Exemplary Qualities of a Monastic: The Saṃyukta-āgama Counterpart to the Mahāgopālaka-sutta and the Need of Balancing Inner Development with Concern for Others

Bhikkhu Anālayo

ABSTRACT

The present article offers a translation of the $Samyukta-\bar{a}gama$ parallel to the $Mah\bar{a}gop\bar{a}laka$ -sutta of the Majjhima-nik $\bar{a}ya$, followed by a comparative study of the extant versions of the discourse and of its significance.

INTRODUCTION

For a proper assessment of the legacy of the early Buddhist discourses, a comparative study of parallel versions transmitted by other reciter lineages can bring to light interesting variations. The prolonged period of oral transmission has inevitably left an impact on the present shape of the early discourses, however much the reciters may have attempted to accurately preserve what they had received from their predecessors as the word of the Buddha.¹

Differences found between Pāli discourses and their counterparts transmitted by other reciter traditions often manifest in only minor variations, while the main import of the doctrinal teachings is usually the same. As an example of such basic similarity with some minor variations, in what follows I translate and study a discourse from the <code>Saṃyukta-āgama</code> preserved in Chinese, followed by briefly comparing it with its discourse parallels.

I have chosen this particular discourse, which presents a set of eleven exemplary qualities of a Buddhist monastic and illustrates these with the example of a cowherd, since this set of qualities reflects a central concern of progress towards liberation. This central concern is the need to balance whole-hearted dedication to one's own

1

inner development with concern for the welfare of others. This aspect of the early Buddhist teachings, it seems to me, has not yet received the attention it deserves. Hence a comparative study of a discourse that reflects this theme may be of general interest, in addition to its potential of throwing light on the nature of early Buddhist literature as the final product of oral transmission over several centuries.

The extant versions of the discourse in question are as follows:²

- 1) the "Greater Discourse on the Cowherd" (Mahāgopālaka-sutta) in the Majjhima-nikāya;³
- 2) the "Discourse on the Cowherd" ($Gop \bar{a}la$ -sutta), found among the Elevens of the A n guttara- $n i k \bar{a} y a$;⁴
- 3) the "[Discourse on the Cowherd]" in the Saṃyukta-āgama (T 99);⁵
- 4) the first discourse in the "Chapter on the Cowherd" (放牛品) in the Ekottarika-āgama (T 125);⁶
- 5) the "Discourse Spoken by the Buddha on the Cowherd" (佛說放牛經), an individual translation.⁷

Thus besides the two Pāli versions, we have three versions preserved in Chinese translation at our disposition. The first of these, listed above as number 3, is the discourse I will be rendering into English in the present paper. This discourse stems from a Saṃyukta-āgama extant in Chinese translation that, according to modern scholarship, is probably of (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda provenance. According to the information we possess, the translation of this collection of discourses was begun in 435 of the present era by Baoyun (寶雲), assisted by Puti (菩提) and Fayong (法勇), based on an original read out to them by the Indian Guṇabhadra. The original text appears to have been in Sanskrit.

The discourse listed above under number 4 belongs to an *Ekottarika-āgama* extant in the Taishō edition that seems to be the text translated into Chinese during the period 384-385 by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念), based on what probably was a Prākrit original of so far undetermined school affiliation transmitted by Dharmanandin.¹¹

The "Discourse Spoken by the Buddha on the Cowherd", listed above as number 5, is an "individual translation" in the sense that it does not form part of a translation that covers a collection or group of discourses, but was translated on its own – "individually" – and included as a single discourse in the Taishō edition. Its translation is attributed to the famous Kumārajīva (344-409/413).¹²

TRANSLATION13

[Discourse on the Cowherd]

- 1. Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying at Sāvatthī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park. At that time the Blessed One told the monks:
- 2. "If a cowherd is endowed with eleven qualities, he will not be able to rear cows or to look after and protect a great herd of cows [in a way that] brings about their well-being. What are these eleven [qualities]? They are said to be:
 - he does not know material form.
 - he does not know characteristics,
 - he does not remove pests,
 - he is not able to dress their wounds,
 - he is not able to smoke out [the cow-pens],
 - he does not know [how] to choose the way,
 - he does not know [how] to choose the place,
 - he does not know the ford,
 - he does not know the pasture,
 - he milks dry,
 - he does not skilfully take care of the leaders of the herd.

These are said to be the eleven qualities endowed with which [a cowherd] is not able to manage and protect a great herd of cows.

- 3. Similarly, a monk who is endowed with eleven qualities will not be able to bring peace to himself or others. What are these eleven [qualities]? They are said to be:
 - he does not know material form,
 - he does not know characteristics,
 - he is not able to remove harmful pests, 14
 - he does not dress his wounds,

- he is not able to smoke out,
- he does not know the right way,
- he does not know the place of tranquillity, 15
- he does not know the ford,
- he does not know the pasture,
- he milks dry,
- he does not praise the virtues of elders of much learning and seniority, who have been practising the holy life for a long time and who are praised by the great teacher, [praising them] in front of his knowledgeable and wise [companions] in the holy life, so that they all have reverence [towards these elders], offering them service and requisites.
- 4. What is said to be 'not knowing material form'? (1)¹⁶ Whatever material form there is, it is all included in the four elements and in what is derived from the four elements. [Not knowing] this is said to be 'not knowing material form' as it really is.
- 5. What is [said to be] 'not knowing characteristics'? (2) [Some] affairs and deeds have the characteristic of being faults, [other] affairs and deeds have the characteristic of being wise. Not knowing this as it really is, this is said to be 'not knowing characteristics'.
- 6. What is said to be 'not knowing [how] to remove pests'? (3) When an experience of sensuality manifests, he tolerates it, does not get out of it, does not realize [its danger], and does not extinguish it. When an experience of anger ...¹⁷ harmfulness manifests, he tolerates it, does not get out of it, does not realize [its danger], and does not extinguish it. [343a] This is said to be 'not removing pests'.
- 7. What is [said to be] 'not dressing wounds'? (4) [This] is said to be [when], on seeing a form with the eye, he follows after and grasps its appearance and characteristics, he does not guard the eye-faculty [against] desire and dejection in [regard to] the world, [as well as against] evil and unwholesome qualities, [so that] consequently influxes arise in the mind. He is not able to protect [the eye-faculty]. As regards the ear ... the nose ... the tongue ... the body ... the mind ... (it is also again like this). This is said to be 'not dressing his wounds'.

- 8. What is [said to be] 'not smoking out'? (5) He is not able to explain and clarify to others the teachings as he has heard and as he has received them. This is said to be 'not smoking out'.
- 11. What is [said to be] 'not knowing the right path'? (8) The eightfold right path, ¹⁹ as well as the noble teaching and discipline are said to be the path. Not knowing them as they really are this is said to be 'not knowing the path'.
- 10. What is [said to be] 'not knowing the place of tranquillity'? (7) That is, he does not obtain joy and delight in regard to the teachings that have been realized by the Tathāgata, he [does not realize their] excellence, [does not experience] renunciation and [does not derive] benefit [from them]. This is [said to be] 'not knowing the place of tranquillity'.
- 9. What is [said to be] 'not knowing the ford'? (6) That is, he does not know the discourses, the discipline, the *Abhidharma*, he does not, from time to time, approach those [whom he could] ask for advice [regarding:] 'What is wholesome? What is unwholesome? What are offenses? What are not offenses? Doing what things is excellent and not evil?' He is not able to explain succinct teachings [himself], he is not able to ask [others] detailed questions in regard to what has been expounded, and in regard to profound statements known to him, he is not able to clarify and explain them in detail [to others]. This is said to be 'not knowing the ford'.
- 12. What is [said to be] 'not knowing the pasture?' (9) That is, the four establishments of mindfulness as well as the noble teaching and discipline are said to be the pasture. Not knowing these as they really are this is said to be 'not knowing the pasture'.
- 13. What is [said to be] 'milking dry'? (10) [When] warriors, Brahmins and eminent householders freely give robes and blankets, food and drink, beds, medicines, and [other] requisites to the [monastic] community, and that monk knows no limit in accepting them, [then] this is said to be 'milking dry'.
- 14. What is [said to be] 'not praising the virtues of elders of great virtue, much learning and seniority etc. in front of his excellent and wise [companions] in the

holy life, so that they [might] respect and support [these elders], offering their service so that these obtain happiness'? (11) That is, a monk does not praise those elders ... ($up\ to$)²⁰ ... so that his excellent and wise [companions] in the holy life [might] respectfully approach them in order to support them and do service by way of bodily, verbal and mental acts. This is said to be 'not [praising] elders of much learning and seniority ... ($up\ to$) ... so that his excellent and wise [companions] in the holy life [might] respectfully approach them to support them and do service, so that they obtain happiness'.

15. A cowherd endowed with eleven qualities will certainly be able to rear a herd of cows or to look after and protect a herd of cows, [so as] to bring about their happiness. What are the eleven? They are said to be: he knows material form, he knows characteristics ... (as clearly explained above, up to) 21 ... he is able to take care of the leaders of the herd from time to time, so that they obtain well-being. [343b] This is said to be a cowherd endowed with eleven things who is able to rear, look after and protect a herd of cows, [so as] to bring about their well-being.

16. Similarly, a monk who is endowed with eleven qualities will be able to bring peace and happiness to himself, and bring others peace. What are the eleven? That is, he knows material form; he knows characteristics ... (up to the eleventh, as clearly explained above in full). This is said to be a monk endowed with eleven things who is able to bring peace to himself and to others."

When the Buddha had spoken this discourse, the monks, who had heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and received it respectfully.

STUDY

The slightly irregular numbering of the paragraphs and of the eleven qualities in the above translation reflects the circumstance that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version's listing shows a sequential variation when compared with the two Pāli discourses, whose sixth and eighth qualities occur in the opposite places (above paragraphs 11 and 9). Such sequential variations are a relatively common occurrence in material that has been transmitted by oral means. In the present case, this variation recurs

in the other Chinese versions. The survey below presents the listing of the eleven qualities in the three Chinese versions, with a numbering that reflects the sequence in which these qualities appear in the Pāli versions:

Sa <i>ṃ</i> yukta- <i>ā</i> gama	Ekottarika- <i>ā</i> gama	Individual translation
(SĀ 1249):	(EĀ 49.1):	(T 123)
1 knows four elements	1 knows four elements	1 knows four elements
2 knows fool and wise	2 knows fool and wise	2 knows fool and wise
3 removes unwholesome	3 removes unwholesome	3 removes unwholesome
4 restrains senses	4 restrains senses	4 restrains senses
5 teaches the Dharma	5 teaches the Dharma	5 teaches the Dharma
8 knows eightfold path	8 knows eightfold path	8 practices eightfold path
7 inspired by the Dharma	7 inspired by the Dharma	7 inspired by the Dharma
6 questions others	(?) knows a <i>n</i> gas	(?) knows four noble truths
9 knows establ. of mindfulness	9 knows establ. of mindfulness	9 knows establ. of mindfulness
10 knows moderation	10 knows moderation	10 knows moderation
11 respectful to elders	11 respectful to elders	11 respectful to elders

As the above survey shows, the basic pattern and the main themes in the parallel versions are similar for the first five qualities, and again for the final three. With the sixth quality, there is a variation, which manifests not only in a sequential difference, but also in the description of this quality. In the two Pāli versions, the sixth quality is to question senior monks who are bearers of the Dharma, the discipline (vinaya) and the summaries ($m\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$). In the above translated $Samyukta-\bar{a}gama$ version, it is the monk himself who is required to be learned, and that in relation to the discourses, the discipline and the Abhidharma (阿毘曇). Placing these two descriptions side by side, the reference to $m\bar{a}tik\bar{a}$ in the Pāli versions can be seen to form the counterpart to the Abhidharma mentioned in their $Samyukta-\bar{a}gama$ parallel. This correspondence brings to mind a suggestion voiced by a number of scholars on the significance of the $m\bar{a}tik\bar{a}s/m\bar{a}t_ik\bar{a}s$ for the development of the early Abhidharma texts, in that such summaries of key terms may have played a key role in the genesis of abhidharmic listings and perhaps also abhidharmic thought.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* version differs further in respect to this quality, as it does not mention any elders that are to be questioned, but requires the monk to be

knowledgeable in the twelve $a\dot{n}gas$. The $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation thereby brings in the northern tradition's counter-part to the nine $a\dot{n}gas$ enumerated in the Pāli discourses. The $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation thereby brings in the northern tradition's counter-part to the nine $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation thereby brings in the northern tradition's counter-part to the nine $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation thereby brings in the northern tradition's counter-part to the nine $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation thereby brings in the northern tradition's counter-part to the nine $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation thereby brings in the northern tradition's counter-part to the nine $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation thereby brings in the northern tradition's counter-part to the nine $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation thereby brings in the northern tradition's counter-part to the nine $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation the $Ekottarika-\bar{a}gama$ presentation

While the versions surveyed so far still agree that the canonical texts should be known – whether these are referred to by way of the threefold division or by way of the *aṅgas* – the individual translation does not mention any texts. Its corresponding quality rather stipulates knowledge of the four [noble] truths.²⁷

The remainder of the listings in the different versions can be seen to agree again fairly well, showing a basic similarity in the overall exposition of the eleven qualities required for a monastic to become a good 'cowherd'.

The image of the cowherd, ²⁸ who gains his livelihood by properly looking after cows, may well have been chosen on purpose to illustrate a recurrent theme in this listing of qualities: the need to balance gaining one's own benefit with looking after others. The significance of this theme can best be illustrated by briefly surveying the entire list.

The listing of qualities in the parallel versions begins with two basic forms of insight, namely understanding the nature of material reality as made up of the four elements (quality 1), and knowing the difference between foolishness and wisdom (quality 2), a basic but crucial distinction in the mental realm. Next come qualities related to conduct, where the removal of unwholesome states (quality 3) spells out the basics of mental culture which, together with the practice of sense-restraint (quality 4), sets the foundations for mental cultivation. These four qualities, which in a way establish the basics of one's own personal growth, are then balanced by mentioning the need to also teach the Dharma to others (quality 5), thereby ensuring that benefitting others will become an integral part of one's own practice.

The next qualities, listed with the above discussed variations in the parallel versions, are related to being knowledgeable in the Dharma (quality 6) and being inspired by it (quality 7). Other forms of knowledge reflect again essential requirements for progressing in one's practice, where the noble eightfold path (quality 8) and the practice of the four establishments of mindfulness (quality 9) need to be well

understood. These two qualities are followed by moderation in regard to the support received from others (quality 10) and respectful behaviour towards one's senior co-practitioners (quality 11), again bringing in the theme of concern for others.

The listing thus interrelates essential qualities aimed at one's own inner growth with qualities that reflect a concern for others. The higher number of qualities dedicated to one's own development clearly gives priority to self-cultivation.²⁹ Nevertheless, the overall listing shows a balanced interplay between concern for oneself and regard for others.

The importance of concern for others receives an additional emphasis in the Pāli versions, as according to them lacking any of these eleven qualities a monk will be unable to come to growth in the Buddha's Dharma and discipline. This spells out more explicitly than the $Sanyukta-\bar{a}gama$ version – which speaks of being unable to bring peace to oneself or others – that neglecting activities such as teaching the Dharma to others will obstruct one's own growth in the Dharma.

Another difference between the Pāli discourses and their Chinese parallels is the way they formulate the last quality in the list (11). While the Chinese versions mainly mention the need for respectful behaviour in regard to one's elders,³² the Pāli versions speak of developing loving kindness by way of body, speech, and mind towards them.³³ This goes a step further than just being respectful and thus further enhances the emphasis in the two Pāli discourses on empathy for others.

Needless to say, such acting with respect or even developing loving kindness towards others will in turn have its wholesome effects on one's own inner development, these two aspects being, in the final count, interrelated phenomena comparable to the two sides of a coin. Similarly, the other qualities mentioned – such as for example the removal of unwholesome states (quality 3) – will inevitably have positive repercussions experienced by whoever may come into contact with such an internally purified person.

That concern for others, in addition to being a natural effect of developing oneself, is given such an explicit highlighting in the Mahāgopālaka-sutta and its parallels is

not an exceptional case among Pāli discourses. A passage in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, for example, reflects a similar attitude. This passage contrasts those who practice only for their own welfare to those who practice for their own welfare and the welfare of others. According to this discourse, those who only practice for their own welfare are "blameworthy" on that account, whereas those who practice for their own and others' welfare are "praiseworthy" by comparison.³⁴

The different versions of the Discourse on the Cowherd thus make it clear that consciously developing concern for others – represented by willingness to teach others (5), by moderation in regard to one's supporters (10) and by respectful behaviour or even loving kindness towards elders (11) – is an integral part of one's own growth in the Dharma. The same discourses, however, present these qualities together with other qualities not directly aimed at the welfare of others, but at one's own meditative development. This puts caring for others into proper perspective, suggesting that it should not be given such importance as to overshadow the other qualities mentioned. In this way, the different versions of the present discourse can be seen to highlight the importance of concern for the welfare of others, while at the same time placing such concern in its proper perspective by subordinating it to the principal task of progress towards liberation.

The theme of practising loving kindness as an aspect of the path that leads to awakening recurs in a verse in the *Dhammapada*, found with minor variations in parallel verses transmitted by other traditions. The Pāli version of this verse runs:

A monk who dwells in loving kindness, Delighting in the teaching of the Buddha, Will realize the path of peace, The happiness of the stilling of formations.

mettāvihārī yo bhikkhu, pasanno buddhasāsane adhigacche padaṃ santaṃ saṅkhār ūpasamaṃ sukhaṃ.³⁵

ABBREVIATIONS

A	A <i>n</i> guttara-nik <i>ā</i> ya
B^{e}	Burmese edition
C^{e}	Ceylonese edition
Dhp	Dhammapada
E^{e}	PTS edition

 $E\bar{A}$ Ekottarika- $\bar{a}g$ ama (T 125) M \bar{A} Madhyama- $\bar{a}g$ ama (T 26)

M Majjhima-nik \bar{a} ya S e Siamese edition

 $S\bar{A}$ Sa $myukta-\bar{a}gama$ (T 99)

T Taishō (CBETA)

text has been supplementedexplanations given in the original

REFERENCES

- Akanuma, Chizen 1929/1990: The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese \bar{A} gamas & $P\bar{a}$ li $Nik\bar{a}yas$, Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- Allon, Mark 1997a: Style and Function: A study of the dominant stylistic features of the prose portions of $P\bar{a}li$ canonical sutta texts and their mnemonic function, Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies.
- Allon, Mark 1997b: "The Oral Composition and Transmission of Early Buddhist Texts", in *Indian Insights: Buddhism, Brahmanism and Bhakti, papers from the Annual Spalding Symposium on Indian Religions*, P. Connolly et al. (eds.), London: Luzac Oriental, 39-61.
- Anālayo 2006: "The Ekottarika-āgama Parallel to the Saccavibhanga-sutta and the Four (Noble) Truths", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 23 (2): 145-153.
- Anālayo 2007: "Oral Dimensions of Pāli Discourses: Pericopes, other Mnemonic Techniques, and the Oral Performance Context", Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies, 3: 5-33.
- Anālayo 2008: "The Verses on an Auspicious Night, Explained by Mahākaccāna A Study and Translation of the Chinese Version", Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies, 4: 5-29.
- Anālayo 2009a: "The Vicissitudes of Memory and Early Buddhist Oral Transmission", *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 5: 5-19.
- Anālayo 2009b: "Zeng-yi A-han", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs, 8 (3): 822-827.
- Anālayo 2010: "Teaching and Liberation Rāhula's Awakening in the Saṃyuktaāgama", in *Felicitation Volume for Professor Samtani*, ed. L. Shravak (forthcoming).
- Bagchi, Prabodh Chandra 1927 (vol. 1): *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, Les Traducteurs et les Traductions*, Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Beckh, Hermann 1911: Udānavarga, Eine Sammlung Buddhistischer Sprüche in Tibetischer Sprache, Nach dem Kanjur und Tanjur mit Anmerkungen Herausgegeben, Berlin: Reimer.
- Bernhard, Franz 1965 (vol. 1): *Udānavarga*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bernhard, Franz 1969: "Zum Titel des sogenannten 'Udānavarga'", Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplementa I (3): 872-881.

- Bronkhorst, Johannes 1985: "Dharma and Abhidharma", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 48: 305-320.
- Brough, John 1962/2001: The Gāndhārī Dharmapada, Edited with an Introduction and Commentary, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Bucknell, Roderick S. 2006: "Saṃyukta-āgama", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs, 7(4): 684-687.
- Buswell. R.E. Jr. et al. 1996: "The Development of Abhidharma Philosophy", in *Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophies, Vol. VII, Abhidharma Buddhism to 150 AD,* K. Potter et al. (ed.), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 73-119.
- Ch'en, Kenneth K.S. 1964: Buddhism in China A Historical Survey, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Choong, Mun-keat 2000: The Fundamental Teachings of Early Buddhism, A comparative study based on the Sūtrānga portion of the Pāli Saṇŋyutta-Nikāya and the Chinese Saṇŋyuktāgama, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Chung, Jin-Il 2008: A Survey of the Sanskrit Fragments Corresponding to the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama, Tokyo: Sankibo.
- Collins, Steven 1992: "Notes on some Oral Aspects of Pāli Literature", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 35: 121-135.
- Cone, Margaret 1989: "Patna Dharmapada", Journal of the Pali Text Society, 13: 101-217. Cousins, L.S. 1983: "Pāli Oral Literature", in Buddhist Studies: Ancient and Modern, P. Denwood (ed.), London: Curzon, 1-11.
- Coward, Harold 1986: "Oral and Written Texts in Buddhism", *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, 50: 299-313.
- Cox, Collett 1995: Disputed Dharmas, Early Buddhist Theories on Existence, An Annotated Translation of the Section on Factors Dissociated from Thought from Saighabhadra's Nyāyānusāra, Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- de Jong, J.W. 1981: "Fa-Hsien and Buddhist Texts in Ceylon", Journal of the Pali Text Society, 9: 105-116.
- Demiéville, Paul 1950/1973: "Sur le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse traduit par É. Lamotte, t. 2", in *Choix d'Études Bouddhiques*, Leiden: Brill, 470-490.

- Dhammajoti, Bhikkhu K.L. 1995: The Chinese Version of Dharmapada, Translated with Introduction and Annotations, Sri Lanka: University of Kelaniya, Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies.
- Enomoto, Fumio 1986: "On the Formation of the Original Texts of the Chinese Āgamas", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 3 (1): 19-30.
- Forte, Antonio 1984: "The Activities in China of the Tantric Master Manicintana (Pao-ssu-wei 寶思惟:?-721 A.D.) from Kashmir and of his Northern Indian Collaborators", East and West, 34: 301-345.
- Frauwallner, Erich 1971: "Die Entstehung der Buddhistischen Systeme", in Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, 6: 113-127.
- Freiberger, Oliver 2000: Der Orden in der Lehre, Zur religiösen Deutung des Sa*i*ngha im frühen Buddhismus, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Gethin, Rupert 1992: "The Mātikās: Memorization, Mindfulness, and the List", in *In the Mirror of Memory, Reflections on Mindfulness and Remembrance in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism*, J. Gyatso (ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 149-172.
- Glass, Andrew 2010: "Guṇabhadra, Băoyún, and the Saṃyuktāgama", Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, 31 (1-2): 185-203.
- Gombrich, Richard F. 1990: "How the Mahāyāna Began", *The Buddhist Forum*, 1: 21-30. Gombrich, Richard F. 2009: What the Buddha Thought, London: Equinox.
- Gómez, Luis O. 1987/2005: "Buddhist Books and Texts: Exegesis and Hermeneutics", in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, L. Jones (ed.), Detroit: Macmillan, 2: 1268-1278.
- Harrison, Paul 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.), Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1-32.
- Hirakawa, Akira 1993/1998: A History of Indian Buddhism, From $S\bar{a}$ kyamuni to Early Mah \bar{a} y \bar{a} na, P. Groner (trsl.), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Hiraoka, Satoshi 2000: "The Sectarian Affiliation of Two Chinese Saṃyuktāgamas", Indogaku Bukky \bar{o} gaku Kenky \bar{u} , 49 (1): 506-500.

- Horner, I.B. 1941: "Abhidhamma Abhivinaya", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 17 (3): 291-310.
- Jaini, Padmanabh S. 1977: Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti, Critically Edited with Notes and Introduction, Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.
- Jayawickrama, N.A. 1959: "Buddhaghosa and the Traditional Classifications of the Pāli Canon", *University of Ceylon Review*, 17 (1/2): 1-17.
- Kalupahana, David J. 1965: "Anga", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, G.P. Malalasekera (ed.), Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs, 1 (4): 616-619.
- Lamotte, Étienne 1944/1981 (vol. 1): Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra), Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste.
- Lamotte, Étienne 1956: "Problèmes Concernant les Textes Canoniques 'Mineurs'", Journal Asiatique, 244 (3): 249-264.
- Lévi, Sylvain 1908: "Açvaghoṣa, Le Sūtrālaṃkāra et ses Sources", *Journal Asiatique*, 10 (12): 57-184.
- Lü, Cheng 1963: "Āgama", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, G.P. Malalasekera (ed.), Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs, 1 (2): 241-244.
- Maithrimurthi, Mudagamuwe 1999: Wohlwollen, Mitleid, Freude und Gleichmut, Eine ideengeschichtliche Untersuchung der vier apramāṇas in der buddhistischen Ethik und Spiritualität von den Anfängen bis hin zum frühen Yogācāra, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Mayeda [=Maeda], Egaku 1985: "Japanese Studies on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas", in *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur, Erster Teil*, H. Bechert (ed.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 94-103.
- McRae, John R. 2004: "Kumārajīva", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), New York: Macmillan, 1: 442-443.
- 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 1991: *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

SIJBS VOL. I

- Muck, T.C. 1980: "The Meaning of 'Abhidhamma' in the Pāli Canon", Pāli Buddhist Review, 5 (1-2): 12-22.
- Ñāṇamoli, Bhikkhu 1995/2005: The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha, Bhikkhu Bodhi (ed.), Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- \tilde{N} āṇaponika Thera 1964/1988: The Simile of the Cloth & the Discourse on Effacement, Two Discourses of the Buddha from the Majjhima Nik \bar{a} ya, Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Nanjio, Bunyiu 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.
- Nattier, Jan 2004: "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.
- Norman, K.R. 1997: A Philological Approach to Buddhism, The Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Lectures 1994, London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Przyluski, Jean 1926: Le Concile de Rājagṭha, Introduction a l'Histoire des Canons et des Sectes Bouddhigues, Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Ronkin, Noa 2005: Early Buddhist Metaphysics, The Making of a Philosophical Tradition, London: Routledge Curzon.
- Roth, Gustav 1980: "Text of the Patna Dharmapada", in "Particular Features of the Language of the Ārya-Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins and their Importance for Early Buddhist Tradition", in *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, H. Bechert (ed.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 93-135.
- Schmithausen, Lambert 1987: "Beiträge zur Schulzugehörigkeit und Textgeschichte kanonischer und postkanonischer Buddhistischer Materialien", in Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur, Zweiter Teil, H. Bechert (ed.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 304-406.
- Schmithausen, Lambert 2004: "Benefiting Oneself and Benefiting Others: A Note on Anguttaranikāya 7.64", in *Gedenkschrift J.W. de Jong*, H.W. Bodewitz et al. (eds.), Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 149-160.

- Senart, Émile 1897 (vol. 3): *Le Mahāvastu, Texte Sanscrit Publié pour la Première Fois et Accompagné d'Introductions et d'un Commentaire.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Shih, Robert 1968: Biographies des Moines Éminents (Kao Sen Tchouan) de Houei-Kiao, Traduites et Annotées, Louvain: Institut Orientaliste.
- Tsukamoto, Zenryū 1979/1985: A History of Early Chinese Buddhism, From its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yüan, L. Hurwitz (trsl.), Tokyo: Kodansha International.
- Vaudeville, Charlotte 1975: "The Cowherd God in Ancient India", in *Pastoralists and Nomads in South Asia*, L.S. Leshnik (ed.), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 92-116.
- von Hinüber, Oskar 1994a: "Die Neun Angas: Ein früher Versuch zur Einteilung buddhistischer Texte", Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-und Ostasiens, 38: 121-135.
- von Hinüber, Oskar 1994b: Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- von Hinüber, Oskar 1994c: "Vinaya and Abhidhamma", Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, (Festschrift G. Budruss), 19: 109-122.
- von Simson, Georg 1965: Zur Diktion einiger Lehrtexte des buddhistischen Sanskritkanons, München: J. Kitzinger.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst 1980: "Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas", in *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, H. Bechert (ed.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 136-174.
- Warder, A.K. 1961: "The Mātikā", in *Mohavicchedanī Abhidhamma-mātikatthavaṇṇanā* by Kassapatthera of Coḍa, A.P. Buddhadatta (ed.), London: Pali Text Society, pp. xix-xxvii.
- Watanabe, Fumimaro 1983/1996: Philosophy and its Development in the Nikāyas and Abhidhamma, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- 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.
- Weeraratne, W.G. 1999: "Kumārajīva", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs, 6 (2): 254-255.

SIJBS VOL. I

- Wiltshire, Martin G. 1990: Ascetic Figures before and in Early Buddhism, The Emergence of Gautama as the Buddha, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wynne, Alexander 2004: "The Oral Transmission of Early Buddhist Literature", Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, 27 (1): 97-127.
- 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 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.), Oakville: Mosaic Press, 277-304.

Acknowledgements:

I am indebted to Rod Bucknell, Giuliana Martini and Ken Su for comments on a draft of this paper.

NOTES

- 1. That oral transmission involves some degree of uncertainty is reflected in M 76 at M I 520,6, according to which what has been transmitted orally may be well remembered or not well remembered, it could be correct, but it could also be wrong, sussutam (Se: susutam) pi hoti dussutam pi hoti, tathā pi hoti aññathā pi hoti. A more detailed study of aspects of oral transmission in early Buddhism can be found in Anālayo 2007: 2008; and 2009a, in which I survey oral characteristics of the Pāli discourses in general, offer a case study, and then turn to the working mechanism of memory that explains how changes could have happened. My explorations in this respect are based on the substantial contributions made by other scholars to this theme, such as by von Simson 1965; Cousins 1983; Coward 1986; Gombrich 1990; Collins 1992; von Hinüber 1994b; Allon 1997a and 1997b; and Wynne 2004.
- 2. In addition to these, a similar treatment can also be found in the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra (大智度論, on the title cf. Demiéville 1950/ 1973: 470 note 1), T 1509 at T XXV 74a2-b17, translated in Lamotte 1944/ 1981: 149-152. Chung 2008: 205 lists Skt. fragment MS 2380 50b+51a of the Schøyen collection as yet another parallel. For a listing of eleven qualities of a cowherd cf. also T 201.61 at T IV 317b21 and Lévi 1908: 140-144.
- 3. M 33 at M I 220,1-224,29.
- 4. A 11.18 at A V 347,14-353,15, the title $Gop \bar{a}la$ -sutta is given to the discourse in B^e and C^e, and occurs in the $udd\bar{a}nas$ in E^e and S^e.
- 5. $S\bar{A}$ 1249 at T II 342c11-343b6, I adopt the title suggested by Akanuma 1929/1990: 111.
- 6. EĀ 49.1 at T II 794a7-795a16.
- 7. T 123 at T II 546a16-547b4. The qualification 佛說, "spoken by the Buddha", appears regularly in the titles of works in the Chinese canon, where in most cases it probably does not render an expression found in the original, but serves as a formula of authentication of the translated scripture.
- 8. Lü 1963: 242; Waldschmidt 1980: 136; Mayeda 1985: 99; Enomoto 1986: 23; Schmithausen 1987: 306; Choong 2000: 6 note 18; Hiraoka 2000; Harrison 2002: 1; Bucknell 2006: 685; and Glass 2010.

- 9. 雜阿含經, T 99, which at T II 1a5 mentions only Guṇabhadra as the translator; although a more detailed account of the translation procedure can be found in the 出三藏記集, T 2145 at T LV 13a6. Forte 1984: 316 explains that every translation was "registered under the name of a single person, usually the actual guarantor of the text...This need to make one person responsible often meant that the actual contribution of other members of the team tended to be unacknowledged". Since Guṇabhadra had only recently arrived in China, it seems improbable that he could already have had the language skills enabling him to translate the text himself.
- 10. De Jong 1981: 108.
- 11. For a more detailed discussion of the somewhat complex issue of the translators and school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* cf. Anālayo 2009b.
- 12. On Kumārajīva cf. e.g. Nanjio 1883/1989: 406f; Bagchi 1927: 178-200; Ch'en 1964: 81-83 and 367f; Shih 1968: 60-81; Tsukamoto 1979/1985: 254, 304f, 375, 450f, 851-854, 869-878; Weeraratne 1999; and McRae 2004.
- 13. For ease of comparison, I adopt the paragraph numbering used in the English translation of the $Mah\bar{a}gop\bar{a}laka$ -sutta in $\tilde{N}\bar{a}namoli$ 1995/2005: 313-318. For the same reason, in my translation of $S\bar{A}$ 1249 I employ Pāli terminology (except for anglicized terms like 'Abhidharma'), without thereby intending to take a position on the original language of the $Sanyukta-\bar{a}gama$.
- 14. SĀ 1249 at T II 342c20: 不能除其害蟲, whereas the earlier listing in relation to the cowherd at T II 342c15 speaks just of 不去蟲.
- 15. SĀ 1249 at T II 342c21: 不知正路, 不知止處, whereas the earlier listing in relation to the cowherd at T II 342c16 reads: 不知擇路, 不知擇處. The present and the above noted variation (note 14) reflect a penchant among Chinese translators to introduce some variation in their rendering of what in the Indic original were probably identical expressions. Zürcher 1991: 288 speaks of "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".
- 16. These numbers are not found in the original, but are introduced by me to facilitate reference to the eleven qualities in the subsequent comparative study.
- 17. Abbreviations, here and below, are not my own, but are implicit in the original.
- 18. SĀ 1249 at T II 343a4: 亦復如是, thereby indicating that the same treatment should be applied to each of the other senses.
- 19. SĀ 1249 at T II 343a7: 八正道, which thus does not employ the qualification "noble". The same is also absent from a reference to the "four truths" in T 123 at T II 547a13: 四

- 諦, cf. below note 27; for a study of other occurrences of this type and of their significance cf. Anālayo 2006.
- 20. S $ar{A}$ 1249 at T II 343a21: 乃至, counterpart to pe in $P\bar{a}$ li discourses.
- 21. SĀ 1249 at T II 343a29: 如上清淨分說, 乃至.
- 22. M 33 at M I 223,31: "from time to time, having approached those monks who are learned, who are versed in the tradition, who are bearers of the Dharma, bearers of the discipline and bearers of the summaries, he interrogates and asks questions of them", ye te bhikkhū (S° adds: therā) bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā mātikādharā te kālena kālaṃ upasaṅkamitvā paripucchati paripaāhati, with a similarly worded counterpart in A 11.18 at AN V 352,9. The variation in the Siamese edition, which additionally mentions therā, neatly illustrates the type of error that can happen during transmission. This additional reference, which is not found in the same edition's description of the negative case where someone does not approach learned monks, is quite probably influenced by the fact that the eleventh quality speaks of ye te bhikkhūtherā rattaññū. During oral transmission or in the course of the later copying of the text, this reference has quite probably been the source for the addition of therā to ye te bhikkhūbahussutā.
- 23. SĀ 1249 at T II 343a11: 修多羅, 毘尼, 阿毘曇.
- 24. Cf. e.g. Przyluski 1926: 334-335; Horner 1941: 292; Migot 1952: 524-530; Warder 1961; Frauwallner 1971: 116-117; Jaini 1977: 45; Muck 1980: 15-16; Bronkhorst 1985: 305; Gómez 1987/2005: 1270; Gethin 1992: 158-162; von Hinüber 1994c: 120f; Cox 1995: 8; Buswell 1996: 84-89; Watanabe 1983/1996: 42-45; Hirakawa 1993/1998: 140-142; Norman 1997: 51; and Ronkin 2005: 27-30.
- 25. EĀ 49.1 at T II 794c29 lists 契經, 衹夜, 授決, 偈, 因緣, 本末, 方等, 譬喻, 生經, 說, 廣普, 未曾有法, corresponding to the discourses (sūtra), stanzas (geya), expositions (vyā-karaṇa), verses (gāthā), historical narratives (nidāna), sayings (itivṛttaka), extensive treatments (vaipulya), legends (avadāna), birth stories (jātaka), treatises (upadeśa), inspired utterances (udāna) and marvels (adbhutadharma). My correlation is based on the indications given in Nattier 2004: 194.
- 26. Found e.g. in M 22 at M I 133,24, where the parallel versions MĀ 200 at T I 764a14 and EĀ 50.8 at T II 813a16 also have listings of twelve aigas. Lamotte 1956: 263 note 2 explains that the twelve-fold presentation prevails in the Chinese Āgamas, in the Chinese Vinayas (except for the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya), in the main treatises of the Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika, Vaibhāṣika, and Yogācāra schools, and in most Mahāyāna sūtras. On the aigas in the Pāli discourses cf. esp. Jayawickrama 1959, Kalupahana 1965, and von Hinüber 1994a.

- 27. T 123 at T II 547a12: "How does a monk know the ford? [Here] a monk knows the four truths", 云何比丘知渡水處? 比丘知四諦.
- 28. The image of the cowherd is of course a familiar one in Indian thought. On its relation to the Kṛṣṇa legend cf. e.g. Vaudeville 1975.
- 29. The same is reflected in a simile in M 8 at M I 45,3 and its parallel M $\bar{\rm A}$ 91 at T I 574b3, according to which someone who is drowning or sinking in the mud will be unable to pull out another who is in the same predicament. Similarly, one who has not yet fully disciplined himself or herself will not be able to discipline others. As $N\bar{\rm a}_{100}$ appoints 1964/1988: 29 points out, this image sounds a warning against premature attempts to set oneself up as a guide for others.
- 30. M 33 at M I 220,15: abhabbo imasmi*ṃ* dhammavinaye vuddhi*ṃ* vir*ūṭ*hi*ṃ* vepulla*ṃ ā*pajjitu*ṃ* (Se: vu*ḍḍ*hiṃ), cf. also A 11.18 at A V 347,26.
- 31. As Freiberger 2000: 41 comments, this presentation implies that neglecting to teach others hinders one's own progress, "wer es versäumt, andere zu unterweisen ... wird dadurch in seinem Fortschritt gehindert". For a case study of the contribution that teaching others can offer to one's own progress towards awakening cf. Anālayo 2010.
- 32. SĀ 1249 at T II 343a21; EĀ 49.1 at T II 794b21; and T 123 at T II 546c3; cf. also T 1509 at T XXV 74b13.
- 33. M 33 at M I 222,9 and A 11.18 at A V 350,13. Unlike the present case, in several other instances Chinese parallel versions give more emphasis to the divine abodes than their Pāli counterparts, cf. Minh Chau 1991: 30f.
- 34. A 7.64 at A IV 116,22+23: *gārayho* and *pāsaṃso*. It is noteworthy that the Chinese parallels to this discourse treat the case of one who acts only for his or her own benefit with softer criticism, as MĀ 1 at T I 422a6 and T 27 at T I 810b22 merely indicate that those who also benefit others are superior and more excellent than those who only benefit themselves (a third parallel, EĀ 39.1 at T II 728b-729b, does not treat this case at all). A study of the Chinese parallels to this discourse can be found in Schmithausen 2004.
- 35. Dhp 368. A counterpart in the Gāndhārī Dharmapada, verse 70 in Brough 1962/2001: 128, reads metra-vihara yo bhikhu, prasanu budha-śaśaṇe, paḍīviju pada śada, sagharavośamu suha. A version of this verse in the Patna Dharmapada, verse 59 in Cone 1989: 119, reads mettāvihārī bhikkhū, prasanno buddhaśāsane, paṭīvijjhi padaṃ śāntaṃ, saṃkhāropaśamaṃ sukhaṃ (Roth 1980: 102 reads mettrā-vihārī and saṃkhāropasamaṃ). In the Udāna(-varga) (on the title of this work cf. Bernhard 1968 and the discussion in Willemen 1978: xxvf and Dhammajoti 1995: 39), verse 32.21 in Bernhard 1965: 437, the corresponding verse reads maitrāvihārī yo bhikṣuḥ, prasanno buddhaśāsane, adhigacchet padaṃ śāntaṃ, saṃskāropaśamaṃ sukham; with its Tibetan counterpart in verse 32.22 in Beckh 1911: 134, reading dge slong gang zhig byams gnas shing, sangs rgyas bstan la rab dad des (Zongtse 1990:

386 reads de), 'du byed nyer zhi zhi pa yi, zhi ba'i go 'phang thob par 'gyur (where the third and fourth sections of the verse thus come in the opposite order); and Chinese counterparts in T 210 at T IV 572a11 and T 212 at T IV 764c27: 比丘為慈, 愛敬佛教, 深入止觀, 滅行乃安, cf. also the similarly formulated T 213 at T IV 796b18: 芯芻為慈愍, 愛敬於佛 教, 深入妙止觀, 滅穢行乃安, (where in each case the third part of the verse speaks instead of "deeply entering into tranquillity and insight"). Yet another version of this verse can be found in the Mahāvastu, Senart 1897: 421,18, reading: maitrāvihārī yo bhikşuḥ, prasanno buddhaśāsane, adhigacchati padaṃ śāntaṃ, asecanaṃ ca mocanaṃ (which thus shows a variation in regard to the fourth section by referring to the "delightful release"; cf. also Udāna(-varga) verse 32.20 in Bernhard 1965: 437, which agrees with Udāna(-varga) verse verse 32.21 in respect to the first three parts, but in the fourth part reads asecanakadar sanam). The formulation of Dhp 368 and its Indic parallels would not imply, pace Wiltshire 1990: 269, Maithrimurthi 1999: 69, and Gombrich 2009: 87, that loving kindness on its own leads to the final goal. The verse only highlights the important supportive function that loving kindness can offer for progress towards liberation, where the constraints of a verse quartet do not allow mentioning all the other requirements for reaching awakening. An indispensable requirement is in fact highlighted at least in the Chinese versions, namely the development of insight.