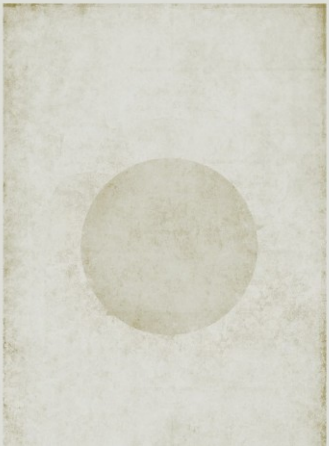
Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts
Research Series 6

Dīrgha-āgama Studies

Anālayo



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Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (DILA) Series

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Foreword

The last decade has seen an impressive increase in comparative *Āgama* studies. Such a development is not monocausal; quite the contrary, there are a number of reasons that contribute to this renewed interest. The most important one appears to be the ongoing digitization of the source material. We owe it to the digital age that texts in very different languages and equally different scripts appear rather effortlessly on the very same screen in front of the scholar. Reassuringly, the scholar is still necessary, and in fact he or she is as indispensable a prerequisite as the source material. It is still the scholar who has to make sense of the texts and to arrange them in a way that allows meaningful comparison, and in fact it is difficult to imagine that this kind of work could ever be coped with by a machine. Yet, looking back on the digital development of the last twenty years, nothing seems inconceivable. At present, however, comparison still requires a distinct competence in the languages and the scripts referred to above, and, despite the general upsurge Buddhist Studies has witnessed over the last decades, this requirement naturally narrows down the number of scholars who are in a position to carry out such comparative research.

During the last years Bhikkhu Anālayo has established himself as one of the leading academics within this field of research, and he has probably become its most prolific author. Usually starting from the Pāli version of a canonical discourse, he compares it with its counterpart(s) preserved as translations in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, but he also draws freely on translations into Tibetan and, especially, on Sanskrit parallels whenever available. His studies have led him to engage with questions that go far beyond the mere

comparison of related versions of a text, most notably the questions of orality, historicity, and structure.

His publications on texts of the *Majjhima-nikāya*/*Madhyama-āgama*, the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*/*Saṃyukta-āgama*, and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*/*Ekottarika-āgama* have already been collected into impressive volumes; the purpose of the present volume is to do the same with regard to the discourses contained in the "Long Collection" or, perhaps better, the "Collection of the Long (Discourses of the Buddha)", the *Dīgha-nikaya*/*Dīrgha-āgama*. This part of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* offers an exceptional case to scholarship in that there are at least three different versions preserved, and not only two, as is normally the case. Two of these three, or even four, versions, the Pāli *Dīgha-nikāya* and the 長阿含 *Cháng āhán*, the "Long Collection" contained in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, are complete. The third, the *Dīrgha-āgama* in Sanskrit, belongs to the literature of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins; only about fifty per cent is available, mostly represented by the remains of a single manuscript that probably stems from the area of Gilgit in Northern Pakistan, and, to a much lesser degree, by its counterpart preserved in manuscript fragments from Central Asia. Despite the rather unsatisfactory state of preservation, the contents and structure of this *Dīrgha-āgama* are fully known and therefore available to comparative research.

Only recently the closer study of a fragment from a version of the *Daśottara-sūtra*, contained in the Schøyen Collection in Norway, revealed a rather surprising result: the fragment preserves part of the final phrases of the *sūtra* and ends with a colophon naming the title of the text and, most likely, its numerical position within the manuscript or within a collection. The number given is *daśama*, "tenth", and this would link the text quite naturally to the version in the 長阿含 *Cháng āhán* where the *Daśottara-sūtra* is arranged as the tenth text. Nevertheless, it is written in Sanskrit

and employs phrases well-known from the diction of the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivādins, and this would link it rather to the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*. However, it corresponds neither to the known Sanskrit version nor to the version in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*. The Schøyen Collection contains at least one more nearly complete folio, also of a *Daśottara-sūtra*, but from another manuscript, and this text shows equally significant deviations from the three known versions with regard to the order of groups and to characteristic phrases. The evidence is puzzling in various ways, and at present it is probably premature to draw far-reaching conclusions from those observations, but the most natural explanation would seem to presume a first and unexpected glimpse into the remains of another, a fourth and so far unknown, version of the "Long Collection".

Whatever results the final assessment of those folios will yield, it is obvious that they are very welcome from a comparative point of view. Such a perspective appears to be the most promising, if not the only, means for an attempt at disentangling the extremely complex and so far hardly understood history of the genesis and development of Buddhist canonical literature. Although we will never be able to reconstruct with any degree of certainty the processes during the early period of oral transmission, the written testimonies provide insights at least into the later phases. On the Indian subcontinent this begins with the Gāndhārī fragments in the first centuries of the Common Era, and it ends with the manuscripts from Gilgit and Bamiyan in the eighth or ninth century, if we disregard a collection like the *Mahāvastu* that also contains texts from the *Sūtrapiṭaka* and belongs to the literature of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, preserved in still younger manuscripts in Nepal.

In the present volume, the *Dīgha-nikāya* serves as the starting point and the structuring principle. This is a reasonable decision, since the *Dīgha-nikāya* contains the only complete version of the

"Long Collection" in an Indian language, and it has been perfectly accessible both in its original and in many translations ever since its first edition by the Pali Text Society, published between 1890 and 1911. At the same time, this decision reveals one of the basic problems of every comparative look at a single *Āgama*: sometimes the compilers of the various versions of an *Āgama* or *Nikāya* opted differently when it came to the inclusion or exclusion of a certain text. Apparently the length of a discourse had a bearing on its inclusion in the *Dīgha-nikāya*/*Dīrgha-āgama* or, respectively, the *Majjhima-nikāya*/*Madhyama-āgama*, but the length of a particular text was evidently not an attribute fixed at a very early time or unanimously agreed upon by all compilers. This is best illustrated here by the cases of the *Sakkhapañha-sutta* (DN 21; chapters 9 and 10) and the *Cakkavatti-sutta* (DN 26; chapter 13): while the compilers of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the closely related 長阿含 *Cháng āhán* decided to include these two discourses in the "Long Collection", the editors of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda canon saw reasons and criteria for arranging them in their *Madhyama-āgama*. These criteria are still unknown to us, but it is precisely the task of comparative studies to collect, compare, and analyse such phenomena in order to advance our very limited understanding of the underlying editorial processes.

The comparison of different written versions of a text sheds light not only on the work of the ancient editors. Sometimes it opens a small window into the history of Buddhist thought and, of particular interest here, into the preceding period of an exclusively oral transmission. In several contributions Bhikkhu Anālayo attempts to take a fresh look through that window and deals with questions of orality. Some of his conclusions will perhaps be considered bold by others, but they always advance the field and, no less important, they are always grounded in a meticulous presentation of all the relevant material. He never hesitates to translate a

difficult text, and many readers will be especially grateful for his extensive translations from the Chinese that render these primary sources accessible to them. Anālayo often begins with the Pāli or with the Chinese version of a text for the simple reason that they are complete and do not involve all the additional problems one has to face when dealing with, e.g., some small fragments representing all that is left of a long Sanskrit *sūtra*. He leaves no doubt, however, that methodological considerations require one to proceed beyond these complete versions, and especially beyond the time-honoured Pāli texts, when studying early Buddhist thought and history. The papers collected here convincingly testify to this approach and its results. Further studies, and not only of the discourses arranged in the "Long Collection", will take this book as a stimulus and as an example.

Jens-Uwe Hartmann
6 October, 2016

Introduction

The *Dīrgha-āgama* preserved in Chinese is the first of the four Chinese *Āgama*s in the Taishō edition,[1] just as its Pāli counterpart, the *Dīgha-nikāya*, is the first discourse collection in the Pāli canon. Although the present book with collected papers on the *Dīrgha-āgama* is the last of four such publications in terms of date of appearance, I expect and in fact would recommend that the present collection be the first taken up by the interested reader, to be followed by my *Madhyama-āgama* studies (2012f), *Saṃyukta-āgama* studies (2015j), and *Ekottarika-āgama* studies (2016b).

By way of introduction to all four volumes, in what follows I briefly survey the four main Chinese *Āgama*s.[2] In the first of the chapters that follow this introduction, I try to place the early discourses in historical perspective. An assessment of their value as testimonies for early Buddhist thought serves as a foundation for the comparative studies found in this and the other three volumes.

The *Dīrgha-āgama*

According to the information at our disposal, the *Dīrgha-āgama* extant in the Taishō edition as entry 1 was translated into Chinese in the year 413 of the present era by Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念), based on an original recited by Buddhayaśas that appears to have been

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[1] Zacchetti 2016: 83 comments that the expression "the 'Chinese *Āgama*s' is a designation perhaps more appropriate than generally conceded, for in a sense they are, as a group, an entirely Chinese invention. This is a particularly telling example of the active transformative power generated by the Chinese canon."

[2] What follows is based on extracts from Anālayo 2009n, 2009o, 2014h, and 2015a. In a later chapter I come back to the significance of the term *āgama* (as well as of the term *aṅga*) in relation to the formation of the textual collections of the early discourses; cf. below p. 449ff.

in a Prakrit and with high probability stems from a Dharmaguptaka line of transmission.[3] Besides its Pāli parallel in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, large parts of a Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda collection of long discourses are extant in the form of Sanskrit fragments.[4]

Regarding the different Buddhist schools that transmitted these *āgama*s or *nikāya*s, it might be opportune to note that each of these discourse collections is not so much the product of a school, but rather the final result of oral transmission over long periods of time by successive generations of Indian reciters, of which only the last generations could be considered members of a particular school. Although school affiliation is certainly a relevant aspect to be taken into consideration, the vicissitudes of oral transmission have affected these discourses right from the time they came into existence, not only since they were transmitted by reciters who

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[3] On the school affiliation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* collection preserved in Chinese translation as Taishō no. 1 cf., e.g., Przyluski 1926: 355, Lamotte 1949/1981: 811 note 1, Demiéville 1951: 252f, Brough 1962/2001: 50, Lü 1963: 242, de Jong 1962/1979: 290 note 7, Bareau 1966, Waldschmidt 1980: 136, Mayeda 1985: 97, Enomoto 1986: 25, Hirakawa 1987: 513, Schmithausen 1987: 318, Oberlies 2003: 44, Salomon 2007: 354 note 14, and Willemen 2008: 60.

[4] Surveys of this collection have been provided by Hartmann 2000, 2002, and 2004, and Hartmann and Wille 2014. Editions of discourses from this collection, listed in the order of their canonical placing, are: *Govinda-sūtra* (14th): Sadakata 1999 and 2006, *Prāsādika-sūtra* (15th): DiSimone 2016, *Prasādanīya-sūtra* (16th): DiSimone 2016, *Kāyabhāvanā-sūtra* (20th): Liu 2010, *Bodha-sūtra* (21st): Hartmann 2004 and Silverlock 2009, *Śaṃkara-sūtra* (22nd): Zhang 2004, *Āṭānāta-sūtra* (23rd): Sander 2007 and Dietz 2011, *Tridaṇḍi-sūtra* (25th): Matsuda 2006 and Choi 2015, *Piṅgalātreya-sūtra* (26th): Matsuda 2006 and Peipina 2008, *Lohitya-sūtra I* (27th): Choi 2015, *Lohitya-sūtra II* (28th): Choi 2015, *Kairvarti-sūtra* (29th): Zhou 2008, *Kūṭatāṇḍya-sūtra* (34th): von Criegern 2002, *Ambaṣṭha-sūtra* (35th): Melzer 2006, *Pṛṣṭhapāla-sūtra* (36th): Melzer 2006 and Stuart 2013, *Kāraṇavādi-sūtra* (37th): Melzer 2006, *Pudgala-sūtra* (38th): Melzer 2006, *Śruta-sūtra* (39th): Melzer 2006, *Mahalla-sūtra* (40th): Melzer 2006, and *Anyatama-sūtra* (41st): Melzer 2006. For a survey of work in progress cf. Hartmann and Wille 2014: 142f.

considered themselves to be members of one or another of the Buddhist schools. In other words, variations between parallel versions need not invariably be the result of sectarian agendas.

Besides the three complete *Dīgha-nikāya*/*Dīrgha-āgama* collections, individual long discourses are also preserved in Chinese translation (T 2 to T 25), in Indic language fragments that do not belong to the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda collection mentioned above, as well as in Tibetan translation.

The distribution of discourses among the different *āgama*s/*nikāya*s according to principles such as length for the purpose of facilitating their memorization has provided reciters of a particular collection with a somewhat specific coverage of topics.

Such specific coverage appears to be recognized in an explanation given in the Sarvāstivāda **Vinayavibhāṣā* that relates the long discourses collected in the *Dīrgha-āgama* especially to the refutation of heterodox philosophies.[5] This seems to hold also for the *Dīgha-nikāya*, where the Buddha's ability to convert outsiders and to stand his ground successfully in debate is a prominent theme, together with the inspiration to be gained from the Buddha's exceptional nature and qualities. As debates and eulogies can easily become prolonged, it would only be natural for a collection of long discourses to contain much material of this type.

The exceptional nature of the Buddha as an important topic in the *Dīgha-nikāya* seems to be also reflected in the Pāli commentarial tradition, according to which the transmission of this collection was taken up by the disciples of the Buddha's attendant Ānanda.[6] In early Buddhist texts, Ānanda stands representative of a deeply devoted attitude towards the Buddha. From the viewpoint of the commentarial tradition, his personal inclinations (which

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[5] T 1440 at T XXIII 504a1; cf. also below p. 339f note 31.

[6] Sv I 15,2.

would presumably have attracted similarly inclined disciples) fit this particular discourse collection. In other words, the collection of long discourses would have a particular appeal for disciples who feel strong devotion towards the Buddha as their teacher, as well as for disciples who are engaged in winning converts to the tradition and disciples who have to defend Buddhist doctrine against other philosophies and beliefs.

The *Madhyama-āgama*

The *Madhyama-āgama* extant in the Taishō edition as entry 26 appears to have been translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva based on an original that would have been from a Sarvāstivāda line of transmission.[7] In addition, middle-length discourses are preserved individually in Chinese translation (T 27 to T 98), a number of *Madhyama-āgama* discourses are extant in Indic language fragments, and some exist also in Tibetan translation.

The Pāli *Majjhima-nikāya* is fairly consistent in adopting a pattern of ten discourses per chapter, the sole exception being its penultimate chapter with twelve discourses. The count of discourses per chapter in the *Madhyama-āgama* shows greater diversity. Although a grouping of ten is the most common count, the eleventh chapter, for example, entitled the "Great Chapter", has twenty-five discourses. The sequences of the discourses in the two collections have little in common.

Differences in distribution of discourses over the *āgama*s/*nikāya*s appear to be the result of an ongoing process of shifts in location. Apparently even whole groups of discourses were moved

[7] The general consensus among scholars on the school affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* has recently been called into question by Chung and Fukita 2011: 13–34, as well as Chung 2014 and 2017 (cf. also Fukita 2017); for critical replies cf. Anālayo 2012f: 516–521 and 2017c. On the underlying language cf. Karashima 2017.

from one collection to another.[8] This seems to have happened in the case of the first chapter in the *Madhyama-āgama*, for example, where all of the ten discourses revolve around the number seven. Most of the discourses in this chapter have their counterparts among the Sevens of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. This gives the impression that these discourses could originally have been assembled as part of a numerical collection of Sevens and were then subsequently inserted at the beginning of the *Madhyama-āgama*.

A similar process appears to have happened in the case of the *Majjhima-nikāya* in relation to its last chapter, which combines discourses that in one way or another deal with the topic of the six senses. Parallels to these discourses are found in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* which, like its Pāli counterpart, the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, has an entire section dedicated to the six senses. In this case it seems that ten discourses originally formed a group in a topic-wise collection and subsequently made their way into the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

The rationale behind such moves would be to ensure each collection had a good coverage of various aspects of the teachings and thereby counter the somewhat mechanical allocation to collections according to principles like length of a discourse. The attempt to improve the coverage of a particular collection would have led some reciters to want to incorporate material from other collections which they considered important. The same would also explain the not infrequent doubling of discourses, where the same text appears in whole or in part in more than one collection.

Regarding the somewhat different emphases in the long and middle-length discourse collections, according to the Sarvāstivāda **Vinayavibhāṣā* the *Madhyama-āgama* presents profound doctrines for an intelligent audience.[9] The Pāli commentarial tradition

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[8] Cf. Bucknell 2014 and 2017.

[9] T 1440 at T XXIII 503c28.

associates the transmission of the *Majjhima-nikāya* with the disciples of Sāriputta, who in the tradition represents the quality of wisdom par excellence.[10] The perspectives provided by these two works agree in indicating that the middle-length collections would be of particular relevance for disciples who intend to deepen their understanding of the teachings in order to develop their wisdom.

The *Saṃyukta-āgama*

Three *Saṃyukta-āgama* collections are extant in Chinese. The first and fairly complete collection now found in the Taishō edition as entry number 99 was based on a Sanskrit original recited by Guṇabhadra and translated by Bǎoyún (寶雲), probably reflecting an original that stemmed from a Mūlasarvāstivāda line of transmission. The manuscript of this discourse collection was apparently acquired in Sri Lanka by the Chinese pilgrim Fǎxiǎn (法顯),[11] who stayed at the Abhayagiri monastery.

A partially preserved Chinese translation of a *Saṃyukta-āgama* collection of uncertain school and translator can be found as entry number 100 in the Taishō edition,[12] followed by another short *Saṃyukta-āgama* fragment as entry number 101,[13] and by several individually translated *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourses (T 102 to T 124). Besides Indic language fragments, a considerable number of *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallels are extant in Tibetan translation. These appear for the most part in Śamathadeva's *Upāyikāṭikā* on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[14]

The circumstance that the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and the *Saṃyukta-āgama* are arranged according to topics makes it natural that a con-

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[10] Sv I 15,5.
[11] Glass 2010: 200.
[12] Cf. the study by Bingenheimer 2011.
[13] Cf. the study by Harrison 2002.
[14] Cf. the studies by Dhammadinnā 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, and 2016b.

siderable number of their discourses deal with doctrinal themes like dependent arising, the aggregates, the senses, and aspects of the path. In this way, the two collections provide a range of closely related spotlights following each other in immediate succession on central themes of early Buddhist philosophy and practice. The collection of connected discourses would thus have been of special interest for disciples wishing to develop a comprehensive understanding of specific aspects of the teachings.

The Sarvāstivāda **Vinayavibhāṣā* indicates that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* is particularly appropriate for providing topics for meditation.[15] The Pāli commentarial tradition associates the transmission of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* with the disciples of Mahākassapa,[16] who in the tradition exemplifies the austere forest monk given to ascetic practices, which in turn are often seen as related to intensive meditation. These two works seem to agree in considering the collection arranged topic-wise as providing teachings suitable for meditative reflection, ideally undertaken in seclusion.

The complete *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99) comes in fifty fascicles, of which only forty-eight correspond to the original text. Owing to a misplacing of fascicles at some time in the past, the order of the collection fell into disarray and two fascicles that do not belong to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* have been accidentally included.[17]

The reconstructed *Saṃyukta-āgama* follows the same basic fivefold division as the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. A difference is that the reconstructed *Saṃyukta-āgama* has a chapter of sayings by disciples, and a chapter with sayings by the Buddha or Tathāgata. More than two thirds of the discourses in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* have parallels in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.

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[15] T 1440 at T XXIII 503c29.
[16] Sv I 15,8.
[17] Anesaki 1908: 70–74.

The *Ekottarika-āgama*

A collection of numerical discourses was translated into Chinese by Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念) in the year 384 of the present era. The school affiliation of this *Ekottarika-āgama* has been a subject of ongoing discussion among scholars. A Mahāsāṅghika affiliation of the Indic original seems to be the most probable hypothesis, although for the time being it is probably best to consider as uncertain the provenance of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the form in which it is now extant as entry 125 in the Taishō edition.[18]

The Chinese canon has also preserved a partial *Ekottarika-āgama* translation by Ān Shìgāo 安世高 (T 150a),[19] as well as individually translated discourses (T 127 to T 149). Parts of a collection of numerical discourses are extant in Sanskrit,[20] besides other fragmentary parallels and a few counterparts in Tibetan translation.

The basic principle adopted in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* groups together discourses that are in some way related to a particular number. The numbers taken into consideration proceed one by one, which would have earned the collections their title, beginning with the Ones and coming to a conclusion with the Elevens. Not all numerical topics are necessarily covered, since items like the 'four' noble truths or the 'eight'-fold noble path have found inclusion in the topic-wise arrangement in the *saṃyukta* collections instead.[21] The division between the *saṃyukta* and *ekottarika* collections is not always clear-cut and at times items are present in both collections.

As a result of the inclusion of discourses with an emphasis on doctrinal matters in the topic-wise arrangement in the *saṃyukta*

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[18] Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2016b: 173–178 and 211–214.

[19] Cf. the study by Harrison 1997.

[20] Edited by Tripāṭhī 1995.

[21] The eightfold path does, however, appear as part of the tenfold path among the Tens, AN 11.113 at AN V 223,3.

collections, the discourses left for assignment according to the numerical principle tend to cover more practical matters and everyday issues, which makes the numerical collection particularly suited to the concerns of the laity, although the collection also has several passages that are related to monastic discipline. The spiritual and mundane needs of the laity are in fact taken into account in a number of early discourses in the *āgama*s/*nikāya*s, clearly indicating that early Buddhist texts are not solely concerned with teaching monastics. A listing of disciples outstanding for particular qualities in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, for example, covers not only monks and nuns, but also male and female lay disciples.[22]

An emphasis on practical teachings appears to be also reflected in the indication given in the Sarvāstivāda **Vinayavibhāṣā* that various teachings for gods and men are assembled in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[23] The Pāli commentarial tradition attributes the transmission of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* to the disciples of Anuruddha,[24] who was famous for his exercise of a supernatural ability called the divine eye. According to tradition, with the help of the divine eye a practitioner is able to see events far away and in various heavenly spheres, which would presumably have furnished Anuruddha with the kind of information relevant to the concerns of gods and men.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* extant in Chinese appears to have remained open to later influences for a considerably longer time than the other *Āgama*s; in fact a whole discourse appears to have been added and others seem to have been reworked after the collection had reached China.[25]

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[22] Cf. AN 1.14.6 to 1.14.7 at AN I 25,32 and EĀ 6.1 to 7.3 at T II 559c9.
[23] T 1440 at T XXIII 503c27.
[24] Sv I 15,10.
[25] Cf. Anālayo 2013h, 2014/2015, and 2015g.

Contents

The studies in the chapters that follow are revised versions of previously published articles.[26] The majority of these studies relate to a *Dīrgha-āgama* discourse, which is translated either in part or full, followed by an examination of aspects that I felt to be of further interest.

In the first chapter I begin by exploring the historical value of the Pāli discourses, and by implication of their *Āgama* parallels. In the next four chapters I take up various aspects related to the *Brahmajāla-sutta* (DN 1) and its *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel. Several of these aspects are of general significance for an appreciation of the early discourses, such as oral features discussed in the first two chapters and the nature of the Tathāgata taken up in the third. In the fourth chapter I turn to the *Brahmajāla*'s analysis of the view-forming process.

The sixth chapter presents a translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel to the *Tevijja-sutta* (DN 13) and a study of its significance. The next two chapters are based on two extracts from the *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel to the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (DN 16), based on which I explore the nature of healing in early Buddhist thought and the account of the Buddha's meditative passing away.

An extract from the *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel to the *Sakkapañha-sutta* (DN 21) forms the starting point for a discussion over two chapters of miraculous feats, in particular fire miracles attributed to the Buddha and descriptions of levitation.

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[26] A translation and study not included in the present selection is Anālayo 2016d, which instead has been included in Anālayo 2017b. In relation to the translations found in this and other publications of mine, I would like to mention that I am not a trained Sinologist, wherefore the contribution I am able to make lies predominantly in the study parts and in attempting to understand the development of early Indian Buddhism, for which the translations are meant as a support.

A translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel to the *Pāyāsi-sutta* (DN 23) can be found in the next two chapters, together with a study of its debate character. Then I translate the *Dīrgha-āgama* version of the Discourse on the Wheel-turning King (DN 26) and examine its prediction of the future Buddha Maitreya.

The next two chapters offer translations and studies of two *Dīrgha-āgama* discourses that do not have a Pāli parallel, but which belong to the same genre of listings of doctrinal terms as the *Saṅgīti-sutta* and the *Dasuttara-sutta*.

Complementing the study of orality in the first chapters of this collection, the final three chapters take up aspects of the Pāli oral transmission. These are the significance of the *aṅga*s, oral features of the Pāli discourses, and the potential of comparative study for improving our understanding of the Pāli discourses, exemplified by cases taken from the *Madhyama-āgama*. The last of these thereby serves as a lead-over to my *Madhyama-āgama* studies.[27]

Conventions

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

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[27] Anālayo 2012f.

In the notes to the translations, I discuss selected differences in relation to the Pāli and other parallels. Abbreviations in the translation are usually found as such in the Chinese original. These are reproduced with an ellipsis. Instructions in the original that indicate the need to recite the elided text are given in italics.

In the translations, I use square brackets [ ] to indicate supplementation and angle brackets 〈 〉 to mark emendation. In order to facilitate cross-referencing, I use square brackets in subscript to provide the pagination of the original Chinese text on which the translation is based and the pagination of the original paper, as well as superscript for its footnote or endnote numbering, whenever these differ from the present annotation.[28] When quoting text editions, I have occasionally standardized or adjusted the punctuation.

Translation Terminology

When translating *Dīrgha-āgama* discourses, I have attempted to stay close to the terminology adopted by Bhikkhu Bodhi in his renderings of the Pāli equivalents, to facilitate comparison. In the case of 苦, equivalent to *dukkha*, however, I simply keep the Pāli term, which at times does stand for outright "pain", but on many an occasion refers to "unsatisfactoriness", where translations like "suffering" or "pain" fail to convey adequately the sense of the passage in question. The standard rendering of *bhagavant* in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is 世尊, literally "World Honoured One", in which case I follow Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation of the corresponding Pāli term and adopt the rendering "Blessed One". For 慈 I use the Pāli equivalent *mettā*, and for 漏, corresponding to *āsava*, I employ the rendering "influx".[29]

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

[29] For a more detailed discussion of the term *āsava* cf. Anālayo 2012g: 80–82.

Table 1: Translated *Dīrgha-āgama* Discourses[30]

DĀ no.:	Pāli no.:	Pāli title:
DĀ 2	DN 16	*Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*
DĀ 6	DN 26	*Cakkavatti-sutta*
DĀ 7	DN 23	*Pāyāsi-sutta*
DĀ 11	no parallel	
DĀ 12	no parallel	
DĀ 21	DN 1	*Brahmajāla-sutta*
DĀ 26	DN 13	*Tevijja-sutta*

Titles of the original publications:

"Āgama and aṅga in the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition" (2016a); cf. below p. 449ff.

"The Brahmajāla and the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition" (2014a); cf. below p. 51ff.

"The Brahmajāla and the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition (2)" (2015b); cf. below p. 79ff.

"Brahmavihāra and Awakening, A Study of the Dīrgha-āgama Parallel to the Tevijja-sutta" (2015c); cf. below p. 179ff.

"The Buddha's Fire Miracles" (2015d); cf. below p. 249ff.

"The Buddha's Last Meditation in the Dīrgha-āgama" (2014b); cf. below p. 225ff.

"Debate with a Sceptic – The Dīrgha-āgama Parallel to the Pāyāsi-sutta (1)" (2012c); cf. below p. 295ff.

"Debate with a Sceptic – The Dīrgha-āgama Parallel to the Pāyāsi-sutta (2)" (2013b); cf. below p. 321ff.

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[30] Of these only DĀ 6, DĀ 7, and DĀ 26 are translated in full; of the others only excerpts are translated. In addition to the discourses mentioned in table 1, the studies also contain translations of shorter excerpts from DĀ 14, DĀ 15, and DĀ 20 (parallels to DN 2, DN 21, and DN 24).

"Healing in Early Buddhism" (2015h); cf. below p. 203ff.
"The Historical Value of the Pāli Discourses" 2012e; cf. below p. 15ff.
"Levitation in Early Buddhist Discourse" (2016f); cf. below p. 281ff.
"Maitreya and the Wheel-turning King" (2014e); cf. below p. 349ff.
"Oral Dimensions of Pāli Discourses: Pericopes, Other Mnemonic Techniques, and the Oral Performance Context" (2007a); cf. below p. 473ff.
"Selected Madhyama-āgama Discourse Passages and Their Pāli Parallels" (2016h); cf. below p. 501ff.
"Some Renditions of the Term Tathāgata in the Chinese Āgamas" (2017d); cf. below p. 101ff.
"Summaries of the Dharma – A Translation of Dīrgha-āgama Discourse No. 12" (2013g); cf. below p. 433ff.
"Three Chinese Dīrgha-āgama Discourses Without Parallels" (2014h); cf. below p. 393ff.
"Views and the Tathāgata – A Comparative Study and Translation of the Brahmajāla in the Chinese Dīrgha-āgama" (2009i); cf. below p. 115ff.

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