Two Versions of
the Mahādeva Tale
in the *Ekottarika-āgama*

A Study in the Development of Taishō No. 125

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Abstract

The purpose of the present study is to make a contribution to our understanding of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection (增壹阿含經) now extant in the Taishō edition as entry no. 125. By way of providing a basis for an assessment of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, I begin with a case study of a doubling of the same tale found in different parts of this collection, namely the tale of the former king Mahādeva. After giving a translation of the tale as it is found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, I compare narrative and terminological aspects of this version with another version of the same tale that occurs among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which I have already translated elsewhere (Anālayo 2011 and Anālayo 2012b). Based on the indications regarding the nature of the *Ekottarika-āgama* translation that result from this comparison, I then survey relevant information related to its translation.

Contents

I. Versions of the Mahādeva Tale

The tale of King Mahādeva is a canonical *jātaka*, an account of what tradition reckons to have been a former life of the Buddha. This canonical *jātaka* depicts a powerful king who at the manifestation of a first white hair on his head abdicates the throne and hands over dominion to the crown prince. After renouncing the throne, Mahādeva retires to his Mango Grove and lives a life of renunciation engaged in the meditative cultivation of the four *brahmavihāra*s.

The story of King Mahādeva (Makhādeva or Maghadeva in the Pali tradition), is found in the texts of several Buddhist schools:

– The Theravāda tradition has a version of this story in its *Majjhima-nikāya* collection;[1] in addition to which a version of the same tale occurs in its *Jātaka* collection.[2]

– Another version is a discourse in the *Madhyama-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation,[3] which with considerable probability stems from a Sarvāstivāda lineage.[4]

– Representative of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition is an instance of the Mahādeva tale in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, preserved in Tibetan translation,[5] as well as a ver-

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[1] MN 83 at MN II 74,14 to 83,14.

[2] Jā 9 at Jā I 137,13 to 139,ult.

[3] MĀ 67 at T I 511c21 to 515b1.

[4] Cf., e.g., Lü 1963: 242, Waldschmidt 1980: 136, Enomoto 1984, Mayeda 1985: 98, Enomoto 1986: 21, Hirakawa 1987: 513, Minh Chau 1991: 27 and Oberlies 2003: 48, with a recent contribution in Chung and Fukita 2011: 13–34 and a reply in Anālayo 2012a: 516–521.

[5] D 1 *kha* 53a1 to 56b7 or Q 1030 *ge* 48b6 to 52b2.

sion in Śamathadeva's compendium of discourse quotations from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, also preserved in Tibetan translation.[6]

– A collection of *jātaka*s, assembled under the heading of the six perfections and preserved in Chinese translation, contains yet another version of this tale.[7]

In addition to the versions listed above, the tale of King Mahādeva occurs twice in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The shorter of these two versions is found in the introduction to the collection, while a longer version occurs among its Elevens.[8]

In what follows, I provide a translation of the shorter Mahādeva tale found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, followed by comparing it with the longer *Ekottarika-āgama* version. The tale to be translated occurs in the context of a narrative, according to which the monk Uttara, to whom Ānanda entrusts the preservation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, had in a former life been a descendant of King Mahādeva. The narrator of the tale is Ānanda, who relates the story of Mahādeva to Mahākāśyapa.

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[6] This is found in D 4094 *ju* 76b2 to 77b4 or Q 5595 *tu* 86a8 to 87b8; on this work cf. Mejor 1991: 63f and Skilling and Harrison 2005: 699.

[7] T 152 (no. 87) at T III 48b26 to 49b23, which has been translated by Chavannes 1910: 321–328.

[8] EĀ 1 at T II 551b26 to 552a22 and T II 553c5 to 553c23, the first of these two parts has been translated in Huyên-Vi 1985: 40–42, and EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c21 to 810b19, translated in Anālayo 2011 and Anālayo 2012b.

II. Translation of the first Mahādeva Tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama*

In the distant past, in this auspicious aeon, the Tathāgata Krakucchanda, an arhat, fully and rightly awakened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, a Well Gone One, a knower of the world, a supreme person, a leader on the path of Dharma, a teacher of gods and humans, called a Buddha, an assembly of fortunes, had emerged in this world.[9]

At that time there was a king called Mahādeva, [551c] who governed by relying on the Dharma, never being unfairly partial. He had an extremely long life span and was handsome beyond comparison, rare to find in the world. For eighty-four thousand years he amused and enjoyed himself as a prince, for eighty-four thousand years he governed as a crown prince by relying on the law and for eighty-four thousand years he governed the continent by relying on royal law.[10]

Kāśyapa,[11] you should know that at that time the Blessed One was dwelling in the Mango Grove.[12] After his meal, he was doing

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[9]   The former Buddha Krakucchanda is not mentioned in any of the parallel versions.

[10]   A description of the successive periods of eighty-four thousand years spent by Mahādeva as a youth, etc., can also be found in MN 83 at MN II 76,18, MĀ 67 at T I 513a27 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a4.

[11]   For Ānanda, who according to tradition was junior to Kāśyapa, to address the latter by his proper name stands in an interesting contrast to another episode, noted by von Hinüber 1991: 124 and found at Vin I 92,37. On being asked to assist Mahākāśyapa in an ordination, Ānanda indicates that he does not dare to pronounce Mahākāśyapa's name (which he would need to do during the mo-

walking meditation in the courtyard, as was his usual custom. I was his attendant.[13] At that time the Blessed One smiled and from his mouth five-coloured rays emerged.[14] Having seen it, I knelt down in front of the Blessed One and said: "Buddhas do not smile without reason. I wish to hear the whole story. A Tathāgata, an arhat, fully and rightly awakened, never smiles in vain."

Then, Kāśyapa, the Buddha told me: "In the distant past, in this auspicious aeon, a Tathāgata by the name of Krakucchanda, an arhat, fully and rightly awakened, emerged in this world. In this place, he taught the Dharma to his disciples in full.[15] Again, in this auspicious aeon the Tathāgata Kanakamuni, an arhat, fully and rightly awakened, also emerged in the world. At that time in this place here, that Buddha also taught the Dharma to his disciples in full. Again, in this auspicious aeon the Tathāgata Kāśyapa, an arhat,

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tion). On the way tradition depicts these two disciples and their interrelation cf. also, e.g., Przyluski 1926: 296 and 376f, Frauwallner 1956: 161, Bareau 1971: 140, Migot 1952: 539f, Tilakaratne 2005 and von Hinüber 2008: 25f.

[12] MN 83 at MN II 74,15 (as well as Cᵉ) introduce the location as Makhādeva's Mango Grove (Bᵉ and Sᵉ: Maghadeva's Mango Grove). MĀ 67 at T I 511c24 and D 1 *kha* 53a1 or Q 1030 *ge* 48b6 similarly refer to Mahādeva's Mango Grove, 大天㮈林 / *lha chen po'i ā mra'i tshal*. EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c22 just speaks of Mahādeva's Grove, 大天園.

[13] My translation follows an emendation suggested in the Foguang (佛光) edition that replaces 及 with 乃.

[14] A smile by the Buddha, but without any reference to five coloured rays, is also reported in MN 83 at MN II 74,16: *sitaṃ patvākāsi* (Bᵉ, Cᵉ and Sᵉ: *pātvākāsi*), MĀ 67 at T I 511c25: 欣然而笑, EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c24: 便笑, and D 1 *kha* 53a1 or Q 1030 *ge* 48b7: *'dzum pa mdzad do*. Only T 152 at T III 48b27 has the same motif of the Buddha's smile being accompanied by the manifestation of five coloured rays: 欣然而笑, 口光五色.

[15] Adopting a variant without 復於.

fully and rightly awakened, emerged in the world. In this place here, the Tathāgata Kāśyapa also taught the Dharma to his disciples in full."[16]

At that time, Kāśyapa, I knelt down in front of the Buddha and said to the Buddha: "May the Buddha Śākyamuni also in this place here teach the Dharma fully to his disciples.[17] Then this place will have served in continuation and without interruption for four Tathāgatas as their diamond seat."[18]

At that time, Kāśyapa, Śākyamuni Buddha sat there and told me: "Ānanda, I have been seated here in the past:

"In this auspicious aeon a king appeared in the world whose name was Mahādeva ... *up to* ... for eighty-four thousand years he edified [his subjects] by relying on royal law and educated them by way of virtue.

"After many years, he told his barber:[19] 'If you see white hair on my head, tell me right away.' At that time, that person heard the king's order. After some years, he saw white hair that had appeared on the king's head.[20] He knelt down in front of the great king and

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[16] A reference to the three former Buddhas is not found in the parallel versions.

[17] Adopting a variant without 後.

[18] The motif of sitting on the same place as used by former Buddhas (and by King Mahādeva) is not found in the parallel versions.

[19] Adopting the variant 北 instead of 比.

[20] While MN 83 at MN II 75,6 reports that many years passed by before the barber discovered a white hair, MĀ 67 at T I 513c1, D 1 *kha* 53b3 or Q 1030 *ge* 49b1 and D 4094 *ju* 76b6 or Q 5595 *tu* 86b6 just indicate that this happened at a later time, 於後時 / *dus gzhan zhig*. In EĀ 50.4 at T II 808a26, on receiving the instruction, the barber examines the hair for some time and thereon discovers a white hair. Thus in EĀ 50.4 the discovery of the white hair appears to take place during the same haircut session at which Mahādeva gives

said: 'Great king, you should know that on your head white hair has appeared.'

"Then the king told that man: 'Take golden tweezers, pull out the white hair and place it in my hand.' At that time, having received the king's order, that man took golden tweezers and pulled out the white hair. Having seen the white hair, the great king at that time gave expression to a stanza:

'Just now on my head,
a hair [indicating] decay and disappearance has appeared,
[552a] the divine messenger has come,
it is the proper time to go forth.'[21]

"Now I have already tasted human happiness, I shall now strive for merits by which one rises to the heavens, shaving off my beard

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the instruction to look for it. In fact, the barber then tells the king: "Having just been instructed [to look out for it], right now I have already seen a white hair", 前所勅者, 今已白見.

[21] Adopting the variant 應 instead of 當. The stanzas in the parallel versions are as follows: MN 83 at MN II 75,17: "the divine messengers have manifested to me, white hair can be seen to have appeared on [my] head". MĀ 67 at T I 513c7: "white hair has appeared on my head, my life span is deteriorating and coming to an end, the divine messenger has already come, it is time for me to practise the path". EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b1: "on top of my own head, the demolishing of health has manifested, the body's messenger has come to summon [me], time to embark on the path has arrived". D 1 *kha* 53b6 or Q 1030 49b4: "now on my head, hair [that signifies] the defeat of aging has appeared, the divine messenger has manifested, the time has come for me to go forth". D 4094 *ju* 77a2 or Q 5595 *tu* 87a2: "the first thief of aging has appeared on the crown of my head, the divine messenger has manifested, time has come to go forth". Jā 9 at Jā I 138,23: "among the hair of the head, the destruction of life has appeared, the divine messengers have manifested, it is time for me to go forth".

and hair, putting on the three Dharma robes and out of firm faith go forth to train in the path to leave these many troubles behind.'[22]

"At that time King Mahādeva said to his first[born], the crown prince by the name of Dīrghāyu: 'Dear, do you know that on my head a white hair has appeared? My intention is to shave off my beard and hair, put on the three Dharma robes and out of firm faith go forth to train in the path for leaving behind these many troubles. You succeed to my throne, govern by relying on the Dharma. Do not neglect this, going against my instruction and acting like an ordinary person! Why is that? If there should be such a person, who disobeys my instruction, then he is acting like an ordinary person.[23] An ordinary person for long dwells in the three unfortunate destinies amidst the eight difficult circumstances.'[24]

"At that time King Mahādeva, having handed over the throne to the crown prince and granted treasures to the barber,[25] in that place shaved off his beard and hair, put on the three Dharma robes and out of firm faith went forth to train in the path for leaving behind

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[22] A reference to Mahādeva's aspiration to be free from *duḥkha* is not made in the parallel versions.

[23] According to MN 83 at MN II 75,28 and D 4094 *ju* 77a6 or Q 5595 *tu* 87b1, by discontinuing the practice instituted by Mahādeva the crown prince would become the last man, *antimapurisa / skyes bu tha chad*, or according to D 1 *kha* 54a3 or Q 1030 *ge* 50a1 just a common man, *skyes bu tha shal*. MĀ 67 at T I 513c21 indicates that by acting like this he would let people fall into extremes, 人民墮在極邊. According to EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b11, by not following the example set by his father the crown prince would be like border country people and be reborn in a region without Dharma, 便為邊地人也 ... 便生無法處.

[24] Such a reference is not found in the parallel versions.

[25] MN 83 at MN II 75,16 reports that the king granted a village to the barber; according to EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b13 he bestowed some farmland on the barber.

these many troubles. He ably cultivated the holy life for eighty-four thousand years, practicing the four[fold] even-mindedness (*brahmavihāra*) of benevolence (*maitrī*), compassion, [sympathetic] joy and equanimity. At the end of his life he passed away and was reborn in the Brahmā Heaven.

"Then King Dīrghāyu kept in mind the instructions of his father, the king, and never gave them up even for a moment. He governed by relying on the Dharma, not being unfairly partial. Soon, after less than ten days, he became a wheel-turning king endowed with the seven treasures. The seven treasures are the wheel treasure, the elephant treasure, the horse treasure, the jewel treasure, the precious woman treasure, the steward treasure and the general treasure.[26] These are the seven treasures. He also had a thousand sons who were brave and wise,[27] able to get rid of many troubles and to dominate the four directions.

"Then King Dīrghāyu, [following] the example of the previous king (*as above*) ... composed the stanza:[28]

'Just now on my head,
a hair [indicating] decay and disappearance has appeared,

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[26]　While MN 83 does not mention the seven treasures at all, the other versions associate these already with Mahādeva; cf. MĀ 67 at T I 512a2, EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a2, D 1 *kha* 53a6 or Q 1030 *ge* 49a5, D 4094 *ju* 76b2 or Q 5595 *tu* 86b1 and T 152 at T III 48c7.

[27]　A description of the thousand sons of Mahādeva's son Dīrghāyu is not found in the parallel versions. The motif of having a thousand vigorous sons occurs in D 1 *kha* 53b1 or Q 1030 *ge* 49a6 and in D 4094 *ju* 76b3 or Q 5595 *tu* 86b3, where it is associated with Mahādeva instead.

[28]　My translation follows the Sung (宋), Yuan (元) and Ming (明) editions, which continue here with the remainder of the discourse. The present section is only found at the end of this fascicle in the Taishō edition, T II 553c5 to 553c23.

the divine messenger has come,
it is the proper time to go forth.'

"Now I have already tasted human happiness, I shall now strive for merits by which one rises to the heavens, shaving off my beard and hair, putting on the three Dharma robes and out of firm faith go forth to train in the path for leaving behind these many troubles.'

"At that time King Dīrghāyu said to his first[born], the crown prince by the name of Sudarśana:[29] 'Dear, do you know that on my head a white hair has appeared? My intention is to shave off my beard and hair, put on the three Dharma robes and out of firm faith go forth to train in the path for leaving behind these many troubles. You succeed to my throne, govern by relying on the Dharma. Do not neglect this, going against my instruction and acting like an ordinary person! Why is that? If there should be such a person, who disobeys my instruction, then he is acting like an ordinary person. An ordinary person for long dwells in the three unfortunate destinies amidst the eight difficult circumstances.'

"Then King Dīrghāyu ably cultivated the holy life for eighty-four thousand years, practicing the four[fold] even-mindedness of benevolence, compassion, [sympathetic] joy and equanimity. At the end of his life he passed away and was reborn in the Brahmā Heaven.

"Then King Sudarśana kept in mind the instructions by his father, the king, and never gave them up even for a moment. He gov-

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[29] My rendering of the third king's name 善觀 as Sudarśana is based on another occurrence of the same name in EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a21: 善觀辟支佛, counterpart to the Paccekabuddha Sudassana in its parallel MN 116 at MN III 69,11; cf. also Akanuma 1930/1994: 642. While most of the other versions do not provide the name of the third king, EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b29 gives his name as 冠髻 (with a variant reading as 冠結).

erned by relying on the Dharma, not being unfairly partial."

[Ānanda said]: "Kāśyapa, you know, he who at that time was Mahādeva, could he have been someone else? Do not see it like this. The king at that time is now Śākyamuni. He who at that time was the King Dīrghāyu is now me, Ānanda.[30] He who at that time was Sudarśana is now the monk Uttara.

At that time he constantly accepted the royal law, never gave it up or forgot it, did not discontinue it. Then the King Sudarśana kept the command of his father, the king. He governed by relying on the Dharma and did not discontinue the king's teaching. Why is that? It is because the instructions given by one's father, the king, are a hard thing to disobey."

III. Three Former Buddhas in the Mahādeva Tale

My comparative study of the above tale falls into three parts. In the present first part I examine the reference to three former Buddhas in relation to the often proposed Mahāsāṃghika affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (III).[31] Then I examine narrative differences between the above tale and the other *Ekottarika-āgama* version (IV), followed by surveying differences in translation terminology between these two (V).

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[30] EĀ 50.4 at T II 810a27 instead identifies Ānanda as the last of the series of kings who kept up the way of ruling instituted by Mahādeva. According to Jā 9 at Jā I 139,28, Ānanda had been Makhādeva's barber.

[31] Cf. Mayeda 1985: 102f and for recent contributions Pāsādika 2010, Kuan 2012, Kuan 2013a and Kuan 2013b.

Of the different versions of the *Mahādeva* tale, the above-translated narration from the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* is the only one to mention three former Buddhas. The motif of a smile by the Buddha that signals the impending narration of a canonical *jātaka*, combined with the indication that in the same place three former Buddhas had also been seated, does recur in a different context in the *Mahāvastu*.[32] However, in the *Mahāvastu* tale the Buddha is not a former king, but rather a young brahmin unwilling to visit the former Buddha Kāśyapa. The *Mahāvastu* version of this tale also stands alone among its parallels in bringing in three former Buddhas.[33] Given that the *Mahāvastu* is a *Vinaya* text of the Lokottaravāda Mahāsāṃghika tradition,[34] this similarity in the motif of the three former Buddhas introducing a past life of the Buddha – as a young Brahmin in the *Mahāvastu* and as a king in the Mahādeva

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[32] The *Mahāvastu* reports the Buddha informing Ānanda that in this spot three former Tathāgatas, arhats, Fully Awakened Ones, had been seated: the Blessed One Krakucchanda, the Blessed One Kanakamuni and the Blessed One Kāśyapa, Senart 1882: 318,11: *etasmin ānanda pṛthivīpradeśe trayāṇāṃ tathāgatānām arhatāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhānāṃ niṣadyā abhūṣi bhagavato krakucchandasya bhagavato ca kanakamunisya bhagavato ca kāśyapasya.* Similar to the description given in the above translated *Ekottarika-āgama* tale, according to the *Mahāvastu* this information then motivates Ānanda to invite the Buddha to sit in this place as well, so that it will have been made use of by four Tathāgatas.

[33] The parallel versions that also have the episode of the smile mention only the former Buddha Kāśyapa, MN 81 at MN II 45,14 and MĀ 63 at T I 499a16. The episode of the smile is absent from two other parallels which, however, do refer to the former Buddha Kāśyapa in their narration: the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Gnoli 1978: 22,25, and an *Avadāna* collection preserved in Chinese translation, T 197.10 at T IV 172c20.

[34] On the *Vinaya* nature of the *Mahāvastu* cf. Tournier 2012.

tale – may be one of the reasons why Bareau finds indications that point to a Mahāsāṃghika affiliation in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[35]

Further perusal of the introductory section brings to light other such indications.[36] The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* reports that at the outset of the first communal recitation or 'council', *saṅgīti*, Ānanda was hesitant to take on the role of reciting the discourses, suggesting that Mahākāśyapa should rather be given this role.[37] The Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese translation reports a similar hesitation by Ānanda, who suggests that another monk should take up the role of the reciter.[38] Such a hesitation is not mentioned in the accounts of the first *saṅgīti* in the *Vinaya*s of other schools.[39]

The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* also reports that, at the conclusion of Ānanda's exposition of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, there was an earthquake, a rain of celestial flowers and the gods in

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[35] Bareau 1955: 57 notes that "les indications contenues dans la préface de la traduction chinoise de l'*Ekottarâgama* montrent que, selon toutes probabilités, la recension de celui-ci ainsi traduite appartenait à une secte mahâsâ*ṅ*ghika". Bareau does not provide further indications regarding the particular passages he has in mind.

[36] I already drew attention to these passages in Anālayo 2009b.

[37] EĀ 1 at T II 549b29; T 1507 at T XXV 31c18 explains that Ānanda not only respected him for his seniority, but also because Mahākāśyapa had been his father for five hundred past lives.

[38] T 1425 at T XXII 491b24.

[39] The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 968b15, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 191a18, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 406b29, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 448b13, and the Theravāda *Vinaya,* Vin II 287,12.

the sky expressed their approval.[40] Similar miraculous manifestations taking place at the conclusion of the first communal recitation are reported in the *Mahāvastu*, while *Vinaya*s of other traditions do not mention such occurrences.[41]

Yet, the same introductory section also presents problems with the Mahāsāṃghika identification. The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* indicates that at the first *saṅgīti* Ānanda recited the four *Āgama*s in the sequence *Ekottarika*, *Madhyama*, *Dīrgha*, *Saṃyukta*.[42] According to the Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese translation, however, he rather recited them in the sequence *Dīrgha, Madhyama, Saṃyukta, Ekottarika.*[43] Again, according to the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* the *Kṣudraka* collection contains Mahāyāna scriptures.[44] The Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* instead indicates that the *Kṣudraka* collection contains tales related to Pratyeka-buddhas and arhats.[45]

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[40] EĀ 1 at T II 550c7: 時地大動, 雨天華香至于膝, 諸天在空歎善哉.

[41] The *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882: 71,12, reports the other monks asking Mahā-kāśyapa why there is an earthquake, the sound of celestial drums and a rain of celestial flowers, *kin tu, bhoḥ, dhutadharā samakaṃpi, medinī sasaritā sasa-mudrā, devadundubhiravāś ca manojñā, divyamālyavikiraṇaṃ ca bhavanti?*

[42] EĀ 1 at T II 549c28: 契經今當分四段, 先名增一, 二名中, 三名曰長多瓔珞, 雜經在後為四分 (adopting the variant 先 instead of 次); according to T 1507 at T XXV 32a23, the division into four *āgama*s and the placing of the *Ekottarika* in the first place was originally devised by Ānanda.

[43] T 1425 at T XXII 491c16: 尊者阿難誦如是等一切法藏, 文句長者集為長阿含, 文句中者集為中阿含, 文句雜者集為雜阿含, 所謂根雜力雜覺雜道雜, 如是比等名為雜, 一增, 二增, 三增, 乃至百增, 隨其數類相從, 集為增一阿含.

[44] EĀ 1 at T II 550c10: 方等大乘義玄邃, 及諸契經為雜藏.

[45] T 1425 at T XXII 491c20: 雜藏者, 所謂辟支佛, 阿羅漢, 自說本行因緣.

While these two indications would not sit too well with the Mahāsāṃghika hypothesis, they might be the result of an overall trend in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* towards enhancing itself vis-à-vis other *Āgama*s and towards giving predominance to Mahāyāna teachings. In such a context, a rearrangement of the sequence of the *Āgama*s that places the *Ekottarika* in first position would be a natural occurrence, just as an interpretation of the *Kṣudraka* collection as being the canonical repository of Mahāyāna teachings.

The precise nature of the *Kṣudraka* collection is in fact not a straightforward matter.[46] Even in the Theravāda tradition one finds different perspectives on this matter. The reciters of the *Dīgha-nikāya* differ from those who recite the *Majjhima-nikāya* on whether at the first *saṅgīti* the *Khuddaka-nikāya* was allocated to the basket of discourses or to the basket of Abhidharma.[47] Modern day Theravāda traditions also disagree on what works should be included in this collection and thus considered canonical, with the Burmese incorporating works such as the *Nettippakaraṇa,* the *Milindapañha* and the *Peṭakopadesa*, whereas in other Theravāda countries these are not considered as part of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*.[48]

While the two indications contrary to the Mahāsāṃghika hypothesis are thus not conclusive, it needs to be noted that problems with the Mahāsāṃghika hypothesis also manifest elsewhere in the

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[46] For a survey of different versions of this collection cf. Lamotte 1956; on the Theravāda version cf. Norman 1983: 57–95, Abeynayake 1984, von Hinüber 1996/1997: 41–64 and Freiberger 2011: 218.

[47] Sv I 15,22.

[48] Cf., e.g., Abeynayake 1984: 33-46, Collins 1990: 108 note 11 and von Hinüber 1996/1997: 42f.

Ekottarika-āgama. One example is the regular reference in this collection to twelve *aṅga*s,[49] whereas the Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* speaks of only nine.[50] Since the listing of twelve appears to have developed out of an earlier listing of nine,[51] this discrepancy might point to the *Vinaya* preserving an earlier record of the listing of *aṅga*s than the *Ekottarika-āgama* and thus is also not conclusive.

The same would also apply to a discrepancy in the count of monastic rules, where the *Ekottarika-āgama* speaks of two hundred fifty rules,[52] a number the actual count in the Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese translation does not seem to reach.[53] Yet, this too is not that conclusive, as in the Theravāda tradition an even more significant discrepancy in this respect occurs: Discourses in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* speak of just over a hundred-fifty rules,[54]

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[49] A reference to twelve *aṅga*s can be found in EĀ 29.5 at T II 657a2, EĀ 39.1 at T II 728c6, EĀ 49.1 at T II 794b14 and EĀ 50.8 at T II 813a25; for a survey of these listings cf. Nattier 2004b: 193f.

[50] T 1425 at T XXII 227b25; a discrepancy already noted by Hirakawa 1963: 63f.

[51] Lamotte 1956: 263 note 2, Kalupahana 1965: 616, von Hinüber 1994: 122 and Nattier 2004b: 168.

[52] EĀ 48.2 at T II 787b10: 有二百五十戒.

[53] The Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya*, T 1426 at T XXII 555b15, gives the following listing: 已說四波羅夷法, 已說十三僧伽婆尸沙法, 已說二不定法, 已說三十尼薩耆波夜提法, 已說九十二波夜提法, 已說四波羅提舍尼法, 已說眾學法, where the *śaikṣa* rules are not counted. According to Pachow 1955: 11, the *śaikṣa* rules are 66 (cf. T 1425 at T XXII 399b7), which together with the 7 *adhikaraṇa-śamatha* (where it is anyway doubtful if these should be considered as "rules" properly speaking) would result in an overall count of 218 rules.

[54] AN 3.83 at AN I 230,17: *sādhikaṃ ... diyaḍḍhasikkhāpadasataṃ*, an expression found again in AN 3.85 at A I 231,18, AN 3.86 at A I 232,33 and AN 3.87 at AN

whereas the actual count of rules in the Theravāda *Vinaya* results in two hundred twenty-seven.[55] According to an explanation proposed by the Pali commentary, not all of the rules recorded in the *Vinaya* had been promulgated at the time of the coming into being of these *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourses.[56]

In sum, while the appearance of three Buddhas in the Mahādeva tale found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* could indeed be a motif popular among Mahāsāṅghika reciters, the question of the school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* appears to be a complex issue.

Moreover, assessing the significance of Mahāsāṅghika elements in the introductory section would also depend on ascertaining when this introduction became the preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection and when it reached its present form.

IV. Narrative Differences Between the Two Mahādeva Tales

The appearance of three former Buddhas in the Mahādeva tale in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* is also remarkable in so far as the version of the Mahādeva tale found among the Elevens does not have any reference to past Buddhas. Such a difference

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I 234,11; cf. also, e.g., Dutt 1924/1996: 75f, Law 1933: 21, Bhagvat 1939: 64, Pachow 1955: 8f, Misra 1972: 33 and Dhirasekera 1982/2007: 145.

[55] The Theravāda *pātimokkha* comprises 4 *pārājika*, 13 *saṅghādisesa*, 2 *aniyata*, 30 *nissagiya pācittiya*, 92 *pācittiya*, 4 *pāṭidesanīya*, 75 *sekhiya* and 7 *adhikaraṇasamatha*, resulting in a total count of 227.

[56] Mp II 346,30: *tasmiṃ samaye paññattasikkhāpadān 'eva sandhāy 'etaṃ vuttaṃ.*

would be more easily understandable if this motif had been found in the longer version only, as one might imagine that it had been abbreviated in the shorter extract. However, given that the version in the introduction is the shorter of the two, it is remarkable that the motif of three Buddhas does not recur in the longer version of the same tale in the same collection.

Elsewhere the *Ekottarika-āgama* shows considerable interest in past Buddhas, to the extent that it has two records of the past Buddha Dīpaṃkara predicting the future Buddhahood of the one who was to become the Buddha Śākyamuni.[57] Thus it can safely be assumed that there would have been no reason for the reciters of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to exclude a reference to former Buddhas from the version of the Mahādeva tale now found among the Elevens, had such a reference been originally found in it.

The absence of any reference to former Buddhas is not the only narrative difference between the two Mahādeva tales. The version found among the Elevens also does not report any miraculous

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[57] EĀ 20.3 at T II 599b14 and EĀ 43.2 at T II 758b26. Dīpaṃkara is not mentioned in the early discourses in the four Pali *Nikāya*s or in other Chinese *Āgama*s. In the Theravāda tradition, his predicting of Śākyamuni's Buddhahood occurs only in the late *Buddhavaṃsa*, stanza 2.60 at Bv 13,1. Dīpaṃkara's prediction is also recorded, e.g., in the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 252,12, in the *Lalitavistara*, Lefmann 1902: 415,19, in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1882: 239,6, and in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 785b25; for further references cf. the survey in Lamotte 1944/1981: 248 note 2. According to Nattier 2004a: 72, the story of the meeting between Gautama bodhisattva and Dīpaṃkara "is frequently depicted in art from the Gandhāra region ... suggesting that it may have originated at the northwestern fringes of the Indian cultural sphere"; cf. also Biswas 2009: 98, who comments that "the distribution of Dīpaṅkara images ... points to the likelihood that the story of Dīpaṅkara was first formulated on the further fringes of north-west India".

manifestations accompanying the Buddha's smile. According to the description given in the introductory section to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, "the Blessed One smiled and from his mouth five coloured rays emerged". Elsewhere the *Ekottarika-āgama* recurrently describes various miraculous events, so that there would have been little reason for the reciters of the longer version of the Mahādeva tale to omit a description of the five coloured rays, had this been part of the story they had received from their predecessors.

Another difference is that the introductory version does not present Mahādeva as a wheel-turning king,[58] but only qualifies his son in this way. Comparing the different versions of the Mahādeva tale gives the impression that the motif of the wheel-turning king was subsequently added to the narration.[59] The Pali version does not have the motif of the wheel-turning king at all and thus appears to testify to an early stage of textual development, before this motif

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[58] The qualification of Mahādeva as "governing the continent" in EĀ 1 at T II 551c4: 治化天下 does not seem to imply world dominion and thus would not be an implicit reference to his wheel-turning king status. EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c29 describes his dominion as encompassing all four continents (that according to ancient Indian cosmology make up the whole world): 四天下, an expression found also in the description of Mahādeva's dominion as a wheel turning king in T 152 at T III 48c19: 四天下. MĀ 67 at T I 513c13 uses the same expression 四天下 when describing the dominion handed over by Mahādeva to his son. MĀ 67 at T I 512a1 also employs the expression 天下 when depicting the range of his army, which I take to imply that, without the wheel treasure that opens up the path through the ocean, his army would have been able to control only Jambudvīpa as one of the four continents. In sum, I take it that the reference in EĀ 1 at T II 551c4 to 天下 would intend Jambudvīpa, not the whole world of four continents that are governed by a wheel-turning king.

[59] For a more detailed study of the *cakravartin* motif in the different versions of the Mahādeva tale cf. Anālayo 2011.

had made an impact on the discourse. The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* version and the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva compendium of discourse quotations from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* identify Mahādeva as a wheel-turning king and briefly list his seven treasures.[60] The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the discourse found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* not only identify Mahādeva as a wheel-turning king, but also provide a detailed description of each of his seven treasures.[61] When viewed against what appears to be a gradual development in the parallels, the Mahādeva tale in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* seems to reflect an intermediary stage in the application of the wheel-turning king motif to the Mahādeva tale, as this conception already manifests in relation to Mahādeva's son, whose seven treasures are listed without a detailed description, but has not yet been applied to Mahādeva himself.

Another difference occurs in relation to the barber. According to the introductory account, some years pass between the king's instruction to look out for white hair and the finding of such hair by the barber. In the version among the Elevens, the barber finds white hair right after he has been told to look for it.[62]

The stanzas spoken by Mahādeva, once white hair has been discovered, vary in each of the extant versions. A noteworthy detail here is that the other versions agree on speaking of the white hair as a "divine messenger",[63] with the sole exception of the tale found

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[60] D 1 *kha* 53a7 or Q 1030 *ge* 49a5 and D 4094 *ju* 76b2 or Q 5595 *tu* 86b1.

[61] MĀ 67 at T I 512a3 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a2.

[62] See above note 20.

[63] MN 83 at MN II 75,18 and Jā 9 at Jā I 138,24 use the expression *devadūta*, MĀ 67 at T I 513c8 and EĀ 1 at T II 552a1 the corresponding expression 天使,

among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which instead speaks of the "body's messenger".[64]

All versions agree that the sight of the white hair stirred him to go forth, with the version in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* being the only one to suggest that his inspiration to go forth was to "leave behind these many troubles".[65]

On deciding to go forth, according to the introduction Mahādeva bestows treasures on the barber.[66] According to the version among the Elevens, he gives him some farmland.[67]

The two *Ekottarika-āgama* versions also disagree on who of their protagonists should be identified as being a past life of Ānanda. According to the account found in the introduction, Ānanda was the son of Mahādeva, whereas according to the discourse found among the Elevens he was the last in a series of eighty-four thousand generations of descendants of Mahādeva who kept up the custom instituted by Mahādeva.[68]

In sum, the introductory version differs from its *Ekottarika-āgama* counterpart as follows:

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and D 1 *kha* 53b6 or Q 1030 49b4 and D 4094 *ju* 77a2 or Q 5595 *tu* 87a3 the equivalent *lha yi pho nya*.

[64] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b1: 身使.

[65] EĀ 1 at T II 552a4: 離於眾苦.

[66] EĀ 1 at T II 552a11: 財寶.

[67] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b13: 田業.

[68] EĀ 1 at T II 553c20 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 810a28 (who was then followed by a king who did not keep up the custom instituted by Mahādeva, identified in EĀ 50.4 as a past life of Devadatta); according to T 1507 at T XXV 34b28, Ānanda was the wheel-turning king Dīrghāyu (and thus the son of Mahādeva): 阿難白引往昔為轉輪聖王, 名曰長壽.

– mention of three former Buddhas,
– description of miraculous manifestations accompanying the Buddha's smile,
– Mahādeva is not introduced as a wheel-turning king,
– barber finds white hair only after some years,
– white hair is a "divine messenger", instead of the "body's messenger",
– Mahādeva goes forth to "leave behind these many troubles",
– Mahādeva bestows on the barber treasures, instead of farmland,
– Ānanda was the son of Mahādeva.

Thus the differences between two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* are of such magnitude that it seems safe to conclude that they belong to different transmission lineages. In other words, these two are not a shorter and a longer version of the same story with some variations, but rather two different narrative developments of the same motif.

When evaluated from the perspective of oral transmission, it seems highly unlikely that these two different versions of the Mahādeva tale could have come into being within the same text. Not only their coming into being must have happened independently, it seems also difficult to imagine that they would have been transmitted orally over long periods as parts of the same text. Oral transmission tends to stereotype, thus within a single text differences would naturally tend to become less during the period of transmission.[69] For the two

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[69] With this suggestion I do of course not intend to propose that it is impossible for some differences to exist within the same orally transmitted text. An example from the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* would be AN 6.44 at AN III 347,16 and AN 10.75 at AN V 137,19, where the same introductory narration leads to two different replies given by the Buddha, as a result of which one discourse is found among the Sixes while the other is located among the Tens. Thus here

versions to stand side by side within the same text, exhibiting the number of differences they do, the most natural scenario would be that one of them is a later addition to the *Ekottarika-āgama* at a time when this collection was no longer transmitted orally.

V. Different Translation Terminology in the Two Mahādeva Tales

Due to their diverse narrative coverage, the two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* have only four proper names in common (leaving aside the name of Ānanda in the frame story). These four are the name of the location and the names of the three first kings. In the other versions, the location is invariably given as Ma(k)hādeva's Mango Grove,[70] combining the name of the king with an indication of the type of grove in which he lived. In the *Ekottarika-āgama* versions, however, the introductory account only speaks of the type of grove, whereas the version among the Elevens speaks just of Mahādeva's Grove and thus does not

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two diverse records of how the Buddha reacted to a particular situation have been transmitted alongside each other within the same text. The case of the two Mahādeva tales is different, however, in that an execution of the same narrative motif within the same textual collection has resulted in numerous differences of various types.

[70] In addition to being found in the parallel versions of the Mahādeva tale, the name of this grove occurs also in the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 450,18, which reports that a *ṛṣi* by the name of Śroṇaka went to stay in the *mahādevāmra-vana,* thus also employing the king's name together with an indication that this was a mango grove.

refer to the kind of trees found in this grove.[71] However, these different renderings may just be based on different Indic originals.

In the case of the proper names of the kings, the names of the third king in the two versions definitely go back to different originals.[72] The names of the first and second king, however, can safely be considered as being based on the same Indic term. While the introductory version employs a transcription of Mahādeva as 摩訶提婆, the version among the Elevens translates his name as 大天.[73] In the case of the second king, both versions opt for a translation of the name, the introduction using 長壽, while the version among the Elevens instead employs 長生.[74]

The net result of this is that all the four proper names that are common to the two actual tales differ. When evaluating this finding, however, it needs to be kept in mind that in the course of translating a whole work it can easily happen that the same proper name is rendered differently. Thus, for example, a listing of famous *ṛṣi*s found twice in the *Dīrgha-āgama*, by the same translator Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) who also translated the *Ekottarika-āgama*, shows several variations.[75] Listings of the same *ṛṣi*s in the *Madhyama-āgama* also show variations within the same collection.[76] A

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[71] EĀ 1 at T II 551c5: 甘梨園 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c22: 大天園.

[72] EĀ 1 at T II 553c9: 善觀 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b29: 冠髻 (or 冠結).

[73] EĀ 1 at T II 551b29 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a1.

[74] EĀ 1 at T II 552a5 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b4.

[75] DĀ 10 at T I 87a16 and DĀ 26 at T I 105b24, studied by Meisig 1990.

[76] MĀ 152 at T I 667c23 (repeated at T I 668a7) and MĀ 158 at T I 680c6, which show the following variations for some of the name of these famous *ṛṣi*s: 毗奢蜜哆羅 / 毗奢蜜哆邏, 夜婆陀揵尼 / 夜陀揵尼, 應疑羅婆 / 應疑羅娑 and 婆惒 / 婆和 (in the first case the difference occurs already within MĀ 152,

particularly striking case occurs in a *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse, where the name of the monk Kauṇḍinya is rendered in two different ways in the same discourse, with the shift from one transcription to the other occurring rather suddenly, in the middle of the text.[77] Such instances indicate that the lack of consistency in the rendering of proper names in the two versions of the Mahādeva tale found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is in itself far from being conclusive and could still stem from the same translator.

Besides proper names, however, the two versions also show other differences in translation terminology. Thus Mahādeva's rule as a king is depicted in the introduction with the phrase 以法治化, whereas the discourse among the Elevens employs the expression 治以正法. Here the difference between the reference to *dharma* (法)

where the reading in the main text of the first instance is found as a variant reading for the second instance, the reverse then being the case for MĀ 158).

[77] SĀ 379 at T II 104a11 reports that the Buddha, who has just set in motion the wheel of Dharma, for a second time asks 憍陳如 (= Kauṇḍinya) if he understood the Dharma, whereon 拘隣 (= Kauṇḍinya) replies that he has indeed understood, 復告尊者憍陳如: 知法未? 拘隣白佛: 已知. Both transcriptions are listed in Akanuma 1930/1994: 43 as alternatives for the same name of Aññāta Koṇḍañña (= Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya). Up to this point, SĀ 379 has been using the transcription 憍陳如, employed also in parallel versions to this discourse found in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 788b24, in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 104c18, in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1450 at T XXIV 128a9 as well as T 1451 at T XXIV 292b29 and at T XXIV 406c5, and in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 448c14. From this point onwards, SĀ 379 keeps on using 拘隣, a transcription found also in a version of this discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 24.5 at T II 619b6. Unlike SĀ 379, the other versions are consistent in their translation terminology. Su 2010: 28 note 46 suggests that this sudden shift of terminology in SĀ 379 might be the result of an incompletely carried out revision, during which earlier instances of 拘隣 were replaced with 憍陳如.

and to *saddharma* (正法) may simply be due to different expressions in the originals.[78]

When taking up the length of his life span, the introduction uses the expression 壽命, whereas the version among the Elevens just speaks of 壽.[79] Again, when describing the periods of Mahādeva's life as a young prince and as a crown prince, the introduction uses the expressions 童子身 and 太子身, whereas the version among the Elevens speaks of 童子時 and 太子時.[80]

While the above variations in the expressions used to render what are specific aspects of the story are not of much significance, variations also occur in relation to what would be pericope descriptions. Thus when Ānanda kneels down to ask the Buddha why he smiled, the introduction uses the expression 前長跪, whereas the version among the Elevens instead employs 右膝著地.[81] When it comes to Mahādeva's going forth, the introduction narrates that he "shaved off hair and beard", 剃除鬚髮, and "put on three Dharma robes", 著三法衣, in order to "train in the path", 學道. According to the discourse among the Elevens, he "removed hair and beard", 下鬚髮, and "put on Dharma robes", 著法服, in order to "enter the path", 入道.[82]

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[78] EĀ 1 at T II 551c1 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a1.

[79] EĀ 1 at T II 551c1 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a1. The usage in EĀ 50.4 would explain the choice of the rendering 長生 instead of 長壽 for the proper name of the second king.

[80] EĀ 1 at T II 551c2 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a5.

[81] EĀ 1 at T II 551c7 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c26.

[82] EĀ 1 at T II 552a3 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b14. In the case of the expression 下鬚髮, besides nine occurrences in EĀ 50.4, the same EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b6 and at T II 810a3 also has the alternative phrase 剃鬚髮.

While one would expect a pericope to be rendered with some degree of consistency, each of these variations is in itself still not conclusive. Given the time gap that must have occurred between the translation of the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the rendering of a discourse found in its last part on Elevens, it would not be surprising if the translator was not consistent in his renderings. In fact Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) does not appear to have been a translator with particularly consistent translation terminology.[83] Moreover, Dao'an (道安) informs us that the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* was undertaken during a time of warfare and thus under conditions that would certainly not have been conducive to a consistency check of the translation terminology.[84] In fact T 125 in general does often show a considerable degree of inconsistency of translation terminology.

What gives further weight to these variations, however, is the circumstance that some of the expressions used in the discourse found among the Elevens do not make their appearance elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[85] This is the case for the complete phase 著法服, as only 法服 on its own occurs in other *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses. In contrast, the expression 著三法衣, found in the tale in the introduction, occurs frequently elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[86] In such contexts, the phrase 學道 found in the introduc-

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[83] This issue will be discussed in a paper under preparation by Ken Su (蘇錦坤).

[84] T II 549a18.

[85] In what follows, my indications are based on a digital search of the CBETA edition which, with its manifold advantages, also comes with the limitations that inevitably go with digital searching.

[86] EĀ 9.1 at T II 562a27, EĀ 9.2 at T II 562b20, EĀ 16.4 at T II 579b26, EĀ 24.2 at T II 616c8, EĀ 24.4 at T II 618a23, EĀ 28.4 at T I 652a5, EĀ 29.9 at T II

tion version occurs also regularly, whereas 入道 makes its appearance only rarely in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and in any case not as part of the pericope description of someone's going forth.[87] Again, the expression 剃除鬚髮, found in the introduction, is standard in such descriptions of going forth (if beard and hair are mentioned at all), whereas the phrase 下鬚髮, does not seem to recur elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the discourse among the Elevens being the only instance of this expression.

In other words, the expressions 著三法衣, 入道 and 下鬚髮 to describe Mahādeva's going forth in the discourse found among the Elevens appear to be specific to this particular text, differing from the terminology that is used elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama* in such contexts. This gives the impression that such variations may not be just different choices employed by the same translator who is working on a long text in difficult conditions. It would not be

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658c7, EĀ 32.4 at T II 676b22, EĀ 35.7 at T II 700b23, EĀ 38.6 at T II 720b22, EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b15, EĀ 38.11 at T II 726a15, EĀ 41.5 at T II 739b29, EĀ 42.3 at T II 752c1, EĀ 42.4 at T II 753b9, EĀ 43.7 at T II 763c21, EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a12, EĀ 46.10 at T II 780b28, EĀ 47.9 at T II 784c12, EĀ 49.9 at T II 804c11, EĀ 50.8 at T II 812c29 and EĀ 51.3 at T II 816a9 (here and below, I only take into account separate discourses, disregarding recurrence of a particular expression in the same discourse).

[87] Except for EĀ 50.4, I have only been able to locate this expression in two discourses. One of these is EĀ 8.3 at T II 561a19+24, where the phrase 入道 is used in a reference to the Tathāgata. The other is EĀ 12.1 at T II 568a2+9 and 569b9, where the expression 一入道 qualifies the practice of *smṛtyupasthāna*, thus being a counterpart to the expression *ekāyano maggo* in the parallel MN 10 at MN I 55,31 (= DN 22 at DN II 290,8); on this expression cf. the discussion in Gethin 1992: 59–66, Kuan 2001: 164, Anālayo 2003: 27–29, Sujato 2005: 177–186, Harrison 2007: 208, Nattier 2007: 196–199, Wen 2011 and Anālayo 2013b.

easy to devise a reasonable explanation why the same translator should change his translation terminology just for this one discourse.

The above instances are not the only ones of this type. The discourse among the Elevens mentions that after the meal the Buddha got up, 食後起.[88] The version of the Mahādeva tale in the introduction as well as two other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that report what the Buddha did after his meal do not mention that he got up and thus just use 食後.[89]

The discourse among the Elevens indicates that the Buddha was staying in [Mahādeva's] grove with the expression 園中止.[90] This phrase does not appear to recur elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which instead tends to report the Buddha's sojourn in a grove simply with 園中, as is the case for the Mahādeva tale found in the introduction,[91] or even just with 園.

The Mahādeva tale located among the Elevens begins by indicating that the Buddha was in the company of a great community of monks, 與大比丘僧, numbering one thousand two-hundred and fifty monks.[92] While the version found in the introduction does

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[88] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c23.

[89] EĀ 1 at T II 551c5, EĀ 17.1 at T II 581c13 and EĀ 41.10 at T II 743a6.

[90] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c22. One instance that bears some similarity to the expression used in EĀ 50.4 can be found in EĀ 51.7 at T II 818b21, where Anāthapiṇḍada informs his son of the fact that the Buddha is "staying in my grove", 止吾園中. As in this case the 止 precedes the reference to the grove, the formulation does not match the expression found in EĀ 50.4.

[91] EĀ 1 at T II 551c5. Other occurrences of this type are too numerous to be listed separately.

[92] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c22.

not report the number of monks that were staying together with the Buddha, other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that present the Buddha in the company of the same number of monks instead use the expression 與大比丘眾,[93] an expression also regularly employed when the number of monks is instead five hundred, or even more than one thousand two-hundred and fifty.[94] That is, the usual rendering of such references to the community of monks accompanying the Buddha in the *Ekottarika-āgama* employs 眾 instead of 僧.

The version among the Elevens describes the Buddha addressing Ānanda with the following phrase, 佛語阿難.[95] This formulation does not appear to occur elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,[96] which instead records instances where Ānanda is being addressed by his teacher with the expression 佛告阿難,[97] or alternatively 世尊

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[93] EĀ 30.3 at T II 660a2 and EĀ 45.7 at T II 773c21.

[94] While references to five hundred monks are too numerous to be listed separately, examples for the phrase 與大比丘眾 used in relation to the much higher number of monks that were held to have accompanied previous Buddhas can be found in EĀ 20.3 at T II 597b18, EĀ 23.1 at T II 610b1, EĀ 30.3 at T II 665a13, EĀ 43.2 at T II 758a8 and EĀ 52.2 at T II 824a23.

[95] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c28, which is the first of 20 occurrences of this phrase in this discourse, although in one instance in EĀ 50.4 at T II 809a22 the phrase 佛告阿難 can be found, with the for EĀ 50.4 probably more original Sung (宋), Yuan (元) and Ming (明) variant reading 佛語阿難.

[96] There are, however, two instances where the expression 佛語 occurs when the Buddha addresses someone else; cf. EĀ 31.2 at T II 667b20 and EĀ 33.2 at T II 686a14.

[97] EĀ 32.5 at T II 676c2, EĀ 40.5 at T II 739b18, EĀ 40.10 at T II 743c27, EĀ 42.3 at T II 750c22, EĀ 44.10 at T II 768c8, EĀ 45.2 at T II 770c22, EĀ 45.3 at T II 772a17, EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a19, EĀ 46.8 at T I 780a13, EĀ 48.2 at T II

告阿難. In other words, the verb employed in the *Ekottarika-āgama* in such context is 告 instead of 語. The version in the introduction uses the corresponding 佛告我, where the proper name 阿難 is not mentioned since here Ānanda himself narrates what happened.[98]

A similar pattern holds in cases where Ānanda asks the Buddha a question. The Mahādeva tale among the Elevens uses the form 阿難問佛,[99] not found elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which instead uses 阿難白佛言 whenever Ānanda is asking the Buddha a question.[100]

It seems to me that these examples of phrases that describe standard situations are fairly conclusive evidence of different translators at work. With all due consideration given to variations in terminology during a prolonged translation carried out under difficult circumstances, the above pattern clearly points to a peculiarity of the idioms employed in the Mahādeva tale among the Elevens that differs markedly from the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.

This impression finds further confirmation in other variations between the two versions of the Mahādeva tale that involve key

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786b8, EĀ 48.3 at T II 787c11, EĀ 48.4 at T II 791b8, EĀ 49.8 at T II 802a1, EĀ 49.9 at T II 804a12 and EĀ 51.8 at T II 820b13.

[98] EĀ 1 at T II 551c9.

[99] EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a6, which together with the abbreviation 問佛 and the alternative expression 阿難復問佛 occurs ten times in the discourse.

[100] EĀ 23.5 at T II 613b21, EĀ 23.6 at T II 613c24, EĀ 26.9 at T II 642a24, EĀ 36.5 at T II 703b27, EĀ 40.5 at T II 739b22, EĀ 42.3 at T II 751c11, EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a18, EĀ 48.2 at T II 787b22 and EĀ 51.8 at T II 820b15. When Ānanda asks several questions, the phrase for subsequent instances then tends to become 阿難復白佛言.

terminology which could reasonably well be expected to be used consistently by the same translator. This would be the case at least when it comes to translating a single work, which would not leave much time for the translator to change his translation terminology in the way this might happen with works by the same translator rendered at different stages of his working career.

One example is the householder treasure, one of the seven treasures that are the property of a wheel-turning king. While the introduction speaks of 典藏寶, the discourse among the Elevens uses the phrase 主藏寶.[101] The expression used in the introduction recurs in another listing of the seven treasures in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,[102] while the phrase employed in the discourse found among the Elevens does not seem to recur elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

In this case, however, it could still be that the same translator has come up with different ways of rendering the *gṛhapatiratna*, as other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* employ still another rendering as 居士寶.[103] Such an explanation would, however, not be convincing when it comes to another discrepancy that involves the rendering of the term *arhat*. This discrepancy occurs in the context of a standard set of epithets that describes the Buddha as being an *arhat* who is fully awakened. The introduction uses the expression 至真, followed by 等正覺. In contrast, the version among the

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[101] EĀ 1 at T II 552a18 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 807a4.

[102] EĀ 36.5 at T II 707c11.

[103] EĀ 17.7 at T II 583b28, EĀ 23.1 at T II 609c15, EĀ 24.4 at T II 617b29, EĀ 39.7 at T II 731b17 and EĀ 39.8 at T II 731c21. Yet another rendering can be found in EĀ 48.3 at T II 788a12: 守藏之寶 (which also differs from the other instances by having this treasure as its last).

Elevens employs 無所著, followed by the same 等正覺.[104] The qualification of a Buddha as 至真, 等正覺 appears to be the standard translation used elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[105]

A similar type of difference also manifests in relation to the term *brahmavihāra*, which the introduction renders as 四等心, while the discourse among the Elevens employs 四梵行.[106] The introductory version's expression 四等心 recurs in several other discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,[107] whereas the rendering 四梵行 does not seem to occur anywhere else apart from the Mahādeva discourse found among the Elevens.

On considering all of the above noted differences, it seems to me unavoidable to conclude that the two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* were not translated by the same person. The magnitude of differences surveyed so far needs to be

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[104] EĀ 1 at T II 551b27 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 806b27; on 至真 and 無所著 cf. the discussion in Nattier 2003: 214 and 217–219.

[105] Instances of this usage are too numerous to be listed completely, hence I content myself with just giving the first few references in the collection: EĀ 10.10 at T II 566a17, EĀ 12.4 at T II 569c7, EĀ 13.5 at T II 574a27, EĀ 17.2 at T II 582c28, etc. An exception to this pattern is EĀ 26.9 at T II 639b9, which uses the expression 無所著, 等正覺 to qualify the Buddha, although the same discourse also has the standard rendering 至真 at T II 639c22. This discourse has several elements testifying to late influence, particularly evident in an explicit reference to the Hīnayāna, EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a5; for a more detailed study cf. Anālayo 2013a. Thus the occurrence of the expression 無所著, 等正覺 may well be an indication that EĀ 26.9 contains material that is not original to the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.

[106] EĀ 1 at T II 552a14 and EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b15.

[107] EĀ 24.6 at T II 624b29, EĀ 26.9 at T II 639b5, EĀ 27.8 at T II 646b6, EĀ 29.10 at T II 658c19, EĀ 31.2 at T II 667c21, EĀ 38.9 at T II 724b24 and EĀ 48.3 at T II 789b12.

considered against the background that the two versions of the Mahādeva tale share relatively little text in common. The first part of the rather short introductory account, which refers to three former Buddhas and reports Ānanda's request for the Buddha to sit in the same place, is without a counterpart in the discourse found among the Elevens. Instead of a reference to former Buddhas, the discourse among the Elevens has a long description of the seven treasures of a wheel-turning king. Moreover, this version continues after the third generation of kings with its narration leading up to the final of eighty-four thousand generation of kings, exploring his life and conduct with much detail, none of which is mentioned at all in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

Thus, what the two versions have in common is the tale of Mahādeva who on seeing the first white hair renounces his throne and goes into seclusion to practice the *brahmavihāra*s. The introduction then repeats this with few variations for the next two kings, after which it concludes. That is, the actual amount of text that is common to the two versions is fairly brief. To find such a number of variations in such a relatively short portion of text is surely significant. In other words, with all due consideration to the possibility of scribal errors and inconsistency of translation terminology by the same translator, the differences noted above must be the result of different translators at work.

The evidence surveyed so far shows that the two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* appear to be based on different original narrations, which were then translated by different translators. The version found among the Elevens shows recurrent disagreements with translation terminology employed elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, indicating that this discourse was not part of

the original translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* into Chinese.[108]

This suggestion finds corroboration on considering the placement of the Mahādeva tale among the Elevens in chapter 50 of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. As the term "Elevens" indicates, the point of this subdivision in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, found similarly in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, is to collect discourses that in some way or another bear a relation to the number eleven.[109]

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[108] This in turn provides a significant indication regarding the nature of the 分別 功德論, T 1507, which has a brief reference to the Mahādeva tale at T XXV 32c8. This reference indicates that King Mahādeva and eighty-four thousand generations of kings after him practiced the *brahmavihāra*s and that Mahādeva was the only *mahāpuruṣa* among them (which I take to refer to his status as a former life of the Buddha). The eighty-four thousand generations are not mentioned in EĀ 1, but only in EĀ 50.4 at T II 809a22, making it probable that T 1507 refers to this discourse. In other words, by the time of the coming into being of this reference in T 1507, EĀ 50.4 must have already been part of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Regarding T 1507, Mori 1970: 456 explains that, after the completed translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, "the commentary was done later consulting the former's translation already made for their mutual concord". Nattier 2012: 15 points out that T 1507 "originally thought to be a translation of a commentary on an Ekottarikāgama ... appears, at this point, to be a commentary on T125 itself".

[109] While the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* as well as the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* go up to Elevens, the original conception of the numerical collection appears to have gone only from Ones to Tens. As pointed out by von Hinüber 1996/1997: 40, in the case of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* "originally, it seems, AN [*Aṅguttara-nikāya*] had only ten Nipātas. This can be deduced from the fact that at the end of the Dasakanipāta not only groups of 10 items occur as the title implies, but also groups of 20 (AN V 304), 30 (AN V 305) and 40 (AN V 306) items, which is typical for the last chapter of a text". In fact the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, Wogihara 1932: 188,25, speaks of an *Ekottarika-āgama* that goes up to Tens only. A count from Ones to Tens is also mentioned in the description

The first three discourses among the Elevens in chapter 50 of the *Ekottarika-āgama* bear this out, as each of them begins with the

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of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the account of the first council or communal recitation in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 407c1: 若經說一句事二句事乃至十句事者, 此即名為增一阿笈摩. The corresponding passage in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* appears to reflect a development from an original collection of Tens to a collection of Elevens, as it explains that the *Ekottarika-āgama* goes from Ones to Tens and from Tens to Elevens, T 1428 at T XXII 968b20: 從一事至十事, 從十事至十一事, 為增一. An account of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka, 撰集三藏及雜藏傳, T 2026 at T XLIX 4a19, confirms that the *Ekottarika* collection goes from Ones to Tens, to which discourses related to eleven were added to form the Elevens. Przyluski 1926: 105 notes 1 to 4 points out that several specifications given in T 2026 at T XLIX 3a27 about the numerical sections of the *Ekottarika-āgama* correspond to T 125, but differ from the situation in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. This makes its indication of the gradual development of the *ekottarika* collection from a collection of Tens to a collection that also covers Elevens directly relevant to the case of T 125. In fact, Dao'an's (道安) preface to T 125 at T II 549a6 explains that the term *ekottarika* means increasing by one up to Tens, 數終十, 令加其一, 故曰增一也. It seems to me that the use of the phrase 故曰 makes it clear that this is a word explanation of the term 增一, not a description of the actual condition of T 125, which is taken up at a later point in Dao'an's preface. Therefore I think it is more probable that the expression 令加其一 refers to the character of this collection as increasing by one, not as conveying the idea that one more *nipāta* has been added to the original ten *nipāta*s. Be that as it may, this explanation, given at the outset of the preface, appears to reflect awareness of the original conception of the numerical collections. The same type of explanation is also found in the 分別功德論, T 1507 at T XXV 32a26: 以一為本, 次至十, 一二三隨事增上故曰增一 (although a variant reading changes ten to eleven), which, as mentioned in the previous note, appears to have been written based on the already existing translation of T 125 and must be referring to the original conception of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, not to the actual condition of T 125, which was of course known to the author(s) of T 1507, cf., e.g., T XXV 34b6: 誦增一, 正得十一事.

Buddha taking up an eleven-fold topic and then continue with his detailed explanation of this topic.[110] The fourth discourse among the Elevens in chapter 50 of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is the Mahādeva tale, which does not contain even a single occurrence of the number eleven. The same is the case for subsequent discourses in this chapter. In view of its detailed exposition of the seven treasures of a wheel-turning king, the Mahādeva tale could have naturally found a placing among the Sevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[111] Among the division of the Elevens, however, the Mahādeva tale is clearly a misfit.[112]

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[110] EĀ 50.1 at T II 806b13, EĀ 50.2 at T II 806b26 and EĀ 50.3 at T II 806c10 each begin by mentioning a set of eleven, followed by the inquiry what are these eleven, 云何(名)為十一, which then leads on to a detailed exposition. The fact that in this chapter only these three discourses match the category of Elevens has already been noted by Yinshun 1971/1988: 759, who points out that in the previous chapter only 49.1, 49.2, 49.3, 49.4, 49.6, 49.7 and 49.10 fit the same category.

[111] This is, in fact, the placing of another detailed exposition of the seven treasures of a wheel-turning king in EĀ 39.8 at T II 731c24.

[112] While not each and every discourse in the numerical collections clearly exhibits this pattern, cf. Allon 2001: 14f, the fact that such a misfit can be a sign of a problem in transmission can be illustrated with the example of the *Karajakāya-sutta*. The *Karajakāya-sutta* occurs among the Tens of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, AN 10.208 at AN V 299,11, but does not bear a relation to the number ten. Comparative study of this discourse in the light of its parallels makes it highly probable that at some point in its transmission the *Karajakāya-sutta* lost an exposition on the ten courses of action, which would have been the original reason for its inclusion among the Tens, cf. Anālayo 2009a, Martini 2012 and Dhammadinnā 2013. In the case of T 125, even discourses whose text can be found with very few differences in wording outside of the *Ekotta-rika-āgama* as an individual translation attributed to another translator have a placing in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that can be seen to conform to the basic

Another peculiarity in translation terminology further confirms the fact of a later addition. The Mahādeva discourse found among the Elevens begins with the phrase "at one time the Blessed One ...", rendered 一時婆伽婆, followed by indicating that "at that time the Blessed One ...", 爾時世尊.[113] The rendering of *bhagavant* as 婆伽婆 does not recur anywhere else in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,[114] nor is it found in the *Dīrgha-āgama* (T 1) or in the *Udānavarga* (T

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numerical principle: EĀ 30.3 at T II 660a1 (corresponding to T 128b at T II 837c12) is found among the Fours and at some point in its long exposition in-deed broaches a topic related to four, followed by a question as to what these four are, T II 665a16: 云何為四, and in reply to this question comes a short listing of the four. EĀ 48.3 at T II 787c2 (corresponding to T 453 at T XIV 421a6) is placed among the Tens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and has reference to ten perceptions, T II 789b5: 此十想者. On these two discourses cf. also Lévi and Chavannes 1916: 191 and 263 as well as the study of T 453 by Legittimo 2010b. Misfits in the case of T 125 would be, e.g., EĀ 50.7 at T II 812b16, EĀ 52.5 at T II 825c23 and EĀ 52.6 at T II 826a4, where in each case an announcement can be found that takes up a topic involving fives, yet these discourses are now found among the Elevens. Further research is required to ascertain if the inconsistent placing of these discourses is the result of a shift-ing of textual material away from its original location.

[113] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c21. The standard opening phrase of a discourse has been a matter of much discussion among scholars since Brough 1950: 416 suggested that the qualification "at one time" refers to the "thus have I heard" phrase and not to the Buddha being in a particular location "at one time", a suggestion that had already been made earlier by Staël-Holstein 1933: iv. For a survey of publications relevant to this topic cf. Bongard-Levin 1996: 90 note 1, recent contributions would be, e.g., Tatz 1997, Tola 1999, Klaus 2007, Sander 2007: 174–176, Nattier 2013 and Anālayo 2014.

[114] The expression 婆伽婆 occurs also in the 分別功德論, T 1507 at T XXV 35b16, explicitly introduced as an equivalent to 世尊; cf. also the comment above note 108 regarding a reference to the Mahādeva tale in T 1507.

212), translated by the same Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) who rendered the *Ekottarika-āgama* into Chinese. Instead, the peculiar opening of the discourse, with 一時婆伽婆 followed by subsequent occurrences of *bhagavant* rendered instead as 世尊, recurs in a group of *Madhyama-āgama* discourses now found individually in the Taishō edition, but which appear to have been translated by the same translator.[115] Notably, six discourses out of this group list the

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[115] Before turning to the relevant instances, I need to record my indebtedness to Jan Nattier for having drawn my attention to this pattern and for having already suggested, in an email dated 13 April 2010, that the occurrence of the expression 一時婆伽婆 could be a sign that the present discourse was absorbed into T 125 from another translation. Discourses that open with the 一時婆伽婆 phrase, followed by the alternative rendering of *bhagavant* as 世尊 throughout the rest of the discourse, are T 47 at T I 837a9, T 49 at T I 839a8, T 50 at T I 842b6, T 51 at T I 843c16, T 53 at T I 846c8, T 56 at T I 851a26, T 58 at T I 853c23, T 60 at T I 856a7, T 64 at T I 862b8, T 65 at T I 863b13 (adopting the variant reading 伽 instead of 加), T 66 at T I 864b5, T 70 at T I 875a14, T 73 at T I 879a11, T 75 at T I 882a23, T 77 at T I 886a28, T 79 at T I 888b18, T 82 at T I 901b26, T 83 at T I 902b7, T 90 at T I 913c7, T 91 at T I 915a7, T 94 at T I 917b16; while T 55 at T I 849b26 has the reading 一時婆迦婆, which is then also followed by 世尊 in the rest of the discourse. Thus this formula appears to be a common characteristic of the twenty-four discourses that according to the research by Hung, Bingenheimer and Wiles 2009/2010, based on indications by Mizuno, appear to be from the same translator, except for T 92 and T 93 (although the formulation 一時婆迦婆, found in T 55, recurs in T 89 at T I 913a20, which presumably does not belong to this group). T 92 and T 93 begin by indicating that the Buddha had passed away and thus naturally do not have a counterpart to the above phrase. The 一時婆伽婆 phrase also occurs in several *Saṃyukta-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses preserved as individual translations. However, in the case of one such instance, T 133 at T II 855c6: 一時婆伽婆, the *arhat* epithet of the Buddha is rendered in the alternative way, T 133 at T II 855c11: 至真, 等正覺. Thus T 133 does not con-

epithets of the Buddha and each of them precedes the qualification 等正覺 with the term 無所著,[116] the expression also used in the Mahādeva tale among the Elevens. In spite of these similarities, however, in other respects the translation terminology in the Mahādeva tale now found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* differs from this group of *Madhyama-āgama* discourses[117] thus for the time being the provenance of the second Mahādeva tale remains unclear.

What is indubitably clear, however, is that the phrase 一時婆伽婆 found in the introduction to the second Mahādeva tale further confirms that another translator must have been at work. The introduction and conclusions of a discourse are stereotyped to such a degree that it can safely be expected that the same way of rendering will be used consistently by someone engaged in the translation of a single work.

Besides the peculiar phrasing found at the beginning of the second Mahādeva tale, its conclusion also shows the signs of another translator being at work. The second Mahādeva tale concludes with the expression 佛說是已, which is then followed by reporting Ānanda's delight.[118] This phrase does not recur else-

cord with the way the *arhat* epithet of the Buddha is rendered in the individual *Madhyama-āgama* discourses listed in the note below and in EĀ 50.4.

[116] T 60 at T I 858a2, T 66 at T I 864c7, T 73 at T I 879c4, T 75 at T I 882b18, T 92 at T I 916b10 and T 93 at T I 917a21.

[117] Cf. Hung 2013.

[118] EĀ 50.4 at T II 810b18. I am indebted to Jen-jou Hung (洪振洲) for this finding. Since the first Mahādeva tale, EĀ 1, does not have a formal conclusion, I did not notice this feature of EĀ 50.4 when comparing the two versions. Thanks to the discussion in Hung 2013: 127–129, this additional

where in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which instead regularly uses the phrase 聞佛所說 to introduce the delight of those who have heard what the Buddha said. With this additional evidence, it is possible to come to a definite conclusion at this point: the second Mahādeva tale stems from the hand of another translator.

By way of winding up my comparative study of the two versions of the *Mahādeva* tale, it seems clear that these two discourses are based on different original narrations and have been rendered into Chinese by different translators. This in turn provides rather strong evidence for concluding that an already existing translation of the Mahādeva tale was incorporated among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* that was not part of the original text.[119]

The motif for such integration of the Mahādeva tale's depiction of an ideal Buddhist king from elsewhere into the *Ekottarika-āgama* could be related to political considerations, given that the history of Buddhism in China is one of a constant struggle for the emperor's recognition. The depiction of the ideal Buddhist ruler in the Mahādeva tale would have come in handy for propaganda purposes in such a setting, setting an example for how, from a

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feature of EĀ 50.4 has come to light, corroborating that a different translator must have been at work.

[119] My findings do not support the assessment of the *Ekottarika-āgama* by Legittimo 2010a: 153f as having been passed on faithfully without any change, "sans interpolations ou censures, et sans être soumis aux manipulations des idéologies changeantes des siècles suivants, le recueil a conservé fidèlement les données anciennes telles qu'elles furent transmises jusqu'au jour de sa traduction"; cf. also Legittimo 2010b: 256: "the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* collection remained unchanged since its translation at the end of the fourth century".

Buddhist perspective, an emperor should conduct himself.[120] In a paper dedicated to the Mahādeva tale found among the Elevens I have suggested that the original point of the depiction of the wheel-turning king in this tale was precisely not the providing of a model to be emulated.[121] Instead, in this discourse the wheel-turning king seems to function as a humorous persiflage of ancient Indian kingship. This persiflage in turn forms part of a soteriological project that replaces the acme of worldly kingship with the superior principle of renunciation, which in turn leads up to the Buddha's disclosure of the supreme path to liberation. Nevertheless, tradition soon took such tales as providing a model of the Dharmic king, a model that exerted considerable influence on notions of kingship in various Buddhist countries.

An employment of the Mahādeva tale in the ancient Chinese setting would be well in line with this tendency.[122] The wish to provide a depiction of an ideal Buddhist king could also explain a peculiar feature of the Mahādeva tale found among the Elevens. Unlike its parallel versions, this *Ekottarika-āgama* tale has narrative pieces that appear to stem from a different discourse that also

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[120] In a study of the writings of Xuanzang (玄奘) from the perspective of their intended impact on the emperor, Deeg 2009: 51 speaks of "the *speculum*-motive: the intention to hold a mirror in front of his ruler to show him how an ideal Buddhist kingdom looks like". Pāsādika 2010: 95 comments on a *jātaka* tale found in EĀ 52.9 at T II 829b11 (translated in Pāsādika 2007) that this narration appears to present a "subtle criticism, warning and simultaneously encouragement towards renewal discreetly addressed to those in power in early medieval China".

[121] Anālayo 2011: 59f.

[122] DuBois 2004: 539 speaks of "the participation of Chinese political actors in worship of Maitreya and reinterpretation of the cakravartin".

describes a wheel-turning king, found separately in the Dharma-guptaka, Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda traditions and known in Pali as the *Cakkavatti(sīhanāda)-sutta*.[123]

One of the pieces found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version of the Mahādeva tale as well as in the *Cakkavatti(sīhanāda)-sutta* and its parallels describes in detail the negative repercussions on the whole country that ensued when a king, on ascending the throne, did not follow the tradition of Dharmic kingship established by his predecessors. People became short lived, diseased and poor, poverty led to theft, which in turn led to a general increase in crime and a deterioration of living conditions.[124]

Such material would have made the Mahādeva tale a presentation of the wheel-turning king worthwhile to be included alongside other discourses that take up this motif in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, so as to provide a model of Buddhist kingship to the ancient Chinese audience.

In a study of models of Buddhist kingship in early medieval China, Palumbo (2012: 316) highlights in particular the penchant of the translator Zhu Fonian in this respect, noting that "it cannot be emphasized enough that Zhu Fonian's vision of a world ruled by Buddhist holy men, whom a devout monarch would reverence and the masses obey, was absolutely unprecedented in China".

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[123] B^e, C^e and S^e have the title *Cakkavatti-sutta*, whereas in E^e the title is *Cakka-vatti-sīhanāda-sutta.*

[124] This narration is found in EĀ 50.4 at T II 810a14, which has counterparts in DN 26 at DN III 65,15, DĀ 6 at T I 40b23 and MĀ 70 at T I 522a28 (a similar parallelism can be found between EĀ 50.4 at T II 808c13 and DN 26 at DN III 60,9, DĀ 6 at T I 39b24 and MĀ 70 at T I 520c14).

VI. The *Ekottarika-āgama* Translation

The original translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* appears to have been based on a text recited orally in 384 by Dharmanandin,[125] which was translated by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念).[126] While early Tripiṭaka catalogues such as T 2145 (出三藏記集) just report this translation,[127] about two hundred years after the original translation the catalogue T 2034 (歷代三寶紀), known for not always being reliable,[128] reports that Gautama Saṃghadeva – the translator of the extant *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26) – subsequently did a retranslation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[129] Such a retranslation is not mentioned in Saṃghadeva's biography in T 2059 (高僧傳), which only records his *Madhyama-āgama* translation.[130]

As already pointed out by other scholars, the relationship established in T 2034 between Saṃghadeva and the *Ekottarika-āgama* is rather doubtful.[131] The translation terminology used in the extant

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[125] Dao'an indicates that Dharmanandin was a reciter of two *āgama*s, T II 549a11: 誦二阿含, presumably the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* then translated by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念).

[126] The catalogue 出三藏記集, T 2145 at T LV 6a13, mentions a still earlier *Ekottarika* translation, which appears to be the collection now found at T 150A.

[127] T 2145 at T LV 71b29.

[128] Cf., e.g., Nattier 2008: 14f.

[129] T 2034 at T XLIX 70c12.

[130] T 2059 at T L 329a23.

[131] Cf., e.g., Matsumura 1989: 365 who, based on a detailed examination of this suggestion, concludes that "as far as the ... translation of the Ekottarika is con-

Madhyama-āgama (T 26) and in the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) is so different that it seems impossible that these two collections could stem from the same translator.[132] An alternative explanation would be that Saṃghadeva only revised the already translated *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125). Yet, even that is a not entirely straightforward, since by that time Dharmanandin had left China. Without access to the presumably orally recited original, it is not easy to see how Saṃghadeva could have carried out a revision of the text. The *Ekottarika-āgama* now found in the Taishō edition as entry no. 125 is substantially different from other *Ekottarika-āgama* collections known to us.[133] Thus a revision of this text would require familiarity with or access to the original used for translation, not just access to any other *Ekottarika-āgama*.

According to a recent contribution by Lin (2009), it may have been rather the original translator Zhu Fonian himself who did a revision. While I am not aware of information in the catalogues that would corroborate this suggestion, for the original translator it would be natural to do a revision of his own work, which, as mentioned earlier, had originally been carried out under difficult conditions.

According to the preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* by Dao'an (道安), the translation undertaken in 384 had four hundred and sev-

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cerned, it is very probable that its ascription to Saṅghadeva is ... [a] fabrication".

[132] Matsumura 1989: 364 notes that already Unebe in 1970 had observed that the translation terminology of T 125 indicates that this work was translated by Zhu Fonian, with which Matsumura 1989: 367 concords; for similar conclusions cf. also Legittimo 2005: 3 note 7, Anālayo 2006: 146 and Nattier 2007: 195 note 48; cf. also Park 2012: 203.

[133] Cf. also below note 144.

enty-two discourses in forty-one fascicles.[134] Dao'an's indications given at this point in his introduction were based on his own supervising of the copying of the original translation and were apparently made just before his passing away.[135] Thus his description is a first-hand eyewitness report and therefore different from indications made in catalogues compiled centuries later.[136] Now the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* indeed has four hundred and seventy-two discourses (not counting the introduction),[137] but these come in fifty-one fascicles. While some degree of variation in fascicles can result from a bare rewriting of the same text, such difference could also be a sign of a change of the original translation.

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[134] T II 549a15+26: 四十一卷 ... 四百七十二經.

[135] At T II 549a17 Dao'an mentions his own role in checking the translation. Matsumura 1989: 361 note 10 points out that "the fact that Dào-ān died in 384 proves that this introduction was written in the very year when [the] Ekottarika was translated. Therefore the information provided in this introduction is highly reliable".

[136] In fact even the 出三藏記集, T 2145 at T LV 10b21, in spite of being presumably based on Dao'an's no longer extant catalogue, gives a different fascicle count for the *Ekottarika-āgama* which is less than what Dao'an indicates in his introduction, speaking of only thirty-three fascicles, 增一阿鋡經三十三卷.

[137] T 125 has 52 chapters, of which the first corresponds to the introduction. 33 of the remaining chapters have the standard count of 10 discourses. The others are as follows: 3 discourses (chapters 7 and 30), 4 discourses (chapter 6), 5 discourses (chapters 5, 36 and 41), 6 discourses (chapter 48), 7 discourses (chapters 13, 28 and 45), 9 discourses (chapter 52), 11 discourses (chapters 17, 19, 31 and 44), 12 discourses (chapters 32 and 38) and 13 discourses (chapter 20). The count of discourses, without taking into account the introduction in chapter 1, is thus indeed 472.

The second of these two possibilities would find support in a discrepancy in relation to the summary verses, *uddāna*s.[138] According to Dao'an the first twenty-six fascicles of the *Ekottarika-āgama* carried *uddāna*s.[139] This does not fully correspond to the present situation, where what roughly corresponds to the first half of the *Ekottarika-āgama* does have *uddāna*s for the most part, but some are missing. Moreover, as also discussed by Su, references in other works to discourses presumably once found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* translated into Chinese can no longer be located in what we have now as entry no. 125 in the Taishō edition.[140]

Taken together, these discrepancies and the clear indications that emerge from a comparison of the two versions of the Mahādeva tale in the *Ekottarika-āgama* suggest that some sort of revision of the *Ekottarika-āgama* translation took place. Regarding a possible revision of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, it is significant what previous scholarship has to say about other works by the translator Zhu Fonian (竺佛念):

– Legittimo (2007) points out similarities between T 384 (菩薩從兜術天降神母胎說廣普經) attributed to Zhu Fonian and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, of which a version had already been trans-

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[138] Cf. Su 2013.

[139] T II 549a16: 上部二十六卷全無遺忘, which is followed by an indication that the *uddāna*s for the second half were lost, 下部十五卷失其錄偈也. Dao'an then continues by reporting that with his helpers he worked to restore what had been lost, which might imply that they restored some of the lost *uddāna*s, of whose important function Dao'an was apparently well aware, cf. T II 549a16. In fact, as shown by Su 2013, the second half of the *Ekottarika-āgama* does have some *uddāna*s, although considerably less than the first part.

[140] Cf. Su 2013.

lated previously (T 474).[141]

– Legittimo (2008) notes parallelism between the same T 384 and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, of which, too, a Chinese translation was already in existence (T 263).

– Pu (2008: 43f) notes parallelism between T 309 (最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經) attributed to Zhu Fonian and the previously translated T 630 (成具光明定意經).

– Nattier (2010) then takes up T 309 for a closer examination and points out several cases of parallelism with T 221 (放光般若經), with T 630 (成具光明定意經) and with T 403 (阿差末菩薩經), all translated prior to the translation of T 309.

Nattier (2010: 251) concludes that the case of T 309 shows that, instead of translating an Indic original, Zhu Fonian was "drawing substantial material from existing Chinese scriptures while at the same time reframing and rearranging it within a genuinely new composition".

Based on an examination of the biographical section on Zhu Fonian in the catalogue T 2145 (出三藏記集), Nattier (2010: 253) then distinguishes between two periods in Zhu Fonian's career. The first belongs to the final part of the fourth century, when he was working in close association with foreign monks. The second period lies mainly in the fifth century, when he worked predominantly on his own.

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[141] Legittimo 2007: 1082 notes that one such similarity, found between T 384 and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, also manifests in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 45.4 at T II 772b19. The passage in question provides a listing of five nutriments alternative to the standard listing of four nutriments found elsewhere in the early discourses. This alternative fivefold presentation reckons the eight liberations as a type of nutriment, 八解脫食.

According to her conclusions, works produced by Zhu Fonian on his own during this second period stand a chance of being the result of a more creative approach on his side, instead of constituting renderings of Indic originals.[142]

Regarding the fact that the number of discourses now found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* matches the indications given by Dao'an (道安), from the viewpoint of a reviser of the translation it would have made sense to keep an eye on maintaining a constant count of discourses during a process of textual revision that incorporates additional textual material, in order to avoid casting doubt on the authenticity of the material contained in the collection. Putting the repute of the collection unnecessarily in doubt by not ensuring some degree of correspondence with the known overall count of discourses would have resulted in the exact opposite of what a revision would have tried to accomplish: making sure the collection is considered sufficiently important and genuine even by those with stringent attitudes to canonicity, so that it is perceived as worth the effort of being passed on to future generations.

Maintaining the same discourse count could have been accomplished if the Mahādeva tale replaced a short discourse found among the Elevens, similar to those three that stand at the beginning of chapter 50 in which the Mahādeva tale is found as fourth.[143] As a

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[142] Future research on works attributed to Zhu Fonian during this second period of his activities might also benefit from the observations in Silk 2006: 49.

[143] Regarding the possibility that some discourses were replaced by new material it is perhaps significant that the survey in Akanuma 1929/1990: 120–156 indicates that the *Ekottarika-āgama* has a considerably lower percentage of parallels in the corresponding Pali *nikāya* than the other *āgama*s preserved in Chinese translation; cf. also Lü 1963: 244, who observes that "of its 472 sūtras, only 135, that is less than one third of its contents, agree with the *Aṅguttara*

result of changes of this type, the *Ekottarika-āgama* would indeed become more voluminous than it had been before, without this affecting the count of discourses. Changes of this type would also naturally lead to a loss of some *uddānas*, namely whenever a discourse that is immediately followed by an *uddāna* is being replaced by another discourse without an *uddāna*. This would also explain the discrepancy between *Ekottarika-āgama* quotes in T 2121 (經律異相) and the actual discourses now found in the extant Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, in that T 2121 may well be quoting from the original *Ekottarika-āgama* translation, before its revision.[144]

Alternatively, however, it could also be that at times two discourses were merged into one. This would then make space for the addition of the Mahādeva tale or other new material while keeping the discourse count constant. There is in fact some evidence for the occurrence of such a merger elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[145]

Nikāya". This stands in contrast to *Ekottarika-āgama* Sanskrit fragments, where the survey in Tripāṭhī 1995: 31 shows considerable parallelism with the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. The same is also the case for the partial *Ekottarika-āgama*, T 150A, where Harrison 1997: 276 in his detailed study concludes that of the forty-four discourses found in this collection "36 have close parallels in the Pali *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, while five have parallels in the complete Chinese translation of the *Ekottarikāgama*, the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T 125)". The fact that T 125 differs so much from other *āgama*s and *nikāya*s could be the result of a process of revision during which some of its original discourses were lost.

[144] Cf. Su 2013.

[145] A tendency in the *Ekottarika-āgama* to merge discourses has already been noticed by Lamotte 1967. In Anālayo 2008: 9f, I drew attention to three cases where a single *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse corresponds to two discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Madhyama-āgama*; a more detailed study of such cases is at present under preparation.

Besides providing information on the size and discourse count of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, by the very fact of its existence the preface by Dao'an also provides a clue as to why someone might wish to add material to an existing collection that has already been accepted as canonical. As pointed out by Lancaster (1999: 537f), the emphasis at that time in China on translating canonical material of Indian origins had the following result:[146]

[It] helped to create the situation where contemporary Buddhist works of China were denied an avenue for distribution. Unless a Buddhist document was a translation from the Indic ... [it] would not be included in the collection that was copied and spread from place to place. With this restriction on inclusion, works written in China were neglected. Even the great sage Daoan 道安 found it necessary to append his writings as prefaces to the *jing* [i.e., the canonical scripture, such as the *Ekottarika-āgama*]. In that way, his work would be copied when the *jing* was reproduced; otherwise, there was no way to publish. In this situation, it is not surprising to find a large number of pseudographs, Chinese works claiming to be translations from Sanskrit.

The danger of already accomplished work getting lost would have become particularly clear by the beginning of the fifth century, when besides Zhu Fonian's translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, based on Dharmanandin's original, another *Madhyama-āgama* translation carried out in 398 by Saṃghadeva had come into circulation, as a result of which Zhu Fonian's *Madhyama-āgama* trans-

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[146] On the related problem of explanations given during translation that then become part of the translated text cf. Funayama 2006.

lation seems to have lost favour and eventually disappeared.[147] The biographical account of Saṃghadeva in T 2059 (高僧傳) makes a point of indicating that the translation of the two *āgama*s transmitted by Dharmanandin (and translated by Zhu Fonian) had not been executed well.[148] If by the beginning of the fifth century the bad repute of Zhu Fonian's two *āgama* translations and in particular the loss of popularity of his *Madhyama-āgama* translation were in the air, it would have been quite natural for him to undertake a revision of his *Ekottarika-āgama* translation in order to try to ensure that at least this work would be considered worth passing on by future generations, instead of being also replaced by some other translation. Further research into Zhu Fonian's translation corpus is required in order to ascertain if the hypothesis by Lin (2009) explains the present condition of T 125.

Be that as it may, regarding a somewhat creative attitude that may have informed such a revision, the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* furnishes another significant indication. The text provides an instruction that, in case the name of a particular location where a discourse took place has been forgotten, one should simply supply the name of any of the well-known cities where the Buddha usually dwelled.[149] A similar instruction is also found in what ap-

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[147] Judging from T 2147 at T LV 178b20 and T 2148 at T LV 216a15, the *Madhyama-āgama* translation by Zhu Fonian (referred to as a translation by Dharmanandin) was lost by the time of the early seventh century. This in turn also meant that Dao'an's preface to the *Madhyama-āgama*, to which he alludes at T II 549a5, was lost. Thus, even appending one's writings to a canonical text did not always ensure that these were transmitted to future generations.

[148] T 2059 at T L 328c28.

[149] EĀ 1 at T II 550b13.

pears to be a commentary on the already completed *Ekottarika-āgama* translation, T 1507 (分別功德論).[150] The *Ekottarika-āgama* and its commentary T 1507 might be the first instances of such an instruction coming to the knowledge of the Chinese readership, as similar indications made in the Mahāsāṅghika and Mūlasarvāsti-vāda *Vinaya*s were only translated at a later time into Chinese.[151]

Now, independent of whether this indication was part of the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* from the outset or was added to it based on an extract from some other source, the original point of this instruction needs to be understood in the light of what appears to be a general lack of interest in ancient India for historical details.[152] In other words, in an ancient Indian setting the suggestion to supplement any location freely would have been understood to be simply an expression of the relative unimportance of locations and other such narrative details.

However, when considered from an ancient Chinese viewpoint this instruction acquires quite a different significance, given the concern of the Chinese with historical record keeping. In an an-

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[150] T 1507 at T XXV 33b19; on the nature of this work cf. above note 108.

[151] T 1425 at T XXII 497a6 and T 1451 at T XXIV 328c15 and T XXIV 575b29; cf. also Schopen 1997/2004: 395–407.

[152] Coward 1986: 305 explains that "the early Buddhists shared ... the Indian in-difference to historical details. Historical events surrounding a text are judged to be unimportant". According to Pollock 1989: 610, behind the ancient Indian attitude towards historical details stands "a model of 'truth' that accorded history no epistemological value or social significance". Gokhale 1994/2001: 1 adds that according to tradition "the Buddha does not indulge in 'low' talk (*tiracchānakathā* ...) ... [such as] tales of kings and their high ministers, armies and wars ... now precisely these are the stuff out of which the chronicles of history are made".

cient Chinese setting the implications would be that, according to the text itself, even such a crucially important indication as the location where something took place can be freely supplemented. In the case of a translator who may already have a tendency toward a more creative rendition, it seems not too farfetched to assume that he might feel some addenda to improve on the same text would be quite in line with 'the Buddha's intention'.

In the case of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, then, such an interpretation of this instruction would find further encouragement in the nature of the collection itself, which is an anthology of various texts that often bear little relation to each other. This is the case with the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* to a greater extent than with other *Āgama*s and *Nikāya*s, where often a stronger sense of thematic cohesion makes itself felt.[153]

Thus the historical setting and the nature of the collection would explain why, as clearly shown by a close study of the two versions of the Mahādeva tale, a substantially long text was added in China as a discourse to the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.

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[153] Legittimo 2012: 350 observes that "due to its numerical scheme ... the *Ekotta-rika-āgama* shows a particular propensity ... to incorporate new material".

Abbreviations

AN	*Aṅguttara-nikāya*
B^e	Burmese edition
Bv	*Buddhavaṃsa*
C^e	Ceylonese edition
D	Derge edition
DĀ	*Dirgha-āgama*
Dhp-a	*Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*
DN	*Dīgha-nikāya*
E^e	Pali Text Society edition
EĀ	*Ekottarika-āgama*
Jā	*Jātaka*
MĀ	*Madhyama-āgama*
MN	*Majjhima-nikāya*
Mp	*Manorathapūraṇī*
Q	*Qianlong* (Peking) edition
S^e	Siamese edition
SĀ	*Saṃyukta-āgama*
Sv	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)
Vin	*Vinayapiṭaka*

(Unless otherwise indicated, references to Pali texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society.)

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