

Paccekabuddhas in the *Isigili-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* Parallel

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Abstract:

With the present paper I explore the notion of a Paccekabuddha as reflected in the Isigili-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya and its Ekottarika-āgama parallel. After providing an annotated translation of the Ekottarika-āgama version, I compare the two discourses with particular emphasis on the information they provide about the concept of a Paccekabuddha.

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Introduction

Buddhism knows three types of fully awakened beings:

- arahants,
- Paccekabuddhas,
- fully awakened Buddhas.

Whereas arahants and the Buddha Gotama are a recurrent feature in the early discourses, Paccekabuddhas are mentioned only rarely.¹ One of those rare instances is the *Isigili-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.² The discourse begins with the Buddha indicating that Mount Isigili, which in contrast to other mountains around Rājagaha already had the same name in past times, has 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.

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The *Isigili-sutta* has a counterpart in a discourse found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation.³ This translation appears to have been undertaken during the period 384–385 of the present era by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念), based on a Prakrit text of a so far undetermined school affiliation transmitted by Dharmanandī.⁴

Translation⁵

1. [I] heard like this. At one time the Buddha was staying at Rājagaha, on Mount Gijjhakūṭa,⁶ together with a great company of five hundred monks.

2. At that time, the Blessed One told the monks: "Do you see this Mount Gijjhakūṭa?"

The monks replied: "Yes, we see it."

[The Buddha said]: "You⁷ should know that in the distant past this mountain had another name.

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, different from 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, different from 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, different from the present one].

Do you see this Mountain of Seers?"⁸

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. Why is this? This [is because the] Mountain of Seers has always been a place inhabited by bodhisattvas possessed of spiritual power, by arahants who have attained the path, and by seers. Moreover, Paccekabuddhas delighted in staying there.⁹ I will now tell you

the names and designations of these Paccekabuddhas.¹⁰ You should listen and pay careful attention!

4. There was a Paccekabuddha called Aritṭha,¹¹
 [a Paccekabuddha called] Uparitṭha,
 a Paccekabuddha [called] *Shendizhong*,¹²
 a Paccekabuddha [called] Sudassana,
 a Paccekabuddha [called] *Jiujing*,¹³
 a Paccekabuddha [called] *Congming*,¹⁴
 a Paccekabuddha [called] *Wugou*,¹⁵
 a Paccekabuddha [called] *Dishenianguan*,¹⁶
 [a Paccekabuddha called] *Wumie*,¹⁷
 [a Paccekabuddha called] *Wuxing*,¹⁸
 [a Paccekabuddha called] *Sheng*,¹⁹
 [a Paccekabuddha called] *Zuisheng*,²⁰
 [a Paccekabuddha called] *Jida*,²¹
 and a Paccekabuddha [called] *Jileidianguangming*.²²

Monks, these were Paccekabuddhas at the time when the Tathāgata had not yet appeared in the world.

At that time on this mountain there were five hundred Paccekabuddhas, who were dwelling on this Mount of Seers.²³ When the Tathāgata was in the Tusita Heaven, wishing to come and take birth, the *devaputtas* of the Pure Abodes came here and said among themselves: ‘Let everyone in the world purify this Buddha-field! In two years a Tathāgata will appear in the world’.

When the Paccekabuddhas heard what the *devas* had said, they all rose up into space and spoke these stanzas:

‘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’.

At that time, the Paccekabuddhas cremated their bodies while they were up in space and attained final Nirvāṇa. Why? There cannot be two [persons] called Buddhas in the world [at the same time]. This is the reason they attained Nirvāṇa. [Just as] among travelling merchants there cannot be two leaders, or in one country there cannot be two kings, so in one Buddha-field there cannot be two [persons] called ‘Supreme One’.

How is it [that someone became a Paccekabuddha]?²⁴ In the distant past there was a king called *Xiyi* in Rājagaha,²⁵ who was constantly mindful of the suffering in hell, and mindful [of the suffering] among hungry ghosts and in the animal realm. Then the king had the following reflection: ‘Now, I constantly recollect the suffering in hell, in the animal realm and among hungry ghosts. It is not proper for me now to enter these three evil paths again. It is proper for me now to completely give up rulership over the country, [to renounce] wife, children, and servants, and to go forth out of firm faith to practice the path.’

Then the great King *Xiyi*, being weary of such suffering, gave up his rulership, cut off his beard and hair, put on the three Dharma robes, and went forth to practice 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, [understanding]: ‘This is reckoned to be form, this is the arising of form, [and] this is the cessation of form’. He similarly [contemplated] feelings, perceptions, formations and consciousness like that, as all being impermanent.

When he was properly contemplating these five aggregates, [he realized] that all that is of a nature to arise, is of a nature to cease completely. Having contemplated this dharma, he accomplished the path of a Paccekabuddha. Then, when the Paccekabuddha *Xiyi* had accomplished the path and the fruit, he spoke these stanzas:

‘Recollecting the suffering in hell,
Among animals, and in the five [lower] paths,
I renounced and now have practiced the path.
Alone I departed and [have become] free from sorrow.’

At that time, this Paccekabuddha lived on the Mount of Seers. Monks, you should know it through this expedient means, [namely] knowing that on this mountain there have always dwelt bodhisattvas

possessed of spiritual power, arahants who have attained the path, and seers who train in the path. This is the 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. Why is this? Because 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, but this Mountain of Seers will not have another name.²⁶ 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 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

When the two versions are placed 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, and (5) Isigili. Compared to the Pāli listing, the *Ekottarika-āgama* version has the sequence 4, 3, 2, 1, 5. Thus, 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.²⁷

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 Ariṭṭha and Upariṭṭha are the first and second in both versions, whereas Sudassana comes fifth in the Pāli listing and fourth in its Chinese counterpart.

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, 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.²⁸

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, but once they had 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."²⁹

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 or its Sanskrit equivalent Ṛṣigiri. The name Ṛṣigiri is in fact attested in the *Mahābhārata* as the name of one of the mountains surrounding Rājagaha.³⁰ This gives the impression that the etymology proposed in the Pāli version would have arisen only after the 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*.³¹ If this should indeed be the case, then this etymology would be a later addition to the discourse. Thus in the earlier sections of both versions, alongside considerable similarities, signs of what appear to be later developments can be detected.

The remaining parts of both discourses then proceed quite differently from each other. Before coming to an overall assessment of the *Isigilisutta* and its parallel, in what follows I explore the information on Paccekabuddhas provided in these sections of the two versions, especially regarding the following topics:

- the significance of the qualification *pacceka*,
- the solitary nature of Paccekabuddhas,
- 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. These describe the qualities of several other Paccekabuddhas,³² after which the *Isigili-sutta* ends without the standard conclusion found in other Pāli dis-

courses. This set of stanzas is still in use nowadays in the Theravāda tradition as a protective chant, a *paritta*.³³

Regarding these Paccekabuddhas, these Pāli stanzas specify that they had awakened in a way that is *pacceka*.³⁴ The term *pacceka* occurs elsewhere in the Pāli discourses to qualify truth, *pacceka-sacca*.³⁵ In that context, the term refers to various views held by other recluses and Brahmins, hence the sense it conveys would be an "individual truth" or perhaps a "private truth", in the sense of a personal opinion held to be true.³⁶

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.³⁷ Another occurrence qualifies gods who reign in their own respective heavenly sphere, *pacceka vasavattin*.³⁸ Other instances describe an offering of pairs of robes, *pacceka dussayuga*, given to each of the monks present on that occasion;³⁹ or stanzas, *pacceka-gāthā*, each of which is spoken by one out of a group of *devas* in turn.⁴⁰

The sense conveyed by these occurrences of *pacceka* is that of being "individual", "separate" or "private".⁴¹ This usage suggests that the qualification *pacceka* in the stanza in the *Isigili-sutta* is intended to convey that a *paccekabuddha* is one who attains awakening 'individually' or 'privately'. Other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* confirm that Paccekabuddhas awaken on their own, without a teacher.⁴²

An alternative interpretation suggested by modern scholarship is that *pacceka* or its Sanskrit equivalent *pratyeka* could be an incorrect backformation from *pratyaya*.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ In the Pāli canon, these tales are found in the *Jātaka* collection, which indicates that the external signs that caused these kings to develop insight and become Pacceka-buddhas were:

- the sight of a mango tree despoiled of its fruit,

- the sound caused by two bangles on the arm of a woman,⁴⁵
- the sight of a bird harassed by other birds for a piece of meat,⁴⁶
- the sight of a bull in rut being killed by another bull.⁴⁷

Two other *Jātaka* tales report the attainment of Paccekabodhi on seeing a withered leaf fall.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ 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. Thus 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* then depict kings who have attained a certain level of *jhāna* and then, in order to protect their attainment, go forth and eventually become Paccekabuddhas.⁵⁰ In these instances, the idea of an external condition (*pratyaya*) does not seem to be relevant at all.

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.⁵¹ That is, the notion of becoming a Paccekabuddha is found only in the prose sections. As has been pointed out by various scholars, 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 were not necessarily Buddhist.⁵² Such tales may thus 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 earlier, 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 Brahmās as *pacceka-brahmā*.⁵³ A Brahmā could indeed be one who

dwells individually or separately, in the sense of being without a retinue, but it would be difficult to relate its status to an external condition (*pratyaya*).⁵⁴

The idea of awakening through an external condition also seems not to be relevant to the case of awakening to Paccekabodhi reported in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-sutta*, which depicts King *Xiyi* becoming a Paccekabuddha without mentioning any external condition. Instead, according to its report it was after reflecting by himself on the fearfulness of rebirth in the lower realms that *Xiyi* decided to go forth. His actual awakening then took place by way of contemplating the impermanent nature of the five aggregates. The same contemplation led, according to the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and its parallels, to the awakening of the former Buddha Vipassī.⁵⁵

Elsewhere the *Ekottarika-āgama* similarly relates the awakening of another Paccekabuddha to contemplation of the impermanent nature of the five aggregates.⁵⁶ Yet another discourse in the same 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 impermanence and becomes a Paccekabuddha.⁵⁷ The tale of his disenchantment with his female companions reminds of the traditional account of what preceded Gotama's going forth, according to which he had similarly realized the lack of satisfaction of indulging in sensual pleasures with his entourage of dancing girls and thereupon decided to go forth.⁵⁸

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 establishments of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*) and insight into the four noble truths result in Paccekabodhi.⁵⁹ A discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* adds as another relevant factor the development of the five faculties (*indriya*).⁶⁰

In sum, though 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.⁶¹ 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, rather than as the norm for attaining Paccekabodhi, at least from a Buddhist viewpoint.⁶²

A discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, not otherwise related to the *Isigilisutta*, explains that Paccekabuddhas have no disciples; they live without followers and do not teach the Dharma to others.⁶³ This indicates that a Paccekabuddha is *pacceka*, "individual", not only in relation to his awakening, but also in the sense that he does not have a following of disciples with whom he shares the Dharma. This lack of a following points to a significant difference between a Paccekabuddha and a fully awakened Buddha, as both types of Buddha awaken on their own,⁶⁴ 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 *Isigilisutta*, 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,⁶⁵ it nevertheless does imply that there was a substantial congregation of Paccekabuddhas.

The *Isigili-sutta* also mentions five hundred Paccekabuddhas, though 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 not the case, since they all decide to cremate themselves on being told that the Buddha is about to take birth, which implies that these 'five hundred' Paccekabuddhas were living at the same time. Indications that Paccekabuddhas need not be solitary hermits can also be found in the *Mahāvastu* and in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*.⁶⁶

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,⁶⁷ such a taste for solitude need not be seen as the most

distinctive characteristic of Paccekabuddhas, as at times they apparently live in the company of others.⁶⁸

Another noteworthy indication given in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-sutta* is that, although the five hundred Paccekabuddhas evidently could co-exist,⁶⁹ 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 cremate themselves.⁷⁰ A similar tale is found in the *Mahāvastu*.⁷¹

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 Buddha at a time in the world.⁷² 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 the decisions 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 coexist 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.⁷³

Underlying this incompatibility would be the notion of the unique nature of a Buddha. An explicit indication in this respect can be found in the *Bahudhātuka-sutta* and its parallels. The parallel versions show some variations in as much as whereas in the Pāli and Tibetan versions the point at stake is the impossibility of the co-existence of two fully awakened Buddhas (*sammāsambuddha*),⁷⁴ Chinese parallel versions speak of the co-existence of two Tathāgatas,⁷⁵ or just of the co-existence of two Buddhas.⁷⁶ Though such variations may simply be a result of

imprecision in transmission or translation, 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 Paccakabuddhas would have developed only subsequently.

Another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* goes further, as it indicates that the whole aeon in which a Buddha arises will be without Paccakabuddhas.⁷⁷ Since this stands in direct opposition to the description in the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the *Isigili-sutta*, where five hundred Paccakabuddhas 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 Paccakabuddhas 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 that appears to have arisen at a later time. This suggests that some degree of development would have taken 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 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 Paccakabuddhas, such as Ariṭṭha, Upariṭṭha and Sudassana.

This mountain also features in the concluding section of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, where, after indicating 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 confirms the impression that the focus of the discourse would originally have been on the Mount of Seers. The same theme is also 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. Such encouragement would be in line with a recurrent emphasis in other discourses on the need to withdraw into seclusion.⁷⁸

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 appears to belong to the ancient nucleus 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 indicate that the Buddha considered his awakening a rediscovery of an ancient path, trodden by awakened ones of the past.⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰ The theme of the inspiring nature of those Paccekabuddhas in fact pervades the stanzas found only 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,⁸¹ but also had its influence within the Jain tradition, as testified to by the above-mentioned tales 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, 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.⁸²

The image conveyed by this stanza indicates that what in the world in general is perceived as sensually attractive – bracelets adorning the arm of a woman – can issue in an insight powerful enough to lead to the awakening of a Paccekabuddha. This image thus sums up in a few words the basic contrast seen in the 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 freedom. The stanza in question reads:

"Having seen shining golden [bracelets]
Well-forged by a goldsmith's son,
Clashing together [when worn] pair wise on an arm,
Fare singly like a rhinoceros."⁸³

ABBREVIATIONS

AN	<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i>
Ap	<i>Apadāna</i>
B ^e	Burmese edition
C ^e	Ceylonese edition
D	Derge edition
DĀ	<i>Dirgha-āgama</i> (T 1)
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
E ^e	PTS edition
Jā	<i>Jātaka</i>
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
Mbh	<i>Mahābhārata</i>
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
Mp-ṭ	<i>Sāratthamañjūsā</i>
Mvy	<i>Mahāvīyutpatti</i>
Pj II	<i>Paramatthajotikā</i>
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī</i>
Q	Qian-long (Peking) edition
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99)
SĀ ²	‘other’ <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 100)
S ^e	Siamese edition
SHT	Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
Sn	<i>Sutta-nipāta</i>
Spk-pṭ	<i>Sāratthappakāsini-purāṇaṭṭikā</i>
T	Taishō (CBETA)
Vin	<i>Vinaya</i>

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NOTES

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¹ Gombrich 1979: 80 notes that "when the *paccekabuddha* is mentioned in Pali literature, it is usually only as the category between the *sammāsambuddha* and the *sāvaka*; the figure has hardly any life outside this context".

² MN 116 at MN III 68–71.

³ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a-c.

⁴ For a more detailed discussion of the somewhat complex issue of the translation and school affinity of the *Ekottarika-āgama* cf. Anālayo 2009; for a recent study of Zhu Fonian's role as a 'translator' cf. Nattier 2010.

⁵ For ease of comparison, I adopt the paragraph numbering used in the English translation of the *Isigili-sutta* in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 931–933. For the same reason, I employ Pāli terminology (except for anglicized terms like 'Nirvāṇa') in the translation and throughout the article, without thereby intending to take a position on the original language of the *Ekottarika-āgama* or on Pāli terminology being in principle preferable.

⁶ According to MN 116 at MN III 68,2, the Buddha was staying on Mount Isigili itself.

⁷ Adopting the variant 汝 instead of 卿.

⁸ Mount Isigili in MN 116 at MN III 68,21, on *°gili* versus *°giri*, cf. the discussion below.

⁹ MN 116 at MN III 68,25 only mentions that in former times five hundred Paccekabuddhas stayed on this mountain, a statement found later on also in EĀ 38.7.

¹⁰ Before announcing the names of Paccekabuddhas, according to MN 116 at MN III 68,26 the Buddha reports a folk-etymological explanation for the name of this mountain; cf. the discussion below.

¹¹ The lists of Paccekabuddhas in the two versions appear to have just three names in common, identified in the Taishō edition as Ariṭṭha, Upariṭṭha and Sudassana. Since the other Chinese renderings do not seem to permit a definite reconstruction, in what follows I simply transcribe phonetically the Chinese renderings and provide in footnotes some indications as to Indic terms that some of these renderings would correspond to. 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^e, C^e and S^e designate each of these as a Paccekasambuddha, while E^e 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^e agrees with E^e in speaking of a Paccekabuddha, whereas B^e and S^e refer to a Paccekasambuddha.

¹² EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a21: 審諦重, with a variant reading 審諦童. Hirakawa 1997: 388 gives *avadhāna* and *avahita* as possible equivalents for 審諦; *ibid.* p. 1178 lists *guru*, *gaurava*, *bhāra*, *agra* etc. for 重; whereas the variant 童 is the standard rendering of *kumāra* or *dāraka*, cf. *ibid.* p. 913.

¹³ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a22: 究竟, for which Hirakawa 1997: 907 gives as a possible equivalent *niṣṭhā* (Pāli *niṭṭhā*). This reminds of Nītha, one of the Paccekabuddhas mentioned in MN 116 at MN III 69,19 (B^e reads Nīta, S^e Nītha).

¹⁴ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a22: 聰明, for which Hirakawa 1997: 960 lists e.g. *paṭu*, *paṇḍita*, *bhadra*, *medhāvin*, *vicakṣaṇa*. Mvy 2909 in Sakaki 1926: 208 also gives *paṭu* in the context of a list of *paṇḍita-paryāya-nāmāni*.

¹⁵ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a22: 無垢, for which Soothill 1937/2000: 378 gives *vimāla* and *amala*, Hirakawa 1997: 767 also lists e.g. *nirmāla*, *anāvila*, *nirlepa* etc.

¹⁶ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a23: 帝奢念觀; Hirakawa 1997: 418 lists *indra* and *kṣatriya* for 帝, according to *ibid.* p. 339 奢 renders the syllable *śa*, whereas 念觀 can according to *ibid.* 470 stand for *anusmṛti-bhāvanā* or *ārambaṇa*.

¹⁷ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a23: 無滅 (with the variant 無滅). Hirakawa 1997: 781 gives *aniruddha* as a possible equivalent for 無滅.

¹⁸ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a23: 無形, for which Hirakawa 1997: 761 lists e.g. *anidarśana*, *adrśya*, *arūpin*, *avigraha*.

¹⁹ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a23: 勝, a standard rendering of *jina*, cf. e.g. Soothill 1937/2000: 367.

²⁰ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a23: 最勝, for which Soothill 1937/2000: 376 gives *vijaya* (besides the *jina*, just mentioned above), cf. also *vijayī* in Mvy 30 in Sakaki 1926: 3, while Hirakawa 1997: 617 lists *agra*, *parama*, *śreṣṭha*, *vara*, *viśeṣa*, etc.

²¹ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a23: 極大 (with 漿大 and 將大 as variants), for 極大 Hirakawa 1997: 662 gives *atimahat, atīva, bhṛṣataram, mahā-, sumahā-*.

²² EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a24: 極雷電光明, where Rod Bucknell in a personal communication suggests that 極, which is sometimes written as 极, might be an error for 及, "and", on which suggestion the name would then be 雷電光明. The two characters, 雷電, can according to Hirakawa 1997: 1241 render *aśani, vidyut*, for 光明 Hirakawa 1997: 155 lists *āloka, prakāśa, prabhā* etc., hence the idea conveyed by 雷電光明 might be "the brilliance of a flash of lightning".

²³ From this point onwards, the two versions diverge completely and have nothing any more in common.

²⁴ The phrase 所以然者 at this point in EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b9 is unexpected; the lack of a smooth transition to the ensuing story could indicate that this tale was added later. My supplementation of "[that someone became a Paccekabuddha]" is simply guided by what follows it.

²⁵ EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b10: 喜益, where 喜 is a standard rendering of *prīti*, cf. Hirakawa 1997: 267, who also lists e.g. *saumanasya, tuṣṭi, pramudita, ānanda*, whereas for 益 *ibid.*: 866 gives *hita, anugraha, artha, vṛddhi*, etc.

²⁶ A reference to Maitreya is not found in MN 116.

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.

²⁸ For a more detailed study of the development of the bodhisattva concept cf. Anālayo 2010a. 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. One of many such examples includes a reference to the Hīnayāna in EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a5 (noted by Deeg 2006: 112), or to the cultivation of the *bodhicitta* in EĀ 35.2 at T II 699a7 and EĀ 36.5 at T II 703b19.

²⁹ MN 116 at MN III 68,25: *bhūtapubbaṃ, bhikkhave, pañca paccekabuddhasatāni imasmiṃ Isigilismiṃ pabbate ciranivāsino ahesuṃ. te imaṃ pabbataṃ pavisantā dissanti, pavīṭṭhā na dissanti. tam enaṃ* (C^e: *ena*) *manussā disvā evaṃ āhaṃsu: ‘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. the study by Tanabe 2002/2003.

³⁰ Mbh 2:799, noted by Lüders 1954: 45, cf. also Law 1938/1991: 3 and 10 as well as Bapat 1970: 220 note 28.

³¹ Caillat 1968: 178. On the relationship of MIA *l* to Skt *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.

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.

³³ Kloppenborg 1983: 42 explains 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 also the use of the *Isigili-sutta* as a *paritta*; cf. also Cooray 2004: 246

³⁴ MN 116 at MN III 69,25: *paccekam ev' ajjhagamam subodhim* (B^e: *ajjhagamam*).

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; cf. also Mvy 426 in Sakaki 1926: 35.

³⁶ Cf. Jayatilleke 1963/1980: 354–356.

³⁷ DN 2 at DN I 49,30.

³⁸ DN 20 at DN II 261,16.

³⁹ MN 52 at MN I 353,13.

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*, where the Chinese counterpart, T 1450 at T XXIV 125a2, reads "each", 各, and the Tibetan counterpart in Waldschmidt 1957: 75,11: "each one", *re res*.

⁴¹ Cooray 2004: 250 note 1 sums up that *pacceka* in the Pāli discourses conveys "the idea of separation".

⁴² EĀ 26.9 at T II 642b20 and EĀ 51.3 at T II 816c5: 無師自覺. Nyanatiloka 1952/1988: 140 explains that 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".

⁴³ Norman 1983b; cf. also von Hinüber 1985/2001: 193 and Boucher 1998: 491.

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.

⁴⁵ This image can already be found in Sn 48; cf. also below note 83.

⁴⁶ The simile of the bird that has gotten 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 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 the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, 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.

⁴⁷ Jā 408 at Jā III 375–383, for a summary of a counterpart in the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* cf. Panglung 1981: 163.

⁴⁸ Jā 378 at Jā III 239,22 and Jā 529 at Jā V 248,23.

⁴⁹ Jā 459 at Jā IV 114–116.

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 at Pj II 118,26, Pj II 119,14 and Pj II 127,29, where the respective attainments are the first *jhāna*, the fourth *jhāna* and *mettā* developed up to *jhāna* level. Pj II 63,2 also reports how yet another king makes *mettā* developed up to the level of *jhāna* the basis for becoming a Paccekabuddha, though in this instance an external condition does play a role, as his practice of *mettā* takes place after he has just averted a major bloodshed between his army and the forces of another king.

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 verses.

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 2010a: 56.

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* in Lévi 1932: 34,8 (with a new ed. in Kudo 2004: 44,1 and 45,1) and the *pratyekabrāhmaṇa* in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882: 103,1 (new ed. in Basak 1963: 120,3), where, as noted by Senart 1882: 457, Edgerton 1953/1998: 379 and Jones 1949/1973: 81 note 1, *pratyekabrāhmaṇa* would stand for *pratyekabrahmā*.

⁵⁴ Norman 1983b: 106 note 73 suggests that "the fact that the *paccekabuddhas* 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 *paccekabrahma* 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^e): *suddhāvāsāloke*), thus from an early Buddhist perspective he would have been a rather 'superior' type of *Brahmā*. The subcommentary to SN 6.6, Spk-ṭ I 244 (B^e) 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* is not intended to convey that a *Paccekabrahmā* is inferior to other *Brahmās*.

⁵⁵ DN 14 at DN II 35,15; T 3 at T I 156b20; and the Sanskrit version in fragment S 462 R5 and S 685 V1–2 in Waldschmidt 1953: 50 (with a new ed. in Fukita 2003: 143 (122.5 and 123.2)).

⁵⁶ EĀ 51.3 at T II 815c12 reports that "having contemplated these five aggregates, namely that whatever is of a nature to arise is all of a nature to cease, on that very seat he became a *Paccekabuddha*", 觀此五陰身已, 所謂習法, 皆是盡法, 即於座上得辟支佛.

⁵⁷ EĀ 35.11 at T II 727a15: "he gave attention to [the fact that] what is of a nature to arise is all of a nature to be obliterated and [thereupon] accomplished [becoming] a *Paccekabuddha*", 思惟有習之法, 皆是磨滅, 成辟支佛.

⁵⁸ Cf. e.g. Jā I 61,21.

⁵⁹ SĀ 393 at T II 106b15: "Those who attain the realization of awakening as a Paccekabuddha, all do so by way of understanding the four noble truths", 若得辟支佛道證, 彼一切知四聖諦故. SĀ 635 at T II 176a11: "Developing the four establishments of mindfulness, developing them often ... one [can] become a Paccekabuddha, 於四念處修習多修習 ... 得辟支佛 (SĀ 632 envisages this as one of various alternative attainments, such as becoming an arahant, etc.).

⁶⁰ EĀ 32.1 at T II 674a3 indicates that the development of the five faculties (confidence, energy, mindfulness, concentration, and wisdom) is required for any level of awakening, including that of a Paccekabuddha.

⁶¹ For a survey of terminological variations cf. Wiltshire 1990: 301f.

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 appears to be right when he comments on the hypothesis by Norman that "the evidence, however, points rather strongly in the opposite direction".

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 for "follower" or "adherent". Given the earlier reference to disciples and the subsequent mentioning of not teaching, the sense of being without followers seems to me the more probable of these alternatives.

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 parallels cf. Chung 2006 and Anālayo 2010a: 82 note 84. Cf. also SN 22.58 at SN III 66,15, SĀ 75 at T II 19c3 and SĀ 684 at T II 186c6, according to which discovering the path to awakening on one's own marks the decisive difference between a Tathāgata and an arahant. Thus King 1980/1992: 30 seems to be wrong, when in the context of a brief discussion of the Paccekabuddha concept he suggests that "the so-called *pacceka* ... Buddha seems to be the only teacher-less attainer of Nibbāna recognized in Theravāda Buddhism".

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 1921/1993: 388 s.v. *pañca* comments 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 found "especially frequent in recording a company of men, a host of servants, animals in a herd, etc., wherever the single constituents form a larger... whole". Hence Bareau 1971: 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."

⁶⁶ The *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 347,18 (new ed. in Basak 1968/2004: 207,21) describes a Paccekabuddha who had various other Paccekabuddhas as his attendants, *tena dāni pratyekabuddhena ye paricārītā pratyekabuddhā*. The *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: 15,6, reports how a group of five hundred Paccekabuddhas went to beg alms together.

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.

⁶⁸ Ruegg 2004: 56 explains that "in Buddhist tradition continued by both the Prajñāpāramitā and the Abhidharma, the category of Pratyekabuddha is subdivided 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, 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."

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."

⁷⁰ The Pāli discourses do not report such an act by Paccekabuddhas. It is, however, 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, though there is some ambivalence about their level of awakening previous to committing suicide; cf. the discussion of these two cases in, e.g., La Vallée Poussin 1919: 689f; id. 1922: 25; id. 1936; Thomas 1933/2004: 131; Thakur 1963: 108f; Filliozat 1963: 32f; Lamotte 1965: 160–162; Filliozat 1967: 73; Wiltshire 1983: 131–135; Berglie 1986: 31–38; Becker 1990: 547; Keown 1996: 14–17; Koike 2001: 151–157; Delhey 2006: 34–41; Oberlies 2006: 218; Anālayo 2007: 162f; Bingenheimer 2007: 51–54; Choong 2009: 41 and Delhey 2009.

⁷¹ Senart 1882: 357,3 (new ed. in Basak 1963: 467,1), cf. also Senart 1882: 197,1 (Basak 1963: 237,11) and Bu-ston's history of Buddhism in Obermiller 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." A self-incineration of Paccekabuddhas is also described in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1977: 92,16, though in this case the self-incineration forms the background narration to a gift of robes to the bodhisattva who had just gone forth. For a description of a Bhārhut relief that could be depicting this act of self-incineration cf. Lüders 1941/1966: 44.

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 1882: 357,4 (new ed. Basak 1963: 467,2): *riṃcatha buddhakṣetraṃ*.

⁷³ The same notion is reflected in Pj II 129,1, according to which the Paccekabuddha Mātāṅga, 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.

⁷⁴ MN 115 at MN III 65,15: *dve arahanto sammāsambuddhā*, and D (297) *mdo sde sha* 300a7 or Q (963) *lu* 329a4: *rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas gnyis*; cf. also AN 1.15 at AN I 27,38.

⁷⁵ MĀ 181 at T I 724a1 and T 1537 at T XXVI 502b14 speak of the impossibility of the coexistence of two Tathāgatas, 二如來, as does the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 199,11 (new ed. Basak 1968/2004: 121,18).

⁷⁶ T 776 at T XVII 713b18 speaks just of the impossibility of the coexistence of two Buddhas, 二佛, as does a listing of impossibilities in

DĀ 3 at T I 31a15 and in DĀ 18 at T I 79a7; cf. also the **Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 237a22.

⁷⁷ EĀ 50.10 at T II 814a13: "In an aeon when no Buddhas appear in the world, at the time there are Paccekabuddhas 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 Paccekabuddhas who appear in the world – this is called a great aeon," 若於劫中無佛出世，爾時復有辟支佛出世，此名為小劫。若如來於劫中出世，爾時彼劫中無有辟支佛出現於世，此名為大劫。

⁷⁸ For a case study cf. Anālayo 2010b.

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 in a Sanskrit fragment in Bongard-Levin 1996: 80 (I.32); cf. also Lévi 1910: 440 and Tripāṭhī 1962: 103.

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 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."

⁸¹ I intend to explore the function of the concept of Paccekabuddhas in early Buddhist thought in more detail in another paper; for a brief survey of Japanese scholarship on the notion of a Paccekabuddha cf. de Jong 1976: 322.

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.

⁸³ Sn 48: *disvā suvaṇṇassa pabhassarāni, kammāraputtēna suniṭṭhitāni, saṅghaṭṭamānāni duve bhujasmim, eko care khaggavisāṇakappo*, cf. also Ap 2.22 at Ap 9,27. While this stanza is not found in a counterpart to the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882: 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. Jones 1949/1973: 250 note 1; Edgerton 1953/1998: 202 s.v. *khadga-viṣāṇa*; Kloppenborg 1974: 59f; Jayawickrama 1977: 22f; Norman 1996/2001; Schmithausen 1999: 233 note 13; Salomon 2000: 10-14; Wright 2001: 3-5 and Caillat 2003: 38. For a description of the Indian rhinoceros according to Megasthenes cf. McCrindle 1877: 59.