nuns, the *Ekottarika-āgama* lists fifty-one outstanding nuns, whereas the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* has thirteen.²

The two listings have eleven nuns in common.³ [98] Another listing of eminent disciples in a discourse preserved individually in Chinese translation and a reference to such a listing in a frag-

* Originally published in 2014 under the title "Outstanding Bhikkhunīs in the Ekottarika-āgama" in *Women in Early Indian Buddhism: Comparative Textual Studies*, A. Collett (ed.), 97–115, New York: Oxford University Press.

¹ [2] On the four assemblies cf. also Anālayo 2010g: 65–72.

² [3] This difference has already been noted by Skilling 2000a: 55.

³ [4] The following two nuns are not mentioned in the *Ekottarika-āgama* list: the nun Nandā, who is reckoned foremost among those engaging in meditation (*jhāyīnaṃ*), AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,23, and the nun Sigālamātā (B^c: Siṅgālamātā), foremost among those of resolute "faith" or "confidence" (*saddhādhimuttānaṃ*), AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,31. Although the latter is absent from the *Ekottarika-āgama* list, a reference to Sigālakamātā (following the identification in Aka-numa 1930/1994: 614) appears in another list of eminent nuns, found in T 126 at T II 833c20, where she is reckoned outstanding for having gone forth out of faith or confidence, aspiring to (the attainment) of great realizations.

ment preserved in Uighur both speak of fifteen outstanding nuns, headed by Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī.⁴ In this way, although these two texts refer to slightly more outstanding nuns than are found in the Pāli, they do not come anywhere near the long listing given in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which is by far the longest of these lists of distinguished nuns.

The purpose of according pre-eminence to a particular nun, instances of which are also found in other texts, such as the *Avadānaśataka*,⁵ appears to be to arouse inspiration. The *Naḷakapāna-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* and a parallel found in the *Madhyama-āgama* explain why the Buddha would declare the level of rebirth of some disciples who had passed away. The two versions agree that the Buddha made such a declaration in order to inspire other disciples, a principle the texts apply to each of the four assemblies. In the case of nuns, the two versions describe how a nun might hear the Buddha announce that another nun, whom she may have personally met or else have heard about, passed away as an arahant. On hearing the Buddha's declaration, this nun might reflect on the qualities of the other nun, on her morality, her wisdom, etc., and thus be inspired to follow her example.⁶ The same holds in the case of hearing that a nun passed away as a non-returner, as a once-returner, or as a stream-enterer. In each case, another nun reflects on the qualities of the deceased nun and thereby gains the inspiration required to progress towards the same goal.

The same principle of inspiration occurs in other passages, in which the Buddha presents two of his disciples from each of the four assemblies as the models for other disciples to emulate. In

⁴ [5] T 126 at T II 833c8 and von Gabain 1954: 55.

⁵ [6] For a study of outstanding nuns in Mūlasarvāstivāda literature in general, including the *Avadānaśataka*, cf. Skilling 2001a.

⁶ [7] MN 68 at MN I 466,10 and MĀ 77 at T I 545c29.

the case of the nuns, according to two Pāli discourses and a Chinese parallel, a nun should aspire to be like Khemā or Uppalavaṇṇā.⁷ [99] A Sanskrit fragment counterpart to one of these Pāli discourses differs inasmuch as it presents Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and Utpalavarṇā as the models for other nuns.⁸ Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, Khemā, and Uppalavaṇṇā are also the first three nuns mentioned in the list of outstanding nuns in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and *Ekottarika-āgama*, a positioning that could reflect their eminence in the early Buddhist community.

The list of outstanding nuns in the *Ekottarika-āgama* falls into five sections. In what follows, I translate these separately, with a brief study following each section.⁹

Translation (1)

Chapter Five on Nuns in the *Ekottarika-āgama*¹⁰

⁷ [8] SN 17.24 at SN II 236,15, its parallel EĀ 9.2 at T II 562b21, and AN 2.12.2 at AN I 88,16. The *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 251,21, lists Kṣemā and Utpalavarṇā as the two chief female monastic disciples of the Buddha.

⁸ [9] Tripāthī 1995: 198 (28,Z2), parallel to AN 2.12.2.

⁹ The names of the nuns in the *Ekottarika-āgama* are at times difficult to reconstruct. This difficulty combines with the fact that proper names generally do not fare too well in orally transmitted texts, unless they refer to particularly well-known individuals. Hence the proper names in my translation below are at times just tentative reconstructions.

¹⁰ The translated text is EĀ 5.1 to 5.5 at T II 558c20 to 559c7, which was previously translated into French by Huyēn-Vi (1987). In my translation, I have at times followed what seem to be preferable readings found in a recapitulation of the list of eminent nuns in T 2040 at T L 12a13 to 12c5. In my notes I do not attempt to cover information provided in Pāli commentarial literature, or in the Pāli *Apadāna* collection. Information on nuns that includes Theravāda commentarial literature can be found s.v. in Malalasekera 1937/1995 and 1938/1998; for a translation of the commentary on the list of eminent nuns in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* cf. Bode 1893; a rendering of the commentary on the *Therīgāthā* can be found in Pruitt 1998/1999; cf. also Murcott 1991.

1)¹¹ Among my [ordained] disciples,¹² the foremost of those nuns who have gone forth to train for a long time and are thus respected by the king of the country is the nun called Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī; [100]

2) ... of those who are wise and intelligent is the nun called Khemā;¹³

3) ... of those who excel in supernormal powers, being able to summon divine beings, is the nun called Uppalavaṇṇā;

4) ... of those who undertake ascetic practices, the eleven restraints, is the nun called Kisāgotamī;

¹¹ [¹²] For ease of cross-reference, in my translation I have introduced a number for each nun, which is not found in the original. Here and below, I list the bases for my identifications of the names of the nuns in order of reliability, beginning with the fairly certain identifications given in the 佛光 edition of the *Madhyama-āgama*. In the case of the names of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī (1), Khemā (2), Uppalavaṇṇā (3), Kisāgotamī (4), Sakulā (5), Sāmā (6), Paṭācārā (8), and [Bhaddā] Kaccānā (9) I follow the indications given in the 佛光 edition (for (9) Huyên-Vi 1987: 47 instead suggests Kātyāyanī, cf. also note 29 below); for Vijayā (10) I follow Huyên-Vi 1987: 47 (here and elsewhere, I replace Huyên-Vi's Sanskrit reconstructions with Pāli proper names). In the case of Padumarañjanā (7), the first two characters of 波頭蘭闍那 are the standard rendering of *padu*^o in *paduma*, whereas the following three characters could be rendering a term like *rañjana*. Here and elsewhere, my reconstructions are at times conjectural and do not imply certainty about the underlying Indic name nor even that such a name is attested elsewhere.

¹² [¹¹] The translators of the lists in the *Ekottarika-āgama* introduce foremost monks and nuns in one way and foremost lay disciples in another. In the case of monastics, the term used is 聲聞, whereas the expression employed for laity is 弟子; both terms can be translated as "disciple". In order to reflect the distinction apparently made by using two different terms, I add "[ordained]" to the term "disciple" in the present case, intending this to stand in contrast to the phrase "[lay] disciple" used in the subsequent part of the listing of eminent disciples, which is, however, no longer part of the extracts translated here.

¹³ Here and below, the abbreviations are found in the original.

- 5) ... of those [possessing] the divine eye, [559a] having supremely unobstructed vision, is the nun called Sakulā;
- 6) ... of those who, sitting in meditation, enter concentration with a mind that is not scattered, is the nun called Sāmā;
- 7) ... of those who analyze the meaning and widely teach the development of the path, is the nun called Padumarañjanā;
- 8) ... of those who respectfully uphold the disciplinary rules without infraction is the nun called Paṭācārā;
- 9) ... of those who have irreversibly attained liberation by faith (*saddhā*) is the nun called [Bhaddā] Kaccānā;
- 10) ... of those who have attained the four analytical knowledges, being without timidity in the heart, is the nun called Vijayā.¹⁴ [101]

Study (1)

The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* list of outstanding nuns agrees with the *Ekottarika-āgama* version that Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī (1) was foremost for being of long standing, although without mentioning that she was respected by the king.¹⁵ The reference to the longevity of her discipleship is reminiscent of the well-known story of how she requested permission from the Buddha for women to go forth and then eventually came to be the first nun. In other words, behind her eminence in this respect stands not only the regard traditionally afforded in Buddhist monastic circles to those who have been ordained for a long time, but also her role in having

¹⁴ Here and below, the names of the nuns are repeated, at times in an abbreviated fashion, at the end of each part in a summary verse (*uddāna*), which I have not translated.

¹⁵ AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,18: *rattaññūnaṃ*. T 126 at T II 833c10 indicates that she had gone forth long ago from a royal clan, without mentioning that she was respected by the king. A detailed study of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī can be found in Dash 2008; for the stanzas attributed to her cf. Thī 157–162.

requested that the Buddha start an order of nuns in the first place.¹⁶

The two listings agree that Khemā (2) was foremost in wisdom.¹⁷ Her fame for being wise is also recorded in another Pāli discourse, in which she replies to the questions posed by a king regarding the destiny of a fully awakened one, a *tathāgata*.¹⁸ The eminence of Uppalavaṇṇā (3) in regard to supernormal powers is another point of agreement between the two traditions.¹⁹ A famous tale related to her supernormal abilities describes how she transformed herself into a wheel-turning king in order to move easily to the front of a large crowd and receive the Buddha, who was returning from a long sojourn in heaven.²⁰ [102] This tale

¹⁶ A comparative study of the different canonical accounts of this event can be found in Anālayo 2011f and 2016b. A critical review of the suggestion by Williams 2000: 170 that Buddhist nuns were in existence before Mahāpajāpati Gotamī went forth, which would imply that she could not be reckoned foremost in being of long standing, can be found in Anālayo 2008c: 108–110.

¹⁷ AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,19 indicates that Khemā was foremost among those who were of great wisdom, *mahāpaññānaṃ*, a rank similarly accorded to her in the *Avadānaśataka*, Speyer 1909/1970: 50,9, which additionally mentions her eloquence; a reference already noted in Skilling 2001a: 143.

¹⁸ In the introductory narration, SN 44.1 at SN IV 374,24 reports that she was famous for her wisdom and eloquence; for a study of Khemā cf. Krey 2010.

¹⁹ AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,20: *iddhimantānaṃ* (B^o and C^e: *iddhimanīnaṃ*); stanzas attributed to her can be found in Thī 224–235, her being challenged by Māra is reported in SN 5.5 at SN I 131,26, SĀ 1201 at T II 326c26, and SĀ² 217 at T II 454b20. On Utpalavarṇā in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition cf. Silk 2008/2009: 137–163.

²⁰ This tale can be found in the same *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, EĀ 36.5 at T II 707c4, and in its commentary T 1507 at T XXV 37c29; cf. also, e.g., the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 401,24, or SĀ 604 at T II 169c25; for further references cf. Lamotte 1949/1981: 634 note 1. Bapat 1950: 42 in note 10 to his translation of a version of this tale in the Chinese counterpart to the commentary on the *Aṭṭhakavagga*, T 198 at T IV 185c9, notes that in Thī 229

probably should be read in the light of the belief that women by nature cannot fulfil the position of a wheel-turning king.²¹

The list of eminent nuns in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* presents Kisāgotamī (4) as foremost for wearing coarse robes,²² whereas according to the *Ekottarika-āgama* she was outstanding in respect of ascetic practices in general, specified as comprising eleven types of restraints.²³ Such ascetic practices could involve wearing only rag robes, begging for food, living at the root of a tree, in a cemetery or in an open place, etc., or not lying down to sleep, but maintaining the sitting posture instead.²⁴

The two versions agree that Sakulā (5) was foremost among those possessing the divine eye,²⁵ to which the *Ekottarika-āgama* adds that she was supreme in unobstructed vision. [103] The divine

Uppalavaṇṇā proclaims to have created a four-horsed chariot magically and paid homage at the Buddha's feet. It is possible that this stanza could reflect a similar narrative (cf. also Young 2004: 194), although Dh-p-a III 211,21 (cf. also Mp I 356,13) only reports that at an earlier moment in the narrative she volunteered to transform herself into a wheel-turning king, which the Buddha declined.

²¹ Cf. Strong 2010: 974; for a study of this stipulation cf. Anālayo 2009a. The **Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 137a13, in fact indicates that she transformed herself into a wheel-turning king "wishing to get rid of the bad reputation of women", 欲除女名之惡 (my translation differs from Lamotte 1949/1981: 636: "pour dissimuler son sexe mal famé"), which could be read as a challenge to the notion that women are unable to be wheel-turning kings.

²² AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,30: *lūkaçīvaradharānaṃ*; she is the twelfth in the list of nuns. Stanzas attributed to her can be found in Thī 213–223; she is challenged by Māra in SN 5.3 at SN I 130,9, SĀ 1200 at T II 326b29, and SĀ² 216 at T II 454a27.

²³ On eleven or twelve ascetic practices in T 125 cf. above p. 95 note 19.

²⁴ AN 5.182–186 at AN III 219,25; for the last type of ascetic practice a parallel can be found in SHT III 820 bB3, Waldschmidt et al. 1971: 37.

²⁵ AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,25: *dibbacakkhukānaṃ* (B^e gives her name as Bakulā); she is the eighth nun in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* list. Stanzas attributed to her can be found in Thī 97–101, where stanza Thī 100 explicitly indicates that she had well developed, *sādhu bhāvitam*, this clairvoyant ability.

eye stands for the ability, gained after mastery of the four absorptions, to see the passing away and rebirth of other living beings in accordance with their former deeds. This is one out of three higher knowledges that, according to the canonical texts, the Buddha attained during the night of his awakening.²⁶

A nun by the name of Sāmā (6) is not mentioned in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* list, although the same name is known from the *Therī-gāthā*.²⁷

The *Āṅguttara-nikāya* describes Paṭācārā (8), whom it presents as the fourth nun in its list, as foremost among those who uphold the discipline.²⁸ This appears to have the sense of remembering the code of discipline, whereas in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version her eminence lies in upholding the disciplinary rules without infraction; that is, in scrupulously observing them.

In the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* list Bhaddā Kaccānā (9) is reckoned outstanding for having attained great supernormal knowledges,²⁹ whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* list highlights that she has attained liberation by "faith" or "confidence" (*saddhā*). I will return to her eminence in this respect, reflected in another *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, in a subsequent chapter.³⁰

²⁶ Cf., e.g., MN 36 at MN I 248,19 and EĀ 31.8 at T II 672a6.

²⁷ Two different nuns by the name of Sāmā are mentioned as the authors of Thī 37–38 and Thī 39–41.

²⁸ AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,21: *vinayadharānam*; stanzas attributed to her can be found in Thī 112–116. She is also frequently mentioned in stanzas by other nuns; cf., e.g., Thī 119, Thī 125, and Thī 178.

²⁹ AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,29: *mahābhiññappattānam*; she is the eleventh of the nuns in the list. Notably, AN 1.14.7 at AN I 26,24 lists the lay woman Kātīyānī as foremost among female lay disciples for her "faith" or "confidence", thus corresponding to the alternative rendering suggested by Huyên-Vi 1987: 47 for the present case; cf. note 11 above.

³⁰ Cf. p. 396. AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,31 reckons Sigālamātā as foremost in liberation by "faith" or "confidence"; cf. above note 3.

The supernormal knowledges are six abilities based on mastery of the four absorptions, comprising supernormal powers (levitation etc.), the divine ear (hearing sounds at a great distance), telepathic knowledge of the minds of others, recollection of one's own past lives, the divine eye, and the destruction of the influxes (*āsava*). Liberation by faith or confidence usually designates trainees who by dint of their realization possess unshakeable confidence in the Buddha.³¹ [104]

A nun by the name of Vijayā (10) is not found in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* list of outstanding nuns, although a nun by this name occurs elsewhere in the Pāli canon.³² Her eminence in regard to the four analytical knowledges refers to a particular type of knowledge, *paṭisambhidā*, which implies the ability to know the meaning or sense of things and the principle or dharma that underlies them, as well as knowing the (proper use of) language, and having (ability in) eloquence in regard to these.³³

Translation (2)

11) Among my [ordained] disciples, the foremost of those nuns who recollect their own past lives for innumerable aeons is the nun called Bhaddā Kāpilānī,³⁴

³¹ MN 70 at MN I 478,32 and MĀ 195 at T I 751c23.

³² A nun by the name of Vijayā occurs in SN 5.4 at SN I 130,26 and its parallels SĀ 1204 at T II 327c17 and SĀ² 220 at T II 455b3; stanzas attributed to Vijayā can be found at Thī 169–174.

³³ AN 4.173 at AN II 160,21 reports Sāriputta's attainment of the four *paṭisambhidās*. AN 5.86 at AN III 113,12 notes that other monks will highly esteem a monk who possesses five qualities, four of which are the *paṭisambhidās*, and AN 5.95 at AN III 120,1 specifies that a monk will quickly attain the highest if he is endowed with five qualities, which again include the four *paṭisambhidās*. These passages reflect the high regard in which the four *paṭisambhidās* were held.

³⁴ In this second part, EĀ 5.2, for Bhaddā Kāpilānī (11), Soṇā (13), Dhammadinnā (14), Jentī (17), and Dantikā (18) I follow the indications given in the 佛光

12) ... of those who are of upright countenance and thus respected and liked by the people is the nun called Himajātā;

13) ... of those who overcome heterodox practitioners and establish them in the right teaching is the nun called Soṇā;

14) ... of those who analyze the meaning and widely discourse on divisions and parts [of the Dharma] is the nun called Dhammadinnā;

15) ... of those who are not ashamed of wearing rough robes is the nun called Uttarā; [105]

16) ... of those who have calm senses and are always with a unified mind is the nun called Pabhā;

17) ... of those who wear the robes in an orderly manner, always according to the instructions of the Dharma, is the nun called Jentī;

18) ... of those who are able to discuss in various ways without doubt or hesitation is the nun called Danti[kā];

19) ... of those who compose stanzas in praise of the virtues of the Tathāgata is the nun called Devadinnā;

20) ... of those who are widely learned and in their kindness reach out even to the most inferior is the nun called Gopī.³⁵

edition, and for Uttarā (15) and Pabhā (16) I follow Huyēn-Vi 1987: 48, who differs from the above in suggesting Sūrā for (13) and Dattā for (18). In the case of (12), 醯摩闍, I follow an indication given in T 2130 at T LIV 1001c5 that this name translates the terms "snow" and "birth", 雪生. The rendering 天與 employed for (19) could stand for Devadinnā (or else Devadattā). Judging from Akanuma 1930/1994: 214, 瞿卑 for (20) could refer to Gopī or Gopikā, a name found in a list of Buddhist disciples in Mvy no. 1071, Sakaki 1926: 82, although written 瞿夷; for other renderings of Gopī cf. also Peri 1918: 9 note 2. On Bhaddā Kāpilānī cf. also below p. 398ff and on Soṇā p. 359ff.

³⁵ Adopting the variant 恩惠 instead of 恩慧.

Study (2)

The register of outstanding nuns in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* agrees with its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel that Bhaddā Kāpilānī (11) was foremost among those who recollect past lives, an ability of her that comes to the fore in another *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse translated and studied below.³⁶

As mentioned above, recollection of one's own past lives is a supernormal knowledge whose acquisition requires having cultivated the four absorptions. Similar to the divine eye, this is also one of the three higher knowledges that the Buddha attained on the night of his awakening.

The two sources differ in regard to Soṇā (13). The Pāli version records her as foremost among those who are energetic,³⁷ whereas the Chinese list speaks of her overcoming heterodox practitioners and establishing them in the right teaching. I will come back in the next chapter but one to her ability in this respect.

In the case of Dhammadinnā (14), the two versions agree in mentioning her capability as a teacher.³⁸ Her ability in this respect is documented in another discourse, found in the *Majjhima-nikāya* with parallels in the *Madhyama-āgama* and a discourse quotation in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikāṭīkā*, [106] in which she replies to a

³⁶ Cf. below p. 398ff. AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,27: *pubbenivāsaṃ anussarantīnaṃ* (B^o and C^e give her name as Bhaddākāpilānī), mentioned in the tenth position in the list; stanzas attributed to her can be found in Thī 63–66, of which stanza 65 explicitly reports her attainment of the three higher knowledges (and thus implicitly of recollection of past lives); cf. also below p. 409 note 81.

³⁷ AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,24: *āraddhavīriyānaṃ* (B^o: *āraddhavīriyānaṃ*), where she occurs as seventh in the list; stanzas attributed to her are found in Thī 102–106.

³⁸ AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,22 qualifies Dhammadinnā as foremost among speakers on the Dharma, *dhammakathikānaṃ*; she is the fifth nun in the Pāli list. T 126 at T II 833c17 similarly highlights her ability to well expound the sublime Dharma. A stanza attributed to her can be found in Thī 12.

series of questions regarding profound aspects of the Dharma. Being informed about her exposition, in all of the three versions the Buddha declared that he would have explained the matter in just the same way himself.³⁹

The remaining nuns in this part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* list of outstanding nuns are not mentioned in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* version. Nuns by the name of Uttarā (15), Jentī (17), and Dantikā (18) are, however, known as authors of stanzas in the *Therī-gāthā*.⁴⁰

Regarding the qualities of the nuns mentioned in this second part, the reference to the calm senses possessed by Pabhā (16) reflects the importance of sense-restraint as a basis for the gaining of deeper levels of concentration, a recurrent theme in the standard descriptions of the gradual path to liberation. Jentī's wearing of the robes in an orderly manner expresses a quality esteemed in monastics, as their dignified conduct serves as an inspiration to those who happen to meet them.⁴¹

Praising the qualities of the Buddha (19) and thereby giving poetic expression to the regard the disciples would have felt for their teacher is another quality highly valued in the discourses.

³⁹ MN 44 at MN I 304,34, MĀ 210 at T I 790a29, and D 4094 *ju* 11a4 or Q 5595 *tu* 12a8. On Dhammadinnā cf. also Foley 1894, Krey 2010, Anālayo 2011b, and Yao 2015.

⁴⁰ Uttarā is mentioned as the author(s) of Thī 15 and Thī 175–181, a nun by the name of Jentī is given as the author of Thī 21–22 (B^o and C^e: Jentā, S^e: Jantā), and a nun by the name of Dantikā as the author of Thī 48–50.

⁴¹ According to AN 8.10 at AN IV 169,6 and its parallel MĀ 122 at T I 611b4, a genuine monk is expected to wear his robes well, so much so that evil monks will imitate such behaviour in order not to be detected. The expression used to describe Jentī's way of wearing robes recurs in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* as part of a description of another nun whose awe-inspiring behaviour aroused joyful inspiration in the mind of an onlooker; cf. T 1428 at T XXII 768b12.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* list of outstanding monks reckons the illustrious poet Vaṅḡsa as foremost in this respect.⁴² [107]

Translation (3)

21) Among my [ordained] disciples, the foremost of those nuns who are always in secluded quiet places, instead of living among people, is the nun called Abhayā;⁴³

22) ... of those who beg for alms [even when] physically ill, without choosing between rich and poor [donors], is the nun called Visākhā;

23) ... of those who sit alone in a single place, without moving at all, is the nun called Bhaddapālā;

24) ... of those who wander everywhere, begging [for alms] among a range of people, is the nun called Manoharī;

⁴² EĀ 4.3 at T II 557b22. AN 1.14.2 at AN I 24,21 reckons him foremost among those of impromptu delivery. A collection of his poems can be found in the *Vaṅḡsasamyutta*, SN 8.1–12 at SN I 185,1, with counterparts in SĀ 1208–1219 at T II 329a23 and SĀ² 224–230, SĀ² 250, and SĀ² 252–253 at T II 456b24; cf. also Th 1209–1279. A long series of verses praising the Buddha, spoken by the freshly converted lay disciple Upāli in front of his former teacher, the leader of the Jains, can be found in MN 56 at MN I 386,3, with a Sanskrit parallel in Waldschmidt 1979 and a Chinese parallel in MĀ 133 at T I 632b6; cf. also von Hinüber 1982.

⁴³ In this third part, EĀ 5.3, for Abhayā (21), Visākhā (22), and Anopamā (31) I follow the indications given in the 佛光 edition; for Bhaddapālā (23), Damā (25), and Sudamā (26) I follow Huyĕn-Vi 1987: 49. In the case of 摩怒呵利 (24), 優迦羅 (29), and 離那 (30), it seems possible that the respective names could have been Manoharī, Upacālā, and Vinā. My rendering of 瑠須那 (27) follows an alternative spelling of her name found in T 2040 at T L 12b10 as 瑠那. In the case of 奢陀 (28), according to Soothill and Hodous 1937/2000: 370 the character couplet renders *śāṭhya*, corresponding to *saṭha* in Pāli. Since this results in a rather improbable name, I have not ventured to attempt a reconstruction and just give the *pīnyīn*.

25) ... of those who quickly accomplish the fruits of the path, without in the course of that [encountering any] obstruction, is the nun called Damā;

26) ... of those who keep to the three [main] robes, never being separate from them, is the nun called Sudamā;

27) ... of those who always sit at the root of a tree with an unmoving mind is the nun called Līnā; ^[559b]

28) ... of those who always live out in the open, without caring for a cover, is the nun called Shētuó;

29) ... of those who delight in empty and secluded places, not in being among people, is the nun called Upacālā;

30) ... of those who continually sit on a grass mat, without [even] putting a cloth on it, is the nun called Vinā;

31) ... of those who wear rag robes and go to beg [for alms from houses] in the proper order is the nun called Anopamā.⁴⁴

Study (3)

None of the nuns in this third part appear in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* list of outstanding nuns, although nuns by the name of Abhayā (21), ^[108] Visākhā (22), Upacālā (29), and Anopamā (31) have verses attributed to them in the *Therīgāthā*.⁴⁵

Several of the qualities of the nuns in this section are related to a secluded living style and ascetic conduct, following the ideal of the monastic life depicted in the early discourses. Abhayā (21) stands out for keeping away from contact with people and living in seclusion, which according to the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its

⁴⁴ Adopting the variant 分衛 instead of 分越.

⁴⁵ A nun by the name of Abhayā is mentioned as the author of Thī 35–36, a nun by the name of Visākhā as the author of Thī 13, a nun by the name of Upacālā as the author of Thī 189–195, and a nun by the name of Anopamā as the author of Thī 151–156. Upacālā also occurs in SN 5.7 at SN I 133,6 and its parallels SĀ 1206 at T II 328b17 and SĀ² 222 at T II 455c24.

Chinese and Tibetan parallels is an important requirement for being able to develop deeper levels of concentration and attain liberation.⁴⁶ Most of the other qualities are self-explanatory.

Keeping to only three robes (26), living out in the open (28), and wearing rag robes (31) are reckoned among the ascetic practices. The notion of not being separate from one's robes (26) relates to a *Vinaya* regulation, according to which a fully ordained monastic should not be apart from his or her set of robes at dawn.⁴⁷ Begging for food in order (31) refers to the practice of begging at each house in turn on the road one has taken,⁴⁸ not leaving out

⁴⁶ MN 122 at MN III 110,16, MĀ 191 at T I 738a19, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994: 194,12.

⁴⁷ The corresponding rule can be found in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 727c7, translated in Heirman 2002: 441, and T 1431 at T XXII 1033c4, as well as in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 83a21 and T 1423 at T XXII 208c2, and in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1443 at T XXIII 944b4 and T 1455 at T XXIV 510c10. In the case of the Mahāsāṅghika and Sarvāstivāda *Vinayas*, the *vibhaṅgas* for nuns do not give the corresponding rule in full, as the text should be supplied from the same regulation as for monks; cf. the survey in Hirakawa 1982: 194 note 4. Thus the Sanskrit manuscript of the Lokottaravāda Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* for nuns in Roth 1970: 165,2, translated in Nolot 1991: 159, gives only an abbreviated reference; cf. also the Chinese version, T 1425 at T XXII 524b8. The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 313b5, begins its section on this particular type of rules with an explanation by the translator (cf. Waldschmidt 1926: 104) that the rules also observed by monks are not given explicitly. In the case of these two *Vinayas*, however, a translation of the code of rules for nuns is extant in Chinese, which gives the rule in full; cf. T 1427 at T XXII 558b22 and T 1437 at T XXIII 481c3. In the case of the Theravāda *Vinaya*, according to the explanation given in Sp IV 919,10 (cf. Hüsken 1997b: 135 note 108), the text should be supplemented from the corresponding rules for monks, which in this particular case can be found in Vin III 198,22. For a translation of the different code of rules for nuns cf. Kabilsingh 1998, with a comparative study in Kabilsingh 1984.

⁴⁸ Cf., e.g., the reference to *sapadānacārī* in Sn 65, where this practice is combined with not being greedy for flavours and not being mentally bound to families.

any dwelling in anticipation that one might not receive food or might be given only low-quality alms. [109]

Translation (4)

32) Among my [ordained] disciples, the foremost of those nuns who delight in [staying] in abandoned cemeteries is the nun called Uttamā;⁴⁹

33) ... of those who dwell much in *mettā*, thinking of [all] forms of life with empathy (*anukampā*), is the nun called Candā;

34) ... of those who have compassion for living beings who have not yet reached the path is the nun called Somā;

35) ... of those who delight in the attainment of the path with the aspiration to reach it wholly is the nun called Mātālī;

36) ... of those who are restrained in all activities and whose mind does not stray far away is the nun called Kālakā;

37) ... of those who keep to emptiness and hold on to vacuity, understanding that there is nothing [substantial in the world], is the nun called Devasu[tā];

38) ... of those whose heart delights in ⟨sign⟩lessness and in discarding all attachments is the nun called Suriyapabhā;⁵⁰

⁴⁹ In this fourth part, EĀ 5.4, for Somā (34), Kālakā (36), Devasu[tā] (37), Suriyapabhā (38), Manāpā (39), Vimadā (40), and Samantapabhāsā (41) I follow Huyĕn-Vi 1987: 50. In the case of 優迦摩 (32), the characters employed suggest Uttamā, or perhaps rather Upamā, although the latter does not appear to be the name of a nun known elsewhere. My rendering of 清明 (33) as Candā is based on the Sanskrit equivalent given in Hirakawa 1997: 728. My rendering of 摩陀利 (35) as Mātālī is based on the fact that according to T 2130 at T LIV 1001c18 摩陀利 stands for the name of a charioteer, which then brings to mind the charioteer of Sakka by the name of Mātālī.

⁵⁰ [49] My translation is based on emending the original 無想, which is frequently confused with 無相 in Chinese translations; for a survey of examples cf. Anālayo 2011c: 274 note 54. On signlessness cf. the study by Harvey 1986.

39) ... of those who cultivate wishlessness, with their mind always [willing] to help [others] widely, is the nun called Ma-nāpā;

40) ... of those who are free from doubt in regard to all teachings and who deliver people without limits is the nun called Vimadā;

41) ... of those who are able to explain widely and analyze the meaning of profound teachings is the nun called Samanta-pabhāsā.

Study (4)

The nuns in this fourth part do not recur in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* list of outstanding nuns. However, nuns by the name of Uttamā (32), Candā (33), and Somā (34) are mentioned as authors of stanzas in the *Therīgāthā*,⁵¹ [110] and Somā also features in a discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and its Chinese parallels.⁵²

The present section begins with a nun outstanding for dwelling in cemeteries (32), one of the ascetic practices. The references to emptiness (37), signlessness (38), and wishlessness (39) correspond to three ways of concentrating the mind so as to reach the deathless.⁵³ According to a discourse in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, a meditator will experience these three types of contact on emerging from the cessation of perception and feeling, a particularly profound meditative attainment, although the parallel versions to

⁵¹ [50] Two different nuns by the name of Uttamā are given as the authors of Thī 42–44 and 45–47 respectively; stanzas attributed to Candā can be found in Thī 122–126, and stanzas attributed to Somā in Thī 60–62.

⁵² [51] SN 5.2 at SN I 129,14 and its parallels SĀ 1199 at T II 326a28 and SĀ² 215 at T II 454a5 report Somā being challenged by Māra. The *Avadānaśataka* reckons Somā to be outstanding in learnedness, Speyer 1909/1970: 22,4; for a study of Somā cf. Collett 2009b.

⁵³ [52] SN 43.4 at SN IV 360,13.

this *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse instead mention another three types of contact to be experienced on emerging from the attainment of cessation.⁵⁴

Translation (5)

42) Among my [ordained] disciples, the foremost of those nuns who cherish patience in their heart, being just like the earth, which tolerates [anything], is the nun called Dhammadhī;⁵⁵

43) ... of those who are able to teach and transform people, inducing them to make gifts to the monastic community of utensils, beds and seats is the nun called Suyamā;⁵⁶

⁵⁴ [53] MN 44 at MN I 302,22; the parallel versions MĀ 211 at T I 792a19 and D 4094 *ju* 9a6 or Q 5595 *tu* 10a8 list instead imperturbable contact, nothingness contact, and signless contact; on the attainment of cessation cf. the study by Griffiths 1986/1991.

⁵⁵ In this fifth part, EĀ 5.5, for Sukkā (50) and Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā (51) I follow the indications given in the 佛光 edition (disregarding the reference to a "country" that follows the name of 51); for Dhammadhī (42), Suyamā (43), Indajā (44), Nāgī (45), Vasu (47), and Candī (48) I follow Huyên-Vi 1987: 50f. My rendering of 拘那羅 (46) as Kuṇālā is based on the indication in Akanuma 1930/1994: 328 that the same Chinese characters can render the male Kuṇālā. My rendering of 遮波羅 (49) is based on the equivalent given in Hirakawa 1997: 1166.

⁵⁶ [54] My rendering follows T 2040 at T L 12b26. The passage in the *Ekottarika-āgama* mentions Suyamā twice, first as foremost for her ability to teach and transform people, inducing them to make gifts to the monastic community, and then a second time as foremost among those who prepare beds and seats. As this double reference stands in contrast to the pattern observed throughout and the preparation of beds and seats also does not seem to fit the context too well, it seems safe to assume that the *Ekottarika-āgama* presentation has been affected by some textual error, either during transmission or else at the time of translation. Even if the point had been to present two nuns by the same name of Suyamā, one would still expect the exposition to follow the pattern observed throughout in the list.

- 44) ... of those who have a mind that is always calm and does not generate agitated perceptions is the nun called Indajā;
- 45) ... of those who never tire of contemplating the Dharma with understanding is the nun called Nāgī;
- 46) ... of those who have a strong and courageous mind and are not polluted by attachment is the nun called Kuṇḍālā;
- 47) ... of those who enter concentration on water, turning everything into moisture, is the nun called Vasu; [111]
- 48) ... of those who enter concentration on fire, fully illuminating anything, [559c] is the nun called Candī;⁵⁷
- 49) ... of those who contemplate impurity and analyze dependent arising is the nun called Cāpā;
- 50) ... of those who support people, giving them what is lacking, is the nun called Sukkā;
- 51) Among my [ordained] disciples who attain final realization, the foremost of those nuns is the nun called Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā.⁵⁸

Study (5)

Of the nuns mentioned in this final part, the nuns Cāpā (49) and Sukkā (50) are recorded as authors of stanzas in the *Therī-gāthā*; the nun Sukkā is also mentioned elsewhere in the Pāli discourses.⁵⁹

The last of the nuns in this section is the only one that is also found in the list of outstanding nuns in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*. Ac-

⁵⁷ [55] My rendering follows T 2040 at T L 12c2.

⁵⁸ [56] My rendering of her quality follows T 2040 at T L 12c5; the passage in the *Ekottarika-āgama* appears to have suffered from a textual loss.

⁵⁹ [57] Cāpā is mentioned as the author of Thī 291–311 and Sukkā as the author of Thī 54–56. A nun by the name of Sukkā occurs in SN 10.9 at SN I 212,21 and again in SN 10.10 at SN I 213,1, with a parallel in SĀ 1327 at T II 365a25 and in SĀ² 327 at T II 483b27; cf. also Roth 1970: 111,2.

according to its presentation, Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā (51) was foremost among nuns who are of quick realization.⁶⁰

The illustration of the patience of Dhammadhī (42) as comparable to the earth parallels an image used in another discourse, where the chief disciple Sāriputta is wrongly accused of an offence by another monk. In reply, he proclaims that his mind is free from any resentment, being humble and patient like the earth, which does not react even when various impure substances are thrown on it, such as excrement, urine, spittle, etc.⁶¹ [112]

Concentration on water (47) and on fire (48) refer to *kaṣiṇa* meditation. The original meaning of the term *kaṣiṇa* is the meditative experience of a "totality", although in the course of time the expression came to connote the devices employed for developing a perception of totality.⁶² The basic principle employed in such forms of meditation is that a particular object – which could be a colour or an element like earth, water, fire, etc. – is made the sole recipient of one's attention until the mind becomes totally immersed in this object to the exclusion of anything else. Concentration developed in this way is held to yield some degree of mastery over the respective element.

Contemplation of impurity is one of the exercises given in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* and its parallels for the development of mind-

⁶⁰ [58] AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,25: *khippābhiññānam*; she is the ninth nun in the list. A nun by the name Bhaddā who is outstanding for quick realization is also mentioned in T 126 at T II 833c23. Stanzas attributed to Bhaddā, the former Jain, can be found in Thī 107–111.

⁶¹ [59] AN 9.11 at AN IV 374,25 and MĀ 24 at T I 453a18.

⁶² [60] In fact one item in lists of *kaṣiṇas* is the consciousness-*kaṣiṇa*, cf., e.g., AN 10.26 at AN V 47,16 and its parallels MĀ 215 at T I 800b7 and SĀ 549 at T II 143a25, an experience of totality corresponding to the second of the four immaterial attainments. This is not easily related to the employment of a physical device; cf. also Anālayo 2009g and 2015a: 32.

fulness of the body.⁶³ The undertaking of such contemplation requires reviewing the anatomical constitution of the body in terms of its hair, nails, teeth, etc. The purpose of this exercise is to act as an antidote to conceit and to sensual desire.

Conclusion

Looking back on this survey of outstanding nuns, the acknowledgement that Mahāpajāpati Gotamī (1) is considered outstanding in regard to having gone forth for a long time implies that she was foremost among several nuns that were of long standing. The same principle holds throughout the listing.

This implies that each of the nuns in the above listing should not be considered an exceptional case, where a single nun has a particular quality or ability. Rather, a nun can only be declared foremost in some respect if at the same time there were other nuns who had similar qualities or engaged in comparable conduct. Viewed from this perspective, then, the listing of outstanding nuns is a survey of qualities and modes of behaviour that were held to be to some degree common among a number of the early Buddhist nuns.

The net result of applying this perspective gives a rather impressive survey of the broad variety of areas in which nuns are shown to have engaged. These can conveniently be organized under the three headings of morality, concentration, and wisdom, a basic scaffolding of central importance in early Buddhism.⁶⁴ [113] In addition to these three, a fourth category that emerges from the list of outstanding nuns is activity for the benefit of others. Although from an early Buddhist perspective developing morality, concentration, and wisdom inevitably benefits others as well, the

⁶³ [61] MN 10 at MN I 57,13, MĀ 98 at T I 583b4, and EĀ 12.1 at T II 568a17.

⁶⁴ On these three dimensions of the gradual path cf. also Anālayo 2016d.

early discourses do also emphasize the need to engage actively for the benefit of others, which is in turn an integral part of one's advancing on the path to liberation.⁶⁵

Under the heading of morality and strict conduct, nuns are on record for:

- upholding the disciplinary rules without infraction (8),
- never being separate from the three [main] robes (26),
- wearing the robes in an orderly manner (17),
- not being ashamed of wearing rough robes (15),
- wearing rag robes and begging in order (31),
- begging among a range of people (24),
- begging for alms without choosing between rich and poor (22),
- sitting on a grass mat, without a cloth on top (30),
- always being in secluded places, instead of among people (21),
- delighting in empty places, not in being among people (29),
- always living out in the open without caring for a cover (28),
- undertaking ascetic practices (4),
- delighting in abandoned cemeteries (32).

In relation to the development of mental tranquillity and the powers and abilities that, according to early Buddhism, are possible based on the development of concentration, nuns are shown to have been proficient in the following ways:

- entering concentration with a mind that is not scattered (6),
- being restrained during all activities (36),
- having calm senses and a unified mind (16),
- sitting alone in a single place without moving at all (23), ^[114]
- sitting at the root of a tree with an unmoving mind (27),
- having a mind that is always calm (44),
- dwelling much in *mettā* and empathy (33),

⁶⁵ [⁶²] Cf. also Anālayo 2010a and 2012h, and on the early Buddhist notion of compassion 2015c and 2015d.

- having compassion for unawakened living beings (34),
- cherishing patience in the heart (42),
- entering concentration on water (47),
- entering concentration on fire (48),
- excelling in supernormal powers (3),
- recollecting past lives (11),
- possessing the divine eye (5).

In regard to the gaining of insight and the development of wisdom, nuns are reported to have possessed the following qualities:

- being widely learned and kind (20),
- being wise and intelligent (2),
- analyzing and widely discoursing on the Dharma (14),
- never tiring of contemplating the Dharma (45),
- being liberated by confidence (9),
- having a courageous mind, without attachment (46),
- having attained the four analytical knowledges (10),
- delighting in the attainment of awakening (35),
- quickly accomplishing the fruits of the path (25),
- contemplating impurity and analyzing dependent arising (49),
- cultivating wishlessness (39),
- delighting in signlessness (38),
- keeping to emptiness and vacuity (37),
- attaining final realization (51).

When it comes to benefitting others and engaging in teaching activities, nuns are described as engaging in the following activities:

- supporting people, giving them what is lacking (50),
- composing stanzas in praise of the Tathāgata (19),
- discussing in various ways without hesitation (18),
- overcoming heterodox practitioners (13), ^[115]
- being respected and liked by the people (12),
- teaching and transforming people (43),

- delivering people without limits (40),
- widely teaching the development of the path (7),
- widely explaining the meaning of profound teachings (41).

In sum, it seems there is hardly a praiseworthy quality or activity left in which nuns are not depicted as proficient.⁶⁶ In this way, the list of outstanding nuns in the *Ekottarika-āgama* does seem to accomplish its purpose in providing a source of inspiration for nuns of later generations, who on coming to know of these different fields of excellence of nuns in the past might develop the inner confidence and dedication to emulate their predecessors.

⁶⁶ [63] The list in the *Ekottarika-āgama* does not yet exhaust the type of qualities in which according to tradition nuns excelled; for a study of Kacaṅgalā/Kajaṅgalā and the quality in which she was reckoned foremost; cf. Collett 2016: 93–95.

Sela-sutta (Sn 3.7)

Introduction

The *Sela-sutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta*, found also in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, reports how a first meeting with the Buddha inspires the brahmin Sela to such an extent that he decides on the spot to go forth as a Buddhist monk.¹ Besides the record of this successful conversion in the Pāli canon,² another version of the same event is extant in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, translated below.³ [38]

In what follows I only translate the second part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, which reports the conversion of Sela. The first part introduces the brahmin Keṇiya, who visits the Buddha. After hearing a discourse, he invites the Buddha and his monks

* Originally published in 2011 under the title "The Conversion of the Brahmin Sela in the Ekottarika-āgama" in the *Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2: 37–56.

¹ Sn 3.7 at Sn 102,17 to Sn 112,20 (since much of the *Sela-sutta* is in prose, my references are to page and line of the text, not to its verses; although when possible I supply the verse number in brackets) and MN 92 at MN II 146,22 (E° does not give the text and refers the reader to the edition of the *Sutta-nipāta*). The text of the *Sela-sutta* alternates between prose and verse, which Jayawickrama 1948: 254 reckons as an instance of the genre of "mixed-ballads with dialogue" in the *Sutta-nipāta*. The verse part of the *Sela-sutta* recurs on its own in Th 818–841. A reference to the *śailagāthā* occurs in the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 20,23 and 35,1; cf. also Rhys Davids 1896: 94, Law 1930: 175, and Lamotte 1958/1988: 162. This reference is also found in T 1448 at T XXIV 11b6: 世羅尼頌 and D 1 ka 265b2 or Q 1030 *khe* 249a8, and again D 1 ga 225b1 or Q 1030 *nge* 214b5: *ri gnas kyi tshigs su becad pa*; cf. also Lévi 1915: 418 and Lamotte 1956: 260.

² For a study of conversion stories in the *Sutta-nipāta* in general cf. Bailey 1991.

³ EĀ 49.6 at T II 798a25 to 800b26; the text translated below is found at T II 799b15 to 800b26.

for a meal the next day.⁴ The translated section sets in at this point, with Keṇiya busying himself with the preparations for this meal.

Translation

At that time the brahmin Sela,⁵ together with five hundred disciples,⁶ came to the house of the brahmin Keṇiya.⁷ He saw from afar that in the house fine seats had been prepared.⁸ Having seen them, he asked the brahmin Keṇiya: "Do you want to give a man or a woman in marriage,⁹ or do you want to invite King Bimbisāra of the country of Magadha?"

⁴ [5] Sn 3.7 at Sn 103,19 only notes that the Buddha gladdened Keṇiya with a talk on the Dharma, whereas EĀ 49.6 at T II 798b8 reports this talk in full, recording that the topic was the claim to class superiority made by ancient Indian brahmins.

⁵ [7] Sn 3.7 at Sn 105,1 gives a detailed description of Sela's accomplishment in terms of his mastery of the three Vedas, etc.; it also reports that Keṇiya had faith or confidence in Sela.

⁶ [8] According to Sn 3.7 at Sn 105,6, Sela was in the company of three hundred brahmin students.

⁷ [9] Sn 3.7 at Sn 103,2 introduces Keṇiya as a *jaṭila*; Ps III 399,5 explains that he came from an eminent brahmin family, and Ap 389.26 at Ap 318,14 qualifies him as a *tāpasa*. An account of Keṇiya's meeting with the Buddha in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 873a26, introduces Keṇiya as a brahmin. Another account of this meeting, found in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Dutt 1984a: 262,10, presents him as a seer. Tsuchida 1991: 82 comments that "the Keṇiya depicted in the Sela-s[uttas] exhibits several features which do not fit with the image of a hermit" and which would better suit a wealthy brahmin. The same discrepancy is also reflected in the explanation in Ps III 399,6 that he had gone forth in order to protect his wealth; cf. also Horner 1951/1982: 336 note 10. Another variation can be found in the **Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* in Lévi 1932: 155,16 (= Kudo 2009: 77,3) according to which Sela was a *tāpasa* and it was he who had invited the Buddha for a meal.

⁸ [10] Sn 3.7 at Sn 105,9 describes the preparations in more detail.

⁹ [11] Olivelle 1993: 21 comments that the suggestion that Keṇiya might be preparing a wedding reflects the fact that *jaṭilas* were not necessarily living "celi-

The brahmin Keṇiya replied: "I have not invited King Bimbisāra and there is no marriage. I now want to make an offering and set up a greatly meritorious deed." [39] The brahmin Sela asked: "I wish to hear about the import of your wanting to make an offering. What is this meritorious act?"¹⁰

At that time, the brahmin Keṇiya replied to the brahmin Sela:¹¹ "You should know that there is a son of the Sakyan clan,¹² who went forth to train in the path. He has accomplished the supreme and become an arahant,¹³ a fully awakened one.¹⁴ I have now invited the Buddha and his community of monks. For this reason, various seats have been prepared."

Then the brahmin Sela said to the brahmin Keṇiya: "Did you say: 'a Buddha'?" He replied, "I just said: 'a Buddha'."¹⁵

[Sela] asked again: "It is very exceptional, very special, to be hearing right now the word: 'Buddha'; where is the Tathāgata staying? I wish to meet him!"¹⁶ Keṇiya replied: "He is

bate lives"; in fact EĀ 49.6 at T II 800b15 reports that Keṇiya had a wife who was pregnant.

¹⁰ [12] Such a question is not found in the *Sela-sutta*, where Keṇiya on his own continues to describe his intended offering.

¹¹ [13] Adopting a variant that reads 翅窳梵志報施羅梵志曰.

¹² [14] On this expression cf. the discussion in Freiburger 2000a: 221–225.

¹³ [15] EĀ 49.6 at T II 799b23: 至真, which in the *Ekottarika-āgama* stands for an arahant. An example is EĀ 13.5 at T II 574a27: 至真, 等正覺, counterpart to *arahaṃ sammāsambuddho* in the parallel version MN 7 at MN I 37,17; cf. also Hirakawa 1997: 995 and Nattier 2003b: 214.

¹⁴ [16] In Sn 3.7 at Sn 106,1 Keṇiya uses the whole set of ten epithets to describe the Buddha (although in the text these are abbreviated).

¹⁵ [17] Sn 3.7 at Sn 106,4 repeats this same exchange, thereby highlighting Sela's surprise at hearing the word "Buddha".

¹⁶ [18] In Sn 3.7 at Sn 106,6 Sela reflects to himself that it is very difficult even to hear this word and then ponders that one who has the thirty-two marks will become either a wheel-turning king or a fully awakened one. In the *Sela-sutta* it is after this reflection that he asks Keṇiya where the Buddha is staying.

now staying in the Bamboo Grove outside of Rājagaha,¹⁷ together with five hundred disciples who enjoy each other's [company]. If you wish to go and meet them, know that this is the [proper] time for it."¹⁸ [40]

Together with his five hundred disciples the brahmin approached the Buddha.¹⁹ [799c] Having arrived, they exchanged greetings and sat to one side. At that time, the brahmin Sela gave rise to this thought: "The recluse Gotama is handsome, his body has the colour of gold."²⁰ In our scriptures it is said: "Truly, it is [nearly] impossible to encounter the time when a Tathāgata emerges in the world, which is just like the occasional blossoming of the *udumbara* flower."²¹ If he has accom-

¹⁷ [19] The reference to Rājagaha is in keeping with the indication given at the beginning of the discourse, EĀ 49.6 at T II 798a25, that the Buddha was dwelling in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground at Rājagaha. Sn 3.7 at Sn 103,1 begins by reporting that the Buddha was dwelling in Āpaṇa, a town of the Aṅguttarāpans. Such variations in the location of a discourse are a common feature in early Buddhist oral literature, reflecting a lack of concern for precise historical details which, as pointed out by Gombrich 1990: 22, "from the religious point of view ... is perfectly understandable: the narrative framework of the sayings is not relevant to salvation"; cf. also above p. 210.

¹⁸ [20] That Keṇiya encouraged Sela to go and visit the Buddha is not reported in the *Sela-sutta*, which also differs inasmuch as, according to its description (given at the outset of the discourse, Sn 3.7 at Sn 102,19), the Buddha was in the company of one thousand two hundred and fifty monks.

¹⁹ [21] Sn 3.7 at Sn 107,3 additionally reports that Sela instructed his company of brahmin students to keep quiet, telling them that they should walk quietly, as those like the Buddha are difficult to approach, and that they should not interrupt him once he was speaking with the Buddha.

²⁰ [22] This description of the Buddha's golden appearance occurs later in the *Sela-sutta*, Sn 3.7 at Sn 108,16 (Sn 548), as part of a set of verses spoken by Sela.

²¹ [23] Although the *Sela-sutta* refers to the rareness of the Buddha's appearance in Sn 3.7 at Sn 109,23 (Sn 559) and Sn 110,1 (Sn 560), it does not have a comparison between this rareness and the flowering of the *udumbara* fig tree. The motif

plished the thirty-two marks and the eighty sublime kind [of secondary characteristics],²² he will have [either of] these two destinies: If he stays at home, he will become a wheel-turning king endowed with the seven treasures; if he goes forth to train in the path, he will certainly accomplish the supreme path and become a Fortunate One in the three realms.²³ I now want to examine the Buddha for the thirty-two marks."

At that time, the brahmin saw only thirty marks. He did not discern two of the marks, which aroused his doubt and hesitation. He did not see that the tongue was broad and long and that [what should be] concealed was [like] the hidden [parts] of a horse. Then the brahmin Sela spoke this poetic question:²⁴ [41]

"I have heard of the thirty-two
Sublime marks of a Great Man,

of the *udumbara* flower recurs in the *Uraga-sutta*, Sn 1.1 at Sn 1,16 (Sn 5), which seems to reflect awareness of the fact that the *udumbara* flower is a myth. The relevant line illustrates the absence of any essence in existence with the inability of finding a flower on *udumbara* trees. Thus the point of this verse is that the *udumbara* tree cannot flower, not that such blossoming is rare. For a study of references to the myth of the flowering of the *udumbara* tree cf. Norman 1991/1993. The *udumbara* tree is also related to a Buddha in DN 14 at DN II 4,12 and its parallel DĀ 1 at T I 2b2, according to which the former Buddha Konāgamana (Skt. Kanakamuni) attained awakening under an *udumbara* tree. This association is also reflected in Bhārhut sculpture; cf., e.g., Coomaraswamy 1956: 65 (pl. 22 fig. 57) or Lüders 1963: 85 (no. 722). In this context, however, the rareness or inability of the blossoming of the *udumbara* tree is not at issue.

²² [24] A reference to eighty secondary characteristics is not found in the *Sela-sutta* or elsewhere in the Pāli discourses. As noted by Endo 1997/2002: 142, "the concept of the eighty minor marks of a Buddha is a later development." On these secondary characteristics cf., e.g., Edgerton 1953/1998: 34 s.v. *anuvyañjana*.

²³ [25] A counterpart to this reflection occurs earlier in Sn 3.7 at Sn 106,7, when Sela is still in the company of Keṇiya.

²⁴ [26] Sn 3.7 at Sn 107,17 does not report an enquiry after the two marks by Sela, as in its account the Buddha realizes on his own that Sela has doubts about them.

Now I do not see two marks,
 Where are they, after all?
 Chaste and pure, it is concealed [like] the hidden [parts] of
 a horse,
 That mark is very difficult to come to know.
 Do you have a broad and long tongue,
 With which it is possible to lick the ears and cover the face?
 I wish you would stretch out your large and long tongue,
 Let me be without doubt!
 Let me see it,
 I will forever be without the bond of doubt and disappoint-
 ment."²⁵

Then the Blessed One stretched out his tongue, licked his left and right ears, and then withdrew it again.²⁶ Then the Blessed One entered into concentration,²⁷ [performing a feat] to allow the brahmin to see that what is concealed is [like] the hidden [parts] of a horse.²⁸ When the brahmin saw that the Buddha had the thirty-two marks and the eighty secondary characteristics, he was delighted and thrilled, unable to contain himself.²⁹

²⁵ [²⁷] Adopting the variant 罔 instead of 網.

²⁶ [²⁸] Sn 3.7 at Sn 108,3 adds that he covered his whole face with the tongue, an ability also referred to in Sela's stanza in EĀ 49.6 at T II 799c14: "Do you have a broad and long tongue, with which it is possible to lick the ears and cover the face?"

²⁷ [²⁹] Sn 3.7 at Sn 107,23 explains that he performed a feat of supernormal power, *iddhābhisamkhāraṃ abhisamkhāsi* (S^c: *abhisamkhāresi*).

²⁸ [³⁰] The *Sela-sutta* adopts the opposite sequence, with the display of the tongue coming in second place in Sn 3.7 at Sn 108,1.

²⁹ [³¹] Sn 3.7 at Sn 108,6 proceeds differently. After ascertaining that the Buddha is endowed with the thirty-two marks, Sela still wonders whether the person in front of him is a Buddha. He then reflects that those who are fully awakened will reveal their accomplishment if they are praised. So he breaks out in a series of stanzas that extol the Buddha to his face; cf. also the discussion below.

Then the brahmin Sela said to the Buddha: "Now I am a brahmin, you are a recluse from the warrior class. Progress for all recluses and brahmins is along a single path, they seek a single liberation. I only wish that you,³⁰ [great] recluse, would acknowledge this. Are we able to progress along a single path?"

The Buddha said to the brahmin: "So you have this view." The brahmin replied: "I do have such a view." [800a]

The Buddha told the brahmin: "Then you should rouse your mind for progressing to this single liberation. This is reckoned to be right view." [42] The brahmin said to the Buddha: "Is right view the single liberation? Is there still more to liberation?"

The Blessed One said: "Brahmin, there is still more to liberation, to attaining the element of Nirvāṇa. For that objective there are eight [requirements], namely right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. Brahmin, this is reckoned to be the eightfold path to reach Nirvāṇa."

Then the brahmin said to the Buddha: "Are there living beings who know this eightfold path?" The Blessed One said: "Brahmin, you should know that there are not [just] one hundred thousand, but innumerable hundreds of thousands of living beings who know this eightfold path."

The brahmin said to the Buddha: "Are there living beings who do not understand this eightfold path?" The Blessed One said: "There are living beings who do not understand it, not [just] one."

The brahmin said to the Buddha: "Are there also living beings who do not attain this Dharma?" The Buddha said: "There are living beings who do not attain the path. There are eleven types of people like this. What are these eleven? They

³⁰ [32] Adopting a variant that adds 願.

are reckoned to be those who cheat, who speak evil words, who are difficult to admonish, who do not reciprocate what is good, who are of a hateful nature, who are cruel to their parents, who kill an arahant, who have cut off their wholesome roots and wholesome conditions, who keep coming back to what is evil, who speculate about the existence of a self, and who arouse evil thoughts towards the Tathāgata. Brahmin, these are reckoned to be the eleven types of people who are not able to attain this eightfold path."

As the eightfold path was being explained, the brahmin attained the dustless and pure eye of the Dharma. Then the brahmin Sela said to his five hundred disciples: "Let each of you do as he likes and [continue to] practise recitation on your own. I wish to cultivate well the holy life under the Tathāgata."³¹ The disciples replied: "We also wish to go forth and train in the path."

Then the brahmin and each of his five hundred disciples knelt down and said to the Blessed One: "We only wish that the Blessed One would permit us to go forth and train in the path." The Buddha said to the brahmins: "Come monks, cultivate the holy life well under the Tathāgata for gradually eradicating the origin of *dukkha*."³² [43] When the Tathāgata had said this, the five hundred brahmins became recluses.³³

³¹ [33] Sn 3.7 at Sn 110,10 (Sn 564) also reports that Sela decided to go forth under the Buddha, without, however, preceding this with his attainment of stream-entry. The *Sela-sutta* also differs in that Sela does not suggest to his company of brahmin students that they could keep on practising recitation on their own (presumably of the hymns that he had so far been teaching them).

³² [34] The request to go forth and the Buddha's acceptance are also found in Sn 3.7 at Sn 110,14, although in verse form (Sn 566 and Sn 567).

³³ [35] Sn 3.7 at Sn 110,21 reports that they received the going forth (*pabbajjā*) and the higher ordination (*upasampadā*), a description that would reflect an

Then the Blessed One progressively gave sublime teachings to the five hundred,³⁴ namely teachings on giving, teachings on morality, teachings on rebirth in heaven, and teachings about the perception of the impurity of sensual pleasures and about the happiness of release. He taught them the Dharma as it is always taught by all Buddhas and Blessed Ones: *dukkha*, its arising, its cessation, and the path. When the Blessed One had widely spoken [about this] to all of them, then the five hundred men reached the perpetual extinction of the influxes and attained the state of superior men.³⁵

At that time the brahmin Keṇiya [sent a message] saying: ^[800b] "The time has come, I only wish you would condescend [to come]." Then the Blessed One said to Sela and the five hundred monks: "Each of you put on [your] robes and take [your] bowls."³⁶ Surrounded by a thousand monks,³⁷ he went to the brahmin's place in the town and sat on a seat.

early stage in the development of the Buddhist monastic order during which these two levels of acceptance into the Saṅgha were apparently conferred together; cf. Vin I 12,25 and e.g. Dutt 1924/1996: 147, Bhagvat 1939: 131, De 1955: 41, Upasak 1975: 138, Dhirasekera 1982/2007: 222, Gombrich 1984: 42, Kieffer-Pülz 2000: 371, and Anālayo 2013h: 117 note 25.

³⁴ [36] No such teaching is recorded in the *Sela-sutta*, which instead continues at this point with the meal offering by Keṇiya.

³⁵ [37] According to Sn 3.7 at Sn 112,9 (Sn 570), it took Sela and his company of newly ordained monks a whole week of practice in seclusion to become arahants. This appears to be a more plausible account; in fact the gradual teaching given in the present context leads elsewhere in the discourses only to stream-entry.

³⁶ [38] Such an instruction is not reported in the *Sela-sutta*.

³⁷ [39] According to the introductory narration of EĀ 49.6 at T II 798a26, the Buddha had been in a company of five hundred monks which, together with the five hundred new converts, accounts for the thousand monks that now accompany him to Keṇiya's food offering.

At that time, the brahmin Keṇiya saw that the five hundred brahmins had all become recluses.³⁸ He said: "Excellent, for persons who are keen on a path that reaches the essence, none in turn surpasses this one."³⁹ Then the monk Sela spoke this poem to Keṇiya: [44]

"Outside of this there is no other teaching in turn,
Able to surpass this essential one.
Like this, being compared to it,
None surpasses this in excellence."

At that time, the brahmin Keṇiya said to the Blessed One: "I only wish the Blessed One would wait a little. I shall right away bring more beverages and food."⁴⁰ The Blessed One replied: "Just distribute at this time the beverages and food that have been brought, do not worry that it will not be enough." Then the brahmin Keṇiya was delighted beyond measure, he brought the food himself and offered it to the Buddha and the community of monks.

At that time, when the Blessed One had completed his meal and the eating utensils had been removed,⁴¹ [Keṇiya] scattered

³⁸ [40] Keṇiya's reaction, on seeing Sela and his students turn up at his place as Buddhist monks, is not mentioned in the *Sela-sutta*. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, Dutt 1984a: 265,10, also reports that Keṇiya was pleased to see Sela in robes, in fact according to its account Keṇiya told Sela that, as soon as the meal offering was over, he would also go forth, a plan he then carried out.

³⁹ [41] Adopting the variant 過是.

⁴⁰ [42] Like the above exchange between Keṇiya and Sela, the present episode is not found in the *Sela-sutta*.

⁴¹ [43] EĀ 49.6 at T II 800b13: 除去食器. The Pāli commentarial tradition, Pj II 456,13, understands the expression *onītapattapāṇi* in Sn 3.7 at Sn 111,8 to refer to having removed the hands from the bowl, *pattato anītapāṇim, apa-nītahatthan ti vuttaṃ hoti*, which presumably functions as a sign of having finished eating. An alternative interpretation of *onītapattapāṇi* has been sug-

various types of flowers over the Buddha and the community of monks and said to the Buddha: "Blessed One I only wish that all men and women [here], young and old, would request to become lay disciples." At that time, the brahmin's wife was pregnant. The wife said to the Buddha: "I am pregnant, yet I do not know, is it a boy or is it a girl? As for myself, I also take refuge in the Tathāgata, may I be accepted as a female lay disciple."⁴²

Then the Tathāgata taught the sublime Dharma to the great assembly and, while still on his seat, spoke this poem:⁴³

"Enjoyable, indeed, is the reward of such merit,
The results that one wishes for will certainly be attained.
[In this way] one gradually reaches the place of peace,
That is forever without worry or distress,
[Or else] at death one attains rebirth in heaven.
Suppose [one] was disturbed by the host of Māra,
They will no longer be able to disturb,
Making the maker of merits fall into evil ways. [45]
One will also seek the means,
And the noble wisdom,
That will eradicate the root of *dukkha*,
And always be far removed from the eight disasters."

When the Blessed One had spoken these verses, he in turn rose from his seat and left. Then the brahmin Keṇiya, having heard what the Buddha said, delighted in it and received it respectfully.

gested by Norman 1992: 257f (cf. also Norman 1979/1991: 123f), according to which this expression refers to having washed the hands and bowl.

⁴² [44] The *Sela-sutta* does not record Keṇiya or his wife taking refuge.

⁴³ [45] According to Sn 3.7 at Sn 111,12, at the conclusion of the meal the Buddha spoke a different set of verses. For a detailed study of various versions of these verses cf. Skilling 2003a.

Study

In line with other conversions of eminent brahmins, the *Sela-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel report that for Sela to have faith or confidence in the Buddha requires first of all ascertaining if the Buddha possesses the thirty-two marks of a great man. Such an examination necessitates the Buddha's cooperation, since two of the marks are not readily distinguishable. These are the reach of his tongue and the nature of his male organ.⁴⁴

In a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*, the Buddha demonstrates the length of his tongue to a brahmin who is under the impression that the Buddha has spoken a falsehood.⁴⁵ In this context the display of the tongue serves to prove that its owner would not speak a lie. In other words, the exceptional nature of the tongue is a token of the truthfulness of its owner. Interpretations advanced by modern scholars of the significance of the long tongue as a mark of a great man suggest that it may also represent ability at preaching.⁴⁶ [46]

⁴⁴ [46] In the early discourses, this inability of brahmins to assess the Buddha's possession of these two marks is a recurrent feature. A contrast to this inability can be found in the introductory narration to the *Pārāyana-vagga*, Sn 5.1 at Sn 196,4 (Sn 1022), according to which the Buddha was able to know that the brahmin Bāvarī, whom he presumably never met and who was not present on that occasion, was endowed with these two marks (a parallel in T 202 at T IV 433b13 mentions only one of the two marks, the broad and long tongue). This passage implies that the Buddha's ability to recognize such marks is far superior to that of brahmins, who need the Buddha to be present and to cooperate actively for them to be able to ascertain his possession of these two marks.

⁴⁵ [47] Cowell and Neil 1886: 71,14.

⁴⁶ [48] Har Dayal 1932/1970: 305 holds that "the long tongue betokens success as a preacher." Kramrisch 1935: 165 note 3 explains that the ability of the tongue to reach the ear symbolizes how the Buddha's words reach the ears of the world. Wimalaratana 1994: 121 comments that the "long and slender tongue could as well be symbolic of the Buddha's tongue's flexibility for clear accurate enunciation." Regarding the tongue as one of the thirty-two marks, it is also note-

The significance of the reference to "[what should be] concealed being [like] the hidden [parts] of a horse" emerges from the *Ekottarika-āgama* version, where Sela in his verses relates this characteristic to chastity and purity.⁴⁷ The *Saṅghabhedavastu* compares this mark to a well-bred horse or a well-bred elephant.⁴⁸ Occurrences of this mark in the *Madhyama-āgama* similarly note its resemblance to a king of horses.⁴⁹ Since in the case of horses and elephants the male organ is retractable, these comparisons suggest a similar implication for the Buddha's private parts.⁵⁰ That is, perhaps the point of this mark is that he was able to retract his male organ.⁵¹ If this should indeed be the case, then the act of

worthy that according to Powers 2009: 14 "the idea that a long, supple tongue is a desirable feature in men is also found in the classical medical text *Carka's Medical Compendium*"; cf. also Coomaraswamy 1938/1977: 169, according to whom a comparable motif can be found in the Ṛgveda.

⁴⁷ [49] EĀ 49.6 at T II 799c13: 貞潔陰馬藏, "chaste and pure, [what should be] concealed is [like] the hidden [parts] of a horse". According to Har Dayal 1932/1970: 305, "the covered male organ typifies lifelong chastity." Barnes 1987: 120 explains that "a common Buddhist interpretation of the sheathed penis of the Buddha ... is ... that his penis is covered because he has abandoned sexuality completely."

⁴⁸ [50] Gnoli 1977: 50,15.

⁴⁹ [51] MĀ 59 at T I 494a5 and MĀ 161 at T I 686b16: 猶良馬王, counterparts to references to this mark in DN 30 at DN III 143,23 and MN 91 at MN II 136,17.

⁵⁰ [52] Verardi 1999/2000: 71 explains that this mark reflects the "sexually indistinct nature" of a superior being, comparable to the retracted penis of a horse or an elephant, whereby "outwardly, its sexual characteristics remain indistinct". Egge 2003: 205 note 18 points out that "the phrase *kosohitamvatthaguyhaṃ* is usually rendered as 'the genitals (lit. "that which is to be hidden by a cloth") are enclosed in a sheath'. However, because *kosa* can mean foreskin, this mark thus understood is hardly distinctive." On the term cf. also Sferra 2008.

⁵¹ [53] Several scholars have associated this mark with the idea that a woman cannot be a Buddha; cf. e.g. Kajiyama 1982: 65, Hae-ju 1999: 131, Romberg 2002: 164, and Ohnuma 2004a: 304. Yet tradition is not unequivocal on the need for this

demonstration might not involve the actual organ itself, but only a demonstration of its absence, of the fact that it has been successfully retracted.⁵²

Whatever may be the final word on the nature of this mark, the *Sela-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel agree that the display of these two marks fulfils its function of inspiring Sela with confidence. From here onwards, [47] however, the two versions disagree considerably. The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse continues with the Buddha delivering a teaching on the eightfold path to liberation,⁵³ a teaching that leads to Sela's stream-entry. The *Sela-sutta* instead reports that Sela decides to extol the Buddha, as he thinks that on being praised the Buddha will reveal his qualities.⁵⁴

The *Sela-sutta* thereby differs not only from its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel, but also from other Pāli discourses, where the display of the thirty-two marks suffices to convince a brahmin that he is in the presence of a Buddha.⁵⁵ According to the *Sela-sutta*,

mark in order to be a Buddha; cf. Anālayo 2009a: 181f note 54 and 2017b. Be that as it may, if an interpretation of this mark along the lines of what the horse and elephant images suggest should be correct, then this *lakkhana* downplays maleness instead of emphasizing it as characteristic of a Buddha.

⁵² [54] Nevertheless, this act of demonstration has led to one of the dilemmas in the *Milindapañha*, Mil 167,26, which explicitly refers to the *Sela-sutta*. The solution to this dilemma is in turn quoted in the commentary on the *Sela-sutta*, Pj II 452,11. Nāgasena explains that the Buddha only showed an image of his private parts and made this visible only to his visitor. When King Milinda still considers this to be inappropriate behaviour, Nāgasena explains that a Tathāgata is willing to go even to such an extent to lead beings to awakening; cf. Mil 169,3.

⁵³ [55] On the absence of the qualification "noble", usually associated with the four truths and the eightfold path in Pāli texts, cf. above p. 239ff.

⁵⁴ [56] Sn 3.7 at Sn 108,9: *ye te bhavanti* (S^c: *ye te bhagavanto*) *arahanto sammāsambuddhā, te sake vaṇṇe bhañṇamāne attānaṃ pātukaronti*, "those who are arahants, fully awakened ones, will reveal themselves when their praises are spoken."

⁵⁵ [57] The Buddha's possession of the thirty-two marks is ascertained by the brahmins Ambaṭṭha and Pokkarasati in DN 3 at DN I 106,9 and 109,14, and by the

however, in spite of having ascertained the thirty-two marks, Sela is still in doubt whether the recluse before him is really a Buddha.⁵⁶

In order to get further confirmation, Sela engages in a series of praises of the Buddha's bodily perfection, suggesting that the Buddha is fit to reign as a king.⁵⁷ Sela's ruse works, as in reply the Buddha proclaims that he is a supreme king of the Dharma and tells

brahmins Uttara and Brahmāyu in MN 91 at MN II 135,15 and MN II 143,19. Only in the last of these four cases is a display of the two marks of the tongue and the private parts accompanied by a verbal claim, and in none of these instances does the Buddha's possession of the thirty-two marks lead on to further investigations of his status. Thus in these Pāli discourses ascertaining the presence of the thirty-two marks suffices to reach a conclusion regarding the Buddha's accomplishment and status.

⁵⁶ [58] Sn 3.7 at Sn 108,5: *samannāgato kho samano gotamo dvattiṃsamahāpurisalakkhaṇehi* (S^e: *dvattiṃsāya mahāpurisalakkhaṇehi*), *paripunṇehi no aparipunṇehi, no ca kho naṃ jānāmi: buddho vā no vā?*, "the recluse Gotama is endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man, they are complete, not incomplete – yet I do not know: is he a Buddha or not?" Given that the person sitting in front of Sela has gone forth and thus has not taken office as a wheel-turning king, and given that Sela had earlier been told by Keṇiya that this person has reached full awakening and is a Buddha, there would be no reason for Sela to still harbour any doubts, once he has ascertained the existence of the thirty-two marks.

⁵⁷ [59] The suggestion that the Buddha should rather be a king can be found in another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 24.3 at T II 617a18, where this proposal is made by his Sakyan relatives who would like to have a wheel-turning king governing them. As in the *Sela-sutta*, the Buddha replies that he is already a king of the Dharma, T II 617a24: 法王. The narrative setting in this discourse provides a more natural context for such an exchange than the *Sela-sutta*. Since the brahmin Sela's earlier inspired reaction to hearing the word "Buddha" depicts him as someone with a keen spiritual interest, an interest confirmed by his readiness to go forth right away as a Buddhist monk, it seems inconsistent for him to suggest that the Buddha would be worthy of becoming king and to belittle the status of one gone forth with the suggestion "what [use] is being a recluse to you?", *kin* (B^e and C^e: *kiṃ*) *te samaṇabhāvena*, Sn 3.7 at Sn 108,23 (Sn 551).

Sela to have no doubt about being in the presence of a fully awakened one, [48] a supreme physician, and a holy one beyond compare.⁵⁸ In the *Sela-sutta* this proclamation has the effect that he decides to go forth, an effect that in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version is achieved by Sela's stream-entry.⁵⁹

Commenting on the present passage, according to which the Buddha reacts to flattery by praising himself, Horner (1970: 335 note 4) observes that "in the Buddha's Teaching this is what a foolish person does, e.g. Devadatta, not arahants and ... not the Tathāgata." She refers to a passage in the *Sampasādanīya-sutta*, according to which the Tathāgata does not reveal his qualities.⁶⁰ Another relevant passage is found in the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, according to which the Buddha will not be affected at all by any honour paid to him.⁶¹

According to Perera (1950: 201f), the language of several stanzas in this part of the *Sela-sutta* is "suggestive of a later phase of Pāli". He concludes that the *Sela-sutta* "stands in contrast to many a Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta (which usually abound in archaic linguistic forms, old idiom and early phases of the doctrine) [and thus] is decidedly a later addition" to the *Sutta-nipāta*.⁶² Hence

⁵⁸ [60] Sn 3.7 at Sn 110,2 (Sn 560f): *so 'haṃ brāhmaṇa sambuddho, sallakatto anuttaro, brahmabhūto atitulo* (a counterpart to Sela's verses in Th 830 (E^s) reads *buddho 'smi* instead of *sambuddho*).

⁵⁹ [61] His decision to go forth in Sn 3.7 at Sn 110,10 (Sn 564) is preceded by Sela explicitly expressing his confidence in the claims made by the Buddha to being a holy one beyond compare etc.; cf. Sn 3.7 at Sn 110,8 (Sn 563). This gives the impression that it is precisely these claims that motivate Sela's going forth.

⁶⁰ [63] DN 28 at DN III 115,20.

⁶¹ [64] MN 22 at MN I 140,18 and MĀ 200 at T I 766a17.

⁶² [65] Arunasiri 2007: 210 suggests that another sign of lateness would be that Sāriputta is referred to as the "general" of the Dharma, *senāpati*, Sn 3.7 at Sn 109,12 (Sn 556), a qualification frequently used to refer to him in the commentaries, but

Pérez-Remón (1980: 70) may be quite right when he concludes that the stanzas with which the Buddha praises himself in this part of the *Sela-sutta* probably "reflect more the high appreciation of the Buddha professed by his followers than the very way he spoke"; a suggestion supported by the absence of any such self-praise in the parallel version in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

If this passage in the *Sela-sutta* should indeed be a later development, it could be understood as expressive of a general tendency towards a gradual apotheosis of the Buddha, recognizable already in the early discourses.⁶³ [49] In the present instance, this tendency would form the background of the long eulogy of the Buddha's superior qualities. Such an importance given to the Buddha's qualities as the central means for converting an eminent brahmin like Sela would be natural,⁶⁴ given the disdain that apparently existed among some brahmins for the Buddha as a member of the recluse community.⁶⁵

not related to him in the early discourses (although it needs to be noted that two canonical instances can be found in Ud 2.8 at Ud 17,29 and Th 1083).

⁶³ [67] Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2010b: 130.

⁶⁴ [68] A to some degree comparable tendency to enhance the qualities of the Buddha when faced with challenges to his accomplishment can be seen in the *Bāhitika-sutta* and its parallel; cf. Anālayo 2007c.

⁶⁵ [69] An example of such disdain can be found in the *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*, DN 3 at DN I 90,15, which reports a brahmin referring to the Buddha as one of those "baldpated petty recluses, menials, the swarthy offspring from Brahmā's foot", *muṇḍakā samaṇakā ibbhā kiṇhā* (B^c, C^e, and S^e: *kaṇhā*) *bandhupādāpaccā*; (S^e: *bandhupādāpaccā*). Comparable denigrating remarks, with some differences in formulation, can be found in the parallel DĀ 20 at T I 82b24, fragment 411r6f of the *Ambāṣṭha-sūtra*, Melzer 2006: 146, and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 33b19 and T 1451 at T XXIV 378c17; for the Tibetan counterparts cf. Melzer 2006: 147. On the relationship between brahmins and recluses that forms the background of such disdain cf. in more detail Anālayo 2009e: 154f and on Buddhist texts that poke fun at brahmins Gombrich 2009: 180–190.

The tale of Keṇiya's visit to the Buddha, which occupies the first part of the *Sela-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel, is found also in several *Vinayas*. These differ in the detail in which they describe this visit, as some *Vinayas* only record that Keṇiya made an offering of beverages to the monastic community,⁶⁶ whereas others report him inviting the Buddha and the community of monks for a meal.⁶⁷

The Dharmaguptaka and Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayas* also mention Sela. Both report that Sela had noticed Keṇiya's meal preparations and thereupon decided to visit the Buddha. The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* continues by reporting that Sela received a talk on the Dharma from the Buddha and was highly delighted, although this *Vinaya* does not give further information on the contents of this talk.⁶⁸ The Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* just reports that Sela went with his disciples to the Buddha and asked to be ordained, without recording any conversation between him and the Buddha.⁶⁹ [50] Thus none of the *Vinaya* versions provides details about the talk given by the Buddha to Sela.

Such variations might be due to different degrees of abbreviation of the tale in order to fit it to the context of a *Vinaya* narration, whose purpose is to provide background to a particular

⁶⁶ [70] This is the case in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 464a28, and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 193a23, translated in Jaworski 1930: 112.

⁶⁷ [71] The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 873b6, translated in Jaworski 1930: 113, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 151c3, translated in Jaworski 1930: 84, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Dutt 1984a: 263,10, and the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Vin I 246,2.

⁶⁸ [72] T 1428 at T XXII 873c6: "Then the Blessed One with various means taught him the Dharma to edify him, so that he became delighted. On hearing the Dharma, Sela was exceedingly delighted."

⁶⁹ [73] Dutt 1984a: 264,5.

rule.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, it also seems quite possible that the encounter between Sela and the Buddha grew from what at first could have been a relatively brief reference. If that should be the case, then the way the *Sela-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel depict Sela's conversion would be the final result of two somewhat independent developments that started off from an original that had considerably less to say on this theme.

Whatever may be the final word on the precise stages of evolution of these two discourses, the *Ekottarika-āgama* version does put the *Sela-sutta* into perspective. Comparative study of the two versions suggests that the ideas that flattery will cause the Buddha to praise himself, and that such praise in turn then becomes the central means of converting an eminent brahmin, probably reflect later developments.

⁷⁰ [74] The *Keṇiyajaṭṭilavatthu* in the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Vin I 245,8 to Vin I 246,38, does not refer to Sela at all, even though its report of Keṇiya inviting the Buddha and of the ensuing offering of a meal corresponds to the respective sections of the *Sela-sutta*. Perera 1950: 199 comments that it could be argued that the reason for this would be that Sela's conversion was not relevant to the rule discussed in this section of the *Vinaya*, although *ibid.* p. 200 then points out that this assumption is weakened by the fact that Keṇiya is not mentioned at all in Sela's verses in the *Theragāthā*, unlike the historically probably later *Apadāna* verses, Ap 389.26 at Ap 318,14, where Sela does refer to Keṇiya. Perera concludes that the *Theragāthā* verses and the *Vinaya* account may have been two originally independent narratives that were combined in the *Sela-sutta*.

Subhā-therīgāthā (Thī 396)

Introduction

With the present chapter I return to the topic of women in Buddhism, broached in the last chapter but one. By way of introduction, in what follows I first survey the *Therīgāthā* in general and the verses of Subhā in particular, which share with the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse to be translated below the motif of gouging out one's eye to demonstrate its inherent lack of beauty.

In relation to Buddhist studies in general, Faure (2003: 5f) observes that at times

feminist scholars tend to project current normative conceptions and ideologies onto past cultures ... much feminist work on Buddhism has been concerned with "singing the praises of exceptional women" or chronicling the indignities suffered by women. This approach, however, is increasingly criticized as being blind to cultural and historical contexts.¹

Since the groundbreaking translation and study by Rhys Davids (1909/1964) and Horner (1930/1990: 162–210), considerable scholarly attention has been dedicated to the *Therīgāthā*.² The efforts

* Originally published in 2014 under the title "Beautiful Eyes Seen with Insight as Bereft of Beauty – Subhā Therī and Her Male Counterpart in the Ekottarika-āgama" in *The Journal of the Sati Center for Buddhist Studies*, 2: 39–53.

¹ Faure 2003: 3 also comments, in relation to the emphasis among some feminist writers on misogynistic elements in the Buddhist tradition, that "by presenting Buddhism as a monolithic ideology, however, there is a danger of repeating the same gesture by which Buddhist ideologues attempted to construct a seamless orthodoxy."

² [1] Besides translations provided by Norman 1971/1989, Murcott 1991, Pruitt 1998/1999, and Hallisey 2015, studies of aspects or the whole of the collection

of these scholars have lead to an increasing awareness of many facets of this collection, ^[40] but it seems to me that at times the *Therīgāthā* is read from a slightly one-sided perspective that over-emphasizes gender-related issues, thereby running the risk of ignoring the doctrinal points the stanzas intend to convey. With this I certainly do not mean to downplay the central importance of the *Therīgāthā* as a remarkable record of female spirituality in the early Buddhist tradition. My point is only that there is often more to its stanzas than the topic of gender. As Olivia (2011: 14) notes,

we are indeed fortunate that any texts composed by ancient women have been preserved. However, we should not let [this] ... lead us into projecting our values anachronistically and observing only their "femaleness" ... [instead of which] it is necessary to read the *Therīgāthā* within its specific cultural and historical contexts. Not doing so does an injustice to the poems of these female disciples.

To illustrate the need to read with an eye to context, in what follows I take up the motif of gouging out one's eye as a way of demonstrating their lack of inherent beauty. The idea of taking out an eye is to some degree a natural one, given that the eye is the only physical organ that can be disjoined from the body without recourse to a surgical instrument. Moreover, once taken out of its socket an eye indeed loses all of its former attraction. In the *Therīgāthā* this motif occurs in a set of stanzas attributed to the nun Subhā, which report that she took out one of her eyes in order to keep a sexually aroused man at bay.

After presenting the main plot, I survey comments made by some scholars regarding this tale, then translate an *Ekottarika-āgama*

have been undertaken by, e.g., Lienhard 1975, Gokhale 1976, Lang 1986, Dublay 1988, Jootla 1988, Kloppenborg 1995, Rajapakse 1995, Blackstone 1998/2000, and Choubey 2009.

discourse which contains a similar motif, but where the gouging out of an eye is undertaken by a male protagonist rather than a female one.

The stanzas of the *Therīgāthā* attributed to Subhā Jīvakambavanikā begin by describing that, while being on her way to Jīvaka's Mango Grove, she is intercepted by a man with evil intentions (Thī 366). She asks why he is obstructing her, indicating to him that it is not proper for him to touch a woman who has gone forth, adding that she is one who has gone beyond sensual desire.

The man replies by praising her beauty, telling her that she should give up her robes. Instead of going alone into the woods, he suggests she should dress up beautifully and live in luxury with him. On being asked what particularly attracts him, he praises her beautiful eyes, explaining that looking at her eyes arouses his sensual desire ever more (Thī 381f).

Subhā replies by declaring her total disinterest in sensuality and pointing out that an eye is simply a little ball set in a hollow place. She then plucks out one of her eyes and hands it to the man (Thī 396). He is shocked by this act and comes to his senses, begging her forgiveness for his foolish behaviour. The stanzas conclude by reporting that later, ^[41] after having seen the Buddha, Subhā's eye is miraculously restored (Thī 399).

In his study of the *Therīgāthā*, Rajapakse (1995: 16f) makes the important observation that Subhā's stanzas are a striking example of a tendency in the *Therīgāthā* to depict

a veritable role-reversal: far from fostering passion, in its verses women proclaim piety and dispassion to worldly and passionate *men* ... [and in the stanzas spoken by Subhā] it is women's success in overcoming ... *men*, and their considered attempts to divert women from spiritual endeavours, that the verses ... most strikingly record.

In a detailed analysis of the stanzas attributed to the man who accosts Subhā, Kloppenborg (1995: 160) points out that these reflect "the traditional arguments of male chauvinism", namely that

- "a young, beautiful woman should not be celibate",
- "a woman should not be alone and needs male protection",
- "a woman is a man's playmate",
- "a woman under male control is happy",
- "if a woman decides to remain alone, she is despicable."

In this way, the Subhā tale can be seen to set such male presumptions (needless to say, such presumptions are not confined to an ancient Indian setting) against the vivid contrast of a woman who has reached the acme of spiritual perfection and gone beyond any interest in what male company might have to offer.

In a paper dedicated entirely to the Subhā tale, Trainor (1993: 65) draws attention to the eyes as "the central metaphor of the poem, with its complex associations of aesthetic beauty and spiritual insight". The primary contrast in the stanzas indeed revolves around a male *blinded* by passion in contrast to the nun's *insight*. By offering her eye to the man, Subhā in a way bestows on him at least an inkling of her *vision* of the true nature of the human body. The same theme continues until the happy end of the story, [42] as on coming to *see* the Buddha her *eye* is miraculously restored.

Based on a detailed study of the Subhā tale as part of her investigation into instances of misogyny in Buddhist texts, Wilson (1996: 169) comments that

there is great irony in the fact that Subhā must blind herself in order to get the attention of the rogue and make him listen to her. It is only by blinding herself, it seems, that Subhā is at last treated as a woman of insight – a seer and not just a sight to be seen. Perhaps we can also read Subhā's willingness to give up her own organs of sight as an indication that she eschews the female gaze.

Wilson (1996: 179) then concludes her study of several such cases by stating that

self-disfiguring nuns like Subhā who edify men through heroic displays of their bodily repulsiveness ... thereby repudiate their role as agents of Māra. In so doing, these potential minions of Māra show themselves to be dutiful servants of their male counterparts within the *sangha*.

In her study, Wilson (1996: 169) also provides a translation of the Subhā *Therīgāthā*, the last stanza of which indicates that "when she [Subhā] saw the one with the marks of perfect merit [the Buddha], her eye was restored to its former condition." The formulation in this stanza (Thī 399) makes it clear that, contrary to what Wilson states earlier, Subhā had not blinded herself. Subhā had gouged out one eye, but the other eye was still intact. On "seeing" the Buddha with this eye, the other eye she had earlier taken out was restored. Wilson appears to have overlooked this part, as she speaks of Subhā "blinding" herself and then also of Subhā's giving up "her own organs of sight", where the plural does not match the single eye taken out according to the actual stanza.

Furthermore, I am also not convinced by Wilson's view of Subhā as a potential minion of Māra, a role the nun then supposedly repudiates. Since throughout Subhā's verses there is no explicit reference to Māra, if Māra is to be brought in, we need to turn to similar episodes where a male acts as a sexual aggressor in regard to a nun. Such episodes can be found in the *Bhikkhunī-samyutta* (and its Chinese parallels), where several discourses report how nuns are challenged by Māra, ^[43] who invites them to enjoy sensuality, implying a sexual threat similar in kind to the present case.³ Based on the parallelism to the Subhā incident, the one who could

³ Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2014e.

be identified with Māra in the Subhā *Therīgāthā* is clearly the impassioned male, not the detached nun. Thus, as far as I can see, Subhā is not a minion of Māra in the first place and therefore has no need to repudiate such a role.

I also have difficulties in understanding why Subhā's action provides a dutiful service to Buddhist monks, as suggested by Wilson. Similarly to the case of Māra, throughout Subhā's stanzas there is no reference to monks at all. It also seems safe to assume that monks would not constitute the primary target audience of the *Therīgāthā*. The relative dearth of discourses spoken by nuns in the canonical collections in general and also the circumstance that counterparts to the *Therīgāthā* have not been preserved by other Buddhist schools clearly point to the predilections of the male monastic reciters, who apparently had only limited interest in teachings given by nuns. For this reason I find no real basis for interpreting the action undertaken by Subhā as in some way providing a service to Buddhist monks.

Instead of a minion of Māra who blinds herself as a service to monks, I would see the main point of this story to be simply about contrasting the attraction of physical beauty with the Buddhist doctrinal view about the true nature of the body. In support of my interpretation of the significance of the gouging out of the eye when confronted with someone who is full of passion, I like to turn to a tale found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection. This tale reports a similar situation, with the notable difference that the main protagonist is a male. That is, here a male gouges out an eye when confronted with an impassioned woman.

As the preceding chapters would have shown, the *Ekottarika-āgama* as a whole is a collection of discourses that remained open to later additions for a longer time compared to both the Pāli *Nikāyas* and the other *Āgamas* preserved in Chinese translation. In this way one regularly finds stories in *Ekottarika-āgama* dis-

courses that in the Pāli canon only have counterparts in the commentaries. ^[44]

According to modern scholarship, some degree of lateness is also evident in both the *Theragāthā* and the *Therīgāthā* collections.⁴ This much can in fact be seen in the last of the stanzas related to Subhā, which reports her magical recovery of the one eye she had earlier taken out of its socket. The idea that seeing the Buddha miraculously brings about an actual healing of the body is something found mainly in literature belonging to the later, commentarial period. Hence Horner (1930/1990: 339) is probably correct when she comments that the magical healing of Subhā's eyes is "a legendary accretion obviously inserted later".

Thus the tale of Subhā and the tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* could have come into being at more or less the same period and there is no *a priori* reason to assume that the relevant stanzas in the *Therīgāthā* must be earlier than the discourse from the *Ekottarika-āgama*,⁵ to which I now turn.⁶ ^[45]

⁴ ^[2] Norman 1983a: 74 points out that the *Theragāthā* has various metres, ranging from very early to later metres, besides which there are "also references to beliefs and practices of the type which ... point to lateness". He concludes that, although incorporating early material, the collection as a whole took probably about three centuries to come into being, and notes (p. 77) that the same applies to the *Therīgāthā*. In a similar vein, von Hinüber 1996/1997: 53 explains that "probably both collections have been growing over a long period, slowly absorbing verses commemorating monks or nuns living at quite different times, for although the commentary states that Ānanda recited these collections at the first council ... other verses are supposed to be much younger even by the tradition and as having been added on the occasion of the second council ... or still later at the time of the third council under Aśoka."

⁵ ^[3] This has been suggested by Greene 2006: 51 note 136, who discusses this tale and also translates a few excerpts.

⁶ ^[4] The translated text is EĀ 38.9 at T II 724a7 to 724b27.

Translation

Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying in the Deer Park at Vārāṇasī together with a great company of five hundred monks. At that time the Blessed One told the monks: "You should give attention to the perception of impermanence and make much of the perception of impermanence. By giving attention to the perception of impermanence and making much of the perception of impermanence, you will in turn eradicate craving for sensuality, craving for form, and craving for the formless, and you will completely eradicate conceit and ignorance. Why is that?"

"In the distant past, a long time ago, there was a Paccekabuddha named Beautiful Eyes. His facial appearance was very handsome,⁷ with a complexion like a peach blossom. He was of dignified appearance, his mouth exuded the fragrance of lotus flowers and his body exuded the fragrance of sandalwood.

"At that time the Paccekabuddha Beautiful Eyes, when the time had come to go begging for alms, put on his outer robes and took his bowl to enter the city of Vārāṇasī. Gradually proceeding he approached the house of an eminent householder and stood in silence outside the gate.

"Then the householder's daughter saw from afar that there was a practitioner of the path standing outside the gate.⁸ He was incomparably handsome, with a very special facial appearance, rarely found in the world. His mouth exuded the fragrance of lotus flowers and his body exuded the fragrance of sandalwood.

"Her mind was in turn aroused with sensual desire. She approached that monk and said in turn: 'Now, you are handsome,

⁷ [5] Adopting the variant 正 instead of 政.

⁸ [6] My rendering of 長者女 as "householder's daughter" follows the indication by Hiraakawa 1997: 1195 that this can render *śreṣṭhi-dārikā*.

with a complexion like a peach blossom, rarely found in the world. Now, I am a virgin and I am also handsome. Let us be together. In my home there are many treasures and immeasurable wealth. Being a recluse is not at all easy.' [46]

"Then the Paccekabuddha said: 'Dear sister, now what part [of me] do you feel lustfully attached to?' The householder's daughter said: 'Right now I am attached to the color of your eyes, also to the fragrance of lotus flowers exuding from your mouth and the fragrance of sandalwood exuding from your body.'

"Then the Paccekabuddha held out his left hand and with the right hand plucked out an eye and placed it in the middle of his palm. He said to her: 'The eye you crave – here it is. Dear sister, what part [of me] are you attached to now?'

Just like a boil, which has nothing desirable to it, so this eye oozes impurities. Dear sister, you should know that the eye is like foam, being unstable, deceptive and false, deceiving people in the world.

"The ear,⁹ the nose, the mouth, the body, and the mind are all unstable, [724b] deceptive and false. The mouth is a container for spittle; what comes out of it is impure matter. What it contains, [the teeth], is just white bones. The body is a container of pain, its nature is to become worn away. It is a place constantly full of foul smells and troubled by worms, being like a painted jar full of impurities inside. Dear sister, what part [of me] are you attached to now?'

"Therefore, dear sister, apply your mind and give attention to these phenomena as deceptive and false. If, sister, you give attention to the eye and forms as impermanent, then whatever perception you have of attachment and desire will naturally

⁹ [7] Adopting a variant that does not have a reference to 眼 here.

disappear. The ear, nose, mouth, body, and mind are all impermanent. Having given attention to this, whatever desire there is in the mind will naturally disappear. Giving attention to the six sense organs [like this], you will have no more perceptions of sensuality.'

"Then the householder's daughter felt embarrassed and stepped forward to pay respect at the feet of the Paccekabuddha. She said to the Paccekabuddha: 'From now on I am going to correct [myself]. I will cultivate what is wholesome, without giving rise to further perceptions of sensuality. I only wish you would accept my regret for my transgression.' Three times she spoke like this. ^[47]

"The Paccekabuddha said: 'Wait, wait, dear sister, this is not your fault. It is because of my offences done in the past that I have received this body. On seeing it, people in turn arouse sentiments of sensuality.'

"One should carefully contemplate the eye: 'This eye is not me, nor does it belong to another;¹⁰ it is not made by me, nor is it made by another. It has arisen from nowhere and, having come into existence, it will in turn naturally decay and be destroyed. Whether in the past, in the present, or in future, all this is caused by the coming together of conditions.'

"What is reckoned to be the coming together of conditions is this: 'In dependence on this, that exists; with the arising of this, that arises. This not being, that is not; with the cessation of this, that ceases.' The eye, the ear, the nose, the mouth, the body, and the mind are just like that; they are all completely empty.

"Therefore, dear sister, do not attach with the eye to forms. By not attaching to forms, you will in turn attain the place of

¹⁰ [8] Adopting a variant that does not have an additional 我 here.

peace, without further sentiments of sensual desire. Dear sister, you should train yourself like this.' Then the Paccekabuddha, having given that woman a teaching on the fourfold impermanence, rose up into the air, manifested the eighteen transformations, and returned to his dwelling place.

"Then that woman contemplated the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, with the understanding that there is nothing to them. In a tranquil place she in turn gave attention to this teaching. That woman also gave further attention to the fact that the six senses are without an owner. She attained the fourfold even-mindedness (*brahmavihāra*) and on the breaking up of the body, after death, she was reborn in the Brahmā world.

"Monks you should know that, if you give attention to the perception of impermanence and make much of the perception of impermanence, you will completely eradicate craving for sensuality, for forms, and for the formless, and you will get rid of all conceit and ignorance. Therefore, monks, you should train like this." ^[48]

At that time the monks, having heard what the Buddha had said, were delighted and received it respectfully.

Study

The doctrinal significance of the gouging out of the eye is self-evident in the above tale from the *Ekottarika-āgama*, since the whole story comes as an explanation of the initial instruction by the Buddha, according to which perception of impermanence will lead to freedom from all types of craving. That is, the theme of going beyond craving is the central topic. The same can safely be assumed to apply to the Subhā tale as well.

Unlike the Subhā episode, however, the exchange that leads up to the act of gouging out the eye in the present tale is rather brief, lacking the dramatic build-up and the tension created by the ap-

prehension that the other might eventually use force to achieve his aim. In the above tale, the Paccekabuddha is obviously not under any kind of physical threat, hence the scene is naturally less dramatic.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, a Paccekabuddha can at times dispense short teachings, as seen in the present case.¹¹ Such a teaching regularly tends to contain a strong visual component, as Paccekabuddhas often teach through their appearance or through magical feats.¹² For the Paccekabuddha in the present tale to gouge out an eye is in line with this tendency of teaching through some form of action. The same can be seen in the miracles he performs when he is about to depart. In Buddhist literature in general, the teachings delivered by a Paccekabuddha arouse inspiration in the listener and lead to rebirth in a higher heavenly realm, whereas teachings that result in the listener's awakening are usually rather the domain of a full-fledged Buddha. [49]

As already noted above, unlike the Subhā episode, in the present case the motif of gouging out the eye occurs with a significant shift of gender in the protagonist, as the disfiguration is undertaken by a male. Moreover, even the Paccekabuddha's attractiveness is not depicted in terms that emphasize maleness. The text introduces him as handsome with a face like a peach blossom, a comparison with flowers that one would have rather expected to find in a description of a beautiful woman. The fragrance of lotus flowers that exudes from his mouth and the scent of sandalwood from his body are both rather feminine descriptions of beauty.

In other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* the same type of description is associated with the queen of a wheel-turning king, as part of a depiction of what, according to ancient Indian stand-

¹¹ Cf. above p. 249ff.

¹² Cf., e.g., Wiltshire 1990: 66f and 76ff.

ards, apparently constitutes the acme of female beauty and attractiveness, and with a princess.¹³

Also noteworthy is how the Paccekabuddha tells the woman to stop worrying about what she has done, clarifying that from his perspective to have such an attractive body is his own fault. The fact that the speaker of these words is a male makes it clear that these words need not be interpreted as a form of self-reproach for being attractive – a natural interpretation had the speaker been a female – but may simply be meant as a kind remark in order to dispel the embarrassment and regret felt by the householder's daughter.¹⁴

Clearly, the present tale inverts simplistic gender roles, thereby offering a significant corrective to readings of the Subhā tale from a perspective that is only concerned with the issue of gender discrimination. Once the gouging out of an eye by Subhā is considered in conjunction with the same act undertaken by the Paccekabuddha, it becomes clear that this is simply a teaching aimed at deconstructing the notion of beauty of any body, male or female.

Detachment from craving in regard to the body is in fact a requirement in the early Buddhist soteriological scheme, the relevance of which is independent of the gender of the practitioner. [50] The instructions given in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* and its parallels on contemplating the anatomical nature of the body, for example, are clearly meant to be applied first of all to one's own body. The Pāli version introduces the listing of anatomical parts

¹³ [10] EĀ 50.4 at T II 807c15 (scent of sandalwood and fragrance of lotuses) and EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a30 (face like peach blossom); cf. above p. 122 and below p. 425.

¹⁴ [11] The present case thus stands in contrast to what Faure 1998: 20 sees as a pattern in Buddhist texts, where "in a man, beauty is often perceived as the effect of good karma, whereas in a woman it is usually seen as the result of past sin – paradoxically enough, because it produces attachment in men."

with the phrase "there are in this body", a phrase similarly found in the two Chinese parallel versions, one of which explicitly speaks of this body "of mine".¹⁵ That is, a male will first of all have to contemplate his own body, just as a female will first of all have to contemplate her own body. It is only when such contemplation has been successfully cultivated that the same understanding will also be applied to the bodies of others.

Due to the circumstance that the Buddha regularly travelled together with monks, it is only to be expected that the discourses often address a male monastic audience, with the inevitable result that the dangers of the attraction of female bodies are a frequent topic. Neither the frequency of such instructions nor the tale of Subhā, however, implies that early Buddhist texts adopt a simplistic logic where one gender is cast unilaterally in the role of being the tempter and the other of being the victim.

¹⁵ [12] MĀ 98 at T I 583b6 indicates that the contemplation is to be undertaken "within this body of mine", something implicit in the corresponding reference to what is "in this body" in MN 10 at MN I 57,15 and EĀ 12.1 at T II 568a19.

Gotamī-apadāna (Ap 17)

Introduction

In this chapter I study two tales of miracle-working nuns in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, one of which reports how the nun Soṇā defeats the six contemporary non-Buddhist teachers and the other depicts Mahāpajāpati Gotamī's spectacular passing away. I begin by translating the tale that involves the nun Soṇā, of which no parallel seems to be known.¹ [2]

Translation (1)

At one time the Blessed One was living by the side of the Monkey Pond.² The people of the country were supporting him with robes, food, bedding, and medicines in accordance with their means. Each of them brought food for the Buddha and the community of monks, and they undertook the eight precepts without missing an opportunity to do so.

At that time six teachers had in the course of their wanderings come to stay in the city of Vesālī. That is, the six teachers were Pūraṇa Kassapa, Ajita [Kesakambalī], [Makkhali] Gosāla, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhi[putta], and Nigaṇṭha [Nā-taputta]. Then, the six teachers gathered in one place and said

* Originally published in 2015 under the title "Miracle-working Nuns in the Ekottarika-āgama" in the *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 16: 1–27.

¹ [2] The translated part is taken from EĀ 38.11 at T II 727c5 to 728a29, which is the final part of a longer discourse.

² [3] The Monkey Pond occurs regularly in *Āgama* discourses and other texts, but appears to be unknown in the Pāli tradition; cf. also, e.g., Lamotte 1958/1988: 155, Skilling 1997b: 295 and 406f, Bingenheimer 2008: 159 note 31, and Anālayo 2011c: 223 note 95.

[to each other]: "This recluse Gotama is staying in the city of Vesālī and he is supported by the people, but we are not being supported by the people. We could approach him and debate with him. Who [among us] would be victorious? Who [among us] would not be up to it?"

Pūraṇa Kassapa said: "Whatever recluses and brahmins there are who do not accept what he proclaims, they have in various ways cross-questioned him, [pointing out] what is contrary to the teaching of recluses and brahmins. Yet this recluse Gotama does not accept what they say and in many ways he cross-questioned them. In what way could we debate with him?"

Ajita [Kesakambalī] said: "[My teaching, which I could debate with him, is that] there is no offering, there is no receiving [of results], there is no giver, there is neither this world nor a future world for living beings, and there is also no fruition of good and evil."

[Makkhalī] Gosāla said: "[My teaching, which I could debate with him, is that if] on the [right] side of the river Ganges someone kills people beyond measure, amassing them into a mountain of flesh, ^[3] and to the left of the river Ganges someone does meritorious deeds, because of this there is still no fruition of good and evil."

Pakudha Kaccāyana said: "[My teaching, which I could debate with him, is that if] to the left of the river Ganges someone properly engages in giving gifts and upholding morality, and at the appropriate time makes offerings so that there is no deficiency, there is also no fruition of this."

Sañjaya Belatṭhi[putta] said: "[My teaching is that] I make no statements and I give no replies, I just enjoy keeping silent."

Nigaṇṭha [Nātaputta] said: "[My teaching is that] I make statements and I also give replies. The recluse Gotama is a man and I am also a man. What Gotama knows, we also know.

The recluse Gotama has supernormal powers, I also have supernormal powers. If that recluse manifests one feat of supernormal power, I will manifest two feats of supernormal power.³ [If] he manifests two feats of supernormal power, I will manifest four feats of supernormal power. [If] he manifests four, I will manifest eight. [If] he manifests eight, [728a] I will manifest sixteen. [If] he manifests sixteen, I will manifest thirty-two. I will continually make them increase until I have overcome him and completely had a trial of powers with him. Suppose he does not accept our teachings, he will be blamed. Having heard this, people will no longer support him and we will in turn get their support."

Then the nun [Soṇā] heard this being said: "The six teachers have come together in one place and have given rise to this discussion: 'We will be fully victorious over the recluse Gotama who does not accept our teachings to the people.'" Then the nun ⟨Soṇā⟩ flew up into the sky and approached the six teachers,⁴ speaking this poem: [4]

³ [4] Adopting a variant without 等; on the claim to defeat the Buddha by doubling any supernormal feat he might perform cf. also Anālayo 2015a: 23 and 27 notes 44 and 58.

⁴ [5] My rendering of the nun's name as Soṇā is based on an emendation. EĀ 38.11 at T II 728a6 actually reads 輸盧 (following a variant without 尼) which I assume to be an error for 輸那. 輸那 occurs in the listing of outstanding nuns in EĀ 5.2 at T II 559a13 as foremost among those who overcome heterodox practitioners, 降伏外道, and establish them in the right teaching, 立以正教. The present discourse, EĀ 38.11 at T II 728a27, similarly reckons 輸盧 as foremost in the ability to overcome heterodox practitioners, 降伏外道. This makes it in my view safe to conclude that the present instance involves the same Soṇā. In the case of the other tale I take up below from EĀ 52.1, the names of several outstanding nuns are translated differently from the renderings used in EĀ 5; in fact even within the same tale in EĀ 52.1 the renderings vary, showing that

"My teacher has no equal
He is the most venerable one whom none excels,
I am that venerable one's disciple
Called the nun (Soṇā).
"Establish your positions,
And in turn debate them with me.
I shall reply to all matters,
Like a lion trapping a deer.
"Except for my venerable teacher,
There is currently no Tathāgata.
I am a nun who right now
Can subdue heterodox practitioners completely."

When the nun had said this, the six teachers were not even able to look at her face, let alone debate with her.

Then the inhabitants of the city of Vesālī saw from afar that the nun was up in the air debating with the six teachers, yet the six teachers were unable to reply. Everyone praised and celebrated it, being delighted beyond measure, [saying]: "Today the six teachers have been defeated by her."

Then the six teachers were very upset. They went out of the city of Vesālī and left; they did not enter the city any more. Then a group of many monks heard that the nun (Soṇā) had debated with the six teachers and been victorious. Having heard this, they approached the Blessed One, paid respect with their heads at his feet, and fully reported to the Blessed One what had happened.

The Blessed One said to the monks: "The nun (Soṇā) has great supernormal power, great might, she is wise and learned. For a long time this thought had arisen in me: 'There is no one

the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, in the way it has come down to us, is not consistent in rendering proper names.

else who is able to debate with the six teachers, only the Tathāgata and this nun."⁵

At that time the Blessed One said to the monks: "Have you seen another nun who is able to overcome heterodox practitioners like the nun ⟨Soṇā⟩?" The monks replied: "No, Blessed One."^[5]

The Blessed One said: "Monks, among my disciples, the foremost nun in the ability to overcome heterodox practitioners is reckoned to be the nun ⟨Soṇā⟩."

At that time the monks, having heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and received it respectfully.

Study (1)

The six teachers and their doctrines, mentioned in the tale above, feature also in the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta* and its parallels.⁵ A closer look at the setting of this discourse can help appreciate the importance given to refuting the doctrines of these six teachers in the discourse translated above.

According to the background narration given in the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta*, King Ajātasattu had asked the Buddha to point out a visible fruit of going forth. This question appears to be less innocuous than it might seem at first sight, in that it could express a critical attitude, even a wish to challenge, the ancient Indian lifestyle of a recluse that was also lived by the Buddha and his disciples.⁶ This would be in line with a general political change to-

⁵ [6] The description of the doctrines of the six teachers can be found in DN 2 at DN I 52,21, DĀ 27 at T I 108a27, T 22 at T I 271b25, EĀ 43.7 at T II 763b4, and a discourse quotation in the *Sanḅhabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: 220,22.

⁶ [7] MacQueen 1988: 206f and 209 comments that "Ajātasattu was king and overseer of a region apparently much frequented by śramaṇas, and it may be that he was interested in having the status of this sizeable group of people clarified." In fact "criticism of the śramaṇa's parasitical mode of life is well

wards a more centralized form of government attempting to assert its control in the early Indian setting.⁷ [6]

In such a setting the Buddha is shown to react wisely by first enquiring from the king if he had already asked this question of others. King Ajātasattu thereupon recounts his visits paid to each of the six well-known contemporary teachers. In reply to his question, each of them simply expounded their respective theory, which of course did not satisfy the king.

Having heard this report, the Buddha then dexterously illustrates the visible fruitfulness of going forth with the example of a slave in the royal household. After going forth such a slave would be beyond the king's control and would even merit the king's respect and support. This demonstrates the fruitfulness of going forth with an example taken from the king's personal experience and at the same time gets the king to affirm publicly that he respects and supports those who have gone forth.

With the apparent political undercurrent of the question settled in this way, the Buddha then proceeds to give an account of the gradual path in his teaching as a way of demonstrating the spiritual fruitfulness of going forth.⁸ In this way, the *Sāmaññaphala-*

attested in the literature of this period." Thus it seems as if "Ajātaśatru puts the śramaṇa on the same level as the ordinary man and asks him to stand up and give account of himself."

⁷ [8] Warder 1956: 55 notes that the *śramaṇa* lifestyle was "threatened by political changes in the Ganges region". Thapar 1976/1978: 86 explains that "the authoritarian trends in the states emerging in the mid-first millennium B.C. were not always sympathetic to wanderers. They were often seen as people escaping social responsibility or socio-political demands. Their survival as free thinkers was dependent on their being able to assert the right to an alternative life."

⁸ [9] Meisig 1987: 35ff (cf. also Ramers 1996: 6f) sees the account of the gradual path as a misfit in the present context; for a critical reply to this suggestion cf. Freiburger 2000a: 73f note 165.

sutta and its parallels showcase the Buddha's superiority over the six contemporary teachers.

The actual doctrines proclaimed by these six are recorded in the parallel versions with considerable variations.⁹ In fact even just within the corpus of the Pāli discourses some degree of confusion can be seen regarding the doctrines associated with each of these teachers.¹⁰ This gives the impression that what mattered to those responsible for the transmission of the early discourses was the supremacy of the Buddha's teaching over a set of contemporary doctrinal positions, whose relation to a particular teacher would have been of less relevance. In view of this it is not surprising that the discourse translated above presents yet another version of relating these doctrines to these six teachers, [7] which even differs from the views associated with them in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*.¹¹

The pervasiveness of the theme of the Buddha's superiority over other teachers can be seen also in the famous tale of the twin miracle (the simultaneous manifestation of water and fire) performed at Sāvattthī.¹² Notably, whereas in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* narration and in the case of the miracle at Sāvattthī the Buddha

⁹ [10] These have been studied by Bapat 1948: 109–112, Basham 1951: 21–24, Vogel 1970, Meisig 1987: 124–169, and MacQueen 1988: 148–168.

¹⁰ [11] Thus, e.g., SN 22.60 at SN III 69,3 reports Pūraṇa Kassapa holding the view that according to DN 2 at DN I 53,25 was held by Makkhali Gosāla. AN 3.135 at AN I 286,24 seems to confuse Makkhali Gosāla with Ajita Kesakambalī. AN 6.57 at AN III 383,17 reports Pūraṇa Kassapa's detailed exposition of a view that according to DN 2 at DN I 54,4 was part of Makkhali Gosāla's position; cf. also the discussion in Basham 1951: 18–20.

¹¹ [12] EĀ 43.7 at T II 763b4.

¹² [13] On this miracle cf., e.g., Foucher 1909, Lüders 1941/1966: 62–73, Brown 1984, Verardi 1988: 1540f, Karetzky 1990: 72f, Rhi 1991, Schlingloff 1991, Skilling 1997b: 303–315, Zhu 2006: 255f, Anālayo 2009i: 776, Fiordalis 2010/2011: 401f, and Anālayo 2015a: 26–29.

does not personally communicate with his opponents, in the discourse translated above the nun Soṇā directly confronts the six teachers for debate.¹³ Similarly to the case of the Buddha's miracle at Sāvattḥī, Soṇā's victory is based on a display of supernormal powers. In the present case her ability to levitate already suffices to silence the six teachers.¹⁴

Although the central message of the above discourse is similar to the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* narrative and the tale of the Sāvattḥī miracle, what makes this *Ekottarika-āgama* tale particularly noteworthy is that here a nun takes the role of defeating the six teachers. The significance of this is highlighted in the discourse itself through the Buddha's explicit statement that he does not see anyone else, apart from himself, who could perform this feat, except for this nun. In fact the Pāli discourses and their *Āgama* parallels do not report an instance where a monk defeats all of the six teachers together.¹⁵

In these texts Soṇā is not only outstanding among the nuns, but also outstanding among all disciples, male or female, monastic or lay, [8] for having defeated the six teachers. This puts a remarkable spotlight on a nun as the only disciple capable of performing such a feat and thereby publicly defending the superiority of the Buddha's dispensation. Soṇā achieves this by combining a display of her readiness to debate with a supernormal feat, which brings together features of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* and of the Sāvattḥī miracle.

¹³ [¹⁴] The theme of debate manifests in various ways in the early Buddhist discourses, several cases of which I have studied elsewhere; cf. above p. 31ff and Anālayo 2010e, 2011b, 2012c, and 2013b.

¹⁴ On levitation cf. in more detail Anālayo 2016e.

¹⁵ An instance found apart from the Pāli discourses and the Chinese *Āgamas* would be T 202 at T IV 420b9, where Sāriputta defeats the six teachers. On the textual history of T 202 cf. Mair 1993/1999. According to the *Dīvyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 160,13, Mahāmaudgalyāyana would also have been able to defeat the six teachers.

The agency and supernormal abilities of nuns is also a prominent feature in another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, translated below, which reports the passing away of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī.¹⁶ This tale has parallels in the *Apadāna* and in the *Therī-gāthā* commentary, as well as in several texts preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translation.¹⁷

Translation (2)

Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Vesālī in the communal hall, being in the company of a great group of five hundred monks.

At that time Mahāpajāpatī was dwelling in the Kūṭāgārasālā in Vesālī,¹⁸ being in the company of a great group of five hundred nuns, all of whom were arahants with their influxes eradicated. Then Mahāpajāpatī heard the monks saying: [821c] "The Tathāgata will soon enter complete extinction, within three months between the twin Sāla trees at Kusinārā."

¹⁶ [17] The translated text is EĀ 52.1 at T II 821b26 to 822b3, which is the first part of a longer discourse. The relevant section has already been translated by Dash 2008: 134–140; cf. also the summaries in Lévi 1908: 164f and Legittimo 2009: 1202. In what follows I only note selected differences; a comprehensive study and translation of the Chinese parallels is under preparation by Jan Nattier.

¹⁷ [16] Ap 17 at Ap 529,22, translated Walters 1995, Thī-a 138,1, translated Pruitt 1998/1999: 185ff, two individual translations, T 144 (佛說大愛道般泥洹經) at T II 867a21 and T 145 (佛母般泥洹經) at T II 869b11, tale 68 in the 大莊嚴論經, T 201 at T IV 333a23, translated Huber 1908: 387ff, and a version in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 248b13 and D 6 *tha* 111a6 or Q 1035 *de* 106b6; translated by Dhammadinnā 2016 (for a summary cf. Finnegan 2009: 233). For a comparative study based on T 201 cf. Lévi 1908: 160–174; for reservations regarding his conclusions cf. Oldenberg 1912: 207f note 3, Winternitz 1920/1968: 129, and Bechert 1958: 20. I briefly discussed this tale in Ap 17 and its Chinese parallels in Anālayo 2008c: 123 and 141 note 86.

¹⁸ On the *kūṭāgāra* cf. Bollée 1986.

Then Mahāpajāpatī in turn thought: "I cannot stand seeing the Tathāgata enter complete extinction and I also cannot stand seeing Ānanda entering complete extinction."¹⁹ [9] It is proper that I should now enter complete extinction first."²⁰

Then Mahāpajāpatī in turn approached the Blessed One, paid respect with her head at his feet, and sat to one side. Then Mahāpajāpatī said in front of the Buddha: "I heard that the Blessed One will soon enter complete extinction, within three months from now, between the twin Sāla trees at Kusinārā. Now I cannot stand seeing the Blessed One and Ānanda enter complete extinction. I only wish that the Blessed One would permit me to enter complete extinction first."²¹ Then the Blessed One approved it by remaining silent.²²

¹⁹ According to Ap 17.3 at Ap 529,28, she also could not stand witnessing the final Nirvāṇa of Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna (referred to as the *sāvakaggayuga*), as well as of Rāhula and Nanda, to which Thī-a 138,18 adds Mahākassapa. In T 144 at T II 867b2 she also mentions Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna, who appear to be implicit in her statement in T 145 at T II 869c12 (their names are given at T II 869b19). The Buddha's eventual passing away comes up again in EĀ 18.8 at T II 592c14, where he tells Mahāpajāpatī that she should not wish him eternal life (the suggestion by Radich 2011/2012: 247 note 80 that this implies an affirmation of the Buddha's immortality seems incorrect), an episode that in T 201 at T IV 333a17 and T 1451 at T XXIV 248a29 as well as D 6 *tha* 110b5 or Q 1035 *de* 106a6 precedes Mahāpajāpatī's passing away; on which cf. also Dhammadinnā 2015a.

²⁰ Thī-a 138,6 adds that she had realized that her own lifespan was coming to an end and thereupon decided to enter final Nirvāṇa.

²¹ A request to be allowed to enter Nirvāṇa is a standard element in such scenes and similarly relevant for male protagonists. This can be seen, for example, in the story of the monk Dabba in Ud 8.9 at Ud 92,29, which in agreement with its parallels SĀ 1076 at T II 280b27 and SĀ² 15 at T II 378b1 reports that he approached the Buddha to inform of his wish to enter Nirvāṇa; for a more detailed study cf. Anālayo 2012b.

²² Ap 17.79 at Ap 535,24 and Thī-a 145,13 report that, after having given her permission to enter final Nirvāṇa, the Buddha explicitly asked her to perform

Then Mahāpajāpatī further said to the Buddha: "From now on, I only wish the Blessed One would grant that the nuns recite the rules [without me]." The Buddha said: "I now permit that the nuns in turn grant [other] nuns the <reciting> of the precepts,²³ just as I originally promulgated the precepts, without causing any deviation."^[10]

Then Mahāpajāpatī went forward to pay respect at the Buddha's feet and stood in front of the Buddha. Then Mahāpajāpatī further said to the Buddha: "Now I will no longer see the Tathāgata's face, and I will also not see future Buddhas. I will not take birth in a womb, but forever abide in the unconditioned. Today I depart and will never again see the noble one's complexion."

Then Mahāpajāpatī circumambulated the Buddha seven times and she also circumambulated Ānanda seven times.²⁴ She completed circumambulating the community of monks, withdrew and left. Returning to be among the community of nuns, she said to the nuns: "I now wish to enter into the unconditioned element of Nirvāṇa. The reason is that the Tathāgata will soon enter complete extinction. You should each act according to what [you deem] suitable at this time."²⁵

At that time the nun Khemā, the nun Uppalavaṇṇā, the nun Kisā[gotamī], the nun Sakulā, the nun Sāmā, the nun Paṭācārā, the nun *Bhaddacālā, the nun [Bhaddā] Kaccānā, the nun [Vi]jayā,

supernormal feats to dispel the doubts of the foolish regarding the ability of women to realize the Dharma.

²³ Adopting an emendation suggested in the CBETA edition of the first of two consecutive instances of 禁 to become 說.

²⁴ On the symbolic sense of the number seven cf. Anālayo 2011c: 471f note 158; the usual number of circumambulations in the early discourses is three; cf. also above p. 145 note 4 and Dhammadinnā 2015a: 52.

²⁵ Adopting a variant that adds 時.

and five hundred nuns approached the Buddha and stood to one side.²⁶ Then the five hundred nuns, with the nun Khemā at their head, said to the Buddha:

"We all heard that the Tathāgata will soon enter complete extinction. We cannot stand seeing the Blessed One and Ānanda enter complete extinction first.²⁷ We only wish that the Blessed One would permit us to enter complete extinction first. We would now enter Nirvāṇa, this being proper and suitable." Then the Blessed One approved it by remaining silent. [822a] When the nun Khemā and the five hundred nuns saw that the Blessed One had approved it by remaining silent, they came forward to pay respect at the Buddha's feet, circumambulated him three times, withdrew and in turn left to return to their former dwellings.

Then Mahāpajāpatī closed the door of the lecture hall, hit the gong, put down her sitting cloth in an open place, and soared up into the empty sky. [11] [While] sitting, lying down, standing, and walking in the empty sky, [from her body] burning flames came out; from her lower body smoke came out; from her upper body fire came out; from her lower body water came out; from her upper body smoke came out; her whole body released flames; her whole body released smoke; from the left side of her upper body water came out; from the right side of her upper body fire came out; from the right side of her upper body water came out; from the left side of her upper body fire came out;²⁸ from the front [of her body] fire came out; from the back [of her body] water came out; from the front [of her body] water came out; from the back [of her body] fire

²⁶ My reconstruction of some of the names of the nuns is conjectural.

²⁷ T 144 at T II 867c21 adds that they also did not want to witness the final Nirvāṇa of Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna.

²⁸ Adopting the variant 火 instead of 烟.

came out; from her whole body fire came out; and from her whole body water came out.²⁹

When Mahāpajāpatī had performed many transformations, she returned to her original seat to sit down cross-legged with straight body and straight mind, collecting mindfulness in front. She entered the first absorption. Rising from the first absorption, she entered the second absorption. Rising from the second absorption, she entered the third absorption. Rising from the third absorption, she entered the fourth absorption. Rising from the fourth absorption, she entered the sphere of [infinite] space. Rising from the sphere of [infinite] space, she entered the sphere of [infinite] consciousness. Rising from the sphere of [infinite] consciousness, she entered the sphere of nothingness. Rising from the sphere of nothingness, she entered the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception. Rising from the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, she entered the cessation of perception and knowing.³⁰ [12]

²⁹ Her display of miracles in Ap 17.85+88 at Ap 536,7 and Thī-a 146,3 does include the manifestation of fire and smoke, as well as of raining down water, but these fall short of being a performance of the twin miracle as they do not occur simultaneously. This is in line with a general position taken in the Theravāda tradition, which does not envisage a performance of the twin miracle by disciples. Skilling 1997b: 315 explains that "the Mūlasarvāstivādins, Sarvāstivādins, Lokottaravādins, Mahīśāsakas, Aśvaghōṣa, and Asaṅga along with the *Ratnaguṇasamcaya*, *Ekottarikāgama*, *Pu yao ching*, and *Book of Zambasta*, agree against the Theravādins that an auditor as well as a Buddha could perform the *yamakaprātihārya*"; cf. also Dhammadinnā 2015a: 42f.

³⁰ Ap 17.146 at Ap 540,10 and Thī-a 151,4 only report her meditatively progressing up to neither-perception-nor-non-perception and thus do not mention her attainment of cessation; the same is the case for T 1451 at T XXIV 248c19 and D 6 *tha* 112b3 or Q 1035 *de* 108a1 (where this description applies to her and the five hundred nuns). Pruitt 1998/1999: 197 note 1 points out that the description in Thī-a, by not mentioning the attainment of cessation, differs

Rising from the cessation of perception and knowing, she entered the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception. Rising from the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, she entered the sphere of nothingness. Rising from the sphere of nothingness, she entered the sphere of [infinite] consciousness. Rising from the sphere of [infinite] consciousness, she entered the sphere of [infinite] space. Rising from the sphere of [infinite] space, she entered the fourth absorption. Rising from the fourth absorption, she entered the third absorption. Rising from the third absorption, she entered the second absorption. Rising from the second absorption, she entered the first absorption.

Rising from the first absorption, she entered the second absorption. Rising from the second absorption, she entered the third absorption. Rising from the third absorption, she entered the fourth absorption. Having entered the fourth absorption, she in turn entered complete extinction.³¹

from the otherwise similar description of the Buddha's passing away in DN 16 at DN II 156,14; for a comparative study of which cf. Anālayo 2014c. Nevertheless, both Ap and Thī-a make a point of explicitly stating that her passing away as a whole was more remarkable than that of the Buddha, Ap 17.173 at Ap 542,13: *buddhassa parinibbānaṃ nedisaṃ āsi yādisaṃ, gotamīparinibbānaṃ atīv'* (Thī-a 153,14: *atev'*) *acchariyaṃ ahu*. Shaw 2006/2007: 151 comments that "her achievements exceeded those of Shakyamuni in one area, for the Buddha was not followed into parinirvāṇa by any of his disciples, whereas five hundred of Gotamī's congregation of nuns ... accompanied her on her final journey."

³¹ T 144 at T II 868a10 and 868a17 and T 145 at T II 869c25 do not precede her attainment of final Nirvāṇa or that of the five hundred nuns with a meditative tour through the absorptions and the immaterial spheres. T 201 at T IV 335b25, however, reports such a meditative progression by all the nuns, as is the case for T 1451 at T XXIV 248c20 and D 6 *tha* 112b5 or Q 1035 *de* 108a3.

At that time there was a great earthquake in the world.³² The east rose up and the west sank down, the west rose up and the east sank down. The four sides rose up and the centre sank down, and on all four sides a cool breeze arose. [13] [Some] *devas* in the sky danced and made music. [Some] *devas* of the sensual sphere were crying in grief, which was like timely rain that falls from the sky in a month of the spring season. The sublime *devas* scattered various lotus fragrances and various [kinds of] sandalwood powder on her [body].

At that time the nun Khemā, the nun Uppalavaṇṇā, the nun Kisāgotamī, the nun Sakulā, the nun Sāmā, the nun Paṭācārā, the nun [Bhaddā] Kaccānā, the nun [Vi]jayā, being at the head of five hundred nuns, [822b] each put down their sitting cloths in an open place and soared up into the empty sky. [While] sitting, lying down, standing, and walking in the empty sky, they performed eighteen transformations ... *up to* ... they entered into the cessation of perception and knowing ... and each of them entered complete extinction.³³

Study (2)

The tale of Mahāpajāpatī's passing away has already been studied by other scholars, resulting in different interpretations. Walters (1994: 375) holds that "with its portrayal of Gotamī as the female counterpart of [the] Buddha, the *Gotamī-apadāna*" shows that "Gotamī is the Buddha for women." Walters (1994: 376

³² Ap 17.6 at Ap 530,5 and Thī-a 138,26 already report an earthquake when Mahāpajāpatī and the five hundred nuns decide to enter Nirvāṇa.

³³ As already noted by Skilling 1997b: 314, in this way "the *Ekottarāgama* relates that the *yamakaprātihārya* was performed by the five hundred female companions of Mahāprajāpatī"; cf. also Lamotte 1976: 1769 note 4. Xuánzàng (玄奘) refers to the *stūpa* at the site where Mahāpajāpatī and her nuns were held to have passed away; cf. T 2087 at T LI 908b28, translated in Beal 1884/2001: 68.

and 378) then even goes so far as to speak of "the Buddhī, Gotamī" and of "Her Buddhahood".³⁴

Although it is certainly true that the narration of Mahāpajāpati's passing away is remarkable in its vindication of her eminence,³⁵ this does not turn her into a female counterpart of the Buddha.³⁶ [14] According to tradition, being a Buddha implies that one has found the path to awakening oneself and then teaches it to others. With all her impressive attainments and abilities, Mahāpajāpati remains a disciple of the Buddha and cannot be a Buddha herself.

Walters bases his assumption on the fact that in the *Apadāna* and the commentary on the *Therīgāthā* her decision to enter final Nirvāṇa is accompanied by an earthquake. Similarly, an earthquake accompanies the Buddha's decision to enter final Nirvāṇa, in line with the dictum that this is one of the occasions for the manifestation of an earthquake.³⁷

³⁴ Influenced by Walters, Crosby 2014: 251f in turn affirms that "Mahāpajāpati Gotamī functions as a female Buddha or 'quasi-Buddha' in the *Apadāna* ... being on a par with Gotama Buddha and in some ways preceding him."

³⁵ [34] Walters 1994: 372 rightly highlights that her display of miracles, performed "in order to honor a request of the Buddha that she dissuade 'fools' who doubt the ability of women to enter the Dharma (verse 79) ... parodies typical misogynist views (verses 43–47)". Murcott 1991: 18 comments that "clearly, the early sangha judged Pajapati to have been a remarkable person." Sujato 2011: 303 notes that this tale offers "a welcome positive icon for women's spirituality"; cf. also Dhiraśekera 1967: 157f and Scott 2010/2011: 496–499.

³⁶ [35] Faure 2003: 183 comments that "Walter's claim that Gotamī Mahāprajāpati is a female buddha seems exaggerated." In my view similarly exaggerated is the suggestion by Walters 2014: 188 that Yasodharā "has enabled the Buddha's Buddhahood ... we can read Yasodharā's *apadāna* to mean that she, rather than her husband, was in some ways the actual agent of his Buddhahood."

³⁷ [36] Walters 1994: 375 note 52 reasons that "the text provides no unambiguous statement of this position, which borders on heresy. But if I am correct in reading *Mahāparinibbānasutta* as the intertextual basis for our text, then the earthquakes caused by Gotamī define her as a Buddha de facto" (the reference is to the listing

Yet, in the *Apadāna* and the commentary on the *Therīgāthā* the earthquake marks the decision of Mahāpajāpatī and of the five hundred nuns to enter final Nirvāṇa.³⁸ Clearly this does not imply that they should all be considered Buddhas. In short, in early Buddhist thought one becomes a Buddha by discovering the path to liberation on one's own, not because at the time of one's decision to enter final Nirvāṇa or of one's actual death there is an earthquake.

A rather different evaluation of the same tale has been proposed by Wilson (2011: 134f), who suggests that

Gotami frets about the death of male kinsmen ... [15] because she may end up as a socially stigmatized woman if she does not relinquish her life before the death of her close kinsmen ... Gotami's decision to pass away before the death of her son and other male relatives [suggests] a form of *sati* in which a woman whose husband is about to die takes her own life in anticipation of her husband's death. [In other words], Gotami wishes to avoid the fate of the surplus woman, the woman without male guardianship.

This seems to me also to be a result of not fully taking into account the five hundred nuns, who are a crucial element of the story.³⁹ These are all similarly motivated to enter final Nirvāṇa

of eight causes for earthquakes in DN 16, which at DN II 108,28 indicates one such cause is when a *tathāgata* mindfully gives up the life formation). Here I think it needs to be kept in mind that the listing of eight causes for an earthquake, in itself already apparently an expansion from a shorter listing of three such causes (cf. above p. 280 note 26), did not limit the evolution of the earthquake motif in Buddhist texts to these eight occasions only. Instead, earthquakes occur in later texts without such occasions corresponding invariably to one of these eight instances.

³⁸ [37] Ap 17.6 at Ap 530,5 and Thī-a 138,26; the other versions do not relate the decision of either Mahāpajāpatī or the five hundred nuns to an earthquake.

³⁹ [38] Shaw 2006/2007: 149 notes that "the inclusion of a large congregation of female disciples in Gotamī's story forecloses on the inference that she is a

because they do not wish to witness the passing away of the Buddha and Ānanda. In the case of the five hundred nuns, it is clear that they are not all relatives of the Buddha or Ānanda, so that they could not be motivated by the wish to avoid being alive when their male relative(s) pass(es) away. In order to do justice to the narration, an explanation of the decision to pass away needs to be developed that fits the case of all five hundred, not only of Mahāpajāpatī alone.

Besides, Mahāpajāpatī and the other nuns had already stepped out of the traditional framework of male guardianship by close family members with their act of going forth. They no longer have any need to avoid the role of the surplus woman without male guardianship. In fact in most versions even Mahāpajāpatī herself additionally mentions the passing away of other chief disciples who were not her personal relatives, such as Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna as well as Mahākassapa.⁴⁰

For these reasons it is hard to see how this story could be related to the custom of *satī*.⁴¹ This custom, as evidenced in the pre-modern history of India, usually forms the reaction of a married woman to the death of her husband and only very rarely her reaction to the death of other male members of her family.⁴² [16] Mahāpajāpatī undertaking self-cremation in accordance with the standard custom should therefore have happened in relation to her husband, who by the time of the present event had passed away

uniquely accomplished woman and makes it clear that she is not an anomaly, token, or isolated case."

⁴⁰ [39] Cf. above note 19.

⁴¹ [40] On this custom cf., e.g., Altekar 1956: 115–142, Nandy 1980, Datta 1988, Sharma et al. 1988/2001, Leslie 1991, Hawley 1994, Courtright 1995, van den Bosch 1995, Weinberger-Thomas 1996, Garzilli 1997, Mani 1998, Adhya 2006, and Brick 2010.

⁴² [41] On exceptions to the rule cf., e.g., Weinberger-Thomas 1996: 130–134.

long ago and to whom none of the versions of the present tale even so much as alludes.⁴³

Finally, the fire manifestations Mahāpajāpatī performs do not burn her body up, as after that she sits down to meditate peacefully. In sum, her wish to pass away before the Buddha in the present story clearly is not related to the custom of *satī*.⁴⁴ Instead it is simply the application of a trope from the account of the Buddha's passing away, which indeed seems to have provided a model for the present episode.

The Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and several of its Chinese parallels report that the last convert made by the Buddha, Subhadra, also decided to enter final Nirvāṇa before the Buddha's impending decease.⁴⁵ According to another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,

⁴³ [⁴²] The close relationship to the death of the husband in particular, not to the death of other male members of the family, explains itself out of a concern to avoid the fate of being a widow. According to Leslie 1991: 189, "not until the husband's body is consumed in flames and he is thereby deemed to have departed this world alone, without his wife, may she be called a 'widow' ... the *satī* is the wife who has in fact chosen not to become a widow." Similarly Hawley 1994: 13 notes that "sati is a means of avoiding widowhood. Since the husband is not considered really to have died until he is cremated (or, occasionally buried), his wife has the brief time separating his physical death and his ritual one to avoid this undesirable state by joining him on his pyre"; cf. also Hejib and Young 1988/2001: 80, who sum up that "the sati never had the title of a widow", and Courtright 1995: 189: "the wife does not become a widow until her husband is cremated. By joining him on the pyre she dies together with him ... bypassing the status of widowhood and avoiding the ritual contamination and social marginality it would bring on her and those around her."

⁴⁴ [⁴³] Elsewhere the early Buddhist discourses do in fact not show any awareness of this custom and the only instances of self-cremation found in them involve monks or Pāccekabuddhas; cf. in more detail Anālayo 2012b and above p. 218.

⁴⁵ [⁴⁴] Cf. Waldschmidt 1951: 382,10 (40.48), T 5 at T I 172b1, T 6 at T I 187c29, and T 7 at T I 204b23. Notably in the last case in T 7, when Subhadra has expressed that he cannot stand witnessing the Buddha's entering of Nirvāṇa and

Sāriputta also wanted to pass away, since he could not stand seeing the Buddha enter final Nirvāṇa.⁴⁶ [17] Having received the Buddha's permission to do so, he similarly did a meditative tour of the four absorptions, the immaterial attainments, and cessation.⁴⁷ His actual passing away, which here does not take place immediately on completing this meditative tour, then also results in earthquakes.⁴⁸ This confirms that several features of the spectacular passing away of Mahāpajāpatī reported in the *Ekottarika-āgama* are not specific to her role as the Buddha's foster mother.

In sum, as far as I can see the tale translated above neither places Mahāpajāpatī in a position equal to the Buddha, nor reflects her womanly dependence on male guardians. I contend that neither the feminist appropriation nor the feminist critique of Mahāpajāpatī's spectacular passing away, proposed by Walters and Wilson respectively, does full justice to the story.⁴⁹ Instead, it seems to me that the central point is to provide inspiration to other nuns through the depiction of exemplary conduct and feats, in line with the list of outstanding nuns discussed in the last chapter but one.

Conclusion

The two tales translated and studied in this chapter involve elements that are traditionally viewed as the domain of the Buddha. The texts show Soṇā defeating the six teachers with her readiness

has received the Buddha's permission to enter Nirvāṇa first, he does so by meditatively attaining the fire element.

⁴⁶ [45] As Wilson 2011: 142 notes, "Gotami is not alone in responding to the immanent [*sic*] death of the Buddha by orchestrating her own death. She is only one of many saints who made this choice."

⁴⁷ [46] EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a19.

⁴⁸ [47] EĀ 26.9 at T II 640c14.

⁴⁹ [48] On various approaches taken by scholars in general when studying the role of women in Buddhist texts cf. Collett 2006 and 2009a.

to debate combined with a display of her supernormal abilities, just as they show the Buddha defeating them with his eloquent explanations in front of the king, recorded in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, and again with his display of the twin miracle at Sāvattihī. They report how Mahāpajāpatī consciously decides to pass away and then proceeds through the whole range of meditative abilities on the eve of her passing away, just as according to their record the Buddha did on the eve of his Mahāparinirvāṇa.

Nevertheless, the intention of these tales is not to place Soṇā or Mahāpajāpatī at the same level as the Buddha. In the case of Mahāpajāpatī this can be clearly seen in the detailed descriptions of how she worshipped the Buddha and other monks. In this way the spotlight placed on her spiritual power and abilities as a woman comes combined with an acknowledgement of the hierarchically inferior position of women vis-à-vis men that appears to have been so pervasive in the ancient Indian setting. [18] The promotion of the abilities of accomplished female monastics as a source of inspiration, in line with passages that explicitly aim at providing inspiration for other nuns,⁵⁰ clearly operates within the general framework of gender hierarchy.

The present tales are among several discourses featuring outstanding nuns in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,⁵¹ making it probable that

⁵⁰ Cf. above p. 302f.

⁵¹ [50] Although the present tale does not explicitly introduce Mahāpajāpatī as an outstanding nun, this rank is accorded to her in the listing of eminent nuns in EĀ 5.1 at T II 558c21 (cf. above p. 304) as well as once again in EĀ 18.8 at T II 592c26 (on this tale cf. above note 19); both instances highlight her long standing as a nun and her renown. Outstanding nuns are a recurrent feature in the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, where they are found not only in the listing of outstanding nuns that parallels AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,17. Besides the above instance of Soṇā, EĀ 38.11 at T II 728a27 (which parallels a reference to her in EĀ 5.2 at T II 559a12; cf. above p. 310), another four such instances are: 1) EĀ 23.1 at T II 611b27 features Bhaddā Kaccānā as outstanding for being lib-

a substantial number of nuns would have been among the target audience of the discourses in this collection, sufficiently substantial to be taken into account by the reciters and transmitters of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁵²

erated by faith (paralleling EĀ 5.1 at T II 559a5; cf. above p. 305). 2) EĀ 34.5 at T II 696b10 shows Sakulā to be outstanding for the divine eye (paralleling a reference to her in EĀ 5.1 at T II 558c25; cf. above p. 305). 3) EĀ 42.3 at T II 750c14 appears to refer to Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā as outstanding for swift wisdom (in EĀ 5.5 at T II 559c4 she is outstanding for having attained final realization (following T 2040 at T L 12c5); cf. above p. 319 and for a study of her tale cf. Todeschini 2013). 4) EĀ 52.2 at T II 825b13 presents Bhaddā Kapi-lānī as outstanding for recollection of past lives (paralleling EĀ 5.2 at T II 559a10; cf. above p. 309).

⁵² [51] On remarkable nuns in the *Samyukta-āgama* that appear even in a better light than monks cf. Anālayo 2014e.

Bhaddā-apadāna (Ap 27 & 28)

Introduction

In the present chapter I examine the notion that birth as a woman is the result of bad karma in the light of canonical and post-canonical Buddhist texts, among them two texts from the *Ekottarika-āgama* of which I present a translation.

In her study of the position of women in Thai Buddhism, Kabilsingh (1991: 31 and 16) remarks that

it is frequently said, for example, that "women were born from their bad karma" ... many women are convinced that they carry a heavy load of negative karma due to the simple fact of their gender ... Thai women seem to accept their suppression without complaint. Exploitation, whether physical, legal, or cultural, [110] has been justified on the basis of karma, and has therefore been accepted as the expression of [a] religious principle.¹

A testimony to the notion that being born as a female is a result of bad karma of can be found in a fourteenth century inscription from Sukhotai, where the queen mother formulates the aspiration that the merit of her founding of a monastery may conduce

* Originally published in 2014 under the title "Karma and Female Birth" in the *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 21: 109–153.

¹ [3] Cheng 2007: 57 reports from her study of Buddhist nuns that "much research finds that the idea of women having inferior karma has had a negative impact on the welfare of Buddhist nuns." Cheng 2007: 65 adds that "socially, the idea of women's inferior karma might hinder nuns to compete in the same activities as monks. This problem seems to be more severe in Taiwan than in Sri Lanka." In relation to Himalayan cultures, Lekshe Tsomo 1999: 177 notes that "the most common term for a woman in Tibetan, *skye dman*, literally means 'inferior birth'."

to her rebirth as a male.² The wording of her aspiration conveys the impression that her urge to become a man is so strong that she imagines having become one already, who looks back at a previous existence as a female.³

A rationale for such a type of aim finds its expression in a passage in the commentary on the *Sutta-nipāta*, the *Paramatthajotikā*, which reports the aspiration made by a woman to be reborn as a man. In her aspiration, she notes how disgusting it is to be a woman, since even the daughter of a wheel-turning monarch will be under the control of others, wherefore she aspires to become a male.⁴ In other words, her aspiration to become a male is motivated by the wish to escape the restraints she experiences in a patriarchal society. [111]

The story then continues by reporting that she was indeed able to overcome the fruition of the formerly done evil deed (*pāpakkamma*) that had caused her to be born as a woman, and was reborn as a male *devaputta*.

Change of Sex

As the tale from the *Paramatthajotikā* shows, the notion that being a female is related to bad karma is attested in the Pāli commentarial tradition. Another example is the commentary on the

² [4] The relevant part of the aspiration, translated in Griswold and Prasert 1969: 55, reads: "by the power of my merit, may I be reborn as a male in the future ... may I retain this woman's accumulated merit."

³ [5] Griswold and Prasert 1969: 55 note 90 comment that in the aspiration the expression "'this woman' is of course the donor herself in her present existence ... she is here speaking as if she had already been reborn as a male and were viewing the present events in retrospect."

⁴ [6] Pj II 77,31: *jigucchānīyo mātugāmo, cakkavattidhītā pi paravasam gacchati, tasmā aham itthibhāvaṃ anupagamma puriso bhaveyyan ti*; cf. also Oikawa 2002/2003: 67f.

Dhammapada,⁵ which reports the tale of a householder by the name of Soreyya. The story goes that, on seeing the beautiful skin colour of the monk Mahākaccāyana, Soreyya had the wish to have him as his wife or else that his wife might have a similar bodily hue. This impure thought caused him to change into a woman right on the spot.⁶

The tale continues with his experiences as a woman until at some point he offers a meal to Mahākaccāyana and asks to be forgiven, whereupon he becomes male again.

In this story, a bad deed led to becoming a woman, and a good deed in turn enabled becoming a man. In the course of narrating this tale, the *Dhammapada* commentary makes the following statement:

Men who have transgressed with the wives of others will after death be tormented for many hundreds of thousands of years in hell; [112] on coming back to human existence they will for a hundred rebirths undergo birth as a woman ...⁷

Women who have made merits by giving, etc., and who have discarded the wish for birth as a woman with the mental

⁵ [7] Dhp-a I 325,11 to 332,20; translated Burlingame 1921: 23–28.

⁶ [8] On the motif of change of sex cf., e.g., Brown 1927, Bapat 1957, Paul 1979/1985: 166–199, Schuster 1981, Goldman 1993, Gross 1993: 67–71, Perera 1993: 161f, Hae-ju 1999, Doniger 1999/2000: 260–302, Ohnuma 2000: 124–134, Verma 2000: 82, Peach 2002, Faure 2003: 100, Gyatso 2003: 110f, Nattier 2003a: 98, Dimitrov 2004, Young 2004: 191–203, Scherer 2006, Young 2007, Shyu 2008: 183–188, Finnegan 2009: 133–140, Powers 2009 (esp. 125f, 134–140, 173f, 185–187), Talim 2009: 68f, Appleton 2011: 43–47 and 2012: 170f, Anālayo 2015b, Dhammadinnā 2015b, and Anderson (forthcoming).

⁷ [9] Dhp-a I 327,4: *purisā hi parassa dāre aticarivā kālaṃ katvā bahūni vassasatassassāni niraye pacivā manussajātiṃ āgacchantā atabhāvasate itthi-bhāvaṃ āpajanti.*

resolve: "May this merit of ours lead to the obtaining of rebirth as a man", will after death obtain rebirth as a man.⁸

This mode of presentation appears to follow a general tendency in ancient Indian literature where, in the words of Brown (1927: 6), "a change from woman to man is always desirable while the reverse is always undesirable."⁹

The Pāli *Vinaya* reports rulings promulgated by the Buddha when a monk reportedly changed into a female or else when a nun became a male.¹⁰ Unlike the *Dhammapada* commentary, however, the *Vinaya* does not give a value judgement for these two cases. Instead, both are simply reported as a matter of fact, without a distinction between the case of a male changing to a female or a female changing to a male. In the canonical account there is no indication that for the monk to become a female is the result of bad karma, [113] or that for a nun to change into a male is the result of good karma.¹¹

Only the commentary to this episode gives such value judgement, in that the male characteristic is superior to the female characteristic. The commentary explains that loss of the male characteristic takes place due to a strong unwholesome deed, and its re-

⁸ [10] Dhpa I 327,12: *itthiyo pana dānādāni puññāni katvā itthibhāve chandaṃ virājetvā, idaṃ no puññaṃ purisattabhāvaṇṇaṃ paṭilābhāya saṃvattatū ti cittaṃ adhiṭṭhahitvā kālaṃ katvā purisattabhāvaṇṇaṃ paṭilābhanti.*

⁹ [11] Doniger 1999/2000: 281 explains that "where men are usually cursed to become women, women often choose to be men – a not surprising asymmetry, since the culture regards male status as higher than female."

¹⁰ [12] Vin III 35,12+18.

¹¹ [13] Scherer 2006: 67f speaks of a "basically non-judgemental reaction of the Buddha", noting that "this initial pragmatic approach towards gender-crossing is later modified in the authoritative commentary ... to the *vinaya*" where, in the words of Scherer 2006: 69, the commentarial stance is evidence for "an underlying assumption on gender inequality".

placement by the female characteristic is due to a weak wholesome deed. Conversely, loss of the female characteristic takes place due to a weak unwholesome deed, and its replacement with a male characteristic is due to a strong wholesome deed.¹²

That no such value judgement is found in the canonical *Vinaya* of the Theravāda tradition seems to concord with the case of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* where, according to Finnegan (2009: 136), no such evaluation is found either.¹³ [114] Yet, in line with the

¹² [14] Sp I 274,18: *imesu tāva dvīsu liṅgesu purisaliṅgaṃ uttamaṃ itthiliṅgaṃ hīnaṃ. tasma purisaliṅgaṃ balava-akusalena antaradhāyati, itthiliṅgaṃ dub-balakusalena paṭiṭṭhāti. itthiliṅgaṃ pana antaradhāyantaṃ dubbala-akusalena antaradhāyati purisaliṅgaṃ balavakusalena paṭiṭṭhāti.* A closely similar passage is found in the *Atthasālinī*, As 322,25, translated in Pe Maung Tin 1976: 412, which Powers 2009: 126 renders as stating that "[the marks of] both sexes change – [those of males] disappear on account of many offenses, while with many good actions [a female] becomes a male." This appears to capture only part of the position taken in the commentarial tradition; in fact both works continue by pointing out that in each of the two cases loss of the previous characteristic is due to an unwholesome deed, gain of the later characteristic due to a wholesome deed, *evaṃ ubhayam pi akusalena antaradhāyati, kusalena paṭilabbhati.* That is, a change of sex invariably takes place because of an unwholesome deed, which could be either weak (loss of female characteristic) or strong (loss of male characteristic). This is somewhat more nuanced than Powers' presentation.

¹³ [15] Finnegan 2009: 136 points out that the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* "does not distinguish in *any* significant way between female-to-male and male-to-female transformations. Were it the case that the *MSV* [Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*] imagined that sex change from male to female was associated with 'extraordinarily negative conduct' whereas female-to-male transformation could only result from acts of great beneficence, then it would be unthinkable that an ordained woman could become a man while breaking every manner of monastic rule ... but this is precisely what this section of the *MSV* envisions, again and again and again. John Powers' [2009: 137] comment of 'Indian Buddhist literature' that 'when men change to women it is commonly portrayed as a trag-

tendency in the Pāli commentarial tradition, the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* does reflect a gendered evaluation, as it associates the transformation of a monk into a female with an unwholesome deed, notably the unwholesome deed of calling the [male members] of the monastic community females.¹⁴

These instances give the impression that there has been a shift of attitude from the canonical sources to the position taken in this respect in later literature.¹⁵ In the words of Appleton (2011: 47), "the karmic reasons for female birth are primarily a commentarial preoccupation."

Karma and Its Fruit

A detailed exposition of karma and its result can be found in the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. This discourse does not broach the topic of maleness or femaleness at all.¹⁶ [115] Among the discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* stands out for having the highest number of parallel versions (preserved in a range of different languages: Chinese, Khotanese, Sanskrit, Sogdian, Tibetan, and Tocharian).¹⁷ This range of parallels offers a clear testimony to the interest aroused by the discourse's exposition on the effect particular deeds have on one's future life. The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* establishes the following relationships in this respect:

edy for them and as a result of extraordinarily negative conduct' ... is most emphatically not the case in this instance of Indian Buddhist literature."

¹⁴ [16] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 4.55, Pradhan 1967: 232,7: *yathā saṅghastrīvāda-samudācārādyañjanaparivṛttiḥ śrūyate.*

¹⁵ [17] According to Horner 1930/1990: 50, "by the time that the Jātakas and their Commentaries were written down ... anti-feminism ... left its mark in sentiments not stressed in the earlier literature."

¹⁶ [18] MN 135 at MN III 202,11 to 206,31.

¹⁷ [19] For a comparative study of MN 135 cf. Anālayo 2011c: 767–775.

- killing others – one will become short-lived,
- hurting others – one will become sick,
- being angry – one will become ugly,
- being envious – one will become uninfluential,
- being stingy – one will become poor,
- being arrogant – one will be of low birth,
- not asking questions – one will become stupid.

The fact that the *Cūlakammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels do not mention rebirth as a woman in their survey of what deeds lead to what effects in a future life gives the impression that sex was considered only incidental to the question of rebirth when this discourse came into existence and reached its present form.¹⁸ [116]

In the above scheme of karma and its results, rebirth as a female in ancient Indian society would probably find its place under becoming "uninfluential". That is, one of the possible results of being envious now is that one will be reborn in a situation where one has to suffer discrimination. From this viewpoint, then, it would indeed be bad karma to be reborn as a woman *if* this takes place in a society where women are discriminated against.

In other words, the karma of being reborn as a woman need not necessarily be seen as in itself negative. Female birth is only the result of bad karma if one is reborn in a patriarchal society – like ancient India – where women are discriminated against, wherefore one finds oneself in an inferior position by dint of one's birth as a female.¹⁹

¹⁸ [20] In Anālayo 2012e I argue that the canonical sources, in particular the Pāli discourses, reflect a historical strata distinctly different from the commentaries, contrary to the position taken by Schopen 1985/1997.

¹⁹ [21] Appleton 2011: 47 comments that "from the observation that women are socially disadvantaged, the argument is that there must be some karmic cause for female birth." Appleton 2011: 48 continues that "the assumption that female birth is inferior is supported by the obvious social constraints of women

In fact the above mentioned literary motif of sex change within the same life shows that one's sex was not seen as something immutably fixed, but rather as something fluid depending on conditions and circumstances. Here, too, it is demeritorious to change from male to female when this happens in a society where females find themselves in a disadvantageous position because of their sex.

Birth of a Daughter

A discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya* directly takes up what appears to have been a prevalent attitude in ancient India regarding birth as a female, reporting how the Buddha reacted when witnessing an instance of this attitude. ^[117] In what follows I translate the Pāli discourse.²⁰

The Discourse on the Daughter

The introduction on Sāvattḥī [should be given here].²¹ Then King Pasenadi of Kosala approached the Blessed One. Having approached and paid his respect to the Blessed One, he sat down to one side. Then a certain man approached King Pasenadi of Kosala. Having approached him, he announced close

... this ... is explained by the idea that birth as a woman is a form of karmic punishment for immoral acts." Gross 2014: 10 then concludes that the "traditional teaching that female rebirth is less fortunate than male rebirth is precisely about the pain of being female in a male-dominated system."

²⁰ [22] SN 3.16 at SN I 86,1 to 86,15, which has already been translated into English by Rhys Davids 1917/1979: 110f and Bodhi 2000: 179. The E° edition by Feer has just "Daughter" as the title; the title in the B° edition is rather "Discourse on Mallikā".

²¹ [23] C° just reads *sāvattḥiyam*. The standard introduction in the form of *sāvattḥiyam* or *sāvattḥinidānam* appears to be simply an abbreviation and not a reference to the location where the discourses were collected, *pace* Rhys Davids 1924/1975: xif and Woodward 1930/1979: xvii; cf. Anālayo 2012g: 6 note 4, 16 note 45, 29 note 88, and 52 note 150.

to the ears of King Pasenadi of Kosala: "Your Majesty, Queen Mallikā has given birth to a daughter." When this was said, King Pasenadi of Kosala was displeased.²²

Having seen that King Pasenadi of Kosala was displeased, on this occasion the Blessed One uttered these stanzas:

"A woman may be
Better than a man,²³ ruler of the people, [118]
She may be wise and virtuous,
A good wife who reveres her mother-in-law.
A man, born from her,
May be a hero and a king.
The son of such a fortunate woman,²⁴
May well govern the kingdom."

The above discourse clearly presents a re-evaluation of the notion, apparently shared by the king, that the birth of a female is unfortunate.²⁵ The phrasing of the stanzas seems to reflect an

²² [²⁴] Spk I 155,10 explains that the king thought that Mallikā, whom he had elevated from a lowly family to a position of great power, would have been greatly honoured if she had given birth to a son. Thus, from the commentarial perspective, the depiction of his disappointment reflects a prevalent attitude in the ancient Indian setting towards the birth of a female.

²³ [²⁵] Following the reading *posā* in the E^e editions by Feer and Somaratne, against *posa* in B^e, C^e, and S^e; cf. also Bodhi 2000: 407 note 239.

²⁴ [²⁶] Following the reading *subhagiyā* in the E^e edition by Somaratne, B^e, and C^e, against *subharyā* in the E^e edition by Feer and S^e; cf. also Bodhi 2000: 407 note 240.

²⁵ [²⁷] By the time of the *Manusmṛti*, this notion had found expression in one of the reasons for divorcing a woman: she gives birth to females only; cf. 9.81, Bühler 1886: 342. A telling contrast can be found in some countries in Southeast Asia, described in Andaya 2006: 111f as follows: "the position of Southeast Asian women in the agricultural economy ... made a daughter a valued resource. In most communities a marriage ceremony or its equivalent was the culmination of a long period of reciprocal exchanges, but frequently

attempt to adjust this re-evaluation to the frame of mind of the king. Hence they conclude with the – for a king – glorious vision of a heroic future king who governs the kingdom. This does of course not imply that from an early Buddhist viewpoint women are only good for bearing sons, [119] but is simply a reflection of the narrative context.²⁶

Akanuma's standard reference work for identifying Chinese parallels to Pāli discourses does not list any counterpart to the Discourse on the Daughter.²⁷ Nevertheless, elsewhere in the Chinese *Āgamas* material can be found that also considers female birth in a positive light. In what follows I translate two such passages from the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

Two Tales from the *Ekottarika-āgama*

The two *Ekottarika-āgama* passages translated below are parallels to the tales of Bhaddā Kaccānā,²⁸ apparently an alternative

this exchange (which European observers often described as 'buying' a wife) favored the bride and her family." Thus, "European commentators in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries frequently noted the wealth of men who had fathered several daughters ... an Englishman stationed in west Sumatra put the case succinctly: 'the more females in a planter's family, the richer he is esteemed.' While such comments occur more frequently in sources from island Southeast Asia, a Chinese observer in Vietnam also remarked on the delight with which parents greeted the birth of a daughter"; to which Andaya 2006: 212 adds that "the Dutch minister Candidus specifically commented on the care and affection Taiwanese showed to daughters, remarking that parents 'love the girls more than the boys!'"

²⁶ [28] Pace Green 2013: 240f; in fact the listings of eminent nuns in AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,17 to 25,31 and EĀ 5 at T II 558c21 to 559c4 (cf. above p. 301ff) record the Buddha eulogizing renunciant women – who by going forth have renounced their reproductive function – for their spiritual abilities and accomplishments.

²⁷ [29] Akanuma 1929/1990: 180.

²⁸ [32] Mp I 376,19 to 377,30, translated by Bode 1893: 789f; for Yasodharā cf. Ap 28 at Ap 584,12 to 590,30 and Walters 2014: 182–190.

name for Rāhulamātā and thus for Yasodharā,²⁹ [120] as well as Bhaddā Kāpilānī,³⁰ found in the *Apadāna* and the Pāli commentaries.³¹

These two tales in the *Ekottarika-āgama* are instances of a general tendency in this collection to have material that in the Theravāda tradition is only found in commentarial literature. One example would be the report of the destruction of the Sakyans by the son of Pasenadi, which has a counterpart in the commentary on the *Dhammapada* and on the *Jātaka*.³² The *Ekottarika-āgama* also reports the former Buddha Dīpaṃkara's prediction of Sakya-muni's future attainment of Buddhahood, an event which in the Pāli tradition has its counterpart in the *Buddhavaṃsa*.³³

Another example, related to the topic of women in Buddhism, is the spectacular passing away of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, translated in the previous chapter, which has its Pāli counterpart in the *Apadāna*.³⁴ Yet another example is the tale of a past life of Gotama

²⁹ [33] Mp I 377,16 reports that Bhaddā Kaccānā married the *bodhisatta* and gave birth to Rāhula; cf. also Mhv 2.24, Geiger 1958: 14,18, and the discussion in Malalasekera 1938/1998: 741. Mp I 377,24 explains that she was called Bhaddā Kaccānā only after her ordination.

³⁰ [34] Ap 27 at Ap 578,12 to 584,11; Thī-a 66,1 to 74,18 (1998 ed.), translated by Pruitt 1998/1999: 90–98 (cf. also Rhys Davids and Norman 1989: 37f and Murcott 1991: 102f); and Mp I 375,12 to 376,18, translated by Bode 1893: 786–788; cf. also Walters 2014: 175–182.

³¹ Although these two passages from the *Ekottarika-āgama* present female rebirth in a positive light, such an attitude is not a consistent trait of the collection, which can also be outspokenly misogynist. An example would be the listing of the five evils of women in EĀ 35.8 at T II 700c11.

³² [35] EĀ 34.2 at T II 692a15, counterpart to Dhpa I 359,6 or Jā 465 at Jā IV 152,29; cf. also Bureau 1981 and Chengzhong 2013.

³³ Cf. above p. 178 note 49 and below p. 429f note 50.

³⁴ [36] EĀ 52.1 at T II 822a3, parallel to Ap 17.145ff at Ap 540,7, translated in Walters 1995; cf. above p. 367ff.

Buddha as a princess, to which I will turn in the next chapter.³⁵ This tale has a Pāli counterpart in a text not included among the stories found in the commentary on the canonical *Jātaka* verses.³⁶ In sum, the *Ekottarika-āgama* seems to have remained open to the inclusion of later stories to a greater degree than the Pāli *Nikāyas* and other Chinese *Āgamas*.^[121]

Former Lives of Bhaddā Kaccānā

The tale of Bhaddā Kaccānā is part of a longer discourse. This discourse begins with King Pasenadi visiting the Buddha. After being taught the Dharma, Pasenadi invites the Buddha and the monastic community to rely on his support alone for a three-month period, which the Buddha accepts. Pasenadi has a great hall erected, where for three months he makes offerings of robes, food, bedding, and medicine. At the completion of this period, Pasenadi proclaims his satisfaction with the merit he has achieved in this way.³⁷ In reply the Buddha cautions him not to remain

³⁵ ^[37] EĀ 43.2, which at T II 758c4 identifies the princess as the Buddha in a former life of; cf. below p. 413ff.

³⁶ ^[38] Jaini 1983: 396,1–402,3; cf. also Gombrich 1980: 70, Jaini 1989/2001, Derris 2008, and Skilling 2010: 950.

³⁷ ^[40] As part of Pasenadi's proclamation, EĀ 23.1 at T II 609b13 gives an ascending list of recipients for gifts that proceeds from giving to an animal to giving to an immoral person, to a moral person, to a person free from sensual desire, to one proceeding to stream-entry, to a stream-enterer, to one proceeding to once-return, to a once-returner, to one proceeding to non-return, to a non-returner, to one proceeding to arahant-ship, to an arahant, to one proceeding to becoming a Paccekabuddha, to a Paccekabuddha, to one proceeding to becoming a Tathāgata, and to the Buddha together with the monastic community. Each subsequent gift is of superior merit, beginning with a hundredfold fruit for giving to an animal. Except for the idea of giving to one who is proceeding to becoming a Paccekabuddha or proceeding to becoming a Tathāgata, this listing parallels a similar exposition in the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels; cf. MN 142 at MN III 254,27, a Gāndhārī fragment, Strauch 2014: 35, MĀ 180 at T I 722b15, T 84

satisfied with the merits he has acquired, relating a story from one of his past lives by way of illustration. The narration of this *jātaka* concludes with the Buddha encouraging Pasenadi not to rest satisfied with the merits he had acquired, but to make use of them for the purpose of progress towards liberation.³⁸ [122] Pasenadi thereupon apologizes for his earlier statement, which the Buddha readily accepts.

At this point the nun Bhaddā Kaccānā gets up from her seat, pays respect to the Buddha and repeats the injunction given by the Buddha to the king that he should seek to progress towards liberation, before relating her own past as an additional illustration, translated below.³⁹

Translation (1)

"I recollect that thirty-one aeons [ago] the Tathāgata Si-
khin,⁴⁰ an arahant, fully awakened, had appeared in the world.
He was accomplished in knowledge and conduct, a well-gone
one, a knower of the world, an unsurpassable person, a chario-

at T I 903c27, D 4094 *ju* 255b2 or Q 5595 *tu* 291a2, a Tocharian fragment, YQ 1.20 1/2 recto 6, Ji et al. 1998: 182, and an Uighur fragment, folio 9a2682, Geng and Klimkeit 1988: 202. For a comparative study of this exposition in MN 142 and its parallels cf. Anālayo 2011c: 815f; on variations in the sequence of listings of the eight types of noble ones cf. Anālayo 2012i: 77f.

³⁸ [41] EĀ 23.1 at T II 611a10: "Great King, you should not speak like this: 'I have now already accomplished the merit to be made by me.' Great King, you should speak like this: 'Let all my various activities performed by body, speech, and mind be completely for seeking liberation. I will not seek meritorious deeds [merely] for living in *samsāra*.'" This injunction appears to be in line with a general attitude reflected in early Buddhist texts to encourage lay followers to proceed beyond merit making to the cultivation of liberating insight; cf. in more detail Anālayo 2010f.

³⁹ [42] The translated text is EĀ 23.1 at T II 611a25 to 611c1.

⁴⁰ [43] Adopting the variant 有 instead of 飯.

teer of the path of Dharma,⁴¹ a teacher of *devas* and human beings, called a Buddha, a Blessed One. He was wandering in the Marīci region.⁴² [123]

"At that time, when the time had come to beg for alms, that Buddha put on his robes, took his bowl, and entered the town of Marīci. At this time there was a messenger in the town, [611b] called Suddhakālaka.⁴³ Then that messenger saw that the Tathāgata was carrying his bowl and had entered the town to beg for alms. Having seen him, he thought in turn: 'The Tathāgata has now entered the town; he must need food.'⁴⁴

"He entered his house and came out with food to give to the Tathāgata, generating this aspiration: 'Endowed with this merit, may I not fall into the three evil destinies. May this make me in a future life meet a venerable noble one like him. May it make me be taught the Dharma by that venerable and may I then attain liberation.'

⁴¹ [44] EĀ 23.1 at T II 611a27: 無上士, 道法御. Nattier 2003b: 227 explains that "having taken *anuttarapurusa* as a separate title ... translators were left to explain the epithet *damyasārathi* on its own. In ... Prakrit languages ... *damyā* would have been written *damma* ... this word was apparently read as *dhamma*, and the resulting **dhammasārathi* interpreted as 'charioteer of the Dharma"; cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 326.

⁴² [45] EĀ 23.1 at T II 611a28: 野馬; which in SĀ 265 at T II 68c18 (translated Anālayo 2013e: 36) corresponds to *marīci*, "mirage"; cf. also Hirakawa 1997: 1179, who gives as equivalents *ghoṭaka-mṛga*, *marīci*, *marīcikā*, and Mvy no. 4798, Sakaki 1926: 320: *ghoṭaka-mṛgaḥ*. The *Mahāvādāna-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1953: 79, associates Śikhin with Aruṇāvātī, as does DN 14 at DN II 7,5, reading Aruṇāvātī, which has its counterparts in 光相 in DĀ 1 at T I 3b12, 阿嚕嚕嚕帝 in T 2 at T I 150c17, and 阿樓那想提 in T 3 at T I 159b27; cf. also the survey in Waldschmidt 1953: 174. Here and elsewhere, my reconstruction of Indic names is tentative and does not imply certainty about the underlying original.

⁴³ [46] EĀ 23.1 at T II 611b1: 純黑; for which Hirakawa 1997: 927f gives as one possible equivalent *śuddha-kālaka*.

⁴⁴ [47] My translation is based on emending 飲食 to read 飯食.

"Blessed One and King Pasenadi, may you both know this: Was the messenger Suddhakālaka at that time someone else? Do not see it in this way. The reason is that the messenger Suddhakālaka at that time was me.

"At that time I fed the Tathāgata Sikhin and I made this aspiration: 'May this make me in a future life meet a venerable noble one like this who teaches me the Dharma and may I then attain liberation.' For thirty-one aeons I did not fall into the three evil destinies. I was born among *devas* and human beings, [124] until at last I have now received this particular body. I met the Blessed One and gained the going forth to train in the path.⁴⁵ I have eradicated all the influxes and accomplished arahant-ship.⁴⁶

"As the Blessed One said, so superbly and sublimely, in speaking to King Pasenadi: 'Let all the various activities performed by body, speech, and mind be completely for seeking liberation. Do not consume these meritorious deeds on life in *saṃsāra*.'

"If I see monks, nuns, male lay followers, and female lay followers, with their hearts delighting in the Tathāgata, the thought in turn arises in me: 'Do not all these distinguished

⁴⁵ [48] Adopting the variant 世尊 instead of 聖尊.

⁴⁶ [49] It is worthy of note that in Ap 28.65ff at Ap 589,15 Yasodharā accompanies a listing of her meritorious offerings with the following recurrent injunction (eleven times): *mahārāja suṇohi me* (although B° reads instead *dhammārāja suṇohi me*). The recurrent injunction "Great King listen to me" in a listing of accumulated merits (which then leads up to her realization) would fit a setting as described in the present *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse. Lack of awareness of such a setting could then easily have caused a revision of *mahārāja* to become *dhammārājā*, on the assumption that her stanzas are addressed to the Buddha, instead of to a king. In fact in the Pāli version the import of this address is not clear, leading Walters 2014: 187 to wonder if the reference *mahārāja* is "to the Buddha? the Buddha's father? someone in the text's audience?"

beings still need to have a mind of loving regard and reverence towards the Tathāgata?"

"If I see the four assemblies,⁴⁷ I approach them and say: 'Virtuous ones, what things do you require: Robes and bowls? Sitting cloths? Needle cases? Bathing vessels? Any other sundry requisites of recluses? ^[125] I will supply them all.' Being permitted to do so, I in turn seek for them by begging anywhere. If I get them, that is a great fortune. If I do not get them, then I will go to Uttarakuru, [Apara]goyāna, and Pubbavideha, seeking an offering.⁴⁸ The reason is that through all this the four assemblies will gain the path to Nirvāṇa."

At that time the Blessed One, having examined the mind of the nun [Bhaddā] Kaccānā, said in turn to the monks: "Have you seen such liberation of the mind by faith as in the nun [Bhaddā] Kaccānā?" The monks replied: "We have not seen it, Blessed One."

The Blessed One said: "Among my disciples, the nun who is foremost in attaining liberation by faith is reckoned to be the nun [Bhaddā] Kaccānā."⁴⁹

At that time the nun [Bhaddā] Kaccānā, King Pasenadi, and the four assemblies, having heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and received it respectfully.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ [50] Adopting a correction suggested in the CBETA edition of 說 to read 設.

⁴⁸ [51] Uttarakuru, Aparagoyāna, and Pubbavideha are, together with Jambudīpa, the four great continents that in Buddhist cosmology make up a world system, *cakkavāla*, over which the reign of a *cakkavattin* extends; on the motif of the *cakkavattin* cf. above p. 113ff.

⁴⁹ [52] The same rank is accorded to her in the listing of eminent disciples in EĀ 5.1 at T II 559a5 (cf. above p. 305), whereas the listing in AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,29 reckons her outstanding for having attained great supernormal knowledges, *mahābhiññappatta*; cf. also the listing of accomplishments of Yasodharā in Ap 28.22f at Ap 586,5. AN 1.14.7 at AN I 26,24 lists the lay woman Kātiyānī as foremost among female lay disciples for her faith or confidence.

Study (1)

In the above discourse, Bhaddā Kaccānā gets up in front of the Buddha and the local king and gives expression to her own view on a matter that had just been expounded by the Buddha. ^[126] By relating the story of her former life to illustrate the teaching King Pasenadi had just received, she does exactly the same as what the Buddha had done before her, when he had related the story of one of his past lives for the same teaching purpose.

The way this is depicted in the above *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse gives the impression that Bhaddā Kaccānā was not at all apprehensive that expressing her opinion and even going so far as to detail her personal past life could in any way be perceived as inappropriate, perhaps even as a form of disrespect towards the Buddha, her former husband and present teacher, by giving a talk in front of him without even having been invited to do so.

In reply to this, the Buddha is shown to react by praising her as a disciple foremost among those liberated by faith or confidence (*saddhā*). In this way, on a rather official occasion, namely the conclusion of three months of offerings, the Buddha is depicted as being perfectly comfortable when a nun disciple of his simply gets up in front of the Buddha, the local king, and the four assemblies and gives a talk on her own on a topic the Buddha had already expounded. This seems quite different from the kind of behaviour expected from a nun in a modern-day Theravāda setting.⁵¹

⁵⁰ ^[53] For a discussion of the expression 奉行, found regularly as part of the standard conclusion of *Āgama* discourses, cf. Anālayo 2012f: 521–525.

⁵¹ ^[54] In the case of Thailand, for example, Van Esterik 1996: 40 reports of two outstanding female lay meditation teachers that they "lived like the women in white, *mæchi*, although they rejected this role because the generally low status of the *mæchi* would have limited their ability to lead lay groups." On the situation of nuns, *mae chi*, in Thailand cf. also, e.g., Keyes 1984, Jordt 1988, Kabil-singh 1991, Skilling 1995, Barnes 1996, Falk 2000, Brown 2001, Ito 2004 and

The Pāli commentarial tradition reports that in a former birth in the distant past Bhaddā Kaccānā had witnessed how the Buddha Padumuttara proclaimed a nun as his foremost disciple among those endowed with great supernormal knowledges. [127] Thereupon Bhaddā Kaccānā aspired to achieve the same honour in the future,⁵² an aspiration that implies she wished to be reborn as a female. Although such an active wish is not reported in the above *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, an aspiration of this type can be found repeatedly in the *Ekottarika-āgama* account of the past lives of nun Bhaddā Kāpilānī, translated below.⁵³

Translation (2)

Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park, together with a great community of monks, five hundred men.

At that time in Sāvattḥī there was a nun called Bhaddā, who was dwelling together with five hundred nuns, of whom she was the leader. Then, being in a secluded place, the nun Bhaddā was reflecting by herself. Seated with crossed legs and with mindfulness collected in front, she was recollecting events from her innumerable previous lives, whereupon she smiled.

A nun saw from afar that the nun Bhaddā was smiling. Having seen this, she in turn approached [other] nuns [and said]: "The nun Bhaddā is now alone beneath a tree and she is smiling. What will be the reason?"

Then the five hundred nuns together approached the nun Bhaddā and paid respect with their heads at her feet. [128] Then

2006, Seeger 2006/2008, Tomalin 2006, Falk 2007, Seeger 2009a, Collins and McDaniel 2010, Cook 2010, Seeger 2010 and 2013.

⁵² [55] Mp I 377, 12.

⁵³ [56] The translated text is EĀ 52.2 at T II 823b18 to 825b15.

the five hundred nuns said to Bhaddā: "What causes you to smile, as you sit alone beneath a tree?"

Then the nun Bhaddā said to the five hundred nuns: "Just now beneath this tree I was recollecting events from my innumerable previous lives, seeing again my life experiences of former times, ^[823c] dying here and being reborn there. I was contemplating it all." Then the five hundred nuns further said: "We only wish that you would tell us of those former events."

Then the nun Bhaddā said to the five hundred nuns: "In the distant past, ninety-one aeons ago, a Buddha called Tathāgata Vipassin appeared in the world. He was an arahant, fully awakened, accomplished in knowledge and conduct, a well-gone one, a knower of the world, an unsurpassable person, a charioteer of the path of Dharma, a teacher of *devas* and human beings, called a Buddha, a Blessed One, who had manifested in the world.

"At that time the region called Bandhuma[tī] was flourishing with a population beyond counting. At that time the Tathāgata was wandering in that country, leading a community of one hundred and sixty-eight thousand monks. Surrounded by them on all sides he was teaching them the Dharma. Then the Buddha's name was renowned in the four directions thus: 'The Buddha Vipassin possesses all of the marks [of a Buddha]; he is a good field of merit for everyone.'

"At that time in that region there was a youth called Brahma-deva, who was of beautiful appearance, rarely found in the world. Then that youth was walking in the streets and alleys holding a bejewelled parasol in his hand. ^[129] A female householder who was beautiful as well was then also walking along that road. All the people were looking at her.

"Then the youth thought in turn: 'Now I too am beautiful, and I am holding a bejewelled parasol in my hand. [Yet] none

of the people look at me. All of these people together are looking at this woman. I should now devise a means to make people look at me.'

"Then that youth went out of that town and approached the Buddha Vipassin. Holding the bejewelled ⟨parasol⟩ [over the Buddha] with his hands,⁵⁴ he worshipped him for seven days and seven nights, and made this aspiration: 'If the Buddha Vipassin has such supernormal power, such supernormal strength, and is a supreme field of merit in the world and in the heavens, being endowed with this merit, may it make me in a future life have a female body, such that on seeing it there will be no one who will not be thrilled with joy.'

"At that time, having worshipped that Buddha for seven days and seven nights, the youth lived out his lifespan and was after that in turn reborn in the heaven of the Thirty-three with a female body of utmost beauty, foremost among *devīs*, surpassing other *devīs* in the five types of excellence. What are the five? That is, they are divine lifespan, divine complexion, divine happiness, divine might, and divine dominion. [130]

"Then, having seen her, the *devas* of the Thirty-three said to one another: 'This *devī* is superb, no one is her equal.' Some *devas* among them said: 'This *devī* and I should become husband and wife',⁵⁵ and competing with one another they quarrelled. Then the great king of the *devas* said: 'Do not quarrel with each other. Whoever among you is able to proclaim the most excellent poem can in turn take this *devī* for his wife.'⁵⁶ [824a]

"At that time, one *deva* spoke this poem:
'Whether I get up or whether I sit down again,

⁵⁴ [57] My translation is based on emending 寶華 to read 寶蓋, in line with the reading found in the remainder of the discourse.

⁵⁵ [58] Adopting the variant 夫婦 instead of 天后.

⁵⁶ [59] Adopting the variant 偈 instead of 法.

Being awake or falling asleep, there is no joy for me.
When I am asleep for a while,
Only right after that am I without desire [for you].'

"At that time, another *deva* spoke this poem:
'You are right now the cause of my delight.
Being asleep [he] does not miss you,
[But] I am now aroused by lustful thoughts,
Like the beating of a battle drum.'

"At that time, another *deva* spoke this poem:
'Even if the battle drum is being beaten,⁵⁷ [131]
Yet there comes a time when it becomes still.
[But] my desire [for you] is a quickly spreading disease,
Like flowing water that never stops.'

"At that time, another *deva* spoke this poem:
'Even water that carries away great logs,
Does in time become still.
[But] I constantly think [of you] with desire,
Unblinking, like a slain elephant.'

"At that time, the most respected *deva* among all the *devas*
spoke this poem:

'You [*devas*] are still at ease,
Each of you is able to speak a poem.
Now I do not know for myself,
Am I alive or am I dead?'

"At that time all *devas* said to that *deva*: 'Well done, *deva*.
The poem you have spoken is the most clear and excellent one.
Today the king of *devas* should be given this *devī*.' Then the
devī entered the palace of the king of *devas*.

"Sisters,⁵⁸ you should not have any doubt about this, the
reason being [that you think]: The youth who at that time wor-

⁵⁷ [60] Adopting the variant 有 instead of 復.

shipped the Buddha by [holding] a bejewelled parasol above him, was he someone else? Do not see it in this way. The youth at that time was me. [132]

"In the past, thirty-one aeons ago, the Tathāgata Sikhin appeared in the world. He was wandering in the Marīci region, being accompanied by a great community of monks, one hundred and sixty thousand men. At that time that *devī*, after her lifespan had in turn come to its end, was reborn among human beings, taking a female body of utmost beauty, rarely found in the world.

"Then the Tathāgata Sikhin, when the time had come to beg for alms, put on his robes, took his bowl and entered the town of Marīci. Then that *devī* had again become the wife of a householder. She offered excellent food and drink to the Tathāgata Sikhin, and she also made this aspiration:⁵⁹ 'Endowed with the merit of this deed, wherever I am reborn, may I not fall into the three evil destinies, and may I be of such beautiful appearance as is unusual among human beings.'

"At that time that woman, after her lifespan had in turn come to its end, was reborn in the heaven of the Thirty-three. [824b] Again she had a female body of the utmost beauty, possessing the five types of excellence and surpassing all the other *devas*. Was the *devī* at that time someone else? Do not see it in this way. The reason is that the woman was me.

"In that aeon the Tathāgata Vessabhū appeared in the world. At that time the *devī*, having lived out her lifespan, had after death come to be reborn among human beings, taking a female body of beautiful appearance, rarely found in the world. Again she had become the wife of a householder. [133] At that time the

⁵⁸ Adopting the variant 妹 instead of 天.

⁵⁹ [61] Adopting the variant 亦 instead of 普.

householder's wife again, having offered excellent robes to the Tathāgata, made this aspiration:⁶⁰ 'May this make me have a female body in a future life.'

"Then after death that woman was reborn in the heaven of the Thirty-three, with a beautiful appearance surpassing that of the other *devīs*. Was that *devī* at that time someone else? Do not see it in this way. The reason is that the woman at that time was me.

"Then that woman lived out her lifespan and after death came to be reborn among human beings in the great town of Vārāṇasī. She was a female servant of the wife of the householder Candābha and her appearance was ugly, displeasing to the sight of people. Since Vessabhū had departed from the world, no further Buddha had appeared.⁶¹ [But] a Paccekabuddha was wandering around at that time.⁶²

"Then the wife of the householder Candābha said to her female servant: 'Go around outside and look for a recluse who is of such beautiful appearance that he will inspire me.'⁶³ Lead him to the house. I wish to worship him.'

"At that time that female servant went out of the house and looked outside for a recluse. She came across the Paccekabuddha, ^[134] who was wandering in the town begging for [alms]. However, he was of ugly and repulsive appearance. Then that female servant gave the message to the Paccekabuddha: 'The lady of the house wants to meet you, wishing you would condescend to come to the house.' She then entered and said to her mistress: 'A recluse has come. You can come and meet him.'

⁶⁰ [62] My translation is based on a sequential emendation of 妙衣好服 to read 妙好衣服.

⁶¹ [63] Adopting a variant that adds 出.

⁶² [64] Here and below adopting the variant 辟支 instead of 各.

⁶³ [65] EĀ 52.2 at T II 824b17: 入吾意者, conveying the sense that his beautiful appearance should be such that it literally "enters my mind".

"When the householder's wife had seen the recluse, her mind was displeased. She said to her female servant: 'Send him away again. I will not give to him. The reason is because of his ugly appearance.'

"At that time her female servant said to the housewife: 'If the housewife does not make an offering to the recluse, then I will now take my food allowance for today and use it all to make an offering to him.' Then that housewife brought out her food allowance, one measure of finely broken rice.⁶⁴ Then that female servant took it and in turn offered it to the recluse.⁶⁵ When the Paccekabuddha had received this food, [135] he flew up into the air and performed the eighteen transformations.⁶⁶

"Then the householder's female servant made the aspiration again: 'Endowed with this merit, wherever I am reborn, may I not fall into the three evil destinies and may it make me in a future life have a female body of the utmost beauty.'^[824c]

"Then that Paccekabuddha, holding in his hand the bowl with the food in it, flew around the town three times. The

⁶⁴ [66] Adopting the variant 斗 instead of 升.

⁶⁵ [67] Ap 27.37 at Ap 581,13, Thi-a 66,9, and Mp I 375,20 also report a former life by Bhaddā at Vārāṇasī during a time when no Buddha had arisen, when she also made an offering to a Paccekabuddha, but the details of the story differ. She was not a servant, but a housewife herself, and she filled the bowl of the Paccekabuddha with mud. She then repented her deed, cleaned his bowl and filled it with "ghee", *ghata*, according to Ap 27.41 at Ap 582,2, or else with the "four sweets", *catumadhura*, according to Thi-a 66,16 and Mp I 376,3 (in modern-day Sri Lankan usage *catumadhu* refers to a mixture of ghee, oil, molasses, and honey; cf. also Kawanami 2013: 97 note 21. An offering of *catumadhu* is highly appreciated in monastic circles, since this mixture is a form of 'medicine' that monastics can consume even after noon, cf. Vin I 200,19, and keep for up to seven days once it has been offered, cf. Vin III 251,14).

⁶⁶ [68] The eighteen transformations are a series of supernormal performances; for listings cf., e.g., T 1579 at T XXX 491c6 or T 1912 at T XLVI 442a29.

householder Candābha was leading a gathering of five hundred merchants in the community hall. Then the townspeople, men and women, adults and children, saw the Paccekabuddha holding in his hand the bowl with the food and flying through the air. Having seen it, they said to one another: 'Whose merit is this? Who has met this Paccekabuddha and offered him food?'⁶⁷

"Then the householder's female servant said to the housewife: 'I wish you would come outside to look at the power of the recluse.'⁶⁸ He is flying through the air and performing the eighteen transformations. His powers are immeasurable.'

"Then the householder's wife said to her female servant: 'If you give to me all the merit you gained from offering food to the recluse today, I shall give you two days' food right away.'
[136] Her female servant replied: 'I cannot agree to transfer the merit.'⁶⁹

"The housewife said: 'I will give you four days' food right away ... *up to* ... ten day's food right away.' Her female servant replied: 'I cannot agree to transfer the merit.'

"The housewife said: 'I will now give you a hundred gold coins.' Her female servant replied: 'I do not need that either.'⁷⁰ The housewife said further: 'I will now give you two hundred ... *up to* ... a thousand gold coins.' Her female servant replied: 'I do not need that either.'

"The housewife said: 'I will set you free, making you no longer be a servant.' Her female servant replied:⁷¹ 'I do not seek to be an independent person either.' The housewife said further: 'You will become the housewife and I will become the

⁶⁷ [69] Adopting a variant that adds 誰.

⁶⁸ [70] Adopting a variant that adds 願 and the variant 看 instead of 向.

⁶⁹ [71] Adopting a variant that adds 我.

⁷⁰ [72] Adopting a variant that adds 亦.

⁷¹ [73] Adopting a variant that adds 其.

servant.⁷² Her female servant replied: 'I do not seek to become the housewife either.'

"The housewife said: 'I will now take hold of you and beat you, mutilate you by cutting off your ears and nose, cutting off your hands and feet; I will cut off your head.' Her female servant replied: 'All such pain I can bear with, but I will not transfer the merit from the offering. My body is subject to the lady of the house, the goodness of my mind is a different matter.' At that time, the householder's wife beat her female servant. [137]

"Then each of the five hundred merchants said: 'This saintly person has come today to beg for food. He will certainly have been given an offering at my home.' Then the householder Candābha dismissed all of the people, returned to his house, and went inside. He saw that his wife had taken hold of the female servant and was beating her. He asked: 'Why is this female servant being beaten?' Then the female servant informed him fully of the events.

Then the householder Candābha was delighted and thrilled, unable to contain himself. He had the housewife become a female servant and made the female servant be in the position of housewife.

"At that time the king who ruled the town of Vārāṇasī was called Brahmadata.⁷³ Then the great king heard that the Paccekabuddha had been given food [at the house] of the householder Candābha. He was extremely pleased that an arahant had been received and a timely offering had been made to him.

King Brahmadata dispatched a man to summon the householder Candābha. He said to him: [825a] 'Is it true that food was

⁷² [74] Adopting the variant 為 instead of 作.

⁷³ [75] The story of Bhaddā's past-life experiences in Ap 27.53 at Ap 583,1 also mentions a king by the name of Brahmadata, who here is a former birth of Mahākassapa.

given to the saintly arahant at your [house]?' The householder replied to the king: 'It is true that the arahant was received and food was offered to him.' Then, having investigated it, King Brahmadata gave him a reward and also promoted him to a higher position. ^[138]

"Then the [former] female servant of the householder lived out her lifespan and after death was reborn in the heaven of the Thirty-three. She was of beautiful appearance, rarely found in the world, and she surpassed all the other *devas* in the five types of excellence. Sisters, [was the female servant at that time someone else?] Do not see it in this way. The householder's female servant at that time was me.

"In this auspicious aeon a Buddha appeared in the world called the Tathāgata Kakusandha. Then that *devī* lived out her lifespan and after death was reborn among human beings. At that time she became the wife of the brahmin Yajñadatta. Then this woman again, having fed the Tathāgata, made an aspiration, wishing to have a female body [in a future life]. After death she was reborn in the heaven of the Thirty-three. She was of beautiful appearance, supreme among all *devīs*. After dying there she was reborn among human beings again.

"At that time the Buddha Konāgamana had appeared in the world. Then that *devī* became a householder woman. She again, having worshipped the Buddha Konāgamana with golden flowers, [made the aspiration]: 'Endowed with this merit, wherever I am reborn, may I not fall into the three evil destinies, and may it make the body I take hereafter be a female body.'

"Then this woman lived out her lifespan and after death was reborn in the heaven of the Thirty-three. She was very beautiful, supreme among the assembly of *devīs*, and she possessed the five types of excellence such that [the other *devas*] could not match her. Was the householder woman who at that time wor-

shipped the Buddha Konāgamana someone else? ^[139] Do not see it in this way. The householder woman at that time was me.

"Then that *devī* lived out her lifespan and came to be reborn among human beings. Being again the wife of a householder, she was of very special appearance, rarely found in the world.⁷⁴ At that time the Tathāgata Kassapa had appeared in the world. Then the householder's wife worshipped the Buddha Kassapa for seven days and seven nights and made the aspiration: 'May this make me obtain a female body in the future.'

"Then the householder's wife lived out her lifespan and after death was reborn in the heaven of the Thirty-three. She possessed the five types of excellence, surpassing other *devīs*. Was the householder's wife who at that time worshipped the Buddha Kassapa someone else? Do not see it in this way. The householder's wife at that time was me.

"In this auspicious aeon the Buddha Sakyamuni appeared in the world.⁷⁵ Then that *devī*, after having passed away, was reborn in the town of Rājagaha. She became the wife of the brahmin Kapila.⁷⁶ She was of beautiful appearance, surpassing the appearance of all [other] women. The brahmin Kapila's wife resembled a polished golden image,⁷⁷ ^[140] as a result of

⁷⁴ [76] Adopting the variant 之 instead of 間. According to Thī-a 66,20, at the time of the Buddha Kassapa, Bhaddā had been reborn as the daughter of a very wealthy merchant at Vārāṇasī.

⁷⁵ [77] Adopting a variant that adds 佛.

⁷⁶ [78] In Ap 27.57 at Ap 583,10 Kapila is the name of Bhaddā's father.

⁷⁷ [79] Adopting a variant that adds 羅, and the variant 似 instead of 以. Ap 27.58 at Ap 583,11 reports that an actual image of her was made out of gold. According to Th-a III 130,13, the making of this golden image was originally a stratagem by Kassapa to avoid having to marry, as he would only marry a woman that was equal in beauty to the image, and the woman who turned out to fulfill this condition was Bhaddā; cf. also Clarke 2014: 110f.

which other women were as if blackened by ink. [825b] Her mind had no desire for the five sensual pleasures.⁷⁸

"Was this wife someone else? Sisters do not see it in this way. The brahmin's wife at that time is me. Sisters, you should know, because of the merits of former events I became the wife of Pippali Māṇava, that is, of Mahākassapa. The venerable Mahākassapa first went forth himself, at a later day I went forth on my part.⁷⁹

"I was recollecting my lives in former days with a female body; for this reason just now I smiled to myself. Because I did not know it, it had been hidden to me that I had worshipped six Tathāgatas, seeking to get a female body. This is the reason why I smiled, because of my experiences in former days."

At that time a group of many monks, who had heard that the nun Bhaddā had recollected events from her own innumerable previous lives,⁸⁰ approached the Blessed One. [141] They paid respect with their heads at his feet, sat down to one side, and told the Tathāgata all that had happened. Then the Blessed One said to the monks: "Have you seen any [other] nun among my disciples who recollects events from innumerable lives like her?" The monks said to the Buddha: "We have not, Blessed One."

The Buddha said to the monks: "Among my disciples, the foremost disciple in recollecting events from innumerable lives is the nun Kapilā[nī]."⁸¹

⁷⁸ [80] In Ap 27.58 at Ap 583,12 it is Mahākassapa who is qualified as shunning sensual pleasures.

⁷⁹ [81] According to Th-a III 132,33, they went forth at the same time, cutting off each other's hair. Having gone forth, they then separated in order to avoid that others on seeing them still together might form a wrong impression of their motivation.

⁸⁰ [82] Adopting a variant without 時.

⁸¹ [83] The same rank is accorded to her in the listing of eminent disciples in AN 1.14.5 at AN I 25,27 and EĀ 5.2 at T II 559a10; cf. above p. 309. Thī 65 ex-

At that time the monks, having heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and received it respectfully.

Study (2)

Although the *Apadāna* does not mention any aspiration by Bhaddā Kāpilānī to be born as a woman at all, the commentary on the *Therīgāthā* reports that at the time of Padumuttara Buddha she had witnessed a nun being declared foremost in remembering her former lives, whereupon she aspired to the same rank in the future. Similar to the case of Bhaddā Kaccānā, this aspiration implies that Bhaddā Kāpilānī wished to be reborn as a female.

According to the above *Ekottarika-āgama* account, Bhaddā Kāpilānī repeatedly made an aspiration to be reborn as a female, until eventually she became an arahant nun. The recurrent emphasis on her attractiveness and on her getting married reflects the ancient Indian narrative setting, ^[142] where for a woman not to be attractive and not to be wanted in marriage was seen as a serious misfortune.

Notably, in the first instance of these repeated aspirations, a "he" makes the aspiration to become a female, based on a meritorious gift.⁸² Although the motivation for this aspiration is not particularly profound – after all he mainly wants to get the attention of others – the important point is that this text gives no impression whatsoever that female rebirth was considered in a negative light. The description of Bhaddā Kāpilānī's heavenly rebirths endowed

implicitly mentions her attainment of the three higher knowledges and thus implicitly of her ability to recollect her past lives. According to Thī-a 66,7 and Mp I 376,18, she had formed the aspiration to become foremost among nuns recollecting their past lives in the distant past when witnessing a nun being accorded this position by the Buddha Padumuttara.

⁸² ^[84] Such combining of a meritorious deed with an aspiration is a recurrent pattern in *avadāna* literature in general; cf. also Clark 2011: 31f.

with five qualities is in fact similar to the description of the condition of the future Buddha when being reborn in Tusita.⁸³ Clearly, she is shown to be in a comparable manner endowed with merits and to keep on freely choosing to become a woman again and again.

Conclusion

The above translated tales make it clear that, in the Buddhist traditions responsible for the arising and transmission of these stories, female birth was not seen as something invariably negative.⁸⁴ Although there is evidence for a more negative attitude towards women emerging in commentarial literature, the two specimens translated above from the *Ekottarika-āgama* express a rather different attitude. [143] The perspective afforded in these texts appears to be rather that female birth is a valuable asset inasmuch as it affords an opportunity for Bhaddā Kaccānā and Bhaddā Kāpilānī to walk the path to liberation.

⁸³ [85] MĀ 32 at T I 470a2. Although the same is not reported explicitly in the parallel MN 123, a comparable presentation can be found in DN 30 at DN III 146,3.

⁸⁴ [86] Appleton 2010: 96 notes that in narrative Buddhist literature "many women made offerings to past *buddhas* and resolved to become prominent nuns or laywomen (*not* monks or laymen) in the retinue of Gotama Buddha. It is clearly demonstrated that both men and women are able to attain arahatship, and so there is no need to aspire to a change in gender."

Padīpadāna-jātaka (Paññāsa-jā 4.5)

Introduction

In the present chapter I study the *Ekottarika-āgama* version of a past life of the Buddha as a princess. I begin with some general observations on the gender of the Buddha's past lives, reported in *jātaka* narratives, before translating the relevant section from the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Then I compare this *Ekottarika-āgama* version to three other versions of this tale preserved in Pāli and Chinese, in particular in relation to the way they deal with the dictum that a woman cannot receive a prediction of future Buddhahood. [96]

Jātakas in Pāli Discourses

In what follows I first survey *jātakas* found among the early discourses, arguably the earliest strata of *jātaka* tales attested in Buddhist literature, in order to provide a background for evaluating the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse that reports a past life of the Buddha as a woman. Besides noting indications for the early development and significance of the *jātaka* genre through comparative study, my main focus is on the gender of the Buddha in his past lives.

My survey is restricted to *jātakas* that are found as discourses in the four Pāli *Nikāyas*, the only complete set of *Nikāyas/Āgamas* from a single tradition at our disposal. Moreover, I focus on *jātakas* found in Pāli discourses that have parallels in the discourse collections of other traditions, as these tales stand a good chance of reflecting a very early stage in the development of the *jātaka* genre. Such probably quite early specimens cover two cases where the

* Originally published in 2015 under the title "The Buddha's Past Life as a Princess in the *Ekottarika-āgama*" in the *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 22: 95–137.

Buddha in a former life had been a wheel-turning king and four cases where he had been a brahmin.

The two *jātakas* found in Pāli discourses that feature a wheel-turning king are the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* and the *Makhādeva-sutta*. In both instances the Pāli versions agree with their parallels in identifying the respective wheel-turning king of that time to have been a past life of the Buddha.¹

Regarding the narrative function of the motif of the wheel-turning king, elsewhere I have argued that its description of the acme of worldly power serves to highlight the superiority of renunciation and of undertaking the Buddhist path to liberation over any kind of secular happiness or dominion.² [97] This would apply to both the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* and the *Makhādeva-sutta*, as well as their parallels.

One tale from the other group of four *jātakas* found in Pāli discourses concerns a brahmin student (*māṇava*) who, in spite of his initial resistance, is convinced by a friend to visit the Buddha of that time and eventually decides to go forth as a Buddhist monk. This tale is found in the *Ghaṭikāra-sutta* and its parallels, which agree that this brahmin student was a past life of the Buddha.³ Another tale in the *Velāma-sutta* features a brahmin who makes a lavish offering. The merit accrued in this way does not match the

¹ [3] DN 17 at DN II 196,11 and its parallels in Sanskrit fragments, Waldschmidt 1951: 354,9 (§34.166) and Matsumura 1988: 48,3, as well as DĀ 2 at T I 24b22 (which mentions six past lives as a wheel-turning king in general, a reference also found in the Sanskrit fragment version), T 5 at T I 171a19, T 6 at T I 186c7, T 7 at T I 203a6, and MĀ 68 at T I 518b8, MN 83 at MN II 82,22 and its parallels MĀ 67 at T I 515a8, EĀ 50.4 at T II 810a26, and D 1 *kha* 56a2 or Q 1030 *ge* 51b6.

² [4] Cf. above p. 113ff.

³ [5] MN 81 at MN II 54,18 and its parallels MĀ 63 at T I 503a5, the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 335,5, and the *Sanḅhabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: 30,14 and D 1 *ga* 10a3 or Q 1030 *nge* 9a7.

act of taking refuge in the Buddha, since at the time of this offering there were no truly meritorious recipients of the brahmin's gifts. The *Velāma-sutta* and nearly all of its parallels agree in identifying the brahmin donor as a past life of the Buddha.⁴

Another two tales concern brahmin *purohitas*. One of these tales, found in the *Kūṭadanta-sutta*, is again concerned with the superiority of taking refuge in the Buddha compared to the performance of a sacrifice.⁵ In this case the parallel versions differ as to whether the Buddha was the brahmin *purohita* or the king himself.⁶ [98] The other tale, found in the *Mahāgovinda-sutta*, concludes by indicating that the path to communion with Brahmā practised and taught by the brahmin *purohita* who is the protagonist of this tale did not lead to true dispassion and realization, unlike the path now taught by the Buddha.⁷ Nearly all of the parallel versions agree that the brahmin *purohita* was a past life of the Buddha.⁸

⁴ [6] AN 9.20 at AN IV 394,11 and its parallels MĀ 155 at T I 678a7, T 73 at T I 879c19, T 74 at T I 882a13, and EĀ 27.3 at T II 645a9. Another parallel, T 72 at T I 878c11, gives the tale without identifying its protagonist as a past life of the Buddha, perhaps reflecting an earlier version of the story.

⁵ [7] DN 5 at DN I 145,32, which here forms part of a series of undertakings that are superior to the great sacrifice of the past. These are offering a building for the Buddhist monastic community, taking refuge, undertaking the precepts, and going forth under the Buddha and becoming an arahant.

⁶ [8] According to DN 5 at DN I 143,26 the Buddha was the brahmin *purohita*, whereas according to DĀ 23 at T I 100b26 he was the king. A Sanskrit fragment parallel then comes out with the rather puzzling indication that the Buddha had been both, fragment 408r4, von Criegern 2002: 35: *ubhayam apy aham bhāradvāja samanumarāmi api rājā kṣatryo mūrhdhābhiṣikta evaṃrūpasya yajñasya yaṣṭā api brāhmaṇaḥ purohitaḥ evaṃrūpasya yajñasya yājita*.

⁷ [9] DN 19 at DN II 251,12.

⁸ [10] DN 19 at DN II 251,9 and its parallels DĀ 3 at T I 34a10 and the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 224,5. Another parallel, T 8 at T I 213c14, just concludes

The narrative functions of the four tales involving brahmins seem to be closely related to the need to demarcate the superiority of the early Buddhist tradition over contemporary brahmins. One way in which this tendency expresses itself is by depicting the actual conversion of a brahmin, as in the case of the *Ghaṭikāra-sutta* and its parallels. Another manifestation of the same tendency evident in the tales involving sacrifices and/or *purohitas* proceeds by showing that brahminical offerings cannot compare to going for refuge to the Buddha, who teaches a path of practice superior to communion with Brahmā.

Similarly to the two tales involving wheel-turning kings, these four tales concerned with brahmins of the past would have been able to fulfil their narrative function even without being considered stories of a past life of the Buddha. The fact that the identification of a past life of the Buddha is not invariably reported, [99] or at times even different identifications can be found, gives the impression that these tales need not have been a *jātaka* from the outset.⁹ Whether parables or *jātakas*, however, for these stories to make sense and appeal to the ancient Indian audience, their protagonists must be male.

In the two cases involving a wheel-turning king, according to a dictum to which I come back later in the course of this chapter a woman is considered incapable of fulfilling the role of a wheel-turning king, presumably reflecting ancient Indian notions of what it takes to be a king.¹⁰ Similarly, in the ancient Indian setting it is

by noting that the Buddha told this story about the past and thus without providing any identification, which could reflect an earlier version of the tale.

⁹ [11] Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2010b: 55–71.

¹⁰ [12] According to the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1890: 70,1, in the ancient Indian setting kings in general were male, *na ca kaḥiṃcīti istriyo rājā, sarvatra puruṣā rājā*, "nowhere females are kings, everywhere males are kings." Megasthenes, however, reports that in a part of India a ruling queen could be found; cf. Mc-

only natural that the brahmins in the other four cases should be males, since males were the standard students of Vedic lore and had the leading role in the performance of sacrifices and offerings. Besides the role to be played in a sacrifice, a brahmin *purohita* also had a central role in the political sphere, acting on behalf of the king.¹¹

In sum, the role of a brahmin *purohita* just as much as that of a king in the ancient Indian setting makes it natural that the protagonist should be male, independent of whether the story is perceived by its audience to be a parable or an historical account.¹² [100]

So in the above *jātakas* in Pāli discourses the maleness of their respective protagonist, whether or not identified as a past life of the Buddha, is a requirement of the narrative setting. The story would

Crindle 1877: 147, 156, and 158 as well as the discussion in Altekar 1956: 186 and Scharfe 1989: 121f.

¹¹ [13] As noted by Gokhale 1980: 71, the way the *purohita* is described in Pāli discourses clearly reflects involvement in political administration and warfare. On the role and functions of the *purohita* in the commentarial Pāli *Jātakas* cf. Fick 1897: 107–117; on the *purohita* in general cf., e.g., Scharfe 1989: 112–118 and Schetelich 1997/1998.

¹² [14] My survey only covers *jātakas* in Pāli discourses of which parallels from other transmission lineages are extant, consequently I have not taken up AN 3.15 at AN I 112,27, a past life of the Buddha as a king's wheelwright of which no parallel is known. Inasmuch as the gender of the Buddha's lives is concerned, however, in the case of a wheelwright who works for the king it seems also natural that the protagonist should be male. Another tale I have not taken into account is the story of Sunetta, since this is not a *jātaka* in AN 7.62 at AN IV 103,24 (nor in AN 6.54 at AN III 371,16 or AN 7.69 at AN IV 135,9, where he is also mentioned), but only in the parallels MĀ 8 at T I 429b28 and T 30 at T I 812c17, as well as in a discourse quotation, Pradhan 1967: 472,3 and Dietz 2007: 98,32 (for further quotations cf. Lamotte 1944/1981: 520 note 5). In this case, too, since the protagonist is a brahmin teacher, it is natural that he should be presented as a male.

probably not have worked in the ancient Indian setting with a woman taking on these roles.¹³ [101]

Tales in the Pāli *Jātaka* Commentary

Another type of *jātaka* tale can be found in the Pāli *Jātaka* commentary. This *Jātaka* commentary purports to provide the narrative background for the delivery of stanzas preserved in the *Khuddaka-nikāya* of the Pāli canon. The tales themselves are strictly speaking not "canonical",¹⁴ although such distinctions may have been of little relevance for the audience of these stories.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the indication that the bulk of narratives in the *Jātaka* collection is not canonical does serve to highlight the

¹³ [15] Stories from the past narrated in the early discourses rarely involve human female protagonists in exemplary roles, presumably reflecting the need for these tales to take into account the beliefs and expectations of the ancient Indian audience, given that Indian women rarely had the opportunity to occupy an exemplary position, apart from being the ideal housewife. As a result of this, there would have been few chances for a narrative to become a *jātaka* in which an exemplary woman features who could then have been identified as a past life of the Buddha. One of the few stories from the past involving women illustrates this. This story depicts a housewife reputed for her patience who is being tested by her female slave, with the result that she is shown up for being in actual fact quite irritable and prone to anger; cf. MN 21 at MN I 125,3 and its parallel MĀ 193 at T I 744c12. Such a tale would stand little chance of becoming a *jātaka*, as this would require presenting the Buddha as having been either an irritable housewife or else a slave. Neither protagonists would concord with the tendency in the early strata of *jātakas* to identify the Buddha consistently with positive and high-ranking human personalities.

¹⁴ [16] For reflections on the notion of the Pāli canon cf. some of the publications mentioned below p. 503 note 17.

¹⁵ [17] Derris 2008: 31 comments that "it is important to note that the medieval audience would be unlikely to categorize *jātakas* as either apocryphal or canonical. When women and men heard any ... *jātaka* they would receive it as part of the Buddha's biography."

fact that these pertain to a distinctly later level than those found among the Pāli discourses.¹⁶

The tendencies for stories to turn into past lives of the Buddha can be illustrated with the example of the simile of a quail that is caught by a falcon. Found in a discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and its *Samyukta-āgama* parallel, this tale serves to exemplify the need to avoid being caught by Māra.¹⁷ [102] What in the discourse versions is clearly just a parable, in the *Jātaka* commentary has become a past life of the Buddha, who is believed to have been the quail.¹⁸

In line with the example provided by this story, the *Jātaka* commentary abounds in past lives of the Buddha as an animal, in contrast to the *jātakas* found among Pāli discourses, where he is a human being.

As already noted by several scholars, the tales found in the Pāli *Jātaka* commentary draw on an ancient Indian narrative heritage.¹⁹ Needless to say, this involves a development that would have been of pan-Buddhist significance and not confined to the Theravāda tradition.

The tendency of turning popular tales into *jātakas* had the result that at times rather worldly narrations became records of

¹⁶ [18] As pointed out by von Hinüber 1998: 187, such "Ur-jātakas" found among the Pāli discourses share as a distinct characteristic that they are entirely in prose (in contrast to the *Jātaka* collection, which is in verse).

¹⁷ [20] SN 47.6 at SN V 146,17 and SĀ 617 at T II 172c25; cf. also T 212 at T IV 695a12.

¹⁸ [21] Jā 168 at Jā II 60,23; Rhys Davids 1903/1997: 195 comments that "there can be no question as to which is the older document; for the *Jātaka* quotes as its source, and by name and chapter, the very passage in the *Samyutta* in which the fable originally occurs."

¹⁹ [19] Cf., e.g., Franke 1906, Norman 1983a: 79, Laut 1993: 503, Kulasuriya 1996: 10, and Ohnuma 2004b: 401.

the Buddha's past lives.²⁰ As a result of this, in some past lives he is shown to engage in quite objectionable conduct.²¹ Compassion is also notably absent from many tales.²² Clearly such stories did not come into being as illustrations of the future Buddha's cultivation of the qualities required for Buddhahood,²³ but were instead put to this use when they had already acquired the basic elements of their narrative plots.²⁴ ^[103]

Now in the Pāli *Jātaka* commentary the Buddha's past lives are also consistently male. Here this is not a result of the narrative

²⁰ [22] Winternitz 1920/1968: 90 observes: "so konnte jede noch so weltliche, dem buddhistischen Ideenkreise noch so ferne stehende Geschichte zu einer 'buddhistischen' werden."

²¹ [23] Appleton 2007: 117 note 16 notes that at times he "lies, steals, murders, and commits sexual impropriety"; cf. also De 1951: 59 and Skilling 2006b: 54.

²² [24] Schmithausen 2000: 438 note 8 notes that "in den (meist vorbuddhistischen) Geschichten, die von den Buddhisten auf frühere Leben des historischen Buddha (als Bodhisattva) projiziert worden sind, spielt das Mitleid oft gar keine Rolle."

²³ [25] Cone and Gombrich 1977: xvii point out that the idea that "the Bodhisattva is throughout these lives developing ... [the] prerequisites for Buddhahood ... certainly postdates most of the stories" in the *Jātaka* collection. In fact, according to Cummings 1982: 20, "most Jātakas at the time of Bhārhu were simply used as parables in illustration of the Doctrine, and did not yet carry any specific significance as stories of the Buddha's previous incarnations"; cf. also Sarkar 1990: 5.

²⁴ An example is the Vessantara tale, Jā 547 at Jā VI 479,1; for studies of which cf., e.g., Fick 1926, Alsdorf 1957, Cone and Gombrich 1977, Norman 1981/1991, Gombrich 1985, Collins 1998: 497–554, Durt 1999, Shaw 2015, Shi 2015, Anālayo 2016g and the articles in Collins 2016. The basic plot builds on the motif of the begging brahmin whose requests have to be obliged; on this trope cf., e.g., Jamison 1996: 153ff. This plot must have originated in a setting imbued with brahminical values and stands in dialogue with that. The highly successful adoption of this tale in the Buddhist narrative traditions then comes with a Buddhist veneer, which accommodates the giving away of anything begging brahmins ask for, including wife and children, as instances of the practice of the perfections, which is clearly not the context within which the plot originated.

setting, but much rather would be a result of the way these stories came into being. When identifying one of the protagonists of a particular story taken from ancient Indian lore as a past life of the Buddha, it must have been natural, in fact perhaps even inevitable, that characters were chosen who were male.²⁵

This not only follows the precedent set by the *jātakas* found in Pāli discourses, but also conforms to the general notion that gender tends to remain the same across different lives.²⁶ In this context, maleness would naturally have become a characteristic capable of providing some degree of constancy among otherwise widely different characters from the human and animal worlds. From a narrative perspective, maleness would naturally have stood out among the unceasing variations in these tales as an easily identifiable marker of continuity.

In sum, in *jātakas* found among the Pāli discourses the previous lives of the Buddha are male due to the narrative requirement of the respective stories; in the commentarial Pāli *Jātaka* collection maleness serves to string together diverse stories as past lives of the Buddha.²⁷ [104]

²⁵ [26] Appleton 2010: 96 points out that "the fact that the Bodhisatta always happens to be male in his *jātaka* stories is simply because he is male in his final birth."

²⁶ [27] Consistency of gender would have been a natural notion in the Indian setting. Doniger 1999/2000: 298 points out that "in Hindu texts ... very few, if any, gender changes occur in reincarnation ... this dearth of gender transformations in Hindu stories of rebirth stands in strong contrast to the frequent changes of species that take place in reincarnation in texts like *The Laws of Manu*"; cf. also Appleton 2011: 43f on the consistency in sex across lives in *Apadāna* narratives.

²⁷ [28] Appleton 2011: 47 sums up: "that women cannot be *bodhisattas* was not, therefore, a careful considered doctrine *designed* to exclude women. It did, however, result in a great inequality, despite widespread recognition that women were capable of achieving arahatship."

Jātakas and the Bodhisattva Path

Once *jātakas* in general, be these found in the Pāli canon or elsewhere, came to be seen as exemplifying the conduct of a bodhisattva, the consistent maleness of the Buddha's past lives would have acquired a significance far beyond its original purposes. The fact that he was always male would have easily resulted in the notion that the path to Buddhahood, at least in its final stages, requires one to be male.²⁸

This is in fact spelled out explicitly in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, for example, according to which an advanced bodhisattva has left behind womanhood for good and will not be reborn again as a female.²⁹ According to the *Mahāvastu*, those who progress along the stages (*bhūmi*) leading to Buddhahood are males.³⁰ In a similar vein, the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka* commentary lists eight conditions that are required for being able to receive the prediction of one's future Buddhahood, thereby consecrating one's condition of being a bodhisattva, one of which is possessing a male genital organ.³¹

²⁸ [29] As Appleton 2010: 96 points out, "after the association of the stories with the *bodhisatta* path, his consistently male character influenced the idea that a *bodhisatta* must be male."

²⁹ [30] Wogihara 1930: 94,4: *bodhisattvaḥ prathamasyaiva kalpāsaṃkhyeyasyāt-yayāt strībhāvaṃ vijahāti bodhimaṇḍaṇiṣadanam upādāya na punar jātu strī bhavati*; cf. also Har Dayal 1932/1970: 223f and Paul 1979/1985: 212 note 7. Romberg 2002: 164 notes that once "the aim was no longer to become an Arhat, but to become Buddha ... this shift made, in fact, the situation for women worse, because a doctrinal foundation was laid for the necessity of changing the sex before being able to become enlightened"; cf. also Harrison 1987: 79, who aptly sums up that, "although both men and women can ride in the Great Vehicle, only men are allowed to drive it."

³⁰ [31] Senart 1882b: 103,11: *sarvāsu daśabhūmiṣu puruṣā bhavanti*.

³¹ [32] Jā I 44,20: *liṅgasampatti*; cf. also the discussion in Endo 1997/2002: 253f. Ps IV 122,12 and Mp II 15,7 precede such a listing by proclaiming that a woman

It is against the background of this development, where maleness as the result of a narrative requirement becomes a requirement for actual practice, ^[105] that the tale of the Buddha's past life as a princess is best evaluated. In what follows I translate a version of this tale found as part of a discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and then study this version in comparison with these three parallels.³²

- The *Padīpadāna-jātaka*, which is part of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* collection, a collection that is not part of the *Jātaka* commentary related to the verses found in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*.³³
- A version in the Scriptural Collection on the Six Perfections (六度集經), an assemblage of *jātaka* tales illustrating the Buddha's practice of the six *pāramitās*, preserved in Chinese.³⁴
- A version also preserved in Chinese and found in a collection known under the title of being the Scripture on the Wise and the Fool (賢愚經).³⁵

is even unable to have the (fully fledged) aspiration for Buddhahood, *paññānamattam pi itthiyā na sampajjati*.

³² [38] The translated text is taken from EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a26 to 758a6, which is part of a longer discourse. The first part of EĀ 43.2 describes the eightfold *uposatha* and thus is a parallel to AN 8.41 at AN IV 248,18. The exposition of the eightfold *uposatha* in EĀ 43.2 leads to the topic of aspirations of the three *yānas*, where the aspiration to become a Buddha then leads to the topic of the future advent of Maitreya and his three assemblies of disciples.

³³ Jaini 1981: 396,1 to 402,3; on this text cf. also Jaini 1989/2001; on other versions of this tale in Theravāda literature cf. Gombrich 1980: 70, Derris 2008, Skilling 2009a: 132f and 2010: 950, and Derris 2014; and on the whole collection or other parts of it Skilling 2006a, Unebe et al. 2007, Sheravanichkul 2008, Unebe 2009 and 2012.

³⁴ T 152 at T III 38c5 to 39a7 (tale 73); on this collection cf. Shyu 2008; translations of tale 73 can be found in Chavannes 1910: 263–266 and Shyu 2008: 180–183.

³⁵ T 202 at T IV 371b13 to 371c22 (this is part of tale 20); for translations of the Mongolian and Tibetan counterparts cf. Frye 1981: 198f; on the textual history of this text as a whole cf. Mair 1993/1999.

The fact that a version of this story is part of a discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* reflects a recurrent feature of this collection in incorporating late material not found in other collections of early discourses in the Pāli *Nikāyas* or Chinese *Āgamas*.³⁶ Neither the inclusion of this tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, nor differing times of translation when compared to the Collection on the Six Perfections and the Scripture on the Wise and the Fool, offer sufficient grounds for deciding which version should be considered earliest.³⁷

[106] As far as I can see, it seems best to consider all four versions as different executions of the same basic plot, without attempting to identify one of them as the source text.

Translation

In former times there was a king called *Ratnagiri, who governed by relying on the Dharma, without any crookedness, being in control over this realm of Jambudvīpa. At that time there was a Buddha called Ratnasikhin,³⁸ who was a Tathāgata, an arahant, fully and rightly awakened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, a well-gone one, a knower of the world, a supreme person, a leader on the path of Dharma,³⁹ a teacher of gods and humans, called a Buddha, [107] a protector of the world, who had emerged in the world.

³⁶ Cf. above p. 391f.

³⁷ Needless to say, an early version may be translated relatively late and a late version comparatively earlier, depending on the vicissitudes of transmission, wherefore time of translation is not by itself a sure guide to assessing the earliness of a particular version (a situation further complicated by the fact that, during textual transmission and cross-fertilization, a late element may become part of an otherwise early text).

³⁸ [39] My rendering of the name follows the indication in Akanuma 1930/1994: 543 (although given as the name of a prince); in the *Padīpadāna-jātaka*, Jaini 1981: 397,4, the Buddha's name is Porāṇadīpaṅkara.

³⁹ [40] Cf. above p. 394 note 41.

That king had a daughter called Munī with an exceptional countenance,⁴⁰ her face being of the colour of peach blossoms, [757b] which was all the result of having in previous lives made offerings to Buddhas.

At that time that Buddha also had three communal gatherings, [just as the future Buddha Maitreya].⁴¹ At the time of the first communal gathering of disciples there was a congregation of one hundred and sixty-eight thousand,⁴² at the second communal gathering there was a congregation of one hundred and sixty-eight thousand, and at the third communal gathering a congregation of one hundred and thirty thousand. All these were arahants who had eradicated the influxes.⁴³

Then that Buddha gave a teaching to his disciples in this way: "Monks, you should mindfully sit in meditation, do not be negligent. Moreover, try to make an effort to study and recite the discourses and the precepts."^[108]

The attendant of that Buddha was called Puṇṇa, he was foremost in learning (just as now with me the monk Ānanda is most excellent in learning). Then the monk Puṇṇa said to the Buddha Ratnasikhin:

⁴⁰ [41] EĀ 43.2 at T II 758c4 reports that the Buddha Gotama identified Princess Munī as one of his previous lives. The corresponding type of identification can be found in the *Padīpadāna-jātaka*, Jaini 1981: 401,38, in T 152 at T III 39a6, and in T 202 at T IV 371c19.

⁴¹ [42] My supplementation is guided by the fact that the use of "also" seems to refer back to three communal gatherings under the future Buddha Maitreya mentioned a few lines earlier in EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a18.

⁴² [43] Adopting the variant 初聲聞 instead of 聲聞初.

⁴³ [44] DN 14 at DN II 5,6 and its parallels in Sanskrit fragments, Waldschmidt 1956: 74, as well as DĀ 1 at T I 2b22, T 2 at T I 151c15, and T 4 at T I 160a10 similarly report that several former Buddhas had three such communal gatherings of disciples; as Waldschmidt 1956: 74 note 1 points out, EĀ 48.4 differs in this respect.

"There are monks whose faculties are dull, who have the energy neither for the task of meditative concentration nor for study and recitation. Wishing for these people to find peace, what category [of practice] would the Blessed One allocate to them now?"

The Buddha Ratnasikhin said: "Suppose there are monks whose faculties are dull and who are not fit for the task of practising meditation [or recitation]. They should cultivate [the third] of the three activities [that lead] to a superior human condition. What are the three? That is, they are sitting in meditation, reciting the discourses, and assisting the Saṅgha in its affairs." In this way, that Buddha gave such sublime teachings to his disciples.

At that time there was an old monk who also was not fit for the task of practising meditation.⁴⁴ Then that monk thought in turn: "I have now grown up to be ripe in age, and I am also unable to cultivate the task of meditation [or recitation]. Let me now aspire to practise a task that assists [the Saṅgha]." Then that old monk entered the town of *Marīci to seek for oil to light lamps and come to worship the Buddha Ratnasikhin so as to make him be illuminated daily without interruption. [109]

Then Princess Munī saw this old monk begging in the streets of the town. She asked that monk: "Monk, what are you now seeking for?" The monk replied: "Your royal highness,⁴⁵ please know that I am old and feeble with age, I am not fit for the task of practising meditation. Therefore I beg for oil to be used to worship the Buddha by continuously venerating him with illumination."

When that girl heard the epithet "Buddha", she was delighted and thrilled, unable to contain herself. She said to the

⁴⁴ [45] On the negative image of old monks unable to learn cf. von Hinüber 1997: 72–74.

⁴⁵ [46] Adopting a variant that adds 王.

old monk: "Monk, from now on do not try to beg at any other place. I will myself support and assist you with oil and lamp wicks, granting to you exhaustive offerings of each of these."⁴⁶

Then the old monk accepted the offering of that girl and came daily to fetch oil to worship the Tathāgata Ratnasikhin, keeping up this meritorious deed. He dedicated the offering for his supreme and true awakening, [110] with his own mouth proclaiming:

"I am already feeble from age and my faculties are more-over dull, I have no wisdom for the task of practising meditation. Endowed with the merits of this deed, wherever I am reborn, may I not fall into evil destinies. [757c] May [this merit] cause me to meet a Buddha in future lives, just like now the Tathāgata Ratnasikhin, not different from [now]. May I also meet a noble assembly just like the noble assembly now, not different from [now]. May I also be taught the Dharma just as now, not different from [now]."

⁴⁶ [47] In the *Padīpadāna-jātaka*, Jaini 1981: 398,31, the princess makes an aspiration for future Buddhahood when offering the oil to the monk, asking the monk to inform the Buddha of her aspiration. Notably, her aspiration involves a word play on the oil she has offered, *siddhatthatela*, where she proclaims that her name in future will be Siddhattha (Skilling 2009a: 132f notes that the word play involved in this proclamation comes in the company of another word play between the offering of lights, *dīpa*, and the monk's future name Dīpaṅkara). For the princess to be proclaiming her own future name is noteworthy as the revelation of a future Buddha's name is usually the task of the Buddha who gives the prediction, not of the one who aspires to future Buddhahood. Derris 2008: 40 points out that "with this revised etymology, the princess's presence is again asserted into the traditional biography insisting that the Bodhisatta's lifetime as the princess cannot be forgotten. Indeed, her meritorious actions and aspirations enabled Prince Siddhattha to accomplish his aim. And thus the total frame of the Buddha biography is reshaped by the events of this female lifetime, from supplanting the first prediction of Buddhahood by the princess's reception of the prediction of the prediction, to the re-signification of the Bodhisatta's final birth name."

When the Tathāgata Ratnasikhin had come to know what that monk had been thinking in his mind,⁴⁷ he then smiled and from his mouth five-coloured lights emerged.⁴⁸ He said: "Now, monk, in the future, after innumerable aeons, you will become a Buddha called the Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara, an arahant, fully and rightly awakened."

Then the old monk was delighted and thrilled, unable to contain himself. His body and mind became firm with the intention not to retrogress and his facial complexion was superb and exceptional.

Then the girl Munī saw that the facial complexion of that monk was extraordinary. She came forward and asked: "Monk, now your facial complexion is very special and exceptional. What is the reason?" [111] The monk replied: "Your royal highness, please know that the Tathāgata has earlier manifestly sprinkled me with ambrosia."

The girl Munī asked: "How has the Tathāgata manifestly sprinkled you with ambrosia?" The monk replied: "I have been given a prediction by the Tathāgata Ratnasikhin. He said that in the future, after innumerable aeons, I will become a Buddha called the Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara, an arahant, fully and rightly awakened. My body and mind have become firm with the intention not to retrogress. In this way, your royal highness, I have been given a prediction by the Tathāgata."

The princess asked: "Has the Buddha given a prediction about me?" The old monk replied: "Indeed I do not know whether or not he has given a prediction about you."

⁴⁷ [48] It seems that, although the monk had verbally only expressed a desire to meet a future Buddha, etc., in his mind he also aspired to become a Buddha himself eventually.

⁴⁸ [49] On the smile of a Buddha cf. also Balbir 2013: 91–97.

Then, having heard what the monk had said, the princess mounted a vehicle [adorned] with feathers and gems and approached the Tathāgata Ratnasikhin. She paid respect with her head at his feet and sat to one side. Then the princess said to the Buddha: "I am now the chief donor of the oil that was required,⁴⁹ constantly supporting and assisting [the monk]. Yet, the Blessed One has now given a prediction to that monk, only [for me] he has not manifested a prediction." [112]

The Tathāgata Ratnasikhin said: "The merit of the arousal of the mind with an aspiration [for Buddhahood] is difficult to measure. What to say about the bestowal of a material gift?"

The girl Munī replied: "If the Tathāgata will not give me a prediction, I shall myself cut off my life faculty." The Tathāgata Ratnasikhin replied: "Now one who occupies a woman's body and who seeks to be a wheel-turning king will never gain it, who seeks to be Sakka will also be unable to gain it, who seeks to be king Brahmā will also be unable to attain it, who seeks to be king Māra will also be unable to attain it, who seeks to be a Tathāgata will also be unable to attain it."

The girl said: "Is it certain that I will be unable to attain supreme awakening?" The Buddha Ratnasikhin replied: "You will be able, girl Munī, [758a] to accomplish supreme and true awakening. Yet, princess, you should know that in the future, after innumerable aeons, a Buddha will emerge in the world. He is your good friend [from nowadays]. That Buddha will give you a prediction."⁵⁰ [113]

⁴⁹ [50] Adopting the variant 是 instead of 見.

⁵⁰ [51] The actual giving of this prediction is reported later in the same discourse, EĀ 43.2 at T II 758b26: "Then the Buddha Dīpaṃkara, knowing what that brahmin was thinking in his mind, said: 'Rise up quickly, in the future you will become a Buddha called the Tathāgata Sakyamuni, an arahant, fully and rightly awakened.'" The prediction by Dīpaṃkara occurs also elsewhere in the

Then the princess said to the Buddha: "[So] the recipient is pure, [but] the donor is dirty?" The Buddha Ratnasikhin said: "Regarding what I now said, you should make a firm resolve with a pure mind."

Then, having said this, the princess rose from her seat, paid respect with her head at the Buddha's feet, circumambulated him three times, and in turn withdrew and left.⁵¹

Study

The four versions of this tale, taken into account in the present study, show several noteworthy differences in their portrayal of this past life of the Buddha. One difference between the parallel versions concerns the main protagonist. The *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Scripture on the Wise and the Fool agree by introducing her as Princess Munī.⁵² The *Padīpadāna-jātaka* differs in so far as it does not give her name.⁵³ According to the Collection on the

Ekottarika-āgama; cf. EĀ 20.3 at T II 599b14. Other instances of this prediction can be found, for example, in the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 252,12, the *Lalitavistara*, Lefmann 1902: 415,20, the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 239,6, the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 785b25 (for another instance in the *Dharmapada* of this tradition cf. Skilling 1997a: 609 (16)), and the *Buddhavaṃsa*, stanza 2.60 at Bv 13,1; for further references cf. the survey in Lamotte 1944/1981: 248 note 2. According to Nattier 2004a: 72f, the story of the meeting between Gautama bodhisattva and Dīpaṅkara "is frequently depicted in art from the Gandhāra region ... suggesting that it may have originated at the northwestern fringes of the Indian cultural sphere"; cf. also Biswas 2009: 98, who comments that "the distribution of Dīpaṅkara images ... points to the likelihood that the story of Dīpaṅkara was first formulated on the further fringes of north-west India." On the Dīpaṅkara narrative(s) cf. also Matsumura 2008, 2010, 2011, and 2012.

⁵¹ [⁵²] At this juncture, EĀ 43.2 at T II 758a6 continues with the advent of Dīpaṅkara Buddha.

⁵² [⁵³] T 202 at T IV 371b28.

⁵³ [⁵⁴] Jaini 1981: 398,10.

Six Perfections, however, she was rather an unnamed poor widow who made a living by selling oil.⁵⁴ The role of a poor widow in the Indian setting, ancient or modern, is not an enviable fate.⁵⁵ Compared to being a princess, this is about as far down as one could get as a woman. [114] Being a poor widow would probably signal to the audience of the Collection on the Six Perfections her lack of merits. At the same time, however, in the context of the present story it also conveys the message that even from the lowliest position in ancient Indian society one can rise to future Buddhahood.

The topic of the merits of the female protagonist comes up explicitly in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version and the *Padīpadāna-jātaka*, although in quite different ways. According to the *Ekottarika-āgama* presentation, her beauty was the result "of having in previous lives made offerings to Buddhas". The *Padīpadāna-jātaka* instead highlights that her birth as a woman was the result of previously performed unwholesome karma.⁵⁶

Another difference is that, whereas in the *Ekottarika-āgama* account and in the Collection on the Six Perfections the monk is old and unlearned,⁵⁷ according to the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* he was highly accomplished, having memorized the three *piṭakas* and attained the five higher knowledges (*abhiññā*) and the eight meditative attainments (*samāpatti*).⁵⁸ This makes it less of a surprise to

⁵⁴ [55] T 152 at T III 38c5.

⁵⁵ [56] Cf., e.g., Altekar 1956: 115–165, Upadhyaya 1968: 87f, Nandy 1980, Datta 1988, Sharma et al. 1988/2001, Leslie 1991, (the papers in) Hawley 1994, Court-right 1995, van den Bosch 1995, Wadley 1995, Weinberger-Thomas 1996, Garzilli 1997, Mani 1998, Adhya 2006, Jamison 2006: 205, and Brick 2010 and 2014, just to mention a few.

⁵⁶ [57] Jaini 1981: 398,10: *attano pubbakatena aparāpariyavedaniyanāmena akusalakammena itthi jāto*.

⁵⁷ [58] T 152 at T III 38c7.

⁵⁸ [59] Jaini 1981: 397,11.

find that the princess does not receive a similar prediction as this outstanding monk. In the *Ekottarika-āgama* the low-level monk whose mere maleness makes him fit to receive a prediction conveys more sharply the message that, however high-positioned a female may be, she cannot match the domain of males. [115]

It is also worthy of note that the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* not only does not assign a name to the princess, but also portrays her with less agency than the other versions. After making the offering on behalf of the princess, in this version it is the highly accomplished monk who enquires as to why she cannot be given a prediction. Here is the part that ensues after the monk's enquiry:⁵⁹

Having heard it, the Blessed One said to the Elder: "Monk, it is not possible for me now to give a prediction to that princess, who stays in the condition of a woman."

Having heard it, the Elder asked the Blessed One again: "Venerable sir, why is it not possible for you now to give a prediction to her, being in the condition of a woman?"

Then the Blessed One said this to the Elder: "Monk, it is not possible for me now to give a prediction to her, being in the condition of a woman, because that woman has not fulfilled the combination of eight conditions [for receiving a prediction]."

As mentioned above, eight conditions are according to the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka* commentary required for being able to receive the prediction of future Buddhahood, one of which is the possession of a male genital organ.⁶⁰ So the princess can only receive a prediction that in future she will be given a prediction.⁶¹ [116]

⁵⁹ [60] Jaini 1981: 399,14 to 399,20.

⁶⁰ [61] See above note 31.

⁶¹ [62] Derris 2008: 36 comments that "this 'predicted prediction' creates a space for a woman to be acknowledged as progressing along the bodhisatta path."

In this way in the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* the princess does not meet the former Buddha at all; everything is done on her behalf by men.⁶² In the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse and the other versions she instead personally goes to meet the Buddha in order to find out why she did not receive a prediction.⁶³ Hence in these versions the discussion about a woman's ability to receive a prediction of future Buddhahood takes place between the former Buddha and herself.

According to the *Ekottarika-āgama* account, what prevents her from receiving such a prediction is that for women it is impossible to be a wheel-turning king, Sakka, Brahmā, Māra, and a Tathāgata. The Collection on the Six Perfections mentions a sixth in addition to these five, adding the impossibility that a woman could be a Paccekabuddha.⁶⁴

The addition of the impossibility of being a Paccekabuddha involves a shift in the presentation. The other impossibilities are related to the inability of women to take up leadership roles in ancient Indian society. Women are seen as not fit to occupy the heavenly rulership positions of a Sakka, Māra (a position not as attractive as the others), or Brahmā, or else the secular and spiritual leadership roles on earth of a wheel-turning king or a Buddha. [117]

A Paccekabuddha does not occupy a leadership role comparable to a Buddha. The question of being a Paccekabuddha is solely

⁶² [63] Even the indication that the future Buddha Dīpaṃkara will give her the prediction is made to the monk who will become Dīpaṃkara, Jaini 1981: 400,12, followed by noting that by dint of her offering she will pass away from the condition of being a woman and be reborn as a *devaputta* in the Tusita heaven.

⁶³ [64] T 152 at T III 38c15 and T 202 at T IV 371c12.

⁶⁴ [65] T 152 at T III 38c19; for a discussion of the stipulation regarding the positions a woman supposedly cannot occupy cf. Anālayo 2009b.

a question of spiritual ability, not one of spiritual leadership. Whereas considering it impossible for a female to be a Buddha presumably reflects ancient Indian notions of leadership, to proclaim that a woman cannot be a Paccekabuddha amounts to proposing that a woman, by dint of her gender, is incapable of the degree of spiritual ability required for realizing awakening without the guidance of a teacher.⁶⁵

Now the impossibilities mentioned in the Collection on the Six Perfections as well as in the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse do not fulfil a purpose in the present context. The problem to be solved at the present juncture of events is to explain why a woman cannot be given a *prediction* of future Buddhahood. The impossibilities, however, are about a woman's inability to take up the office of a Buddha. They rule out that a Buddha could be female, but they do not imply that a woman cannot become a Buddha in a future life. Thus the impossibilities do not explain why the former Buddha could not predict that Princess Munī (or her counterpart in the poor widow) would become a Buddha in the distant future.

Notably, in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version the exchange with the former Buddha leads up to Princess Munī somewhat directly confronting him with the query "[so] the recipient is pure, [but] the donor is dirty?"^[118] This depicts her as having the courage to enquire about the notion of the inferiority of female birth right in front of the former Buddha, who replies by encouraging her to make a firm resolve with a *pure* mind. This reply in a way seems to point to purification of the mind as being beyond gendered notions of purity, although it does so without actually confronting such notions.

⁶⁵ [68] Cooray 2004: 244 notes that according to the developed Theravāda tradition a woman can aspire to become a Paccekabuddha, but of course needs to change sex in order to become one.

The same gendered notion of purity also comes up in the Collection on the Six Perfections, although here the poor woman takes the inferiority of female birth quite seriously. The relevant part proceeds as follows, beginning with the Buddha's indication regarding the six impossibilities for women.⁶⁶

The Buddha said to the woman: "With a female body one cannot be a Buddha, a Pāccekabuddha, Brahmā, Sakka, Māra or a wheel-turning king; these dignities are very lofty and cannot be attained with a female body. As regards your wish to attain these, you should relinquish your dirty embodiment and acquire a pure body."⁶⁷

The woman paid respect with her head [at the Buddha's feet] and said: "I shall now relinquish it." She returned to her house and cleaned herself by taking a bath.⁶⁸ From afar she bowed down and said: "As regards this body, made of the four elements, [119] it is [anyway] not to be kept forever by me."

She climbed up a building and formulated the aspiration: "May my filthy body now be for the benefit of hungry and thirsty living beings. I seek to become a male myself and receive a prediction of Buddhahood.

"Whatever living beings in this troubled world are blind and have turned their back on what is right, are inclined to-

⁶⁶ [69] T 152 at T III 38c18 to 39a3.

⁶⁷ [70] This injunction by the former Buddha comes remarkably close to an encouragement to commit suicide, which according to a range of extant *Vinayas* is a *pārājika* offence; cf. T 1422 at T XXII 195a14, T 1426 at T XXII 549c12, T 1429 at T XXII 1015c13, T 1436 at T XXIII 471a13, T 1454 at T XXIV 501a17, and Vin III 73,11.

⁶⁸ [71] Shyu 2008: 185 note 460 comments that "when she was told that a female body is filthy, the widow ... took a bath first. It seems she strived for the purity of a body."

wards what is wrong and do not know a Buddha, I shall rescue them."⁶⁹

She threw herself down from up high. Those who saw it were chilled and shivered. Knowing her intention, the Buddha magically transformed the ground so that it became soft as if [receiving her with] a celestial net. Her body was visibly unharmed and had been transformed into a male one.

[The widow-become-male] became dizzy with infinite joy, quickly approached the Buddha, and said full of enthusiasm: "Receiving the kindness of the Blessed One, I already gained a pure body. I only wish that I would receive a prediction, out of compassion."

The Buddha expressed his praise: "Your courage is extraordinary in the world. You will certainly become a Buddha, do not harbour any doubt about it. When the one who keeps the lamps burning [Dīpaṃkara] has become a Buddha, he will predict your name." [120]

In this way, in the Collection on the Six Perfections the poor widow actually attempts to commit the suicide which in the *Ekottarika-āgama* the princess had only threatened, saying that not being given a prediction she would cut off her life faculty. In the Collection on the Six Perfections this actual attempt to kill herself makes her acquire a male body.⁷⁰

Even though she has become male, the actual prediction given is the same as what the princess in the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* received: a prediction of a prediction. In both cases it is only when Dīpaṃkara has become a Buddha that a proper prediction of fu-

⁶⁹ [72] Adopting a variant without 世.

⁷⁰ [73] On the change of sex motif cf. above p. 382ff. Zürcher 1980: 103 notes a comparable tale in a Daoist text where a woman, wishing to attain a male body, throws herself on a pyre and thereby is transformed into a man.

ture Buddhahood can be given, including an announcement of the future Buddha's name.

Among the different versions of this *jātaka*, the account in the Collection on the Six Perfections takes the strongest place in denigrating the female body.⁷¹ At the same time, however, the widow is depicted as actually succeeding in transforming herself. Alongside the appalling depiction of her attempt to commit suicide, this story at the same time also conveys the message that even a woman who finds herself at the bottom of ancient Indian society is in principle capable of taking action and transforming her situation.

The Scripture on the Wise and the Fool brings up neither the impossibilities nor the eight conditions,⁷² and it does not even resort to giving merely a prediction of a prediction. [121] Instead it presents a simple solution for the perceived conflict between being female and receiving an actual prediction. Here is the relevant part:⁷³

Princess Munī heard that her noble monk friend had been given a prediction of becoming a Buddha. She thought in her mind: "The material for the lamps for the Buddha are all my possessions. Putting them up, the monk has now received a prediction. Only I did not receive one." Having thought this,

⁷¹ [74] This is noteworthy insofar as the same collection contains another two stories with past lives of the Buddha as a female, and these do not involve such an advocacy of the superiority of males. These two stories, noted by Shyu 2008: 163, are tale no. 19, T 152 at T III 13a5, which concerns a mother bird's willingness to sacrifice herself for the sake of her chicks, and tale no. 72, T 152 at T III 38a11, which records two lives as a virtuous wife. For another story of a past life of the Buddha as a virtuous woman by the name of Rūpyāvati cf. the studies by Ohnuma 2000 and Dimitrov 2004, and on the theme of gender in relation to the bodhisattva ideal the reflections in Ohnuma 2001.

⁷² [75] Kajiyama 1982: 57 already noted that in T 202 the supposed impossibilities of women are not found.

⁷³ [76] T 202 at T IV 371c10 to c17.

she approached the Buddha and personally told him what was on her mind.

The Buddha in turn gave her a prediction, saying to Munī: "In the future, after two incalculable aeons and ninety-one [regular] aeons you will become a Buddha, called Sakyamuni, endowed with the ten epithets." Then, hearing the Buddha give this prediction, the princess was thrilled within and was transformed into a male who paid respect at the Buddha's feet and requested to become a recluse. The Buddha in turn gave his permission.

This offers a rather simple and straightforward solution for the conflict with which all versions struggle, namely how to reconcile a past life of the Buddha as a female with the dictum that a woman cannot be considered a fully fledged bodhisattva. Even though this version also adheres to the doctrine of the superiority of a male body, it does so in a way that is considerably less offensive than its parallels.

Alongside the differences found between the four versions, their basic agreement in recording a past life of the Buddha as a female who meets the one who will become Dīpaṃkara Buddha is worthy of note. ^[122] The narrative setting makes it clear that this tale is not a wholesale borrowing from ancient Indian narrative lore, but much rather a story that developed based on specifically Buddhist notions. The fact that the main protagonist is a female makes it safe to assume that the starting point of this tale would have been before the doctrine of women's inability to pursue Buddhahood was well established. Had this doctrine already been in vogue, the idea of showing the Buddha to have been a female would quite probably not have arisen in the first place.

This assumption finds confirmation in the fact that the parallel versions agree on the basic setting of a female aspiring to be pre-

dicted as a future Buddha, but disagree in the ways they accommodate the doctrinal restriction that only a male can be given such a prediction. This makes it to my mind clear that, when the need arose to solve the "problem" of a woman aspiring to Buddhahood, the basic story was already in place and had already started to move into different transmission lineages, each of which then had to find its solution for this problem.

Judging from the narrative denouement common to the parallel versions, the basic story might at first simply have been about the powerful results obtained by making an offering, *dāna*. This is of course a very common theme in the wider *jātaka* and *avadāna* genre to which this tale belongs.

In the present case, making offerings of light ensures that the monk donor will become a future Buddha by the telling name Dīpaṃkara. This offering is so powerful that even the woman who provided the raw ingredients for this offering will gain a similar reward, albeit some time later in reflection of the fact that her role in the actual offering is secondary. For the second donor to be a female could just reflect the actual experience of monks who on their begging rounds regularly receive supplies from housewives. [123]

For the Buddha then to be able to relate this tale, he of course has to be identified with the housewife, since of the two characters this is the one whose gift comes to fruition later.⁷⁴ Had he been the monk, he would have become Dīpaṃkara Buddha and would no longer be around to tell the whole story now.

Once a restriction on the possibility for females to receive a prediction of future Buddhahood comes into existence, however, the in itself natural assigning to a female of the role of supplying

⁷⁴ [77] As mentioned above in note 71, the pattern in Pāli *jātakas* where the Buddha is consistently a male in past lives does not hold for other *jātaka* traditions, so that it is not necessary to assume that this stricture must have influenced the present story from its outset.

the material requirements for an offering undertaken by a monk becomes problematic.

Whatever the last word on the coming into existence of this tale may be, the way the different versions struggle with the problem of a female being predicted as a future Buddha illustrates different modes of gender discrimination. Here the Collection on the Six Perfections in particular portrays how the feeling of worthlessness, just because of having a female body, can even result in suicidal tendencies.⁷⁵

The attitude of devaluing the female body has in later times found one of its perhaps most shocking expressions in the Discourse on the Blood-pool (血盆經), a text not included in the Taishō edition.⁷⁶ According to this text, the pollution women cause with their birth and menstruation blood will lead to their rebirth in a hellish lake full of blood which they will be forced to drink at regular intervals.⁷⁷ [124] In other words, by dint of their female nature women are polluted and sinful, for which they deserve to be punished.

The *Padīpadāna-jātaka* can be seen to illustrate another form of discrimination by way of distancing women. This expresses itself in the princess being an unnamed person with little agency of her own who has no direct contact with the Buddha. Such distancing is a trait that recurs elsewhere in the Theravāda tradition. The Theravāda *Vinaya* reports fewer direct meetings between

⁷⁵ [78] For a study of the notion that being born as a female is the result of bad karma cf. Anālayo 2014g; for a survey of studies of the Indian custom of self-cremation of women in response to the death of their husbands cf. above note 55.

⁷⁶ [79] 佛說大藏正教血盆經, found in the 續藏經, CBETA: Xuzang no. 23 at I 414a4; or else in the 嘉興大藏經, CBETA: Jiaying no. 44 at XIX 164b9.

⁷⁷ [80] Cf. Takemi 1983.

Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī and the Buddha than other *Vinayas*.⁷⁸ In the *Nandakovāda-sutta* the Buddha does not even speak to her, whereas in parallel versions of this discourse transmitted by other schools he personally gives her teachings.⁷⁹ Such distancing does not only take place in relation to Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī. The nun protagonist of the *Cūḷavedalla-sutta* does not have any direct contact with the Buddha, whereas in the parallel version she personally speaks to him.⁸⁰

Instead of such distancing, the Scripture on the Wise and the Fool shows that there are alternative ways of working with the basic tension underlying the plot of the Buddha's past life as a female. The solution offered in this discourse is considerably less drastic and its effect on a female audience can be expected to be less harmful than the distancing of the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* or the denigration of the female body in the Collection on the Six Perfections. [125] Although the Scripture on the Wise and the Fool arrives at giving an actual prediction of future Buddhahood, it nevertheless still hinges on the idea that the female body must be transformed into a male one. Even this idea is no longer evident in the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the Scripture on the Wise and the Fool, where she remains a woman and is ordained by the Buddha, evidently becoming a nun.⁸¹

⁷⁸ [81] This has already been pointed out for the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda *Vinaya* by Roth 1970: xl; for the other *Vinayas* cf. the references in Anālayo 2008c: 139f notes 58 and 59.

⁷⁹ [82] MN 146 at MN III 270,21 in contrast to its parallels SĀ 276 at T II 73c18, T 1442 at T XXIII 792a25, and D 3 *ja* 51b3 or Q 1032 *nye* 49a7; cf. also SHT VI 1226 folio 5Rb–c, Bechert and Wille 1989: 22.

⁸⁰ [83] MN 44 at MN I 304,26 in contrast to its parallels MĀ 210 at T I 790a23 and D 4094 *ju* 11a3 or Q 5595 *tu* 12a7.

⁸¹ [84] Cf. Frye 1981: 199 and Dhammadinnā 2015b: 493.

Conclusion

In *Jātakas* found in Pāli discourses the Buddha's past lives are consistently male due to the narrative requirements of the respective tales. In the case of commentarial *Jātaka* narrations, the precedent set in this way would have led to selecting maleness as the characteristic that helps to string together a broad variety of protagonists featuring in a variety of stories, taken from ancient Indian narrative lore and transformed into records of past lives of the Buddha. Once these were seen as illustrating the path a bodhisattva has to follow, maleness could have easily come to be considered a requisite for progress to Buddhahood.

The tale of the Buddha's past life as a princess reflects a struggle, evident in each version, to reconcile the existence of such a story with the dictum that a bodhisattva should be male. The way each version goes about this reconciliation exhibits a range of different responses, reflecting the multi-vocality that is so characteristic of the Buddhist traditions in relation to the gender issue.⁸²

⁸² On the same topic cf. also Anālayo 2016c.

Appendix (1): Mahāyāna

Introduction

In the present chapter I survey passages in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that reflect Mahāyāna thought,¹ before studying in more detail one of these instances, which involves an occurrence of the term *hīnayāna*. [6]

The term *mahāyāna* of course carries a range of meanings.² In the present context, my investigation covers thought related to the *bodhisattvayāna*, a term sometimes used in early Mahāyāna texts instead of the term *mahāyāna*, as well as fully fledged Mahāyāna thought. Besides occurrences of explicit *yāna* terminology – Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna, and references to the three *yānas* – *Ekottarika-āgama* passages that reflect the existence of the developed bodhisattva ideal as a viable path therefore fall within the scope of my exploration.³ I also consider references to Maitreya as a bodhisattva and the co-existence of more than one Buddha, found in different Buddha fields, as relevant to my present purpose.

My approach thus differs to some extent that of Lamotte, who considers a reference to the diamond concentration in an *Ekottari-*

* Originally published in 2013 under the title "Mahāyāna in the Ekottarika-āgama" in the *Singaporean Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 1: 5–43.

¹ I already drew attention to some of the late passages discussed below in Anālayo 2009k. For a reply to the suggestion by Legittimo 2014: 70 that Mahāyāna elements are not a characteristic of the *Ekottarika-āgama* cf. above p. 59f note 33.

² [4] Cf., e.g., the discussion in Silk 2002.

³ [5] Although in Anālayo 2010a I argue that the beginnings of what eventually was to become the bodhisattva ideal can be found already in the early discourses, these beginnings are distinctly different from passages in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that reflect the existence of the fully fledged *bodhisattvayāna*.

ka-āgama discourse as reflecting Mahāyāna influence.⁴ The passage in question describes how Sāriputta, seated in this type of concentration, remains unhurt when a *yakkha* hits him on the head. A parallel to this tale in the *Udāna* speaks simply of him having entered "a certain concentration".⁵ [7] Parallels in the two *Samyukta-āgama* translations do not mention his concentrative attainment, but report that the Buddha spoke a stanza in relation to this event, highlighting that Sāriputta's mind was solidly established like a firm rock or that his mind was like a great mountain.⁶

In the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse in question, the expression "diamond concentration", 金剛三昧, occurs not only in the Sāriputta episode, but also in the description of another monk who remained unhurt by a fire while being in this concentration.⁷ In most parallel versions, the monk has entered the cessation attainment.⁸

The expression "diamond concentration" would seem to be a natural way of describing the attainment of cessation as a condition in which one cannot be hurt.⁹ The notion that a diamond is

⁴ [6] In relation to EĀ 48.6 at T II 793a13, Lamotte 1967: 114 comments that according to this passage "Sāriputta était entré dans la Concentration du Diamant (*vajrasamādhi*), concentration ignorée des anciennes Écritures, mais figurant dans la liste des 108 ou 118 *samādhi* dressée par les *Prajñāpāramitā* ... en faisant intervenir cette concentration, le Sūtra de Śāriputra trahit sa dépendance à l'endroit des Sūtra du Grand Véhicule." Similarly Kuan 2013b: 140–149 sees this passage as reflecting Mahāyāna thought.

⁵ [7] Ud 4.4 at Ud 39,22: *aññataraṃ samādhiṃ samāpajjitvā*.

⁶ [8] SĀ 1330 T II 367b26: 心如剛石堅住 and SĀ² 329 at T II 485b16: 心如大山.

⁷ [9] EĀ 48.6 at T II 793b21.

⁸ [10] MN 50 at MN I 333,19, MĀ 131 at T I 620c22, T 66 at T I 864c19, and D 4094 *ju* 75b3 or Q 5595 *tu* 85a7 (cf. the reference to the cessation attainment in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan 1967: 75,3). Another parallel, T 67 at T I 867a28, only reports that the monk was in an unspecified concentration attainment.

⁹ [11] In relation to another such story in *Vism* 706,13, where a monk who has entered cessation remains unhurt by a fire that has broken out around him,

harder than any other stone is reflected in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, [8] where the motif of the indestructibility of a diamond serves to qualify the eradication of all influxes accomplished by an arahant.¹⁰ Thus references to the "diamond concentration" in the *Ekottarika-āgama* may simply intend to convey the indestructibility with which one who has attained cessation was held to be endowed.¹¹ The fact that similar ideas can be found in *Prajñāpāramitā* texts does to my mind not suffice to make the idea as such an instance of Mahāyāna thought.¹² [9]

Griffiths 1986/1991: 12 comments that "external events, no matter how dramatic, could have no effect upon him", which seems to be indeed a central feature associated with this attainment. Thus when Kuan 2013b: 148 comments on the description given in EĀ 48.6 that "this *samādhi* is endowed with specific magical potency, an empowerment typical of the Mahāyāna meditative traditions", it needs to be added that this magical potency seems to be associated with the attainment of cessation already in early Buddhist texts and is also reflected in the Theravāda commentarial tradition.

¹⁰ [12] AN 3.25 at AN I 124,20, a passage already noted by Frauwallner 1971: 96; cf. also the *Puggalapaññatti*, Pp 30,20, and for further references Anālayo 2011c: 301f note 180 and Martini 2011: 178 note 131.

¹¹ [13] Besides EĀ 48.6, the expression 金剛三昧 also occurs in the list of outstanding monks in EĀ 4.9 at T II 558b29, and in a listing of various concentrations in EĀ 42.4 at T II 753b13. Both instances are compatible with a reading of this expression as a referent to the attainment of cessation.

¹² [14] Lamotte 1967: 114 gives references to a *samādhi* qualified as *vajropamo*, "like a diamond", in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Dutt 1934/2000: 142,12 and 199,3, and to a *samādhi* called *vajra* in the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Ghōṣa 1902: 826,13 and 1416,1, which the second instance further explains to be such that, on staying in it, one will not be destroyed, *vajro nāma samādhiḥ, yatra samādhau shītvā na bhidyate*. The expression *vajropama* in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* corresponds to the qualification *vajirūpama* used in AN 3.25. As pointed out by Kuan 2013b: 145 note 26, the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* passage would convey the sense that one cannot be destroyed or harmed. I find it difficult to follow Kuan 2013b: 145, however, when he considers this to be a "new way instead of referring to

My usage of the term *mahāyāna* in the present chapter also differs from a position taken by Kuan who, following Mizuno,¹³ considers the description of the making of a Buddha image by King Udayana in the *Ekottarika-āgama* as a distinct Mahāyāna element.¹⁴

Rowland (1948), in his discussion of the invention of the Buddha image, does not consider the *Ekottarika-āgama* tale to be evidence of Mahāyāna influence.¹⁵ Similarly Soper (1959), who in his study of literary evidence for early Buddhist art in China shows clear awareness of the intrusion of Mahāyāna elements in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,¹⁶ does not reckon the tale of the Udayana statue as

the final stage of the path to liberation". The problem I see is that AN 3.25 does not speak of any *samādhi*, but only compares the irreversibility of the destruction of the influxes to a diamond. It seems to me that this motif would lend itself equally well either to being applied in a physical sense to the cessation *samādhi*, or else to referring to a *samādhi* that leads to arahant-ship, without any need to posit one of these two lines of developments as the earlier one. In fact considering the application of this motif to the attainment of cessation as a "new way" in contrast to the Abhidharma usage, reflected in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, Dhs 226,1, or the *Jñānaprasthāna*, T 1544 at T XXVI 922b22 (an idea also found in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan 1967: 364,15), would require first of all establishing that these texts as a whole are substantially earlier than the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.

¹³ [15] This position is taken by Kuan 2013b: 150–163, based on Mizuno 1996: 436; my ignorance of Japanese prevents me from consulting Mizuno myself.

¹⁴ [16] EĀ 36.5 T II 706a12; for a study of the fate of what was believed to have been the Buddha statue made at the behest of Udayana cf. Terentyev 2009.

¹⁵ [17] Rowland 1948: 185, instead of proposing a relationship to the Mahāyāna, holds that "the legend may have been invented to support the religious policy of Kanishka, which included the introduction of the Buddha image."

¹⁶ [18] Soper 1959: 259 comments that "the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarāgama* ... goes beyond any of the other sermon collections in fanciful elaboration. It is full of marvellous tales ... the details found are frequently those of early Mahāyāna; obviously the Sanskrit original was re-worked and greatly altered at a relatively late date." Soper 1959: 260 then continues that "one other aspect of the lateness of the *Ekottarāgama* that helps to explain the Udayāna [*sic*] story is

being itself distinctly Mahāyāna. The same is the case for the detailed study of the Udayana tale and its development by Carter (1990). In spite of her being clearly aware of the fact that the *Ekottarika-āgama* contains Mahāyāna elements,¹⁷ she does not consider this tale to be distinctly Mahāyāna. [10]

Bareau (1987), who elsewhere in his writings highlights the existence of Mahāyāna passages in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,¹⁸ does not deem this passage to pertain to the same category. In his partial translation and study of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse in question, Bareau explicitly makes the point that the tale of King Udayana having a Buddha image made is evidently late, but it is not an instance of Mahāyāna influence.¹⁹ In sum, these scholars, who have studied this tale in detail, do not consider it to be representative of what from their viewpoint are distinct Mahāyāna ideas.

its occasionally shown interest in images." That is, he clearly considers the interest in images to be something apart from the Mahāyāna influences he describes earlier.

¹⁷ [19] In the course of her discussion of the passage in EĀ 36.5, Carter 1990: 6 notes that "the *Ekottarāgama* appears to be an elaborate Mahayanist rendering of the Pali *Aṅguttara-nikāya*", following the indication made by Nakamura 1980/1999: 39 that the *Ekottarika-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation, "which mentions the ... *Mahāyāna*, *dharmakāya*, and deprecates Hīnayāna, must have been composed after the rise of Mahāyāna, probably in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D."

¹⁸ [20] Bareau 1987: 34 points out that "l'Ekottara-āgama contient, ici et là, des éléments nettement mahāyānistes qui furent insérés assez tard dans le texte ancien de ce recueil."

¹⁹ [21] In a footnote to his translation of the part of the discourse where King Udayana brings the Buddha image to the Buddha, apparently in order to get the Buddha's approval, found in EĀ 36.5 at T II 708a27, Bareau 1997: 28 note 25 comments that "il s'agit très probablement, ici aussi, d'additions tardives, bien que l'inspiration n'en soit pas mahāyāniste."

The making of a Buddha image by King Asoka is reported in texts like the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā*.²⁰ Such a report would not naturally fall under the category of evidence for Mahāyāna influence. Instead, the making of a Buddha image appears to be such a general feature of the Indian Buddhist traditions of the Middle Period that it would be difficult to sustain the position that it is of Mahāyāna origin. In his study of inscriptional data for the early image cult, [11] Schopen does in fact not find evidence for associating this cult with the Mahāyāna.²¹

In sum, it seems to me that references to the diamond concentration and to the making of a Buddha image in the *Ekottarika-āgama* need not be seen as the result of Mahāyāna influence just because these elements feature in some Mahāyāna texts. [12]

In what follows I therefore will not consider references to the diamond concentration and to the making of a Buddha image as

²⁰ [22] Mhv 5.94, Geiger 1958: 38,1, and Sp I 44,5 report that the king carried out an *akkhipījā* for the image for seven days, which makes it clear that the tale is about an actual Buddha image being consecrated; for a study of the consecration of Buddha images cf. Swearer 2004/2007; on early Buddha images in Sri Lanka cf., e.g., Wikramagamage 2005.

²¹ [23] After a survey of relevant inscriptions, Schopen 2001/2005: 115 notes that "there is still nothing identifiably Mahāyāna in any of these records dealing with the early image cult. None of these inscriptions, for example, makes any reference or allusion to 'la résolution de devenir des Bouddhas', which should be the single most important and defining characteristic of any early Mahāyāna." Schopen 2001/2005: 116 then even goes so far as to conclude that "the impression left by these inscriptional records [is] that the early Mahāyāna was neither involved with nor even interested in the early cult of images." Kuan 2013b: 160, however, attributes the absence of inscriptional references to the fact that the members of the early Mahāyāna were still part of the various *nikāyas*, and then p. 161 proposes, based on textual evidence, that "the Mahāyānists may have been the first to allow or even advocate the making of 'Buddha' (not 'Bodhisattva') images."

being of direct relevance to my discussion of elements related to Mahāyāna thought in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

Mahāyāna Passages

An instance that clearly falls within the category of being directly related to Mahāyāna ideas is an occurrence of the term *hīnayāna*, which I will discuss in more detail later on. The discourse in question, found among the Fours of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, expounds four unthinkable matters which, as the Buddha explains to Sāriputta, Hīnayānists are unable to understand.²²

In the beginning part of this discourse, Sāriputta talks to the monks on the four analytical knowledges, *paṭisambhidā*, before referring to various other sets of four, which would have earned the discourse a placing among the Fours.²³ The discourse gives the impression that its beginning parts, as well as perhaps the bare reference to the four unthinkables, could stem from an early discourse or earlier discourses by Sāriputta on sets of four. These appear to have been subsequently reworked into the discourse as it now appears, in the course of which elements that reflect Mahāyāna thought became part of the text.²⁴

As a result of this apparent development, the Buddha himself is shown to employ the derogatory expression *hīnayāna* – an entertaining element in a text that the ancient Chinese audience would have considered to be part of a Hīnayāna textual collection – and

²² [25] EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a4: 如來有四不可思議事, 非小乘所能知。

²³ [26] EĀ 26.9 at T II 639a25. The respective *uddāna* at T II 643a24 refers to Sāriputta and thus gives the impression that some instruction by Sāriputta would have been the original nucleus of the discourse.

²⁴ [27] Another Mahāyāna element in EĀ 26.9 can be found at T II 639c25, according to which a former Buddha in the distant past had established innumerable beings in the practice of the three *yānas* and in the *avaivartika* stage, 立無量眾生在三乘行, 有在不退轉地住者。

Sāriputta appears almost in the role of being a disciple of the Mahāyāna.²⁵ [13]

Whereas the term *hīnayāna* occurs only in this discourse, the employment of *yāna* terminology can be found in several *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses. In what follows I survey some such occurrences which, although not as distinctly Mahāyāna as a reference to the *hīnayāna*, nevertheless reflect the evolving bodhisattva ideal.

One such instance reports how Mahākassapa, on being told by the Buddha to give up his undertaking of the ascetic practices, refuses to comply. The *Ekottarika-āgama* actually has two versions of this tale, found among the Ones and among the Sevens,²⁶ which show some narrative differences.²⁷

²⁵ [28] As noted by Migot 1952: 486–491, this is precisely one of the roles of Sāriputta in several Mahāyāna texts.

²⁶ [29] EĀ 12.6 at T II 570a23 and EĀ 41.5 at T II 746a21. Other parallels are SN 16.5 at SN II 202,6, SĀ 1141 at T II 301c7, and SĀ² 116 at T II 416b8 (for a translation and study of EĀ 12.6 cf. above p. 249ff). EĀ 12.6 is allocated to the Ones, which could be related to the indication at the outset of the discourse at T II 570a25 that Mahākassapa took only one meal in a single session, 一處一坐; in the case of EĀ 41.5 a rationale for inclusion among the Sevens could be a reference at T II 746b23 to monks of the future who give up seven kinds of practices, 七種之法.

²⁷ [30] The two versions are located at two different places, as EĀ 12.6 at T II 570a23 takes place in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground in the Bamboo Grove at Rājagaha, whereas EĀ 41.5 at T II 746a21 has as its venue Anāthapiṇḍika's Park, Jeta's Grove, at Sāvathī. EĀ 12.6 at T II 570b6 differs from its parallels by reporting that Mahākassapa explained his refusal by indicating that he would have become a Paccakabuddha if the Buddha had not reached full awakening. EĀ 41.5 at T II 746b9 and 746c13 differs from the other parallels to SN 16.5 by recording that the Buddha predicted what will happen a thousand years after his death and requested that Mahākassapa remain in the world until the coming of the Buddha Maitreya; on this notion cf., e.g., Deeg 1999. This may well be why Kuan 2012: 187 comments that EĀ 41.5 "is too different to be counted as a parallel" to EĀ 12.6, SN 16.5, SĀ 1141, and SĀ² 116.

The discourse on Mahākassapa's refusal found among the Ones concludes with the Buddha praising the undertaking of the ascetic practices as leading to stream-entry, ^[14] once-return, non-return, and the awakening of the three *yānas*.²⁸ This praise gives the impression that what originally may have only been a listing of the four stages of awakening has been changed, with the reference to the arahant being replaced by a reference to the three *yānas* (quite appropriately, if considered from the viewpoint of later tradition). References to the three *yānas* are frequently found among discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.²⁹

The three *yānas* occur also in a discourse that describes various aspects of keeping the observance day, when the faithful lay disciple temporarily adopts the type of conduct observed always by arahants, such as celibacy, etc. One of these various forms of conduct concerns not using eight types of special seats that are not used by arahants. Three of these seats are the "Buddha seat", the "Pacceka-buddha seat", and the "arahant seat".³⁰ The parallel versions have no comparable reference,³¹ giving the impression that the seats of those who follow the three *yānas* would be an addition to the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse. This apparent addition seems to have been done without proper examination of the context, with the result that the discourse describes arahant seats that arahants do not use.

²⁸ ^[31] EĀ 12.6 at T II 570b16: 成須陀洹, 斯陀含, 阿那含, 三乘之道。

²⁹ ^[32] EĀ 1 at T II 550b29, EĀ 3.3 at T II 554c27, EĀ 24.6 at T II 625c15, EĀ 26.9 at T II 639c25, EĀ 32.1 at T II 674a7, EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a13, EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a23, EĀ 48.3 at T II 788c26, and EĀ 48.5 at T II 792b12.

³⁰ ^[33] EĀ 24.6 at T II 625c5: 佛座, 辟支佛座, 阿羅漢座 ... 阿羅漢不在此八種座; a reference to the 三乘 is then found a few lines below, T II 625c15. It is unclear to me what these three seats might be referring to.

³¹ ^[34] AN 3.70 at AN I 212,24, MĀ 202 at T I 771a3, T 87 at T I 911b7, T 88 at T I 912b27, and T 89 at T I 913b15.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* also reports an instruction by the Buddha that the monks should have an attitude of gratitude and benevolence for those who give them alms. The instruction is then followed by a set of stanzas. [15] One of the stanzas proclaims that through giving one will accomplish Buddhahood and be endowed with the thirty-two marks.³²

In the early discourses found in the other *Āgamas* and in the Pāli *Nikāyas*, the predominant function of the thirty-two marks is to provide visible evidence for contemporary brahmins to verify the Buddha's claim to awakening. From the perspective of these discourses, concern with the thirty-two marks is something characteristic of brahmins who are not yet followers of the Buddha and who need some aid that accords with their notions of spiritual accomplishment in order to gain sufficient faith to become receptive to the Buddha's teachings.³³ The idea that a disciple of the Buddha would aspire to have the same marks as part of a wish to accomplish Buddhahood is a later development that reflects a developed bodhisattva ideal.³⁴

A discourse addressed to Anāthapiṇḍika takes up the topic of giving and culminates in the Buddha praising the eminent householder for giving to all equally and thus with the mental attitude of a bodhisattva.³⁵ Behind this praise stands an already developed

³² [35] EĀ 10.3 at T II 564b16: 布施成佛道, 三十二相具。The *uddāna* related to this discourse confirms that the main topic was recollecting [with gratitude] the alms [one has received], T II 566a22: 念檀 (adopting the variant 檀 instead of 壇), which is the topic taken up by the Buddha in the initial question that sets the direction for the rest of the discourse, EĀ 10.3 at T II 564a19: 當云何觀檀越施主?

³³ [36] Cf. in more detail above p. 336ff and Anālayo 2011c: 529.

³⁴ Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2017b.

³⁵ [37] EĀ 10.5 at T II 565a20: 善哉, 善哉, 長者, 汝乃以菩薩心, 專精一意而廣惠施; the *uddāna* at T II 566a22 just notes that the present text is one of two discourses on *dāna*, 施。Eulogies of giving with the attitude of a bodhisattva

notion of the path of a bodhisattva and of the proper kind of attitude with which a lay bodhisattva should undertake the practice of giving. [16]

The *Ekottarika-āgama* is not concerned only with lay bodhisattvas, however, as the path of a monastic bodhisattva forms the background of another discourse. This discourse highlights great compassion as the power of the Buddha, and then exhorts the monks that they should also cultivate great compassion.³⁶ The bodhisattva path in general then manifests in other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, according to which one of the deeds that a Buddha will accomplish is to make beings cultivate the *bodhicitta*.³⁷

A term reflecting a mature stage of the bodhisattva ideal can be found among the Twos of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The discourse in question begins by praising the act of caring for one's father and mother and concludes with an injunction to the monks

can also be found in EĀ 48.5 at T II 792c17 (a discourse which also mentions the three *yānas*, T II 792b12f and 792c9, and which concludes by reporting that the householder protagonist of the discourse attained stream-entry while looking at the Buddha, T II 792c28) and in EĀ 52.6 at T II 826b25.

³⁶ [38] EĀ 38.1 at T II 717b25: 是故, 比丘, 常念修行此大慈悲. 如是, 諸比丘, 當作是學. The parallel AN 8.27 at AN IV 223,16 does not refer to compassion at all, let alone "great compassion", a notion not found in the Pāli discourses, but only in later Pāli literature, cf., e.g., Paṭi I 126,17, where this refers to a quality of the Buddha, not to something his disciples should cultivate.

³⁷ [39] EĀ 35.2 at T II 699a7: 未發菩薩意, 使發菩薩心, and EĀ 36.5 at T II 703b18: 未發菩薩心, 令發菩薩意. EĀ 24.5 at T II 622c14 speaks of guiding worldlings so that they become established in the practice of a bodhisattva, 導凡夫人立菩薩行. In each discourse this is one of five aspects that accompany the appearance of a Tathāgata in the world; a comparable listing of five such aspects can be found in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 51,3. EĀ 35.2 concludes with the Buddha enjoining the monks that, for this reason, they should have an attitude of *mettā* towards the Tathāgata.

that they should train in always recalling their filial duty and in caring for their father and mother.³⁸ This final instruction gives the impression that the reason why this discourse came to be placed among the Twos was because it referred to these two, namely one's father and mother.

This does not hold for the preceding section of the discourse, however, since after the initial instruction to care for one's parents the discourse presents as an alternative the caring for an *ekajāti-pratibaddha* bodhisattva.³⁹ [17] Since this concept is not taken up in the final instruction, the discourse gives the impression that the notion of a bodhisattva, qualified as being only one lifetime away from becoming a Buddha, may have been added to an instruction that was originally only concerned with caring for one's parents.

The notion of the bodhisattva's path to Buddhahood stands behind a discourse found among the Fours. In reply to a question by the bodhisattva Maitreya, the Buddha expounds four things to be undertaken by a bodhisattva *mahāsattva* for the purpose of accomplishing the six perfections.⁴⁰ Here the ideas inherent in the discourse to Anāthapiṇḍika mentioned above find a more explicit formulation, with the difference that this appears to be a discourse in its own right, not a reworking of an earlier discourse.⁴¹ [18]

³⁸ [40] EĀ 20.10 at T II 601a7: 諸比丘, 常念孝順供養父母. 如是, 諸比丘, 當作是學.

³⁹ [41] EĀ 20.10 at T II 601a4: 若復供養一生補處菩薩. In regard to the present instance, Huyên-Vi 2002: 49 note 4 comments that "here, as in numerous other places, there is ample evidence in EĀ for Mahāyāna influence." Another occurrence of the same concept in the abbreviated rendering 補處菩薩 makes its appearance in EĀ 42.3 at T II 749c15; for a Sanskrit fragment parallel cf. Waldschmidt 1948/1967: 148.

⁴⁰ [42] EĀ 27.5 at T II 645b3, which has already been noted as one of several instances of "definite Mahāyānist influences" by Harrison 1997: 280.

⁴¹ [43] At times Maitreya does, however, occur as part of what looks as if it could be the result of a reworking of an early discourse. An example is the listing of

A case that gives the impression that an early discourse has been expanded with later material can be found among the Sixes. In this case, the first part of the discourse appears to be a product of later times.

This first part begins with the Buddha seated on a golden lotus flower with a stalk made of the seven jewels.⁴² After some narrative episodes, Mahāmoggallāna eventually visits another Buddha in a different Buddha field.⁴³ He then leads five hundred monks from that other realm to Sakyamuni Buddha, who gives them a teaching. This teaching is a basic exposition of the six elements and the six sense-spheres that culminates in the eradication of the fetters and underlying tendencies and the attainment of Nirvāṇa.⁴⁴

The Buddha then asks Mahāmoggallāna to lead the five hundred monks back to their realm. The discourse concludes with the Buddha praising Mahāmoggallāna for being foremost among his disciples in supernormal power.⁴⁵

Besides narrative details like the Buddha being seated on a golden lotus, the co-existence of another Buddha is quite an obvi-

the eight thoughts of a great man in EĀ 42.6, which at T II 754b17 illustrates the quality of making an effort with the example of Maitreya bodhisattva's striving for thirty aeons in order to become a Buddha. The parallels AN 8.30 at AN IV 234,7 and MĀ 74 at T I 541c24 instead explain the quality of energy by describing the effort to overcome what is unwholesome and develop what is wholesome; cf. also T 46 at T I 836a24. This makes it quite possible that the reference to Maitreya in EĀ 42.6 is the result of a reworking of the discourse. This impression finds support in the circumstance that the other seven qualities do not receive a detailed illustration in EĀ 42.6, comparable to the length of its passage on Maitreya. Another instance where Maitreya occurs as an illustration of making an effort is EĀ 20.6 at T II 600a20.

⁴² [44] EĀ 37.2 at T II 709a2: 世尊坐金蓮華，七寶為莖。

⁴³ [45] EĀ 37.2 at T II 709c28.

⁴⁴ [46] EĀ 37.2 at T II 710b13.

⁴⁵ [47] EĀ 37.2 at T II 710c2.

ous indication of a later stage in the development of Buddhist thought.⁴⁶ [19] In contrast to these late elements, the instruction given to the five hundred monks reads like any other early discourse and can safely be assumed to have been the part of the text

⁴⁶ [48] Early Buddhist doctrine holds that only one Buddha at a time can be found in the world; cf., e.g., MN 115 at MN III 65,14 and its parallels MĀ 181 at T I 724a1, T 776 at T XVII 713b18, T 1537 at T XXVI 502b14, D 297 *sha* 300a7 or Q 963 *lu* 329a4, and D 4094 *ju* 188b3 or Q 5595 *tu* 215b2. Other such references can be found in DN 19 at DN II 225,3 and its parallels DĀ 3 at T I 31a15 and the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 199,10; or else in DN 28 at DN III 114,23 and its parallel DĀ 18 at T I 79a7, and again in AN 1.15 at AN I 27,36. According to Guang Xing 2005: 62, however, "contemporaneous Buddhas' are mentioned many times in the extant Chinese translations of the *Āgamas* such as the *Dīrgha*, the *Samyukta* and the *Ekottara*", p. 205 note 49 giving the following references in support of his suggestion: "**Dīrghāgama*: T1, 76c, 163b, 255b; **Samyuktāgama*: T2, 131a, 322a, 410a; **Ekottarāgama*, T2, 708c–710a, 773a". Whereas the first of the two references to the *Ekottarika-āgama* given by him is to EĀ 37.2, the discourse under discussion at present, a perusal of the other references brings to light that they do not support the claim made: DĀ 18 at T I 76c20, T 18 at T I 255b9, SĀ 498 at T II 131a1, SĀ 1188 at T II 322a22, and SĀ² 101 at T II 410a20 refer to "Buddhas of past, future, and present" with the expressions 過去, 未來, 現在諸佛 or 過去, 當來, 今現在諸佛 or 過去等正覺, 及未來諸佛, 現在佛 or 三世諸佛. The same expression is found in their parallels DN 28 at DN III 100,23 and SN 47.12 at SN V 160,15: *atītānāgatapaccuppannesu ... sammāsambuddhesu*, whereas SN 6.2 at SN I 140,11 takes the form: *ye ca atītā* (C^e: *cabbhatīā*) *sambuddhā*, *ye ca buddhā anāgatā*, *yo cetarahi sambuddho* (singular!). A similar reference in T 5 at T I 163b8 to 過去, 當來, 現在諸佛 has no counterpart in the corresponding part of DN 16 at DN II 93,11. Nevertheless the point made in T 5 is simply that all beings are mortal, even Buddhas of past, future, and present times. EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a25 also just speaks of Buddhas of the three times, 三世諸佛, although its lateness is evident in the fact that it proclaims they all teach the three *yānas*, 盡當說三乘之法. None of these references to Buddhas of the three times implies a substantial difference in doctrinal outlook compared to the discourses mentioned at the outset of this note. EĀ 37.2 is the only one out of these passages that does reflect the notion that Buddhas can exist simultaneously.

that was originally found in this section of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.⁴⁷ [20]

The selected passages surveyed so far are at times far removed from early Buddhist thought.⁴⁸ A setting where the Buddha expounds the course of action to be taken by a bodhisattva is something alien to the early discourses, which also do not yet know the notion of needing to accomplish certain qualities reckoned as "perfections", *pāramitā*.⁴⁹ Besides, in the early discourses the person qualified as a bodhisattva is usually Sakyamuni Buddha in the time preceding his awakening, not any of his contemporaries.⁵⁰ Therefore a setting where the Buddha addresses a bodhisattva is a foreign element in early Buddhist thought.

Lateness is also fairly evident in the way the protagonists are described in the instances surveyed above. Anāthapiṇḍika has become a good lay bodhisattva, Sāriputta receives teachings that are beyond the ken of Hīnayānists, and Mahāmoggallāna teleports monks from another Buddha field so that they can receive teachings from Sakyamuni Buddha. The Buddha himself then makes others cultivate the *bodhicitta*, tells his monks to care for the *ekajātipratibaddha* bodhisattva, and teaches the six perfections to the bodhisattva Maitreya. The same change of perspective involves

⁴⁷ [49] EĀ 37.2 at T II 709a17 reports a contest in supernormal powers between Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna, a tale that is quoted in T 2121 at T LIII 73a29. T 2121 at T LIII 73c1 indicates that at the time of quotation this story was found in the 27th fascicle of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, whereas now EĀ 37.2 is in the 29th fascicle; for a study of such quotations from the *Ekottarika-āgama* in T 2121 cf. Su 2013.

⁴⁸ [50] On the probable date of closure of the discourses in the four Pāli *Nikāyas*, as far as doctrinal developments are concerned, cf. Anālayo 2012e.

⁴⁹ [51] For a survey of different lists of the perfections cf., e.g., Har Dayal 1932/1970: 165–269.

⁵⁰ [52] On the beginning stages in the evolution of motif of Maitreya as a bodhisattva cf. Anālayo 2010b: 95–113.

Ānanda as well, whom the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* depicts as reflecting that those who have no confidence in the practice of bodhisattvas are fools.⁵¹ [21]

The introduction in fact already has most of the notions related to Mahāyāna thought mentioned above. Besides an occurrence of Maitreya, who has come down from heaven to applaud Ānanda's recitation at the first *saṅgīti*,⁵² one can find references to the six perfections,⁵³ to the three *yānas*,⁵⁴ to the wish to become a Buddha like Sakyamuni,⁵⁵ to bodhisattvas, and to the Mahāyāna.⁵⁶

Particularly telling is a passage in the introduction where the *mahāsattva* Maitreya tells the bodhisattvas of the present auspicious aeon that they should encourage all *kulaputtas* and *kula-dhītās* to memorize and recite the teaching of the *Ekottarika* and spread it widely so that gods and men will receive it respectfully. Once this has been said, *devas*, humans, *gandhabbas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *mahoraḡas*, and *kinnaras* each declare that they will afford complete protection to the good man or good woman who

⁵¹ [53] EĀ 1 at T II 550a29: 阿難自陳有是念: 菩薩之行, 愚不信。The present quote, as well as the one below, shows a stylistic feature noted by Nattier 2012: 10, where the introduction throughout uses "seven-character verse; elsewhere Zhu Fonian uses five-character verse, with rare instances in four characters."

⁵² [54] EĀ 1 at T II 550a10: 彌勒稱善快哉說。

⁵³ [55] The six *pāramitās* are listed at EĀ 1 at T II 550a13, followed by a more detailed exposition of their significance.

⁵⁴ [56] EĀ 1 at T II 550b29 refers to the three *yānas*, 三乘, and at T II 551a20 lists the teachings of each *yāna* individually, 佛之教, 及辟支佛, 聲聞之教。

⁵⁵ [57] EĀ 1 at T II 552b10: 若欲成佛者, 猶如釋迦文。

⁵⁶ [58] EĀ 1 at T II 550a12: 菩薩發意趣大乘。Two more references to the Mahāyāna can be found in the introduction at T II 550b4 and 550c10; one reference occurs outside of the introduction in EĀ 19.8 at T II 595b13. Together with the reference to the Hīnayāna mentioned above, these occurrences testify to a fully developed stage in the formation of Mahāyāna self-identity and polemics.

memorizes and recites the teachings of the *Ekottarika* and spreads them widely, so that they will not be discontinued.⁵⁷ [22]

The similarities between this passage and the way Mahāyāna texts tend to ensure their own preservation is striking.⁵⁸ This passage exemplifies an agenda evident throughout the introduction to present the *Ekottarika-āgama* as something so special that its transmission to future generations has been recommended to bodhisattvas by none less than Maitreya, the one who is about to become the next Buddha. Such a transmission then can safely be expected to take place under the benevolent protection of a range of various extraordinary beings.

In sum, the *Ekottarika-āgama* shows clear signs of having integrated material of a Mahāyāna orientation. Although a full study of all the passages mentioned above is not possible within the confines of this chapter, in what follows I will examine one example, namely the reference to the Hīnayānists.

Before examining this reference, however, I would like to note that the *Ekottarika-āgama* at times contains presentations that ap-

⁵⁷ [59] EĀ 1 at T II 550c23: 是時, 彌勒大士告賢劫中諸菩薩等: 卿等勸勵諸族姓子, 族姓女, 諷誦受持增一尊法, 廣演流布, 使天人奉行。說是語時, 諸天, 世人, 乾查和, 阿須倫, 伽留羅, 摩休勒, 甄陀羅等, 各各白言: 我等盡共擁護是善男子, 善女人, 諷誦受持增一尊法, 廣演流布, 終不中絕 (adopting the variant 摩休勒 instead of 摩睺勒)。

⁵⁸ [60] Nattier 2012: 13 notes similarities between the reference, in the passage quoted above, to the promise of protection to the good man or good woman who memorizes and recites the *Ekottarika-āgama*, 我等 ... 護是善男子, 善女人, 諷誦, and a similar passage in Mokṣala's *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, T 221 at T VIII 43c9: 我等當護是善男子, 善女人 ... 諷誦。Another similarity between these two works, noted by Nattier 2012: 14, concerns Ānanda's advising Uttara to memorize and recite the *Ekottarika-āgama* well, EĀ 1 at T II 551a1: 囑累汝, 善諷誦 (adopting a variant without 於), where in T 221 at T VIII 105a3 Ānanda is told in similar terms to preserve this text, 囑累汝 ... 善諷誦。

pear to be earlier than their Pāli canonical counterparts.⁵⁹ In other words, my presentation is not meant to give the impression that the *Ekottarika-āgama* is late in its entirety. [23]

A Reference to the Hīnayāna

The passage that employs the term Hīnayāna reads as follows:

Sāriputta, you should know that there are four unthinkable things of the Tathāgata that the Hīnayānists are unable to understand. What are the four? The world element is unthinkable, living beings are unthinkable, *nāgas* are unthinkable, and the domain of the field of a Buddha is unthinkable. Sāriputta, these are reckoned to be the four unthinkables.⁶⁰

That the domain of a Buddha and his knowledge are beyond being comprehended by others is a recurrent theme in Buddhist texts. According to the *Sampasādanīya-sutta* and its *Dīrgha-āgama* and *Samyukta-āgama* parallels, Sāriputta had to admit that the virtue, wisdom, and liberation of past, present, and future Buddhas were beyond his ken.⁶¹ As the *Cūlahatthipadopama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel clarify, to know the Buddha's wisdom one would have to be his equal.⁶²

⁵⁹ [61] Kuan 2009: 172 explains that the *Ekottarika-āgama* "is profoundly influenced by the Mahāyāna, but it nevertheless contains very old sources, some of which may be more original than their parallels in other recensions"; cf. also Bareau 1987: 36f. Case studies where *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses have preserved presentations that seem to be earlier than their Pāli discourse parallels can be found in previous chapters of this book.

⁶⁰ [62] EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a4: 舍利弗當知, 如來有四不可思議事, 非小乘所能知。云何為四? 世界不可思議 (adopting a variant that adds 界 after 世), 眾生不可思議, 龍不可思議, 佛土境界不可思議。是謂, 舍利弗, 有四不可思議。

⁶¹ [63] DN 28 at DN III 99,15, DĀ 18 at T I 76c6, and SĀ 498 at T II 130c15.

⁶² [64] MN 27 at MN I 175,23 and MĀ 146 at T I 656b1.

The same theme continues in Mahāyāna works such as, for example, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, according to which the Buddha informed Sāriputta that the knowledge of a Buddha is profound, difficult to understand, and difficult to comprehend.⁶³

[24] This statement is followed by the clarification that such knowledge is beyond the ken of arahants as well as of bodhisattvas.⁶⁴

The *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* proclaims that the domain of a Buddha is unthinkable,⁶⁵ and Tathāgatas are without equal, similarly to the reasoning proposed in the *Cūlahatthipadopama-sutta* and its parallel. The *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* then declares that all beings are indeed unable to know the infinite qualities of a Buddha.⁶⁶

Again, according to the *Sukhāvavīvyūha* only a Buddha can understand the qualities of a Buddha, unlike *devas*, *nāgas*, *asuras*, *yakṣas*, disciples, or even Pratyekabuddhas.⁶⁷

⁶³ [65] Kern and Nanjio 1884/1992: 29,1: *atha khalu bhagavān ... āyuṣmantam śāriputramāmantrayate sma: gambhīram śāriputra durdṛṣam duranubodham buddhajñānam.*

⁶⁴ [66] Stanza 2.8 in Kern and Nanjio 1884/1992: 31,7: *ye cāpi te lokavidusya śrāvakāḥ kṛtādhikārāḥ sugatānunarṇitāḥ, kṣīṇāsravā antimadehadhāriṇo na teṣa viṣayo 'sti jināna jñāne*, which indicates that the knowledge of the victor is beyond the domain of the disciples of the knower of the world, who have done their duty and are praised by the well-gone one, who have eradicated the influxes and bear their last body. Stanza 2.17 in Kern and Nanjio 1884/1992: 32,11: *avivartikā ye bhavi bodhisattvā analpakā yathariva gaṅgavālikāḥ, ananyacittāśca vicintayeyusteṣāṃ pi cāsmiṇ viṣayo na vidyate*, which proclaims that (the knowledge of the victor) does not fall into the domain of irreversible bodhisattvas as many as the [grains of] sand in the Ganges who might [try to] examine it with a mind free from distraction.

⁶⁵ [67] Stanza 2.23, Nobel 1937: 17,13: *acintyaṃ buddhaviṣayam asamāś ca tathā-gatāḥ.*

⁶⁶ [68] Stanza 3.68, Nobel 1937: 36,9: *buddhasya guṇā hy anantā, na śakya jñātum khalu sarvasattvaih.*

⁶⁷ [69] Fujita 2011: 77,1: *buddho hi buddhasya guṇā prajānate na devanāgāsura-yakṣaśrāvakāḥ pratyekabuddhāna pi ko gatīpatho.*

Rawlinson (1977: 8f) distinguishes between the idea in these passages that all beings are unable to know the qualities or domain of a Buddha and what he identifies as a later development, where the possibility of such knowledge is attributed to bodhisattvas. An example noted by him is the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā*, which reports that a particular bodhisattva was indeed able to know the domain and the knowledge of the Buddha.⁶⁸ [25]

The *Ekottarika-āgama* passage quoted above reflects a development in this direction, since the specification that Hīnayānists are unable to understand qualities related to the Tathāgata implies that those who are not Hīnayānists stand a chance of understanding them. That is, this reference to the Hīnayāna appears to belong to a stage of development not yet attested in the passages mentioned above from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, and the *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*.

This is a significant indication that the *Ekottarika-āgama* passage under discussion testifies to a developed stage of doctrinal evolution of Mahāyāna thought. In fact, the very occurrence of the term *hīnayāna* on its own is a clear sign of lateness, be this in the present passage or elsewhere.⁶⁹

Elsewhere in the same section of Fours in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, in which the above passage is found, another discourse takes up the four unthinkableables in nearly the same terms. After noting

⁶⁸ [70] Finot 1901: 4,9: *atha khalu prāmodyarājo bodhisattvo mahāsattvo ... acintyaṃ buddhagocaramanuvicārayamāṇaḥ, sarvadharmadhātuprasṛtaṃ tathāgatajñānamanucintayamāṇaḥ, asamasamaṃ buddhaviṣayaṃ sampaśyamāṇaḥ*, according to which the bodhisattva Prāmodyarāja, the great being was considering the inconceivable range of the Buddha, reflecting on the knowledge of the Tathāgata which spreads over the entire Dharma element, and inspecting the unequalled domain of the Buddha.

⁶⁹ [71] Harrison 1987: 80 notes that in early Chinese translations of Mahāyāna *sūtras* the term *hīnayāna* occurs only rarely.

that the Buddha was staying at Jeta's Grove, where he addressed the monks, the relevant passage runs as follows:⁷⁰ [26]

There are four things that are after all unthinkable. What are the four? Living beings are unthinkable, the world element is unthinkable, the field of *nāgas* is unthinkable, and the sphere of the field of a Buddha is unthinkable. The reason is that this is of no use for progress to the complete cessation of Nirvāṇa."

The discourse continues by providing a more detailed exposition of the four unthinkables.⁷¹ According to a parallel to this discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, thinking about the four unthinkables will even lead to madness.⁷²

Monks, there are these four unthinkables, which one should not think about; thinking about them one will partake of madness or frustration. What are the four? [27]

Monks, the Buddha-domain of Buddhas is unthinkable, which one should not think about; thinking about it one will partake of madness or frustration. Monks, the domain of absorption of one who is meditating is unthinkable, which one should not think about; thinking about it one will partake of

⁷⁰ [72] EĀ 29.6 at T II 657a19: 有四事終不可思議 (adopting the variant 議 instead of 惟). 云何為四? 眾生不可思議, 世界不可思議, 龍國不可思議, 佛國境界不可思議. 所以然者, 不由此處得至滅盡涅槃.

⁷¹ [73] In relation to the fourth unthinkable, EĀ 29.6 at T II 657b20 brings up the topic of the lifespan of a Tathāgata: 如來壽為短耶? 此亦不可思議. This is the topic that immediately precedes the reference to the Hinayānists in EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a3: 然復眾生不能知如來壽命長短. The exposition on the four unthinkables recurs also in the 分別功德論, which shows awareness of the formulation in EĀ 26.9, as in relation to the fourth unthinkable T 1507 at T XXV 31b14 mentions the inability in this respect of the two *yānas*, 二乘所不能思議; on T 1507 cf. above p. 193f note 98.

⁷² [74] AN 4.77 at AN II 80,13.

madness or frustration. Monks, the result of karma is unthinkable, which one should not think about; thinking about it one will partake of madness or frustration. Monks, thoughts about the world are unthinkable, which one should not think about; thinking about them one will partake of madness or frustration.

Monks, these are the four unthinkables, which one should not think about; thinking about them one will partake of madness or frustration.

Another parallel is found in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikāṭīkā*, preserved in Tibetan translation:⁷³

As for these four unthinkable topics, thinking about them will lead to madness, confusion, and an agitated mind. What are the four? Thinking about the self, thinking about the world, the ripening of the deeds of beings, and the Buddha-field of Buddhas. [28]

In addition to the three parallels translated above, a discourse in the *Samyukta-āgama* takes up one of the four unthinkables mentioned in the other versions. According to this discourse, thinking about the world will not result in wisdom and awakening, and does not accord with Nirvāṇa.⁷⁴

Judging from these discourses the point of setting out the four unthinkables was to demarcate topics not fit for reflection, as thinking about them would not lead to Nirvāṇa or could even result in madness.⁷⁵ With the *Ekottarika-āgama* passage on the

⁷³ [75] D 4094 *ju* 100a4 or Q 5595 *tu* 114b2; the passage provides the context for the following quote in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 2.62, Pradhan 1967: 99,10: *acintyo hi buddhānām buddhaviṣaya*; cf. also Pāsādika 1989: 46 (§138).

⁷⁴ [76] SĀ 407 at T II 109a3: 世間思惟非義饒益, 非法饒益, 非梵行饒益, 非智, 非覺, 不順涅槃。

⁷⁵ [77] The notion of a particular topic leading to going mad and becoming mentally disturbed acquires a somewhat different dimension in a passage in the

Hīnayānist, however, the four unthinkableables become merely something that is beyond the ken of adherents of the Hīnayāna.

According to a standard pattern typical of orally transmitted discourses and found repeatedly in the Pāli discourses and their *Āgama* parallels, an introductory statement of the type "there are so and so many of such and such a quality" (e.g., "there are four unthinkableables") will be followed by a detailed explanation, after which the introductory statement will be repeated in a similarly worded concluding statement of the type "these are the so and so many of such and such a quality" (e.g., "these are the four unthinkableables").⁷⁶ [29] In the passage under discussion, however, the concluding statement does not repeat the full introductory statement. Placing the two side by side, the introductory and concluding statements read:

"Sāriputta, you should know that there are four unthinkable matters of the Tathāgata that the Hīnayānist are unable to understand."

"Sāriputta, these are reckoned to be the four unthinkableables."

The conclusion does not relate the four unthinkableables to the Tathāgata, nor does it mention the Hīnayānist. This makes it probable that the remark on the Hīnayānist was added in a writ-

Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā, Harrison and Watanabe 2006: 132, where such effects are associated with the attempt to describe the quantity of merit to be acquired. Harrison 2006: 152 note 79 comments that "the likely point here ... seems to be that it is those beings who are to take up the Vaj [i.e. the *Vajracchedikā*] in the last days who would become unhinged by their excitement at the prospect of their future gains if they were to be spelled out in full." In other words, whereas in the discourse passages quoted above the notion of going mad serves a warning, in the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* passage it functions as an encouragement.

⁷⁶ [78] This pattern is so much standard that variations can be a sign of transmission errors; for a case study cf. Anālayo 2012f: 134–137.

ten medium. Had such an addition happened during the oral transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, prior to its translation, it can safely be assumed that both statements would have been affected. Since during oral transmission the reciter(s) would naturally tend to repeat the full statement just recited earlier, the conclusion would have read like this:

"Sāriputta, these are the four unthinkable matters of the Tathāgata that the Hīnayānists are unable to understand."

The impression that an addition took place in the written Chinese medium can be further supported with the help of the part of the discourse that immediately follows, where a recapitulation of the Buddha's exposition by Sāriputta reads as follows: "Indeed, Blessed One, there are four unthinkables", 如是, 世尊, 有四不可思議.⁷⁷ In comparison, the Buddha's original statement that "there are four unthinkable matters of the Tathāgata that the Hīnayānists are unable to understand" reads as follows: 如來有四不可思議事, 非小乘所能知.⁷⁸ [30] Removing the punctuation from the Chinese and thus leaving the bare text in the way it would have been in the original brings to light the following parallelism:

世尊有四不可思議
如來有四不可思議

Keeping in mind that a copyist or reviser can be expected to read an entire paragraph before copying it character by character, it seems to me possible that the formulation 世尊有四不可思議 found later in the discourse inspired the addition of 如來 to 有四不可思議 in the earlier part. Together with the addition of 事非小乘所能知 this would have led to the formulation 如來有四不可思議事, 非小乘所能知.

⁷⁷ [79] EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a8.

⁷⁸ [80] EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a4.

Although it is of course impossible to be sure what really happened, this hypothesis would explain the coming into being of the puzzling statement that relates the four unthinkables to the Tathāgata, even though only one of these can truly be considered a quality of the Tathāgata. Whereas the four unthinkables listed in the *Ekottarika-āgama* – the world element, living beings, *nāgas*, and the domain of a Buddha – make sense as a list of topics unfit for reflection, only the last of these four could be reckoned an unthinkable matter of the Tathāgata. The other three are not qualities of the Tathāgata.

This gives the impression that the original passage just listed the four unthinkables, to which the idea that these are in some way related to the Tathāgata and something the Hīnayānists are unable to understand was added later. In fact a literal translation of the Chinese would be "the Tathāgata has four unthinkable matters", 如來有四不可思議事, which does not make much sense.

If my hypothesis about the coming into being of this formulation should be correct, then such an expansion of the text would have taken place in the Chinese medium, as the juxtaposition of the two passages above shows. In contrast, it would be rather improbable for the same to happen in an Indic original, ^[31] where the fact that the Buddha is addressed in the vocative would not naturally give rise to the idea of relating the term *tathāgata* (如來) to the four unthinkables.

In sum, it seems to me that the above indications make it fairly probable that the reference to the Hīnayānists is an addition to the discourse that took place in China.

This suggestion is in fact nothing new. In what to my knowledge is the first discussion of this particular passage in Western scholarship, such a conclusion has already been suggested by Deeg (2006), who commented that the degrading of the Hīnayāna in the

present passage in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is probably a Chinese interpolation.⁷⁹

The Introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*

The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* already provides a canonical placing for Mahāyāna texts on their own in the *Khuddhaka* collection.⁸⁰ Thus there would be little need to continue adding Mahāyāna ideas to the *Ekottarika-āgama* just in order to give them canonical status. Now a theme quite prominent in the introduction is the need to ensure the transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The recurrent emphasis on the great value of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and on the importance of it being remembered and recited employs strategies similar to other Mahāyāna texts to ensure their own transmission, as already mentioned above. [32]

When viewed from the perspective of fourth- and fifth-century China, the translation efforts during these times clearly document that Mahāyāna texts were seen as highly interesting and worthy of any effort at translation and study. Considered against this background, the addenda of Mahāyāna ideas to the *Ekottarika-āgama* would make sense as an attempt to enhance the value of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the contemporary Chinese setting, making it more probable that this collection would be considered worth the effort of being copied and passed on.⁸¹

⁷⁹ [81] Deeg 2006: 112: "daher haben wir es hier wohl mit einer chinesischen Interpolation zu tun".

⁸⁰ [82] EĀ 1 at T II 550c10; which brings to mind the conception of a *bodhisattva-piṭaka*, on which cf. Pagel 1995.

⁸¹ [83] The same would hold in general for places where Buddhism had recently arrived and where the Mahāyāna was predominant. Since according to Dào'ān's introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, T II 549a10 (cf. also T 2059 at T L 328b19), the reciter of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, Dharmanandin/Dharmananda, came from Central Asia, a scenario of this type could also have had an impact on the col-

As already pointed out by Nattier (2012: 9), the Mahāyāna elements in the *Ekottarika-āgama* "are not evenly distributed throughout the āgama ... they are especially prominent in the introductory portion of the text."

This pattern can be exemplified by a digital search for occurrences of key terminology in the collection. Table 3 below lists occurrences of the term *bodhisattva*, 菩薩 (except for instances where this refers to the pre-awakening period of a specific Buddha), and references to the three *yānas*, 三乘, including also references to the Mahāyāna or the Hīnayāna, 大乘 or 小乘.⁸²

The references are placed in the right-hand column, whereas the left-hand column indicates the fascicle in which they are found (fascicles without any occurrence are not included). In each case, I give only the first reference for a particular column (a, b, or c) of each term, [33] leaving out repetitions of the same term within the same column in order to provide a survey that is not too much influenced by repetitive occurrences within the same paragraph.

Even a quick glance at table 3 below shows that the highest frequency of occurrences of the selected terms is indeed located in the introduction, found in the first fascicle of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, a predominance evident in the fact that the list of occurrences takes up two lines instead of a single one, as is the case for the remainder of the collection.

lection previous to its arrival in China; on the predominance of Mahāyāna in Southern Central Asia cf. Martini 2013.

⁸² [84] Regarding references to the Mahāyāna, it is noteworthy that the same term, 大乘, also occurs once in the *Dirgha-āgama* by the same translator Zhú Fòniàn (竺佛念), DĀ 2 at T I 12c28, a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, where it forms part of a stanza that has no counterpart in the parallel versions; cf. Waldschmidt 1944: 65.

Table 3: Bodhisattva and *Yāna* References in T 125

1	549c09: 菩薩, 550a12: 大乘, 550a12: 菩薩, 550b04: 大乘, 550b29: 三乘, 550c10: 大乘, 550c24: 菩薩
2	554c27: 三乘
4	565a20: 菩薩, 565c18: 菩薩
5	570b16: 三乘
10	595b13: 大乘
11	599a07: 菩薩, 600b12: 菩薩, 601a04: 菩薩
15	622c14: 菩薩
16	625c15: 三乘
18	639c25: 三乘, 640a04: 小乘
19	645b01: 菩薩
24	674a07: 三乘
27	699a07: 菩薩
28	703b19: 菩薩
32	723a18: 菩薩, 723b25: 菩薩
36	749c16: 菩薩
38	757a13: 三乘
41	773a23: 三乘
44	787c06: 菩薩, 788c26: 三乘
45	792b12: 三乘, 792c09: 三乘, 792c17: 菩薩
51	826b25: 菩薩

[34] A prominence of Mahāyāna notions in the introduction would make sense as part of an attempt to enhance the value of the collection and make sure it will be passed on, as such an attempt would naturally focus on the first part to be encountered by the reader who is about to form an opinion of the value and interest of the collection.⁸³

⁸³ [85] Although obviously more research on this introduction is required before some degree of certainty about its nature can be reached, for the time being a possible scenario would be that this text has as its nucleus a commentarial exposition similar to what is found at the outset of the commentary on the

Such a scenario would in turn concord with the finding discussed above that a whole discourse appears to have been added to the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China.⁸⁴ In view of this precedent, it seems that some of the more evolved Mahāyāna ideas among the passages surveyed in this chapter also could have made their way into the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection only in China. [35]

Conclusion

A perusal of the *Ekottarika-āgama* brings to light several passages that show the influence of notions related to evolving Mahāyāna thought, in the sense of employing *yāna* terminology, reflecting the existence of the developed bodhisattva ideal as a viable path in general, referring to Maitreya as a bodhisattva, and testifying to the notion that more than one Buddha can live at the same time, albeit in different Buddha fields.

Closer inspection of one passage that employs the term *hīnayāna* makes it probable that this passage became part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* only in China. To the term *hīnayāna* and its usage I turn in the next chapter.

Dīgha-nikāya, Sv I 2,10. This commentarial gloss provides some background to the canonical collection on which it comments with the help of an account of the first *saṅgīti*, a topic also taken up in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Dharmanandin/Dharmananda, being a reciter of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, may well have memorized such basic information, in which case it would have been natural to include this as an introduction at the time of translation. This introduction may then have been 'improved' upon during a later revision by way of integrating additional material. Legittimo 2012: 361 comments that the "'first introductory chapter' is highly particular ... as if it had been added to the collection to make it attractive and/or to promote it."

⁸⁴ [86] Cf. above p. 165ff.

Appendix (2): Hīnayāna

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the function of the term *hīnayāna* as a referent to an institutional entity in the academic study of the history of Buddhism. I begin by surveying the use of the term by Chinese monastic pilgrims travelling in India, before taking up the *Tarkajvālā*'s depiction of the controversy between adherents of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. I then turn to the use of the term in the West, in particular its promotion by the Japanese delegates at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. I conclude that the current academic use of the term as a referent to a Buddhist school or Buddhist schools is misleading.

The Chinese Pilgrims

According to the succinct definition given in the *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Hīnayāna "is a pejorative term meaning 'Lesser Vehicle'. Some adherents of the 'Greater Vehicle' (Mahāyāna) applied it to non-Mahāyānist schools such as the Theravāda, the Sarvāstivāda, the Mahāsāṃghika, and some fifteen other schools."¹ [10]

* Originally published in 2014 under the title "The Hīnayāna Fallacy" in the *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 6: 9–31.

¹ Strong 2004: 328, who continues by indicating that in the *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* the term "mainstream Buddhist schools" is used instead. This term, which is certainly an improvement over Hīnayāna, has not found unanimous acceptance; cf., e.g., Sasaki 2009: 25 note 2: "I cannot, however, subscribe to the indiscreet use of the term 'Mainstream', which implies a positive assertion about a particular historical situation, and therefore, although completely outmoded, I continue to use the terms 'Mahāyāna' and 'Hīnayāna'"; for critical comments on the expression "mainstream" cf. also Skilling 2013: 101f.

When trying to contextualize the term *hīnayāna* in the historical setting in India,² obvious sources for information are the descriptions provided by the Chinese pilgrims Fāxiǎn, Xuánzàng, and Yìjìng. The indications they give, however, make it clear that to use the term *hīnayāna* as an umbrella term for the Buddhist schools or sects that arose in India, which tradition usually numbers as eighteen, is not entirely straightforward.

Reporting on the conditions of monasteries in early fifth century India, Fāxiǎn (法顯) on several occasions refers to monastics who were practising the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna (大小乘學). According to his description, in one region three thousand monks practised the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna conjointly; in an adjacent region where the Buddha-Dharma flourished the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna were also practised conjointly; and for Sāṅkāśya he records that about a thousand monks and nuns were also practising Mahāyāna in combination with Hīnayāna.³

Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are mutually exclusive terms,⁴ thus both terms could not really be used to describe the practice of the

² The term *hīnayāna* itself means, in the words of Rhys Davids 1913: 684, "a wretched, bad method, or system, for progress on the way towards salvation". The common expression "small vehicle" is, as already pointed out by Nattier 2003a: 173 note 4, "not based on the Indian term at all, but on the Chinese expression ... 小乘 ... used by Kumārajīva and others". Besides the fact that 小 does not render the pejorative *hīna*- as well as 劣 or 下, *yāna* need not imply a "vehicle", cf., e.g., Gombrich 1992, Vetter 2001: 62–66, Anālayo 2009j, and Walser 2009.

³ T 2085 at T LI 859a16: 三千僧兼大小乘學, T LI 859a20: 兼大小乘學 (which thus does not explicitly indicate that these were monastics), and T LI 860a5: 僧及尼可有千人 ... 雜大小乘學.

⁴ Cf., e.g., the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, Lévi 1907: 4,24: *tasmād anyonyavi-rodhād yad yānaṃ hīnaṃ hīnam eva tat, na tan mahāyānaṃ bhavitum arhati*, which, after having mentioned five aspects of opposition between the two *yānas*, concludes that due to this mutual opposition the Hīnayāna is indeed

same person. Therefore I take Fǎxiǎn's description to imply that some monastics out of the group he was describing followed the Mahāyāna, whereas other monastics followed the Hīnayāna. These different vocations did apparently not prevent them from living together.

However, since in order to become monastics in the first place these practitioners of the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna would have to be ordained in any of the "eighteen" schools, it becomes clear that Hīnayāna as an umbrella term for these Buddhist schools does not fit the situation described by Fǎxiǎn. If all eighteen schools are Hīnayāna, ^[11] members of one or the other of these schools should then not be Mahāyāna. Mahāyāna, alternatively referred to as the *bodhisattvayāna* or the *buddhayāna*, is "great" precisely because its followers have embarked on the path of the bodhisattva with the aspiration to become a Buddha in future. This decision marks the difference compared to the Hīnayānists, who do not aspire to future Buddhahood and who have not embarked on the path of the bodhisattva. Yet, if Fǎxiǎn's description is to be trusted, some members of a monastic "Hīnayāna school" were at the same time adherents of the Mahāyāna.

The impression that something is not quite right with the use of Hīnayāna for all of the Buddhist schools is further reinforced when turning to Xuánzàng (玄奘), who travelled to India two centuries later. In his travel records, Xuánzàng also regularly mentions that in India and elsewhere Buddhist monks practised both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.⁵ On several occasions in his de-

inferior, it is incapable of becoming the Mahāyāna. For a study of the contrast between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna in this work in general cf. D'Amato 2000.

⁵ Cf., e.g., T 2087 at T LI 889c17, 890b4, 893c17, 896b7, 910a5, 910b19, 927a22, 934c15, 935a28, 936b13, 937a4, 937c8, 938a6, and 940a17. Xuánzàng usually mentions not only the number of monastics, but also the number of monasteries in which they were living (except for T LI 910b19, which describes the

scription of the situation in India he refers to practitioners of the Mahāyāna who were at the same time members of the Sthavira-nikāya (學大乘上座部法). In India itself he reports that nearly a thousand such monks were found at Bodhgayā, nearly five hundred in Kāliṅga, and nearly three hundred in another two locations.⁶

In the light of the conclusion that already suggests itself based on Fāxiān's description, Xuánzàng's reference to these Mahāyāna practitioners found among the members of the Sthavira school is perhaps less puzzling than it might seem at first sight. This description may simply refer to monastics ordained in the Sthavira tradition(s) whose spiritual vocation was to follow the bodhisattva path and who would presumably have studied Mahāyāna texts.⁷ The same interpretation would probably also apply to an eleventh-century Khmer inscription, [12] which refers to monks who have ordained as *mahāyāna sthavira bhikṣus*.⁸

situation in Nepal). Since in T 2087 at T LI 877a16 he indicates that the followers of the Mahāyāna and of the Hīnayāna were dwelling apart from each other, 大小二乘, 居止區別, I take it that in the situation he describes the practitioners of the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna were not staying in the same monastery.

⁶ T 2087 at T LI 918b14, 929a3, 935c2 (which has a slightly different formulation), and 936c15. For Sri Lanka, which Xuánzàng did not visit personally, he mentions adherents of the Sthavira school that cultivate the Mahāyāna as numbering twenty thousand; cf. T 2087 at T LI 934a14. Regarding this reference, Deeg 2012: 153 could be right that this is an attempt "by Xuanzang to upgrade the otherwise, at least in a Chinese context, low-ranked Hīnayāna-*sthaviras* to the respected status of Mahāyāna-monks", although this need not be the case for the other references of this type.

⁷ Bechert 1973: 13 comments that "the Mahāyāna-Sthaviravādin are those sections of the Sthaviravāda community who had accepted Mahāyāna doctrines although they still belonged to [the] Sthaviravāda school as far as bhikṣu ordination and vinaya-karma was concerned."

⁸ Cœdès 1929: 22,3: *vraḥ paṃnvas bhikṣu mahāyāna sthavira*, trsl. p. 23: "qui ont pris les ordres comme moines (*bhikṣu*) dans (la secte) Mahāyāna ou (dans

To be sure, this interpretation only works if we allow that the Sthavira or other Buddhist schools were not entirely composed of Hīnayāna followers. That this appears to have indeed been the case can be seen from the report of the *Vinaya* specialist Yijing (義淨), who travelled in India in the later part of the seventh century. He explains that, in the case of the four main monastic schools (*nikāyas*), the distinction between the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna is uncertain.⁹ In fact the distinction between Buddhist schools, *nikāyas*, is a matter of monastic ordination traditions, whereas the distinction between the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna refers to a vocational distinction.¹⁰ The two distinctions have no necessary relation to each other.¹¹ Bechert (1992: 96f) explains that

the formation of Mahāyāna Buddhism took place in a way which was fundamentally dissimilar from that of the formation of Buddhist sects. Whereas the formation and growth of Buddhist *nikāyas* took place mainly on the basis of local communities, the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism was a development

la secte) Sthavira"; cf. also the similar rendering by Assavavirulhakarn 2010: 88: "monks ordained as Mahāyāna or Sthavira". Yet, as Bizot 1988: 111f convincingly argues, to convey such a sense one would expect the inscription to be worded differently, wherefore it seems more probable that the reference is to monks ordained in a Sthavira tradition who are followers of the Mahāyāna. Skilling 2013: 149 note 159 comments that "we cannot say with certainty whether Xuanzang and Śūryavarman I used the compound in the same sense, but in any case Cœdès' translation of the term as *dvanda* ... is incorrect, given that there is no such thing as a Mahāyāna *bhikṣu* ordination."

⁹ T 2125 at T LIV 205c8: 其四部之中, 大乘小乘區分不定; cf. also Deeg 2006: 120f.

¹⁰ Cf. the discussion in de La Vallée Poussin 1930.

¹¹ This difference does not seem to have been fully clear to Xuánzàng himself, as in T 2087 at T LI 891a21 he speaks of a thousand monks, of which many practise the Hīnayāna, while a few practise in other schools (*nikāyas*), 多學小乘, 少習餘部.

which pervaded the whole sphere of Buddhism and many *nikāyas* ... One could not be a Buddhist monk without being a member of one of the old sects ... [yet] members of any one of these sects could have accepted the religious "program" of Mahāyāna without leaving the community of their *nikāya*.

As Gombrich (1988: 112) sums up, "Mahāyāna ... is not a sect, but a current of opinion which cut across sects as properly defined."

How reliable is the information provided by Fǎxiǎn, Xuánzàng, and Yìjīng? The descriptions furnished by the Chinese pilgrims certainly need to be read keeping in mind that they combine first-hand impressions with hearsay and hagiography in a manner not easily set apart from each other. ^[13] Moreover, the way they describe conditions in India must have been influenced by awareness of the propagandistic effect their reports would have back in China.¹²

Yet, from the view of the propagandistic effect of their reports in China, one would expect the pilgrims to err on the side of overstressing the dominance of the Mahāyāna and belittling the Hīnayāna,¹³ in line with the stark contrast between the two *yānas* with which they would have been familiar from textual sources available

¹² For the case of Xuánzàng cf. the discussion in Deeg 2009.

¹³ Schopen 2000/2005: 10 offers the following assessment: "in China in the third century the Mahāyāna was of 'paramount importance', well situated among the ecclesiastical and social elite, well on its way [to being] – if not already – mainstream. In India it is, during the same period, embattled, ridiculed, scorned by learned monks and the social elite ... and at best marginal." Even if the contrast between China and India at the time of the Chinese pilgrims may not have been as clear-cut as this, there can be little doubt that the Mahāyāna was more successfully established in China than in India. Relevant here is also the observation by Bareau 1985: 648 that Fǎxiǎn and Xuánzàng report only rarely instances of actual Mahāyāna forms of practice in India.

in China.¹⁴ Since their descriptions do not corroborate such a stark contrast and repeatedly show the Mahāyāna in a less than dominant position, it seems that their accounts deserve to be taken seriously in this respect. That is, the report that both *yānas* were practised by Indian monastics stands a good chance of reflecting actual conditions, even if the numbers given may not necessarily be accurate.

The *Tarkajvālā*

If the descriptions given by the Chinese pilgrims stand a chance of reflecting the ground situation in India in the fifth to seventh century, the following question arises: in what sense can all of the Buddhist monastic schools be assembled under the heading of being Hīnayāna?

An example of such use can be found in Paramārtha's biography of Vasubandhu, who according to the traditional account was a follower of the Hīnayāna until he converted to the Mahāyāna. The biography, apparently compiled in China, reports that Vasubandhu had completely learned the principles of the eighteen schools and had well understood the Hīnayāna; he held on to the Hīnayāna as right and had no faith in the Mahāyāna, as this was not taught by the Buddha.¹⁵ [14]

This description suggests a relationship between the application of Hīnayāna to the eighteen schools and the perennial ac-

¹⁴ Deeg 2006 suggests that the stark contrast between the two *yānas* made in Chinese texts, even though in actual fact there was no substantial presence of the Hīnayāna in the country, served as a foil to avert criticism raised against Buddhism as a foreign creed not suitable to the situation in China. In this way qualities perceived as negative could be attributed to the Hīnayāna, with the prevalent Mahāyāna in contrast being a teaching suitable for the Chinese.

¹⁵ T 2049 at T L 190c12: 法師既遍通十八部義, 妙解小乘, 執小乘是不信大乘, 謂摩訶衍非佛所說; cf. also Takakusu 1904: 290 and Tola and Dragonetti 1996/1997: 244.

cusation against the Mahāyāna that it did not stem from the Buddha. Vasubandhu in fact provides several arguments against this accusation in the *Vyākhyāyukti*, which seem to have formed the basis for a similar series of arguments in the *Tarkajvālā*, a sixth-century doxographical work that offers a detailed examination of the Buddhist schools and their tenets.¹⁶

In the *Tarkajvālā* this examination is preceded by a reference to those who are of an "inferior aspiration", *hīnādhimukta / dman mos*.¹⁷ The *Tarkajvālā* reports that those of inferior aspiration criticize the Mahāyāna on the grounds that it was not taught by the Buddha, as its teachings are not included in the discourses, etc., and do not exist among the eighteen schools.¹⁸ That is, the accusation that the Mahāyāna is not the Buddha's teaching is rooted in the observation that its teachings are not found in the discourse collections transmitted by the eighteen schools.

The *Tarkajvālā* then comes out with arguments against such challenges. One is to propose that the Mahāyāna teachings are

¹⁶ For a study of these arguments in the *Vyākhyāyukti* cf. Cabezón 1992; cf. also Pāsādika 2009: 503.

¹⁷ Eckel 2008: 303,8 (4.1). The importance of the *Tarkajvālā* for appreciating the application of the term *hīnayāna* to the Buddhist schools suggests itself from the circumstance that this work employs the corresponding Tibetan term *theg pa dman pa* on several occasions, cf. D 3856 *dza* 42b6, 48a1, and 48b3 or Q 5256 *dza* 45b7, 51a4 and 51b8. In contrast, I have not been able to locate occurrences of the term *hīnayāna* with a digital search in central doxographical works like the *Mañjuśrīpariṣcchā*, T 468, the *Śāriputrapariṣcchā*, T 1465, the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, T 2031, T 2032, T 2033, and D 4138 or Q 5639, and of course in the *Dīpavaṃsa*. The term *hīnayāna* is also relatively rare or even absent in early Mahāyāna discourses, as already noted by, e.g., Kimura 1927: 119, Harrison 1987: 80, Williams 1989/2009: 43, Harrison 1990: xviii, Karunaratne 1992: 453, and Nattier 2003a: 172.

¹⁸ Eckel 2008: 307,28 (4.7): *na buddhoktir mahāyānaṃ, sūtrāntādāv asaṃgrahāt, 308,30 (4.8cd): aṣṭādaśanikāyāntarbhāvābhāvān na niścitam.*

part of a compilation carried out by Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, etc. Of course, the disciples (of the eighteen schools) did not include the Mahāyāna teachings in their collections because these were beyond their ken.¹⁹

The reasoning recorded in the *Tarkajvālā* makes it clear in what sense – from the Mahāyāna viewpoint – all of the eighteen Buddhist schools are Hīnayāna. This notion emerges as an expedient reply to being challenged for lacking canonical authority. [15] Those who according to tradition compiled the teachings of the Buddha at the first *saṅgīti* at Rājagaha did not include the superior Mahāyāna teachings. Therefore the teachings they did include are fit to be reckoned Hīnayāna, and those who transmit those teachings – the "eighteen" schools – deserve the same epithet.

Thus the application of the term Hīnayāna emerges in the context of a polemical argument; it does not reflect the actual historical situation. To reckon the teachings collected at the first *saṅgīti* at Rājagaha as Hīnayāna is in fact an anachronism, as the early Buddhist period does not yet know of the generalized aspiration to become a Buddha in the future.²⁰ Hence from a historical viewpoint it is not meaningful to apply the distinction between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna to early Buddhism. Such a distinction presupposes the existence of the bodhisattva path as an ideal to be emulated, which one may either reject or else adopt. For such a decision to be possible and form the basis for a meaningful distinction, the bodhisattva ideal first of all has to come into existence.

This would be like applying the term "protestant" to early Christianity. Although the teachings of early Christianity can in-

¹⁹ Eckel 2008: 336,8: *theg pa chen po'i gsung rab ni de dag gi yul ma yin pa'i phyr ro.*

²⁰ For a study of the first traces of developments, evident in later layers of the early discourses, that eventually would have led to the arising of the bodhisattva ideal, cf. Anālayo 2010b and 2017b.

deed be seen as in some way being a protest against certain aspects of Judaism, the term "protestant" only makes sense from the time of Luther onwards, once the distinction between Catholics and Protestants has come into being.

In the same way it only makes sense to use the qualification *hīnayāna* for those who are unwilling to pursue the bodhisattva path, who have decided not to embark on the *bodhisattvayāna*. As long as the *bodhisattvayāna* has not yet come into existence, however, it is not really possible to qualify someone as "inferior" because of not embarking on this *yāna*.

The passages surveyed above from the Chinese pilgrims show that the application of the term Hīnayāna to the "eighteen" Buddhist schools does not fit what appear to have been the actual conditions on the ground in ancient India. Monastic followers of the Mahāyāna were at the same time members of a Buddhist school by dint of their ordination.²¹ Skilling (2004: 143) explains that

available scriptures of the eighteen schools allow all three options: [16] it is one's own decision whether [to] become an Arhat, a Pratyekabuddha, or a Buddha, and to practice accordingly. That is, the eighteen or four schools embrace the three *yānas*.

In sum, the term *hīnayāna* as a referent to the teachings of early Buddhism or to the Buddhist schools has its origins and meanings in a polemical context; it does not accurately represent the historical situation. Nevertheless, the term has been used

²¹ Here it may also be relevant to note that the lay origin of early Mahāyāna proposed by Hiraakawa 1963 (cf. also Przyluski 1926: 369f, Lamotte 1954: 378–379, the related position taken by Ray 1994, and the discussion in Vetter 1994a) has been critically reviewed by, e.g., Schopen 1975: 180, Williams 1989/2009: 21–27, Harrison 1995: 57–63, Sasaki 1997, Silk 2002: 376–382, Nattier 2003a: 89–96, Sasaki 2004, and Strauch 2010: 25f.

widely in academic publications. In what follows I survey the development that appears to have contributed to this usage.

The Parliament of Religions

According to recent research, the use of the term *hīnayāna* in Western publications becomes a broadly visible phenomenon at the beginning of the twentieth century and steadily increases until reaching a peak around 1960.²² The event that appears to have exerted particular influence in this respect is the World's Parliament of Religions in 1893 at Chicago, in the sense of leading to a more widespread use of the term *hīnayāna*.²³

The World's Parliament of Religions – the first time in the West that representatives of religions from around the world came together – had a strong impact on the reception of Buddhism in the United States of America.²⁴ The Parliament itself was held in 1893 as part of the Columbian exposition to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the journey of Columbus to the New World.

The Columbian exposition was an opportunity for the United States of America as well as for Japan to show themselves to the world as modern nations. For the Japanese, presenting Japan as a civilized modern nation with an ancient culture – of which Japanese Buddhism was seen as a central aspect – carried the hope

²² Perreira 2012: 454.

²³ Perreira 2012: 500 explains that "it was in Chicago at the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions when the terms by which we study Buddhism took a decisive turn. From this time forward, the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are in ascendance, and will gradually eclipse 'Northern Buddhism' and 'Southern Buddhism' as the main categories by which Buddhism was to be organized in scholarly and popular discourse."

²⁴ In his study of Buddhism in America in the period 1844 to 1912, Tweed 1992/2000: 31 notes that "with the possible exception of the publication of Arnold's *Light of Asia*, no single event had more impact than the World's Parliament of Religions of 1893."

that acquiring recognition from the West would enable a renegotiation of unfair treaties that had earlier been imposed upon Japan by the Western powers.²⁵ [17] At the same time, success abroad would of course result in a welcome strengthening of Buddhism at home, which was still recovering from the recent persecutions during the Meiji period.

Against this background, a central aim of the Japanese delegation at the World's Parliament of Religions was to counter Western perceptions of the Pāli canon as representative of original Buddhism and to establish the authenticity of the Mahāyāna Buddhism of Japan.²⁶

A recurrent theme in the presentation of the delegates was thus naturally the polemical discourse that advocates the canonical au-

²⁵ This topic was taken up explicitly by one of the Japanese delegates, Hirai Kinzō, in his talk at the Parliament; cf. Barrows 1893: 445 or Houghton 1894: 159.

²⁶ Snodgrass 2003: 199 notes that "up to the time of the Parliament in 1893 almost nothing was known about Japanese Buddhism beyond the general assumption that as a form of Mahayana it was necessarily a later and therefore aberrant form of the original teachings of the historical Buddha." Thus, in the words of Snodgrass 2003: 9, "the task ... the delegates faced ... was to relate Japanese Buddhism to the Western construct that privileged the Theravada of the Pali texts. They needed to show that Japanese Buddhism encompassed all of the truth of the Theravada – that is, all those aspects of Buddhism which had attracted contemporary Western approval – but that Theravada, Southern Buddhism, was no more than a provisional and introductory expression of the Buddha's teachings." Harding 2008: 139 comments that "Japanese Mahāyāna, portrayed as the culmination of Buddhism, was actively differentiated from earlier schools of Southern Buddhism, pejoratively labelled 'Hīnayāna'." Perreira 2012: 512 explains that "approaching the Columbian Exposition as a unique opportunity to recast the terms by which the Buddhism of Japan had been defined in Western scholarship, the Japanese ... fully embraced the idea that the Buddhism of Japan was indeed more 'developed', but not in the sense of being less genuine or authentic as Western scholarship insisted – rather, it was portrayed as more progressive, and, as such, it constituted the very essence of the Buddha's teaching"; cf. also McRae 1991: 30.

thenticity of the Mahāyāna, following the traditional arguments based on the Hīnayāna / Mahāyāna divide and the *pànjiāo* (判教) schemes of classifying Buddhist teachings so as to accommodate their diversity within a coherent system that can be attributed to a single teacher,²⁷ the Buddha.

Due to the need to differentiate themselves from other forms of Buddhism in Asia – Ceylonese Buddhism was represented at the Parliament by Anagārika Dharmapāla and Siamese Buddhism by Prince Chudhadharn – the Japanese delegates recurrently identified the Theravāda as being the present-day manifestation of the Hīnayāna known to them from their own doctrinal background. [18]

In his initial presentation at the Parliament, the layman Noguchi Zenshirō remarked that, instead of making gifts of Japanese teapots and the like to his American hosts, he wished to make a gift of the best of his possessions, which is Buddhism.²⁸ He then announced that the delegation had brought thousands of books for distribution to their hosts, among them Kuroda Shintō's *Outline of the Mahāyāna, as Taught by the Buddha*.²⁹

As the title already indicates, the book by Kuroda, which had been specifically prepared for distribution at the Parliament, claims

²⁷ In his detailed study of the *pànjiāo* taxonomies, Mun 2006: 1f points to early fifth-century China as the starting point, when "Kumārajīva systematically translated an enormous amount of texts", which led to "an urgent need to devise doctrinal classifications in order to explain ... contradictions among them". Thereon "Kumārajīva classified the Buddha's teaching into two groups, i.e., the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna", presenting "the Mahāyāna as superior to the Hīnayāna".

²⁸ Barrows 1893: 440 or Houghton 1894: 156.

²⁹ Snodgrass 2003: 82f notes that "the Japanese were very aware of the importance of the published record of the conference to Western understanding of their religion ... the delegates and their supporters not only prepared their papers with this in mind but prepared a number of books on Japanese Buddhism for distribution."

that the Mahāyāna was taught by the Buddha himself. The term Hīnayāna is used by Kuroda as a referent to the Buddhism found in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia.³⁰

The Shingon representative Toki Hōryū introduced the same claims in his presentation at the Parliament, namely that the Buddha taught Mahāyāna and that the Hīnayāna is now found in Southern Buddhism.³¹ The argument presented by Toki Hōryū and Kuroda Shintō was crucial to the effort of the Japanese delegation.³² [19]

The Jōdo Shinshū representative Yatsubuchi Banryū then recommended to his audience the study of the *History of Japanese Buddhist Sects* by Professor Nanjō Bun'yū.³³ Nanjō, who had stud-

³⁰ Kuroda 1893: iif introduces the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and then explains that "though these two doctrines are not without differences, they were both taught by one Buddha", adding that in Japan Hīnayāna is considered "only as secondary branch of religious knowledge", whereas in "Southern India, Ceylon, Birmah, Siam, etc., only the Hīnayāna is taught." Snodgrass 2003: 178 reports that the publication by Kuroda "achieved greater permanence than others because it was reprinted and further distributed through the Theosophical Society in 1894." Kuroda 1893 was also translated into German by Seidenstücker 1904, thereby extending the influence of his presentation to German readers. Similar doctrines were also made available to the French by Fujishima 1889: 54f, who repeats the statement by Nanjio 1886: 2 quoted below note 36 on the Hīnayānists not being ashamed and speaking evil of Mahāyāna texts, and then ingeniously argues, in regard to certain Mahāyāna *sūtras* that he reckons as having become part of the Tripiṭaka a century after the Buddha's demise: "si ces derniers n'avaient pas existé auparavant, d'où les aurait-on tirés?"

³¹ Barrows 1893: 543 or Houghton 1894: 222, which differ in their record of the details of his talk.

³² Snodgrass 2003: 221 comments that "establishing that the Mahayana was the Buddha's teaching was pivotal. Upon this rested the claim that Japanese Buddhism was 'real' Buddhism."

³³ Houghton 1894: 324 records his statement in this way: "those of you who would care to know the outline of Buddhism might read Professor Nanjo's

ied under Max Müller in Oxford and thus spoke with the credentials of an accredited academic,³⁴ claimed in his book that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* was the first teaching given by the Buddha after his awakening.³⁵ Having identified the eighteen schools as Hīnayāna, Nanjō then highlighted the inability of the Hīnayānists to understand the Mahāyāna.³⁶

The Tendai representative at the Parliament, Ashitsu Jitsuzen, again identified the Buddhism found in southern Asian countries like Ceylon and Siam as Hīnayāna, before presenting Japanese Mahāyāna Buddhism as the most powerful Buddhist tradition.³⁷

English translation of the 'History of the Japanese Buddhist Sects'." I take the fact that this injunction is not found in the corresponding section in Barrows 1893: 723 to be due to the circumstance, noted by Snodgrass 2003: 201, that "papers in Barrow's official copyright record have been heavily edited."

³⁴ According to Snodgrass 2003: 120, Nanjō had gone to the West and became a disciple of Max Müller "to study the science of religion, the philology and historical techniques of Orientalist scholarship. These were to be used to present Japanese Buddhism in a manner acceptable by the standards of Western scholarship ... by participating at the highest levels of Western academia, the Japanese priests obtained academic credentials ... and were listened to and taken seriously within professional circles, their interpretations validated by the same processes as those of Western authorities."

³⁵ Nanjō 1886: xiii, a claim based on distinguishing the Buddha's teaching into five periods, following a traditional expedient for presenting Mahāyāna as the first teaching given by the Buddha. According to this scheme, Hīnayāna was taught by the Buddha only in the second period of his teaching activities.

³⁶ Nanjō 1886: 2 speaks of "the eighteen schools of the Hīnayāna", and p. 51 remarks on "the collection of the Mahāyāna books. Though it is as clear or bright as the sun at midday, yet the men of the Hīnayāna are not ashamed at their inability to know them, and speak evil of them instead."

³⁷ Barrows 1893: 1040 or Houghton 1894: 541. According to the record in Houghton 1894: 541, he added that "there have been a great many Europeans and Americans who studied Buddhism with interest, but unfortunately they have never heard of Mahayana. They too hastily concluded that the true doctrine of Buddhism is Hinayana ... they are wrong. They have entirely misunderstood."

During the Parliament, the Rinzai representative Shaku Sōen befriended the publisher Paul Carus.³⁸ A year after the Parliament Carus published his influential *Gospel of Buddha*,³⁹ [20] with an introduction that contrasts the Hīnayāna with the Mahāyāna.⁴⁰ As a result of the contact between Shaku Sōen and Paul Carus, D.T. Suzuki, a lay Zen disciple of Shaku Sōen, came to stay in the United States with Carus.

In his *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, the prolific writer D.T. Suzuki continues in ways similar to the Japanese delegates at the Parliament.⁴¹ He presents the Mahāyāna as a teaching originating

³⁸ Snodgrass 2003: 228 explains that "the Japanese presentation was a major revelation for Carus." Nagao 2009: 176 notes that "Carus served as a councilor of the Parliament of Religions and lectured at one of its sectional meetings. This great event proved to be a turning point in his career ... after the Parliament concluded, Carus invited Shaku Sōen to his mansion in La Salle for a week", adding in a footnote that Shaku Sōen had been advised beforehand to befriend Carus.

³⁹ According to Tweed 1992/2000: 65, "with the possible exception of Olcott, Carus was probably more influential in stimulating and sustaining American interest in Buddhism than any other person living in the United States."

⁴⁰ After referring to the Hīnayāna, Carus 1894: ix explains that "following the spirit of missionary propaganda, so natural to religious men who are earnest in their convictions, later Buddhists popularised Buddha's doctrines and made them accessible to the multitudes ... they constructed, as they called it, a large vessel of salvation, the Mahāyāna, in which the multitudes would find room and could be safely carried over ... the Mahāyāna is a step forward in so far as it changes a philosophy into a religion and attempts to preach doctrines that were negatively expressed, in positive propositions."

⁴¹ Perreira 2012: 528 comments on Suzuki that "it is largely owing to his influence that Buddhism, from this time onward, will increasingly be conceived as being divided into two principal schools – Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna." In a paper on Suzuki, Pye 2008: 1f comments that "there is probably no other single writer whose works have had a greater influence on the European and North American reception of Buddhism."

from the time of the historical Buddha,⁴² and criticizes the Western perception of Hīnayāna Buddhism as the only genuine teaching of the Buddha.⁴³ [21]

Current Usage

From the Parliament to subsequent publications,⁴⁴ the distinction between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna successfully made its way into the general discourse on Buddhism.⁴⁵ Although the term Hīnayāna was known earlier,⁴⁶ it appears to have come into prominent

⁴² Suzuki 1907: v refers to "Mahāyāna Buddhism, whose history began in the sixth century before the Christian era." As Snodgrass 2003: 263 comments, "the concern to show that Mahayana and Japanese Buddhism are the teachings of the historical Buddha remains."

⁴³ Suzuki 1907: 11 explains that "what is generally known to the Western nations by the name of Buddhism is Hīnayānism, whose scriptures ... are written in Pāli and studied mostly in Ceylon, Burma and Siam. It was through this language that the first knowledge of Buddhism was acquired by Orientalists; and naturally they came to regard Hīnayānism or Southern Buddhism as the only genuine teachings of the Buddha ... Owing to these unfortunate hypotheses, the significance of Mahāyānism as a living religion has been entirely ignored; and even those who are regarded as best authorities on the subject appear greatly misinformed and, what is worse, altogether prejudiced."

⁴⁴ Harding 2008: 16 notes that "the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions provided a singularly spectacular showcase of positions, prejudices, preferences, and portrayals that continue to determine the presentation and reception of Buddhism in both Asia and the West."

⁴⁵ In a paper on the Western reception of Zen, Sharf 1995b: 108 comments that "given the pedigree of these early Zen missionaries, one might have expected Western scholars of Buddhism to approach their high-minded pronouncements with considerable caution, if not scepticism, but such has rarely been the case."

⁴⁶ Already Rémusat 1836: 9–12 introduced the term with a detailed discussion. Rockhill 1883/1907: 196, after translating the section from the *Tarkajvālā* on the Buddhist schools, reported that these were referred to as Hīnayāna. Beal 1884: 5 identified the little vehicle with early Buddhism. Eitel 1888/2004: 63f offered a short entry on Hīnayāna that speaks of "18 subdivisions". Monier-

use after the World's Parliament of Religions in 1893,⁴⁷ where its promotion by the Japanese delegation and then by D.T. Suzuki stands in a logical continuity with the polemics recorded in the *Tarkajvālā*. Throughout, references to the Hīnayāna serve to deflect criticism of the lack of canonical authority of the Mahāyāna. In spite of a general awareness of the fact that the term stems from a polemical context and has clear pejorative connotations,⁴⁸ the use continues up to the present day.⁴⁹

An example, chosen simply for the sake of illustration, would be the sketch of the history of Buddhism in Faure (2009: 7 and 10), who reports that

a schism occurred between the disciples of the Buddha that eventually led to a separation into the two main schools – the "Great Vehicle" (Mahāyāna) and the "Lesser Vehicle" (Hīnayāna) ... the "Lesser Vehicle" ... later became Theravāda ... Hīnayāna (a term we are using here for want of a better one and which we do not intend to have any pejorative connotations whatsoever) was initially transmitted to Sri Lanka during the reign of Ashoka and then, [22] from the tenth century CE,

Williams 1889/1995: 159 indicated that "the people of Ceylon, Burma and Siam have always preferred the 'Little Vehicle'; etc.

⁴⁷ Perreira 2012: 519 explains that the "effort to promote Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna as the basic division in Buddhism ... continued long after the Parliament, and it eventually gained traction in the United States."

⁴⁸ According to Perreira 2012: 450f, the Inaugural Conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, held in Sri Lanka in 1950, appears to have been particularly instrumental in drawing public attention to the pejorative connotations of the term *hīnayāna*.

⁴⁹ For the type of reasoning involved cf., e.g., Sharma 1976: 131, who holds that, whereas "on the one hand the term Hīnayāna is undesirable as it is a pejorative; on the other hand it is useful academically as referring to the pre-Mahāyāna schools collectively."

spread throughout Southeast Asia (Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia). It lives on today in the form of Theravāda.

A schism involves a splitting of a monastic community that leads to the resultant factions undertaking their respective communal observances independently.⁵⁰ This is different from a vocational difference based on the individual decision of whether or not to embark on the bodhisattva path. As the reports by the Chinese pilgrims show, this vocational difference cuts across the Buddhist monastic schools which, including the Mahāsāṃghika school, are comprised under the heading of the "eighteen schools". Thus the distinction between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna is not the product of a schism.

The Theravāda tradition cannot simply be considered a developed form of Hīnayāna. Identifying Theravāda as a form of Hīnayāna is self-contradictory, since among the Buddhist populations of Burma/Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Thailand the aspiration to become a Buddha in the future has for a long time been a recognized aim, attested to in inscriptions and texts.⁵¹ This makes it misleading to refer to these Buddhist populations with a term that by definition stands in contrast to the bodhisattva path.

The main problem in presentations of this type is not merely the continued use of a pejorative term, instead of using other and less loaded alternatives.⁵² The real problem is that the contrast between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, in the words of Skilling (2005:

⁵⁰ Cf., e.g., Bechert 1961/1982 and Hüsken 1997a.

⁵¹ Cf., e.g., Rahula 1971, Tambiah 1976: 96f, Ratnayaka 1985, Endo 1996, Samuels 1997, Skilling 2003b, Harvey 2007, and Chandawimala 2008. For inscriptions in Theravāda countries that document the donor's aspiration for Buddhahood cf., e.g., Luce 1969: 56, Dohanian 1977: 20–25, and Assavavirulhakarn 2010: 175. Bond 1988: 203 reports from his field experience in Sri Lanka that the notion of the bodhisattva ideal "has deep roots in popular tradition".

⁵² Cf., e.g., the discussion in Katz 1980 and also above p. 473 note 1.

270), refers to "trends in ideas and practices that developed ... within the institutions of the Buddhist *saṃghas*". Hence it is not meaningful to use these terms as if they were in themselves *saṃgha* institutions.

Such misapplication naturally tends to obscure an accurate perception of the historical situation. According to Cohen (1995: 18),

the prevailing conception of the *nikāyas* as sub-species of the Hīnayāna should be aborted ... the Mahāyāna/Hīnayāna distinction ... loses most of its significance as a handle for Indian Buddhist institutional history. [23]

At times, the use of the term *hīnayāna* in academic publications is not really required. An example is the classic on the Buddhist schools by Bareau (1955), which has the title *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*. The topic of his research would have been clear to the reader if he had just chosen *Les sectes bouddhiques*, "the Buddhist sects". This suffices to show that the topic in question is the *nikāyas* (which he calls "sects") and there seems to be no real benefit in adding the qualification that these are of the "little vehicle".

A key reference work by Norman (1983a) has the title *Pāli Literature, Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of All the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism*. Here as well, there seems to be no need for the qualification *hīnayāna* once the *Schools of Buddhism* have been mentioned, which makes it fairly clear that literature of *nikāya* Buddhism is intended, not Mahāyāna works. If a need is felt to make this indubitably plain in the title, however, then instead of *hīnayāna* an expression like *nikāya* Buddhism would be preferable. Thus the title could read: *Pāli Literature, Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of All the Schools of (Nikāya) Buddhism*.

The issue is not one of redundancy only, however. The problem that can result from considering the Theravāda tradition as Hīnayāna can be exemplified with a page in the study of Buddhism in Burma by Spiro (1970/1982: 62). After quoting Suzuki's *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, Spiro explains that "the *Bodhisattva* ideal is not found – nor for reasons just suggested, could it be found – in the *Theravāda* tradition."⁵³ On the very same page he then reports that "in Theravadist Burma ... there has been a long tradition of aspiration to Buddhahood."

If there has been a long tradition of aspiration to Buddhahood, then it is not really possible to state that the bodhisattva ideal is not found in the Burmese Theravāda tradition. Yet, such a contradiction is not easily noticed as long as one is misled by the assumption that the Buddhist traditions fall into two distinct institutional categories, of which in principle only one advocates the bodhisattva path. This is to fall prey to what I would call the "Hīnayāna fallacy", taking polemical arguments as if they were accurate descriptions of historical facts.

Cohen (1995: 20f) points out that once "Mahāyāna is positively characterized by its members' pursuit of the bodhisattva path; the Hīnayāna is negatively characterized as the non-Mahāyāna" and by the fact that its members do not pursue the bodhisattva path. In this way,

when positively characterized, the Hīnayāna is defined by members' affiliation with one or another *nikāya*, [24] which, of course, means that the Mahāyāna is known negatively by its members' institutional separation from those same *nikāyas* ...

⁵³ Although Spiro 1970/1982: 61 was aware of the fact that Suzuki's presentation is the "point of view of a partisan", he nevertheless seems to have been influenced by the basic underlying distinction that informs Suzuki's presentation.

[Thus] we are left with the Mahāyāna/Hīnayāna distinction as a mere structural dualism devoid of specific content, a mere nominalism.

In fact, neither of these two descriptions reflects historical reality, making it clear that there is something basically wrong with the distinction between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna as historical categories. In the words of Silk (2002: 367f),

the referent of the term "Hīnayāna", when it occurs in Buddhist texts themselves, is never any existent institution or organization, but a rhetorical fiction ... a fundamental error is thus made when we imagine references to "Hīnayāna" in Mahāyāna literature to apply to so-called Sectarian Buddhism, much less to Early Buddhism.

Skilling (2013: 76) concludes that

the Hīnayāna never existed, anywhere or at any time, as an establishment or organization, as a social movement, as a self-conscious historical agent. Nor was Hīnayāna a stage or period in the development of Buddhism ... the Hīnayānist was defined by Mahāyānist polemics; he was a dogmatic construction, not a social identity. He was a straw man, a will-o'-the-wisp, a *māyāpuruṣa*.

Conclusions

By way of conclusion, it seems to me that the use of the term *hīnayāna* as a fundamental category for studying the history of Buddhism is misleading. As far as I can see, the term is best confined to discussions of Mahāyāna polemics. The problems of continuing to deploy it as a classificatory concept for studying the history of Buddhism are, in brief:

1) Referring to Buddhism in India at least until the reign of Aśoka as Hīnayāna is meaningless, since neither Mahāyāna nor its opponents had so far come into existence and their main issue of contention – the option to follow the bodhisattva ideal – was still in the making. A better term for this period would be "early Buddhism".⁵⁴

2) Hīnayāna as an umbrella term for the Buddhist monastic schools is misleading, because Mahāyāna was not confined to laity. Terms that can be used instead would be "Buddhist schools" and/or "*nikāya* Buddhism";⁵⁵ [20] a way of designating the period in question would be "Buddhism of the middle period".⁵⁶

3) The use of Hīnayāna for the traditions of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia is incorrect, because the respective Buddhist traditions recognize the assumed distinctive characteristic of the Mahāyāna – the bodhisattva path – as a viable option of practice. A better term would be "Theravāda", which I examine in the next chapter.

⁵⁴ On the textual sources for "early Buddhism" cf. Anālayo 2012e.

⁵⁵ Cf., e.g., Strong 1995: 87.

⁵⁶ Schopen 1995/2004: 94 uses the expression "Middle Period of Indian Buddhism" for "the period between the beginning of the Common Era and the year 500 C.E.". On following his definition, the two centuries between the time of Aśoka and the beginning of the Common Era would require a term on its own, which could be, e.g., the "early post-Aśokan" period.

Appendix (3): Theravāda

Introduction

In this chapter I study the trajectory of the term *theravāda* from its earliest occurrence in the Pāli canon to its present-day usage as a designation of the forms of Buddhism found in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. My presentation begins with the term *theravāda* in the Pāli discourses, before turning to the Pāli commentaries and chronicles. Next I examine the role of the Pāli canon in the Theravāda tradition and the conception of Theravāda as a monastic lineage, after which I discuss current usage and survey alternative terms.

Theravāda in the Pāli Discourses

The term *theravāda* occurs already in the discourses collected in the Pāli canon. The *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* reports that this expression was used by the future Buddha Gotama when narrating his apprenticeship under two Indian teachers during the time before his awakening. In this context, the expression *theravāda* refers to his mastery of the kind of teachings that were apparently passed on by the two teachers Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta to their disciples.¹ The same expression recurs in other Pāli discourses that report the same event.² [216]

* Originally published in 2013 under the title "A Note on the Term Theravāda" in the *Buddhist Studies Review*, 30.2: 216–235. © Equinox Publishing Ltd. 2013.

¹ MN 26 at MN I 164,4: *tāvataken' eva oṭṭhapahatamattena lapitalāpanamattena ṇṇāvādaṅ ca vadāmi theravādaṅ ca jānāmi passāmi ti ca paṭijānāmi*, "as far as mere lip-reciting and mere repetition were concerned, I [could] say the sayings of knowledge and the sayings of the elders, and claim that I knew and

This reference to the teachings learned by the future Buddha Gotama is not found in a discourse parallel to the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* in the *Madhyama-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation, nor does such a reference occur in Sanskrit fragments that report this same episode.³ The same holds for other texts that record the apprenticeship of the future Buddha under these two teachers, such as the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu*, and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.⁴

A description of the future Buddha's apprenticeship in the *Buddhacarita* does have a reference to the teachings he learned at this stage. However, this description has no counterpart to the expression *theravāda*.⁵

In this way the occurrence of the term *theravāda* in the account of the apprenticeship of the future Buddha under Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta seems to be unique to the Pāli canon.

The Pāli commentary on the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* takes this reference to imply that Gotama declared his certainty about the

saw them"; the passage is repeated at MN I 165,24 (throughout, translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated).

² MN 36 at MN I 240,26, MN 85 at MN II 93,19, and MN 100 at MN II 212,1 (E^e abbreviates).

³ [4] MĀ 204 at T I 776b11, translated Anālayo 2011a: 25, and fragment 330r8 to 331v1, Liú 2010: 105 (which strictly speaking is actually a parallel to MN 36). The Sanskrit fragment parallel to MN 85, Silverlock 2009: 111, and the Sanskrit fragment parallel to MN 100, Zhang 2004: 48, abbreviate the relevant part.

⁴ [5] T 1428 at T XXII 780b9, Lefmann 1902: 238,21, Senart 1890: 118,8 (on the *Vinaya* nature of this work cf. Tournier 2012), and Gnoli 1977: 97,6.

⁵ [6] Stanzas 12:16–42, Johnston 1936/1995a: 130–133; on the significance of these stanzas and the possible philosophical tenets of the two teachers cf., e.g., Oldenberg 1898: 681–684, Senart 1907: 153, Strauß 1913: 258, Thomas 1933/2004: 80, Johnston 1936/1995b: lvi–lxii, Malalasekera 1937/1995: 296f, Bhagat 1976: 156, Nakamura 1979: 275, Schumann 2006: 85f, and Wynne 2007: 42–49.

teachings of Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta.⁶ Considered within its narrative context, this explanation is not compelling, since the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* continues with Gotama approaching his teachers to find out what they had actually realized, followed by himself reaching realization after meditative practice. This description conveys the impression that he was aware of the need for some personal realization beyond the type of knowing and seeing that comes from theoretical knowledge. Such awareness would make it less natural for him to claim that he had reached certainty when he had not yet reached any realization himself. This makes it more probable that in the present context the term *thera* has the same sense "elder" it has elsewhere in the four Pāli *Nikāyas*,⁷ and that the commentarial gloss is the outcome of discomfort with the term *theravāda* standing for non-Buddhist teachings.⁸ [217]

As an alternative interpretation, the reference in the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* to *theravāda* could be taken to mean that Gotama had learned some theory from the elder disciples of Āḷāra and Uddaka. This is in fact the sense adopted by the majority of translators of this passage.⁹ A possible scenario would then be that Āḷāra

⁶ [7] Ps II 171,15: *theravādan ti thirabhāvavādaṃ, thero aham etthā ti etaṃ vacanam*, translated by Gethin 2012: 6 note 11 as "a *theravāda* is [a] declaration of being certain; 'I am sure of this' is what is meant."

⁷ [8] Which need not be Buddhist elders; cf., e.g., AN 4.22 at AN II 22,16, where on being reproved by brahmins for not paying respect to old brahmins, the Buddha points out that these brahmins do not know what a *thera* is or what are the qualities that make one a *thera*. Here the term clearly refers to elders in general, including brahmin elders.

⁸ [9] Gethin 2012: 6, who finds the commentarial explanation acceptable, nevertheless comments that "it is, of course, possible that because of the negative context here the commentary deliberately chooses to avoid an explanation in terms of 'declaration of the elders'."

⁹ [10] Chalmers 1926: 115 renders *theravāda* in his translation of MN 26 as "the elders' exposition" of their founder's message, and Horner 1953/1967: 208 as the

and Uddaka had handed over the duty of providing basic theoretical instructions to their senior disciples, in order not to have to give the same catechism over and again each time a new disciple joined the group.¹⁰ After having learned the *theravāda* from these senior disciples – where I would take the term *theravāda* to convey the sense of "sayings of the elders" and not necessarily of a fully ledged "doctrine of the elders" – the neophyte would then approach the master for further clarification of specific points, which is precisely what Gotama did according to the report given in the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta*.

On this interpretation of the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta*, the present reference to *theravāda* as sayings of the elders Āḷāra or Uddaka and their disciples would stand in a natural continuity to references in later Pāli literature to *theravāda* as sayings of Buddhist elders.

"doctrine of the elders" (accompanied by an explicit reference to the commentarial explanation in note 2); cf. also Neumann 1896/1995: 186: "das Word der älteren Jünger", and Bareau 1963: 13: "doctrine des doyens". The same sense recurs also in dictionary entries related to the passage in MN 26, cf. Rhys Davids and Stede 1921/1993: 310: "the doctrine of the Theras", and Cone 2010: 359: "the statements of elders; what the elders say" (followed by a quote of the passage in MN 26 and the commentarial gloss). Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 257, however, follows the commentary and renders *theravāda* as "I could speak with ... assurance". Witanachchi 2008: 312 is of course right in pointing out that the passage in question could not be referring to any form of Theravāda Buddhism, given that this takes place before the Buddha's awakening, but it seems to me that the sense of *theravāda* as the "sayings of the elders" – in this case obviously not Buddhist elders – does yield a meaningful reading of the present passage.

¹⁰ [11] Commenting on the present passage, Guruge 2003: 340 notes that "there is no doubt that each hermitage had a body of knowledge which was imparted to the disciples ... meditation according to the theory and principles of Yoga was mastered through application with the guidance of peers."

Theravāda in the Pāli Commentaries and Chronicles

The term *theravāda* occurs in several passages in the Pāli commentarial tradition.¹¹ In the commentary on the *Vinaya*, a reference to the "sayings of the elders", *theravāda*, stands for the opinion of some unspecified elders. The *Vinaya* commentary explains that such *theravāda* should never override the presentation in the actual canonical texts, which are referred to in the commentarial tradition as the *pāḷi*.¹² Elsewhere the same *Vinaya* commentary also uses the term *theravāda* as a reference to the Pāli canon, together with its commentaries.¹³

The Ceylonese chronicle *Dīpavaṃsa* (4.6) defines the expression *theravāda* as a referent to the sayings that according to the traditional account were collected by the elders at the first "communal recitation", ^[218] *saṅgīti*,¹⁴ a definition found similarly in the *Mahāvāṃsa* (3.40). Although the idea of maintaining the teachings collected by the elders at the first *saṅgīti* is of course common to different Buddhist schools, what the Ceylonese chronicles have in mind is the Pāli recension of these teachings in the way these were transmitted to Ceylon.

¹¹ [¹²] In his detailed survey of occurrences of the expression, Gethin 2012: 7 explains that in the commentaries "in the majority of instances *theravāda* appears to be used simply and unproblematically to refer to 'the opinion or view of an elder or elders', where the elders are monks of some authority."

¹² [¹³] Sp I 231,14; the passage has been translated in Gethin 2012: 8.

¹³ [¹⁴] Sp I 52,7, where the term occurs in a description of Mahinda's ability to learn the canon and the commentaries within three years.

¹⁴ [¹⁵] Oldenberg 1879: 31,2: *pañcasatehi therehi dhammavinayasaṃgaho, therehi katasamgaho theravādo ti vuccatī*, "the collection of the teaching and the discipline [was made] by the five hundred elders, this collection made by the elders is called *theravāda*." With the expression "communal recitation" I follow the formulation already used by Gombrich 1990: 25 and Cousins 1991: 27; on the term *saṅgīti* cf., e.g., Tilakaratne 2000 and Skilling 2009b: 55–60, and on the impact of the first *saṅgīti* on Theravāda monastic identity Anālayo 2015f.

According to the record of the first communal recitation in the Theravāda *Vinaya*, the teachings were collected in the form of the five *Nikāyas* and the *Vinaya* of the Pāli canon.¹⁵ From the viewpoint of the Ceylonese chronicles these are thus the "Sayings of the Elders" – the *theravāda* – par excellence, to which from a traditional viewpoint the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* should be added, even though this is not mentioned explicitly in the *Vinaya* account of the first *saṅgīti*.

This provides the background for appreciating the usage of the term elsewhere in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and in the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, where this expression stands in contrast to the seventeen *nikāyas* or Buddhist schools that – from the viewpoint of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Kathāvatthu* – seceded from the Theravāda tradition.¹⁶

Thus the proper name Theravāda for the Buddhist tradition nowadays found in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia has its root in

¹⁵ [¹⁶] The account of the first *saṅgīti* at Vin II 287,8 reports that Upāli recited the twofold *Vinaya* or *Vibhaṅga*, *ubhatovinaye* (B^e and C^e: *ubhatovibhaṅge*), whereas Ānanda recited the five collections (of discourses), Vin II 287,27: *pañca nikāye* (B^e and C^e: *pañca pi nikāye*).

¹⁶ [¹⁷] Kv-a 3,13: *aṭṭhārasanikāyā ... etesu pana sattarasa vādā bhinnakā, theravādo asambhinnako ti veditabbo*, "the eighteen schools ... of these seventeen doctrines should be seen as schismatic, the Theravāda as non-schismatic." This statement serves as the introduction to a quotation from the *Dīpavaṃsa* on the arising of the different sects. The *Dīpavaṃsa* in fact similarly considers the seventeen doctrines as schismatic, in contrast to the one doctrine that is non-schismatic, Oldenberg 1879: 37,26: *sattarasa bhinnavādā eko vādo abhinnako*, which the next stanza then indicates to be the supreme Theravāda (Gethin 2012: 11f points out that in this passage *theravāda* need not be taken as the name of the Theravāda school, but may just convey the sense of the doctrine of the Theriyas). *Mahāvamsa* 33.97, Geiger 1958: 2776,18, then goes further, as it considers even the monks of the Abhayagiri to have split from the Theravāda maintained by the Mahāvihāra; cf. the discussion in Gethin 2012: 47–49.

the conception of *theravāda* as the Pāli canon,¹⁷ in the sense that the Theravāda school is the tradition that transmits and follows the Pāli recension of the canon that according to the traditional account was recited by the elders at the time of the first *saṅgīti*.

[219]

The Role of the Pāli Canon

For the later tradition, the conception of "Sayings of the Elders" as representing the Pāli recension of the texts, held to have been recited at the first *saṅgīti*, furnishes the basic reference point for the sense of identity of the Theravāda school. This basic reference point provided by the Pāli canon in turn invested the language in which the texts have been preserved with an aura of sanctity. As explained by Skilling (2009c: 64),

the preservation, transmission, and study of the Pali canon and the use of Pāli as a liturgical language – by monastics and laity – is one distinctive and unifying feature of the Theravādin lineages ... Pali was a resource, a database, that offered stability and continuity to a congeries of constantly evolving traditions.

According to Gunawardana (2005: 56f):

widely dispersed and disparate *territoria* where Buddhism prevailed were linked on the basis of the common adherence to the Buddha's teaching and to shared ritual. This link was kept alive throughout history by movements of religious, texts,

¹⁷ [18] On the idea of the Buddhist canon in general and on the Pāli canon in particular cf., e.g., Winternitz 1920/1968: 1–288, Renou et al. 1953/2001: 327–351, Warder 1961, Webb 1975/2011, Dhirasekera 1977, Bechert 1979/1993: 66–79, Lancaster 1979, Bond 1982, Norman 1983a, Ray 1985, Gómez 1987b, Hirakawa 1987, Lancaster 1987, Collins 1990, Hazra 1994, von Hinüber 1996/1997, Oberlies 2000, Freiburger 2004, Harrison 2004, Freiburger 2011, Kleine 2011, Salomon 2011, Silk 2015, and von Hinüber 2015.

relics and images from one centre to another ... while shared texts, interpretations of the texts and ritual distinguished the "World of Theravāda Buddhism" from the rest of the "Buddhist World", its dominant characteristic was the common use of the Pāli language. Obviously, local languages were often used, but Pāli was always accorded the premier place.

In sum, in the words of Gombrich (1988: 3),

hallmarks of Theravāda Buddhism are the use of Pali as its main sacred language and dependence on the Pali version of the Buddhist Canon as its sacred scripture.

The Theravāda commentarial tradition derives its authority from the claim that it explains the Pāli canon correctly. In fact the commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya* makes quite explicitly the point that, wherever the commentarial tradition or one's own reasoning is found to disagree with the canonical texts, the canonical presentation is to be given preference.¹⁸

Moving from texts to actual living situations, in a Theravāda setting monastics are considered authoritative if they are able to teach in accordance with the *theravāda* qua Pāli canon. This can take place just by teaching a *jātaka* tale (which in the traditional setting is perceived as canonical, in spite of the actual commentarial status of the *jātaka* prose narratives) or by using Pāli terms for ritual activities,¹⁹ irrespective of whether these terms are actually understood by the audience or by the monastics involved. [220]

¹⁸ [19] Sv II 568,1; cf. the discussion in Adikaram 1946/1994: 15.

¹⁹ [20] Regarding ritual activities it might be pertinent to note that the "Sayings of the Elders" provide precedents for the employment of *parittas*, protective charms, so that such practices need to be recognized as integral to the conception of Theravāda Buddhism from the outset. One such precedent is a discourse explicitly designated for use as a protective charm against malevolent spirits, DN 32 at DN III 194,20, which has a parallel in T 1245 at T XXI 271a7; for

The Pāli canon as the "Sayings of the Elders" is of course an ideological construct and does not require that the texts collected in this canon be actually read or heard by all those who consider themselves to be following the tradition of the "Sayings of the Elders".²⁰ In the words of Collins (1990: 104),

the actual importance of what we know as the Pali Canon has not lain in the specific texts collected in that list, but rather in the *idea* of such a collection.²¹

Taking a lead from the well-known Buddhist motif of the wheel of Dharma, I would visualize the "Sayings of the Elders" – the

Sanskrit fragment parallels cf. Hoernle 1916: 24–27, Hoffmann 1939, Waldschmidt 1961/1967, Sander 1987: 193–208, Hartmann 1991: 65–70, Bechert and Wille 2004 (SHT IX 2161, 2256, 2384, 2402, 2487, 2814), Sander 2007, Karashima and Wille 2009: 97 (Or. 15004/100), Dietz 2011; for a Tibetan parallel cf. Skilling 1994: 460–562, with a study in Skilling 1997b: 553–579; for Uighur fragments cf. Maue 1985. Another relevant discourse would be the *Ratana-sutta* (Sn 222–238, cf. also Khp 3,27, no. 6), in which case it is only the commentary, Pj II 278,1, that explicitly indicates its use as a *paritta*. A parallel to the *Ratana-sutta* can be found in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882b: 290,11; for a study of these and other texts that contain parallels to the prose tale and the stanzas cf. Skilling 1997b: 581–613. On protective Buddhist literature in general cf., e.g., Skilling 1992 and Harvey 1993.

²⁰ [21] Cf. also the useful distinction between a formal canon and a practical canon proposed by Blackburn 2003.

²¹ [22] Cf., e.g., Seeger 2009b: 3f, who notes that "historiographically, there are ample references that demonstrate the importance and authority of the Pali canon in Thai history ... the historical importance of the Pali canon should not, however, disguise the fact that Pali canonical core teachings, like the Four Noble Truths, the Three Characteristics of Being, the Dependent Origination or the Noble Eightfold Path, have not had a major influence on Thai culture and religious life." Seeger 2009b: 4 quotes the report by a Thai Pāli scholar that in numerous monasteries in Thailand the Pāli canon is kept in a locked cabinet, which is not opened to preserve the texts from destruction and since, even if it were opened, "no-one will understand it anyway".

Pāli canon – as comparable to the fixed axle of a wheel.²² Around this axle the ever-changing Theravāda Buddhisms (plural) revolve, each with its own distinct mixture of Buddhist, indigenous, and other beliefs, expressing themselves in what we now refer to as the Pāli language, as well as in vernaculars, catering for the ritual and other needs of their respective populations.

All of these different aspects, which of course are equally worthy of attention and study, acquire their Theravādin significance by in some way standing in a relation to the axle of the wheel, the *theravāda* or the "Sayings of the Elders" collected in the Pāli canon.²³

Theravāda as a Monastic Lineage

Understood in this way, the sense of Theravāda as a monastic lineage is just one aspect of the broader sense of *theravāda* qua Pāli canon. This monastic lineage takes its directional input from adherence to the rules and regulations in the way these have been recorded in the Pāli *Vinaya* – part of the "Sayings of the Elders" – and authoritatively explained in the Theravāda commentarial tradition.

This sense of Theravāda as a referent to the Buddhisms (plural) of Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, with the Pāli canon as a central reference point, is of course different from Sthavira as a term relevant to the history of monastic lineages and Buddhist schools in India. In fact the term **sthaviravāda* does not appear to be attested

²² [23] Somewhat similarly Sucitto 2012: 87 defines Theravāda as a tradition of "teachings whose axis is the Pali Canon"; cf. also Bond 1982: ix, who explains that "Theravada Buddhism is a 'religion of the book.' It has at its center a body of authoritative scripture, the *Tipiṭaka*. This vast and diverse canon of scripture constitutes the foundation and source of the Theravada tradition."

²³ [24] How this relation is then actually defined is of course subject to differing interpretations; cf., e.g., Seeger 2007 on the case of Thai Theravāda.

at all.²⁴ This makes the expression Theravāda sufficiently distinct from Sthavira, wherefore the use of the designation Theravāda need not be taken as involving an implicit claim to being the sole legitimate heir of all Sthavira traditions. [221]

The Pāli canon, and in particular the Pāli *Vinaya*, as what provides a shared sense of identity among monastics of Burma, Sri Lanka, Thailand, etc., is also what enables them to recognize and import ordination lineages from each other. The validity of ordination is a rather touchy issue in monastic circles and at times has become a matter of dispute among monks living in the same country. The fact that Sri Lankan monks and Southeast Asia monks imported and continued ordination lineages that stemmed from outside of their own countries is a definite mark of a shared sense of institutional identity as an integral aspect of the history of Theravāda Buddhism in these countries.

When evaluating such exchange of monastic lineages, the literalist approach that otherwise characterizes Theravāda monastic attitudes needs to be kept in mind as a contrastive example. An example of this approach can be seen in relation to the canonical instructions that restrict a monk to possessing only three robes. In order to have more robes without breaking the rule, one simply needs to call an additional robe by another name, naming it a "requisite cloth", since for such cloth no ownership limitations apply.²⁵ This example shows the importance of the canonical scripture as a fixed reference point, as a consequence of which adaptation to changing circumstances takes place only within the scope of what is possible while maintaining the literal form of the canonical injunction.

²⁴ [25] Skilling 2009c: 65 explains that "'Sthaviravāda' and 'Sthaviravādin' are ghost words. They are Sanskrit neologisms coined on the analogy of Pali 'Theravāda', and they have not been found in any Sanskrit text."

²⁵ [26] The expression to be used is *parikkhāraḥaḥa*; cf. the discussion in Kieffer-Pülz 2007: 35–45. The rule permitting the *parikkhāraḥaḥa* is found at Vin I 296,32.

This in turn implies that the preoccupation with the Pāli canon is not entirely a modern invention caused by Western influence, although this indubitably has had an impact.²⁶ With the basic idea of the centrality of the Pāli canon already evident in the definition given in the *Dīpavaṃsa* of the term *theravāda*, the type of legalist interpretation of the *Vinaya* in the example cited above shows that this was not mere rhetoric, but something of direct importance to actual monastic life.

Theravāda in Current Usage

Although there clearly is continuity in the sense of shared identity based on the "Sayings of the Elders", tradition did not consistently use the term *theravāda* to refer to this sense of identity. According to the detailed research by Perreira (2012: 550), the expression "Theravāda Buddhism" as a term covering the Buddhist traditions of Burma, Sri Lanka, Thailand, etc., only becomes noticeable in Western writing in the early twentieth century, replacing the earlier usage of terms like "Southern Buddhism". Perreira (2012: 554) then identifies the first such occurrence in a publication by the Burma-ordained British monk Ānanda Metteyya and concludes that Ānanda Metteyya "was himself the source of our modern use of 'Theravāda' – and not a Burmese text or Burmese informant".

Yet, the sense of Theravāda identity that I have been describing above is evident, for example, in the eighteenth-century Burmese work *Vaṃsadīpanī*.²⁷ This work is basically a history of the tradition from the time of the Buddha to eighteenth-century Burma, [222] compiled to give background and authority to the practice that novices should cover both shoulders with the robe when going

²⁶ [27] Hallisey 1995: 43 speaks of a "productive 'elective affinity' between the positivist historiography of European Orientalism and Buddhist styles of self-representation".

²⁷ [28] Cf. also the discussion in Skilling et al. 2012: xx and Perreira 2012: 553f.

outside, instead of leaving one shoulder uncovered. In terms of genre, the *Vaṃsadīpanī* stands in a continuity of *sāsana-katikāvata* literature from twelfth-century Sri Lanka. Its colophon explains that it "recounts the lineage of Theravāda luminaries who propagated the noble Sāsana", "so that future generations might easily comprehend the history of those elders who held fast to the rules of discipline laid down by the Blessed One."²⁸

Pace Ferreira (2012: 553f), the question here is not whether the Burma-ordained monk Ānanda Metteyya had personal acquaintance with a manuscript of this particular work. The point is rather that the *Vaṃsadīpanī* clearly shows that Burmese monks were sufficiently familiar with the conception of *theravāda* for it to be employed as a source of authority in a polemical discussion; in fact the term is also attested in an eighteenth century inscription.²⁹

Besides texts and inscriptions in Myanmar, the term *theravāda* in the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* and in the Ceylonese chronicles does designate the Theravāda tradition as distinct from other Buddhist schools.³⁰ This concept of the Theravāda tradition must have been known in Burmese and Sri Lankan monastic circles, so that Ānanda Metteyya could easily have come to know of it, in some form or another, from his monastic teachers in Burma or during his previous stay in Sri Lanka, when he apparently learned Pāli.³¹ In fact Ānanda Metteyya himself points to the Pāli commentaries, the Ceylonese chronicles, and Oldenberg's introduction to the PTS edition of the *Vinaya* as sources for his usage.³²

²⁸ [29] Pranke 2004: 15 and 279.

²⁹ Handlin 2016: 180 reports that "the donor of a 1761 endowment ... inscribed another image with the hitherto not encountered title *Theravāda Zaḡ (Jātaka)*."

³⁰ Kv-a 3,13; for the full quote see above note 16.

³¹ For a biographical sketch of Ānanda Metteyya cf., e.g., Harris 1998 and 2013.

³² Metteyya 1908: 175 note 1 explains that "the word Theravāda really means 'The Tradition of the Elders'", and refers to "the way in which this word is

The report of the schisms in chapter 5 of the *Mahāvamsa*, which uses the term *theravāda* in the sense of a school, was already edited by Turnour (1836: 22) and thus available at a time when academic study of Buddhism in the West was in its beginning stages.³³ In his Pāli dictionary, Childers (1875/1993: 545) discusses the term and points out that Turnour's rendering of the term *theravāda* was not correct. Oldenberg (1879/1997: xli) then speaks of the Sri Lankan tradition as the Theravādī school.³⁴

Thus Ānanda Metteyya was not the first to use the term Theravāda in the sense of a school, and the sources that apparently inspired his usage were available in the West already before his departure for Asia.³⁵ [223]

When evaluating the current usage of "Theravāda" as a designation for the sense of shared identity among Buddhists in coun-

employed in ancient Commentaries and in the Sinhalese Chronicles" and to Oldenberg's "Introduction to his Pāli Text of the Vinaya, vol. I, p. xli foll."; Perreira 2012: 551 was aware of this passage.

³³ This has already been noted by Bretfeld 2012: 290, who points out that "the word Theravāda in the sense of a parental branch of monastic lineages was already known since 1837, when George Turner published ... the 'Great Chronicle!'"

³⁴ Oldenberg 1879/1997: xli in a discussion of the "Sinhalese church" mentions "the name Theravādī ... which the followers of this school applied to themselves", and discusses the alternative "Vibhajjavādī". The edition and translation of the *Dīpavamsa* by Oldenberg 1879 was published in the same year.

³⁵ Given the precedent from Oldenberg and the fact that Ānanda Metteyya shows clear awareness of the use of the term in the Pāli commentaries and chronicles, I find it only natural that Ānanda Metteyya should refer to the Theravāda as a school ("l'école Theravada", quoted in Perreira 2012: 550). *Pace* Perreira 2012: 466, in the publications by Turnour 1836 and Oldenberg 1879/1997 the term Theravāda is not merely "used as a technical term signifying the teachings and precepts propounded by the Buddha", but already carries the sense of a Buddhist tradition or school.

tries like Burma, Sri Lanka, and Thailand, two questions need to be asked: 1) does the same term occur earlier in a related meaning?, and 2) has the sense of identity to which it refers now already been in existence before?³⁶

It seems to me that both questions receive a clear affirmative reply. The term itself is old and what it now refers to is similarly an ancient phenomenon. In other words, the sense of shared Buddhist identity among countries of South and Southeast Asia, to which the expression Theravāda refers, has roots that extend far beyond the beginning of the twentieth century. As pointed out in general by Bretfeld (2012: 275),

we have to be cautious that the rhetoric of "construction" and "invention" does not draw our attention only to the historical breaks or make us lose the sight of the continuities as well as the amount of Asian agency and traditional resources involved in these processes.

Present-day usage of the term has been the object of criticism in recent times. Thus, for example, Assavavirulhakarn (2010: 188) queries

can we even use the term "Theravāda Buddhism", which has been so misunderstood and misapplied in both conceptual and historical contexts?³⁷

³⁶ As Kirichenko 2009: 25 comments in a paper on a closely related topic, "the crux of the question is whether the introduction of new terminology reflected meaningful changes in ideas and practices."

³⁷ Assavavirulhakarn 2010: 188 explains that for him "the problem stems, in part, from the scholarly work done by German and British Indologists and Buddhologists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They believed that Theravāda Buddhism was closest to the early or primitive Buddhism taught by the Buddha himself. However, if we examine the early Indian context, there is no 'pure' or 'primitive' aspect of any of the religions, and certainly no

Of course, the possibility of misunderstanding and misapplication is inherent in the limitations that go with any concept. Thus exchanging one concept for another will not necessarily provide a long-term solution. In fact, as pointed out by Skilling (2009c: 80), to "propose that we abandon the use of the term Theravāda – that would be absurd." Besides being absurd, to propose abandoning the term Theravāda would also require identifying a viable alternative. As pointed out by Nattier (2003a: 195 note 3) in a different context,

simply arguing against existing scholarly distinctions rather than offering clearly contextualized alternatives ... leaves the waters muddier than before.

Alternative Terms

In what follows, I briefly survey several terms that have been used as alternatives to the expression Theravāda, examined in the order of the English alphabet as follows:

- Hīnayāna,
- Mahāvihāravāsin,
- Pāli Buddhism,
- South and Southeast Asian Buddhism or Southern Buddhism,
- Śrāvakayāna,
- Tāmraśāṭīya,
- Vibhajjavāda. ^[224]

"Hīnayāna" is clearly a derogatory term, similar in kind to the expression "heathen" used at an early time by Westerners for Bud-

'ism' existed." I am not sure why the assumption that Theravāda Buddhism is closer to early Buddhism than other Buddhist traditions is so problematic that this makes the very use of the term Theravāda questionable, nor is it clear to me that Indian religions in general or Buddhism in particular would not have gone through a "primitive" (i.e., early) stage.

dhists as a whole. As discussed in the previous chapter, Hīnayāna originates from Mahāyāna polemics and is not appropriate for use as a classification category in academic discourse.³⁸

"Mahāvihāravāsin" refers to those who are "dwellers at the Mahāvihāra" and thus has its natural place when used in contrast to those who dwell at the Abhayagirivihāra. In such contexts, it is evident that the term refers to the "Great Monastery" at Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka. The term Mahāvihāra used on its own, however, becomes more ambiguous, as in Sri Lanka itself as well as in India several Mahāvihāras were in existence.³⁹ Moreover, usage of the term Mahāvihāra automatically implies that the phenomenon described does not apply to the Abhayagirivihāra,⁴⁰ wherefore its usage is really only unproblematic in contexts where this is indeed the intended meaning.

Usage of the same term is problematic for the period following the reunification of the monastic lineages in the twelfth century

³⁸ As Rhys Davids 1913: 684 explains, *hīnayāna* "means a wretched, bad method, or system, for progress on the way towards salvation", being "a term of abuse ... to stigmatize or depreciate"; cf. also above p. 473ff.

³⁹ Skilling 2009c: 71 explains that "in India there were many Mahāvihāras, some of which belonged to Sarvāstivādin or other sanghas, and are known from inscriptions, monastic sealings, and textual references ... it is usually assumed that within the Theravāda lineage, and in most Ceylonese documents, the term refers to the ancient institution of the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura. But this is not always the case, and there were other Mahāvihāras in later periods."

⁴⁰ An example illustrating the problems that arise with the use of the term Mahāvihāra as a referent for the Theravāda tradition in general would be a statement by Skilling 2008: 51 in an otherwise brilliant paper, where he comments on the tale that the Buddha taught the Abhidharma to his mother in Trayastrimśa that "this claim ... is unique to the Mahāvihāra. No other Buddhist school chose to locate the teaching of the *Abhidharma* in the Trayastrimśa abode." The problem with such a formulation is that it gives the impression that the dwellers of the Abhayagirivihāra did not share this tradition, for which to my knowledge we do not have unequivocal evidence.

by Parākramabāhu, which was preceded in the early eleventh century by the revival of higher ordination by Vijayabāhu I with the help of monks from Burma and relocating the Mahāvihāra to Polonnaruwa.⁴¹ Skilling (2009c: 71) notes that

the relevance and significance of the term [Mahāvihāra] in the post-Polonnaruwa period, when the three Theravādin lineages were merged, remains to be clarified. They were replaced by a system of eight *mūlas*, fraternities or groups.⁴²

The problem is that none of these groups can be traced back to the Mahāvihāra.⁴³ This leaves hardly any firm ground for using the term to designate these groups and their descendants. [225]

⁴¹ Cf., e.g., Panabokke 1993: 143–164.

⁴² *Pace*, e.g., Skilton 2013: 72 who comments on the usage of the term Theravāda that "it seems likely that this title is used anachronistically, resulting from what might be seen as a strategic attempt by adherents of the Mahāvihāra temple (Sri Lanka) in the twelfth century."

⁴³ ^[42] Gunawardana 1979: 329 explains that "eight monastic establishments, some of which can be traced back to about the seventh century, grew into large fraternities by the time of the death of Vijayabāhu I and replaced the *nikāyas* as the main groups representing the *saṅgha* in religious as well as political activities." "This does not imply that the threefold division of the *saṅgha* on a *nikāya* basis had been completely forgotten ... the records continue to refer to the three *nikāyas*. But in these later references the term *nikāya* was probably used in a conventional sense, for the *nikāya* had ceased to be an effective unit in the organization of the *saṅgha*." He points out, p. 299f, that whereas "four of the five fraternities ... represented the Abhayagiri *nikāya* ... only the Senāpatimūla may be traced back to the Jetavana." However, "to identify any of the known fraternities as being related to the Mahāvihāra *nikāya* is problematic. In fact, it is difficult to trace the origin of the other fraternities [i.e., the remaining three] to any one of the three *nikāyas*." Moreover, he notes, p. 321, that "none of the works which can be reliably dated to the time of the synod even remotely suggests that the reforms amounted to the suppression of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *nikāyas* and the imposition of the authority of the Mahāvihāra." He con-

Another problem is that Mahāvihāravāsīn designates a particular monastic lineage, which thereby excludes those monks and nuns who were not directly associated with the Mahāvihāra and who for the most part were probably not actively involved in the controversies surrounding the Mahāvihāra. The same holds for the laity, who except for the rulers would also not have been actively involved in the conflict between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra and who would also not have been "dwellers at the Mahāvihāra".

In sum, the expression Mahāvihāravāsīn is probably best employed as a contrast to the dwellers of the Abhayagirivihāra for the period of Sri Lankan history when these two monasteries were actually inhabited and had a position of eminence. The same term is not fit to replace the broader category Theravāda which,⁴⁴ *pace*

cludes, p. 334, that "the unification of the *saṅgha* which took place in the time of Parākramabāhu I ... was accomplished by reconciling the eight fraternities which had replaced the *nikāyas* as the primary units in the organization of the community of monks ... it did not amount to the victory of the Mahāvihāra and the suppression of the other *nikāyas*, as some later chroniclers and certain modern writers claim."

⁴⁴ [43] Sujato 2006: 171 uses expressions like the "Mahāvihāravāsīn Dīgha Nikāya" or the "various Mahāvihāravāsīn Abhidhamma books, including the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, and Paṭṭhāna". Such expressions are problematic, since we have no evidence that the Mahāvihāra possessed versions of the *Dīgha-nikāya* or of the above mentioned Abhidhamma texts that were markedly different from the versions employed by the Abhayagirivihāra or other Sri Lankan monasteries. In other words, the "Mahāvihāravāsīn Dīgha Nikāya" could equally well have been the "Abhayagirivihāravāsīn Dīgha Nikāya", etc. The same holds for the expression "Mahāvihārin *Vinaya*", which Schopen 1994/2004: 213 note 11 explains he employs intentionally to problematize if this *Vinaya* is really representative. Yet, as Bechert 1992: 96 points out, "we have ample evidence for the fact that the Abhayagirivāsīns used the same collection of sacred scriptures in Pāli which has been handed down to us by the orthodox Theravāda tradition of the Mahāvihāravāsīns." Cousins 2012: 99 ex-

the narrow definition proposed in the *Mahāvamsa* (33.97), can be used as an umbrella term for monks, nuns, and laity in general – in Sri Lanka as well as elsewhere in South and Southeast Asia – to the extent that these are followers of the "Sayings of the Elders" (in the sense of the definition proposed in the *Dīpavamsa* 4.6).

"Pāli Buddhism" reflects the central role of the Pāli language for the type of Buddhism under discussion. In the commentaries the term *pāli* or *pāḷi* just means a text, often a canonical text, and it is only a later development that the term comes to refer to the language of these texts.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, what we now refer to as the Pāli language is central to the sense of Buddhist identity in countries like Burma, Sri Lanka, and Thailand, wherefore the expression Pāli Buddhism would be a meaningful referent. In fact the original sense of *pāli* or *pāḷi* as a referent to the canon would be equivalent to the *Dīpavamsa*'s definition of *theravāda*.

Needless to say, the expression Pāli Buddhism would only work if it is employed in such a way as to make it clear that this does not exclude vernaculars, whose important role in lived forms of Buddhism in these countries cannot be neglected. A problem with the use of "Pāli Buddhism" is in fact that the current connotation of Pāli as a referent to a language tends to emphasize the language of the canon more than the canon itself. [226]

Yet, from the perspective of tradition it is the fact that the canon has been preserved in the Pāli language that invests this

plains that "most probably, if we exclude the *Khuddakanikāya* from consideration, the substantive differences between the canonical literature of the two schools [i.e., the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra] did not exceed those we might expect between two distinct manuscript traditions." On the disparate conceptions of the *Khuddakanikāya* up to modern days cf., e.g., Abeynayake 1984: 33–46, Collins 1990: 108 note 11, von Hinüber 1996/1997: 42f, and Freiburger 2011: 218.

⁴⁵ [44] Cf., e.g., von Hinüber 1977, Norman 1983a: 1f, Pruitt 1987, and Crosby 2004.

language with its sacred aura, not the other way around. Had the canon been transmitted to the countries of South and Southeast Asia in a different Prākṛit, the same aura of sanctity would presumably have been attributed to that Prākṛit language.

"South and Southeast Asian Buddhism" and "Southern Buddhism" are of course a useful geographical divisions.⁴⁶ Yet, relying on geographical distinctions alone would only be feasible for the period of early Buddhism up to the time of Asoka, which took place within the clearly distinct geographical area of the Indian subcontinent. The phenomenon under discussion in the present chapter, however, extends over diverse regions in South Asia and Southeast Asia, where at times other forms of Buddhism have been and still are in existence. In modern Thailand, for example, two out of the four chief monastic lineages originate from China and Vietnam and differ from the Theravāda lineages. Thus a geographical designation is best employed in combination with some other term that specifies the form of Buddhism under discussion.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ [45] Rhys Davids 1903/1997: 173 argues against using the expression "Southern Buddhism" (earlier used by himself), since "there is not now, and never has been, any unity either of opinion or of language, in what is called northern, or in what is called southern Buddhism"; for the background to this statement cf. Pereira 2012: 489f note 17. Yet the Pāli canon and language do provide a sufficient degree of unity to warrant the use of a single expression, be this "Southern Buddhism", "Theravāda", or any alternative term. Thus, whereas in India itself Buddhism did of course not develop into distinct traditions, one of which was found only in the south of India, I do not see a problem in principle with the term "Southern Buddhism" as representing those forms of Buddhist thought, practice and beliefs that came to be of predominant influence in the south of Asia, in contrast to what came to be prevalent in its northern and eastern parts.

⁴⁷ [46] Guruge 2012: 192 finds "Southern Buddhism" preferable to "Theravāda Buddhism" because the Theravāda tradition has undergone considerable change since its inception. Yet, whatever term we choose, it will have to be able to accommodate some degree of change. Understanding the term Theravāda in the

"Śrāvakayāna", "the vehicle of disciples", shares with Hīnayāna the problem of standing in opposition to the path of the bodhisattva. Although all Buddhists are of course "disciples", the expression *śrāvakayāna* takes its significance from the context of the three *yānas*, the alternative two being the *pratyekabuddhayāna* and the *bodhisattvayāna*.

Such opposition is problematic, since among the Buddhist populations of Burma, Sri Lanka, and Thailand the aspiration to become a Buddha in the future is a recognized aim,⁴⁸ known to be pursued actively up to the present day.⁴⁹ [227] Hence these Buddhist populations could not accurately be characterized as followers of the Śrāvakayāna,⁵⁰ let alone of the Hīnayāna.

"Tāmraśāṭīya", "coppery red clothed", is poorly attested.⁵¹ Its usage in Tibetan translation could be the result of a misunder-

sense suggested by the *Dīpavaṃsa* would leave room for changes, as long as these do not compromise the role of the Pāli canon as the central point of reference.

⁴⁸ Cf. above p. 491 note 51. An example of the somewhat eclectic nature of actual Buddhist practice in Sri Lanka, defying neat categories, can be found in Mori 1997/1999, who reports that an eighth- to ninth-century Avalokiteśvara statue at Dambēgoda in Sri Lanka, after being recently rediscovered in the jungle and restored, has become the object of pilgrimage and worship by Sri Lankan laity and monastics.

⁴⁹ An example from Sri Lanka would be the venerable Balangoda Ānanda Maitreya; cf. Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988/1990: 299–313.

⁵⁰ Katz 1980: 55 points out that the term Śrāvakayāna would only cover part of the Theravāda tradition, being unable to accommodate Theravādins who follow the bodhisattva path. Besides, using the term would also to some degree endorse the condescending attitude in the Mahāyāna traditions towards the goal of arahant-ship.

⁵¹ Skilling 1993: 167 notes that "no equivalents of Tāmraśāṭīya or Tāmravarṇīya as names of the Theravāda or any other sect are known in Pāli or in inscriptions from India or elsewhere", adding, p. 163, that "the Sanskrit form Tāmraśāṭīya occurs in only one source: the *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, a Sanskrit-Tibetan

standing,⁵² and Chinese terminology that has been taken to reflect the term appears to be rather based on *Tāmrāparṇīya* instead.⁵³ The unclear origins and lack of attestation make it advisable to avoid using the term *Tāmrāṣāṭīya*.

"*Vibhajjavāda*", "the doctrine of analysis", already makes its appearance in the Pāli discourses, like *theravāda*. The expression occurs in the *Subha-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* to indicate that the Buddha would expound a particular matter by speaking in an analytical manner,⁵⁴ a similar usage being found also in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.⁵⁵

A parallel to the *Subha-sutta* in the *Madhyama-āgama* has a similar expression, although with the notable difference that here the interlocutor had asked the Buddha to give such an analytical exposition.⁵⁶ That is, whereas in the *Subha-sutta* the Buddha himself qualifies his approach as analytical, in the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse the Buddha's use of this expression comes in reply to a suggestion made by his visitor. The presentation in the Pāli version thereby gives slightly more emphasis to the term *vibhajjavāda* as a distinct characteristic of the Buddha's approach, so much

translation manual compiled ... at the beginning of the 9th century"; cf. Mvy no. 9083, Sakaki 1926: 581.

⁵² Cousins 2013: 37; for a detailed survey of occurrences of the term in Tibetan translation cf. Skilling 1993: 155–169.

⁵³ Cheng 2012: 109–115.

⁵⁴ MN 99 at MN II 197,10: *vibhajjavādo kho aham ettha* (S^c: *vibhajjavādo*); on the expression *vibhajjavāda* cf. also, e.g., Shwe Zan Aung and Rhys Davids 1915/1979: xl, Rhys Davids 1938/1978: 99, Prasad 1972: 105–113, Jain 1985: 62, Karunadasa 2000, Cousins 2001, Sujato 2006: 137, Abeynayake 2009: 94–99, and Anālayo 2009f.

⁵⁵ AN 10.94 at AN V 190,19.

⁵⁶ MĀ 152 at T I 667a23: "I shall provide you with an analytical explanation", 我當為汝具分別說.

so that he would use the term on his own, without any external prompting.

A well-known instance of the term *vibhajjavāda* features in accounts of the events that led up to what the Pāli tradition reckons the third *saṅgīti*. According to the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* as well as the *Mahāvamsa*, Moggalliputta Tissa had told King Asoka that the Buddha was a *vibhajjavādin*.⁵⁷ This usage involves a shift of meaning inasmuch as in the discourse passages the Buddha only replies in an analytical manner to a certain topic,⁵⁸ [228] whereas with the present passage this becomes an overall characterization of his approach.

The expression also occurs in the Sinhalese edition of the *Cullavagga* in a colophon that relates the transmission of this *Vinaya* text to the Vibhajjavādins, the Mahāvihāravāsins of the island of Tambapaṇṇi (Sri Lanka),⁵⁹ a sense the term also carries in the *Dīpa-*

⁵⁷ Kv-a 7,11 and Mhv 5.271f, Geiger 1958: 54,17; cf. also, in addition to the publications mentioned above in note 54, Oldenberg 1879/1997: xlii and Bareau 1955: 206.

⁵⁸ Cousins 2001: 133f explains that in the discourses the Buddha "is never simply described as a *vibhajja-vāda* or *vibhajja-vādin*; it is always a question of being one who responds critically in a particular matter, as indicated by the pronoun *ettha*. In fact, elsewhere and on other issues, the Buddha's position is represented as unequivocal ... there would in fact be some support in the *Nikāyas* for calling him [also] an *ekamsa-vādin*. It is true that this exact term is not found, but in the *Poṭṭhapāda-sutta* (D I 191) we find the Buddha declaring that he has made known *ekamsikā* teachings, namely the Four Noble Truths." Abeynayake 2009: 96f points out that therefore "it is not appropriate to think that the Buddha employed only the Vibhajjavāda methodology at all times in relation to all propositions. His answers varied depending on the nature of the questions. His statements were sometimes categorical and at other times analytical. Therefore, the Canonical evidence does not support the traditional claim that the Buddha can be branded as a *Vibhajjavādin*."

⁵⁹ C^e edition of the *Cullavagga* p. 330,27 (= vol. 5 part 1 of the Buddha Jayanti edition of the *Vinaya*). The corresponding passage in the E^e edition, Vin II

vaṃsa (e.g., 18.1). The *Visuddhimagga* concludes with a colophon in memory of the Mahāvihāra monk, best of Vibhajjavādins, who invited Buddhaghosa to compile the work.⁶⁰ The term carries a similar sense in an inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.⁶¹ Together with the earlier mentioned "Pāli Buddhism", "Vibhajjavāda" would thus be a viable alternative to "Theravāda".

Although the term Vibhajjavāda is better attested than Theravāda, the sense it conveys is somewhat less characteristic of the Buddhist tradition under discussion than the idea of having the "Sayings of the Elders" in the Pāli canon as the central point of reference. A problem would also be that the Pāli expression Vibhajjavāda is less easily distinguished from the Sanskrit Vibhajjavāda as a referent to several Buddhist schools,⁶² whereas the Pāli Theravāda marks a clear contrast to the Sanskrit Sthavira (keeping in mind that the expression **sthaviravāda* does not appear to be attested).

Conclusion

In sum, it seems to me that the expression Theravāda – being the term that is evidently considered acceptable by the tradition it refers to – is about the best choice one could make. To be sure, when using the term it is important to keep in mind that those who shared this sense of identity have not always called them-

72,27, instead speaks of the *vibhajjapadānaṃ*, a reading also found in the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana B° edition and in the Red Elephant S° edition; Skilling 2009c: 88 note 45 reports that the Syāmrattṭha edition vol. 6 p. 298, however, has the reading °*vadānaṃ*.

⁶⁰ Vism 711,23.

⁶¹ Sircar and Lahiri 1960: 250; discussed in Cousins 2001: 140–146.

⁶² Cox 2004: 506 explains that "the name *Vibhajjavāda* might be best characterized as a loose umbrella term for those, excluding the Sarvāstivādins, who belonged to the original Sthavira branch."

selves Theravādins. With this proviso, the term Theravāda serves its purpose as a designation for those forms of South and South-east Asian Buddhism(s), from the time of Mahinda up to modern days, that have as their central point of reference the Pāli canon, the *theravāda* par excellence.

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i>
Ap	<i>Apadāna</i>
As	<i>Atthasālinī</i>
B ^e	Burmese edition
Bv	<i>Buddhavaṃsa</i>
C ^e	Ceylonese edition
Chin	Chinese
D	Derge edition
DĀ	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (T 1)
Dhp	<i>Dhammapada</i>
Dhp-a	<i>Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā</i>
Dhs	<i>Dhammasaṅgaṇī</i>
Dīp	<i>Dīpavaṃsa</i>
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
E ^e	PTS edition
It	<i>Itivuttaka</i>
Jā	<i>Jātaka</i>
Khṃ	<i>Khuddakapāṭha</i>
Kv-a	<i>Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā</i>
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
Mbh	<i>Mahābhārata</i>
Mhv	<i>Mahāvaṃsa</i>
Mil	<i>Milindapañha</i>
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
Mp	<i>Manorathapūraṇī</i>
Mp-ṭ	<i>Sāratthamañjūsā</i>
Mvy	<i>Mahāvvyūtpatti</i>
Paññāsa-jā	<i>Paññāsa-jātaka</i>

Paṭis	<i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i>
Pj	<i>Paramatthajotikā</i>
Pp	<i>Puggala-paññatti</i>
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī</i>
Q	Peking edition
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99)
SĀ ²	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 100)
S ^e	Siamese edition
SHT	Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden
Skt	Sanskrit
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
Sn	<i>Sutta-nipāta</i>
Sp	<i>Samantapāsādikā</i>
Spk	<i>Sāratthappakāsinī</i>
Spk-ṭ	<i>Sāratthappakāsinī-purāṇaṭṭikā</i>
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī</i>
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)
Th	<i>Theragāthā</i>
Th-a	<i>Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā</i>
Thī	<i>Therīgāthā</i>
Thī-a	<i>Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā</i>
Tib	Tibetan
Ud	<i>Udāna</i>
Uv	<i>Udāna(varga)</i>
Vibh	<i>Vibhaṅga</i>
Vin	<i>Vinaya</i>
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>
◇	emendation
[]	supplementation

References

- Abeynayake, Oliver 1984: *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, Colombo: Tisara.
- 2009: "The Theravāda Tradition: Its Identity", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 7: 90–100.
- Adhya, Sarmishtha 2006: *Incense on Holy Altar, A Study of Widowhood in Ancient India*, Kolkata: Progressive Publishers.
- Adikaram, E.W. 1946/1994: *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, Or 'State of Buddhism in Ceylon as Revealed by the Pāli Commentaries of the 5th Century A.D.'*, Dehiwela: Buddhist Cultural Centre.
- Akanuma Chizen 1929/1990: *The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas & Pāli Nikāyas*, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- 1930/1994: *A Dictionary of Buddhist Proper Names*, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- Allon, Mark 2001: *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-type sūtras, British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 12 and 14*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 2014: "The Senior Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts", in *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research*, P. Harrison and J.-U. Hartmann (ed.), 19–33, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Alsdorf, Ludwig 1957: "Bemerkungen zum Vessantara-Jātaka", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, 1: 1–70.
- Altekar, A.S. 1956: *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, From Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*, Banaras: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Amritananda, Bhikkhu 1983: *Kings of Buddha's Time*, Bangkok: Mahāmakūṭa Rājavidyālaya Foundation Press.

- Anālayo 2003: *Satipaṭṭhāna, The Direct Path to Realization*, Birmingham: Windhorse Publications.
- 2005: "Some Pāli Discourses in the Light of Their Chinese Parallels", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 22.1: 1–14 and 22.2: 93–105.
- 2006: "The Ekottarika-āgama Parallel to the Saccavibhaṅga-sutta and the Four (Noble) Truths", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 23.2: 145–153 (cf. above p. 239ff).
- 2007a: "The Divine Messengers", in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Venerable Kirindigalle Dhammaratana*, S. Ratnayaka (ed.), 15–26, Colombo: Felicitation Committee.
- 2007b: "Suicide", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.1: 161–164, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 2007c: "What the Buddha Would Not Do, According to the Bāhītika-sutta and Its Madhyama-āgama parallel", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 14: 153–179 (reprinted in Anālayo 2012f).
- 2008a: "Reflections on Comparative Āgama Studies", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 21: 3–22.
- 2008b: "The Sixfold Purity of an Arahant, According to the Chabbisodhana-sutta and Its Parallel", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 15: 241–277 (reprinted in Anālayo 2012f).
- 2008c: "Theories on the Foundation of the Nuns' Order – A Critical Evaluation", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 6: 105–142.
- 2008d: "Upādāna", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.2: 402–408, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 2009a: "The Bahudhātuka-sutta and Its Parallels on Women's Inabilities", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 16: 137–190 (reprinted in Anālayo 2012f).

- 2009b: "The Buddha's Truly Praiseworthy Qualities – According to the Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta and Its Chinese Parallel", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 30: 137–160 (reprinted in Anālayo 2012f).
- 2009c: "Karma and Liberation – The Karajakāya-sutta (AN 10.208) in the Light of Its Parallels", in *Pāsādikadānaṃ, Festschrift für Bhikkhu Pāsādika*, M. Straube et al. (ed.), 1–24, Marburg: Indica et Tibetica (reprinted in Anālayo 2012f).
- 2009d: "The Lion's Roar in Early Buddhism – A Study Based on the Ekottarika-āgama Parallel to the Cūlasīhanāda-sutta", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 22: 3–23 (cf. above p. 31ff).
- 2009e: "Qualities of a True Recluse (Samaṇa) – According to the Samaṇamaṇḍikā-sutta and Its Madhyama-āgama Parallel", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 7: 153–184 (reprinted in Anālayo 2012f).
- 2009f: "Vibhajjavāda", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.3: 556–558, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 2009g: "Viññāṇañcāyatana", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.3: 667–668, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 2009h: "Viveka", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.3: 720–722, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 2009i: "Yamakapāṭihāriya", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.3: 776–777, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 2009j: "Yāna", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.3: 778–780, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 2009k: "Zeng-yi A-han", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.3: 822–827, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.

- 2010a: "Exemplary Qualities of a Monastic – The Saṃyukta-āgama Counterpart to the Mahāgopālaka-sutta and the Need of Balancing Inner Development with Concern for Others", *Sri Lanka International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 1: 1–23 (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2010b: *The Genesis of the Bodhisattva Ideal*, Hamburg: Hamburg University Press.
- 2010c: "The Influence of Commentarial Exegesis on the Transmission of Āgama Literature", in *Translating Buddhist Chinese, Problems and Prospects*, K. Meisig (ed.), 1–20, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2010d: "Pacceka-buddhas in the Isigili-sutta and Its Ekottarika-āgama Parallel", *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 6: 5–36 (cf. above p. 215ff).
- 2010e: "Saccaka's Challenge – A Study of the Saṃyukta-āgama Parallel to the Cūlasaccaka-sutta in Relation to the Notion of Merit Transfer", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 23: 39–70 (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2010f: "Teachings to Lay Disciples – The Saṃyukta-āgama Parallel to the Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 27.1: 3–14 (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2010g: "Women's Renunciation in Early Buddhism – The Four Assemblies and the Foundation of the Order of Nuns", in *Dignity & Discipline, The Evolving Role of Women in Buddhism*, T. Mohr and J. Tsedroen (ed.), 65–97, Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- 2011a: "Brahmā's Invitation, The Ariyapariyesanā-sutta in the Light of Its Madhyama-āgama Parallel", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 1: 12–38 (reprinted in Anālayo 2012f).

- 2011b: "Chos sbyin gyi mdo, Bhikṣuṇī Dharmadinnā Proves Her Wisdom", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 24: 3–33 (reprinted in Anālayo 2012f).
- 2011c: *A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-nikāya*, Taiwan: Dharma Drum Academic Publisher.
- 2011d: "The Conversion of the Brahmin Sela in the Ekottarika-āgama", *Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2: 37–56 (cf. above p. 325ff).
- 2011e: "Living in Seclusion and Facing Fear – The Ekottarika-āgama Counterpart to the Bhayabherava-sutta", in *Buddhism as a Stronghold of Free Thinking? Social, Ethical and Philosophical Dimensions of Buddhism*, S.C.A. Fay and I.M. Bruckner (ed.), 203–231, Nuecttal: Edition Unbuntu (cf. above p. 9ff).
- 2011f: "Mahāpajāpati's Going Forth in the Madhyama-āgama", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 18: 268–317 (reprinted in Anālayo 2012f).
- 2011g: "Right View and the Scheme of the Four Truths in Early Buddhism, The Saṃyukta-āgama Parallel to the Sammādiṭṭhi-sutta and the Simile of the Four Skills of a Physician", *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 7: 11–44 (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2011h: "Śakra and the Destruction of Craving – A Case Study in the Role of Śakra in Early Buddhism", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 12: 157–176 (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2011i: "The Tale of King Ma(k)hādeva in the Ekottarika-āgama and the Cakravartin Motif", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 9: 43–77 (cf. above p. 113ff).
- 2011j: "Vakkali's Suicide in the Chinese Āgamas", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 28.2: 155–170 (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).

- 2012a: "The Chinese Parallels to the Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta (1)", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 3: 12–46 (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2012b: "Dabba's Self-cremation in the Saṃyukta-āgama", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 29.2: 153–174 (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2012c: "Debate with a Sceptic – The Dīrgha-āgama Parallel to the Pāyāsi-sutta (1)", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 13: 1–26.
- 2012d: *Excursions into the Thought-world of the Pāli Discourses*, Washington: Pariyatti.
- 2012e: "The Historical Value of the Pāli Discourses", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 55: 223–253.
- 2012f: *Madhyama-āgama Studies*, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.
- 2012g: "On the Five Aggregates (1) – A Translation of Saṃyukta-āgama Discourses 1 to 32", *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 11: 1–61.
- 2012h: "Protecting Oneself and Others Through Mindfulness – The Acrobat Simile in the Saṃyukta-āgama", *Sri Lanka International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2: 1–23 (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2012i: "Purification in Early Buddhist Discourse and Buddhist Ethics", *Bukkyō Kenkyū*, 40: 67–97.
- 2012j: "The Tale of King Nimi in the Ekottarika-āgama", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 10: 69–94 (cf. above p. 141ff).
- 2013a: "The Chinese Parallels to the Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta (2)", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 5: 9–41 (cf. above p. 267ff).

- 2013b: Debate with a Sceptic – The Dīrgha-āgama Parallel to the Pāyāsi-sutta (2)", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 14: 1–27.
- 2013c: "Mahāyāna in the Ekottarika-āgama", *Singaporean Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 1: 5–43 (cf. above p. 443ff).
- 2013d: "A Note on the Term Theravāda", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 30.2: 216–235 (cf. above p. 497ff).
- 2013e: "On the Five Aggregates (2) – A Translation of Saṃyukta-āgama Discourses 256 to 272", *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 12: 1–69.
- 2013f: "On the Five Aggregates (3) – A Translation of Saṃyukta-āgama Discourses 59 to 87", *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 13: 1–65.
- 2013g: *Perspectives on Satipaṭṭhāna*, Cambridge: Windhorse Publications.
- 2013h: "The Revival of the Bhikkhunī Order and the Decline of the Sāsana", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 20: 110–193.
- 2013i: "Two Versions of the Mahādeva Tale in the Ekottarika-āgama, A Study in the Development of Taishō No. 125", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), 1–70, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation (cf. above p. 165ff).
- 2014a: "Beautiful Eyes Seen with Insight as Bereft of Beauty – Subhā Therī and Her Male Counterpart in the Ekottarika-āgama", *The Journal of the Sati Center for Buddhist Studies*, 2: 39–53 (cf. above p. 345ff).
- 2014b: "The Brahmajāla and the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 17: 41–59.
- 2014c: "The Buddha's Last Meditation in the Dīrgha-āgama", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 15: 1–43.

- 2014d: *The Dawn of Abhidharma*, Hamburg: Hamburg University Press.
- 2014e: "Defying Māra – Bhikkhunīs in the Samyukta-āgama", in *Women in Early Indian Buddhism: Comparative Textual Studies*, A. Collett (ed.), 116–139, New York: Oxford University Press (reprinted in Anālayo 2015i).
- 2014f: "The Hīnayāna Fallacy", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 6: 9–31 (cf. above p. 473ff).
- 2014g: "Karma and Female Birth", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 21: 109–153 (cf. above p. 381ff).
- 2014h: "The Mass Suicide of Monks in Discourse and Vinaya Literature" (with an addendum by Richard Gombrich), *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 7: 11–55.
- 2014i: "Outstanding Bhikkhunīs in the Ekottarika-āgama", in *Women in Early Indian Buddhism: Comparative Textual Studies*, A. Collett (ed.), 97–115, New York: Oxford University Press (cf. above p. 301ff).
- 2014/2015: "Discourse Merger in the Ekottarika-āgama (2), The Parallels to the Kakacūpama-sutta and the Alagaddūpama-sutta", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 12: 63–90 (cf. above p. 51ff).
- 2015a: "The Buddha's Fire Miracles", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 10: 9–42.
- 2015b: "The Buddha's Past Life as a Princess in the Ekottarika-āgama", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 22: 95–137 (cf. above p. 413ff).
- 2015c: *Compassion and Emptiness in Early Buddhist Meditation*, Cambridge: Windhorse Publications.
- 2015d: "Compassion in the Āgamas and Nikāyas", *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 16: 1–30.
- 2015e: "Discourse Merger in the Ekottarika-āgama (1), The Parallel to the Bhaddāli-sutta and the Latukikopama-sutta, To-

- gether with Notes on the Chinese Translation of the Collection", *Singaporean Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2: 5–35 (cf. above p. 87ff).
- 2015f: "The First Saṅgīti and Theravāda Monasticism", *Sri Lanka International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 4: 2–17.
 - 2015g: "Miracle-working Nuns in the Ekottarika-āgama", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 16: 1–27 (cf. above p. 359ff).
 - 2015h: "Pratyekabuddhas in the Ekottarika-āgama", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 8: 10–27 (cf. above p. 249ff).
 - 2015i: *Samyukta-āgama Studies*, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.
 - 2016a: "Āgama and aṅga in the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition", *Singaporean Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 3: 7–36.
 - 2016b: *The Foundation History of the Nuns' Order*, Bochum: Projekt Verlag.
 - 2016c: "The Going Forth of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī in T 60", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 23: 1–31.
 - 2016d: "The Gradual Path of Training in the Dīrgha-āgama, From Sense-restraint to Imperturbability", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 17: 1–24.
 - 2016e: "Levitation in Early Buddhist Discourse", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 10: 11–26.
 - 2016f: "Selected Madhyama-āgama Passages and their Pāli Parallels", (forthcoming).
 - 2016g: "The Vessantara-jātaka and Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Narrative", (forthcoming).
 - 2017a: "A Brief Criticism of the 'Two Paths to Liberation Theory'" (forthcoming)
 - 2017b: *Buddhapada and the Bodhisattva Path* (in preparation).

- Andaya, Barbara Watson 2006: *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Anderson, Carol S. 1999/2001: *Pain and Its Ending, The Four Noble Truths in the Theravāda Buddhist Canon*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- (forthcoming): "Changing Sex in Pāli Buddhist Texts", in *Queering Paradigms*, 6.
- Anesaki Masaharu 1908: "The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese", *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 35.3: 1–149.
- Apple, James B. 2010: "Eschatology and World Order in Buddhist Formations", *Religious Studies and Theology*, 29.1: 109–122.
- Appleton, Naomi 2007: "A Place for the Bodhisatta, The Local and the Universal in jātaka Stories", *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia*, 8.1: 109–122.
- 2010: *Jātaka Stories in Theravāda Buddhism, Narrating the Bodhisatta Path*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- 2011: "In the Footsteps of the Buddha? Women and the Bodhisatta Path in Theravāda Buddhism", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 27.1: 33–51.
- 2012: "Continuity or Chaos? Karma and Rebirth in Early Buddhist and Jain Narrative", in *Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond, In Honour of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn on Her Fifty-fifth Birth Anniversary*, P. Skilling and J. McDaniel (ed.), 167–174, Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, Institute of Thai Studies.
- Armelin, I. 1975: *Le roi détenteur de la roue solaire en révolution (cakravartin) selon le brahmanisme et selon le bouddhisme*, Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Aronson, Harvey B. 1980/1986: *Love and Sympathy in Theravāda Buddhism*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Arunasiri, K. 2007: "Suttanipāta", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.1: 205–214, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- Assavavirulhakarn, Prapod 2010: *The Ascendancy of Theravāda Buddhism in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Bagchi, Prabodh Chandra 1927 (vol. 1): *Le canon bouddhique en Chine, les traducteurs et les traductions*, Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Bailey, Greg 1991: "Problems of the Interpretation of the Data Pertaining to Religious Interaction in Ancient India: The Conversion Stories in the Sutta Nipāta", *Indo-British Review*, 19: 1–20.
- Balbir, Nalini 2013: "Sourires de sages dans le bouddhisme et le jainisme", in *Sourires d'Orient et d'Occident, Journée d'études organisée par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres et la Société Asiatique (11 décembre 2009)*, P.S. Filliozat and M. Zink (ed.), 75–99, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
- Banerjee, Anukul Chandra 1977: *Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit, prātimokṣa sūtra and bhikṣukarmavākya*, Calcutta: World Press.
- Bapat, P.V. 1937: "Dhutaṅgas", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 13: 44–51.
- 1948: "The Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra and Its Different Versions in Buddhist Literature", *Indian Culture*, 15: 107–114.
- 1950 (part 2): "The Arthapada-sūtra Spoken by the Buddha", *Visva-Bharati Annals*, 3: 1–109.
- 1957: "Change of Sex in Buddhist Literature", in *Felicitation Volume Presented to Professor Sripad Krishna Belvalkar*, S. Radhakrishnan et al. (ed.), 209–215. Benares: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Bapat, P.V. and A. Hirakawa 1970: 善見毘婆沙, *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o Sha: A Chinese Version by Saṅghabhadra of the Samantapāsādikā*, Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Bareau, André 1955: *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- 1960: "La construction et le culte des stūpa d'après les Vinaya-*piṭaka*", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 50: 229–274.
- 1963 (vol. 1): *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et le Vinayapiṭaka anciens: de la quête de l'éveil à la conversion de Śāriputra et de Maudgalyāyana*, Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- 1971a (vol. 2): *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et le Vinayapiṭaka anciens: II, les derniers mois, le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles*, Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- 1971b: "The Superhuman Personality of Buddha and its Symbolism in the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra of the Dharmaguptaka", in *Myth and Symbols, Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade*, J.M. Kitagawa et al. (ed.), 9–21, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1979: "La composition et les étapes de la formation progressive du Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra ancien", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 66: 45–103.
- 1981: "Le massacre des Śākya: Essai d'interprétation", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 69: 45–73.
- 1985: "Étude du bouddhisme", *Annuaire du Collège de France 1985–1986*, 647–658.
- 1987: "La fin de la vie du Buddha selon l'Ekottara-āgama", in *Hinduismus und Buddhismus, Festschrift für Ulrich Schneider*, H. Falk (ed.), 13–37, Freiburg: Falk.

- 1988: "Les débuts de la prédication du Buddha selon l'Ekottara-āgama", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 77: 69–96.
- 1997: "Le prodige accompli par le Buddha à Saṃkaśya selon l'Ekottara-āgama", in *Lex et Litterae, Studies in Honour of Professor Oscar Botto*, S. Lienhard and I. Piovano (ed.), 17–30, Torino: Edizione dell'Orso.
- Barnes, Nancy J. 1996: "Buddhist Women and the Nuns' Order in Asia", in *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, C.S. Queen et al. (ed.), 259–294, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- 2000: "The Nuns at the stūpa: Inscriptional Evidence for the Lives and Activities of Early Buddhist Nuns in India", in *Women's Buddhism, Buddhism's Women: Tradition, Revision, Renewal*, E.B. Findly (ed.), 17–36, Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Barnes, Nancy Schuster 1987: "Buddhism", in *Women in World Religions*, A. Sharma (ed.), 105–133, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Barrows, John Henry 1893: *The World's Parliament of Religions, An Illustrated and Popular Story of the World's First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893*, Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company.
- Barua, Benimadhab 1934: *Barhut, Book II, Jātaka-scenes*, Calcutta: Indian Research Institute.
- Barua, Dipak Kumara 1971/2003: *An Analytical Study of Four Nikāyas*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Basham, A.L. 1951: *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas, A Vanished Indian Religion*, London: Luzac.
- Batchelor, Stephen 2012: "A Secular Buddhism", *Journal of Global Buddhism*, 13: 87–107.

- Bautze, Joachim 1985: "The Problem of the Khaḍga (Rhinoceros Unicornis) in the Light of Archaeological Finds and Art", in *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, J. Schotsmans and M. Taddei (ed.), 1: 405–433, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Bautze-Picron, Claudine 1995: "Between Men and Gods, Small Motifs in the Buddhist Art of Eastern India, an Interpretation", in *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art, Proceedings of a Seminar Held at Leiden University, 21–24 October 1991*, K.R. van Kooij and H. van der Veere (ed.), 59–79, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Beal, Samuel 1884: *Buddhism in China*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- 1884/2001 (vol. 2): *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Bechert, Heinz 1958: "Über das Apadānabuch", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, 1: 1–21.
- 1961/1982: "The Importance of Asoka's So-called Schism Edict", in *Indological and Buddhist Studies, Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on His Sixtieth Birthday*, L.A. Hercus et al. (ed.), 61–68, Canberra: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies.
- 1973: "Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects and the Origins of Mahāyāna", in *German Scholars on India, Contributions to Indian Studies*, 1: 6–18, New Delhi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Office.
- 1979/1993: *Einführung in die Indologie, Stand, Methoden, Aufgaben*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- 1992: "Buddha-field and Transfer of Merit in a Theravāda Source", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 35: 95–108.
- Bechert, Heinz and K. Wille 1989: *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 6*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

- 1995: *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 7*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- 2000: *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 8*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- 2004: *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 9*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Becker, Carl B. 1990: "Buddhist Views of Suicide and Euthanasia", *Philosophy East and West*, 40: 543–556.
- Beckh, Hermann 1911: *Udānavarga, Eine Sammlung buddhistischer Sprüche in tibetischer Sprache*, Berlin: Reimer.
- Bénisti, Mireille 1981: *Contributions à l'étude du stūpa bouddhique indien: Les stūpa mineurs de Bodh-Gayā et de Ratnagiri*, Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Berglie, Per-Arne and C. Suneson 1986: "Arhatschaft und Selbstmord – Zur buddhistischen Interpretation von cetanābhabba / cetanādharman und attasaṃcetanā / ātmasaṃcetanā", in *Kalyāṇamitrārāgaṇam: Essays in Honour of Nils Simonsson*, E. Kahrs (ed.), 13–47, Oslo: Norwegian University Press.
- Bernhard, Franz 1965 (vol. 1): *Udānavarga*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bhagat, Mansukh Gelabhai 1976: *Ancient Indian Asceticism*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Bhagvat, Durga N. 1939: *Early Buddhist Jurisprudence (Theravāda Vinaya-laws)*, Delhi: Cosmo Publications (undated reprint).
- Bingenheimer, Marcus 2007: "Māra in the Chinese Saṃyuktāgamas, with a Translation of the Māra Saṃyukta of the Bieyi za ahan jing (T.100)", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 24.1: 46–74 (reprinted in Bingenheimer 2011).
- 2008: "The suttas on Sakka in Āgama and Nikāya Literature – With Some Remarks on the Attribution of the Shorter Chinese

- Samyukta Āgama", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 25.2: 149–173 (reprinted in Bingenheimer 2011).
- 2011: *Studies in Āgama Literature, With Special Reference to the Shorter Chinese Samyuktāgama*, Taiwan: Shi Weng Feng Print Co.
- Biswas, Sampa 2009: "Depiction of Dīpaṅkara jātaka in North-West India, Afghanistan and Central Asia", in *The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Subcontinent in Cross-cultural Perspective*, A. Pande (ed.), 97–102, Delhi: Ariyan Books International.
- Bizot, François 1988: *Les traditions de la pabbajjā en Asie du Sud-Est, Recherches sur le bouddhisme khmer, IV*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Blackburn, Anne M. 2003: "Localizing Lineage: Importing Higher Ordination in Theravādin South and Southeast Asia", in *Constituting Communities, Theravāda Buddhism and the Religious Cultures of South and Southeast Asia*, J.C. Holt et al. (ed.), 131–149, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Blackstone, Kathryn R. 1998/2000: *Women in the Footsteps of the Buddha, Struggle for Liberation in the Therīgāthā*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Bloomfield, Maurice 1916: "On Recurring Psychic Motifs in Hindu Fiction and the Laugh and Cry Motif", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 36: 54–89.
- Bode, Mabel 1893: "Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 517–566 and 763–798.
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu 1980: *Transcendental Dependent Arising, A Translation and Exposition of the Upanisa sutta*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.

- 1989: *The Discourse on the Fruits of Reclusheship, The Sāmaññaphala sutta and Its Commentaries, Translated from the Pali*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- 1993: *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma, The Abhidhammattha Sangaha of Ācariya Anuruddha*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- 2000: *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha, A New Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Bollée, Willem B. 1986: "Le kūṭāgāra ou de la maison des hommes au manoir dans l'Inde orientale et l'Asie du Sud-Est", *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes*, 4: 189–214.
- 1988 (vol. 2): *Studien zum Sūyagaḍa, Textteile, Nijjutti, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Bond, G.D. 1982: *The Word of the Buddha, The Tipiṭaka and Its Interpretation in Theravada Buddhism*, Colombo: Gunasena.
- 1988: *The Buddhist Revival in Sri Lanka, Religious Tradition, Reinterpretation and Response*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Bongard-Levin, Grigorij Maksimovic et al. 1996: "The Nagaropamasūtra: An Apotropaic Text from the Saṃyuktāgama, A Transliteration, Reconstruction, and Translation of the Central Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts", in *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon, Folge 3*, 7–103, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Boucher, Daniel 1998: "Gāndhārī and the Early Chinese Buddhist Translations Reconsidered: The Case of the Saddharmapūṇḍarīkasūtra", *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 118.4: 471–506.
- 2008a: [review of Glass 2007], *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 18: 189–193.

- 2008b: *Bodhisattvas of the Forest and the Formation of the Mahāyāna, A Study and Translation of the Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchāsūtra*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Brekke, Torkel 1999: "The Role of Fear in Indian Religious Thought with Special Reference to Buddhism", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 27: 439–467.
- Bretfeld, Sven 2012: "Resonant Paradigms in the Study of Religions and the Emergence of Theravāda Buddhism", *Religion*, 42.2: 273–297.
- Brick, David 2010: "The Dharmasāstric Debate on Widow-burning", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 130.2: 203–223.
- 2014: "The Widow-ascetic under Hindu Law", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 57: 353–383.
- Bronkhorst, Johannes 1993/2000: *The Two Traditions of Meditation in Ancient India*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Brough, John 1962/2001: *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada, Edited with an Introduction and Commentary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Brown, Norman W. 1927: "Change of Sex as a Hindu Story Motif", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 47: 3–24.
- 1968: "The Metaphysics of the Truth Act (*Satyakriyā)", in *Mélange d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, 171–177, Paris: Éditions de Boccard.
- Brown, Robert L. 1984: "The Śrāvastī Miracle in the Art of India and Dvāravatī", *Archives of Asian Art*, 37: 79–95.
- 1990: "God on Earth: The Walking Buddha in the Art of South and Southeast Asia", *Artibus Asiae*, 50.1/2: 73–107.
- Brown, Sid 2001: *The Journey of One Buddhist Nun, Even Against the Wind*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Bühler, G. 1886: *The Laws of Manu, Translated with Extracts from Seven Commentaries*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Burlingame, Eugene Watson 1917: "The Act of Truth (Saccakiriya): A Hindu Spell and Its Employment as a Psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 429–467.
- 1921 (vol. 2): *Buddhist Legends, Translated from the Original Pali Text of the Dhammapada Commentary*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Cabezón, José Ignacio 1992: "Vasubandhu's Vyākhyāyukti on the Authenticity of the Mahāyāna sūtras", in *Texts in Context, Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*, J.R. Timm (ed.), 221–243, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Caillat, Colette 1968: "Isipatana Migadāya", *Journal Asiatique*, 256.2: 177–183.
- 2003: "Gleanings from a Comparative Reading of Early Canonical Buddhist and Jaina Texts", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 26.1: 25–50.
- Carter, Martha L. 1990: *The Mystery of the Udayana Buddha*, Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Carus, Paul 1894: *Gospel of Buddha, According to Old Records*, Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company.
- Chakravarti, Uma 1996: *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Chalmers, Robert 1926 (vol. 1): *Further Dialogues of the Buddha, Translated from the Pali of the Majjhima Nikāya*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Chandawimala, Rangama 2008: "Bodhisattva Practice in Sri Lankan Buddhism with Special Reference to the Abhayagiri Fraternity", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 9: 23–43.
- Charpentier, Jarl 1908: *Paccekabuddhageschichten, Studien zur indischen Erzählungsliteratur*, Uppsala: Akademische Buchdruckerei.

- 1922: *The Uttarādhyayanāsūtra, Being the First Mūlasūtra of the Śvetāmbara Jains, Edited with an Introduction, Critical Notes and a Commentary*, Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.
- Chavannes, Édouard 1910 (vol. 1): *Cinq cents contes et apologues, extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois et traduits en français*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Cheng Chuan 2012: "Designations of Ancient Sri Lankan Buddhism in the Chinese Tripiṭaka", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 2: 104–123.
- Cheng Wei-Yi 2007: *Buddhist Nuns in Taiwan and Sri Lanka, A Critique of the Feminist Perspective*, London: Routledge.
- Chengzhong Pu 2013: "Chinese Versions of Virūḍhaka's Massacre of the Śākyans: A Preliminary Study", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 14: 29–47.
- Childers, Robert Caesar 1875/1993: *A Dictionary of the Pali Language*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Choong Mun-keat 2000: *The Fundamental Teachings of Early Buddhism, A Comparative Study Based on the Sūtrāṅga Portion of the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya and the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2009: "A Comparison of the Pāli and Chinese Versions of the Māra Saṃyutta, A Collection of Early Buddhist Discourses on Māra, the Evil One", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 10: 35–53.
- Choubey, Asha 2009: "Voices from the Yore: Therigatha Writings of the Bhikkhunis", *The Indian Review of World Literature in English*, 5.2: 1–9.
- Chung Jin-il 2006: "Dharmacakrapravartana-dharmaparyāya of the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda Tradition", in *Jaina-Itihāsa-Ratna, Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, U. Hüsken et al. (ed.), 75–101, Marburg: Indica et Tibetica.

- 2009: "Ein drittes und ein viertes Daśabala-sūtra", *Sankō Bunka Kenkyūjo Nenpō*, 39: 1–32.
- Ciurtin, Eugen 2009: "The Buddha's Earthquakes [I]. On Water: Earthquakes and Seaquakes in Buddhist Cosmology and Meditation, With an Appendix on Buddhist Art", *Studia Asiatica*, 10.1/2: 59–123.
- 2012: "'Thus Have I Quaked': The Tempo of the Buddha's Vita and the Earliest Buddhist Fabric of Timelessness [The Buddha's Earthquakes II]", in *Figurations of Time in Asia*, D. Boschung and C. Wessels-Mevissen (ed.), 21–54, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- Clark, Chris 2011: "Karma and karmavipāka in Early Buddhist Avadāna Literature", *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 43: 23–34.
- Clarke, Shayne 2009: "Locating Humour in Indian Buddhist Monastic Law Codes: A Comparative Approach", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 37: 311–330.
- 2014: *Family Matters in Indian Buddhist Monasticism*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Clasquin, Michel 2001: "Real Buddhas Don't Laugh: Attitudes Towards Humour and Laughter in Ancient India and China", *Social Identities*, 7.1: 97–116.
- Cœdès, G.C. 1929: *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam, Deuxième partie, Inscriptions de Dvāravatī, de Çrīvijaya et de Lāvo*, Bangkok: Bangkok Times Press.
- Cohen, Richard S. 1995: "Discontented Categories: Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna in Indian Buddhist History", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 63.1: 1–25.
- Collett, Alice 2006: "Buddhism and Gender, Reframing and Refocusing the Debate", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 22.2: 55–84.

- 2009a: "Historico-critical Hermeneutics in the Study of Women in Early Indian Buddhism", *Numen*, 56: 91–117.
- 2009b: "Somā the Learned Brahmin", *Religions of South Asia*, 3.1: 93–109.
- 2016: *Lives of Early Buddhist Nuns: Biographies as History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Collins, Steven 1990: "On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 15: 89–126.
- 1992: "Review Article, Problems with Pacceka-buddhas", *Religion*, 22: 271–278.
- 1996: "The Lion's Roar on the Wheel-turning King, A Response to Andrew Huxley's 'The Buddha and the Social Contract'", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 24: 421–446.
- 1998: *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities, Utopias of the Pali Imaginaire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2016: *Readings of the Vessantara Jātaka*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Collins, Steven, and J. McDaniel 2010: "Buddhist 'Nuns' (mae chi) and the Teaching of Pali in Contemporary Thailand", *Modern Asian Studies*, 44.6: 1373–1408.
- Cone, Margaret 1989: "Patna Dharmapada", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 13: 101–217.
- 2010: *A Dictionary of Pāli, Part II, g-n*, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Cone, Margaret and R. Gombrich 1977: *The Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara, A Buddhist Epic*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cook, Joanna 2010: *Meditation in Modern Buddhism: Renunciation and Change in Thai Monastic Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. 1929: "A Royal Gesture and Some Other Motifs", in *Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij*

- gelegenheid van zijn 150 jarig bestaan 1778–1929*, 1: 57–61, Weltevreden: G. Kolff.
- 1935/1998: *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- 1938/1977: "The Nature of Buddhist Art", in *Selected Papers, Traditional Art and Symbolism*, R. Lipsey (ed.), 147–178, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1943: "Saṃvega, 'Aesthetic Shock'", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 7.3: 174–179.
- 1956: *La sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris: Vanoest.
- Cooray, H.S. 2004: "Pacceka-buddha", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 7.2: 242–252, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- Courtright, Paul 1995: "Sati, Sacrifice, and Marriage: The Modernity of Tradition", in *From the Margins of Hindu Marriage: Essays on Gender, Religion, and Culture*, L. Harlan and P.B. Courtright (ed.), 184–203, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cousins, L.S. 1991: "The 'Five Points' and the Origins of the Buddhist Schools", in *The Buddhist Forum Vol. II*, T. Skorupski (ed.), 27–60, London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies.
- 2001: "On the Vibhajjavādins; The Mahimsāsaka, Dhammaguttaka, Kassapiya and Tambapaṇṇiya Branches of the Ancient Theriyas", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 18.2: 131–182.
- 2012: "The Teachings of the Abhayagiri School", in *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, P. Skilling et al. (ed.), 67–127, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- 2013: "Tampaṇṇiya and Tāmraśāṭiya", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 11: 21–46.
- Coward, Harold 1986: "Oral and Written Texts in Buddhism", *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, 50: 299–313.

- Cowell, E.B. 1895/2000 (vol. 1): *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births, Translated from the Pāli by Various Hands*, Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Cowell, E.B. and R.A. Neil 1886: *The Divyāvadāna, A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends, Now First Edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit Mss. in Cambridge and Paris*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, Collett 2004: "Mainstream Buddhist Schools", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), 2: 501–507, New York: Macmillan.
- Crosby, Kate 2004: "The Origin of Pāli as a Language Name in Medieval Theravāda Literature", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 2: 70–116.
- 2014: *Theravada Buddhism, Continuity, Diversity, and Identity*, Chichester: Wiley.
- Cummings, Mary 1982: *The Lives of the Buddha in the Art and Literature of Asia*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies.
- Cunningham, Alexander 1879: *The stūpa of Bharhut, A Buddhist Monument Ornamented with Numerous Sculptures Illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History in the Third Century B.C.*, London: Allen and Co.
- D'Amato, Mario 2000: *The Mahāyāna–Hīnayāna Distinction in the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, A Terminological Analysis*, PhD thesis, Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Dantinne, Jean 1991: *Les qualités de l'ascète (dhutaḡaṇa): Étude sémantique et doctrinale*, Bruxelles: Thanh-Long.
- Dash, Shobha Rani 2008: *Mahāpajāpati, The First Bhikkhunī*, Seoul: Blue Lotus Books.
- Datta, V.N. 1988: *Sati: A Historical, Social and Philosophical Enquiry into the Hindu Rite of Widow Burning*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications.

- De, Gokuldas 1951: *Significance and Importance of jātakas, With Special Reference to Bhārhut*, Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.
- 1955: *Democracy in Early Buddhist Saṃgha*, Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.
- DeCaroli, Robert Daniel 2004: *Haunting the Buddha, Indian Popular Religions and the Formation of Buddhism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deeg, Max 1999: "Das Ende des Dharma und die Ankunft des Maitreya; Endzeit- und Neue-Zeit-Vorstellungen im Buddhismus mit einem Exkurs zur Kāśyapa-Legende", *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft*, 7: 145–169.
- 2003: *The Places Where Siddhārtha Trod: Lumbinī and Kapilavastu*, Bairahawa: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- 2005: *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle, Der älteste Bericht eines chinesischen buddhistischen Pilgermönchs über seine Reise nach Indien, mit Übersetzung des Textes*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2006: "Unwirkliche Gegner, Chinesische Polemik gegen den Hīnayāna-Buddhismus", in *Jaina-Itihāsa-Ratna, Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, U. Hüsken et al. (ed.), 103–125, Marburg: Indica et Tibetica.
- 2009: "Writing for the Emperor, Xuanzang Between Piety, Religious Propaganda, Intelligence, and Modern Imagination", in *Pāsādikadānaṃ, Festschrift für Bhikkhu Pāsādika*, M. Straube et al. (ed.), 31–60, Marburg: Indica et Tibetica.
- 2012: "Sthavira, Thera and '*Sthaviravāda' in Chinese Buddhist Sources", in *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, P. Skilling et al. (ed), 129–162, Chiang Mai: Silk-worm Books.
- Dehejia, Vidya 1992: "The Collective and Popular Basis of Early Buddhist Patronage: Sacred Monuments, 100 BC–AD 250", in

- The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture*, B. Stoler Miller (ed.), 35–45, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- de Jong, J.W. 1976: [Review of Kloppenborg 1974], *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 18: 322–324.
- de La Vallée Poussin, Louis 1911: "Documents sanscrits de la seconde collection M.A. Stein", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 759–777 and 1063–1079.
- 1918: "Pratyekabuddha", in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, J. Hastings (ed.), 10: 152–154, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- 1919: "Quelques observations sur le suicide dans le bouddhisme ancien", *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 685–693.
- 1922: "Suicide (Buddhist)", in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, J. Hastings (ed.), 12: 24–26, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- 1930: "Notes bouddhiques, XVIII, Opinions sur les relations des deux véhicules au point de vue du Vinaya", *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques 5^e serie*, 16: 20–39.
- 1936: "The Vimutti of Godhika", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1.1: 128.
- Delhey, Martin 2006: "Views on Suicide in Buddhism, Some Remarks", in *Buddhism and Violence*, M. Zimmermann et al. (ed.), 25–63, Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- 2009: "Vakkali: A New Interpretation of His Suicide", *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*, 13: 67–107.
- Deo, Shantaram Bhalchandra 1956: *History of Jaina Monachism, From Inscriptions and Literature*, Poona: Deccan College, Post-graduate and Research Institute.
- Derris, Karen 2008: "When the Buddha Was a Woman: Reimagining Tradition in the Theravāda", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 24.2: 29–44.

- 2014: "My Sister's Future Buddhahood, A jātika of the Buddha's Lifetime as a Woman", in *Eminent Buddhist Women*, K.L. Tsomo (ed.), 13–24, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- de Silva, Lily 2003: *Cakkavatti Monarchy of the Pali Canon as a Democratic Meritocracy*, Sri Lanka, Nedimala: Buddhist Cultural Centre.
- Dessein, Bart 2007: "The First Turning of the Wheel of the Doctrine: Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsāṃghika Controversy", in *The Spread of Buddhism*, A. Heirman and S.P. Bumbacher (ed.), 15–48, Leiden: Brill.
- Dhammadinnā 2012: "A Translation of the Quotations in Śamathadeva's Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā Parallel to the Chinese Saṃyukta-āgama Discourses 8, 9, 11, 12, 17 and 28", *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 11: 63–96.
- 2014: "Semantics of Wholesomeness: Purification of Intention and the Soteriological Function of the Immeasurables (appamānas) in Early Buddhist Thought", in *Buddhist Meditative Traditions: Their Origin and Development*, Chuang K.-p. (ed.), 51–129, Taiwan: Shin Wen Feng Print.
- 2015a: "The Parinirvāṇa of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and Her Followers in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 16: 29–61.
- 2015b: "Predictions of Women to Buddhahood in Middle-period Literature", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 22: 477–531.
- 2016: "The Funeral of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and Her Followers in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 17: 25–74.
- Dhammajoti, Bhikkhu K.L. 2011: "From Abhidharma to Mahāyāna, Remarks on the Early Abhidharma Doctrine of the Three yāna-s", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 9: 153–169.

- 2015: "Prajñā-vimukta, ubhayatobhāga-vimukta and vimokṣāvaraṇa, The Sarvāstivāda Perspective", in *Buddhist Meditative Praxis, Traditional Teachings & Modern Applications*, K.L. Dhammajoti (ed.), 25–49, Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, Centre of Buddhist Studies.
- Dhirasekera, Jotiya 1967: "Women and the Religious Order of the Buddha", *The Maha Bodhi*, 75.5/6: 154–161.
- 1977: "Canon", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, G.P. Malalasekera (ed.), 3.4: 664–665, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 1982/2007: *Buddhist Monastic Discipline, A Study of Its Origin and Development in Relation to the Sutta and Vinaya Piṭakas*, Dehiwala: Buddhist Cultural Centre.
- Dietz, Siglinde 1997: "Anmerkungen zum buddhistischen Fastentag", in *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, P. Kieffer-Pülz and J.-U. Hartmann (ed.), 63–70, Swisstal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica.
- 2007: "The Saptasūryodayasūtra", in *Indica et Tibetica 65, Festschrift für Michael Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden und Schülern überreicht*, K. Konrad and J.-U. Hartmann (ed.), 93–112, Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- 2011: "Toward a New Edition of the Ātānāṭikasūtra", *Dhīh: Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research Department*, 51: 163–192.
- Dimitrov, Dragomir 2004: "Two Female Bodhisattvas in Flesh and Blood", in *Aspects of the Female in Indian Culture, Proceedings of the Symposium in Marburg, Germany, July 7–8, 2000*, U. Roesler and J. Soni (ed.), 3–30, Marburg: Indica et Tibetica.

- Dohanian, Diran Kavork 1977: *The Mahāyāna Buddhist Sculpture of Ceylon*, New York: Garland Publishing.
- Doniger, Wendy 1999/2000: *Splitting the Difference: Gender and Myth in Ancient Greece and India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Drekmeier, Charles 1962: *Kingship and Community in Early India*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Dublay, Suneeti 1988: "The Position and Status of Women as Reflected in the Gāhāsattasāi and the Therīgāthā", in *Position and Status of Women in Ancient India*, L.K. Tripathi (ed.), 1: 174–187, Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology.
- DuBois, Thomas 2004: "Millenarianism and Millenarian Movements", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), 2: 537–540, New York: Macmillan.
- Durt, Hubert 1999: "The Offering of the Children of Prince Viśvantara/Sudāna in the Chinese Tradition", *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*, 2: 266–231.
- Dutt, Nalinaksha 1934/2000: *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā, Edited with Critical Notes and Introduction*, Calcutta: Bhattacharya.
- 1984a (vol. 1), 1984b (vol. 2), and 1984c (vol. 3): *Gilgit Manuscripts, Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavastu*, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- Dutt, Sukumar 1924/1996: *Early Buddhist Monachism*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- 1962: *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture*, London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Eckel, Malcolm David 2008: *Bhāviveka and His Buddhist Opponents*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Edgerton, Franklin 1953/1998 (vol. 2): *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Edge, James R. 2003: "Interpretative Strategies for Seeing the Body of the Buddha", in *Constituting Communities: Theravāda Buddhism and the Religious Cultures of South and Southeast Asia*, J.C. Holt et al. (ed.), 189–208, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Eitel, Ernest J. 1888/2004: *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, Being a Sanskrit–Chinese Dictionary with Vocabularies of Buddhist Terms in Pali, Singhalese, Siamese, Burmese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Japanese*, Delhi: Asian Educational Services.
- Endo Toshiichi 1996: "Bodhisattas in the Pāli Commentaries", *Bukkyō Kenkyū*, 25: 65–92.
- 1997/2002: *Buddha in Theravada Buddhism, A Study of the Concept of Buddha in the Pali Commentaries*, Sri Lanka, Dehiwela: Buddhist Cultural Centre.
- Enomoto Fumio 1986: "On the Formation of the Original Texts of the Chinese Āgamas", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 3: 19–30.
- Falk, Monica Lindberg 2000: "Women in Between: Becoming Religious Persons in Thailand", in *Women's Buddhism, Buddhism's Women: Tradition, Revision, Renewal*, E.B. Findly (ed.), 37–57, Sommerville: Wisdom Publications.
- 2007: *Making Fields of Merit, Buddhist Female Ascetics and Gendered Orders in Thailand*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Faure, Bernard 1998: *The Red Thread, Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 2003: *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity and Gender*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 2009: *Unmasking Buddhism*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Fausböll, V. 1855/1974: *Dhammapadam, ex tribus codicibus hauniensibus palice edidit, latine vertit, excerptis ex commentario palico notisque illustravit*, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag.
- Feer, Léon 1870: "Études bouddhiques, Les quatre vérités et la prédication de Bénarès", *Journal Asiatique*, 6.15: 345–472.

- 1881: "Études bouddhiques, Comment on devient Pratyeka-Buddha", *Journal Asiatique*, 7.17 : 515–550.
- 1884: "Études bouddhiques, Comment on devient preta", *Journal Asiatique*, 8.3: 109–140.
- Fick, Richard 1897: *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kastenfrage. Vornehmlich auf Grund der jātaka dargestellt*, Kiel: Haeseler, Verlag für Orientalische Literatur.
- 1926: "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Vessantara-Jātaka", in *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens, Festgabe Hermann Jacobi zum 75. Geburtstag (11. Februar 1925) dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, W. Kirfel (ed.), 145–159, Bonn: F. Klopp.
- Filliozat, Jean 1934: "La médecine indienne et l'expansion bouddhique en Extrême-Orient", *Journal Asiatique*, 224: 301–307.
- 1963: "La mort volontaire par le feu et la tradition bouddhique indienne", *Journal Asiatique*, 251: 21–51.
- 1967: "L'abandon de la vie par le sage et les suicides du criminel et du héros dans la tradition indienne", *Arts Asiatiques*, 15: 65–88.
- Finnegan, Damchö Diana 2009: *'For the Sake of Women Too': Ethics and Gender in the Narratives of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Finot, L. 1901: *Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā, Sūtra du Mahāyāna*, St. Pétersbourg: Académie Impériale des Sciences.
- Fiordalis, David V. 2010/2011: "Miracles in Indian Buddhist Narratives and Doctrine", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 33.1/2: 381–408.
- Foley, Caroline A. 1894: "The Vedalla sutta, As Illustrating the Psychological Basis of Buddhist Ethics", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 321–333.

- Foucher, Alfred 1909: "Le 'grand miracle' du Buddha à Çrāvastī", *Journal Asiatique*, 10.13: 5–78.
- Franke, R. Otto 1906: "Jātaka-Mahābhārata Parallelen", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 20: 317–372.
- Frauwallner, Erich 1956: *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- 1971: "Abhidharma Studien", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, 15: 69–121.
- Freiberger, Oliver 2000a: *Der Orden in der Lehre, Zur religiösen Deutung des Saṅgha im frühen Buddhismus*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2000b: "Profiling the Saṅgha, Institutional and Non-institutional Tendencies in Early Buddhist Teachings", *Marburg Journal of Religion*, 5.1: 1–12.
- 2004: "The Buddhist Canon and the Canon of Buddhist Studies", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 27.2: 261–283.
- 2011: "Was ist das Kanonische am Pāli-Kanon?", in *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, M. Deeg et al. (ed.), 209–232, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Frye, Stanley 1981: *The Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish (mdo bdzans blun) or the Ocean of Narratives (üliger-ün dalai), Translated from the Mongolian*, Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives.
- Fujishima Ryauon 1889: *Le bouddhisme japonais, Doctrines et histoire des douze grandes sectes bouddhiques du Japon*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Ch. Leclerc.
- Fujita Kotatsu 1975: "One Vehicle or Three?", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 3: 79–166.

- 2011: *The Larger and Smaller Sukhāvātīvyūha sūtras*, Kyoto: Hozokan.
- Fukita Takamichi 2003: *The Mahāvādānasūtra: A New Edition Based on Manuscripts Discovered in Northern Turkestan*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Funayama Tōru 2006: "Masquerading as Translation: Examples of Chinese Lectures by Indian Scholar-monks in the Six Dynasties Period", *Asia Major*, 19.1/2: 39–55.
- Ganguly, Jayeeta 1989: "Niraya and dhutanga in Buddhist Tradition", *Bulletin of Tibetology, New Series*, 2: 17–29.
- Garzilli, Enrica 1997: "First Greek and Latin Documents on saha-gamana and Some Connected Problems", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 40.3: 205–243 and 40.4: 339–365.
- Geiger, Wilhelm 1916: *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner.
- 1958: *The Mahāvamsa*, London: Pali Text Society.
- Geng, Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit 1988: *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya, Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Gethin, Rupert 1992: *The Buddhist Path to Awakening: A Study of the Bodhi-pakkhiyā Dhammā*, Leiden: Brill.
- 2006: "Mythology as Meditation: From the Mahāsudassana sutta to the Sukhāvātīvyūha sūtra", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 28: 63–112.
- 2012: "Was Buddhaghosa a Theravādin? Buddhist Identity in the Pali Commentaries and Chronicles", in *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, P. Skilling et al. (ed.), 1–63, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Ghoṣa, Pratāpacandra 1902: *Çatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā, A Theological and Philosophical Discourse of Buddha with His Disciples (in a Hundred-thousand Stanzas)*, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.

- Ghoshal, U.N. 1959: *A History of Indian Political Ideas, The Ancient Period and the Period of Transition to the Middle Ages*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Gifford, Julie 2003: "The Insight Guide to Hell, Mahāmogallāna and Theravāda Buddhist Cosmology", in *Constituting Communities, Theravāda Buddhism and the Religious Cultures of South and Southeast Asia*, J.C. Holt et al. (ed.), 71–84, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Giustarini, Giuliano 2012: "The Role of Fear (Bhaya) in the Nikāyas and in the Abhidhamma", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 40.5: 511–531.
- Glass, Andrew 2007: *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Gnoli, Raniero 1977 (vol. 1) and 1978 (vol. 2): *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind 1966: "Early Buddhist Kingship", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 26.1: 15–22.
- 1976: "The Image-world of the Thera-Therī-Gathās", in *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume*, O.H. de Wijesekera (ed.), 96–110, Colombo: The Malalasekera Commemoration Volume Editorial Committee.
- 1980: "Early Buddhism and the Brahmanas", in *Studies in the History of Buddhism, Papers Presented at the International Conference on the History of Buddhism at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, WIS, USA, August 19–21, 1976*, A.K. Narain (ed.), 67–77, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- 1994/2001a: "On Buddhist Historiography", in *New Light on Early Buddhism*, B.G. Gokhale (ed.), 1–12, Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

- 1994/2001b: "The Early Buddhist View of the State", in *New Light on Early Buddhism*, B.G. Gokhale (ed.), 121–132, Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Goldman, Robert P. 1993: "Transsexualism, Gender, and Anxiety in Traditional India", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113.3: 374–401.
- Gombrich, Richard F. 1979: [Review of Kloppenborg 1974], in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 74.1: 78–80.
- 1980: "The Significance of Former Buddhas in the Theravādin Tradition", in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*, S. Balasooriya et al. (ed.), 62–72, London: Fraser.
- 1984: "Temporary Ordination in Sri Lanka", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 7.2: 41–65.
- 1985: "The Vessantara jātaka, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Dasaratha jātaka", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105.3: 427–437.
- 1988: *Theravāda Buddhism, A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- 1990: "How the Mahāyāna Began", *The Buddhist Forum*, 1: 21–30.
- 1992: "A Momentous Effect of Translation: The 'Vehicles' of Buddhism", in *Apodosis: Essays Presented to Dr. W.W. Cuickshank to Mark His Eightieth Birthday*, 34–46, London: St. Paul's School.
- 1996: *How Buddhism Began, The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*, London: Athlone.
- 2009: *What the Buddha Thought*, London: Equinox.
- Gombrich, Richard F. and G. Obeyesekere 1988/1990: *Buddhism Transformed, Religious Change in Sri Lanka*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Gómez, Luis O. 1987a: "Buddhism in India", in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, M. Eliade (ed.), 2: 351–385, New York: Macmillan.
- 1987b: "Buddhist Literature: Exegesis and Hermeneutics", in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, M. Eliade (ed.), 2: 529–540, New York: Macmillan.
- Gonda, J. 1956: "Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View (Continued)", *Numen*, 3.2: 122–155.
- 1957: "Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View (Continued and Ended)", *Numen*, 4.2: 127–164.
- Greene, Eric Mathew 2006: *Of Bones and Buddhas, Contemplation of the Corpse and Its Connection to Meditations on Purity as Evidenced by 5th Century Chinese Meditation Manuals*, MA thesis, Berkeley: University of California.
- Green, Phillip 2013: "Runaway Brides, Tensions Surrounding Marital Expectations in the Avadānaśataka", in *Family in Buddhism*, L. Wilson (ed.), 237–252, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Grey, Leslie 1994: *A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories*, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Griffiths, Paul J. 1986/1991: *On Being Mindless: Buddhist Meditation and the Mind–Body Problem*, La Salle: Open Court.
- Griswold, A.B. 1957: *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam*, Ascona: Artibus Asiae.
- Griswold, A.B. and Prasert ṇa Nagara 1969: "The Asokārāma Inscription of 1399 A.D., Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 2", *Journal of the Siam Society*, 57.1: 29–56.
- Gross, Rita M. 1993: *Buddhism after Patriarchy, A Feminist History, Analysis and Reconstruction of Buddhism*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- 2014: "How Clinging to Gender Subverts Enlightenment", *The Journal of the Sati Center for Buddhist Studies*, 2: 7–14.

- Guang Xing 2005: *The Concept of the Buddha, Its Evolution from Early Buddhism to the trikāya Theory*, London: Routledge Curzon.
- Gunaratna, V.F. 1968/2008: *The Significance of the Four Noble Truths*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society (online pdf version).
- Gunawardana, R.A.L.H. 1979: *Robe and Plough, Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- 2005: "The World of Theravāda Buddhism in History, Relevance of a Territorial Category as a Conceptual Tool in the Study of History", in *Dhamma-vinaya, Essays in Honour of Venerable Professor Dhammavihari (Jotiya Dhirasekera)*, A. Tilakaratne et al. (ed.), 55–90, Colombo: Sri Lanka Association for Buddhist Studies.
- Guruge, Ananda W.P. 2003: "How the Buddha Taught", in *Praṇāmalekhā, Essays in Honour of Ven. Dr. Medagama Vajiragnana*, W. Wimalajothi et al. (ed.), 333–383, London: Buddhist Vihara.
- 2012: "Hīnayāna, Śrāvakayāna, Theravāda or Southern Buddhism: The Need for Clarification", in *Dharmapracicaya, Aspects of Buddhist Studies, Essays in Honour of N.H. Samtani*, L. Shrivak and C. Willemen (ed.), 171–194, Delhi: Buddhist World Press.
- Gyatso, Janet 1999: "Healing Burns with Fire: The Facilitations of Experience in Tibetan Buddhism", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 67.1: 113–147.
- 2003: "One Plus One Makes Three: Buddhist Gender, Monasticism, and the Law of the Non-excluded Middle", *History of Religions*, 43.2: 89–115.
- Hae-ju Sunim 1999: "Can Women Achieve Enlightenment? A Critique of Sexual Transformation for Enlightenment", in *Bud-*

- dhist Women across Cultures, Realizations*, Karma Lekshe Tsomo (ed.), 123–141, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Hahn, Michael 2007: *Vom Rechten Leben, Buddhistische Lehren aus Indien und Tibet*, Frankfurt: Verlag der Weltreligionen.
- Halbfass, Wilhelm 1991/1992: *Tradition and Reflection: Explorations in Indian Thought*, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- Hallisey, Charles 1995: "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism", in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, D.S Lopez (ed.), 31–61, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 2015: *Therigatha, Poems of the First Buddhist Women*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Hamilton, Sue 1997: "The Dependent Nature of the Phenomenal World", in *Recent Researches in Buddhist Studies, Essays in Honour of Professor Y. Karunadasa*, K.L. Dhammajoti et al. (ed.), 276–295, Colombo: Y. Karunadasa Felicitation Committee.
- Handlin, Lilian 2016: "A Man for All Seasons: Three Vessantarās in Premodern Myanmar", in *Readings of the Vessantara Jātaka*, S. Collins (ed.), 153–182, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Har Dayal 1932/1970: *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Harding, John S. 2008: *Mahāyāna Phoenix: Japan's Buddhists at the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions*, New York: Peter Lang.
- Harris, Elizabeth J. 1998: *Ānanda Metteyya, The First British Emissary of Buddhism*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- 2013: "Ananda Metteyya: Controversial Networker, Passionate Critic", *Contemporary Buddhism*, 14.1: 78–93.
- Harrison, Paul 1987: "Who Gets to Ride in the Great Vehicle? Self-image and Identity among the Followers of the Early

- Mahāyāna", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 10.1: 67–89.
- 1990: *The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, An Annotated English Translation of the Tibetan Version of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra with Several Appendixes Relating to the History of the Text*, Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
 - 1992/1993: "Commemoration and Identification in Buddhānu-smṛti", in *In the Mirror of Memory: Reflections on Mindfulness and Remembrance in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism*, J. Gyatso (ed.), 215–238, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
 - 1995: "Searching for the Origins of the Mahāyāna, What Are We Looking For?", *Eastern Buddhist*, 28.1: 48–69.
 - 1997: "The Ekottarikāgama Translations of An Shigao", in *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, P. Kieffer-Pülz and J.-U. Hartmann (ed.), 261–284, Swisstal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica.
 - 2002: "Another Addition to the An Shigao Corpus? Preliminary Notes on an Early Chinese Saṃyuktāgama Translation", in *Early Buddhism and Abhidharma Thought, In Honor of Doctor Hajime Sakurabe on His Seventy-seventh Birthday*, Sakurabe Ronshu Committee (ed.), 1–32, Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten.
 - 2004: "Canon", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), 111–115, New York: Macmillan.
 - 2006: "Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā: A New Translation of the Sanskrit Text Based on Two Manuscripts from Greater Gandhāra", in *Buddhist Manuscripts, (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection), Volume III*, J. Braarvig (ed.), 133–159, Oslo: Hermes Publishing.
 - 2007: "A Fragment of the *Samādhāvakaśāsūtra from a Newly Identified Ekottarikāgama Manuscript in the Schøyen Collec-

- tion", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 10: 201–211.
- Harrison, Paul and Shogo Watanabe 2006: "Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā", in *Buddhist Manuscripts (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection), Volume III*, J. Braarvig (ed.), 89–132, Oslo: Hermes Publishing.
- Hartmann, Jens-Uwe 1991: *Untersuchungen zum Dīrghāgama der Sarvāstivādins*, unpublished habilitation thesis, Göttingen: Georg-August-Universität.
- 2013: "Die Schulzugehörigkeit von Maitreyasamitināṭaka und Maitrisimit", in *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen und die alt-türkische Maitrisimit, Symposium anlässlich des 100. Jahrestages der Entzifferung des Tocharischen, Berlin, 3. und 4. April 2008*, Y. Kasai et al. (ed.), 37–50, Brepols: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Harvey, Peter 1986: "'Signless' Meditations in Pāli Buddhism", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 9.1: 25–52.
- 1993: "The Dynamics of Paritta Chanting in Southern Buddhism", in *Love Divine, Studies in Bhakti and Devotional Mysticism*, K. Werner (ed.), 53–84, Richmond: Curzon.
- 2007: "Bodhisattva Career in the Theravāda", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, D. Keown et al. (ed.), 83–87, London: Routledge.
- 2009: "The Four ariya-saccas as 'True Realities for the Spiritually Ennobled' – The Painful, Its Origin, Its Cessation, and the Way Going to This – Rather than 'Noble Truths' Concerning These", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 26.2: 197–227.
- 2013a: "Dukkha, Non-self, and the Teaching on the Four 'Noble Truths'", in *A Companion to Buddhist Philosophy*, S.M. Emmanuel (ed.), 26–45, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

- 2013b: *An Introduction to Buddhism, Teachings, History and Practices, Second Edition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hawley, John Stratton 1994: *Sati: The Blessing and the Curse: The Burning of Wives in India*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hazra, Kanai Lal 1994: *Pāli Language and Literature, A Systematic Survey and Historical Study*, Delhi: D.K. Printworld.
- Heim, Maria 2003: "The Aesthetics of Excess", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 71.3: 531–554.
- Heirman, Ann 2002: *'The Discipline in Four Parts', Rules for Nuns According to the Dharmaguptakavinaya*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Hejib, Alaka and K. Young 1988/2001: "Sati, Widowhood and Yoga", in *Sati: Historical and Phenomenological Essays*, A. Sharma et al. (ed.), 73–84, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Hertel, Johannes 1908: *Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hēmacandras Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, Leipzig: Wilhelm Heims.
- Hirakawa Akira 1963: "The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relation to the Worship of Stupas", *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, 57–106.
- 1982: *Monastic Discipline for the Buddhist Nuns: An English Translation of the Chinese Text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, Patna: Jayaswal Research Institute.
- 1987: "Buddhist Literature: Survey of Texts", in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, M. Eliade (ed.), 2: 509–529, New York: Macmillan.
- 1997: *Buddhist Chinese–Sanskrit Dictionary*, Tokyo: Reiyukai.
- Hiraoka Satoshi 2013: "The School Affiliation of the Ekottarika-āgama", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), 71–105, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.

- Hoernle, A.F. Rudolf 1916: *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hoffmann, Helmut 1939: *Bruchstücke des Ājānāṭikasūtra aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon der Buddhisten, Herausgegeben und im Zusammenhang mit den Parallelversionen bearbeitet*, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.
- Hopkins, E. Washburn 1932: "The Oath in Hindu Epic Literature", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 54.4: 316–337.
- Horner, I.B. 1930/1990: *Women under Primitive Buddhism, Laywomen and Almswomen*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- 1951/1982 (vol. 4): *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-piṭaka)*, London: Pali Text Society.
- 1953/1967 (vol. 1) and 1970 (vol. 2): *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-nikāya)*, London: Pali Text Society.
- Horsch, Paul 1957: "The Wheel: An Indian Pattern of World-interpretation", in *Liebenthal Festschrift, On Occasion of the 70th Birthday of Prof. Walter Liebenthal*, K. Roy (ed.), 62–79, Santiniketan: Visvabharati.
- Houghton, Walter R. 1894: *Neely's History of the Parliament of Religions and Religious Congresses at the World's Columbian Exposition, Compiled from Original Manuscripts and Stenographic Reports*, Chicago: F. Tennyson Neely.
- Huber, Édouard 1908: *Açvagoṣa Sūtrālamkāra, Traduit en français sur la version chinoise de Kumārajīva*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Hudson, Malcolm 1976: "Note on Solitude/Inwardness", *Pali Buddhist Review*, 1.1: 103–104.
- Hung Jen-Jou 2013: "The Second Version of the Mahādeva Tale in the Ekottarika-āgama: Quantitative Text Analysis and Translatorship Attribution", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama*

- (*Taishō 125*), Dhammadinnā (ed.), 107–132, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.
- Hung Jen-Jou et al. 2009/2010: "Quantitative Evidence for a Hypothesis Regarding the Attribution of Early Buddhist Translations", *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 1–16.
- Hung Jen-Jou and Anālayo 2016: "A quantitative textual analysis of the translation idiom of the Madhyama-āgama (T 26) and the Ekottarika-āgama (T 125)", in *Research on the Madhyama-āgama*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation (forthcoming).
- Huntington, John 1986: "Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism, Part II, The Rṣipātana Mṛgadāva ('Deer Park') near Vārāṇasī", *Orientalions*, 17: 28–43.
- Huntington, Susan L. 1985: *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, New York: Weatherhill.
- Hüsken, Ute 1997a: "Saṃghabheda as Depicted in the Vinaya of the Mahāvihāra School", in *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, P. Kieffer-Pülz and J.-U. Hartmann et al. (ed.), 319–331, Swisstal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica.
- 1997b: *Die Vorschriften für die buddhistische Nonnengemeinde im Vinaya-piṭaka der Theravādin*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Hu-von Hinüber, Haiyan 1996: "Aśoka und die buddhistische Uposatha-Zeremonie (I), Aśoka's 256 Nächte", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 40: 87–99.
- Huyên-Vi, Thích (et al.) 1985: "Ekottarāgama (II)", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 2.1: 36–46.
- 1987: "Ekottarāgama V", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 4.1: 47–58.
- 1989: "Ekottarāgama X", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 6.2: 122–129.

- 2002: "Ekottarāgama XXIX", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 19.1: 49–55.
- Irwin, John 1973: "Aśokan' Pillars: A Reassessment of the Evidence", *The Burlington Magazine*, 115.8: 706–720.
- Ito Tomomi 2004: "New Beginnings: The Bhikkhunī Movement in Contemporary Thailand", in *Bridging Worlds: Buddhist Women's Voices across Generations*, K.L. Tsomo (ed.), 120–124, Taipei: Yuan Chuan Press.
- 2006: "Ordained Women in Yellow Robes: An Unfamiliar 'Tradition' in Contemporary Thailand", in *Out of the Shadows: Socially Engaged Buddhist Women*, K.L. Tsomo (ed.), 168–171, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- Iyer, Raghavan 1986: *The Dhammapada with the Udānavarga*, London: Concord Grove Press.
- Jacobi, Hermann 1883: *Sthavirāvalīcharita or Pariśiṣṭaparvan, Being an Appendix of the Trishasṭīśalākāpurushacharita by Hemchandra*, Calcutta: Asiatic Society.
- 1884/1996 (vol. 1): *Jaina sūtras, Translated from Prakrit*, Delhi: Low Price Publications.
- 1886: *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshṭrī*, Leipzig: S. Hirzel.
- 1895/1996 (vol. 2): *Jaina sūtras, Translated from Prakrit*, Delhi: Low Price Publications.
- 1910: "Chakravartin", in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, J. Hastings (ed.), 336–337, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Jain, Sagarmal 1985: "The Concept of vibhajjavāda and Its Impact on Philosophical and Religious Tolerance in Buddhism and Jainism", *Jain Journal*, 19: 61–65.
- Jaini, Padmanabh S. 1981 (vol. 1) and 1983 (vol. 2): *Paññāsa-jātaka or Zimme Paññāsa (in the Burmese Recension)*, London: Pali Text Society.

- 1988/2001: "Stages in the Bodhisattva Career of the Tathāgata Maitreya", in *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*, P.S. Jaini (ed.), 451–500, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- 1989/2001: "Padīpadānājātaka: Gautama's Last Female Incarnation", in *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*, P.S. Jaini (ed.), 367–374, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Jambūvijaya, Muni 1985: *Ṭhānaṃgasuttaṃ and Samavāyāṃgasuttaṃ*, Bombay: Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya.
- Jamison, Stephanie W. 1996: *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife, Women, Ritual, and Hospitality in Ancient India*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1998: "Rhinceros Toes, Manu V.17–18, and the Development of the Dharma System", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 118: 249–256.
- 2006: "Women 'Between the Empires' and 'Between the Lines'", in *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE*, P. Olivelle (ed.), 191–214, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jaworski, Jean 1930: "La section de la nourriture dans le Vinaya des Mahīśāsaka", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 7: 53–124.
- Jayatilleke, K.N. 1963/1980: *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Jayawickrama, N.A. 1948: "The vaggas of the Sutta Nipāta", *University of Ceylon Review*, 6: 229–257.
- 1949/1977: "A Critical Analysis of the Sutta Nipāta", *Pāli Buddhist Review*, 2: 14–41, 86–105 and 141–158.
- Ji Xianlin, W. Winter, and G.-J. Pinault 1998: *Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka of the Xinjiang Museum, China, Transliterated, Translated and Annotated*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Johansson, Rune E.A. 1973/1998: *Pali Buddhist Texts, Explained to the Beginner*, Richmond: Curzon.

- Johnston, Edward Hamilton 1936/1995a (part 1) and 1936/1995b (part 2): *Aśvagoṣa's Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha, Part III, Cantos XV to XXVIII Translated from the Tibetan and Chinese Versions*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Jones, J.J. 1949/1973 (vol. 1): *The Mahāvastu, Translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit*, London: Pali Text Society.
- Jones, Dhivan Thomas 2014: "Like the Rhinoceros, or Like Its Horn? The Problem of khaggavisāṇa Revisited", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 31.2: 165–178.
- Jootla, Susan Elbaum 1988: *Inspiration from Enlightened Nuns*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Jordt, Ingrid 1988: "Bhikkhuni, Tila-shin, Mae-chii, Women Who Renounce the World in Burma, Thailand and the Classical Pali Buddhist Texts", *Crossroads*, 4.1: 31–39.
- Joshi, K.L. 2007: *Matsya Mahāpurāṇa*, Delhi: Parimal Publications.
- Kabilsingh, Chatsumarn 1984: *A Comparative Study of the Bhikkhuni Pāṭimokkha*, Delhi: Chaukhambha Orientalia.
- 1991: *Thai Women in Buddhism*, Berkeley: Parallax Press.
- 1998: *The Bhikkhuni Pāṭimokkha of the Six Schools*, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- Kajiyama Yuichi 1982: "Women in Buddhism", *The Eastern Buddhist*, 25.2: 53–70.
- Kalupahana, David J. 1965: "Aṅga", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, G.P. Malalasekera (ed.), 1.4: 616–619, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- Karashima Seishi 2014: "The Sarvāstivādins' 'Encroachment' into the Chinese Translation of the Daśottara-sūtra in the Dīrgha-āgama of the Dharmaguptakas", in *Research on the Dīrgha-āgama*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), 197–235, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.

- Karashima Seishi and K. Wille 2009: *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia, The British Library Sanskrit Fragments Volume II.1, Texts*, Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University.
- Karetzky, Patricia Eichenbaum 1990: "Post-Enlightenment Miracles of the Buddha", *Orientalism*, 21.1: 71–77.
- Karma Lekshe Tsomo 1999: "Change in Consciousness: Women's Religious Identity in Himalayan Buddhist Cultures", in *Buddhist Women across Cultures: Realizations*, Karma Lekshe Tsomo (ed.), 169–189, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Karunadasa, Y. 2000: "Theravāda as Vibhajjavāda: A Correct Identification for Wrong Reasons?", in *Wilhelm Geiger and the Study of the History and Culture of Sri Lanka*, U. Everding et al. (ed.), 22–42, Colombo: Goethe Institute & Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies.
- Karunaratne, Upali 1992: "Hīnayāna", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 5.3: 453–455, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- Katz, Nathan 1980: "Some Methodological Comments on the Use of the Term 'Hīnayāna' in the Study of Buddhism", *Religious Traditions*, 3.1: 52–58.
- 1982/1989: *Buddhist Images of Human Perfection, The Arahant of the Sutta Piṭaka Compared with the Bodhisattva and the Mahāsiddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Kawanami Hiroko 2013: *Renunciation and Empowerment of Buddhist Nuns in Myanmar-Burma, Building a Community of Female Faithful*, Leiden: Brill.
- Keown, Damien 1996: "Buddhism and Suicide, The Case of Channa", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 3: 8–31.
- Kern, Hendrik 1896: *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strasbourg: Trübner.

- Kern, Hendrik and B. Nanjio 1884/1992: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Keyes, Charles F. 1984: "Mother or Mistress but Never a Monk: Buddhist Notions of Female Gender in Rural Thailand", *American Ethnologist*, 11.2: 223–241.
- Kiblinger, Kristin Beise 2005: *Buddhist Inclusivism, Attitudes Towards Religious Others*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kieffer-Pülz, Petra 2000: "Die buddhistische Gemeinde", in *Der Buddhismus I, Der indische Buddhismus und seine Verzweigungen*, H. Bechert (ed.), 281–402, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- 2007: "Stretching the Vinaya Rules and Getting Away with It", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 29: 1–49.
- Kim Jinah 2012: "Unheard Voices: Women's Role in Medieval Buddhist Artistic Production and Religious Practices in South Asia", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 80.1: 200–232.
- Kimura Ryukan 1927: *A Historical Study of the Terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- King, Winston L. 1980/1992: *Theravāda Meditation: The Buddhist Transformation of Yoga*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Kirichenko, Alexey 2009: "From Thathanadaw to Theravāda Buddhism: Constructions of Religion and Religious Identity in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-century Myanmar", in *Casting Faiths, Imperialism and the Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia*, T.D. DuBois (ed.), 23–45, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kleine, Christoph 2011: "Kanonisierungsansätze im ostasiatischen Buddhismus, Von der Kanon-Bibliothek zur buddhistischen Bibel?", in *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, M. Deeg et al. (ed.), 259–319,

- Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Klimburg-Salter, Deborah 2005: "Mahākāśyapa and the Art of Bāmiyān", in *South Asian Archaeology 2001, Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists held in Collège de France, Paris, 2–6 July 2001*, C. Jarrige and V. Lefèvre. (ed.), 535–550, Paris: Éd. Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Kloppenborg, Ria 1974: *The Pacceka-buddha, A Buddhist Ascetic, A Study of the Concept of the Paccekabuddha in Pāli Canonical and Commentarial Literature*, Leiden: Brill.
- 1983: *The Paccekabuddha: A Buddhist Ascetic*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- 1995: "Female Stereotypes in Early Buddhism: The Women of the Therīgāthā", in *Female Stereotypes in Religious Traditions*, R. Kloppenborg and W.J. Hanegraaff (ed.), 151–169, Leiden: Brill.
- Koike Kiyoyuki 2001: "Suicide and Euthanasia from a Buddhist Viewpoint – On Nikāya, Vinaya Piṭaka and the Chinese Canon", *Journal of Indian and Tibetan Studies*, 5/6: 144–190.
- Kramrisch, S. 1935: "Emblems of the Universal Being", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 3: 148–165.
- Krey, Gisela 2010: "On Women as Teachers in Early Buddhism: Dhammānā and Khemā", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 27.1: 17–40.
- Kuan Tse-Fu 2001: "The Four Satipaṭṭhānas in Early Buddhism", *Satyābhisamaya – A Buddhist Studies Quarterly*, 17: 154–209.
- 2008: *Mindfulness in Early Buddhism, New Approaches Through Psychology and Textual Analysis of Pali, Chinese and Sanskrit Sources*, London: Routledge.
- 2009: "Rethinking Non-self: A New Perspective from the Ekottarika-āgama", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 26.2: 155–175.

- 2012: "A Geographical Perspective on Sectarian Affiliations of the Ekottarika Āgama in Chinese Translation (T 125)", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 2: 179–208.
- 2013a: "Legends and Transcendence: Sectarian Affiliations of the Ekottarika Āgama in Chinese Translation", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 133.4: 607–634.
- 2013b: "Mahāyāna Elements and Mahāsāṃghika Traces in the Ekottarika-āgama", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Tai-shō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), 133–194, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.
- 2013c: "The Pavāraṇā sutta and 'Liberation in Both Ways' as against 'Liberation by Wisdom'", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1–25.
- Kudo Noriyuki 2004: *The Karmavibhaṅga, Transliterations and Annotations of the Original Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal*, Tokyo: Soka University.
- 2009: "The Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa, A Transliteration of the Nepalese Manuscript A (2)", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 13: 75–85.
- Kulasuriya, Ananda Salgado 1996: "Jātaka", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 6.1: 2–23, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- Kuroda Shintō 1893: *Outlines of the Mahāyāna as Taught by the Buddha, Carefully Examined by the Scholars of the Tendai, Shingon, Rinzaï, Sôtô and Shin Sects, and Translated by M. Waku, Chief Instructor, and Y. Kano and M. Narita, Teachers of English at the Jôdôshugaku-Honkô, For Circulation among the Members of the Parliament of Religions to Be Held in Chicago in Connection with the World's Columbian Fair*, Tokyo: The Bukkyo Gakkuwai.

- Lal Nagar, Shanti 1993: *Jātakas in Indian Art*, Delhi: Parimal Publications.
- Lamotte, Étienne 1944/1981 (vol. 1), 1949/1981 (vol. 2), and 1976 (vol. 4): *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste.
- 1954: "Sur la formation du Mahāyāna", in *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, J. Schubert et al. (ed.), 377–396, Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- 1956: "Problèmes concernant les textes canoniques 'mineurs'", *Journal Asiatique*, 244.3: 249–264.
- 1958/1988: *History of Indian Buddhism, From the Origins to the Śaka Era*, S. Webb-Boin (trsl.), Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste.
- 1965: "Le suicide religieux dans le bouddhisme ancien", *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 51: 156–168.
- 1967: "Un sūtra composite de l'Ekottarāgama", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 30: 105–116.
- Lancaster, Lewis R. 1979: "Buddhist Literature: Its Canons, Scribes, and Editors", in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts*, W.D. O'Flaherty (ed.), 215–229, Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union.
- 1987: "Buddhist Literature: Canonization", in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, M. Eliade (ed.), 2: 504–509, New York: Macmillan.
- 1999: "The Movement of Buddhist Texts from India to China and the Construction of the Chinese Buddhist Canon", in *Buddhism across Boundaries, Chinese Buddhism and the Western Regions, Collection of Essays 1993*, J.R. McRae and J. Nattier (ed.), 517–544, Taiwan: Foguang Cultural Enterprise.

- Lang, Karen Christina 1986: "Lord Death's Snare: Gender-related Imagery in the Theragāthā and the Therīgāthā", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 2.2: 63–79.
- Laut, Jens Peter 1993: "Jātaka", in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens, Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, R. Wilhelm (ed.), 7: 500–507, Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Law, Bimala Churn 1930: "Chronology of the Pāli Canon", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 12.2: 171–201.
- 1933 (vol. 1): *A History of Pāli Literature*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.
- 1938/1991: *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature*, Delhi: Swati Publications.
- 1940: "Bhikshunis in Indian Inscriptions", *Epigraphia Indica*, 25: 31–34.
- Lefmann, S. 1902: *Lalita Vistara, Leben und Lehre des Çākya-Buddha*, Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.
- Legittimo, Elsa 2005: "Synoptic Presentation of the Pusa chu tai jing (PCJ) 菩薩處胎經 the Bodhisattva Womb sūtra Part 1 (chapters 1–14)", *Sengokuyama Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2: 1–111.
- 2007: "The Vimalakīrtinirdeśa's Narration on the Amṛta Distribution and Its Exploitation by the Pusa chutai jing's Authors", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 55.3: 1079–1084.
- 2008: "A Comparative Study Between the Womb and the Lotus Sūtra: Miraculous stūpa Apparitions, Two Simultaneous Buddhas and Related Extraordinary Narrations", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 56.3: 1114–1120.
- 2009: "Relics, Relic Worship and stūpas in the Chinese Translation of the Ekottarika-āgama", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 57.3: 1199–1205.

- 2010a: "Mythes, contes et légendes de l'Ekottarikāgama, Projet de recherche sur l'ancien recueil numérique du bouddhisme indien conservé en traduction chinoise, Le Zengyi Ahan Jing (增壹阿含經)", *ASDIWAL, Revue Genevoise d'Anthropologie et d'Histoire des Religions*, 5: 151–156.
- 2010b: "Reopening the Maitreya-files – Two Almost Identical Early Maitreya sūtra Translations in the Chinese Canon: Wrong Attributions and Text-historical Entanglements", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 31.1/2: 251–294.
- 2012: "Buddhānusmṛti Between Worship and Meditation: Early Currents of the Chinese Ekottarika-āgama", *Asiatische Studien*, 66.2: 337–402.
- 2014: "The First Āgama Transmission to China", in *Buddhism across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*, T. Sen (ed.), 65–83, Singapore: Institute of South-east Asian Studies.
- Leslie, Julia 1991: "Suttee or saṭī: Victim or Victor?", in *Roles and Rituals for Hindu Women*, J. Leslie (ed.), 175–190, Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Leumann, Ernst 1919: *Maitreya-samiti, das Zukunftsideal der Buddhisten, Die nordarische Schilderung in Text und Übersetzung nebst sieben anderen Schilderungen in Text oder Übersetzung, mit einer Begründung der indogermanischen Metrik*, Strasbourg: Trübner.
- Lévi, Sylvain 1896: "Notes sur des inscriptions de Piyadassi, II, le Lāghulovāda de l'édit de Bhabra", *Journal Asiatique*, 9.8: 475–485.
- 1907: *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra, Exposé de la doctrine du Grand Véhicule selon le système Yogācāra*, Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion.

- 1908: "Açvaghōṣa, le Sûtrâlamkâra et ses sources", *Journal Asiatique*, 10.12: 57–184.
- 1910: "Documents de l'Asie centrale (Mission Pelliot), Textes sanscrits de Touen-Houang, Nidâna-sûtra – Daçabala-sûtra – Dharmapada, Hymne de Mâtṛceṭa", *Journal Asiatique*, 10.16: 433–456.
- 1912: "Observations sur une langue précanonique du bouddhisme", *Journal Asiatique*, 10.20: 495–514.
- 1915: "Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques", *Journal Asiatique*, 11.5: 401–447.
- 1929: "L'inscription de Mahānāman à Bodh-Gaya, essai d'exégèse appliquée à l'épigraphie bouddhique", in *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, 35–47, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- 1932: *Mahākarmavibhaṅga (La grande classification des actes) et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahā Karmavibhaṅga)*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Lévi, Sylvain and É. Chavannes 1916: "Les seize arhat protecteurs de la loi", *Journal Asiatique*, 11.8: 5–50 and 189–304.
- Lienhard, Siegfried 1975: "Sur la structure poétique des Theratherīgāthā", *Journal Asiatique*, 263: 375–396.
- Lín Jiā-ān (林家安) 2009: 現存漢譯《增一阿含經》之譯者考, MA thesis, Taiwan: Yuánguāng Fóxué yánjiūsuǒ.
- Ling, Trevor O. 1973/1976: *The Buddha, Buddhist Civilization in India and Ceylon*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex (UK): Penguin Books.
- Liú Zhèn (劉震) 2010: *Dhyānāni tapas ca*, 禪定與苦修, Shanghai: Gǔjí chūbǎnshè.
- Lü Cheng 1963: "Āgama", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, G.P. Malalasekera (ed.), 1.2: 241–244, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.

- Luce, G.H. 1969 (vol. 1): *Old Burma – Early Pagán*, New York: J.J. Augustin.
- Lüders, Heinrich 1913: "Die Prañidhi-Bilder im neunten Tempel von Bāzāklik", *Berliner Sitzungsberichte*, 864–886.
- 1941/1966: *Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur*, Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd.
- 1954: *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, E. Waldschmidt (ed.), Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 1959: *Varuṇa II, Varuṇa und das Rta*, L. Alsdorf (ed.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1963: *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, Ootacamund: Government Epigraphist for India.
- MacQueen, Graeme 1988: *A Study of the Śrāmanyaphala-Sūtra*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Mahony, William K. 2005: "Cakravartin", in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, L. Jones (ed.), 3: 1350–1352, Detroit: Macmillan.
- Mair, Victor H. 1993/1999: "The Khotanese Antecedents of the sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish (Xianyu jing)", in *Buddhism across Boundaries: Chinese Buddhism and the Western Regions*, J.R. McRae and J. Nattier (ed.), 361–420, Taipei: Fo Guang Shan.
- Malalasekera, G.P. 1937/1995 (vol. 1) and 1938/1998 (vol. 2): *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Mani, Lata 1998: *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Manné, Joy 1996: "Sīhanāda – The Lion's Roar or What the Buddha Was Supposed to Be Willing to Defend in Debate", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 13.1: 7–36.
- Martini, Giuliana 2011: "Mahāmaitrī in a Mahāyāna sūtra in Khotanese", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 24: 121–193.

- 2012: "The 'Discourse on Accumulated Actions' in Śamathadeva's Abhidharmakośopāyikā", *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 13: 49–79.
- 2013: "Bodhisattva Texts, Ideologies and Rituals in Khotan in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries", in *Buddhism among the Iranian Peoples of Central Asia*, M. De Chiara et al. (ed.), 13–69, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Mathews, R.H. 1963: *Mathews' Chinese–English Dictionary*, Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Matsumura Hisashi 1988: *The Mahāsudarśanāvadāna and the Mahāsudarśanasūtra*, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- 1989: "One sūtra of the Ekottarikāgama on Trisaraṇagamana and Pañcaśīla", *Archiv Orientální*, 57: 359–371.
- Matsumura Junko 2008: "The Sumedhakathā in Pāli Literature: Summation of Theravāda-tradition Versions and Proof of Linkage to the Northern Textual Tradition", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 56.3: 1086–1094.
- 2010: "The Sumedhakathā in Pāli Literature and Its Relation to the Northern Buddhist Textual Tradition", *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*, 14: 101–133.
- 2011: "An Independent sūtra on the Dīpaṃkara Prophecy", *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*, 15: 81–141.
- 2012: "The Formation and Development of the Dīpaṃkara Prophecy Story", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 60.3: 80–89.
- Maue, Dieter 1985: "Sanskrit-ugurische Fragmente des Ātānātikasūtra und des Ātānātiḥṛdaya", *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher*, 5: 98–122.
- Mayeda [=Maeda] Egaku 1985: "Japanese Studies [=on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas]", in *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Wer-*

- ken der Hīnayāna-Literatur, Erster Teil*, H. Bechert (ed.), 1: 94–103, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- McCrimdele, J. W. 1877: *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenēs and Arrian, Being a Translation of the Fragments of the Indika of Megasthenēs Collected by Dr. Schwanbeck, and of the First Part of the Indika of Arrian*, Bombay: Thacker & Co.
- McRae, John R. 1991: "Oriental Verities on the American Frontier, The 1893 World's Parliament of Religions and the Thought of Masao Abe", *Buddhist–Christian Studies*, 11: 7–36.
- Meisig, Konrad 1987: *Das Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra: Synoptische Übersetzung und Glossar der chinesischen Fassungen verglichen mit dem Sanskrit und Pāli*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1990: "Die Liste der 13 Ṛṣis im chinesischen Dīrghāgama", in *Festgabe für Professor Dr. Ulrich Unger zum 60. Geburtstag*, 77–86, Münster: Ostasiatisches Seminar.
- Mejor, Marek 1991: *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa and the Commentaries Preserved in the Tanjur*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Melzer, Gudrun 2006: *Ein Abschnitt aus dem Dīrghāgama*, PhD thesis, München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität.
- Mertens, Annemarie 2004: "Konstruierte Realitäten – soziale Wahrheiten: Die indische Identitätsmanagementstrategie 'Inklusivismus', Eine Skizze", in *The Persistent Challenge, Religion, Truth and Scholarship, Essays in Honor of Klaus Klostermaier*, I. Bocken et al. (ed.), 101–120, Maastricht: Uitgeverij Shaker Publishing.
- Metteyya, Ānanda 1908: "Propaganda", *Buddhism, An Illustrated Review*, 2.2: 169–192.
- Migot, André 1952: "Un grand disciple du Buddha, Śāriputra, son rôle dans l'histoire du bouddhisme et dans le développement de l'Abhidharma", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 46: 405–554.

- Minh Chau, Thich 1964/1991: *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Misra, G.S.P. 1972: *The Age of Vinaya*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Mizuno Kōgen 1989: 漢訳『中阿含経』と『増一阿含経』, *Bukkyō Kenkyū*, 18: 1–42.
- 1996: 仏教文献研究, Tokyo: Shunjūsha.
- Mokashi, Rupali 2012: "Unveiling Bhikkhunīs in Oblivion: What Deccan Cave Inscriptions Reveal about the Ancient Bhikkhunī Sangha", *Present, The Voices and Activities of Theravada Buddhist Women*, 5.1: 15–26.
- Monier-Williams, M. 1889/1995: *Buddhism in Its Connexion with Brahmanism and Hinduism and in Its Contrast with Christianity*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- 1899/1999: *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary, Etymologically and Philologically Arranged, with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Mori Sodō 1970: "On the Fēn-bié-gōng-dé-lùn (分別功德論)", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 19.1: 458–452.
- 1997/1999: "The Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva Statue at Dambēgoda and Its Restoration", in *Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sri Lanka*, S. Mori (ed.), 57–71, Nagoya: ARM Corporation.
- Morris, Richard 1885: "Notes and Queries, Devadūtā (Death's Messengers)", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 62–75.
- Mun Chanju 2006: *The History of Doctrinal Classification in Chinese Buddhism, A Study of the Panjiao Systems*, Lanham: University Press of America.
- Murcott, Susan 1991: *The First Buddhist Women, Translations and Commentaries on the Therīgatha*, Berkeley: Parallax Press.
- Nagao Kayoko 2009: "Paul Carus' Involvement in the Modernization of Japanese Education and Buddhism", *Japanese Religions*, 34.2: 171–185.

- Nagashima Jundo 2009: "The Sanskrit Fragments Or. 15009/51–90 in the Hoernle Collection" and "The Sanskrit Fragments Or. 15009/251–290 in the Hoernle Collection", in *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia, The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, S. Karashima and K. Wille (ed.), 2: 128–159 and 258–286, Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University.
- Nakamura Hajime 1979: "A Process of the Origination of Buddhist Meditation in Connection with the Life of the Buddha", in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism, A Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap*, A.K. Narain (ed.), 269–277, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- 1980/1999: *Indian Buddhism, A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- 2000 (vol. 1): *Gotama Buddha, A Biography Based on the Most Reliable Texts*, Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co.
- Ñāṇamoli, Bhikkhu 1995/2005: *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha, A Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya*, Bhikkhu Bodhi (ed.), Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Ñāṇananda, Bhikkhu 1971: *Concept and Reality in Early Buddhist Thought, An Essay on 'Papañca' and 'Papañca-Saññā-Saṅkhā'*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Nanayakkara, S.K. 1977: "Cakravartin", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, J. Dhirasekera (ed.), 3.4: 591–596, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 1989: "Dhutaṅga", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 4.4: 580–585, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- Nandy, Ashis 1980: "Sati, A Nineteenth-century Tale of Women, Violence and Protest", in *At the Edge of Psychology: Essays in Politics and Culture*, A. Nandy, 1–31, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Nanjio Bunyiu 1883/1989: *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka, The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan*, Delhi: Classics India Publications.
- 1886: *A Short History of the Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, Translated from the Original Japanese*, Tokyo: Bukkyō-shō-
ei-yaku-shuppan-sha.
- Nattier, Jan 1991: *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*, Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press.
- 2003a: *A Few Good Men, The Bodhisattva Path According to The Inquiry of Ugra (Ugraparipṛcchā)*, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- 2003b: "The Ten Epithets of the Buddha in the Translations of Zhi Qian 支謙", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 6: 207–250.
- 2004a: "Buddha(s)", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), 1: 71–74, New York: Macmillan.
- 2004b: "The Twelve Divisions of Scriptures (十二部經) in the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 7: 167–196.
- 2007: "'One Vehicle' (一乘) in the Chinese Āgamas: New Light on an Old Problem in Pāli", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 10: 181–200.
- 2008: *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations, Texts from the Eastern Han 東漢 and Three Kingdoms 三國 Periods*, Tokyo: Soka University.
- 2010: "Re-evaluating Zhu Fonian's Shizu duanjie jing (T309): Translation or Forgery?", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 13: 231–258.

- 2012: "Reconsidering the Chinese Ekottarika-āgama: Questions of Content and School Affiliation in Light of the Translator's Track Record", unpublished paper presented at the workshop *The Chinese Translation of the Ekottarika-āgama, Research Perspectives & Collaboration*, 20th April 2012 at the Library and Information Center, Dharma Drum Buddhist College, Taiwan.
- Neumann, Karl Eugen 1896/1995: *Die Reden des Buddha, Mittlere Sammlung*, Herrnschrot: Beyerlein & Steinschulte.
- Nobel, Johannes 1937: *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, Das Goldglanz-Sūtra, Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Nolot, Édith 1991: *Règles de discipline des nonnes bouddhistes, Le bhikṣuṇīvinaya de l'école Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*, Paris: Éditions de Boccard.
- Norman, K.R. 1971/1989: *Elders' Verses II*, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- 1979/1991: "Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XV", in *Collected Papers*, K.R. Norman (ed.), 2: 119–127, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- 1981/1991: "Notes on the Vessantara-jātaka", in *Collected Papers*, K.R. Norman (ed.), 2: 172–186, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- 1983a: *Pāli Literature, Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of All the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1983b: "The Pratyeka-Buddha in Buddhism and Jainism", in *Buddhist Studies: Ancient and Modern*, P. Denwood (ed.), 92–106, London: Curzon.
- 1984: "The Four Noble Truths: A Problem of Pāli Syntax", in *Indological and Buddhist Studies, Volume in Honour of Pro-*

- fessor *J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, L.A. Hercus (ed.), 2nd ed., 377–391, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- 1990/1993: "Why Are the Four Noble Truths Called 'Noble'?", in *Collected Papers*, K.R. Norman (ed.), 4: 171–174, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- 1991/1993: "As Rare as Fig-flowers", in *Collected Papers*, K.R. Norman (ed.), 4: 245–250, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- 1992: *The Group of Discourses (Sutta-nipāta), Volume II, Revised Translation with Introduction and Notes*, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- 1994/1996: "The Development of the Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects", in *Collected Papers*, K.R. Norman (ed.), 6: 88–121, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- 1996/2001: "Solitary as a Rhinoceros Horn", in *Collected Papers*, K.R. Norman (ed.), 7: 33–41, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Nyanatiloka Thera 1952/1988: *Buddhist Dictionary, Manual of Buddhist Terms and Doctrines*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Oberhammer, Gerhard 1983: *Inklusivismus, Eine indische Denkform*, Wien: Gerold.
- Oberlies, Thomas 2000: "Heilige Schriften des Buddhismus", in *Heilige Schriften, Eine Einführung*, U. Tworuschka (ed.), 167–196, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- 2006: "Das Sterben 'lebender Toter': Zur Genese des Instituts des Freitods und zum Umgang der indischen Rechtstradition mit ihm", *Acta Orientalia*, 67: 203–228.
- Obermiller, E. 1932/1986: *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet by Bu-ston*, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- Ohnuma Reiko 2000: "The Story of Rūpavātī: A Female Past Birth of the Buddha", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 23.1: 103–145.

- 2001: "Woman, Bodhisattva, and Buddha", *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 17.1: 63–83.
- 2004a: "Gender", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), 1: 302–306, New York: Macmillan.
- 2004b: "Jātaka", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), 1: 400–401, New York: Macmillan.
- Oikawa Shinkai 2002/2003: "Women and Men as Described in Pāli Commentaries", in *Buddhist and Indian Studies in Honour of Professor Sodo Mori*, 67–78, Hamamatsu: Kokusai Bukkyo Kyokai.
- Oldenberg, Hermann 1879: *The Dīpavaṃsa, An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record, Edited and Translated*, London: Williams and Norgate.
- 1879/1997 (vol. 1): *The Vinaya Piṭakaṃ: One of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pāli Language*, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- 1881/1961: *Buddha, Sein Leben, Seine Lehre, Seine Gemeinde*, München: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag.
- 1898: "Buddhistische Studien", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 52: 613–694.
- 1912: "Studien zur Geschichte des buddhistischen Kanon", in *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1912*, 155–217.
- Olivelle, Patrick 1993: *The Āśrama System, The History and Hermeneutics of a Religious Institution*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Olivia, Nona 2011: "Learning from the Therīgāthā: What Liberated the Venerable Nun Uttamā", *The Sati Journal, The Journal for the Sati Center for Buddhist Studies*, 1: 13–23.
- Ong, Walter J. 1982/1996: *Orality & Literacy, The Technologizing of the Word*, London: Routledge.

- Osto, Douglas 2008: *Power, Wealth and Women in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism; The Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, London: Routledge.
- Pachow, W. 1955: *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa, On the Basis of Its Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pali Versions*, Santiniketan: Sino-Indian Cultural Society.
- Pagel, Ulrich 1995: *The Bodhisattvapīṭaka; Its Doctrines, Practices and Their Position in Mahāyāna Literature*, Tring: Institute of Buddhist Studies.
- Palumbo, Antonello 2012: "Models of Buddhist Kingship in Early Medieval China", in 中古時代的禮儀, 宗教與制度, Yu Xin (ed.), 287–338, Shanghai: Gūjī chūbānshè.
- 2013: *An Early Chinese Commentary on the Ekottarika-āgama, The Fenbie gongde lun 分別功德論 and the History of the Translation of the Zengyi ahan jing 增一阿含經*, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.
- Panabokke, Gunaratne 1993: *History of the Buddhist Saṅgha in India and Sri Lanka*, Sri Lanka: University of Kelaniya.
- Pande, Govind Chandra 1957: *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allahabad: University of Allahabad, Department of Ancient History.
- Pandey, Deena Bandhu 1978: *The Dharmachakrapravartana in Literature and Art*, New Delhi: Oriental Publishers & Distributors.
- Pandita, U 2015: "The Four Realities True for Noble Ones, A New Approach to Ariyasaccas", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 22: 331–364.
- Panglung, Jampa Losang 1981: *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya, Analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung*, Tokyo: Reiyukai Library.
- Park, Jungnok 2010: "A New Attribution of the Authorship of T5 and T6 Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 31.1/2: 339–367.

- 2012: *How Buddhism Acquired a Soul on the Way to China*, Sheffield: Equinox Publishing.
- Pāsādika, Bhikkhu 1989: *Kanonische Zitate im Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya des Vasubandhu*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 2007: "The Ekottarāgama Parallel to jātaka 77", in *Indica et Tibetica 65, Festschrift für Michael Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden und Schülern überreicht*, K. Konrad and J.U. Hartmann (ed.), 395–403, Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- 2009: "Vasubandhu", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.3: 501–508, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- 2010: "Gleanings from the Chinese Ekottarāgama Regarding School Affiliation and Other Topics", in *Translating Buddhist Chinese, Problems and Prospects*, K. Meisig (ed.), 87–96, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Paul, Diana Y. 1979/1985: *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in Mahāyāna Tradition*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pauly, Bernard 1959: "Fragments sanskrits de Haute Asie (Mission Pelliot)", *Journal Asiatique*, 247: 203–249.
- Pavolini, P.E. 1899: "Sulla leggenda dei quattro Pratyekabuddha", *Actes du Douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Rome 1899*, 1: 129–137.
- Peach, Lucinda Joy 2002: "Social Responsibility, Sex Change, and Salvation: Gender Justice in the Lotus sūtra", *Philosophy East and West*, 52.1: 50–74.
- Pe Maung Tin 1976: *The Expositor (Atthasālinī), Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, The First Book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, London: Pali Text Society.
- Perera, L.P.N. 1950: "An Analysis of the Sela sutta of the Sutta Nipāta", *University of Ceylon Review*, 8: 198–292.

- 1993: *Sexuality in Ancient India, A Study Based on the Pāli Vinaya-piṭaka*, Sri Lanka: University of Kelaniya, Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies.
- Pérez-Remón, Joaquín 1980: *Self and Non-self in Early Buddhism*, The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Peri, Noël 1918: "Les femmes de Çākya-muni", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 18.1: 1–37.
- Peris, Merlin 2004: *Greek Story Motifs in the jātakas*, Colombo: Godage International Publishers.
- Perreira, Todd LeRoy 2012: "Whence Theravāda? The Modern Genealogy of an Ancient Term", in *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, P. Skilling et al. (ed.), 443–571, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Pischel, Richard 1904: "Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons der Buddhisten aus Idyikutšari, Chinesisch-Turkestan", *Sitzungsbericht der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft*, 25: 807–827.
- 1900/1981: *A Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages*, Subhadra Jhā (trsl.), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Pollock, Sheldon 1989: "Mīmāṃsā and the Problem of History in Traditional India", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 109.4: 603–610.
- Powers, John 2009: *A Bull of a Man, Images of Masculinity, Sex, and the Body in Indian Buddhism*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Pradhan, Pralhad 1967: *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu*, Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
- Pranke, Patrick Arthur 2004: *The 'Treatise on the Lineage of Elders' (Vamsadīpanī): Monastic Reform and the Writing of Buddhist History in Eighteenth-century Burma*, PhD thesis, University of Michigan.

- Prasad, Chandra Shekhar 1972: "Theravāda and Vibhajjavāda, A Critical Study of the Two Appellations", *East and West*, 22.1/2: 101–113.
- Pruitt, William 1987: "References to Pāli in 17th-century French Books", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 11: 121–131.
- 1998/1999: *The Commentary on the Verses of the Therīs (Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā, Paramatthadīpanī VI) by Ācariya Dhammapāla*, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Pruitt, William and K.R. Norman 2001: *The Pātimokkha*, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Przyluski, Jean 1914: "Le nord-ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūla-Sarvāstivādin et les textes apparentés", *Journal Asiatique*, 11.4: 493–568.
- 1918: "Le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha", *Journal Asiatique*, 11.11: 485–526 and 11.12: 401–456.
- 1923: *La légende de l'empereur Aṣoka (Aṣoka-avadāna) dans les textes indiens et chinois*, Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- 1926: *Le concile de Rājagṛha, introduction à l'histoire des canons et des sectes bouddhiques*, Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- 1927: "La ville du cakravartin, Influences babyloniennes sur la civilisation de l'Inde", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 5: 165–185.
- Pu Chenzhong 2008: "Notes on the Chengju guangming jing, 'Sūtra of Achieving the Bright Light Concentration'", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 25.1: 27–53.
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G. 1991: *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin*, Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Pye, Michael 2008: "Suzuki Daisetsu's View of Buddhism and the Encounter Between Eastern and Western Thought", *The Eastern Buddhist*, 39.2: 1–25.

- Radhakrishnan, S. 1953/1992: *The Principal Upaniṣads, Edited with Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes*, New York: Humanity Books.
- Radich, Michael David 2011: *How Ajātaśatru Was Reformed: The Domestication of 'Ajase' and Stories in Buddhist History*, Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies.
- 2011/2012: "Immortal Buddhas and Their Indestructible Embodiments, The Advent of the Concept of Vajrakāya", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 34.1/2: 227–290.
- 2016: "On the Ekottarikāgama 增壹阿含經 T 125 as a Work of Zhu Fonian 竺佛念" (forthcoming).
- Radich, Michael David and Anālayo 2016: "Were the Ekottarika-āgama (T 125) and the Madhyama-āgama (T 26) Translated by the Same Person? An Assessment on the Basis of Translation Style", in *Research on the Madhyama-āgama*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation (forthcoming).
- Rahula, Walpola 1971: "L'idéal du bodhisattva dans le Theravāda et le Mahāyāna", *Journal Asiatique*, 259: 63–70.
- Rajapakse, Vijitha 1995: "Therīgāthā: On Feminism, Aestheticism and Religiosity in an Early Buddhist Verse Anthology", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 12.1: 7–26 and 12.2: 135–155.
- Ramers, Peter 1996: *Die 'drei Kapitel über die Sittlichkeit im Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra'*, *Die Fassungen des Dīghanikāya und Saṃghabhedavastu, verglichen mit dem Tibetischen und Mongolischen*, PhD thesis, Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität.
- Rao, Vinay Kumar 2012: *Women in Buddhist Art*, Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

- Ratnayaka, Shanta 1985: "The Bodhisattva Ideal of the Theravāda", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 8.2: 85–110.
- Rawlinson, Andrew 1977: "The Position of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in the Development of Early Mahāyāna", in *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems: Studies in Honor of Edward Conze*, L. Lancaster and L.O. Gomez (ed.), 3–34, Berkeley: University of California.
- Ray, Reginald A. 1985: "Buddhism: Sacred Text Written and Realized", in *The Holy Book in Comparative Perspective*, F.M. Denny et al. (ed.), 148–180. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- 1994: *Buddhist Saints in India, A Study in Buddhist Values & Orientations*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rémusat, Abel 1836: *Foë Kouë Ki ou relation des royaumes bouddhiques, voyages dans la Tartarie, dans l'Afghanistan et dans l'Inde, exécuté, à la fin du IV^e siècle, par Chy Fă Hian*, Paris: Imprimerie Royale.
- Renou, Louis and J. Filliozat 1953/2001: *L'Inde classique, Manuel des études indiennes, tome II*, Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- 1957: "Les divisions dans les textes sanscrites", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1: 1–32.
- Rewata Dhamma 1997: *The First Discourse of the Buddha, Turning the Wheel of Dhamma*, Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Reynolds, Frank E. 1972: "The Two Wheels of Dhamma: A Study of Early Buddhism", in *The Two Wheels of Dhamma, Essays on the Theravāda Tradition in India and Ceylon*, G. Obeyesekere et al. (ed.), 6–30, Chambersburg: American Academy of Religion.

- Rhi Juhyung 1991: *Gandhāran Images of the 'Śrāvastī Miracle': An Iconographic Reassessment*, PhD thesis, Berkeley: University of California.
- Rhys Davids, C.A.F. 1909/1964: *Psalms of the Sisters*, London: Luzac.
- 1917/1979: *The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saṃyutta-Nikāya) or Grouped suttas, Part I. Kindred Sayings with Verses (Sa-gāthā-vagga)*, London: Pali Text Society.
- 1924/1975: "Editorial Note", in *The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saṃyutta-nikāya) or Grouped suttas, Part III*, F.L. Woodward (trsl.), v–xii, London: Pali Text Society.
- 1937: "Towards a History of the Skandha-doctrine", *Indian Culture*, 3: 405–411 and 653–662.
- 1938/1978: *Outlines of Buddhism, A Historical Sketch*, Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation.
- Rhys Davids, C.A.F. and K.R. Norman 1989: *Poems of Early Buddhist Nuns (Therīgāthā)*, Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Rhys Davids, T.W. 1880/2000: *Early Buddhism*, Delhi: Bharatiya Publishing House.
- 1896: "Note on Some of the Titles Used in the Bhabra Edict of Asoka", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 93–101.
- 1903/1997: *Buddhist India*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- 1910 (vol. 2) and 1921 (vol. 3): *Dialogues of the Buddha, Translated from the Pāli of the Dīgha Nikāya*, London: Oxford University Press.
- 1913: "Hīnayāna", in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, J. Hastings (ed.), 684–686, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- 1922: "Wheel of the Law", in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Volume XII*, J. Hastings (ed.), 736–737, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Rhys Davids, T.W. and W. Stede 1921/1993: *Pali–English Dictionary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Rockhill, W. Woodville 1883/1907: *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order, Derived from Tibetan Works in the Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur, Followed by Notices on the Early History of Tibet and Khoten*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.
- 1883/1975: *Udānavarga, a Collection of Verses from the Buddhist Canon Compiled by Dharmatrāta, Being the Northern Buddhist Version of Dhammapada, Translated from the Tibetan of the Bkah-hgyur, With Notes and Extracts from the Commentary of Pradžnāvarman*, Amsterdam: Oriental Press.
- Romberg, Claudia 2002: "Women in Engaged Buddhism", *Contemporary Buddhism*, 3.2: 161–170.
- Roth, Gustav 1970: *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, Including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a Summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*, Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
- Rowland, Benjamin, Jr. 1948: "A Note on the Invention of the Buddha Image", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 11.1/2: 181–186.
- Roy, Kumkum 1988: "Women and Men Donors at Sanchi: A Study of the Inscriptional Evidence", in *Position and Status of Women in Ancient India*, L.K. Tripathi (ed.), 1: 209–223, Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology.
- Ruegg, David Seyfort 2004: "Aspects of the Study of the (Earlier) Indian Mahāyāna", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 27.1: 3–62.
- 2008: *The Symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism in South Asia and of Buddhism with 'Local Cults' in Tibet and the Himalayan Region*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Saddhatissa, H. 1985: *The Sutta-nipāta*, London: Curzon.

- Sakaki, Ryōzaburō 1926: 翻譯名義大集 [*Mahāvvyutpatti*], Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation.
- Salomon, Richard 2000: *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros sūtra, British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5B*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 2011: "An Unwieldy Canon: Observations on Some Distinctive Features of Canon Formation in Buddhism", in *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, M. Deeg et al. (ed.), 161–207, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Samuels, Jeffrey 1997: "The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda Buddhist Theory and Practice, A Reevaluation of the bodhisattva–śrāvaka Opposition", *Philosophy East and West*, 47.3: 399–415.
- Sander, Lore 1987: *Nachträge zu 'Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte Heft III-V'*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- 2007: "Preliminary Remarks on Two Versions of the Āṭānāṭīya (Āṭānāṭīka)-sūtra in Sanskrit", *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*, 11: 159–196 [152–115].
- Sander, Lore and E. Waldschmidt 1980: *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil IV*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Sarbacker, Stuart Ray 2005: *Samādhi, The Numinous and Cessative in Indo-Tibetan Yoga*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Sarkar, Sadhan Chandra 1990: *Studies in the Common Jātaka and Avadāna Tales*, Calcutta: Sanskrit College.
- Sasaki Shizuka 1997: "A Study on the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism", *The Eastern Buddhist*, 30.1: 79–113.
- 2004: "Araṇya Dwellers in Buddhism", *Bukkyō Kenkyū*, 32: 1–13.

- 2009: "A Basic Approach for Research on the Origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism", *Acta Asiatica, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, 96: 25–46.
- Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta 1940: "Cakravartin", *New Indian Antiquary*, 3: 307–321.
- Scharfe, Hartmut 1987: "Nomadisches Erbgut in der indischen Tradition", in *Hinduismus und Buddhismus, Festschrift für Ulrich Schneider*, H. Falk (ed.) 300–308, Freiburg: Hedwig Falk.
- 1989: *The State in Indian Tradition*, Leiden: Brill.
- Scherer, Burkhard 2006: "Gender Transformed and Meta-gendered Enlightenment: Reading Buddhist Narratives as Paradigms of Inclusiveness", *Revista de Estudos da Religião*, 3: 65–76.
- Schetelich, Maria 1997/1998: "Traces of Early purohita Knowledge in the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra", *Indologica Taurinensia*, 23/24: 653–661.
- Schlingloff, Dieter 1967: [Review of Waldschmidt et al. 1965], *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 116: 419–425.
- 1981: "Erzählung und Bild: Die Darstellungsformen von Handlungsabläufen in der europäischen und indischen Kunst", *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie*, 3: 87–213.
- 1991: "Yamakaprātihārya und Buddhapiṇḍī in der altbuddhistischen Kunst", *Berliner Indologische Studien*, 6: 109–136.
- 2000: *Ajanta, Handbuch der Malereien/Handbook of the Paintings 1, Erzählende Wandmalereien/Narrative Wall-paintings, Vol. I, Interpretation*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schmithausen, Lambert 1981: "On Some Aspects of Descriptions or Theories of 'Liberating Insight' and 'Enlightenment' in Early Buddhism", in *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus, Ge-*

- denkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf*, K. Bruh and A. Wezler. (ed.), 199–250, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- 1991: "Buddhism and Nature", in *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Occasion of EXPO 1990*, 22–34, Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- 1997: "The Early Buddhist Tradition and Ecological Ethics", *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 4: 1–74.
- 1999: "Heilsvermittelnde Aspekte der Natur im Buddhismus", in *Raum-zeitliche Vermittlung der Transzendenz, zur 'sakramentalen' Dimension religiöser Tradition*, 229–262, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 2000: "Mitleid und Leerheit, Zu Spiritualität und Heilsziel des Mahāyāna", in *Der Buddhismus als Anfrage an christliche Theologie und Philosophie*, A. Bsteh (ed.), 437–455, Mödling: St. Gabriel.
- 2013: "Kuśala and akuśala, Reconsidering the Original Meaning of a Basic Pair of Terms of Buddhist Spirituality and Ethics and Its Development up to Early Yogācāra", in *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners, The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet*, U.T. Kragh (ed.), 440–495, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Schopen, Gregory 1975: "The Phrase 'sa pṛthivīpradeśāś caityabhūto bhavet' in the Vajracchedikā, Notes on the Cult of the Book in the Mahāyāna", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 27: 147–181.
- 1985/1997: "Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism, The Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of the Transference of Merit", in *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks, Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*, G. Schopen (ed.), 23–55, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

- 1988/1997: "On Monks, Nuns and 'Vulgar' Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism", in *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks, Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*, G. Schopen (ed.), 238–257, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- 1994/2004: "The Monastic Ownership of Servants or Slaves, Local and Legal Factors in the Redactional History of Two Vinayas", in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters, Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India (Studies in the Buddhist Traditions)*, G. Schopen (ed.), 193–218, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- 1995/2004: "Deaths, Funerals, and the Division of Property in a Monastic Code", in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters, Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India (Studies in the Buddhist Traditions)*, G. Schopen (ed.), 91–121, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- 1996/2004: "The Lay Ownership of Monasteries and the Role of the Monk in Mūlasarvāstivāda Monasticism", in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters, Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India (Studies in the Buddhist Traditions)*, G. Schopen (ed.), 219–259. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- 1997/2004: "If You Can't Remember, How to Make It Up, Some Monastic Rules for Redacting Canonical Texts", in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters, Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India (Studies in the Buddhist Traditions)*, G. Schopen (ed.), 395–407, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- 2000/2005: "The Mahāyāna and the Middle Period in Indian Buddhism, Through a Chinese Looking-glass", in *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India, More Collected Papers*, G. Schopen (ed.), 3–24, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.

- 2001/2005: "On Sending the Monks Back to Their Books, Cult and Conservatism in Early Mahāyāna Buddhism", in *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India, More Collected Papers*, G. Schopen (ed.), 108–153, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Schubring, Walther 1962/2000: *The Doctrine of the Jainas, Described after the Old Sources*, Wolfgang Beurlen (trsl.), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Schumann, Hans Wolfgang 2006: *Siebzig Schlüsselbegriffe des Pāli-Buddhismus, Definiert und kommentiert, mit Seitenblicken auf ihre Sanskrit-Entsprechungen im Mahāyāna-Buddhismus*, Heidelberg: Werner Kristkeitz Verlag.
- Schuster, Nancy 1981: "Changing the Female Body: Wise Women and the Bodhisattva Career in Some Mahāratnakūṭasūtras", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 4.1: 24–69.
- Scott, Rachele M. 2010/2011: "Buddhism, Miraculous Powers, and Gender – Rethinking the Stories of Theravāda Nuns", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 33.1/2: 489–511.
- Seeger, Martin 2006/2008: "The bhikkhunī Ordination Controversy in Thailand", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 29.1: 155–183.
- 2007: "Thai Buddhist Studies and the Authority of the Pāli Canon", *Contemporary Buddhism*, 8.1: 1–18.
- 2009a: "The Changing Roles of Thai Buddhist Women: Obscuring Identities and Increasing Charisma", *Religion Compass*, 3.5: 806–822.
- 2009b: "Phra Payutto and Debates 'On the Very Idea of the Pāli Canon' in Thai Buddhism", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 26.1: 1–31.

- 2010: "'Against the Stream': The Thai Female Buddhist Saint Mae Chi Kaew Sianglam (1901–1991)", *South East Asia Research*, 18.3: 555–595.
- 2013: "Reversal of Female Power, Transcendentality, and Gender in Thai Buddhism: The Thai Buddhist Female Saint Khun Mae Bunruean Tongbuntoem", *Modern Asian Studies*, 1–32. doi: 10.1017/S0026749X11000898
- Seidenstücker, Karl 1904: *Mahâyâna: Die Hauptlehren des nördlichen Buddhismus, von S. Kuroda, Autorisierte deutsche Ausgabe nach dem englisch-japanischen Original von K.B. Seidenstücker*, Leipzig: Buddhistischer Missions-Verlag.
- Senart, Émile 1882a: *Essai sur la légende du Buddha, son caractère et ses origines*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- 1882b (vol. 1), 1890 (vol. 2), and 1897 (vol. 3): *Le Mahāvastu, texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- 1907: "Origines bouddhiques", *Annales du Musée Guimet: Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation Tome XXV, Conférences au Musée Guimet*, R. Cagnat et al., 115–158, Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Sferra, Francesco 2008: "Appendix: Kośagatavastiguhyatā", in *South Asian Archaeology 1999, Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists Held at the Universiteit Leiden, 5–9 July, 1999*, E.M. Raven (ed.), 9–13, Groningen: Egbert Forstein.
- Shah, Kirit K. 2001: *The Problem of Identity: Women in Early Indian Inscriptions*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sharf, Robert H. 1995a: "Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience", *Numen*, 42: 228–283.
- 1995b: "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism", in *Curators of the Buddha, The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, D.S. Lopez Jr. (ed.), 107–160, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- 2000: "The Rhetoric of Experience and the Study of Religion", *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 7.11/12: 267–287.
- Sharma, Arvind 1976: "A Note on the Use of the Word Hīnayāna in the Teaching of Buddhism", *The Eastern Buddhist*, 9.2: 129–133.
- Sharma, Arvind et al. 1988/2001: *Sati: Historical and Phenomenological Essays*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Sharma, Sudarshan Kumar 2008 (vol. 1): *Vāyu Mahāpurāṇa*, Delhi: Parimal Publications.
- Shaw, Miranda 2006/2007: *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Shaw, Sarah 2015: "The Birth Story of Vessantara (Vessantara-jātaka), Introduction", in *The Ten Great Birth Stories of the Buddha, The Mahānipāta of the Jātakathavaṇṇanā, Volume Two*, N. Appleton and S. Shaw, 507–534, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Sheravanichkul, Arthid 2008: "Self-sacrifice of the Bodhisatta in the Paññāsa Jātaka", *Religion Compass*, 2.5: 769–787.
- Shi Hui fēng 2015: "Chiastic Structure of the Vessantara jātika, Textual Criticism and Interpretation through Inverted Parallelism", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 32.1: 143–159.
- Shults, Brett 2014: [Review of Anālayo 2012d], *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 7: 245–251.
- Shwe Zan Aung and C.A.F Rhys Davids 1915/1979: *Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse, Being a Translation of the Kathā-vatthu from the Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, London: Pali Text Society.
- Shyu Ching-mei 2008: *A Few Good Women: A Study of the Liu Du Ji Jing (A Scripture on the Collection of the Six Perfections) From Literary, Artistic, and Gender Perspectives*, PhD thesis, Cornell University.

- Silk, Jonathan A. 2002: "What, If Anything, Is Mahāyāna Buddhism? Problems of Definitions and Classifications", *Numen*, 49: 355–405.
- 2003: "Dressed for Success, The Monk Kāśyapa and Strategies of Legitimation in Earlier Mahāyāna Buddhist Scriptures", *Journal Asiatique*, 291.1/2: 173–219.
- 2006: *Body Language, Indic śarīra and Chinese shèlì in the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra and Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- 2008/2009: *Riven by Lust, Incest and Schism in Indian Buddhist Legend and Hagiography*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- 2015: "Canonicity", in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, J. Silk, O. von Hinüber, and V. Eltschinger (ed.), 5–37, Leiden: Brill.
- Silverlock, Blair 2009: *An Edition, Translation and Study of the Bodha-sūtra from the Manuscript of the Gilgit Dīrghāgama of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins*, BA thesis, University of Sydney.
- 2015: *An Edition and Study of the Goṣiga-sutra, The Cowhorn Discourse (Senior Collection Scroll no. 12): An Account of the Harmonious Aṅarudha Monks*, PhD thesis, University of Sydney.
- Singh, Upinder 1996: "Sanchi: The History of the Patronage of an Ancient Buddhist Establishment", *Indian Economic Social History Review*, 33.1: 1–35.
- Sircar, D.C. and A.N. Lahiri 1960: "No. 46 – Footprint Slab Inscription from Nagarjunikonda", *Epigraphia Indica*, 33: 247–252.
- Skilling, Peter 1992: "The rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvākayāna", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 16: 109–182.
- 1993: "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 19: 69–201.
- 1994 (vol. 1) and 1997b (vol. 2): *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha*, Oxford: Pali Text Society.

- 1995: "Female Renunciants (nang chi) in Siam, According to Early Travellers' Accounts", *Journal of the Siam Society*, 83.1/2: 55–61.
- 1996: "The sambuddhe Verses and Later Theravādin Buddhismology", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 22: 151–183.
- 1997a: "Citations from the Scriptures of the 'Eighteen Schools' in the Tarkajvālā", in *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, P. Kieffer-Pülz and J.-U. Hartmann (ed.), 605–614, Swisstal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica.
- 1997b see above 1994.
- 2000a: "Nonnen, Laienanhängerinnen, Spenderinnen, Göttinnen: Weibliche Rollen im Frühen Indischen Buddhismus", in *Aspekte des Weiblichen in der Indischen Kultur*, U. Roesler (ed.), 47–102, Swisstal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica.
- 2000b: "Vasubandhu and the Vyākhyāyukti Literature", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 23.2: 297–350.
- 2001a: "Eṣā agrā: Images of Nuns in (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin Literature", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 24.2: 135–156.
- 2001b: "Nuns, Laywomen, Donors, Goddesses: Female Roles in Early Indian Buddhism", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 24.2: 241–274.
- 2003a: "On the Agnihotramukhā Yajñāḥ Verses", in *Jainism and Early Buddhism: Essays in Honor of Padmanabh S. Jaini*, O. Qvarnström (ed.), 637–667, Fremont: Asian Humanities Press.
- 2003b: "Three Types of Bodhisatta in Theravādin Tradition, A Bibliographical Excursion", in *Buddhist and Indian Studies in Honour of Professor Sodo Mori*, 91–102, Hamamatsu: Kokusai Bukkyoto Kyokai.

- 2004: "Mahāyāna and Bodhisattva, An Essay Towards Historical Understanding", in *Photisatawa barami kap sangkhom thai nai sahasawat mai*, P. Limpanusorn et al. (ed.), 140–156, Bangkok: Thammasat University Press.
- 2005: "Cutting across Categories: The Ideology of Relics in Buddhism", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University*, 8: 269–310.
- 2006a: "Jātaka and Paññāsa-jātaka in South-East Asia", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 28: 113–173.
- 2006b: "Le jātaka: Vies antérieures et perfection du Bouddha", *Religions et Histoire*, 8: 52–57.
- 2008: "Dharma, Dhāraṇī, Abhidharma, Avadāna: What Was Taught in Trayastriṃśa?", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University*, 11: 37–60.
- 2009a: "Quatre vies de Sakyamuni, À l'aube de sa carrière de Bodhisatta", in *Bouddhismes d'Asie, monuments et littératures, Journée d'étude en hommage à Alfred Foucher (1868–1952)*, P.S. Filliozat and J. Leclant (ed.), 125–135, Paris: Éditions de Boccard.
- 2009b: "Redaction, Recitation, and Writing, Transmission of the Buddha's Teaching in India in the Early Period", in *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures, Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, S.C. Berkwitz et al. (ed.), 53–75, London: Routledge.
- 2009c: "Theravāda in History", *Pacific World, Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, 3.11: 61–93.
- 2010: "Gotama's Epochal Career", in *From Turfan to Ajanta: Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, E. Franco and M. Zin (ed.), 947–953, Lumbini: International Research Institute.
- 2013: "Vaidalya, Mahāyāna, and Bodhisattva in India: An Essay towards Historical Understanding", in *The Bodhisattva*

- Ideal, Essays on the Emergence of Mahāyāna*, Bhikkhu Ñāṇatusita (ed.), 69–162, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Skilling, Peter and P. Harrison 2005: "What's in a Name? Sarvāstivādin Interpretations of the Epithets 'Buddha' and 'Bhagavat'", in *Buddhism and Jainism, Essays in Honour of Dr. Hojun Nagasaki on His Seventieth Birthday*, 700–675 [131–156], Kyoto: Committee for the Felicitation of Dr. Hojun Nagasaki's Seventieth Birthday.
- Skilling, Peter et al. 2012: *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Skilton, Andrew 2013: "Theravāda", in *A Companion to Buddhist Philosophy*, S.M. Emmanuel (ed.), 71–85, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Snodgrass, Judith 2003: *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West; Orientalism, Occidentalism and the Columbian Exposition*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Soothill, William Edward and L. Hodous 1937/2000: *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit–Pali Index*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Soper, Alexander C. 1959: *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China, Artibus Asiae Supplementum XIX*, Ascona: Artibus Asiae.
- Sparham, Gareth 1983/1986: *The Tibetan Dhammapada, Sayings of the Buddha*, London: Wisdom Publications.
- Speyer, J.S. 1909/1970 (vol. 2): *Avadānaçataka, A Century of Edifying Tales Belonging to the Hīnayāna*, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag.
- Spiro, Melford E. 1977: "[Review of Tambiah 1976]", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 36.4: 789–791.
- 1970/1982: *Buddhism and Society, A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Straube, Martin 2009: *Studien zur Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, Texte und Quellen der Parallelen zu Haribhaṭṭas Jātakamālā*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Strauch, Ingo 2010: "More Missing Pieces of Early Pure Land Buddhism: New Evidence for Akṣobhya and Abhirati in an Early Mahayana Sutra from Gandhāra", *The Eastern Buddhist*, 41.1: 23–66.
- 2014: "Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the Order of Nuns in a Gandhāran Version of the Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅgasūtra", in *Women in Early Indian Buddhism: Comparative Textual Studies*, A. Collett (ed.), 17–45, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Strauß, Otto 1913: "Zur Geschichte des Sāṃkhya", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 27: 257–275.
- Strong, John S. 1979: "The Legend of the Lion-roarer: A Study of the Buddhist Arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja", *Numen*, 26.1: 50–88.
- 1983: *The Legend of King Aśoka, A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1995: *The Experience of Buddhism, Sources and Interpretations*, Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- 2004: "Hīnayāna", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), 328, New York: Macmillan.
- 2010: "The Triple Ladder at Saṃkāśya, Traditions about the Buddha's Descent from the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven", in *From Turfan to Ajanta: Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, E. Franco and M. Zin (ed.), 967–978, Lumbini: International Research Institute.
- Stuart, Daniel M. 2013: *Thinking about Cessation: The Prṣṭhapaḥārasūtra of the Dīrghāgama in Context*, Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- Su ('Ken') Jinkun 蘇錦坤 2010: "從後說絕——單卷本《雜阿含經》是否將偈頌譯成長行", *Satyābhisamaya*, 55: 5–104.

- 2013: "The uddānas and Structural Aspects of the Ekottarika-āgama", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), 195–233, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.
- Sucitto, Ajahn 2012: "What Is Theravada?", *The Middle Way*, 87.2: 87–93.
- Sujato, Bhikkhu 2005: *A History of Mindfulness, How Insight Worsted Tranquility in the Satipatthana sutta*, Taipei: Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation.
- 2006: *Sects & Sectarianism, The Origins of Buddhist Schools*, Taipei: The Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation.
- 2011: *White Bones, Red Rot, Black Snakes, A Buddhist Mythology of the Feminine*, Australia: Santipada Publications.
- Suzuki Daisetz Teitaro 1907: *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, London: Luzac and Company.
- Swearer, Donald K. 2004/2007: *Becoming the Buddha, The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Takakusu J. 1904: "The Life of Vasu-bandhu by Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569)", *T'oung Pao*, 2.5: 269–296.
- 1966: *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A. D. 671–695) by I-Tsing*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Takemi Momoko 1983: "'Menstruation Sutra' Belief in Japan", W.M. Kelsey (trsl.), *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 10.2/3: 229–246.
- Talim, Meena 2009: *Science of Medicine and Surgery in Buddhist India*, Delhi: Buddhist World Press.
- Tambiah, S.J. 1976: *World Conqueror and World Renouncer, A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand Against a Historical Background*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tanabe Kazuko 2002/2003: "Some Remarks on the Stories Beginning with the Word bhūtapubbaṃ", in *Buddhist and Indian Studies in Honour of Professor Sodo Mori*, 43–53, Hamamatsu: Kokusai Bukkyoto Kyokai.
- Tatia, Nathmal 1975: *Prātimokṣasūtram of the Lokottaravāda-mahāsāṅghika School*, Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.
- Terentyev, A. 2009: "Udayana Buddha Statue, Its Fate in Russia", in *Buddhist and Pali Studies in Honour of the Venerable Professor Kakkapalliye Anuruddha*, K.L. Dhammajoti et al. (ed.), 473–500, Hong Kong: Centre of Buddhist Studies, University of Hong Kong.
- Thakur, Upendra 1963: *The History of Suicide in India, An Introduction*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Thapar, Romila 1973/1997: *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauriyas*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- 1976/1978: "Renunciation: The Making of a Counter-culture?", in *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, R. Thapar (ed.), 63–104, Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Thomas, E.J. 1933/2004: *The History of Buddhist Thought*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Tilakaratne, Asaṅga 2000: "Saṅgīti and sāmaggī: Communal Recitation and the Unity of the Saṅgha", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 17.2: 175–197.
- 2005: "Personality Differences of Arahants and the Origins of Theravāda, A Study of Two Great Elders of the Theravāda Tradition: Mahā Kassapa and Ānanda", in *Dhamma-Vinaya, Essays in Honour of Venerable Professor Dhammavihari (Jotiya Dhirasekera)*, A. Tilakaratne et al. (ed.), 229–257, Colombo: Sri Lanka Association for Buddhist Studies.

- Todeschini, Alberto 2013: "The Maiden Who Fell in Love with a Thief: Considerations on the Story of the Nun Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā", *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 13: 153–186.
- Tokiwai Tsuru-Matsu 1898: *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvādāna, Einleitung zu einer mit Professor Leumann vorbereiteten Ausgabe nebst Uebersetzung der chinesischen Bearbeitungen*, Darmstadt: G. Otto's Hof-Buchdruckerei.
- Tola, Fernando and C. Dragonetti 1996/1997: "The Conflict of Change in Buddhism: The Hīnayānist Reaction", *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, 9: 233–254.
- Tomalin, Emma 2006: "The Thai Bhikkhuni Movement and Women's Empowerment", *Gender and Development*, 14.3: 385–397.
- Tournier, Vincent 2012: "The Mahāvastu and the Vinayaṭīka of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University*, 15: 87–104.
- 2014: "Mahākāśyapa, His Lineage, and the Wish for Buddhahood: Reading Anew the Bodhgayā Inscriptions of Mahānāman", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 57: 1–60.
- Trainor, Kevin 1993: "In the Eye of the Beholder, Nonattachment and the Body in Subhā's Verse (Therīgāthā 71)", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 61.1: 57–79.
- 1997: *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism, Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tripāthī, Chandrabhāl 1962: *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidāna-samyukta*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 1995: *Ekottarāgama-Fragmente der Gilgit-Handschrift*, Reinbek: Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen.
- Tsuchida Ryūtarō 1991: "Two Categories of Brahmins in the Early Buddhist Period", *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, 49: 51–95.

- Turnour, George 1836: *The First Twenty Chapters of the Mahawanso and A Prefatory Essay on Pali Buddhistical Literature Originally Published as an Introduction to the Above Mentioned Portion of the Mahawanso and to the Epitome of the History of Ceylon and the Historical Inscipions, Printed in the Ceylon Almanacs of 1833 and 1834*, Ceylon: Cotta Church Mission Press.
- Tweed, Thomas A. 1992/2000: *The American Encounter with Buddhism 1844–1912, Victorian Culture & The Limits of Dissent*, Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press.
- Unebe Toshiya 2009: "Toward an Edition of the Paññāsajātaka: Problems and Solutions", *Thai International Journal for Buddhist Studies*, 1: 44–63.
- 2012: "Not for the Achievement of a sāvaka or Paccekabuddha: The Motive Behind the Bodhisatta's Self-sacrifice in the Paññāsa-jātaka", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 29.1: 35–56.
- Unebe Toshiya et al. 2007: "Three Stories from the Thai Recension of the Paññāsa-jātaka: Transliteration and Preliminary Notes", *Journal of the School of Letters*, 3: 1–23.
- Upadhyaya, K.D. 1968: "On the Position of Women in Indian Folk Cultuture" [*sic*], *Asian Folklore Studies*, 27.1: 81–100.
- Upasak, C.S. 1975: *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms (Based on Pali Literature)*, Varanasi: Bharati Prakashan.
- van den Bosch, Lourens P. 1995: "The Ultimate Journey, Satī and Widowhood in India", in *Between Poverty and the Pyre, Moments in the History of Widowhood*, J. Bremmer and L. van den Bosch (ed.), 171–203, London: Routledge.
- Van Esterik, John 1996: "Women Meditation Teachers in Thailand", in *Women of Southeast Asia*, P. Van Esterik (ed.), 33–41, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, Center for Southeast Asian Studies.

- Verardi, Giovanni 1988: "Tematiche indiane di alcune iconografie gandhariche, il Buddha, Agni, i lakṣaṇa, il miracolo di Śrāvastī e altri problemi connessi", in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*, G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti (ed.), 1533–1549, Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- 1999/2000: "The Buddha-elephant", in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology, Papers in Honour of Francine Tissot*, 6: 69–74.
- 2011: *Hardships and Downfall of Buddhism in India*, Delhi: Manohar.
- Verma, Chapla 2000: "'The Wildering Gloom': Women's Place in Buddhist History", in *Faces of the Feminine in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern India*, M. Bose (ed.), 69–86, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Vetter, Tilmann 1994a: "On the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Subsequent Introduction of Prajñāpāramitā", *Asiatische Studien*, 48: 1241–1281.
- 1994b: "Zwei schwierige Stellen im Mahānidānasutta, Zur Qualität der Überlieferung im Pāli-Kanon", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für Indische Philosophie*, 38: 137–160.
- 1998: "Explanations of dukkha", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 21.2: 383–387.
- 2001: "Once Again on the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 45: 59–90.
- Vogel, Claus 1970: *The Teachings of the Six Heretics, According to the Pravrajyāvastu of the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, Edited and Rendered into English, With an Appendix Containing an English Translation of the Pertinent Sections in the Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Vogel, J. 1929/1930: "Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda", *Epigraphia Indica*, 20: 1–37.

- von Criegern, Oliver 2002: *Das Kūṭatāṇḍyasūtra, Nach dem Dīrghāgama Manuskript herausgegeben und übersetzt*, MA thesis, München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität.
- von Gabain, Annemarie 1954: *Türkische Turfan-Texte VIII*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- von Glasenapp, Helmuth 1925/1999: *Jainism, An Indian Religion of Salvation*, S.B. Shrotri (trsl.), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- von Hinüber, Oskar 1977: "Zur Geschichte des Sprachnamens Pāli", in *Beiträge zur Indienforschung, Ernst Waldschmidt zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, 237–246, Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst.
- 1982: "Upāli's Verses in the Majjhimanikāya and the Madhyamāgama", in *Indological and Buddhist Studies, Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on His Sixtieth Birthday*, L.A. Hercus (ed.), 243–251, Canberra: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies.
- 1985/2001: *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 1991: "Das buddhistische Recht und die Phonetik des Pāli, Ein Abschnitt aus der Samantapāsādikā über die Vermeidung von Aussprachefehlern in kammavācās", *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 13/14: 101–127.
- 1994: "Die Neun aṅgas: Ein früher Versuch zur Einteilung buddhistischer Texte", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, 38: 121–135.
- 1995: "Buddhist Law According to the Theravāda-vinaya. A Survey of Theory and Practice", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 18.1: 7–45.
- 1996/1997: *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- 1997: "Old Age and Old Monks in Pāli Buddhism", in *Aging, Asian Concepts and Experiences Past and Present*, S. Forma-

- nek (ed.), 65–78, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 1998: *Entstehung und Aufbau der Jātaka-Sammlung, Studien zur Literatur des Theravāda-Buddhismus I*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- 2008: "The Foundation of the Bhikkhunīsaṅgha – A Contribution to the Earliest History of Buddhism", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhismology at Soka University*, 11: 3–29.
- 2015: "Tripitaka", in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, J. Silk, O. von Hinüber, and V. Eltschinger (ed.), 38–49, Leiden: Brill.
- von Simson, Georg 1995: "The Historical Background of the Rise of Buddhism and the Problem of Dating", in *When Did the Buddha Live? The Controversy on the Dating of the Historical Buddha*, H. Bechert (ed.), 169–177, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- 2000: *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins Teil II, Kritische Textausgabe, Übersetzung, Wortindex sowie Nachträge zu Teil I*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wadley, Susan S. 1995: "No Longer a Wife: Widows in Rural North India", in *From the Margins of Hindu Marriage: Essays on Gender, Religion, and Culture*, L. Harlan and P.B. Courtright (ed.), 92–118, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wagle, Narendra 1966: *Society at the Time of the Buddha*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst 1926: *Bruchstücke des bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins, Mit einer Darstellung der Überlieferung des bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa in den verschiedenen Schulen*, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.
- 1932: *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon, Herausgegeben und im Zusammenhang mit ihren Parallelversionen bearbeitet*, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

- 1944 (vol. 1) and 1948 (vol. 2): *Die Überlieferung vom Lebende des Buddha, Eine vergleichende Analyse des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra und seiner Textentsprechungen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1948/1967: "Wunderkräfte des Buddha, Eine Episode im Sanskrittext des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra", in *Von Ceylon bis Turfan, Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraums, Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag am 15. Juli 1967 von Ernst Waldschmidt*, 120–163, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1950 (vol. 1) and 1951 (vol. 2): *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 1953 (vol. 1) and 1956 (vol. 2): *Das Mahāvādānasūtra, Ein kanonischer Text über die sieben letzten Buddhas, Sanskrit, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Analyse der in chinesischer Übersetzung überlieferten Parallelversion, auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften herausgegeben*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 1957 (vol. 2): *Das Catuspariṣatsūtra, Eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 1958: "Ein Zweites Daśabalasūtra", *Mitteilungen des Institutes für Orientforschung*, 6: 382–405.
- 1959: "Chinesische archäologische Forschungen in Sin-Kiang (Chinesisch Turkestan)", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 54.5/6: 229–242.
- 1959/1967: "Kleine Brāhmī Schriftrolle", in *Von Ceylon bis Turfan, Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraums, Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag am 15. Juli 1967 von Ernst Waldschmidt*, 371–395, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- 1961/1967: "Über ein der Turfan-Handschrift TM 361 Fälschlich zugeteiltes Sanskritfragment", in *Von Ceylon bis Turfan, Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraums, Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag am 15. Juli 1967 von Ernst Waldschmidt*, 412–416, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1970: "Fragment of a Buddhist Sanskrit Text on Cosmogony", in *Añjali, Papers on Indology and Buddhism, A Felicitation Volume Presented to Oliver Hector de Alwis Wijesekera on His Sixtieth Birthday*, J. Tilakasiri (ed.), 40–45, Colombo: University of Ceylon.
- 1979: "The Varṇasatam, An Eulogy of One Hundred Epitheta of Lord Buddha Spoken by the Gr̥hapati Upāli", *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1979 Nr. 1*, 3–19, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1980: "Central Asian sūtra Fragments and Their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas", in *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, H. Bechert (ed.), 136–174, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst et al. 1965: *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 1*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- 1971: *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 3*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Walser, Joseph 2009: "The Origin of the Term 'Mahāyāna' (the Great Vehicle) and Its Relationship to the Āgamas", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 30.1/2: 219–250.
- Walters, Jonathan S. 1994: "A Voice from the Silence: the Buddha's Mother's Story", *History of Religions*, 33: 358–379.
- 1995: "Gotamī's Story", in *Buddhism in Practice*, D.S. Lopez (ed.), 113–138, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- 2014: "Apadāna: Therī-apadāna: Wives of the Saints: Marriage and kamma in the Path to Arahantship", in *Women in Early Indian Buddhism: Comparative Textual Studies*, A. Collett (ed.), 160–191, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Warder, A.K. 1956: "On the Relationship Between Early Buddhism and Other Contemporary Systems", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 18: 43–63.
- 1961: "The Pali Canon and Its Commentaries as an Historical Record", in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, C.H. Phillips (ed.), 44–56, London: Oxford University Press.
- Wayman, Alex 1968: "The Hindu–Buddhist Rite of Truth: An Interpretation", *Studies in Indian Linguistics*, 365–369.
- Webb, Russell 1975/2011: *An Analysis of the Pali Canon*, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Weerasinghe, Henry 1997: "Fear: A Buddhist Interpretation", in *Recent Researches in Buddhist Studies, Essays in Honour of Professor Y. Karunadasa*, K.L. Dhammajoti et al. (ed.), 612–629, Colombo: Y. Karunadasa Felicitation Committee.
- Weinberger-Thomas, Catherine 1996: *Cendres d'immortalité, la crémation des veuves en Inde*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Weller, Friedrich 1940: "Über die Formel der vier edlen Wahrheiten", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 43.3/4: 73–79 (reprinted 1987 in *Friedrich Weller's Kleine Schriften*, W. Rau (ed.), 166–169, Stuttgart: Steiner).
- Wen Tzung-Kuen 溫宗堃 2011: "四念住如何是唯——之道：再探 'ekāyana magga' 之語意", *Fuyan Buddhist Studies*, 6: 1–22.
- Wezler A. 1984: "On the Quadruple Division of the Yogaśāstra, The Caturvyūhatva of the Cikitsāsāstra and the 'Four Noble Truths' of the Buddha", *Indologica Taurinensia*, 12: 289–337.
- Wijebandara, Chandima 1993: *Early Buddhism: Its Religious and Intellectual Milieu*, Sri Lanka: University of Kelaniya.

- Wijesekera, O.H. de A. 1957: "The Symbolism of the Wheel in the Cakravartin Concept", in *Felicitations Volume Presented to Professor Sripad Krishna Belvalkar*, S. Radhakrishnan et al. (ed.), 262–267, Banaras: Motilal Banarasi Dass.
- Wikramagamage, Chandra 2005: "The History, Iconography and Iconometry of the Buddha Image in Sri Lanka", in *Dhamma-vinaya, Essays in Honour of Venerable Professor Dhammavipassi (Jotiya Dhirasekera)*, A. Tilakaratne et al. (ed.), 291–303, Colombo: Sri Lanka Association for Buddhist Studies.
- Wille, Klaus 2006: "The Sanskrit Fragments Or. 15003 in the Hoernle Collection", in *The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, S. Karashima and K. Wille (ed.), 1: 65–153, Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University.
- 2009: "The Sanskrit Fragments Or. 15004 in the Hoernle Collection", in *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia, The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, S. Karashima and K. Wille (ed.), 2: 73–104, Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University.
- Willemen, Charles 1978: *The Chinese Udānavarga, A Collection of Important Odes of the Law, Fa Chi Yao Sung Ching, Translated and Annotated*, Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises.
- 1999: *The Scriptural Text: Verses of the Doctrine, With Parables, Translated from the Chinese of Fa-li and Fa-chü*, Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research.
- Williams, Liz 2000: "A Whisper in the Silence: Nuns before Mahāpajāpatī?", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 17.2: 167–173.
- Williams, Paul 1989/2009: *Mahāyāna Buddhism, The Doctrinal Foundations, Second Edition*, London: Routledge.
- Willis, Janice D. 1985: "Nuns and Benefactresses: The Role of Women in the Development of Buddhism", in *Women, Relig-*

- ion and Social Change*, Y.Y. Haddad and E.B. Findly (ed.), 59–85, New York: State University of New York Press.
- 1992: "Female Patronage in Indian Buddhism", in *The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture*, B. Stoler Miller (ed.), 46–53, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, Liz 1996: *Charming Cadavers, Horrific Figurations of the Feminine in Indian Buddhist Hagiographic Literature*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 2003: "Human Torches of Enlightenment: Autocremation and Spontaneous Combustion as Marks of Sanctity in South Asian Buddhism", in *The Living and the Dead, Social Dimensions of Death in South Asian Religions*, L. Wilson (ed.), 29–50, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- 2004: "Ascetic Practices", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), 1: 32–34, New York: Macmillan.
- 2011: "Sati or Female Supremacy? Feminist Appropriations of Gotami's Parinirvana", in *Engaging South Asian Religions: Boundaries, Appropriations, and Resistances*, M.N. Schmalz and P. Gottschalk (ed.), 133–150, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Wiltshire, Martin G. 1983: "The 'Suicide' Problem in the Pāli Canon", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 6.2: 124–140.
- 1990: *Ascetic Figures Before and In Early Buddhism, The Emergence of Gautama as the Buddha*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wimalaratana, Bellanwillla 1994 (?): *Concept of Great Man (Mahāpurisa) in Buddhist Literature and Iconography*, Singapore: Buddhist Research Society.
- Windisch, Ernst 1908: *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*, Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.

- Winternitz, Moriz 1920/1968: *Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band 2, Die buddhistische Literatur und die heiligen Texte der Jainas*, Stuttgart: K.F. Koehler.
- Witanachchi, C. 2008: "Theravāda", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), 8.2: 312–324, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs.
- Wogihara Unrai 1930: *Bodhisattvabhūmi, A Statement of Whole Course of the Bodhisattva (Being Fifteenth Section of Yogācārabhūmi)*, Tokyo.
- 1932: *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā by Yaśomitra, Part I*, Tokyo: The Publishing Association of Abhidharmakośavyākhyā.
- 1936: *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā by Yaśomitra, Part II*, Tokyo: The Publishing Association of Abhidharmakośavyākhyā.
- Woodward, F.L. 1930/1979 (vol. 5): *The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saṃyutta-nikāya) or Grouped suttas*, London: Pali Text Society.
- Wright, J. Clifford 2001: "The Gandhari Prakrit Version of the Rhinoceros sūtra", *Anusamdhāna*, 18: 1–15.
- Wujastyk, Dominik 1995: "Medicine in India" in *Oriental Medicine, An Illustrated Guide to the Asian Arts of Healing*, J. Van Alphen and A. Aris (ed.), 19–37, London: Serindia Publications.
- 2004: "Jambudvīpa: Apples or Plums?" in *Studies in the History of the Exact Sciences in Honour of David Pingree*, C. Burnett et al. (ed.), 287–301, Leiden: Brill.
- Wynne, Alexander 2007: *The Origin of Buddhist Meditation*, London: Routledge.
- Yamagiwa Nobuyuki 2001: *Das Pāṇḍulohitakavastu, Über die verschiedenen Verfahrensweisen der Bestrafung in der buddhistischen Gemeinde, Neuausgabe der Sanskrit-Handschrift*

- aus Gilgit, tibetischer Text und deutsche Übersetzung*, Marbug: Indica et Tibetica.
- Yao Fumi 2007: "根本説一切有部律に引用される Mahādeva-sūtra, テクストおよび訳注 [Two Tibetan Versions of the Mahādevasūtra Restored from Two Quotations in the Bhaiṣaj-yavastu in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya: Tibetan Texts with Their Annotated Japanese Translations]", *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyū-jo Kiyō*, 125: 229–288 [380–321].
- 2015: "The Story of Dharmadinnā, Ordination by Messenger in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 58: 216–253.
- Yinshùn 印順法師 1962/1983: 原始佛教聖典之集成, Taipei: 正聞出版社.
- Yonezawa Yoshiyasu 1999: "Pratyekabuddhabhūmi, Sanskrit Text and Annotated Translation", *Annual of the Sanko Research Institute for the Studies of Buddhism*, 29: 9–25.
- Young, Serinity 2004: *Courtesans and Tantric Consorts: Sexualities in Buddhist Narrative, Iconography, and Ritual*, New York: Routledge.
- 2007: "Female Mutability and Male Anxiety in an Early Buddhist Legend", *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 16.1: 14–39.
- Zafiropulo, Ghiorgo 1993: *L'illumination du Buddha, De la quête à l'annonce de l'éveil, essais de chronologie relative et de stratigraphie textuelle*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Zhang Lixiang 2004: *Das Śamkarasūtra, Eine Übersetzung des Sanskrit-Textes im Vergleich mit der Pāli Fassung*, MA thesis, München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität.
- Zhu Tianshu 2006: "In the Thousand-fold World System, A Note on the Images of the Buddha's Multiplication", in *Vanamālā, Festschrift A.J. Gail, serta Adalberto Joanni Gail LKV. diem*

- natalem celebranti ab amicis collegis discipulis dedicata*, G.J.R. Mevissen and K. Bruhn (ed.), 253–264, Berlin: Weidler.
- Zimmer, Heinrich 1951: *Philosophies of India*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Zin, Monika 2001: "The Identification of the Bagh Painting", *East and West*, 51.3/4: 299–322.
- 2003: "The uṣṇīsa as a Physical Characteristic of the Buddha's Relatives and Successors", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 9: 107–129.
- 2006: *Mitleid und Wunderkraft, Schwierige Bekehrungen und ihre Ikonographie im indischen Buddhismus*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2012: "Māndhātā, The Universal Monarch, and the Meaning of Representations of the Cakravartin in the Amaravati School, and of the Kings on the Kanganhalli stūpa", in *Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond, In Honour of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn on Her Fifty-fifth Birth Anniversary*, P. Skilling and J. McDaniel (ed.), 149–164, Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, Institute of Thai Studies.
- 2015: "Buddhas Löwenstimme und das römische Wagenrad", *Antike Welt*, 5: 51–56.
- Zongtse, Champa Thupten 1990: *Udānavarga, Band III: Der tibetische Text, unter Mitarbeit von Siglinde Dietz herausgegeben von Champa Thupten Zongtse*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Zürcher, Erik 1980: "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism, A Survey of Scriptural Evidence", *T'oung Pao, Second Series*, 66.1/3: 84–147.
- 1991: "A New Look at the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Texts", in *From Benares to Beijing, Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion in Honour of Prof. Jan Yün-Hua*, K. Shinohara et al. (ed.), 277–304, Oakville: Mosaic Press.

Zysk, Kenneth G. 1995: "New Approaches to the Study of Early Buddhist Medicine: Use of Technical Brāhmaṇic Sources in Sanskrit for the Interpretation of Pali Medical Texts", *Pacific World, New Series*, 11: 143–154.

Index

A

- Abhayā 313f
 Abhayagirivihāra.....513ff
Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha....134
Abhidharmakośabhāṣya ...287,
 294, 386, 444, 446, 464
Abhidharmakośavyākhyā ...194,
 287
 absorption, Buddha attains .. 19f
Āgamas, recital sequence175
Aggañña-suttasee DN 27
 Ajātasattu 162, 363f
 Ajita Kesakambalī..... 359f, 365
Ākaṅkheyya-sutta see MN 6
Alagaddūpama-sutta ..see MN 22
 Ālāra Kālāma497ff
 Ambattha 338
 AN 1.14.1 36, 253
 AN 1.14.2 313
 AN 1.14.4 96
 AN 1.14.5 301ff, 379, 390,
 396, 409
 AN 1.14.7 308, 396
 AN 1.15 234, 456
 AN 2.2.7 24
 AN 2.3.9 23, 254
 AN 2.12.2 303
 AN 3.15 417
 AN 3.25 445f
 AN 3.35 158
 AN 3.55 24
 AN 3.59 24
 AN 3.64 32f
 AN 3.70 451
 AN 3.83 177
 AN 3.85 177
 AN 3.86 177
 AN 3.87 177
 AN 3.135 365
 AN 4.8 33
 AN 4.22 499
 AN 4.23 34
 AN 4.33 34
 AN 4.38 223
 AN 4.77 463ff
 AN 4.173 309
 AN 4.184 24
 AN 4.239 47f
 AN 4.245 257
 AN 5.11 33
 AN 5.34 60
 AN 5.86 309
 AN 5.95 309
 AN 5.99 35
 AN 5.114 29
 AN 5.180 133
 AN 5.182–186 307
 AN 6.44 182
 AN 6.52 24
 AN 6.54 417
 AN 6.57 365
 AN 6.64 33
 AN 7.47 24
 AN 7.58 59
 AN 7.62 56, 417
 AN 7.69 417
 AN 8.10 312
 AN 8.20 61
 AN 8.22 60f

- AN 8.27453
 AN 8.30 10, 455
 AN 8.4157, 423
 AN 8.4257
 AN 8.4357
 AN 8.5310
 AN 9.11 37, 49, 320
 AN 9.20257, 415
 AN 10.16257
 AN 10.19223
 AN 10.20223
 AN 10.2133
 AN 10.2233
 AN 10.26320
 AN 10.3037
 AN 10.7126
 AN 10.75182
 AN 10.89 226f
 AN 10.94519
 AN 10.9928
 AN 10.11924
 AN 10.16724
 AN 10.17724
 AN 10.208196
 analytical knowledges, 4...309,
 449
 Ānanda.....10, 55f, 58f, 93, 96,
 99f, 113, 115ff, 133f, 141ff,
 165ff, 258, 351, 368ff, 376,
 425, 458f, 502
 Ānanda, former life as *asura*
 56
 Ānanda Maitreya, Balangoda....
518
 Ānanda Metteyya..... 508ff
 Anāthapiṇḍika 188, 452, 454,
 457
 āṅgas, 9 or 12 176
 āṅgas, list of64, 69
Āṅguttara-nikāya/Ekottarika-
āgama, count of..... 194
 Anidassana, Paccekabuddha
 217
 animal, simile of weak89
 Anopamā..... 313f
 Anuruddha, monk 53f, 258
 Anuruddha, Paccekabuddha.....
 217
 Ap 2.22238
 Ap 17.....359ff
 Ap 17.3368
 Ap 17.6373, 375
 Ap 17.79368
 Ap 17.85+88371
 Ap 17.145ff.....391
 Ap 17.146371
 Ap 17.173372
 Ap 27381ff
 Ap 27.37404
 Ap 27.41404
 Ap 27.53406
 Ap 27.57408
 Ap 27.58408f
 Ap 28381f
 Ap 389.26326, 343
 Aparagoyāna396
 arahant, simile of134
Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta ... see MN
 139
 Ariṭṭha, monk..... 64ff
 Ariṭṭha, Paccekabuddha217,
 220, 235
Ariyapariyesanā-sutta.. see MN
 26
 ascetic practices 17, 62, 82ff,
 95f, 250ff, 261, 268, 290, 304,
 307, 315, 317, 322, 450f
 Ashitsu Jitsuzen487

Asita, seer 81f
 Asoka 131, 351, 448, 495,
 517, 520
Assalāyana-sutta see MN 93
 asseveration of truth 34
asura king, former life of Bud-
 dha 55
Atthasālīnī 385
 autocombustion of Paccekabud-
 dhas 218, 232, 250
Avadānaśataka ... 302, 306, 317
 Avalokiteśvara, statue in Sri Lan-
 ka 518
āyatana as experience 297
āyurveda 289

B

Bahudhātuka-sutta... see MN 115
Bālapaṇḍita-sutta... see MN 129
 bangles on arm of woman, mo-
 tif of 224, 237f
 Bāvarī 336
 begging during night 89
 Bhaddacālā 369
 Bhaddā Kaccānā 304f, 308,
 369, 373, 379, 390ff
 Bhaddā Kāpilānī 309ff, 380,
 391, 398ff
 Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā 318ff,
 380
 Bhaddālī 87ff
Bhaddālī-sutta see MN 65
 Bhaddapālā 313
 Bhārhut sculpture/inscription
 116, 159, 233, 329
 Bhāvitatta, Paccekabuddha 217
Bhayabherava-sutta .. see MN 4
bhūtapubbaṃ 221
 Bimbisāra 162, 326f

bird and meat, motif of 224
 blind regain sight, simile of 24
 Blood-pool, Discourse on... 440
 bodhisattva and maleness... 422
Bodhisattvabhūmi 422
 Brahmā 226f, 272, 279, 287,
 341, 415f, 429, 433, 435
 Brahmadatta 406f
 Brahmadeva 399
brahmavihāra 75f, 78f, 127,
 132, 147, 158, 170, 192f, 355
 Brahmāyū 339
 Buddha, and Māra 79
 Buddha, ascetic practices... 82ff,
 268, 290
 Buddha, attains absorption .. 19f
 Buddha, attains divine eye ... 21
 Buddha, awakening of 23
 Buddha, former life as *asura*... 56
 Buddha, goes on retreat 11
 Buddha, not recognized 53
 Buddha, past life as princess
 57, 413ff
 Buddha, past lives as animal
 97, 419
 Buddha, practice of *mettā* 59
 Buddha, recollects past lives
 19f
 Buddha, smile of 133, 167,
 173, 179
 Buddha and drunken elephant
 61
Buddhacarita 498
 Buddha image, making of .. 446
 Buddhas, simultaneous exis-
 tence of 455
 Buddha's Sāvattthī miracle .. 366
Buddhavamsa 178, 391, 430

bull killed by other bull, motif of225
 Bu ston's history of Buddhism..
232

C

cakkavāla396
Cakkavatti-sīhanāda-sutta .. see
 DN 26
cakravartin....115, 128ff, 135ff,
 159f, 179, 200ff, 257, 306f,
 327, 382, 414ff, 433
 Candā 316f
 Candābha 403, 405f
 Candī..... 318f
 Cāpā.....319
 Carus, Paul.....488
catumadhu404
 cemetery, staying in.....17, 95,
 251, 307, 316f
cetiya.....18
Chabbisodhana-sutta ... see MN
 112
 change of sex 382ff, 436ff
 Chinese translations, irregular-
 ity of15
 Chudhadharn485
 circumambulations, 3 or 7 ..145
 clinging, 4 types of42
 craving, 3 types of.....277
 craving and *dukkha* 293f
 crooked straightened up, simile
 of24
Cūlagosiṅga-sutta ... see MN 31
Cūlahatthipadopama-sutta ..see
 MN 27
Cūlakammavibhaṅga-sutta ..see
 MN 135

Cūlasīhanāda-sutta....see MN 11
Cūlavedalla-sutta.... see MN 44

D

D 111, 114f, 128, 147, 155,
 158, 161, 167ff, 180, 325, 414
 D 3441
 D 6 38, 367f, 371f
 D 297234, 456
 D 30058
 D 3856480
 D 4094.....52, 54, 57, 75, 77,
 81, 114f, 128f, 158, 168ff, 180,
 213, 257, 294, 312, 318, 393,
 441, 444, 456, 464
 D 4138480
 DĀ 1 62, 329, 394, 425
 DĀ 247, 257, 414, 469
 DĀ 3234, 415, 456
 DĀ 557
 DĀ 6159, 201
 DĀ 8 11, 32, 231
 DĀ 10184, 214
 DĀ 1355
 DĀ 1531
 DĀ 1837, 234, 456, 460
 DĀ 20136, 341
 DĀ 23415
 DĀ 2532
 DĀ 26184, 260
 DĀ 27136, 162, 363
 DĀ 30158
 Damā..... 313f
 Dantikā 309f, 312
 Dào'ān..... 104, 107, 109ff, 186,
 195, 202ff, 206, 208f
Daśabala-sūtra33
Dasakanipāta.....194

- Dasuttara-sutta*see DN 34
debate 31f, 34f, 50, 70, 82,
360ff, 366, 379
Devadatta 156, 181, 340
Devadinnā 310
devadūta 158
Devadūta-sutta see MN 130
devas, encounters with 280
Devasutā 316
Dhajagga-sutta see SN 11.3
Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta
..... see SN 56.11
Dhammadhī 318, 320
Dhammadinnā 309ff
Dhammasaṅgaṇī 446
Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* ... see T
1428, T 1429, T 1431
Dharmanandin/Dharmananda...
85, 104, 110, 202f, 209, 468,
471
Dharmapāla 485
Dharmaśāstra 117
Dharmaskandha 108
Dhp 103 164
Dhp 205 9, 30
Dhp-a I 325ff 383f
Dhp-a I 359 391
Dhp-a I 434 98
Dhp-a III 193 53
Dhp-a III 211 307
Dhp-a IV 120 259
diagnosis, four truths as 289
diamond concentration 52,
443ff
Dīghāyu 126f, 141ff, 169ff,
181
Dīpaṃkara 57f, 178, 391,
427ff, 433, 436, 438f
Dīpavaṃsa 147, 480, 501f,
508, 510, 516, 518
discourse merger 57ff, 87ff
divine eye ... 21f, 305, 307, 309,
311, 323, 380
divine messenger 158
Divyāvadāna 10, 134, 160,
253, 306, 325, 336, 366, 430
DN 2... 136, 162, 223, 363, 365
DN 3 338, 341
DN 5 415
DN 8 32
DN 13 260
DN 14.. 62, 228, 243, 329, 394,
425
DN 15 55
DN 16... 37, 47, 244, 257, 372,
375, 456
DN 17 130, 161, 414
DN 19 415, 456
DN 20 223
DN 22 29, 102, 187
DN 24 31
DN 25 11, 32, 231
DN 26 35, 159f, 201
DN 27 57
DN 28 37, 340, 456, 460
DN 30 337, 411
DN 32 504
DN 33 223
DN 34 223, 244, 274
dogmatic adherence to views ..64
duggahīta 64
dukkha, translation of ... 4, 291f
dukkha and craving 293f
dukkhasamudayo/yaṃ 244f
Dūnhuáng manuscript... 103, 205f

E

EĀ 1...	61, 113f, 116, 128, 133, 158, 165ff, 225, 451, 458f, 468
EĀ 3.3	451
EĀ 4.1	243
EĀ 4.2	96, 253
EĀ 4.3	36, 313
EĀ 4.6	96
EĀ 4.9	445
EĀ 5	301ff, 361, 390, 396, 409
EĀ 5.1	95, 303, 379f, 396
EĀ 5.2	309, 361, 379f, 409
EĀ 5.3	313
EĀ 5.4	316
EĀ 5.5	318, 380
EĀ 8.3	187
EĀ 9.1	187
EĀ 9.2	187, 303
EĀ 10.3	452
EĀ 10.5	452
EĀ 10.7	59
EĀ 10.10	192
EĀ 12.1	29, 187, 321, 358
EĀ 12.4	192
EĀ 12.6	62, 250ff, 450f
EĀ 13.5	192, 327
EĀ 16.1	225
EĀ 16.4	187
EĀ 17.1	36, 76, 78, 188
EĀ 17.2	192
EĀ 17.3	258
EĀ 17.7	191
EĀ 17.10	283
EĀ 18.5	61
EĀ 18.8	368, 379
EĀ 19.2	267f, 272f
EĀ 19.8	458
EĀ 20.3	178, 189, 430
EĀ 20.6	455
EĀ 20.10	454
EĀ 21.9	136
EĀ 23.1	189, 191, 257, 264, 379, 392ff
EĀ 23.3	96
EĀ 23.4	258
EĀ 23.5	190
EĀ 23.6	190
EĀ 24.1	28
EĀ 24.2	187, 256
EĀ 24.3	339
EĀ 24.4	187, 191
EĀ 24.5	185, 243, 267f, 270, 273, 453
EĀ 24.6	192, 258, 264, 451
EĀ 24.8	54f, 126
EĀ 25.1	243
EĀ 26.9	190, 192, 224, 243, 257, 378, 449, 451, 460, 463, 466
EĀ 27.1	239, 242
EĀ 27.2	38ff
EĀ 27.3	415
EĀ 27.5	258, 454
EĀ 27.6	33
EĀ 27.8	192
EĀ 28.1	243
EĀ 28.3	243
EĀ 28.4	187
EĀ 28.5	258
EĀ 29.5	176
EĀ 29.6	243, 463
EĀ 29.9	187, 243
EĀ 29.10	192
EĀ 30.2	243
EĀ 30.3	189, 196, 243
EĀ 31.1	12ff
EĀ 31.2	189, 192, 249
EĀ 31.8	268, 308

- EÄ 31.9 243
 EÄ 32.1 229, 256, 451
 EÄ 32.4 158, 187
 EÄ 32.5 189, 229, 249
 EÄ 32.10 60, 263, 264
 EÄ 33.2 189
 EÄ 34.2 391
 EÄ 34.5 380
 EÄ 35.2 453
 EÄ 35.7 187, 262
 EÄ 35.8 391
 EÄ 36.5 190f, 306, 446f, 453
 EÄ 37.2 455ff
 EÄ 37.3 255
 EÄ 37.6 37, 49
 EÄ 37.8 243
 EÄ 37.10 32, 243
 EÄ 38.1 453
 EÄ 38.4 236
 EÄ 38.6 187
 EÄ 38.7 171, 187, 215ff, 250
 EÄ 38.9 192, 249, 351ff
 EÄ 38.10 37
 EÄ 38.11 ... 187, 228, 257, 262,
 359, 361, 379
 EÄ 39.1 176
 EÄ 39.7 131, 191
 EÄ 39.8 191, 196, 243
 EÄ 40.1 56f
 EÄ 40.5 189f
 EÄ 40.9 81
 EÄ 40.10 189
 EÄ 41.1 82ff
 EÄ 41.2 243
 EÄ 41.4 258
 EÄ 41.5 62, 187, 250ff, 450
 EÄ 41.10 188
 EÄ 42.3 187, 189f, 258, 380,
 454
 EÄ 42.4 187, 243, 445
 EÄ 42.6 10, 455
 EÄ 43.2 57, 178, 189, 262ff,
 392, 423ff, 451
 EÄ 43.5 75ff, 258
 EÄ 43.7 162, 187, 363, 365
 EÄ 44.10 58, 189
 EÄ 45.1 53
 EÄ 45.2 189
 EÄ 45.3 189
 EÄ 45.4 52, 205
 EÄ 45.5 59, 187, 189f, 243,
 264, 451, 456
 EÄ 45.7 101, 189
 EÄ 46.3 34
 EÄ 46.4 33
 EÄ 46.8 189, 242
 EÄ 46.10 187
 EÄ 47.3 258
 EÄ 47.9 187
 EÄ 48.2 62, 177, 189f
 EÄ 48.3 62, 96, 190ff, 197,
 261, 451
 EÄ 48.4 62, 190, 425
 EÄ 48.5 258, 264, 451, 453
 EÄ 48.6 52, 58, 444f
 EÄ 49.1 176, 194
 EÄ 49.2 95, 194
 EÄ 49.3 95, 194
 EÄ 49.4 194
 EÄ 49.5 55f
 EÄ 49.6 80, 194, 325ff
 EÄ 49.7 80, 87ff, 194
 EÄ 49.8 190
 EÄ 49.9 61, 187, 190, 262
 EÄ 49.10 194
 EÄ 50.1 194
 EÄ 50.2 194
 EÄ 50.3 194

EĀ 50.4 61, 113ff, 141ff,
 166ff, 357, 414
 EĀ 50.7 196
 EĀ 50.8 65ff, 176, 187
 EĀ 50.10 234, 250
 EĀ 51.3 33, 187, 224, 228,
 257f
 EĀ 51.7 188
 EĀ 51.8 190
 EĀ 52.1 .. 145, 257ff, 361ff, 391
 EĀ 52.2 189, 259, 380, 398,
 403
 EĀ 52.5 196
 EĀ 52.6 60, 196, 453
 EĀ 52.9 200
 earth, simile of 76
 earthquakes ... 174f, 279f, 373ff
 eight thoughts of great man ..10
ekajātipratibaddha 60, 454,
 457
ekāyano maggo 187
Ekottarika-āgama, chapters of
 203
Ekottarika-āgama, language
 of original 1
Ekottarika-āgama, school af-
 filiation of... 74, 172ff, 211ff
Ekottarika-āgama, translation
 of 102ff, 202ff
Ekottarika-āgama, *uddānas* of
 204
Ekottarika-āgama/Āṅguttara-
nikāya, count of 194
 elephant, simile/comparison of.
 61, 89, 337f, 401
 elephant-treasure 116, 119f,
 137, 146, 154, 170
 emperor's recognition, struggle
 for 200

experience, early Buddhist medi-
 tative 296f
 eye taken out, motif of 346f,
 353ff
 eyesight for blind, simile of 24

F

Fāxiān 101, 474ff
 fear, facing of 9, 19
 female donors in art 289
 fire, ditch filled with 98, 101
 fire, simile of 76, 97
 fire and meditation ... 319f, 365,
 370f, 377f, 444
 first *saṅgīti* 174ff, 262, 458,
 471, 481, 501ff
 four intrepidities, Tathāgata's ... 33
 four truths, noble 239ff, 274f,
 338

G

Gandhāra, Paccekabuddha .. 217
 Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* 164
 Garahadinna 98
 Gautama Saṅghadeva 1
 general-treasure 116, 124f,
 138, 146, 154, 170
Ghaṭikāra-sutta see MN 81
 Godhika 232
 Gopī 310

H

hair, motif of white .. 125f, 138,
 142f, 152f, 158f, 168f, 171,
 180
hasituppādacitta 134
 heterodox, usage of term 94
 Himajātā 310

hīnayāna..... 60, 80, 103, 192,
443, 447, 449f, 458, 460ff,
473ff, 512f, 518
history of Buddhism, Bu ston's
..... 232
Hoernle fragment 32
horn of rhinoceros, motif of....238
horse-treasure ... 116, 120f, 137,
146, 154, 170
housewife, tale of impatient.... 63
humour 135, 140, 160f, 163

I

Indajā 318f
Indra's *cakra*..... 130
insignia of a king..... 144
intrepidities, Tathāgata's 4.... 33
Isigili-sutta see MN 116
Isigiri/Isigili, etymology..... 221
It 1.22 59

J

Jā 9 114, 156, 158f, 172, 180
Jā 168 419
Jā 196 53
Jā 258 160
Jā 378 225f
Jā 408 225f
Jā 459 225f
Jā 465 391
Jā 490 260
Jā 496 260
Jā 529 225
Jā 541 114, 147, 156
Jā 547 420
Jains ...36, 83f, 98, 132, 147, 159,
162, 224, 229, 237f, 313, 320

Jambud(v)īpa..... 119, 179, 396,
424
Jānussoni 12, 24f, 28
Jātaka, development of....413ff
Jātaka, *Nidānakathā* 79, 422
Jātaka, prose226, 418ff
Jentī 309f, 312
Jeta's Grove, simile of 65
jewel-treasure ... 116, 121f, 137,
146, 154, 170
Jina, Paccekabuddha 217
Jiṇṇa-sutta..... see SN 16.5
Jñānprasthāna..... see T 1544

K

Kacaṅgalā/Kajaṅgalā 324
Kakacūpama-sutta ..see MN 21
Kakusanda, Buddha ... 52, 166f,
407
Kālakā 316
Kaḷārajanaka 153
Kālī 63
Kāḷudāyin 91f, 99f
Kanakamuni, Buddha..173, 329
Kapila 408
Karajakāya-sutta..... see AN
10.208
Karmavibhaṅga..... 115, 226
Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa 326
kaṣiṇa 26f, 320
Kassapa/Kāśyapa, Buddha
133, 167, 173, 408
Kassapasīhanāda-suttasee
DN 8
Kāśyapīya *Vinaya* ...see T 1460
Kathāvatthu/Kathāvatthu-aṭṭha-
kathā 502, 509, 520
Kātiyānī 308, 396

Kātyāyana	108
Keṇiya	325ff
<i>Khaggavisāṇa-sutta</i>	9, 237
Khemā.....	303f, 306, 369f, 373
<i>Khuddakanikāya</i> , conceptions of	516
<i>Khuddakapāṭha</i>	505
king, insignia of	144
Kisāgotamī	304, 307, 369, 373
Konāgamana, Buddha.....	167, 329, 407f
Koṇḍañña ...	184, 271f, 278f, 286
Kosambī quarrel	53
Krakucchanda	173
<i>Kṣudraka</i> , contents of	175
Kumārajīva	106ff, 244, 474, 485
Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.....	36
Kuṇālā.....	318f
Kuroda Shintō	485f
<i>Kūṭadanta-sutta</i>	see DN 5

L

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	156, 430, 498
<i>Laṭṭhikopama-sutta</i> ...see MN 66	
Līnā.....	314
lion, winged	33
lion as motif in text and art ...	35
lion capital from Sārnāth	36
lion's roar	31ff, 288
<i>Lokapaññatti/Lokaprajñapti</i> .	56

M

MĀ 8.....	56, 417
MĀ 23	37, 63
MĀ 24.....	37, 49, 320
MĀ 30	75
MĀ 31.....	239, 242

MĀ 32.....	411
MĀ 37.....	61
MĀ 38.....	60
MĀ 55.....	294
MĀ 58.....	131
MĀ 59.....	337
MĀ 60.....	160
MĀ 61.....	59
MĀ 63.....	133, 173, 414
MĀ 64.....	158
MĀ 66.....	258
MĀ 67....	113ff, 147ff, 166ff, 414
MĀ 68.....	130, 414
MĀ 70.....	159, 201
MĀ 72.....	54, 126
MĀ 74.....	10, 455
MĀ 77.....	302
MĀ 97.....	55
MĀ 98.....	29, 321, 358
MĀ 99.....	136
MĀ 100.....	83f
MĀ 103.....	38ff
MĀ 104.....	11, 32, 231
MĀ 105.....	26
MĀ 120.....	36
MĀ 122.....	61, 312
MĀ 131.....	52, 444
MĀ 133.....	313
MĀ 137.....	34
MĀ 138.....	59
MĀ 146.....	460
MĀ 151.....	81
MĀ 152.....	184, 519
MĀ 154.....	57
MĀ 155.....	257, 415
MĀ 158.....	184
MĀ 161.....	337
MĀ 169.....	49
MĀ 180.....	257, 392

- MĀ 181 234, 456
 MĀ 184 255
 MĀ 185 54
 MĀ 191 10, 315
 MĀ 192 89ff
 MĀ 193 63ff, 418
 MĀ 194 28, 88ff
 MĀ 195 309
 MĀ 198 120
 MĀ 199 129
 MĀ 200 64ff, 225, 340
 MĀ 202 57, 451
 MĀ 203 225
 MĀ 204 272f, 498
 MĀ 207 9
 MĀ 210 312, 441
 MĀ 211 318
 MĀ 213 37
 MĀ 215 320
Mahābhārata 221, 225
 Mahādeva 61, 105, 113ff,
 141ff, 165ff
Mahāgopālaka-sutta ... see MN
 33
Mahāgovinda-sutta ..see DN 19
 Mahākaccāyana 383
 Mahākassapa .. 37, 62, 95, 165ff,
 250ff, 368, 376, 406, 409, 450f
 Mahākauṣṭhila 108
 Mahāmoggallāna 108, 134,
 366, 368, 370, 376, 455, 457
 Mahānāma 82ff
Mahānidāna-suttasee DN 15
Mahāpadāna-sutta ...see DN 14
 Mahāpajāpatī ... 302ff, 359ff, 391
 Mahāpajāpatī as a female Bud-
 dha 373ff
Mahāparinibbāna-sutta .. see DN
 16
 Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* see T
 1425, T 1426, T 1427
Mahāsīhanāda-suttasee MN
 12
 Mahāsudassana 161
Mahāsudassana-sutta ... see DN
 17
Mahāsuññata-suttasee MN
 122
Mahāvamsa 162, 391, 448,
 501f, 510, 516, 520
Mahāvastu 10, 57, 115, 119,
 126, 130, 133, 173ff, 183,
 227, 231ff, 238, 253, 282,
 303, 414ff, 422, 430, 453,
 456, 498, 505
 Mahāvihāra 502, 513ff, 521
 Mahāvīra 36, 291
Mahāvvyutpatti ... 132, 142, 223,
 310, 394, 519
 Mahāyāna 58ff, 175f, 221,
 256, 261, 443ff, 473ff
Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra 474
 Mahinda 501
 Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*see T
 1421, T 1422
 Maitreya .. 57, 60, 62, 201, 220,
 235, 261, 423, 425, 443, 450,
 454ff, 471, 481
Maitrī Upaniṣad 130
Makhādeva-sutta see MN 83
 Makkhali Gosāla 359f, 365
 Mallikā 388f
 Manāpā 316f
 Māndhātṛ 135, 160
 mango tree/fruit, motif of 224
Mañjuśrīpariprcchā ..see T 468
 Manoharī 313
Manusmṛti 389

Māra.....52, 79, 272, 279, 286f, 306f, 317, 335, 349f, 419, 429, 433, 435	MN 54.....224
marks, 32 147f, 327ff, 452	MN 56.....313
Mātali..... 150, 156	MN 62.....76, 78
Mātālī.....316	MN 65.....28, 80, 87ff
<i>Matsyapurāna</i>132	MN 66.....80, 87ff
meal, taking single ...63, 88, 93, 95, 99f	MN 68.....302
medical diagnosis and four	MN 70.....309
truths.....289	MN 77.....9
Megasthenes416	MN 81.....133, 173, 414
Meru56	MN 83...113ff, 141ff, 165ff, 414
<i>mettā</i> , practice for 7 years.....59	MN 85.....498
<i>Milindapañha</i>176, 338	MN 89.....37
miracles.....281	MN 91.....148, 337, 339
miscarriage.....91f	MN 92.....80, 325
Mithilā, location of.....115	MN 93.....81
MN 4.....9ff, 254	MN 99.....519
MN 6.....26	MN 100.....498
MN 7.....327	MN 102.....42
MN 10...29, 102, 187, 321, 358	MN 112.....102
MN 11.....31ff	MN 115.....234, 456
MN 12.....34	MN 116.....171, 215ff
MN 13.....136	MN 122.....10, 315
MN 14.....83f	MN 123.....411
MN 21.....51ff, 418	MN 125.....120
MN 22.....64ff, 225, 340	MN 128.....54
MN 26.....497, 499f	MN 129...117, 119, 120f, 129, 137f
MN 27.....24, 460	MN 130.....158
MN 28.....75	MN 135.....386
MN 31.....54	MN 139.....49
MN 32.....255	MN 141.....239ff
MN 33.....244	MN 142.....217, 257, 392
MN 35.....32	MN 146.....441
MN 36.....308, 498	Moggalliputta Tissa520
MN 44.....312, 318, 441	Mogharāja.....96
MN 50.....52, 444	Moliya Phagguna63ff
MN 52.....223	Monkey Pond.....359
	monk frightened by ox.....17
	Mp I 356307

Mp I 375..... 391, 404
 Mp I 376..... 390, 404, 410
 Mp I 377..... 391, 398
 Mp II 15 422
 Mp II 346 177
 Mp-ṭ III 347..... 227
 Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (Chin).
 .. see T 1442, T 1443, T 1448,
 T 1450, T 1451, T 1454, T 1455
 Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (Skt).....
62, 115, 326, 334, 342
 Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (Tib)
 see D 1 / Q 1030, D 3 / Q
 1032, D 6 / Q 1035
 Munī.....425ff

N

Nāgasena 338
 Nāgī.....318f
Naḷakapāna-sutta ... see MN 68
Nandakovāda-sutta see MN
 146
 Nanjō Bun'yū 486f
 nature as dangerous 26
Nettipakaraṇa 176
 Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta 359f
 Nimi114, 125, 141,
 147ff
 Nirvāṇa as 'experience' 297
 Nītha/Niṭṭha, Paccekabuddha....
 217
 noble, four truths.....239ff, 267ff,
 333
 numbers, symbolic sense... 160,
 230

O

oil, simile of pot of..... 82

old monks, motif of..... 426
onītapattapāṇi 334
 Or. fragment.....28, 505
 ox frightens monk 17

P

pabbajjā and *upasampadā* ...332f
 Pabhā..... 310, 312
pacceka, significance of...223ff
pacceka-brahmā..... 226f
 Paccekabuddha... 10, 62, 215ff,
 249ff, 352ff, 392, 403ff, 433ff,
 450f
 Paccekabuddha, inspirational
 role of.....256ff
 Paccekabuddha, king becomes
 219, 224
 Paccekabuddha, prediction of
 262
 Paccekabuddha, relics of... 257
 Paccekabuddhas, autocombus-
 tion of..... 218, 232, 250
 Paccekabuddhas, worthy of a
stūpa 257
pācittiya..... 64, 72, 177
Paḍīpadāna-jātaka.....423ff
 Padumarañjanā 304f
 Padumuttara, Buddha398, 410
 Pakudha Kaccāyana 359f
Pañcattaya-sutta ... see MN 102
Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñā-
pāramitā 445
 Paṇḍava 216, 220
 Paṇḍita, Paccekabuddha 217
papañca..... 41
 Parākramabāhu514ff
 Paramārtha 479
Paramatthajotikā see Pj II

<i>pāramitā</i>	457
<i>parikkhāra</i>	507
<i>Pariśiṣṭaparvan</i>	159
<i>paritta</i>	222, 505
Parliament of Religions ...	483ff
Pasenadi	37, 81, 162, 388ff
past lives, recollection of	21, 97, 311
Paṭācārā.....	304f, 308, 369, 373
path, simile of gone astray ...	24
<i>paṭicca samuppāda</i>	294
Pāṭikaputta	31
<i>Pāṭika-sutta</i>	see DN 24
<i>paṭisambhidā</i>	309, 449
<i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i>	453
Patna <i>Dharmapada</i>	164
Pelliot fragment	32
<i>Petaḥkopadesa</i>	176
Piṇḍola, Paccekabuddha	217
Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja.....	36
Pippali Māṇava	409
Piyadassī, Paccekabuddha ..	217
Pj II 46	237
Pj II 63	226
Pj II 77	382
Pj II 95	237
Pj II 118	226
Pj II 119	226
Pj II 127	226
Pj II 129	233
Pj II 278	505
Pj II 452	338
Pj II 456	334
pleasures, ignoble/commend- able	89
Pokkarasati.....	338
poor man, simile of.....	89
pot of oil, simile of.....	82

<i>Prajñāpāramitā</i>	108, 231, 444ff, 459, 465
pregnant woman, frightened....	91f
princess, past life of Buddha as.	413ff
proclamation of truth	34
Ps I 117	17
Ps I 121	27
Ps II 171	499
Ps III 148	90
Ps III 279	134
Ps III 355	162
Ps III 399	326
Ps IV 122	422
Ps IV 127	220
Pubbavideha.....	396
<i>Puggalapaññatti</i>	445
Puṇṇa	425
Pūraṇa Kassapa.....	359f, 365
<i>Purāṇas</i>	130, 132
Pūrṇaka	119
<i>purohita</i> , role of.....	417

Q

Q 963	234, 456
Q 966	58
Q 1030..	11, 114f, 128, 147, 155, 158, 161, 167ff, 180, 325, 414
Q 1032	441
Q 1035	38, 367f, 371f
Q 5256	480
Q 5595.....	52, 54, 57, 75, 77, 81, 114f, 128f, 158, 168ff, 180, 213, 257, 294, 312, 318, 393, 441, 444, 456, 464
Q 5639	480

R

raft, simile of.....	64, 75, 77f
Rāhula	36, 76, 368, 391
Rāhulamātā	391
<i>Rāṣṭrapālāpariprcchā</i>	462
Ratnasikhin, Buddha	424ff
recollection of past lives	21,
97, 311	
retreat, Buddha goes on.....	11
<i>Rgveda</i>	130f, 337
rhinoceros, motif of horn ...	238
rich man, simile of	89
robbers, simile of	75

S

S 462, fragment.....	228
S 474, fragment.....	37, 42
S 685, fragment.....	228
SĀ 37	49
SĀ 75	230
SĀ 81	292
SĀ 110	32
SĀ 265	394
SĀ 276	441
SĀ 287	236
SĀ 345	37
SĀ 348	33
SĀ 379	184f
SĀ 393	228
SĀ 402	248
SĀ 407	464
SĀ 417	246f
SĀ 440	83
SĀ 497	75
SĀ 498	37, 456, 460
SĀ 508	134
SĀ 509	134
SĀ 510	134

SĀ 523	134
SĀ 549	320
SĀ 604	306
SĀ 617	419
SĀ 635	229
SĀ 684	33, 230
SĀ 686	33
SĀ 687	33
SĀ 701	33
SĀ 702	33
SĀ 703	33
SĀ 721	131
SĀ 722	131
SĀ 726	58
SĀ 768	58
SĀ 807	11
SĀ 911	36
SĀ 968	36
SĀ 970	32
SĀ 979	48
SĀ 980	28
SĀ 981	28
SĀ 1076	368
SĀ 1095	52
SĀ 1101	36
SĀ 1107	59
SĀ 1141	62, 250ff, 450
SĀ 1143	37
SĀ 1148	81
SĀ 1188	456
SĀ 1191	11
SĀ 1199	317
SĀ 1200	307
SĀ 1201	306
SĀ 1204	309
SĀ 1206	314
SĀ 1208–1219.....	313
SĀ 1227	33
SĀ 1233	258

SĀ 1241	36
SĀ 1277	134
SĀ 1327	319
SĀ 1330	444
SĀ ² 15	368
SĀ ² 36	59
SĀ ² 54	33
SĀ ² 60	258
SĀ ² 71	81
SĀ ² 81	243
SĀ ² 92	243
SĀ ² 97	36
SĀ ² 101	456
SĀ ² 104	11
SĀ ² 110	48
SĀ ² 116	62, 250ff, 450
SĀ ² 118	37
SĀ ² 126	36
SĀ ² 152	243
SĀ ² 184	243
SĀ ² 185	225
SĀ ² 198	243
SĀ ² 202	36
SĀ ² 204	32
SĀ ² 215	317
SĀ ² 216	307
SĀ ² 217	306
SĀ ² 220	309
SĀ ² 222	314
SĀ ² 224–230	313
SĀ ² 250	313
SĀ ² 252–253	313
SĀ ² 275	134
SĀ ² 322	243
SĀ ² 327	319
SĀ ² 329	444
SĀ ² 340	243
<i>Saccavibhaṅga-sutta</i>	see MN

<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra</i>	205, 461f
Sakka	58, 147ff, 316, 429, 433, 435
Sakulā	304ff, 369, 373, 380
Sāmā	304ff, 369, 373
<i>Sāmaññaphala-sutta</i>	see DN 2
Samantapabhāsā	316f
<i>Samantapāsādikā</i>	see Sp
<i>Samayabhedoparacanacakra</i>	see T 2031
<i>Sampasādanīya-sutta</i>	see DN 28
<i>samrāj</i>	131
<i>samvega</i>	14
<i>Saṅghabhedavastu</i>	11, 21, 136, 162, 173, 223, 231f, 282, 291, 337, 363, 414
Saṅghadeva	1, 202f, 209
<i>saṅgīti</i> , first	174ff, 262, 458, 471, 481, 501ff
<i>Saṅgūtiparyāya</i>	108
Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta	359f
Sañjīva	52
Sarabha	32, 34
<i>Śāriputrapariṣcchā</i>	see T 1465
Sāriputta	37, 49f, 52, 63, 108, 240f, 309, 320, 340, 366, 368, 370, 376, 378, 444, 449f, 457, 460f, 465f
Sāriputta, as general	340
Sāriputta, lion's roars of	37f
Sāriputta hit by <i>yakkha</i>	52
Sārnāth image	36, 288
Sarvāstivāda <i>Vinaya</i>	see T 1435, T 1436, T 1437
<i>Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā</i>	445
<i>satī</i> , custom of	376f

- Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* ... see MN 10
Satpāramitā-saṃnipāta-sūtra...
 114
 Sāvattḥī miracle 366
 saw, simile of 75
 Schøyen fragment 56, 81
 seclusion, esteem for 9ff
 seclusion, to set example 12
 seclusion, two benefits of 23
 Sela 325ff
Sela-sutta see Sn 548
 self-mortification and awaken-
 ing 83
 Senior fragment 54
 sensual indulgence and awak-
 ening 64
 sensual thoughts, arising of .. 89
 seven suns, appearance of 56
 sex, change of 382ff, 436
 Shaku Sōen 488
 sheep, simile of herd of 18
 SHT I 36 12
 SHT I 164 12
 SHT I 533 58
 SHT III 820 307
 SHT III 979 257
 SHT IV 30 134
 SHT IV 32 12, 19, 24, 26, 31,
 42
 SHT IV 36 12
 SHT IV 165 12, 20
 SHT IV 412 52, 59
 SHT IV 500 12
 SHT IV 623 33
 SHT VI 1220 33
 SHT VI 1226 441
 SHT VI 1296 32
 SHT VI 1384 54
 SHT VI 1457 33
 SHT VI 1504 33
 SHT VII 1687 28
 SHT VIII 1857 131
 SHT IX 2018 33
 SHT IX 2066 33
 SHT IX 2161 505
 SHT IX 2162 33
 SHT IX 2256 505
 SHT IX 2323 33
 SHT IX 2384 505
 SHT IX 2401 12, 20
 SHT IX 2402 505
 SHT IX 2487 505
 SHT IX 2814 505
 Sigāla(ka)mātā 301
 Sīha 60f
 Sikhin, Buddha... 393, 395, 402
Śikṣāsamuccaya 56
 Sirigutta 98f, 101
 six standpoints for views 64
 smile by the Buddha... 133, 167,
 173, 179
 SN 1.35 134
 SN 1.37 223
 SN 3.11 81
 SN 3.16 388
 SN 3.20 258
 SN 4.18 52
 SN 4.23 232
 SN 5.2 317
 SN 5.3 307
 SN 5.4 309
 SN 5.5 306
 SN 5.7 314
 SN 6.2 456
 SN 6.6 226f
 SN 6.13 11
 SN 8.1–12 313
 SN 10.9 319

SN 10.10	319	Sn 48	224, 238
SN 11.3	28	Sn 65	315
SN 11.22	59	Sn 222–238	505
SN 12.2	55	Sn 257	30
SN 12.21	34	Sn 548–574	325ff
SN 12.22	34	Sn 822	11
SN 12.23	294	Sn 824	223
SN 12.32	37, 63	Sn 862–874	294
SN 12.47	24	Sn 1022	329, 336
SN 12.65	236	snake, simile of	64, 70f, 78
SN 16.5	62, 249ff, 450	Somā	316f
SN 17.24	303	Sonā	309ff, 359ff
SN 19.1	134	Soreyya	383
SN 22.58	230	Sp I 44	448
SN 22.60	292, 365	Sp I 52	501
SN 22.76	36	Sp I 231	501
SN 22.78	34	Sp I 274	385
SN 22.87	232	Sp IV 919	315
SN 22.94	49	Spk I 155	389
SN 35.117	296	Spk II 391	297
SN 43.4	317	Spk III 154	132
SN 44.1	306	Spk-ṭ I 244	227
SN 45.2	58	Śrāvakayāna	512, 518
SN 45.12	11	Śriguptāvadāna	98
SN 46.42	131	steward-treasure	116, 123f, 138, 146, 154, 170
SN 47.6	419	<i>sthaviravāda</i>	506f
SN 47.12	37, 456	Subhā	345ff
SN 48.51	35	Subhadra	377
SN 54.9	11	<i>Subha-sutta</i>	see MN 99
SN 54.11	11	Sudamā	313f
SN 55.21	82	Sudassana, Paccekabuddha	171f, 217, 220, 235
SN 56.11	230, 244ff, 267ff	Suddhakālaka	394
SN 56.13	246	<i>Sukhāvātīvyūha</i>	461
SN 56.23	248	Sukkā	318f
SN 56.27	246f	Sunetta	417
SN 56.28	247	suns, appearance of 7	56
SN 56.57	83	Sūrā	310
Sn 5	329		
Sn 35–75	10		

Suriyapabhā.....	316
Sutavā, Paccekabuddha.....	217
<i>Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra</i> ..	461
<i>Sūyagada</i>	84
Suyamā.....	318
Suzuki, D.T.....	488, 490
Sv I 2.....	471
Sv I 15.....	176
Sv I 135.....	162
Sv II 568.....	504

T

T 1.....	see DĀ
T 2.....	62, 394, 425
T 3.....	228, 243, 394
T 4.....	62, 425
T 5.....	130, 377, 414, 456
T 6.....	47f, 130, 244, 377, 414
T 7.....	47, 130, 244, 257, 377, 414
T 8.....	415
T 10.....	57
T 11.....	11, 32, 231
T 13.....	244
T 14.....	55
T 18.....	37, 456
T 22.....	136, 363
T 24.....	158
T 25.....	158
T 26.....	see MĀ
T 30.....	56, 417
T 32.....	239, 242
T 33.....	61
T 34.....	61
T 35.....	61
T 38.....	131
T 42.....	158
T 43.....	158

T 44.....	258
T 46.....	10, 455
T 47.....	197
T 49.....	197
T 50.....	197
T 51.....	197
T 52.....	55
T 53.....	136, 197
T 54.....	83
T 55.....	83, 198
T 56.....	197
T 58.....	197
T 60.....	197f
T 64.....	61, 197
T 65.....	197
T 66.....	52, 197f, 444
T 67.....	52, 444
T 70.....	197
T 71.....	81
T 72.....	415
T 73.....	198, 257, 415
T 74.....	257, 415
T 75.....	198
T 77.....	198
T 79.....	198
T 82.....	198
T 83.....	198
T 84.....	392
T 86.....	158
T 87.....	57, 451
T 88.....	57, 451
T 89.....	57, 198, 451
T 90.....	198
T 91.....	198
T 92.....	198
T 93.....	198
T 94.....	198
T 99.....	see SĀ
T 100.....	see SĀ ²

T 101.....	110	T 713.....	236
T 109.....	244	T 714.....	236
T 110.....	281	T 715.....	236
T 123.....	244	T 741.....	158
T 125.....	see EĀ	T 744.....	116
T 126.....	301f, 305, 311, 320	T 757.....	34
T 128b.....	196	T 776.....	234, 456
T 129.....	92	T 780.....	33
T 133.....	198	T 781.....	33
T 144.....	367f, 370, 372	T 802.....	33
T 145.....	367f, 372	T 1245.....	504
T 150A.....	111, 202, 207	T 1421.....	61, 64, 74, 91, 126, 174, 184, 244, 262, 267, 276f, 315, 342
T 152.....	114ff, 147, 156, 167ff, 423ff	T 1422.....	72, 435
T 154.16.....	255	T 1423.....	315
T 161.....	126	T 1425.....	64, 74, 91, 174ff, 210, 262, 315, 342
T 189.....	279	T 1426.....	177, 435
T 190.....	258, 279	T 1427.....	315
T 191.....	280	T 1428.....	64, 66, 74, 91, 174, 184, 195, 213, 225, 244, 262, 268, 282, 312, 315, 326, 342, 430, 498
T 194.....	116	T 1429.....	72, 435
T 196.....	279	T 1431.....	315
T 197.10.....	173	T 1435.....	62, 64, 74, 174, 185, 213, 244, 262, 315, 342
T 198.....	306	T 1436.....	435
T 201.....	367f, 372	T 1437.....	315
T 202.....	336, 366, 423ff	T 1442.....	64, 74, 109, 441
T 203.....	225, 258	T 1443.....	315
T 211.....	114, 147, 158, 162	T 1448.....	11, 115, 325, 341
T 212.....	30, 62, 81, 126, 158, 197, 419	T 1450.....	184, 223, 291
T 213.....	30, 297	T 1451.....	38, 130, 162, 174, 184, 195, 210, 262, 281, 341, 367f, 371f
T 221.....	205, 459	T 1454.....	435
T 263.....	205	T 1455.....	315
T 309.....	205f		
T 384.....	205		
T 403.....	205		
T 453.....	62, 197, 261		
T 468.....	480		
T 474.....	205		
T 630.....	205		

T 1460	72	Th 1083	341
T 1463	174, 262	Th 1209–1279	313
T 1465	480	Th-a II 211	98
T 1507 107f, 174f, 181, 193f, 196f, 210, 255, 306, 463		Th-a III 72	258
T 1509 75, 77, 109, 234, 307		Th-a III 130	408
T 1537	234, 456	Th-a III 132	409
T 1544	446	<i>Ṭhānaṅga</i>	132, 291
T 1548	213	<i>theravāda</i>	497ff
T 1579	404	<i>Theragāthā/Therīgāthā</i> , late- ness of	351
T 1912	404	Thī 12	311
T 2026	195	Thī 13	314
T 2031	480	Thī 15	312
T 2032	480	Thī 21–22	312
T 2033	480	Thī 35–36	314
T 2034	202	Thī 37–38	308
T 2040 303, 313, 318f, 380		Thī 39–41	308
T 2049	479	Thī 42–44	317
T 2059 202, 209, 468		Thī 45–47	317
T 2085 101, 474		Thī 48–50	312
T 2087 36, 101, 133, 373, 475ff		Thī 54–56	319
T 2121 208, 457		Thī 60–62	317
T 2125 101, 477		Thī 63–66	311
T 2128	98	Thī 65	409
T 2130	310, 316	Thī 97–101	307
T 2145 107, 195, 202f, 206		Thī 102–106	311
T 2147	209	Thī 107–111	320
T 2148	209	Thī 112–116	308
Tagarasikhī, Paccekabuddha	217	Thī 119	308
Tāmrasāṭṭiya	518f	Thī 122–126	317
<i>Tarkajvālā</i> 473, 479ff, 489f		Thī 125	308
Tatha, Paccekabuddha	217	Thī 151–156	314
Tathāgata, 4 intrepidities	33	Thī 157–162	305
Tathāgata, 10 powers	33	Thī 169–174	309
Th 175	37	Thī 175–181	312
Th 492	274	Thī 178	308
Th 910	258	Thī 189–195	314
		Thī 213–223	307
		Thī 224–235	306

Thī 229.....	306
Thī 291–311.....	319
Thī 332.....	37
Thī 366.....	347
Thī 381f.....	347
Thī 396.....	345ff
Thī 399.....	347f
Thī-a 66.....	391, 408, 410
Thī-a 138.....	367f, 373, 375
Thī-a 145.....	368
Thī-a 146.....	371
Thī-a 151.....	371
Thī-a 153.....	372
thirty-two marks	147f, 327ff, 452
thoughts of a great man, 8.....	10
three higher knowledges.....	20, 27, 308, 311, 410
Tīrthankara, twenty-second...	147
Tocharian fragment.....	257, 393
Toki Hōryū.....	486
truth, proclamation of.....	34
truths, four as noble.....	239ff, 274f, 338
twigs, simile of taking.....	65
twin miracle.....	371ff

U

Ud 2.8.....	341
Ud 4.1.....	28
Ud 4.4.....	444
Ud 5.3.....	258
Ud 6.2.....	81
Ud 8.1.....	297
Ud 8.9.....	368
Udayana.....	446
Udāyin.....	89ff
Uddaka Rāmaputta.....	497ff

<i>uddānas</i> , function of.....	110
<i>udumbara</i>	328f
<i>Udumbarika-(sīhanāda)-sutta</i> see DN 25
Uighur fragment..	54, 257, 302, 393, 505
Upacālā.....	313f
<i>Upakkilesa-sutta</i> ... see MN 128	
Upāli, lay disciple.....	313
Upāli, monk.....	94ff, 502
Upariṭṭha, Paccekabuddha..	217, 220, 235
Upāsabha, Paccekabuddha..	217
<i>upasampadā</i> and <i>pabbajjā</i> ..	332f
<i>uposatha</i>	57, 138, 148f, 152, 423
Uppalavaṇṇā	303ff, 369, 373
<i>uṣṇīṣa</i>	259
Uttamā.....	316f
Uttarā.....	310, 312
Uttara, brahmin.....	339
Uttara, monk.....	113, 165, 172, 459
<i>Uttarājñhayaṇa</i>	164
Uttarakuru.....	396
Uv 23.3.....	164
Uv 26.24.....	297
Uv 28.5.....	30

V

<i>Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā</i>	465
Vakkali.....	232
<i>Vamsadīpanī</i>	508f
<i>Vaṅgīsasamyutta</i> see SN 8.1– 12	
<i>Vāsiṣṭha-sūtra</i>	260
Vasu.....	318f

Vasubandhu..... 479f
Vāyupurāṇa..... 132
 Vebhāra..... 216, 220
 Vedehikā..... 63
Velāma-sutta..... see AN 9.20
 Vepulla..... 216, 220
 Vessabhū, Buddha..... 402f
 Vessantara..... 420
 Vibhajjavāda..... 519ff
Vibhaṅga..... 42
 views, 6 standpoints for..... 64
 views, dogmatic adherence to... 64
 views of existence/non-existence..... 41
 Vijaya, Paccekabuddha..... 217
 Vijayabāhu I..... 514
 Vijayā..... 304f, 309, 369, 373
 Vimadā..... 316f
 Vimala, Paccekabuddha..... 217
Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra... 108, 205
 Vin I 11..... 230
 Vin I 12..... 333
 Vin I 92..... 29, 166
 Vin I 197..... 127
 Vin I 200..... 404
 Vin I 245f..... 343
 Vin I 246..... 342
 Vin I 296..... 507
 Vin I 343..... 126
 Vin II 25..... 225
 Vin II 27..... 64
 Vin II 72..... 521
 Vin II 194..... 61
 Vin II 230..... 11
 Vin II 236..... 62
 Vin II 259..... 10
 Vin II 285..... 262
 Vin II 287..... 174, 502

Vin III 35..... 384
 Vin III 73..... 435
 Vin III 105..... 134
 Vin III 198..... 315
 Vin III 230..... 11
 Vin III 251..... 404
 Vin IV 133..... 64, 74
 Vin IV 134..... 225
 Vin IV 187..... 160
 Vinā..... 313f
Vinaya material, restricted circulation of..... 107ff
Vinayamāṭṭhikā..... see T 1463
 Vipassin, Buddha..... 228, 399f
 Visākhā..... 57, 313f
Visuddhimagga..... 17, 521
viveka..... 11
Vyākhyāyukti..... 83, 480,

W

water, simile of..... 76, 83
 wheel of Dharma..... 184, 272, 278ff, 286ff, 299, 505
 wheel-treasure..... 116ff, 135, 145, 170
 wheel-turning king.. 115, 128ff, 135ff, 159f, 179, 200ff, 257, 306f, 327, 382, 414ff, 433
 white hair, motif of... 125f, 138, 142f, 152f, 158f, 168f, 171, 180
 widow, position in India..... 431
 wind, simile of..... 76
 withered leaf, motif of..... 225
 woman-treasure..... 116, 122f, 127, 138, 170
 women as donors in art..... 289
 world, formation of..... 57

X

Xuánzàng 36, 101, 133, 200,
373, 474ff

Y

Yajñadatta 407
yakkha, on Sakka's throne 58
yakkha hits Sāriputta 52
Yama 158

Yasassī, Paccekabuddha 217

Yasodharā 374, 390f, 395f

Yatsubuchi Banryū 486

Yìjìng 101, 474, 477f

Z

Zhú Fóniàn 1, 62, 66, 104ff,
184ff, 197, 200, 202ff, 458,
469



Plate 1
Lion Capital
Sārnāth, courtesy Eric R. Huntington



Plate 2

The cakravartin Māndhātṛ
Phañigiri (Andhra Pradesh), courtesy Peter Skilling



Plate 3

A Paccekabuddha

Lanna, courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg



Plate 4

Turning the Wheel of Dharma (1)
Sārnāth, courtesy John C. Huntington



Plate 5

Turning the Wheel of Dharma (2)

Calcutta, courtesy Ken and Visakha Kawasaki