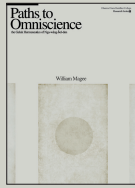


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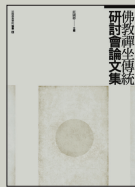
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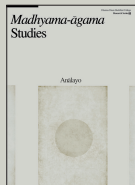
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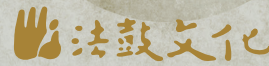


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This study reassesses an old problem in the history of Chinese Buddhism, the origins and nature of the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 (Taishō 125). It does so by a close investigation of the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* at the end of the fourth century and of its most important witness, the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (Taishō 1507). It is argued that the latter document, whose original title was *Zengyi ahan jing shu* 增一阿含經疏, should be seen as an unfinished commentary to the newly translated collection, produced within the original translation team (including Dao'an 道安, Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 and the Indo-Bactrian master Dharmananda) during the tumultuous end of the Qin 秦 empire of Fu Jian 苻堅 in A.D. 385. This reconstruction yields further insights into the cultural origins of the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*, and its broader significance for the history of Buddhism.

An Early Chinese Commentary on the *Ekottarika-āgama*

The *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 and the History of the Translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經



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An Early Chinese Commentary
on the *Ekottarika-āgama*

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An Early Chinese Commentary on the *Ekottarika-āgama*

The *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論
and the History of the Translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經

Antonello Palumbo

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and the History of the Translation
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Antonello Palumbo

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In 1994, Master Sheng Yen (1931–2009), 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, he hoped to promote the domestic status of the academic study of Buddhism.

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Bhikṣu Huimin

President, Dharma Drum Buddhist College

Dharma Drum Buddhist College, 26 July 2010

Foreword

In April 2012 a workshop on the Chinese translation of an Indian *Ekottarika-āgama* or ‘Collection of texts increasing by one’, known as the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 (Taishō 125), was convened at the Library and Information Center of Dharma Drum Buddhist College. At the last minute Antonello Palumbo was unfortunately unable to participate in this workshop. Nonetheless, he kindly agreed to contribute his paper to the volume of proceedings of the workshop.

He more than made up for his absence with a lengthy enquiry – in size and scope monographic – that offers a vivid and meticulous historical tableau and a quasi-forensic investigation of the translation process of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the authorship of its Chinese commentary, known as the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (Taishō 1507). Eventually, the study turned into an independent monograph, published here as No. 7 in the Dharma Drum Buddhist College Research Series. It is thus a fitting companion to the preceding volume, which has just come out as No. 6 in the same series.*

The paper to be read at the workshop originally pursued the religio-historical traces in the tangle of intertextualities of the *brahmapuṇya* formula in the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and its commentary, which soon opened entirely new perspectives not only on the diffusion of the *brahmapuṇya* formula itself, but on what the concluding section of this monograph calls the “cultural origins of the Chinese *Ekottarika-*

* *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.) (Dharma Drum Buddhist College Research Series 6), Taipei, Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 2013.

āgama and the rise of Greater Serindia in the history of Buddhism”.

Antonello Palumbo is a historian by education and intellect. He presents both the *Zengyi ahan jing* and its commentary in their historical milieu, with a special sensitivity to the role played by the personalities involved. A close look at individual agency against the somewhat impersonal principles of Buddhist textual transmission calls for painstaking investigation of the conditions and motivations that may have led these religious to make specific choices of translation and revision.

The Āgama Research Group at the Library and Information Center of Dharma Drum Buddhist College is pleased to include in our series Antonello Palumbo’s dense and erudite account of the translation process of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and to make available the first detailed study in a European language of the Chinese commentary on the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the real title of which, as this study shows, was *Zengyi ahan jing shu* 增一阿含經疏 rather than *Fenbie gongde lun*.

Sāmaṇerī Dhammadinnā

Director, Āgama Research Group

Dharma Drum Buddhist College

Dharma Drum Buddhist College, 20 September 2013

Acknowledgments

As the Foreword has explained, this book was unintentional, and I should probably acknowledge as much from the outset.

There is something slightly daunting in the transition of genre from the chapter in a collective volume that this study was originally meant to be, to the self-contained monograph it now is, like the sudden exposure to the audience of a choirboy who had little intention of performing solo. The audience at hand will be mostly one of Buddhologists, and I should beg their indulgence towards a scholarly attempt that peers into their field from a somewhat different perspective.

I should thank Dharma Drum Buddhist College for hosting the *Ekottarika-āgama* workshop in April 2012, out of which the idea of this study was born, and for accepting the present monograph in their Research Series. I am also grateful to Lo Pei-shin 羅珮心 of the College's publications department for kindly and effectively liaising with the publisher, and to Shen Yihua 沈宜樺 of Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation for her assistance.

This book would never have seen the light of day without the enthusiasm, learning, resourcefulness, patience and kindness of Ven. Dhammadinnā, who gave me unswerving support throughout its writing and saw to nearly all the practicalities of its production. I am also indebted to her for bringing a number of studies to my notice, in most cases also providing me with copies thereof, and for her precious remarks on my final manuscript.

Apart from hers, I could benefit from the comments of three exceptional scholarly readers: Ven. Anālayo, Jan Nattier and Stefano Zacchetti. They offered me plenty of invaluable suggestions, which

in more than one case I have also acknowledged in the footnotes, and saved me from quite a few infelicities.

Geraint D. Evans was a shrewd proof-reader of my manuscript and suggested a great number of stylistic improvements.

There will still be mistakes, if hopefully not too many or too glaring, but those will be most definitely my own.

I am always intrigued by the ‘Acknowledgments’ pages of any scholarly book I read. They are full of generous sponsors, supportive parents, neglected but forbearing spouses and families, stories that often place scholarship in a world of pampered academics, spoilt children and neglectful husbands or wives, fathers or mothers – a world where I’d rather not be.

This book was written in the midst of an ordinary year of academic work, without any sponsors. I tried not to sacrifice my family’s life more than I usually do, and I strove hard to this end. It was a difficult year on many fronts, and its saddest moment was the death of my mother, only a few weeks after the completion of my manuscript.

I am not sure whether she would have liked this book, or even the mere idea of it. Indeed, I am not sure whether she ever understood the nature of my occupations. Yet she – as have many of my relatives – taught me the importance of ordinary life against any idle escape, and if my scholarship is worth anything at all, it certainly owes it to that ever-present concern.

To her memory this book is dedicated.

Antonello Palumbo

London, 22 September 2013

Introduction

Few scholars seem to have noticed it, but the last two decades of the 4th c. A.D. usher in a radically new stage in the history of Buddhism in China. Since its early sightings around the turn of the Common Era, the Indian religion had slithered along unobtrusively, a muted, exotic orchestra playing catchy tunes in the backstage that then it was often for Chinese literati to croon. What has been touted as its ‘conquest of China’ is probably best seen as the serendipitous appeal that some clusters of ideas available in translation, notably *prajñāpāramitā* thought, happened to have on sectors of the cultured elite.¹ If a conquest it was, however, very few generals and hardly any army are visible behind it.²

Things do change from the 380s. Starting from Chang’an 長安, at the eastern terminus of the Silk Road, a sudden wave of Buddhist texts and missionaries introduces, as an ideological package of sorts, a set of doctrines and traditions that were to alter the religious landscape of early medieval China in deep, long-lasting ways. With the first instalments of monumental vinaya codes and scholastic treatises, large scriptural corpora, extended narratives of Buddhist kingship and more, an ecclesial view takes shape wherein ‘Buddhism’ finally claims its due as the thing out there, a separate social body of monks and nuns with their own identity, rules and history.

¹ Cf. Zürcher 1959/2007, especially pp. 71–75. The single most important flaw in this otherwise deservedly acclaimed narrative lies in its ubiquitous use of the notion of a ‘Buddhist Church’ in China (p. 1 and *passim*), yet failing to indicate a clear historical and social referent for it.

² On some pitfalls inherent to the military metaphor in religious history see Campany 2003: 297–299.

The Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 (T.125), is probably the most powerful emblem of this change.³ One of its sūtras famously warranted

³ For two densely informative overviews of the *Zengyi ahan jing* and of its Indic counterparts see Mochizuki 1960, vol. 4, pp. 3031a–3034b; and Anālayo 2009. For editorial consistency with Dhammadinnā, ed. (2013), I follow Allon (2001: 11–12) in opting for the Sanskrit form *Ekottarikāgama* (here further parsed as *Ekottarika-āgama*) instead of the previously current **Ekottarāgama*, which unlike the former does not seem to be attested in Indic source texts. However, it must be pointed out that there is a reason for the form **Ekottarāgama* to have been in use among scholars since as early as Stanislas Julien (1849: 437 no. 762), and then in the influential catalogue of Nanjio Bunyiu (1883: 133 no. 543). Both works were relying on the *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu* 至元法寶勘同總錄, a catalogue of Buddhist scriptures compiled between 1285 and 1287 under the Mongol Yuan 元 dynasty (1260–1368), in which Chinese translations of Buddhist texts are collated with their Tibetan counterparts, and Sanskrit titles are provided in Chinese transcription when available. Here the mention of the *Zengyi ahan jing* is preceded by the gloss “in Sanskrit it is called Yigudaluo agan” 梵云伊姑達囉^{二合}阿甘 (LMC **ʔji-kuʂ-tʰiat-la ʔa-kam*; LMC = Late Middle Chinese reconstructed pronunciation according to Pulleyblank 1991); see *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu* (Yongle beizang ed.), j. 6, vol. 177, p. 617b. The transcription can only correspond to an underlying **Ekottara-āgama*. Therefore, when Allon (2001: 11) points to “the absence of textual or epigraphical examples” for the form *Ekottarāgama*, this is only true if Chinese transcriptions of Sanskrit words are not taken into account. It is also interesting to observe that in the etiological narrative included in the prefatory chapter of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, Ānanda explains to Kāśyapa that the reason why he has chosen the bhikṣu Uttara (Youduoluo 優多羅) for the transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is that this monk, in a previous life, was named **Ekottara* (Yijuyouduoluo 伊具優多羅) and had received the ‘*dharma*s increasing by one’ (*zengyi zhi fa* 增一之法) from the Buddha Vipaśyin (T.125, 1.551b1–6). The story might again suggest that the Indic original of the *Zengyi ahan jing* was indeed known as **Ekottara-āgama*.

the immediate adoption of the common clan name Shi 釋, an early medieval transcription of Śākya, for all Buddhist monks in China, a practice that continues to the present day.⁴ The notion that the Buddha had entrusted Mahā-Kāśyapa and Ānanda with the leadership of the saṃgha after his *nirvāṇa*,⁵ the related idea of lineages of scriptural transmission,⁶ the making of Buddha-images,⁷ eschatological views on the millennial duration of the Law,⁸ the cult of Maitreya and that of the past Buddhas,⁹ this and much more would find canonical sanction within it.

⁴ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 29.9, in T.125, 21.658b26–c17. The monastic leader Dao'an 道安 (312–385), who had already chosen Śākya (Shi 釋) as his surname in the order, established this as a general rule upon seeing it confirmed in the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in 384–385: see *Chusan zang ji ji*, 15.108b29–c4; *Gaoseng zhuan*, 5.352c29–353a4, tr. Link 1958: 28–29. Shizutani Masao (1953) has linked the emergence of this practice to the appearance of the monastic self-designation 'Śākyabhikṣu' in Buddhist inscriptions, starting from the Gupta period and in different parts of India. The issue has been subsequently debated in Schopen 1979/2005: 232–239; Cohen 2000; Cousins 2003, notably in connection to its possible link to the rise of a Mahāyāna sectarian identity. None of these scholars, however, have considered the Chinese side of the evidence or indeed Shizutani's article, although Cousins does discuss a later contribution in English of the same Japanese scholar.

⁵ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 41.5, in T.125, 35.746a21–c24; cf. Mizuno 1989: 32.

⁶ See the narrative on the monk Uttara and the transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which is interwoven with the story of king Mahādeva, in the prefatory chapter of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, in T.125, 1.551a27–552a20, 553c5–24, 552a21–b4.

⁷ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 36.5, in T.125, 28.703b13–708c3; cf. Rowland 1948; Soper 1959: 259–260.

⁸ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 41.5, as in note 5 above, and 48.3, as in the following note.

⁹ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 48.3, in T.125, 44.787c2–789c27; cf. Soper 1959: 211–219; Legittimo 2008 [2010]. Maitreya also features prominently in the prefatory chapter, as he descends into the First Council to assist

Buddhologists have long been intrigued by such a large, composite collection. As one of the four *āgamas*, discussing factors in numerical progression, it should stand as a parallel to the Pāli *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, and therefore attest to a canonical literature that has been variously labelled as ‘Hīnayāna’, ‘Mainstream’ or just ‘ancient’, but in fact may well be none of the foregoing in the case at hand. For throughout and especially in its Prefatory Chapter (*Xupin* 序品), the *Zengyi ahan jing* presents doctrinal formulations such as those mentioned above, and a diffuse Mahāyānist terminology, that are seen to be incompatible with the oldest layers of that literature. A favoured hypothesis has then been to assign the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* to the Mahāsāṃghika, in view both of a number of parallels with texts of that school and of the tradition that sees it as a forerunner of the Great Vehicle.¹⁰ However, in the absence of the orig-

Ānanda and ensure the preservation of the Mahāyāna teachings; see T.125, 1.549c9–550c29. So do the past Buddhas in connection to the story of the monk Uttara (as above, note 6); on them see also *Zengyi ahan jing*, 48.5, 45.790a7–791b29, which is a counterpart to the Pāli *Mahāpadāna sutta*.

¹⁰ See Mochizuki 1960, vol. 4, pp. 3032c–33a; Demiéville 1951b: 276; Akanuma 1939/1981: 35–41; Bronkhorst 1985: 312–315; Bareau 1988: 69–77; Kuan 2013. There are nuances: Akanuma (1939/1981: 40), for example, is aware of the fact that T.125 differs from the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya on a number of points; he assumes that the latter was transmitted by the Ekavyāvahārika (*Yishuo bu* 一說部), a sub-sect of the Mahāsāṃghika according to the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, Vasumitra’s (4th c.?) treatise on the sects, whereas T.125 would be connected to the Prajñāptivādina (*Shuojia bu* 說假部), another Mahāsāṃghika offshoot according to the same source. There have been, of course, alternative views: Shizutani 1973: 58–59 (Sarvāstivāda of Mathurā and Gandhāra), Mizuno 1989: 33 (an unknown sect with Mahāyānist tendencies), Hiraoka 2007b, 2008, 2013 (a patchwork from different sectarian materials, though mostly Sar-

inal text, it is not at all clear what sort of Indic counterpart the *Zengyi ahan jing* should reflect, also in view of the fact that some sūtras in the collection appear to result from an artificial compilation of discourses separately attested in other canonical streams.¹¹

An assessment of these features has to reckon with the uncertainty that still lingers about the identity of the translator of the received text (T.125), whether it was the Indo-Bactrian monk Dharmananda 曇摩難提 (fl. 383–391)¹² in 384–385 or the Kashmiri monk Saṃghadeva 僧伽提婆 (fl. 383–398) several years later, and the role of other participants in the translation process,

vāstivāda). See also the summary of Japanese scholarship in Mayeda 1985: 102–103.

¹¹ See Lamotte 1967.

¹² The name of this monk is generally restored as Dharmanandin, but I fail to see the phonological rationale of such a rendering. The last syllable in the transcription, *ti* 提, did not have an occlusive final in Middle Chinese (nor does it have one in modern Mandarin). Pulleyblank (1991) reconstructs the Early Middle Chinese (EMC) pronunciation of 提 as *dej (with the variants *tej, *tej' and *dzið/dzi), but a look at its occurrence in Buddhist transcriptions suggests a semi-vocalic ending (something like -ə or -iə), amenable to different vocalic interpretations: thus we may come across 摩竭提 for *Magadha*, 僧伽提婆 for *Saṃghadeva*, 因提 for *Indra*. It should be noticed that in Dao'an's 道安 preface to the so-called 'Collection of Vasumitra' 婆須蜜集, this monk is referred to in the abridged form –*nantuo* 難陀 (–**nanda*), which can only imply an underlying [Dharma]nanda; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72a2: 跋澄、難陀、擗婆三人執胡本, and cf. *ibid.* 13.99b2–3: 跋澄乃與曇摩難提及僧伽提婆三人共執胡本. This is matched in the alternant use of the transcriptions 曇摩難提 and 曇摩難陀 referring to one and the same master in a translation from the same time and circles: *Piposha lun* (T.1547), 14.519a13, 17, 24, 28. The translation of the name as 'Law-Delight' (*faxi* 法喜) provided in *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328b19, is also less compatible with Dharmanandin than with Dharmananda, Dharmānanda or Dharmanandi.

notably the Chinese interpreter Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (fl. 379–413). Briefly put, the Buddhological anomalies of the *Zengyi ahan jing* can be variously construed as mirroring an idiosyncratic Indic text behind it, or as the result of this or that translator's interference, or even of further revision and tampering.

In this study, I will consider the *Zengyi ahan jing* chiefly as the product of historical actors, three-dimensional human beings engaging their own world, rather than the putative witness to some ill-defined sectarian tradition that it is usually taken to be or not to be. In the first part, I zoom in tightly on the background and circumstances of its translation, the men who took part in it and its obscure aftermath. I also briefly survey the earliest evidence attesting to the knowledge and circulation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in and around China. These discussions will prepare the ground for the second part, which is entirely focused on the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T.1507), an old, unfinished commentary to the *Zengyi ahan jing*. An enquiry into the nature, date and authorship of this document will hopefully shed full light on the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and explain its perceived anomaly as the outgrowth of a context in the history of Buddhism that, so far, we may just not have paused long enough to consider.

PART I

THE

ZENGYI AHAN JING

增一阿含經

CHAPTER ONE

The translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*

I. The initial redactions of the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經, A.D. 384–385

I.1 The context: Dao'an 道安 and the translation group at Chang'an, A.D. 382–385

The *Zengyi ahan jing* was the last output in a seminal series of Buddhist translations that a team of Chinese and foreign clerics, working under the direction of the scholar-monk Dao'an 道安 (312–385), produced at Chang'an 長安 between 382 and 385.¹ The city was then the capital of the Qin 秦 state, ruling over all of northern China under the powerful emperors of Fu Jian 苻堅 (r. 357–385).² In the Inner Asian nations that this Di 氐 chieftain had

¹ For historical overviews of this group and period see Tang 1938/1997: 155–161, 248–249; Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 723–753; Zürcher 1959/2007: 200–204; and the discussion in this chapter.

² The Qin state was an expression of the proto-Tibetan Di 氐 nationality, settled in large numbers between Guanzhong 關中 (Shaanxi) and the eastern reaches of Gansu and Sichuan around the middle of the 4th c. Fu Jian, its leader, expanded the Di territory across the entire North by annexing the rival states of Chouchi 仇池 (also of Di stock), Liang 涼 (Chinese), Dai 代 (Tuoba 拓拔) and Yan 燕 (Xianbei 鮮卑) between 370 and 376. For a penetrating discussion, if in places too imaginative, of the Qin empire of Fu Jian and of the historiography on it see Rogers 1968: 1–110. Below I make ample use of Sima Guang's 司馬光 (1019–1086) *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror

brought under his sway, Buddhism had been steadily gaining adherents and prestige since the ousting of the Chinese Jin 晉 dynasty from the Central Plain in 311, and Buddhist monks could even take the unprecedented role of political advisors to the ‘barbarian’ rulers.³ Fu Jian himself appears to have favoured Buddhism from early on in his reign;⁴ the tradition that he wanted Dao’an at his court as in 379 Qin troops conquered the Jin city of Xiangyang 襄陽

for Aid in Government), completed in 1084; much less of the ‘Chronicle’ (*zaji* 載記) of Fu Jian in the *Jin shu* 晉書 (Book of the Jin), compiled by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648) and others between 644 and 648. Without fully subscribing to his extreme hermeneutics of suspicion, I concur with Rogers that the latter source, albeit considerably earlier, is overwhelmed by the rhetorical and ideological concern to provide its commissioning patron, the Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649), with a piece of ‘exemplary history’, resulting in a considerable amount of the information in it being imprecise or even fictional. The *Zizhi tongjian*’s author had no such agenda, while he could still draw on the most important source on the Qin state, the subsequently lost *Shiliu guo chunqiu* 十六國春秋 (Springs and Autumns of the Sixteen States) by Cui Hong 崔鴻 (d. 525), which was mostly completed in about 508 and posthumously presented to the throne twenty years later. See Rogers 1968: 18–21, 69–73, 89 note 127.

³ The best-known example is that of Dao’an’s teacher Fotucheng 佛圖澄 (d. 349, also spelt Fotudeng), who enjoyed the trust and favour of the Inner Asian Zhao 趙 sovereigns Shi Le 石勒 (r. 319–333) and Shi Hu 石虎 (r. 334–349); see on him Wright 1948. An otherwise unknown *śramaṇa* Zhitong 智通 was acting as counsellor to the Qiang 羌 (proto-Tibetan) leader Yao Xiang 姚襄 in 357; see *Jin shu*, 116.2964; cf. Rogers 1968: 31.

⁴ The biographies of Dao’an in the *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳 (ca. 514) and in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (ca. 528) mention an embassy that Fu Jian sent seemingly around 365, it is unclear whether to the Jin court in Jiankang or to the Jin governor of Xiangyang 襄陽 (Hubei), including luxurious Buddhist statues as gifts; see *Meisō den shō*, Z vol. 77 no. 1523, p. 352a15–17; *Gaoseng zhuan*, 5.352b13–17; tr. Link 1958: 21. Several Korean sources report a tradition that Buddhist monks sent by Fu Jian introduced sūtras and images into Koguryō in A.D. 372; see the discussion in Rogers 1968: 228 note 258.

(Hubei), where the monk had been living since 365, is probably historical.⁵

Shortly after his arrival at Chang'an, Dao'an met Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (fl. 379–413), a monk from Liangzhou 涼州 (Gansu), who was to emerge as the leading translator of canonical texts in the Buddhist circles of Guanzhong during the last two decades of the 4th c.⁶ In late 379, after encountering the foreign monk Tanmoshi 曇摩侍 (v.l. 曇摩持, 曇摩寺 = *Dharmadhī?), who was expert in the Vinaya and Abhidharma, Dao'an ordered (令) Fonian to write down the Indic (*fanwen* 梵文, probably Brāhmī) text of a *Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa*, which on that occasion was for the Chinese monk Daoxian 道賢 (d.u.) to translate.⁷

However, it was only some three years later that Dao'an's translation activities gained considerable momentum. In February 382, the king of the Anterior Tribe of Jushi 車師前部 (the region of Turfan) Midi 彌第 (EMC *mjiǝ/mji-dej^h) had an audience with Fu Jian in Chang'an. He was accompanied by his 'State Preceptor' (*guoshi* 國師), the Buddhist monk Kumārabuddhi (or *Kumārabuddha, Jiumoluofoti 鳩摩羅佛提, v.l. 鳩摩羅跋提), who then

⁵ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 15.108b23–26; *Gaoseng zhuan*, 5.352c23–26, tr. Link 1958: 27–28; *Jin shu*, 82.2154. A close relationship between the Qin ruler and the monk finds corroboration in sources beyond Buddhist hagiography: see, for example, *Zizhi tongjian*, 104.3304, 105.3337, which include details unattested in Buddhist sources; cf. Zürcher 1959/2007: 201–202.

⁶ On Zhu Fonian see Kamata 1990: 95–124, and the discussion below in this chapter, § II.3.

⁷ See Dao'an's 'Preface to the Major Precepts for the Bhikṣus' (*Biqiu da jie xu* 比丘大戒序), in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 11.80b3–6; cf. the translations in Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 568; Nakajima 1997: 339–346. This document gives a problematic chronological indication for Dao'an's move from Xiangyang to Chang'an, his meeting with Tanmoshi 曇摩侍 and the translation of the *prātimokṣa* text; see the detailed discussion in Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 748–749, whose tentative conclusions I follow here.

joined Dao'an's group until the beginning of the following year.⁸ From secular sources we learn that this ruler, named under the slightly different spelling Mitian 彌竇 (EMC *mjiǎ/mji-dēn), met the Qin emperor at least one more time in the autumn, between 24

⁸ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 8.52b13–15. The source is Dao'an himself in his 'Preface to an abstract of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā* scripture' (*Mohe boluoruo poluomi jing chao xu* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序); for complete translations of this document see Hurvitz – Link 1974: 426–428; Nakajima 1997: 87–90; for the section concerning Kumārabuddhi and the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript only, see Zacchetti 2005: 39. The account of the episode opens with the words 建元十八年正車師前部王…; the three modern translations above have understood the character *zheng* 正 in this phrase as referring to the king mentioned after it (respectively “the true king of Anterior Chū-shih 車師”; “正式的車師前部王”; “the king of the true Anterior Jushi”); however, this interpretation seems unjustified, as the expression 正車師前部王 does not occur elsewhere, and no ‘false’ pretender to the throne of Turfan is known in that period. Since *zheng* 正 comes immediately after the indication of the year, the simplest assumption, as Tang (1938/1997: 158) concisely suggests, is that the character *yue* 月 has been dropped after it, and that reference is made to the first month of the lunar year: 建元十八年正[月], 車師前部王, which in Jianyuan 18 was between 31 January and 28 February 382. That Kumārabuddhi arrived in the early part of the year is corroborated by the fact that between the third and sixth months (lunar summer), as we are going to see, he was already translating Buddhist texts in Dao'an's group. In Dao'an's preface mentioned above and in another, anonymous document of slightly later date (in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72b17) the name of this cleric is given as 鳩摩羅跋提, suggesting an underlying *Kumārabhadra; cf. Hurvitz – Link 1974: 447 note 109. In two other prefaces, however, Dao'an spells 鳩摩羅佛提, which points to a less problematic Kumārabuddhi / Kumārabuddha (on the ambiguity of 提 in transcriptions see above, p. 5, note 12); for the prefaces, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64c14; T.1464 p. 851a15–19. Zürcher 1959/2007: 202 restores the name as Kumārabodhi and provides the transcription 鳩摩羅菩提, which would perfectly justify such a reconstruction, but in fact is not attested anywhere; he was quite possibly led astray by the remarks in Pelliot 1923: 239; cf. Pelliot 1911: 674–676, and 2002: 13–14 note 22.

September and 23 October 382. On that occasion, Mitian / Midi – together with another Serindian kinglet, Xiumiduo 休密馱 of Shanshan 鄯善 – reportedly prodded Fu Jian into launching a major offensive against those kingdoms of the Western Regions, notably Kucha, which refused to submit to Qin, and offered military assistance in the operations.⁹ The plan was accepted, and a major expeditionary force set out from Chang'an in the first month of the following lunar year, between 19 February and 19 March 383; it was led by the Qin general Lü Guang 呂光 (d. 399), flanked by Mitian / Midi and Xiumiduo in the role of guides (*xiangdao* 鄉導).¹⁰ The Buddhist king of Turfan may thus have spent the entire lunar year from 31 January 382 to 19 February 383 and a few more weeks at the court of Fu Jian, since he is seen there at the beginning and end of that year and then again in the middle of it, making plans for the great campaign against Kucha.

This may also explain why Kumārabuddhi, who as Mitian / Midi's 'State Preceptor' should presumably have been by his king's side, could linger so long in China and add his outstanding presence to Dao'an's coterie. At Midi's audience with Fu Jian in February 383, the eminent monk from Turfan offered an Indic manuscript in 402 folios of the so-called 'Larger Version' (*Dapin* 小品), i.e. one of a family of 'Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*' texts, on the basis of which an abstract was subsequently made by a team including the Indian monk *Dharmapriya (Tanmopi 曇摩婢), who 'held the text' (*zhi ben* 執本), i.e. expounded the original, and the interpreter Fohu 佛護.¹¹

⁹ See *Zizhi tongjian*, 104.3300, which places the episode under the ninth month of (Jin 晉) Taiyuan 太元 7 = (Qin 秦) Jianyuan 建元 18. The wordy account in *Jin shu*, 114.2911 (tr. Rogers 1968: 155–156) does not give a precise date.

¹⁰ See *Zizhi tongjian*, 105.3307; *Jin shu*, 114.2915 (tr. Rogers 1968: 163). On the term *xiangdao* 鄉導 see Rogers 1968: 264 note 543.

¹¹ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 8.52b13–23. On this 'abstract' of the 'Larger Version'

This output was a turning point in the activities of Dao'an's group: from this moment onwards, a series of translation projects would continue unabated and virtually without interruption until the very end of Dao'an's life, little more than three years later. Between 29 April and 26 June, Kumārabuddhi and his Chinese hosts produced another text that Dao'an modestly calls an 'Abhidharma compendium' (or 'abstract', *Apitan chao* 阿毘曇抄) in four scrolls, but which in fact must have been a rendition of the 'Heart of Abhidharma' (*Apitan xin* 阿毘曇心, Skt. *Abhidharmahrdaya*), a major Sarvāstivāda scholastic text attributed to the Bactrian *ābhidharmika* *Dharmaśrī.¹² During the summer, the group, led by Dao'an and including the *purohita* from Turfan, moved from Chang'an to Ye 鄴, in Henan, where they rendered homage to the stūpa of Dao'an's late master, the legendary Fotucheng 佛圖澄 (d. 349). Here they started the translation of another doctrinal treatise including theses on the reality of the Self traditionally attributed to the Pudgalavāda, but presented as a 'Compendium of the Four Āgamas' (*Sì ahanmu chao* 四阿含暮抄; **Tridharmaka śāstra*) authored by the arhat Vasubhadra. The translation was completed between 22 December 382 and 19 January 383.¹³

see below, ch. 5, § VII. On the 'Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*' texts and their relationship to the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* see Zacchetti 2005: 35–41.

¹² See Dao'an's preface to the *Vinaya* (*Binaiye* 鼻奈耶) at T.1464 p. 851a15–17. The identification of the 'Abhidharma compendium' issued by Kumārabuddhi with the *Abhidharmahrdaya* is confirmed in an anonymous preface to Saṃghadeva's retranslation of the latter; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72b16–19. On Dharmaśrī (Fasheng 法勝 in Chinese; his name has also been reconstructed as *Dharmaśreṣṭhin) and the *Abhidharmahrdaya* see Dessein 2003: 288–294.

¹³ On the circumstances of this translation, in which Zhu Fonian and Fohu 佛護 (d.u., a.k.a. Fotuluocha 佛圖羅刹 *Buddharakṣa) acted as interpreters, see Dao'an's preface in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64c11–16; tr. Nakajima 1997: 195–197. See also T.1464 p. 851a15–18. Both compendia were brought as manuscripts rather than oral texts, since Dao'an says that Kumārabuddhi "carried"

The next project was a vinaya text, simply known as *Vinaya* (*Binaiye* 鼻奈耶, T.1464). Yaśas (Yeshe 耶捨, v.l. 耶舍), a *vaiṇa-yika* from Kashmir (Jibin 罽賓),¹⁴ who had come to China following Kumārabuddhi, recited it from memory upon Dao'an's invitation, starting on 2 March 383 (Jianyuan 19. 1. 12); Kumārabuddhi wrote down the text in the Brāhmī script (*fanshu* 梵書). The Chinese translation, in four scrolls and performed by Zhu Fonian as interpreter and Tanjing 曇景 (d.u.) as redactor (*bishou* 筆受), was completed on 16 May.¹⁵

After this episode we hear no more of Kumārabuddhi; quite possibly he did not follow the translation through, but may have left in its early stage after seeing to the transcription of the Indic text, in March 383, when his king Midi is known to have departed from Chang'an with the Qin expedition against Kucha.

A few points of note should be drawn from this intriguing sequence of events. The first is the presence of a Buddhist 'State Preceptor' at Turfan in A.D. 382; it is only somewhat later, with the rise of the Northern Liang 北涼 kingdom of the Juqu 沮渠 clan in Gansu (397–439), which was eventually to settle its court at Turfan (442–460), that Buddhist activities gain visibility in that area, and it is even later, under the entirely Sinicised Gaochang 高昌 king-

(ji 齋) them to Chang'an. The *Sī ahanmu chao* was retranslated in 392 by Saṃghadeva under the title *San fadu lun* 三法度論 (**Tridharmaka śāstra*). On Vasubhadra's treatise see Hurvitz 1967 and especially Châu 1999: 85–99. Châu considers this work as a major text of the Vātsīputrīya branch of the Pudgalavāda. It would be more accurate to say that some fundamental theses expressed in the treatise, notably regarding the reality of the Self, are attributed to the Pudgalavāda in traditional doxographies such as the treatise of Vasumitra (4th c.?) on the sects; neither Dao'an's preface nor the translation itself reveal any awareness of such a sectarian affiliation.

¹⁴ On the equivalence Jibin 罽賓 = Kashmir see below, pp. 22–25 and note 34.

¹⁵ See Dao'an's preface to the *Vinaya* (*Binaiye* 鼻奈耶) at T.1464 p. 851a18–21.

dom (499–640), that the religion leaves its traces among the local population. In this ‘Buddhist conquest of Turfan’, as Valerie Hansen has aptly remarked, the most decisive influences appear to have been less from India than from China itself.¹⁶ Yet, the emergence of Kumārabuddhi and the religious fervour of his patron, king Midi, bespeak a sudden impact from the Indian side, which is paralleled in the dramatic rise of Buddhism under royal sponsorship at Kucha in the same period, and in the archaeological findings in those areas of manuscript fragments of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, most of them associated to the Sarvāstivāda, which may have been there from around the same time.¹⁷ The provenance of the *purohita* from Turfan is unclear,¹⁸ but his companion¹⁹ Yaśas

¹⁶ See Hansen 1998, esp. pp. 40–41, 65–66.

¹⁷ On the rapid growth of Buddhism in the northwestern part of the Tarim basin in the 4th c. see Zürcher 1990: 172–173. The palaeographic counterpart of this phenomenon is suggested by F.W. Thomas’ observation that “to the Kuca-Turfan region ... Buddhist literature may not have penetrated in pre-Gupta times; in fact, the somewhat abundant specimens of quite early Gupta writing from that region exhibit no traces of prior local development” (1954: 678). Lore Sander (2012: 35 and note 47) has taken issue with this view, pointing to the *Udānavarga* manuscript from Subaši Längär near Kucha; this was written on poplar-wood, a Central Asian material, in a variety of late Kushan Brāhmī that Sander dates “during the second and third centuries” in this article (*loc. cit.*), but had previously assigned to the “3rd to 4th cent. AD” (1991: 148). Sander gives credence to the tradition, reported by Xuanzang 玄奘 in the 7th c., of a Buddhist council under Kaniška followed by a Sarvāstivāda mission, and explains through it the presence of 2nd-to-4th c. Buddhist manuscripts, especially Abhidharma texts, in the north of the Tarim basin (1991; 2012: 36–37). But bringing a late legend to bear on the uncertainties of palaeography is no ground to write history; if there was a Sarvāstivāda mission, this is more likely to have been in the 4th c., as the background to Dao’an’s translation group notably suggests.

¹⁸ His ability to write down in Brāhmī the vinaya text expounded by Yaśas is evidently inconclusive. As we have seen, Zhu Fonian, whom no source reports

was a *vinayadhara* from Kashmir, and the *Prajñāpāramitā* expert Dharmapriya, who seems to have been part of his retinue, was also Indian.

The second aspect that is worth observing about this group of foreign clerics is the eclecticism of their scriptural imports, which included a *Prajñāpāramitā* text, a major treatise of Sarvāstivāda scholasticism, another dogmatic treatise including Pudgalavāda positions and presented as a compendium of the four *āgamas*, and a vinaya text. These two features may or may not have been related, but it is at least conceivable that royal neophytes, who were certainly proactive in the case of Midi,²⁰ could broker scriptural encounters and doctrinal syntheses among their protégés.

Immediately after Kumārabuddhi's exit, in the spring of A.D. 383, the Buddhist scene of Chang'an is taken by a trio of foreign masters, who would henceforward hold the stage in the translation activities of Dao'an's group. Two of them, Gautama Saṃghadeva (Qutan Sengqietipo 瞿曇僧伽提[v.l. 掇]婆, fl. 383–398) and Saṃghabhadra (Sengqiebacheng 僧伽跋澄, fl. 383–399),²¹ were from Kashmir (Jibin 罽賓). The third master was Dharmananda (Tanmonanti 曇摩難提, fl. 383–391),²² a monk from Tokharistan (Bactria):

to have been Indian, had been able to do the same for the *prātimokṣa* text translated in 379.

¹⁹ *Qi ban* 其伴, says Dao'an in T.1464 p. 851a18; *ban* 伴 = 'associate, fellow, companion' < Skt. *sārdhamvihārin*?

²⁰ That the king of Turfan was more than just an idle devotee is shown by the case of Vasubhadra's 'Compendium of the Four Āgamas'. According to Dao'an's preface, this text had been brought to Turfan by a foreign *śramaṇa*, one *Indrasena (Yintilixian 因提麗先), who was determined to keep it secret; however, king Midi "sought and obtained" 求得 from the monk that the treatise be recited and made public. See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64c11–13.

²¹ On the reconstruction of this monk's name see Demiéville 1951a: 364–365 note 8.

²² On the reconstruction of this monk's name see above, p. 5, note 12.

he will play a starring role in this study, as it was he who introduced the *Ēkottarika-āgama* to China. The mutual connections between these three monks, their personal profiles and the reasons for their presence at Chang'an are of the utmost importance if we wish to understand the circumstances of the translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing*.²³

It cannot be entirely excluded that Saṃghadeva, Saṃghabhadra and Dharmananda, or at least one of them, had come to the Qin capital together with Kumārabuddhi and as part of his delegation in 382.²⁴ We have seen that this had been the case for another monk

²³ The three monks have biographical notices one after the other in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 13.99a18–100a6; and *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328a28–329a27, tr. Shih 1968: 46–55.

²⁴ In a number of documents, Dao'an gives dates for the arrival of the three monks that seem to rule out this hypothesis. For example, in his very preface to the translation of the *Ēkottarika-āgama* he appears to say, "in the year 20 of the Jianyuan 建元 [era] of Qin (8 February 384 – 26 January 385), [Dharmananda] came to visit Chang'an. Both foreigners and locals praised him. The Governor of Wuwei 武威, Zhao Wenye 趙文業, requested him to issue [the *Ēkottarika-āgama*]" 以秦建元二十年來詣長安，外國、鄉人咸皆善之，武威太守趙文業求令出焉; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64b8–10; tr. Nakajima 1997: 192. Dao'an gives nearly identical indications about Saṃghabhadra's arrival in two different prefaces (以建元二十年，罽賓沙門僧伽跋澄齋此經本來詣長安，武威太守趙文業請令出焉, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71b16–18; 罽賓沙門僧伽跋澄，以秦建元二十年轉此經一部來詣長安。武威太守趙政文業者，學不厭士也，求令出之。 , see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71c28–72a1). These records convey that both Dharmananda and Saṃghabhadra arrived at Chang'an in A.D. 384 (Jianyuan 20), but yet another one of Dao'an's prefaces shows that in the course of 383 the two monks were already working together on the translation of the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.73c3–6 (further discussion below in this section). In all these documents, however, the year may refer not to the monks' arrival, but to the time when the various translations were requested and consequently undertaken, with the preceding sentences to be read as narrative background. The passage above from the preface to the *Zengyi*

from Kashmir, the Vinaya master Yaśas, and possibly also for the Indian monk Dharmapriya. On the other hand, it is only in the spring of 383 that the three monks come simultaneously into the limelight. At that time, Fu Jian's imperial might was at its zenith; he had just unleashed an army into the Tarim basin that would soon conquer Kucha, and, unheeding of the many warnings from his close advisors, including Dao'an, was making the last preparations before launching a doomed attempt to conquer the South and unify China in the latter part of the year, a venture that would eventually cause his ruin.²⁵ Right then, however, Fu Jian was simply the Great

ahan jing would accordingly translate as follows: “in the year 20 of the Jianyuan 建元 [era] of Qin (8 February 384 – 26 January 385), [since Dharmananda] had come to visit Chang'an, and both foreigners and locals praised him, the Governor of Wuwei, Zhao Wenye, requested him to issue [the *Ekottarika-āgama*]”. The use of the final particle *yan* 焉 (with a resultative nuance) in two of the documents above corroborates to some extent this reading of the prefaces, which reconciles the apparent conflict in Dao'an's information, but also allows for the possibility that these monks had reached Chang'an before their involvement in Dao'an's translation team. It should be noticed that according to Huijiao's biography of Saṃghabhadra, this monk had arrived in Guanzhong (the region of Chang'an) as early as during Jianyuan 17 (10 February 381 – 30 January 382); see *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328b2–3; cf. Shih 1968: 46. On the other hand, Sengrui's 僧叡 (ca. 352–436) preface to the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經, written in A.D. 399, unambiguously states that Saṃghabhadra arrived at Chang'an in Jianyuan 19 (19 February 383 – 7 February 384); see T vol. 4, p. 609c1–3; cf. Willemsen 1973: 216.

²⁵ For a connected narrative of this period, see the translation of the *Jin shu* 'Chronicle' of Fu Jian in Rogers 1968: 155–166, to be read with the apparatus at pp. 263–274 and the caveats at pp. 46–51. This section of the 'Chronicle' (*ibid.*, pp. 160–162) also reports the consultation between Fu Jian and Dao'an, in which the monk, using his ascendancy and acting upon the invitation of helpless ministers, is said to have vainly tried to dissuade the Qin ruler from his southern campaign. The episode is already included in the Buddhist biographies of Dao'an (*Chu sanzang ji ji*, 15.108c6–109a1; *Gaoseng zhuan*,

Man Rising. Across the ripples of his political and military shock wave, hopes of a Buddhist empire would have run high, and the presence of a great number of foreign monks swiftly converging on Chang'an in that period may have here part of its rationale.

Although no record expressly states that Saṃghadeva, Saṃghabhaddra and Dharmananda came as a group, the circumstances of the six translations in which they were involved in 383 and 384 do suggest some close connection between them. We shall probably not err in assuming that they were local actors in a broader Buddhist movement, a mission perhaps. The first two translations started, almost simultaneously, immediately after the completion of the Vinaya text recited by Yaśas.²⁶ Between 18 May and 16 June 383 (Jianyuan 19. 4), work began on the *Vibhāṣā* (*Piposha* 鞞婆沙) compiled by one *Śītapāṇi (? Ch. Shituopanni 尸陀槃尼), closely related to, but considerably shorter than, the **Abhidharma mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra*, whose integral text would be translated from different recensions in A.D. 427 and again in A.D. 656, respectively by the Liangzhou 涼州 monk Daotai 道泰 (d.u.) and by Xuanzang 玄奘 (d. 664). As is well known, these monuments of Buddhist scholasticism were produced among the Sarvāstivāda of Kashmir and conceived as encyclopaedic commentaries to the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*, a major Abhidharma treatise attributed to Kātyāyanīputra (1st c. B.C.?); the tradition that assigns the composition of the **Mahā-vibhāṣā* to the reign of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniska (early 2nd c. A.D.) should be discarded, as internal evidence in the book assigns it to a somewhat later date, most probably the first half of the 4th c.²⁷

5.353a16–b12; tr. Link 1958: 31–34) as well as in the *Zizhi tongjian* (104.3304), and may well be historical.

²⁶ As we have seen, the translation of this text had been completed on 16 May 383.

²⁷ On the *vibhāṣā* treatises see Takakusu 1905: 123–131; Watanabe 1954: 253–

The translation of the *Vibhāṣā* was conducted on an oral text in 11,752 *ślokas* that Saṃghabhadra recited from memory; Dharmananda was there to write down the Sanskrit text in Brāhmī. Another foreign monk, Buddhakṣa (Futuluocha 弗[*v.l.* 佛]圖羅訶, d.u.), acted as interpreter and orally produced the Chinese text of the translation, which was then put in written form by a Chinese monk, the redactor Minzhi 敏智, and completed on 11 October 383.²⁸ In his preface, Dao'an introduces Saṃghabhadra as a “*śramaṇa* from Kashmir” (*Jibin shamen* 罽賓沙門), and immedi-

329; Fukuhara 1965: 220–228, 384–388; Willemen – Dessein – Cox 1998: 229–239. In this study ‘*Vibhāṣā*’ indicates the compendium of **Śītapāṇi*, translated in 383 under the title *Piposha* 鞞婆沙 (see the following note for the extant recension of this translation); **Mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra* refers instead to the larger version of the treatise translated in A.D. 427 and 656; ‘*vibhāṣā* treatises’ to the corpus of the three books. Already Takakusu (1905: 119, 123) had cautioned against the traditional dating of the **Mahā-vibhāṣā* to the time of Kaniṣka. For a preliminary finding on the date of the treatises see Palumbo 2012: 302 note 1. A detailed discussion will appear as Appendix IV to Palumbo, forthcoming.

²⁸ See Dao'an's preface to the translation (*Piposha xu* 鞞婆沙序), in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.73b14–c27; tr. Nakajima 1997: 279–283; Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 938–939; cf. *ibid.* pp. 738–739. Dao'an states that he assisted in the collation of the text for one month and four days (佐對校一月四日), but it is unclear whether this took place before or after the end of the translation on 11 October 383. In the catalogue section of his work (*Chu sanzang ji ji*, 2.10b5–6), Senyou calls this text *Za apitan piposha* 雜阿毘曇毘婆沙; the dates and number of scrolls (14) correspond to those indicated in Dao'an's preface; he adds that some (= some catalogues?) also call it *Za apitan xin* 或云雜阿毘曇心, **Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*, which is evidently a mistake (this was a different work, an Abhidharma summary by Dharmatrāta). The translation of the *Vibhāṣā* of **Śītapāṇi* is extant (*Piposha lun* 鞞婆沙論, T vol. 28 no. 1547), but almost certainly in a revised version that Saṃghabhadra produced at Luoyang in 390–391, with the assistance of Saṃghadeva and of the Chinese monk Fahe 法和; see below, pp. 61–62.

ately after he refers to Dharmananda as a “*śramaṇa* from his/that country” (*qi guo shamen* 其國沙門), thus implying that Dharmananda was also from Kashmir.²⁹ Yet, in his preface to the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, written more than one year later, Dao'an describes Dharmananda as a foreign *śramaṇa* (*waiguo shamen* 外國沙門) from Tokharistan (Douqule guo 兜佉勒國), an indication that is subsequently repeated by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) and Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) in their biographical notices on this monk.³⁰ The identification with ‘Kashmir’ (Skt. Kaśmīra) of the place name Jibin 罽賓 (EMC *kiaj^h-pjin), associated with the provenance of so many foreign monks in China between the late 4th and the 5th c., has been repeatedly questioned, also in view of the shifting referents of the term from the Han to the medieval period, and between secular and Buddhist sources.³¹ Building chiefly on Dao'an's ambiguous statements on Dharmananda's origins, Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄 has proposed a well-received theory that in the writings of Chinese Buddhist monks such as Dao'an, Sengyou

²⁹ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.73c6.

³⁰ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64b7; *id.* 13.99b11; *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328b19. On the identification of the kingdom of Douqule 兜佉勒 (EMC *təw-k^hia-lək, cf. Skt. *tukhāra*, *tokharika*) with Tokharistan (Bactria, the region around Balkh) see Haloun 1937: 277–278 note 1.

³¹ For some of the most important positions in this controversy, see Petech 1950: 63–80; Pulleyblank 1962: 218–219; Daffinà 1982: 316–318; Kuwayama 1990: 43–59; Enomoto 1994. Here I follow Pulleyblank in considering Jibin 罽賓 as a transcription (attested since the late Western Han period, and probably paronomastic) of a form *Kaspir related to (rather than ‘for’) Kashmir (Gāndhārī *kaspir*. is now attested in the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, fr. 1.156; see Lenz 2010: 71–72), and Enomoto (1986: 27 note 18; 1994: 358) for the fact that the same transcription corresponds to Skt. Kaśmīra in Chinese Buddhist translations between the 4th and the 6th c. What remains to be clarified is the geographic, ethnic and political referent of Skt. Kaśmīra in the same period; see my remarks above in the text and below, note 34.

and Huijiao, the name Jibin refers in fact to “a wider area including Kashmir, Gandhāra, and possibly Tokharistan, that is to say, the whole of north and north-west India”.³² On close examination, however, there is little to warrant this conclusion. Jibin / Kashmir (and the counterpart ‘Kaśmīra’ in Buddhist texts in Sanskrit) probably did point to a somewhat larger region than the upper valley of the Jhelum river around Srinagar, the most restrictive definition of ‘Kashmir’;³³ this region may have stretched up to Chilās to the north and adjoined Taxila to the east, but it definitely lay to the south and east of the upper course of the Indus, and accordingly did not include Gandhāra, let alone Tokharistan.³⁴ This is not to say

³² See Enomoto 1994: 361 and *passim*. Until recently I myself have accepted this thesis; see Palumbo 2012: 314. Enomoto’s notion of Jibin is based on three main pieces of evidence, the first being Dao’an’s alternative references to Dharmananda as a man from Jibin or Tokharistan; I discuss all of them in this section.

³³ See Petech 1950: 72–73.

³⁴ The biographies of Zhimeng 智猛 and Fayong 法勇 in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* and in the *Gaoseng zhuan* report that these two monks, respectively shortly after 404 and 420, went on pilgrimage to India, and stopped along the way in Jibin, where both of them could worship the Buddha’s begging bowl (*Fobo* 佛鉢); see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 15.113b4–28 (Zhimeng), 15.113c16–114a7 (Fayong); *Gaoseng zhuan*, 3.343b1–21 (Zhimeng), 3.338b26–c16 (Fayong). Now, the detailed record of Faxian’s 法顯 (331/342–418/423) journey to India between 399 and 414 states twice that the Buddha’s *pātra* was in Gandhāra, although there is some ambiguity in the account as to whether it was in Puruṣapura (Fulousha 弗樓沙, modern Peshawar) or in Puṣkalāvati (modern Chārsadda), which Faxian calls Gandhāvati (Qiantuwei 健陀衛); see *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, pp. 858b11–c7, 865c2–3; cf. the translations in Beal 1884, vol. 1, pp. xxxii–xxxiv, lxxviii; Giles 1923: 13–15, 74; Deeg 2005: 522–524, 570; and the remarks in Falk 2005: 446 concerning the exact location of the object. On the basis of Faxian’s testimony, Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進 has argued that Jibin 罽賓 in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* and in the *Gaoseng zhuan* must refer to Gandhāra rather than Kashmir, since the Buddha’s bowl was there (see Ku-

wayama 1990: 49–58). Enomoto (1994: 359), and this is the second of his arguments, adjusts Kuwayama’s findings to the effect that the Jibin of Sengyou and Huijiao probably included both Gandhāra and Kashmir. However, the biographies tell a different story. Zhimeng crossed the mountains south of Khotan and reached the kingdom of Polun 波淪 (Bolor, Gilgit); he then proceeded further south for a thousand *li* 里, “crossed the Indus river and arrived at the kingdom of Jibin” 渡辛頭河, 至罽賓國 (the *Chu sanzang ji ji* has “arrived at the kingdom of Jibin and twice (or ‘further’) crossed the Indus river” 至罽賓國, 再度辛頭河). Jibin was therefore due south of Gilgit, its territory starting either from the northern or from the southern bank of the Indus (in the neighbourhood of Chilās if one comes from Gilgit). This description does not fit Gandhāra at all: to reach the latter from Gilgit, rather than going straight to the south and crossing the Indus, one should descend southwestwards along the right bank of the great river. Moreover, according to the *Chu sanzang ji ji* Zhimeng “reached the [capital] city of Jibin. There constantly were 500 *arhats* residing in this kingdom, who would regularly go back and forth to Lake Anavatapta” 至罽賓城, 恒有五百羅漢住此國中而常往反阿耨達池. Again, it seems difficult to see anything else than Kashmir in this sketch (Jibin cheng 罽賓城 = Kaśmīrapura). The biography of Fayong further defines the geographical contours of Jibin. The monk and his companions stopped in this country for more than one year, venerating the Buddha’s bowl and learning the foreign language and script. Then “they travelled west and arrived at the Sindhunadī – in Chinese, the River from the Lion Mouth – and in the west they entered the kingdom of the Yuezhi 月氏, where they worshipped the fleshy knot-bone of the Buddha” 西行到新頭那提, 漢言師子口河, 西入月氏國, 禮拜佛肉髻骨. According to Faxian, the Buddha’s *uṣṇīṣa* was kept and venerated in the city of Xiluo 醯羅 (Haḍḍa ?) in the kingdom of Nagarahāra (Najie 那竭), in the area of modern Jalalabad; see *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, pp. 858c8–24; tr. Beal 1884, vol. 1, pp. xxxiv–xxxv; Giles 1923: 15; Deeg 2005: 524–525. What is important here is that Fayong and the others had first to reach the Indus travelling westwards from Jibin before entering the territory of the Yuezhi; in other words, Jibin was *east* of the Indus, and accordingly it cannot have included Gandhāra, although it does seem to have extended well to the west, south and north of Srinagar. But how should we explain the fact that Zhimeng and Fayong could worship in Jibin / Kaśmīra the (same?) Buddha’s begging bowl, which Faxian had seen in Gandhāra not long before them?

that all the monks coming to China from Jibin / Kashmir hailed from there. The **Mahā-vibhāṣā*, the core of which probably goes back to the first half of the 4th c., reflects the views of a Sarvāstivāda community in Kashmir; the authors of the treatise, however, repeatedly contrast their own doctrinal positions with those of unnamed ‘foreign masters’ (*waiguo fashi* 外國法師), ‘Western *śramaṇas*’ (*xifang shamen* 西方沙門), ‘Westerners’ (*xifang ren* 西方人, Skt. *pāścātya*) or simply ‘outsiders’ (*waizhe* 外者). Xuanzang’s translation identifies at least part of these ‘foreign-

Harry Falk has shown that large-sized stone bowls, probably related to the legendary *pātra* of the Buddha, “seem to have been produced in several places, both in Gandhāra and in Mathurā”; one such item, bearing a dedicatory inscription of the Kuṣāṇa period, was found as recently as 2000 near Chār-sadda; see Falk 2005: 447–448. It is therefore by no means impossible that more than one ‘Buddha’s bowl’ could be found in northwest India around the turn of the 5th c., east and west of the Indus; alternatively, the Gandhāran bowl, whose whereabouts after Faxian’s testimony are none too clear, may have been brought to Jibin / Kaśmīra. In fact, an excerpt from the biography of the Liangzhou monk Sengbiao 僧表 (fl. ca. 420–440) in the *Mingseng zhuan* appears to prove the point. Sengbiao had heard that the bowl was in Puruṣapura (Fulousha 弗樓沙國), but *now* was in a towered monastery in Jibin, where it was constantly worshipped by 500 arhats (聞弗樓沙國有佛鉢, 鉢今在罽賓臺寺, 恒有五百羅漢供養鉢); at some point the bowl had even ‘flown’ to Liangzhou, escorted by twelve *arhats*, who after six years had returned with the sacred vessel to Jibin. Distressed that he had missed the opportunity to see the bowl (presumably because this had happened when he was too young, or perhaps in some remote past), Sengbiao set forth to Jibin to worship it; see *Meisō den shō*, Z vol. 77 no. 1523, p. 358b13–16. The story is unattested elsewhere, but it is reminiscent of Faxian’s report, based on a lecture heard in Ceylon from a visiting Indian monk, that the *pātra* was destined to travel from country to country, eventually reaching even China before flying to Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven; see *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, p. 865c1–23. Since the bowl was conceived of as a magical, itinerant object, it would have been easy to justify its presence in different places.

ers' (Skt. *bahirdeśaka*) as Gandhāran, although their national spectrum was probably broader.³⁵ These 'foreign masters' seem to have been in plain sight of the Kashmiri Vaibhāṣikas, and it is a distinct possibility that at least some of them were in fact *inside* Kashmir. The synodical origins of the **Mahā-vibhāṣā*, legendised into the story of the Council of Kaniṣka in Xuanzang's times, and already reported in simpler terms in the preface to the first translation of 427, are borne out by the very breadth and variety of theses reported in the great book.³⁶ The 4th c. is one of the darkest ages in

³⁵ See La Vallée Poussin 1931: x–xi; Watanabe 1954: 111–155; Willemen–Dessein–Cox 1998: 149–150. The designations *bahirdeśaka* (foreigners) and *pāś-cātya* (Westerners) for groups of *ābhidharmikas* at doctrinal variance with the Vaibhāṣikas of Kashmir are attested in the *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Yaśomitra's (d.u.) commentary to the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu (late 4th c.?), with the former term occurring far more frequently than the latter. See the index to Wogihara's edition of the *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, vol. 2, p. 12, s.v.

³⁶ In the preface to the translation of 427, Daoshan 道挺 (d.u.; the second character is also written 挺 and 挺) states that five hundred *arhats* in northern India (*bei Tianzhu* 北天竺) "investigated the aspects of the Law and composed the Vibhāṣā to restrain and correct the crowd of discourses" 搜簡法相, 造毘婆沙, 抑正眾說, although significantly he makes no mention of Kaniṣka; see *Chusanzang jì jì*, 10.74a6; *Apitan piposha lun*, T vol. 28 no. 1546, pp. 1a13–14, 414c19–20. The Chinese translation of the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi opens with a versified portion where the author (*Śītapāṇi, presumably) renders homage to "the Holy Congregation (*shengzhong* 聖眾, Skt. *ārya-saṃgha*) of the Great Snowy Mountains (*daxueshan* 大雪山, probably the western end of the Himalayas in Kashmir)"; he further announces that he will explain the "expanded teachings" (*guangyan jiao* 廣演教, probably translating *vibhāṣā*) of the 'Great Masters', and invites the Holy Congregation to listen attentively; see *Piposha lun* (T vol. 28 no. 1547), 1.416a18–22. Since the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi is a much shorter parallel to the **Mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra*, this presentation may mean that the author made his own selection from a body of *vaibhāṣika* teachings that were in circulation within the *saṃgha* of Kashmir.

the history of northwest India, but what little can be gleaned from the available literary, epigraphical and numismatic evidence points to a period of protracted instability especially in the Hindukush region. If so, the ‘synod’ of Kashmir out of which the *Vibhāṣā* treatises were produced may have ensued from a sizeable migration of Buddhist populations from Bactria and Gandhāra to the safer areas east of the Indus, notably to the mountain haven of Kashmir, and from their doctrinal settlements with the local Sarvāstivādins.³⁷ The spate of Jibin monks gathering in China in the decades straddling the turn of the 5th c. may then have been composed of both genuine Kashmiris and immigrant monks from beyond the Indus.³⁸

³⁷ On the crisis in Bactria in the wake of foreign invasions around the middle of the 4th c. see Grenet 1996; for an attempt, in my opinion unconvincing, to link the political turbulence in Central Asia and Northwest India in that period with the movement of Buddhist monks towards Eastern Central Asia and China, see Saito 2010.

³⁸ This scenario would account for the third and last of Enomoto’s arguments in support of his identification of Jibin with an area including Gandhāra and possibly beyond. Enomoto notes that the Chinese translation of the Sarvāstivāda vinaya (*Shisong lü* 十誦律, T.1435), in a section that can be reasonably assigned to the text recited by the master from Jibin *Puṇyatāra (Fu-ruoduoluo 弗若多羅), who died in 405 before the completion of the translation, enumerates three classes of *devas* – Brahmakāyika, Brahmapurohita, Mahābrahman – residing in the first level of the realm of form. The Kashmiri authors of the **Mahā-vibhāṣā* impute this enumeration to the Westerners; against them, they uphold the thesis that only the Brahmakāyika and Brahmapurohita reside in that level, the Mahābrahman being subsumed under the latter. Enomoto further observes that the position of the **Mahā-vibhāṣā* is reflected in the Chinese version of the *Madhyama-āgama* (*Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經, T.26), which Gautama Saṃghadeva translated in 397–398 from a text expounded by the Kashmiri monk Saṃgharakṣa (Sengqielluocho 僧伽羅叉, d.u.). See Enomoto 1994: 360–361, and references on p. 364 notes 29–33. These are evidently very significant findings, but they do not necessarily imply that the Jibin of *Puṇyatāra “was Gandhāra or some place to the west of

This is all admittedly speculative; at least in the case of Dharmananda, however, it seems plausible to assume that this monk, albeit a native of Tokharistan, came to China with Saṃghabhadra in a party of clerics from Kashmir, a conjecture that finds further support in his role as Brāhmī redactor in the translation of the *Vibhāṣā*. We must probably think of the man who introduced the *Ekottarika-āgama* to China as an Indianising Bactrian, presumably fluent in Sanskrit, which by the end of the 4th c. had already acquired the status of a Buddhist church language of sorts, especially among the Sarvāstivāda of northwest India.³⁹ We can also tentatively assume that he was then arriving from Kashmir, and had spent long periods in the Northwest.⁴⁰ Upon his first encounter with him, Dao'an could understandably misapprehend his origins, and it is also significant that Zhu Fonian, writing in 391, will refer to Dharmananda simply as a monk from India (Tianzhu 天竺).⁴¹

Kashmir". It is at least as likely that *Punyaṭāra, although coming from Kashmir, was himself from a lineage outside that country; this was almost certainly true for Dharmananda.

³⁹ On the use of Sanskrit among the Buddhists see in the first place Pollock 2006: 51–59. On the shift from Gāndhārī to Sanskrit in Northwest India, see Fussman 1989: 486–488; Salomon 2001: 247–251; Strauch 2012: 162–164. The adoption of Sanskrit as a church language among the Sarvāstivāda in the 4th c., in an area stretching from Gandhāra to Turfan, has an important witness in the manuscript remains of the *Kaumāralāta*, found at Qyzyl (near Kucha). This Buddhist grammar of the sacred language (simply referred to as *ārṣa*), drawing illustrations from the canonical literature, was compiled by Kumāralāta (fl. ca. A.D. 330), a Sarvāstivāda master from Taxila who is best known for his authorship of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapañkti* as well as for the later tradition that associates him with the Sautrāntikas; see Lüders 1930/1940.

⁴⁰ In the preface of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, Dao'an states that Dharmananda "had travelled widely in the countries, and there was no land that he had not passed across" 周行諸國，無土不涉; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64b8.

⁴¹ *Tianzhu shamen* 天竺沙門: see Zhu Fonian's preface to a translation that he produced with Dharmananda in A.D. 391, in T vol. 50 no. 2045, p. 172b12;

Unlike his Kashmiri companions, Dharmananda seems to have enjoyed the special favour and devotion of the Qin emperor Fu Jian, who “repeatedly invited him, extending lavish donations upon him” 屢禮請，厚致供施.⁴² Possibly related to the Indo-Bactrian monk’s presence, with the translation of the *Vibhāṣā* a prominent lay personality authoritatively enters Dao’an’s group. This was Zhao Zheng 趙整 (v.l. 政 / 正,⁴³ fl. 375–392), also known as Zhao Wenye 趙文業 from his style, who was to put his fingers into practically all the subsequent workings of the team.⁴⁴ In the prefaces, Zhao is often introduced as the Governor of Wuwei 武威, a Qin commandery in Gansu. He was, in fact, an element of some clout at the court of Fu Jian, which he had entered some time before 375, and at the age of 17 (18 in the Chinese fashion), as Editorial Director (*zhuzuo lang* 著作郎) in the Palace Library, a remarkably prestigious appointment for such a young man.⁴⁵ This he owed no doubt in the

also in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 7.51c9. It will be noticed that if we apply Enomoto’s reasoning to Zhu Fonian’s indications on Dharmananda as he does with those of Dao’an, we should conclude that not only Jibin 罽賓, but also the so far unproblematic Tianzhu 天竺 must refer to a wider area possibly including Tokharistan, something which is evidently difficult to admit.

⁴² See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 13.99b23. Neither Saṃghadeva nor Saṃghabhadra are reported to have received similar honours.

⁴³ The written form of the first name of this personage wavers between the three homophonous characters given here. Secular sources (*Jin shu*, *Zizhi tongjian*, *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚) consistently read 整; Buddhist sources, with few exceptions, alternately use the other two characters 政 / 正.

⁴⁴ The two main sources on Zhao Zheng’s life and background are the biographical sketches in *Zizhi tongjian*, 103.3268; and in *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328c6–21, tr. Shih 1968: 50–51.

⁴⁵ On this position see Hucker 1985: 184a, no. 1442. It is essentially equivalent to that of Assistant in the Palace Library (*mishu lang* 祕書郎; cf. Hucker 1985: 377b no. 4592), a title frequently ascribed to Zhao Zheng in the sources (e.g. in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.73b29). The earliest record about Zhao Zheng mentions him at the beginning of A.D. 375 under the hybrid title *mishu shilang* 祕

first place to his precociously vast erudition and literary skills, reflected in a versatile production stretching from poetry to history.⁴⁶ His extraordinary ability at composing impromptu rhymes and songs, which he also used to address the emperor in witty remonstrances, may have earned him Fu Jian's confidence and tolerance towards his occasional effronteries.⁴⁷ As befits personages of high drama, however, the relationship between the Qin despot and his bright young writer-in-residence is not shorn of ambiguities. The Buddhist biographer portrays Zhao Zheng as a smooth-faced, lean man, further remarking that although he had a wife, he had no children, and people would call him a 'eunuch' (*yan* 閹).⁴⁸ The secular historian – Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), no less – simply states that he *was* an appointed eunuch (*huanguan* 宦官).⁴⁹ If so, he would have enjoyed a degree of intimacy with the ruler that would not have ensued from his mere literary talents.⁵⁰

書侍郎; see *Zizhi tongjian*, 103.3268. Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (1230–1302), the Yuan commentator of Sima Guang's work, explains (*loc. cit.*) that the title fuses the two positions that Zhao had as *mishu lang* and as *neishi zuoyou* 內侍左右 (Palace Attendant); it is unclear whether by the latter title Hu referred to Zhao's status as a eunuch; cf. Hucker 1985: 350a-b no. 4237, and my discussion below.

⁴⁶ For a surviving poem of Zhao Zheng, see *Yiwen leiju*, 87.1487; on his activity as a historian (he was the author of a lost history of the Qin state, the *Qin shu* 秦書), see Rogers 1968: 22.

⁴⁷ See the examples in *Zizhi tongjian*, 103.3268, 104.3286, 3296; *Jin shu*, 114.2928, tr. Rogers 1968: 189.

⁴⁸ See *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328c8–9.

⁴⁹ See *Zizhi tongjian*, 103.3268.

⁵⁰ There is uncertainty also as to Zhao's place of origin. Huijiao mentions Qingshui 清水 near Luoyang or Jiying 濟陰, both localities being in Henan, Central Plain (see *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328c7); but Sima Guang points to Lüeyang 略陽 in Gansu (*Zizhi tongjian*, 103.3268), and he is probably right. Qingshui and Lüeyang were in fact neighbouring commanderies in southern Gansu, in the historical area of Di 氐 settlement; see *Jin shu*, 14.435, and cf.

Zhao's religious feelings appear to have been stirred by the very surge of Buddhism in Guanzhong, to which the monastic characters of our story bear potent witness. He reportedly asked to join their ranks and be ordained as a Buddhist monk, but Fu Jian denied his permission.⁵¹ Right from his first appearance in the Chang'an team, Zhao emerges as a leading figure, nearly overshadowing Dao'an himself, in whose words his memory yet survives. According to Dao'an, Fu Jian's trusted attendant had heard of the veneration in which the *Vibhāṣā* was held in the foreign countries, and was literally 'starving' (*jixu* 飢虛) for it as along came Saṃghabhadra with that scripture in his mind. Zhao then requested its translation, and personally saw to the final touch as Rectifier of the Meaning (*zhengyi* 正義), a role he would also take in subsequent undertakings of the group.⁵²

On 6 June 383, in synchrony with the start of the *Vibhāṣā* translation,⁵³ a second team coordinated by Dao'an's right-hand man Shi Fahe 釋法和 (fl. 349–402) had set off to work on the *Abhidharma* treatise of Kātyāyanīputra, the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭa-skandha-śāstra*.⁵⁴ This was evidently a coherent choice, since the latter was the very text profusely commented upon in the former, and is telling of the Sarvāstivāda leanings of the foreign monks in Chang'an at that time. For Dao'an, however, and presumably for his informants, this book was no less than *the* Abhidharma, the third part of the Tripiṭaka, as he further identified Kātyāyanīputra

Rogers 1968: 324.

⁵¹ See *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328c16–17.

⁵² See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.73b29–c7.

⁵³ The *Vibhāṣā* translation, as we have seen, had begun between 18 May and 16 June 383.

⁵⁴ On this foundational work of Sarvāstivāda scholasticism see Willemsen–Dessein–Cox 1998: 221–229. On Shi Fahe, Dao'an's fellow disciple from the early days, see *Gaoseng zhuan*, 5.354a18–29.

with the Buddha's disciple Māhā-Kātyāyana.⁵⁵ The translation was conducted by Zhu Fonian on a text in 15,072 *ślokas* that Saṃghadeva, the third monk from Kashmir, recited from memory; two Chinese monks, Huili 慧力 (d.u.) and Sengmao 僧茂 (d.u.), took it down in writing, and Fahe rectified the rendition, which was completed on 3 December that year. But Dao'an and Fahe were still unhappy with the outcome and ordered a re-issuing (*gengchu* 更出), which was carried out in 46 days working round-the-clock and resulted in the Chinese text being abridged by four scrolls.⁵⁶ The final work, then, must have been completed in the latter half of January 384 or some time thereafter.

By the following spring, the two wings of the team could be reunited: between 11 April and 15 August 384, all the main personalities in the group cooperated to the translation of yet another scholastic treatise, the 'Collection of Vasumitra' (*Poxumi ji* 婆須蜜集). Saṃghabhadra had brought a manuscript of this text in 12,000 *ślokas*, and Zhao Zheng, the group's political director, requested its translation.⁵⁷ This was carried out with Zhu Fonian in the role of

⁵⁵ See below, ch. 5, § V.

⁵⁶ See 'Preface to the Abhidharma' (*Apitan xu* 阿毘曇序), in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72a9–b15; tr. Nakajima 1997: 265–269; cf. Chen 2005: 625–626. The translation is extant (*Apitan ba qiandu lun* 阿毘曇八韋度論, T vol. 26 no. 1543), in a revision that Saṃghadeva produced in Luoyang, probably in A.D. 390; see below, pp. 74–75 and note 152.

⁵⁷ If we consider all the translations in which Saṃghabhadra, Dharmananda and Saṃghadeva were involved between 383 and 399, it is interesting to observe that in the three cases where a manuscript was available (*Collection of Vasumitra*, *Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa*, *Chuyao jing* / *Udāna*), this had always been brought by Saṃghabhadra. The remaining translations (*Vibhāṣā*, **Aṣṭaśāstra*, *Madhyama-āgama*, *Ekottarika-āgama*, **Dharmavardhanāvadāna*) were based instead on the oral recitation of one of the monks. This circumstance is consistent with the possibility that the three clerics had come to Chang'an as a group, with specialist expertise between the members and just

interpreter and Saṃghabhadra, Dharmananda and Saṃghadeva together “in control of the foreign text” (*zhi huben* 執胡本), in other words expounding the Indic original. The Chinese monk Huisong 慧嵩 (d.u.) wrote down the text, which then Dao’an and Fahe “revised and embellished” (*jiao xiushi* 校修飾), and Zhao Zheng further polished.⁵⁸

The ‘Discourses Collected by the Venerable Vasumitra Bodhisattva’ (*Zun Poxumi pusa suoji lun* 尊婆須蜜菩薩所集論, T.1549), as the full title reads, is a work of dogmatics presenting distinctive Sarvāstivāda doctrines, but in formulations that are sometimes at variance with those of the Kashmiri masters in the *Vibhāṣā* treatises; Watanabe Baiyū 渡辺棹雄, who studied this text in great detail, assigned it to a Sarvāstivāda lineage from outside Kashmir, the so-called ‘foreigners’ or ‘Westerners’.⁵⁹ The ‘Collection of Vasumitra’ came to China along with a tradition about its author, which Dao’an reports at length in his preface to the Chinese translation. There, Vasumitra is depicted as a bodhisattva, the son of the great Brahmin Brahmāyu, born in Videha at the time of Śākyamuni under the name Uttara. He was destined to be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven along with Maitreyaśrī and Saṃgharakṣa (two names

one monk in charge of the manuscripts. Such an assumption would obviously be difficult to defend if each one of the monks had come with their own manuscripts. A written text was also used for Saṃghadeva’s retranslation of the *Madhyama-āgama* in 397–398, but in this case the manuscript seems to have had a completely different origin (see below in this chapter, § II.2).

⁵⁸ See Dao’an’s preface (*Poxumi ji xu* 婆須蜜集序), in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71c8–72a8 (also in T.1549, p. 721a5–b4); tr. Nakajima 1997: 261–265; Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 740–741. The document is assigned to an “unspecified author” (*weixiang zuozhe* 未詳作者) in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*. From its contents, however, and from a parallel account in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, it is transparent that Dao’an wrote it; see Demiéville 1951a: 366 note 4.

⁵⁹ See Watanabe 1954: 179–252, especially 248–249; cf. also Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 739–740; Willemen – Dessein – Cox 1998: 163–164.

known from lists of Sarvāstivāda patriarchs at a slightly later date) before eventually attaining Buddhahood next to Maitreya as Sīṃha Tathāgata.⁶⁰ The story has a strong Mahāyānist flavour; indeed, Dao'an states that the treatises of Vasumitra together with the *Abhidharma* (of Kātyāyanīputra, i.e. the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭa-skandha-śāstra*) are famous in the foreign countries (*waiguo* 外國), and that they penetrate the Great Vehicle from all sides (與阿毘曇並興外國, 傍通大乘). We may want to dismiss this claim as a pious

⁶⁰ See above, note 58 for the text of the preface and some modern translations; see also Demiéville 1951a: 366–368. Demiéville (*ibid.* p. 366 note 7) states that the character Uttara in the preface is drawn from a sūtra in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* (*Zhong ahan jing*, in T.26, no. 161, 41.685a5–690a5) as well as in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (MN 91 at MN II 134–135). This is correct only to an extent. In the sūtra, Uttara is Brahmāyu's disciple rather than son. In all the versions, Brahmāyu sends Uttara to Videha to observe the Buddha and his supernatural marks; the *Zhong ahan jing* is closer to Dao'an's preface in that it says that Uttara followed the Buddha for a period of four months (seven in the Pāli version), and that he was ordained as a monk, something that the *Majjhima-nikāya* does not say. The rest of the story in the preface, however, is unmatched in the sūtra. It is unclear whether this Uttara / Vasumitra has any connection with the Uttara, disciple of Ānanda, who features prominently in the prefatory chapter of the *Zengyi ahan jing* (see above, p. 3, note 6). Both figures were active shortly after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha; Uttara / Vasumitra, in particular, is said to have gone to teach in the lands of Cūḍa (?) and [Su]varṇa (周妒國、槃奈國). Leon Hurvitz is probably right in hearing here an echo of the story in the Pāli *Mahāvamsa*, where Uttara is one of the missionaries sent out in the time of Aśoka, notably going to Suvaṇṇabhūmi; see Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 940. The chronological discrepancy between the two traditions does not rule out the identity of the two Uttaras, when one considers that in the *Fenbie gongde lun*, the commentary to the *Zengyi ahan jing* to be discussed in the second part of this study, Madhyāntika and Mahendra, each respectively going on mission to Kashmir and Ceylon and evidently paralleling the Majjhantika and Mahinda of the Pāli sources, are also presented as disciples of Ānanda; see *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.37b23–28, 5.48b21–28.

misunderstanding of the Chinese monk; however, the tradition on the future Buddhahood of Vasumitra cannot have been his invention, and it would be wise to take due note of these Mahāyānist intimations around a probably *bahirdeśaka* text.

In the course of 384, the translation of the two great collections, the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*, had already started, as we are going to see. Beside this major undertaking and that on the ‘Collection of Vasumitra’, there was still room for another output, a life of the Buddha akin to the *Buddhacarita* and simply presented as the ‘Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa’ (*Sengqieluo-chā jīng* 僧伽羅刹經, T.194) from its author. This name was already known in China as that of the compiler of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, two different versions of which (T.607, T.606) had been respectively translated by An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 148–170) and Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (a.k.a. Dharmarakṣa, 229–306). Dao’an, who had previously foreworded the latter translation, now wrote a preface for the ‘Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa’, adding details on its author that he certainly owed to his new foreign informants. Just like Aśvaghōṣa in traditions that would be known in China a few decades later, Saṃgharakṣa is here presented as the teacher of King Caṇḍa Kaniṣka of Gandhāra, living in the 7th century after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Developing the passing mention he had made in the narrative on Vasumitra, Dao’an reports the story of the magical feat with which Saṃgharakṣa, before entering *nirvāṇa*, proved before Kaniṣka his firm achievement of the Bodhisattva state, after which he was reborn in Tuṣita in the presence of Maitreya, destined to become the eighth Buddha of the *bhadrakalpa*. The translation was carried out, once again at Zhao Zheng’s behest, from a manuscript that Saṃghabhadra had brought and expounded, and completed on 28 December 384 (Jianyuan 20. 11. 30). Dharmānanda and Saṃghadeva are not mentioned, otherwise the team was

identical to that behind the ‘Collection of Vasumitra’: Zhu Fonian (interpreter), Huisong (redactor), Dao’an and Fahe (editors).⁶¹

By that time, the Chang’an group had already entered the final chapter of its remarkable story. The translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* would be its denouement.

I.2 The translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the different redactions of the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經, A.D. 384–385

From the arrival of Kumārabuddhi in February 382 up to the translation of the **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*, completed at the beginning of 384, the activity of Dao’an’s team unfolds with clockwork regularity, as if following an established plan. Each item was tackled immediately after the completion of the previous one; on occasion, the group would divide into two teams working simultaneously, as with the parallel translation of the **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra* and the *Vibhāṣā*. Dao’an would coordinate the efforts in tandem with Zhao Zheng, his political patron and interface with the Qin court, and with his long-time monastic companion Fahe.

The picture, however, becomes patchy in the course of 384: we have seen that the ‘Collection of Vasumitra’ was issued between April and August, and that the ‘Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa’ had been completed by the very end of the year, but we do not know when the latter had been started, or whether any work was under-

⁶¹ See *Sengqieluocha jing xu* 僧伽羅剎經序, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71b2–23 (also in T.194, p. 115b18–c9); tr. Nakajima 1997: 257–259; Demiéville 1951a: 363–365 (nearly complete); Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 941, 741 (with a few misunderstandings); Deeg 2012: 377. This translation is extant (T vol. 4 no. 194). Tsukamoto Zenryū observes that in the scripture, the emphasis on the Bodhisattva’s *praṇidhicaryā* and on his practice of the six *pāramitās* are suggestive of a Buddhist milieu where Mahāyānist ideas were gaining ground; see Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 741–742.

taken in the first quarter of the year. According to the biographies of Dharmananda, it is in any case at this stage that the group took on its most substantial task hitherto, the translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* and of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Both collections had been conveyed as the oral patrimony of this monk, who specialised in their recitation.⁶² This being the case, it is not impossible that some partial disclosure or discussion of the contents of the two *āgamas* had already started at some point after the arrival at Chang'an of the Indo-Bactrian monk and of his Kashmiri companions, which, as we have seen above, must have taken place by the spring of 383 at the latest. Some limited corroboration of this possibility comes from Dao'an's preface to the translation of the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra, which was probably written in late January 384 or shortly thereafter. Here the monk expressly quotes a passage from the *Zhong ahan [jing]* 中阿含 (*Madhyama-āgama*).⁶³ Moreover, a note in small characters, which may well have been original, refers to the Buddha's disciple [Mahā]-Kātyāyana (Jiazhanyan 迦旃延) as "the first in the meanings" 義第一也; this is evidently a reference to the fourth chapter of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, 'The Disciples' (*dizi pin* 弟子品), a parallel to the Pāli *Etadagga*, where Mahā-Kātyāyana is indeed extolled as "the best at distin-

⁶² See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64b6–8, 13.99b12–13.

⁶³ See Dao'an's 'Preface to the Abhidharma' (*Apitan xu* 阿毘曇序), in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72a13–14; the quotation, in which the Buddha scolds his disciple Udāyin for inappropriately asking questions about the Abhidharma (中阿含世尊責優陀耶曰：「汝致詰阿毘曇乎？」), has a parallel in a passage of sūtra no. 22 in the *Zhong ahan jing* (世尊面訶烏陀夷曰：「汝愚癡人！盲無有目，以何等故，論甚深阿毘曇？」), see T vol. 1 no. 26, 5.450a17–18. The wording is clearly different in the received text, which is Saṃghadeva's later translation (397–398) from a different original. Cf. Nakajima 1997: 265, 268 notes 4, 5.

guishing meanings” (*shan fenbie yi* 善分別義).⁶⁴

Unfortunately, we know very little about the original translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*. No preface or colophon has been preserved; the translation itself has long been lost, as it was eventually replaced by a second version that Saṃghadeva produced in 397–398 at Jiankang from a manuscript that another Kashmiri monk, Saṃgharakṣa (Sengqieliuocha 僧伽羅叉, d.u.), expounded. This is the presently extant *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經 (T.26).⁶⁵ Below (ch. 2, § III.3) I shall briefly discuss Mizuno Kōgen’s 水野弘元 hypothesis that a number of extant sūtras, separately transmitted as independent scriptures, may in fact be remnants of Dharmananda’s translation. For the time being we shall only note that according to the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, our oldest and most trusted Buddhist catalogue, Saṃghadeva’s *Zhong ahan jing* “was very different from the one issued by Dharmananda” 與曇摩難提所出大不同, and that the latter, in 59 *juan*, had been released in the year 20 of the Jianyuan 建元 era (8 February 384 – 26 January 385).⁶⁶

We are remarkably better informed about the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, whose circumstances Dao’an relates in a preface that he wrote for the completed work.⁶⁷ This is our best lead

⁶⁴ For the note in Dao’an’s preface, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72a15. On Mahā-Kātyāyana as “the best at distinguishing meanings” see the discussion below, ch. 5, § V.

⁶⁵ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64a4–28; tr. Nakajima 1997: 189. Cf. Enomoto 1986: 19–20, and below in this chapter, § II.2.

⁶⁶ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 2.10c8 for the comparison of the two translations; 2.10b23 for the date (approximate to the year) of Dharmananda’s issue.

⁶⁷ *Zengyi ahan xu* 增一阿含序, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64a29–c2; cf. tr. Nakajima 1997: 191–195. A French rendition by Thích Huyền-Vi (1983–4) is too full of inaccuracies and mistakes to be of service. Dhammadinnā informs me that an integral translation of Dao’an’s preface is due to appear in Legittimo, forthcoming, which unfortunately I could not consult in the preparation of this study. The text of the preface, with a few variants, is also at T.125, p. 549a5–b6.

into the early textual history of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, and it warrants a full examination. Below is its text, with my English rendition:

四阿含義，同《中阿含》首，以明其指，不復重序也。
《增一阿含》者，皆法條貫以數相次也。數終十，今加其一，故曰《增一》也。且數數皆增，以增為義也。其為法也，多錄禁律，繩墨切厲，乃度世檢括也。外國巖岫之士、江海之人，於四阿含多詠味茲焉。有外國沙門曇摩難提者，兜佉勒國人也。齟齬出家，孰與廣聞，誦二阿含，溫故日新。周行諸國，無土不涉。以秦建元二十年，來詣長安，外國鄉人咸皆善之，武威太守趙文業求令出焉。佛念譯傳，曇嵩筆受。歲在甲申夏出，至來年春乃訖。為四十一卷，分為上下部。上部二十六卷，全無遺忘。下部十五卷，失其錄偈也。余與法和共考正之，僧略、僧茂助校漏失，四十日乃了。此年有阿城之役伐鼓近郊，而正專在斯業之中。全具二《阿含》一百卷、《鞞婆沙》、《婆和須蜜》、《僧伽羅剎傳》。此五大經，自法東流出經之優者也。四阿含，四十應真之所集也，十人撰一部。題其起書，為錄偈焉，懼法留世久，遺逸散落也。斯土前出諸經，班班有其中者。今為二阿含，各為新錄一卷。全其故目，注其得失，使見經尋之差易也。合上下部四百七十二經。凡諸學士撰此二阿含，其中往往有律語，外國不通與沙彌、白衣共視也。而今已後，幸共護也，使與律同。此乃茲邦之急者也。斯諄諄之誨，幸勿藐藐聽也。廣見而不知護禁，乃是學士通中創也。《中本起》，康孟祥出，出大愛道品，乃不知是禁經、比丘尼法。堪慊切直，割而去之。此乃是大鄙，可痛恨者也。此二經，有力道士乃能見，當以著心焉。如其輕忽不以為意者，幸我同志鳴鼓攻之可也。
The meaning of the Four *Āgamas* is the same as [that illustrated at] the beginning of the ‘Medium *āgama*’ (*Zhong*

ahan 中阿含, *Madhyama-āgama*). I have explained their purport and shall not present it anew.⁶⁸ As for the ‘Āgama Increasing by One’ (*Zengyi ahan* 增一阿含, *Ekottarika-āgama*), it strings all the articles of the Law in numerical succession. Numbers end with ten, but here⁶⁹ one is added; therefore it is called ‘Increasing by One’.⁷⁰ Moreover, all numbers increase: they have increment as their principle. As a [part of the] Law, [the *Ekottarika-āgama*] provides

⁶⁸ There was evidently a preface to the first translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, where Dao’an gave a general discussion of the four *āgamas*; cf. Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 743–744. Both the translation and the preface are now lost.

⁶⁹ “Here” translates *jin* 今 (lit. ‘presently’), for which I follow the reading of the base text of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* in the Taishō canon (Korean edition of A.D. 1244), confirmed in the Song edition and in the Nanatsu-dera 七寺 manuscript (11th–12th c.). The alternative reading *ling* 令 occurs instead in the Yuan and Ming editions (see T vol. 55, p. 64 note 6) and in the Kunaichō 宮内庁 edition (not collated in Taishō apparatus), as well as in the text of the preface at T.125, p. 549a7. On the significance of these variants see the following note. On the Nanatsu-dera and Kunaichō texts of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* see below, p. 50 note 96.

⁷⁰ That ‘numbers end with ten’ (*shu zhong shi* 數終十 in the preface) is a purely Chinese notion. Under the Eastern Han, it is attested in identical terms (*shizhe*, *shu zhi zhong* 數十者, 數之終) in the Taoist *Taiping jing* 太平經 and in a document by the first known Chinese Buddhist monk, Yan Futiao 嚴浮[v.l. 佛]調 (fl. ca. A.D. 180); see respectively *Taping jing hejiao*, pp. 153, 390, and *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.69c29. Dao’an appears to understand the term *ekottar[ik]a* as referring to the ‘addition of one’ series (the Elevens) to the natural sequence of ten. The variant *ling jia qi yi* 令加其一 (see the previous note), lit. “causing one to be added”, does not go very well with the preceding phrase, although it should not change the general meaning of Dao’an’s statement. But cf. the different interpretation of this passage in Anālayo 2013: 37–38 note 109. I am grateful to Anālayo, notwithstanding our diverging readings, for drawing my attention to the variant *ling* 令, which I had completely overlooked in my initial translation.

ample record of the discipline of the prohibitions.⁷¹ The rules being extremely harsh, one can transcend the world and live in restraint. [As a result,] in the foreign countries, [be it] knights of the peaks and crags or people by the sea and rivers,⁷² most prefer to chant this one among the Four *Āgamas*.

Here is the foreign *śramaṇa*⁷³ Dharmananda, a man from the kingdom of *Tokharika.⁷⁴ He left the household as he changed his teeth,⁷⁵ and matured⁷⁶ with those of wide learning (*guangwen* 廣聞, Skt. *bahuśruta*). He has been reciting these two *Āgamas*,⁷⁷ “keeping warm the old while renewing it daily”.⁷⁸ He has travelled widely in the countries, and there is no land that he has not passed across. In the year 20 of Established Prime (the Jianyuan 建元 era) of Qin (8 February 384 – 26 January 385), [since Dharmananda] had come to visit Chang’an, and both foreigners and locals praised him, the Governor of Wuwei 武威, Zhao Wenye 趙文業, requested him to issue [the *Ekottarika-āgama*].⁷⁹ [Zhu 竺] Fonian 佛念 translated, Tansong 曇嵩 received with the

⁷¹ ‘Discipline of the prohibitions’ (*jīnlǜ* 禁律) is the definition of Skt. *vinaya* (*pīnī* 毘尼) given in the *Fēnbī gōngde lùn*; see below, ch. 5, p. 195. My thanks to Stefano Zacchetti for correcting my interpretation of the first part of this sentence.

⁷² In view of what the preface says farther on about the *vinaya* contents of the *Ekottarika-āgama* being restricted to laypeople, the contrast here is probably drawn between *āraṇyakas* and sedentary monastics.

⁷³ Waiguo shamen 外國沙門.

⁷⁴ *Douqule guo* 兜佉勒國, Tokharistan / Bactria: see above, p. 22, note 30.

⁷⁵ In other words, he became a novice around the age of seven.

⁷⁶ Reading 熟 for 孰.

⁷⁷ The *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

⁷⁸ An allusion to *Analects*, II.11: “The Master said, ‘If you keep warm the old whilst knowing the new, then you can be a teacher’” 子曰：「溫故而知新，可以為師矣。」。

⁷⁹ For the translation of this sentence see above, pp. 18–19, note 24.

brush (*bishou* 筆受). They started when the Year [star] (Jupiter) was in *jiashen* 甲申, in the summer (7 May – 2 August 384), and finished in the spring of the following year (27 January – 24 April 385). They made 41 scrolls (*juan* 卷), divided into an upper and a lower part. The upper part, in 26 scrolls, was completely without lapses; the lower part, in 15 scrolls, omitted the summary *gāthās* (*lujie* 錄偈). I with Fahe 法和 have examined and corrected it; Senglüe 僧略 and Sengmao 僧茂 have assisted in editing and proofreading, and in 40 days we have finished. This year the slave from Acheng 阿城⁸⁰ has come beating his drums at the nearer suburbs, but we were fully concentrated in the midst of this endeavour. Altogether we have completed the hundred-scrollful⁸¹ of the two *Āgamas*, the *Vibhāṣā*, the [*Scripture of*] *Vasumitra* and the *Narrative of Saṃgharakṣa*. These five great scriptures are the best scriptures ever issued since the Law has flowed to the East.

The Four *Āgamas* were compiled by forty ‘Respondent Realised Ones’ (*yingzhen* 應真, i.e. *arhats*), each work compiled by ten of them.⁸² They gave headings from beginning

⁸⁰ The Xianbei leader Murong Chong 慕容冲, who had established his base in this city, and attacked Fu Jian’s capital between late 384 and the first months of 385; see the discussion below, § II.1.

⁸¹ Here *bai juan* 百卷 may be an exact or approximate expression. The translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is said to consist of 41 scrolls, whereas, as we have seen, the *Madhyama-āgama* translation amounted to 59 scrolls, and the two combined would amount to exactly 100 scrolls. However, immediately after, Dao’an mentions that there was an additional scroll of summaries for each of the two collections, so that the total would have been 102 scrolls. This is why I prefer to render the expression with some approximation as ‘one hundred-scrollful’.

⁸² Dao’an refers here to the tradition on the compilation of the four *āgamas* in the *Parinirvāṇa sūtra* (T.6); see below, ch. 2, § I.1.

to end⁸³ and made summary *gāthās*, fearing lest the Law, remaining in the world for a long time, be lost and scattered. Among the scriptures previously issued in this land there is a motley⁸⁴ of those inside them (i.e. the *Āgamas*). Now we have made a new summary in one scroll for each of the two *Āgamas*. We have completed the old titles and annotated the mistakes, so as to make it easy to find the discrepancies for those who read the scriptures. There are 472 scriptures altogether between the upper and lower parts.

When all the scholars compiled these two *Āgamas*, they frequently had passages on discipline inside them. In the foreign countries, they do not share their view with *śrāmaṇeras* and the white-clad (*baiyi* 白衣, i.e. laypeople). But henceforward, I trust we shall guard them together, as it has been done with the discipline.⁸⁵ This is an urgent need of this country. Such matters have been “taught most assiduously”, and I trust you shall not “listen dismissively”.⁸⁶ Making a broad display without knowing how to guard the prohibitions, this would be an injury inflicted upon all the scholars. When Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥 (fl. ca. 196–220) issued the *Medium (scripture of the) Former Rise (Zhong benqi [jing] 中本起[經])*, he [also] issued the chapter (*pin* 品, *varga*) on Great Love-Path (*Da aidao* 大愛道, Skt. Mahā-prajāpatī).⁸⁷ He did not know that this is a scripture of the

⁸³ Reading 盡 for 書 with the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the *Chu sanzang ji ji*; the text of the preface in T.125 (p. 549a22, all editions) also reads 盡.

⁸⁴ Reading 斑斑 for 班班.

⁸⁵ The reference is probably to the vinaya text transmitted by Yaśas.

⁸⁶ An allusion to the *Book of Odes (Shi jing 詩經)*, III.3: “I taught you most assiduously, you listened but dismissively” 誨爾諄諄，聽我藐藐。 This is the lament of a father uttering his chagrin at his son’s failure to learn.

⁸⁷ The *Zhong benqi jing* 中本起經 is a narrative on the life of the Buddha covering his initial preaching and conversions (*benqi* 本起 probably translates a word akin to Skt. *pūrvayoga*); starting from the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, who relied

prohibitions, the Law for the *bhikṣuṇīs*. It was genuinely irritating, and I cut it out. This is a great disgrace, something truly deplorable. These two scriptures, it is for the Knights of the Path (*daoshi* 道士) who have strength to see, and they will attach their mind to them. But if there is anyone who makes light of them or gives them no thought, I trust that you, my fellows in will, “shall beat the drum and fight” him!⁸⁸

Let us now try and summarise the above. According to Dao'an, at some point in 384, evidently in the early part of the year, Zhao Wenye (Zhao Zheng) asked Dharmananda to issue (*chu* 出) the text of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, assisted by Zhu Fonian as interpreter (*yichuan* 譯傳) and by Tansong 曇嵩 as redactor (*bishou* 筆受). The translation started between 7 May and 2 August 384 (Jianyuan 20, summer), and was completed (*qi* 訖) during the spring of the following year (27 January – 24 April 385). The result was a redac-

on Dao'an's lost catalogue, it has been assigned to the Han translator Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥 (fl. ca. 196–220), an attribution that Dao'an himself here supports; see Nattier 2008: 102–109. The received text (T.196), however, shows traces of a later (Jin 晉 / 4th c.) redaction; see Palumbo 2012: 301 note 4. The ninth *varga* of T.196 (*Qutanmi lai zuo biqiuni pin* 瞿曇彌來作比丘尼品, 2.158a21–159b17) is indeed devoted to the story of the ordination of Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī, and includes a rather detailed presentation of the ‘eight rules of respect’ for nuns (Ch. *ba jing zhi fa* 八敬之法, Pāli *aṭṭha garudhammā*); this chapter has Pāli counterparts in the *Gotamī sutta* (AN 8.51 at AN IV 274–279) and in the *Bhikkhūnīkkhandhaka* (Vin. II 252–256). Interestingly, while Dao'an insists that this text belongs exclusively to the Vinaya, the Pāli tradition places its counterpart both in the Vinaya and in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*. For an overview of the different recensions of the sūtra of Mahāprajāpatī and a detailed study of the version in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* see Anālayo 2011a.

⁸⁸ The phrase in quotation marks in the final sentence is a citation from *Analects*, XI.17.

tion in 41 scrolls (*juan* 卷), further divided into an upper and a lower sections (*shangxia bu* 上下部) of respectively 26 and 15 scrolls. This subdivision was apparently due to the fact that Dharmananda had been able to recite the text integrally and without lapses of memory for the first part (全無遺忘), but he had omitted (*shi* 失) the summary stanzas (*lujie* 錄偈) for the second part. A similar problem had probably occurred for the translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, also recited by Dharmananda seemingly in the same period, since Dao'an informs us that for each of the two Āgamas the editors had produced a 'new summary' (*xin lu* 新錄) in one scroll, so as to complete the old headings and mark up the errors. These summaries were the result of a forty-day revision of the text that Dao'an and Fahe undertook with the editorial assistance of the monks Senglue 僧略 and Sengmao 僧茂. Apart from the amendments and changes that were presumably made on the initial text, the final redaction consisted therefore of 42 scrolls (41 for the main text, plus an additional scroll of summaries), and included 472 sūtras altogether.

However, Dao'an's ostensibly detailed account in the preface obscures the existence of an earlier redaction of the sūtra preceding his own editorial intervention and, as it would seem, the very text on which that editing had been performed. In the 'Preface to the Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa' (*Sengqieluocha jing xu* 僧伽羅剎經序), the monk conveys that already in the course of 384 an initial version of the *Zengyi ahan jing* had been produced, yielding a different-sized redaction. At the end of that document, he states in fact:

十一月三十日乃了也。此年出《中阿含》六十卷、《增一阿含》四十六卷。伐鼓擊析⁸⁹之中而出斯百五卷。

⁸⁹ Read 柝 instead of 析.

On the 30th day of the 11th month (28 December 384), [the translation of the ‘Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa’] was finished. This year we have issued the 60 scrolls of the ‘Medium āgama’ (*Zhong ahan* 中阿含, *Madhyama-āgama*) and the 46 scrolls of the ‘Āgama Increasing by One’ (*Zengyi ahan* 增一阿含, *Ekottarika-āgama*). Amidst the drumbeat and the sentinels’ rattles we have issued these 105 scrolls.⁹⁰

This is rather confusing, and Dao’an (or a clerical error in the textual transmission of this preface) makes things worse by adding a slight miscalculation of his own. 60 plus 46 scrolls of the *Zhong ahan* and *Zengyi ahan* combined should be 106 scrolls, not 105.⁹¹ Yet there is no doubt that a different redaction – in 46, more unlikely 45 scrolls – is envisaged here.⁹² This had been produced, along with a translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, before 28 December 384, the day on which the translation of the ‘Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa’ had been completed. On the other hand, we have seen that the redaction for which Dao’an wrote his preface was the result of his own revision of a text in 41 scrolls; the latter had been finished between 27 January and 24 April 385, thus at least one month and probably more after the completion of the redaction in

⁹⁰ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71b20–22; cf. tr. Nakajima 1997: 258.

⁹¹ The likelihood is that the count of 60 scrolls for the *Zhong ahan jing* is a rounded up figure. We have seen above that according to the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, the *Zhong ahan jing* that Dharmananda translated in 384 consisted of 59 scrolls, and 59 plus 46 is indeed 105 scrolls.

⁹² An alternative hypothesis would be that the verb *chu* 出, which I have deliberately rendered vaguely as ‘produce’ or ‘issue’, refers here not to a translated Chinese text, but to the mere oral recitation of the Indic text followed by its transcription on Chinese scrolls of paper, which would have thus been preliminary to the subsequent translation. This, however, is extremely unlikely, both in view of the context and of the absolute absence of any parallel to such an indication.

46 scrolls. To be sure, the syntax and temporal construction in Dao'an's writings are not always limpid.⁹³ It is just possible that when he mentions the conclusion of the translation in the spring of Jianyuan 21, he refers to the text *after* his revision, in which case the preliminary redaction in 46 scrolls attested to in the 'Preface to the Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa' could have been the very text that he and Fahe proofread and edited. However, this is by no means the most obvious reading of the preface to the *Zengyi ahan jing*, for Dao'an does seem to say that the text he revised was the one in 41 scrolls completed "during the spring". On the basis of the aforesaid, we can tentatively draw the following conclusions.

The first is that the translation of the two *āgamas* in the course of A.D. 384–385, unlike the previous works of the Chang'an group, involved a process of some complexity, stretching over more than one year. A discussion of the contents of the collections had probably already started in the first months of A.D. 384, if not earlier, as Dao'an's hints in his preface to the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra suggest. We cannot say whether this preliminary elaboration resulted in notes or drafts that were later used in the main translation. It should also be noticed that while the previous translations had been carried out according to a tight schedule, and keeping each undertaking neatly separated from the next one by either staggering the schedule itself or dividing tasks within the group, at this juncture work was performed simultaneously on different texts by the same people. Thus the translation of the 'Collection of Vasumitra', in which all the members of the team were engaged, took place between 11 April and 15 August 384, overlapping with the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which started between 7 May and 2 August 384. The translation of the 'Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa', which was terminated by the end of the year, must also have been

⁹³ See above, pp. 18–19, note 24.

conducted concurrently with that of the two *āgamas*. A rapidly deteriorating political situation, to be discussed in the next section, may arguably have affected the working environment of the team and the smooth operation of its activities. However, it is more probable that a tiptoeing approach to the rendition of the *Madhyama-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* was chiefly determined by their sheer size and daunting significance. We should perhaps bear in mind that before them, no translation undertaking on such a scale had ever been attempted in China. The only comparable endeavour had been the translation of a Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* text between A.D. 291 and 304, resulting in the *Fangguang bore jing* 放光般若經 (T.221); this, however, was only one-fifth in size compared to the two *āgamas* put together, and it is worth observing that its production was an erratic process dragging on over many years.⁹⁴

As a probable consequence of the above, and this is our second and most important conclusion, the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* yielded three different redactions of its Chinese counterpart, the *Zengyi ahan jing*:

- a first redaction in 46 scrolls, completed before 28 December 384;
- a second redaction in 41 scrolls, apparently already divided into an upper and lower sections of respectively 26 and 15 scrolls, which was completed at some point between 27 January and 24 April 385, probably close to the earlier date;
- a final redaction also in 41 scrolls plus one additional scroll of summaries and consisting of 472 sūtras, which Dao'an and Fahe achieved in 40 days after the completion of the second redaction.

Here especially the obscure transition from the first to the second redaction should be noticed, as it involved a heavy-handed

⁹⁴ On this translation see Zürcher 1959/2007: 63–65; Zacchetti 2005: 30–31.

abridgment by no less than five scrolls, which may have been conducted in as little as a month, although it probably took somewhat longer. It is unknown whether this involved a wholesale retranslation, a possibility that finds some support in Dao'an's very silence about the initial redaction in his final preface. Yet, such a drastic intervention would not have been unprecedented: we have seen above that when the translation of the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaśāstra* was completed on 3 December 383, already past the stage of editorial revision, Dao'an and Fahe's dissatisfaction with the outcome prompted a fast-paced 're-issuing' (*gengchu* 更出), which was accomplished in 46 days.⁹⁵

Under normal circumstances, the final redaction would have certainly superseded the previous two, so that talking of a single '*Zengyi ahan jing* translated by Dharmananda' would be appropriate. However, our story ends in a dark spot, which cannot give us any such certainty. The world around the monastery hall, where reciting and translating scripture was all that counted, began to unravel quickly in a matter of weeks after Dao'an had penned his preface to the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. What exactly happened to him and his team in those days when the lights went out, will be our concern in the next section.

II. The aftermath of the translation

II.1 The death of Dao'an 道安 and the dispersal of the Chang'an group

The historic experience of the Chang'an translation group came to a dramatic conclusion with the death of its charismatic leader and the collapse of the political frame of reference in which it had effectively operated since 382. It is roughly known that this mostly

⁹⁵ See above, p. 32.

happened in the year 385; if we are to shed any light on the emergence of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, however, a more precise chronology will be essential.

Three major biographies of Dao'an have survived, which also include relatively detailed accounts of his death.

1. The biography of Dao'an in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, a historical bibliography of the Buddhist canon in China compiled by the monk Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518). This source has a rather complex textual history, and the received text (T.2145) appears to merge two different editions of the book, which Sengyou issued in respectively ca. 503 and ca. 515 A.D. The first edition included a biographical section, whereas the second edition was entirely bibliographical. In the interval between the two, Sengyou gathered new but not always reliable information, stemming especially from the Buddhist bibliographers at the court of Liang Wudi 梁武帝 (r. 502–549), on the basis of which he expanded and revised his catalogue of ca. 503. The thirty-two biographies of monks involved in translation activities, including Dao'an's, which are presently in *juan* 13, 14 and 15 of the received text, seem to go back mostly to the first redaction. In a few cases, however, the biographies show traces of later revision.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ The above summarises the findings of an as yet unpublished study on the textual history of the *Chu sanzang ji ji*; see Palumbo 2003: 197 and note 87 for a published sketch, doubtlessly inadequate, of these findings. See also below, ch. 3, § I. Here and throughout this study I have also consulted the texts of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* in the Nanatsu-dera 七寺 manuscript (11th–12th c.) and in the Kunaichō 宮内庁 edition, which is based on the blockprint of the Kaiyuan si 開元寺 in Fuzhou 福州 of A.D. 1148. Neither of them is collated in the Taishō apparatus; I am greatly indebted to Stefano Zacchetti for kindly providing me with copies of these important witnesses of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* several years ago.

2. The excerpt from Dao'an's biography in the *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳, originally compiled in Jiankang 建康 by the monk Baochang 寶唱 (b. ca. 466 – d. after 517) in ca. 514, included in the *Meisō den shō* 名僧傳抄 (Abstract from the *Biographies of Famous Monks*), which the Japanese monk Shūshō 宗性 compiled in 1235 on the basis of a manuscript of the *Mingseng zhuan* from the Tōdaiji 東大寺 at Nara.⁹⁷
3. The biography of Dao'an in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Accounts of Eminent Monks), completed in ca. 528 in Kuaiji 會稽 (near the modern Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang, slightly to the south of the Hangzhou bay) by the monk Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554).⁹⁸

These three sources provide rather similar versions of the circumstances of Dao'an's death, and notably agree that it happened on the eighth day of the second month of the year 21 of the Jianyuan 建元 era, or 5 March 385.⁹⁹ However, Tang Yongtong 湯

⁹⁷ On the *Mingseng zhuan* see Kiriya 1974; De Rauw 2005: 212–215.

⁹⁸ On the *Gaoseng zhuan* see Wright 1954; Makita 1973, 1975. Both scholars suggest a date around A.D. 530 for the completion of this work; my dating to ca. 528 is not very different, but it rests on an altogether different analysis of the text, which I shall present on another occasion.

⁹⁹ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 15.109a5–15; *Meisō den shō*, Z vol. 77 no. 1523, p. 352b10–17; *Gaoseng zhuan*, 5.353c9–20; tr. Link 1958: 37–38. The three narratives, seemingly drawing on a common source, link Dao'an's death to that of the soothsayer Wang Jia 王嘉 at the hands of the Qiang 羌 chieftain (eventually Later Qin emperor) Yao Chang 姚萇 (331–394), placing it some time before this event. After taking Chang'an – according to the *Gaoseng zhuan*, while he was engaged in inconclusive battling against Fu Deng 苻登, a scion of Fu Jian – Yao, upset by one of Wang's responses, had him beheaded. Yao Chang entered Chang'an in May / June 386; see *Zizhi tongjian*, 106.3363; his long military standoff with Fu Deng lingered without a clear victory until the end of his life in 394; see *Jin shu*, 9.237–240; *Zizhi tongjian*, 108.3411–14. This information, however, is of little use to our enquiry: as we are going to

用彤 raised judicious doubts on this information. He pointed out that, on the one hand, two documents seem to prove that Dao'an was still alive shortly after the alleged day of his death. In the preface of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, as we have seen, the monk states that the translation of this *āgama* was started in the summer of the year *jiashen* 甲申 (7 May – 2 August 384) and finished in the spring of the following year (27 January – 24 April 385) 歲在甲申夏出, 至來年春乃訖. Dao'an and Fahe then proofread the text, and completed their revision in forty days 余與法和共考正之 ... 四十日乃了.¹⁰⁰ As Tang rightly observes, even assuming that the draft translation was completed on the very first day of spring, that is, on the lunar New Year's Day (27 January 385), forty days after that date it would already be past the eight day of the second month.¹⁰¹ In another document, an anonymous 'Postscript to the Scriptural Collection of Saṃgharakṣa' (*Sengqieluocha ji jing houji* 僧伽羅剎集經後記), Dao'an is said to have completed his revision of this translation on the ninth day of the second month of Jianyuan 20 (6 March 385), again one day too late if we accept the date of his death in the biographies.¹⁰² Finally, Tang remarks that the eight day of the second month was an important Buddhist holy day;¹⁰³ when one further considers the narratives of omens surrounding Dao'an's death in his biographies, it seems likely that the indication of this particular

see, Dao'an had already died before Yao Chang's entrance in Chang'an.

¹⁰⁰ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64b11–14.

¹⁰¹ Precisely two days after it, corresponding to 7 March 385.

¹⁰² See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71b27–29; cf. my discussion of this document below.

¹⁰³ Tang does not elaborate on this point, but he certainly refers to the fact that in early medieval China, and on the basis of both Indian sources and local interpretations, the eight day of the second month was associated with one or more of various events in the Buddha's life, including his birth, his entrance into ascetic life and his *parinirvāṇa*; see the numerous examples discussed in Pelliot 1920: 337–339 note 37, 341–342 note 49, 343 note 59.

day for the monk's demise was dictated by purely hagiographic concerns.¹⁰⁴

It must be said that one of the two documents adduced by Tang Yongtong, the 'Postscript to the Scriptural Collection of Saṃgha-rakṣa', is almost certainly apocryphal, as I will demonstrate shortly.¹⁰⁵ The remaining evidence and arguments, however, are sufficiently strong to reject the indication in the biographies that places Dao'an's death on 5 March 385 (Jianyuan 21. 2. 8).

But then, when did the monk die? As it will be clear from the second part of this study, it is especially important for us to know how long Dao'an outlived the achievement of the third redaction of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, which also means how long the team he was leading could have continued its work.

In order to reconstruct the fate of Dao'an and his group, we must briefly zoom out from their story and take note of the historical backdrop. The political fortunes of the Qin emperor Fu Jian, Dao'an's great patron, had suffered a decisive downturn after his failed attempt to invade the Jin 晉 state in late 383.¹⁰⁶ With his authority undermined, and amidst growing defections and rebellions,

¹⁰⁴ For this entire discussion, see Tang 1938/1997: 139.

¹⁰⁵ See below, pp. 85–89.

¹⁰⁶ Traditional accounts of Fu Jian's botched campaign on the South climax in the epic battle at the Fei 肥 River in the autumn of 383, where a Jin counterattack routed a far larger Qin force and sealed the fate of the northern empire; see the 'Chronicle' narrative in *Jin shu*, 114.2916–19; tr. Rogers 1968: 166–171. Michael Rogers has deflated this episode, commonly held up as a watershed in Chinese history, into "a fictional edifice perched on a slender reed of evidence" (*ibid.* p. 3), in which a verifiable warfare incident was twice dramatized by Southern propaganda in the decades after the facts and by didactic historiography in the early Tang; see Rogers 1968: 62–69. This sweeping reassessment has not gone unchallenged, to be sure: cf. Holzman 1971. Whatever the scale of the military engagement between Qin and Jin, it is well enough established that the former decisively broke up in its wake.

in the course of 384 the once overlord of the North had to face the open challenge of his former protégé and sexual favourite, the Xianbei 鮮卑 leader Murong Chong 慕容冲 (359–386). In October that year, Xianbei forces pushed for the first time towards the Qin capital, Chang'an.¹⁰⁷ The translation activity of Dao'an's team was then in full swing, and seemingly went on unaffected by the disturbance, an echo of which resounds in the already mentioned preface that the monk wrote for the 'Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa':

正值慕容作難於近郊。然譯出不襄。余與法和對檢定之，十一月三十日乃了也。此年出《中阿含》六十卷、《增一阿含》四十六卷。伐鼓擊柝¹⁰⁸之中而出斯百五卷。窮通不改其恬，詎非先師之故跡乎？

Just then Murong 慕容 [Chong 冲] caused trouble at the nearer suburbs. But the translation was incomplete. Fahe 法和 and I collated [the text] and established it. Then, on the 30th day of the 11th month (28 December 384), it was finished. This year we have issued the 60 scrolls of the 'Medium Āgama' (*Zhong ahan* 中阿含, *Madhyama-āgama*) and the 46 scrolls of the 'Āgama Increasing by One' (*Zengyi ahan* 增一阿含, *Ekottarika-āgama*). Amidst the drumbeat and the sentinels' rattles we have issued these 105 scrolls. Staying unperturbed through the good and the bad times, is this not the legacy of [our] Former Master?¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ See *Zizhi tongjian*, 105.3334. Sima Guang reports the episode under the ninth month of Taiyuan 9 of the Jin 晉 (corresponding to Jianyuan 20 of Qin 秦), after the day *jiawu* 甲午, thus between 14 and 30 October 384. See also *Jin shu*, 114.2923; tr. Rogers 1968: 179–180.

¹⁰⁸ Read 柝 instead of 析.

¹⁰⁹ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71b19–23; cf. tr. Nakajima 1997: 258. The 'Former Master' (*xianshi* 先師) is Fotucheng 佛圖澄 (d. 349), to whom Dao'an refers with this epithet in his 'Preface to the Compendium of the Four Āgamas'; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64c13. Fotucheng died during the turmoil at the end of the

At the beginning of the following lunar year (late January – February 385), Murong Chong raised the stakes and proclaimed himself emperor of Yan 燕 in Afang 阿房 (also known as Acheng 阿城), a major Xianbei settlement to the west of Chang'an.¹¹⁰ He then stepped up the pressure against Fu Jian and, after routing the Qin troops at Baiqu 白渠 on 13 March 385, started a prolonged siege of the capital.¹¹¹ While famine loomed inside the city, a tug of war unfolded in the following months on its outskirts, with repeated Yan forays and Qin sorties.¹¹² Yet, within the walls, and at least in the early stages of the blockade, Dao'an and his group would ostensibly not waver, carrying on instead with their sacred venture. Still in his preface to the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which must date from mid-March at the earliest, the monk only drops a passing remark about the ongoing predicament.¹¹³

reign of Shi Hu 石虎, although his Buddhist hagiographers took care to place his demise just before the final collapse of that regime; see Wright 1948: 364–366. As we are going to see, Dao'an's death would be an eerie *déjà vu*.

¹¹⁰ On Acheng 阿城 (Afang gong cheng 阿房宮城), see *Zizhi tongjian*, 17.564; cf. Rogers 1968: 307, and the map accompanying the book.

¹¹¹ The *Zizhi tongjian* (106.3340), on which the present reconstruction is based, dates the battle at Baiqu on the *jiazi* 甲子 day of the first month of Taiyuan 10 / Jianyuan 21. There was, however, no such day in that month, and in general all the sexagenary dates given in this part of Sima Guang's account do not tally. My assumption is that the narrative here is off by one month, and the episodes in it should accordingly be placed under the *second* month of that year (Taiyuan 10. 2. 甲子 = 13 March 385).

¹¹² See *Zizhi tongjian*, 106.3340–41. Cf. *Jin shu*, 114.2925; tr. Rogers 1968: 183–184.

¹¹³ “This year the slave from Acheng 阿城 has come beating his drums at the nearer suburbs, but we were fully concentrated in the midst of this endeavour” 此年有阿城之役伐鼓近郊，而正專在斯業之中。 See the full translation of this document above, pp. 39–44.

Doom, however, was impending. In the fifth month of the year, between 26 May and 23 June 385, Murong Chong finally launched an all-out onslaught on Chang'an, wreaking havoc in the region around the capital. After an initial resistance, Fu Jian opted for a strategic retreat with his cavalry to the Wujiang 五將 mountains (near Baoji 寶雞, in Shaanxi),¹¹⁴ and left his son, the Crown Prince Fu Hong 苻宏, to defend the city. While people tried to escape in all directions, violent clashes went on for weeks outside the walls. Between 24 July and 21 August (Jianyuan 21. 6), after the last remnants of the Qin court and imperial bureaucracy had fled, the Yan troops eventually stormed Chang'an, and gave the city its final shot of carnage and looting. As for Fu Jian, he barely came out alive from the battlefield, as he was taken captive by the Qiang chieftain Yao Chang 姚萇, his former vassal, who had wedged into the struggle to make his own bid for power. On 16 October 385, an emissary of Yao Chang strangled Fu Jian in a Buddhist monastery at Xiping 新平, to the northwest of Chang'an.¹¹⁵ This was really the end.

What happened to Dao'an? In the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, and leaving aside the problematic date of the eighth day of the second month, Sengyou expressly states that the monk died "at the time when [Fu] Jian ... was besieged by Murong Chong, and [Dao]an was together [with him] inside the walls of Chang'an" 為慕容冲所圍, 時安同在長安城內.¹¹⁶ A much earlier document, also included in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* and which may be one of Sengyou's sources, offers a slightly more specific indication. This is a 'Preface to the Medium

¹¹⁴ Rogers (1968: 38–40) argues with some force that the place name Wujiang shan 五將山 in Guanzhong is fictional, and was invented to accommodate the baroque intertextual plot of Fu Jian's narrative. If so, however, the fiction must be old, as a Wujiang shan in Guanzhong is mentioned in the *Wei shu* (46.1035), completed in 554, and not in connection to Fu Jian.

¹¹⁵ *Zizhi tongjian*, 106.3345–48.

¹¹⁶ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 15.109a5–6.

āgama Scriptures' (*Zhong ahan jing xu* 中阿鉢經序) that the monk Shi Daoci 釋道慈 (fl. 391–401), a close collaborator of the Kashmiri master Saṃghadeva after the Chang'an years, seemingly wrote in or shortly after 401, quoting at length a colophon to the translation of the same scripture (*Zhong ahan jing ji* 中阿鉢經記) produced about three years earlier, in A.D. 398. Daoci states:

昔釋法師於長安出《中阿鉢》、《增一》... 會燕秦交戰，關中大亂，於是良匠背世。

Formerly, in Chang'an, the Master of the Law Śākya (Shi fashi 釋法師, i.e. Dao'an 道安) issued the 'Medium *Āgama*' (*Zhong ahan* 中阿鉢, *Madhyama-āgama*) and the '[*Āgama*] Increasing by One' (*Zengyi* 增一, *Ekottarika-āgama*) ... At that juncture, Yan 燕 and Qin 秦 engaged in war, and [the region] Within the Passes (Guanzhong 關中) was in great turmoil. Thereupon the Clever Foreman (*liangjiang* 良匠, Dao'an) passed away.¹¹⁷

Here we have the recent recollections of someone who, although perhaps not a direct witness himself, was certainly close to one, Gautama Saṃghadeva. Daoci confirms that Dao'an died during the military confrontation between Murong Chong and Fu Jian; however, his reference to outright warfare (燕秦交戰) and especially to Guanzhong sinking into chaos seems more consistent with the final stages of that confrontation, when the Yan troops launched their major offensive against Chang'an and the local population scattered in panic, until the city, which Fu Jian and his court had abandoned, was seized and ravaged. We have seen above that these

¹¹⁷ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.63c22–27; I give a fuller translation and discussion of Daoci's preface below, pp. 68–76. That the 'Clever Foreman' is Dao'an is confirmed by Sengyou's narrative recast of this document in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 13.99c6–10.

events unfolded between the fifth (26 May – 23 June 385, Yan onslaught) and the sixth month of Jianyuan 21 (24 July – 21 August 385, fall of Chang'an).¹¹⁸ Dao'an must have died in this period, most probably in June or July 385.¹¹⁹ If so, and in view of the poise and unflinching commitment that the monk was still professing in his preface to the *Zengyi ahan jing*, while the Yan siege was already ongoing, it is reasonable to assume that his translation team kept on working until at least the end of May, possibly through the spring of 385. In the second part of this study we shall appreciate the potential significance of these two-odd months of activity at the end of Dao'an's life, after the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* had been achieved.

With the death of its leader and the dissolution of Fu Jian's court, the Buddhist fellowship that for more than three years had been cooperating in a groundbreaking experience of scriptural translation also disintegrated. Sparse information on its members conveys that they did not stick together, but took different paths, possibly also due to internal disagreements and conflicting agendas. Zhao Zheng, who had been the team's literary and political trump card, upon the death of Fu Jian in October 385 could eventually fulfil his wish to be ordained as a Buddhist monk. After taking vows with the monastic name Daozheng 道整, he went as a recluse on Mount Shangluo 商洛 (near modern Danfeng 丹鳳, in Shaanxi),

¹¹⁸ There was an intercalary fifth month in that year: see *Zizhi tongjian*, 106.3346.

¹¹⁹ It is by no means to be excluded that Dao'an met a violent death. After all, he had been a close advisor to Fu Jian (note his loyalist language – “the slave from Acheng” 阿城之役 – in the preface to the *Zengyi ahan jing*). His monastic status would hardly have saved him from being targeted, either by Murong Chong's militias or even, in the vacuum between Fu Jian's flight and the final fall of Chang'an, by some of the presumably many who had scores to settle with the Qin regime. This would further explain why his Buddhist hagiographers backdated his demise.

which was far to the southeast of Chang'an and expediently on the way to the Jin border. At some point between 392 and 398 he accepted an invitation from Xi Hui 郗恢 (v.l. 郗恢) (d. 398/399), the Jin prefect of Yongzhou 雍州, and reached him at Xiangyang 襄陽 (Hubei); there, past the age of sixty, he would finally pass away.¹²⁰

Zhu Fonian and Dharmananda are seen together in April 391 at Anding 安定 city, to the northwest of Chang'an, translating a long Aśokan *avadāna* in Sanskrit (?) verses that Dharmananda recited from memory; this they did at the behest of Yao Min 姚旻 (fl. 387–399), the Director of the Imperial Secretariat (*shangshu ling* 尚書令) of the Later Qin 後秦 regime that, under the leadership of Yao Chang, had successfully wrested the Guanzhong region from the last remnants of Fu Jian's army.¹²¹ The presence of a new, power-

¹²⁰ See *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328c16–21, tr. Shih 1968: 50–51. On Xi Hui, a member of a powerful aristocratic clan in the South with a history of Buddhist devotion, see the biography in *Jin shu*, 67.1805–06; cf. Zürcher 1959/2007: 135. Xi had replaced Zhu Xu 朱序 as prefect of Yongzhou at Xiangyang in November 392; see *Zizhi tongjian*, 108.3407. He fell victim to the power struggle that ravaged the Jin empire in the late 390s, and was killed together with his four sons, it is unclear whether in 398 (*Zizhi tongjian*, 110.3482) or in 399 (*Jin shu*, 27.817).

¹²¹ The translation was the *Ayu wang taizi Fayi huaimu yinyuan jing* 阿育王太子法益壞目因緣經 (Scripture on the Causes of the Destruction of the Eyes of Law-Increasing [Dharmavardhana], Grand Child of King Aśoka; T.2045), an early recension of the *avadāna* of Aśoka's son Dharmavardhana (Kunāla in the *Kunālāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*), on which more will be said below (ch. 5, § IX). See Zhu Fonian's preface to the translation in T vol. 50 no. 2045, p. 172a19–b19; also in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 7.51b14–c16, tr. Nakajima 1997: 79–82. On the political and military developments in Guanzhong after the death of Fu Jian see Rogers 1968: 73–79. Scattered remnants of Fu Jian's clan held out in different corners of the former empire until as late as 394, especially in Gansu, but they were never to return to Chang'an. Yao Min was a prominent member of the Yao royal clan and government; see on him *Zizhi tongjian*, 107.3379, 3388, 108.3411, and Zhu Fonian's preface.

ful patron in the background suggests that Zhu Fonian and Dharmananda were attempting to continue under the new hosts Dao'an's (and Kumārabuddhi's) political vision of a Buddhist monastic elite acting in partnership with the emperor. Their apparent decision to stay in the area of Chang'an under the Yao regime would have been consistent with this Qin loyalism of sorts.¹²² The choice of a text deploying at its fullest extent yet Aśoka's ambivalent model of Buddhist kingship, and the preface that Zhu Fonian wrote on that occasion, upholding an ideal of state where the secular ruler would defer to the religious authority of the arhats, lend corroboration to this scenario.¹²³

However, other prominent members of the Chang'an group turned to other pastures. Around 387, Gautama Saṃghadeva and the Chinese monk Fahe 法和, who had been Dao'an's chief editorial assistant in the translation team, escaped from Chang'an and fled east to Luoyang 洛陽.¹²⁴ There were probably political motivations behind their move rather than a mere wish to run away from the turmoil of Guanzhong, which, after all, had not deterred Zhu Fonian and Dharmananda from remaining there. In the summer of 384, the Qin troops had left Luoyang in droves towards the capital, where an embattled Fu Jian was rallying whatever support he could muster. In the ensuing vacuum, a Jin 晉 garrison swiftly took hold of the city, and was subsequently able to defend it successfully for as long as 15 years, until in 399 Yao Xing 姚興 (r. 394–415), Yao

¹²² As Michael Rogers has rightly pointed out, the distinction in traditional historiography between the 'Former' and 'Later' Qin "might obscure the fact that for the protagonists there was only one Ch'in state: the issue to be settled was whether it should be presided over by the Fu clan or the Yao clan" (Rogers 1968: 74).

¹²³ See my remarks on this preface in Palumbo 2012: 315–316; but cf. below, p. 242.

¹²⁴ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.63c22–64a4; and the discussion below, § II.2.

Chang's successor on the throne of Qin, could eventually dislodge it after a siege of more than a hundred days.¹²⁵ The erstwhile capital of Jin had thus temporarily returned to its old proprietors, in a restoration of the past that would have been surreal, had it not been eminently fragile amidst the relentless warfare between Xianbei (Yan 燕), Di and Qiang that raged across the Central Plain. Shortly after the death of Fu Jian, however, Saṃghadeva and especially Fahe would have indulged the wishful thought that 'China' was back in the North, and that the long 'barbarian' season was over: moving to Luoyang and casting off their Qin moorings, they were bringing the Chang'an sodality to an end for all practical purposes.

It is consistent with this veering away that the two monks, once in Luoyang, should embark on a radical project of retranslation that would affect the entire scriptural output of Dao'an's team, the repudiation of which could hardly have been more blatant. More of this will be said shortly, but for the time being we should notice that the Kashmiri monk Saṃghabhadra probably also joined the party. He certainly left Guanzhong at an unspecified time after 385 and took sanctuary in Luoyang, where he stayed until 397.¹²⁶ Although direct evidence is lacking, it seems very likely that Saṃghabhadra collaborated with Saṃghadeva and Fahe's retranslations at least in the case of the *Vibhāṣā* (*Piposha* 鞞婆沙) of *Śītapāṇi, since he had been the reciter of that text in 383. It is true that the manuscript transcription produced on that occasion could still have been available to Saṃghadeva and Fahe, but the two

¹²⁵ See *Zizhi tongjian*, 105.3330–31; 111.3493, 3497.

¹²⁶ See Sengrui's 僧叡 (ca. 352–436) testimony in T vol. 4 no. 212, p. 609c1–5; tr. Willemen 1973: 216–217. Sengrui states that Saṃghabhadra fled to Eastern Zhou 東周 (a classical name for Luoyang) when “the Three Qin” 三秦 (i.e. Guanzhong) suddenly fell apart 俄而三秦覆墜, 避地東周, which must refer to the troubles at the end of Fu Jian's reign.

monks would not have failed to enlist the leading *Vibhāṣā* expert, who happened to be in Luoyang when they also were.¹²⁷

Theirs, however, was not a match made in heaven, and they also were to part ways. The chief reason why Fahe had decided to migrate to the Central Plain was probably the rising power in the area of the Jin commander Zhu Xu 朱序 (d. 393). Before 379 Zhu had been the governor of the Jin fortress of Xiangyang 襄陽 (Hubei), and in this role he had been a devoted patron of Dao'an. When the city fell to Qin, Zhu also entered Fu Jian's service at Chang'an, but during the disastrous campaign against Jin in the autumn of 383 he took the opportunity to cross the lines and reverted to his former allegiance. He was then in charge of military operations in southern Henan, controlling from a distance the safety of the bridgehead at Luoyang when this fell to the Jin, and set-

¹²⁷ On the circumstances of the first translation of the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi see above, pp. 20–21. The catalogue section of the *Chu sanzang jī jì* (2.10c11) assigns the translation of the *Vibhāṣā* to Saṃghadeva alone in Luoyang, adding that another title of the work was 'Expanded Discourses' (*Guangshuo* 廣說, which in fact corresponds to Skt. *vibhāṣā*). This entry, like the neighbouring ones, is rather confusing, as Sengyou mixes up information concerning the first and the second translation of the treatise. The former, as we know from Dao'an's preface, had been carried out at Chang'an, and there is no mention of the fact that it was also called *Guangshuo*; this is instead the term with which Daoci refers to the *Vibhāṣā* in his account of the retranslations of Saṃghadeva (see below, p. 69). Sengyou's failure to mention Saṃghabhadrā in connection to the translation made in Luoyang is therefore inconclusive. The Luoyang version of the *Vibhāṣā* is extant (T vol. 28 no. 1547). That the received text corresponds to the second translation is proved, among other things, by the fact that at the end of each *skandha* the work refers to itself as *Guangshuo* 廣說, and that Dao'an describes the text translated at Chang'an as consisting of 165,795 characters (see *Chu sanzang jī jì*, 10.73c10–11), whereas T.1547 is shorter by over 10,000 characters.

ting there as commander of the local garrison from June 388 to February 390.¹²⁸

However, military pressure against the city was mounting, first from the Xianbei Yan during Zhu Xu's commandership, then, between 397 and 399, from the new Qin forces of the Yao clan. Saṃghadeva was the first to quit. He crossed to the South, and between 391 and 392 settled on the slopes of Mount Lu 廬山 in Jiangxi as a guest of Dao'an's former disciple Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416). Here, and apparently from 397 at the Jin capital Jiankang, he continued with new partners his retranslation endeavour.¹²⁹

The other two monks from the old fellowship lingered in the Central Plain for a few more years. When Yao Xing's army started to target Luoyang in 397, however, Saṃghabhadra decided to return to his Indian homeland, but on his way back he stopped again at the Qin capital Chang'an, where he briefly joined Yao Min and Zhu Fonian. At the former's request, and with the latter's aid as interpreter, he produced from a manuscript in his possession the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 (Scripture of the Appearance of [Sun]light, T vol. 4 no. 212), a translation of the Sanskrit *Udāna* (also known as *Udānavarga*) in which the Buddha's utterances are accompanied by illustrative narratives.¹³⁰ This happened in the spring of 399,

¹²⁸ On Zhu Xu see his biography in *Jin shu*, 81.2132–34; on his military appointments in Henan see *Jin shu*, 9.235–236, 238; *Zizhi tongjian*, 106.3358, 3360, 3367; 107.3373–74, 3383, 33394; 108.3407. On his connection with Dao'an, see *Gaoseng zhuan*, 5.352b3–4, tr. Link 1958: 19; *ibid.* 6.358a16–18, tr. Zürcher 1959/2007: 241. Cf. Zürcher 1959/2007: 190.

¹²⁹ See, again, the discussion of Saṃghadeva's movements after 385 below, § II.2.

¹³⁰ See Sengrui's 僧叡 preface to the translation, dated 27 September 399 (Hongshi 弘始 1. 8. 12), in T vol. 4 no. 212, p. 609b26–c14; tr. Willemen 1973: 216–218. According to this document, Yao Min requested the translation between August and October 398 (Huangchu 皇初 5, autumn); the work was completed between 22 February and 20 May 399 (Huangchu 6, spring).

after which we lose sight of him. One of the two editors revising the translation of the *Chuyao jing* was a ‘Master’ (*shi* 師) He 和, who is probably to be identified with Fahe 法和.¹³¹ According to his biographies, the former chief assistant of Dao’an had in fact accepted an invitation from a prominent member of the Yao clan, the Duke of Jin 晉公 Yao Xu 姚緒 (fl. 384–406), who was then commanding the Qin garrison at Pufan 蒲阪 (v.l. 蒲坂), on the eastern entrance of Guanzhong. The close connection of Yao Xu with the Qin court and a tradition that Kumārajīva, who arrived at Chang’an in 402, presented Fahe with a laudatory poem suggest that the monk had occasions to visit Chang’an, and probably meet Zhu Fonian once again. In Guanzhong, aged over eighty and evidently not before 402, his eventful life was to end.¹³²

Across the flurry of this volatile aftermath, some pattern can be discerned in the personal trajectories of the former members of the

On the *Chuyao jing* see Willemen 1973: 214–215; Hiraoka 2007a. Hiraoka (*ibid.* pp. 186, 187 note 8) suggests that the *Chuyao jing* may in fact have been compiled in China on the basis of miscellaneous materials. Jan Nattier also expresses similar views in a personal communication; she notes that T.212 is clearly dependent upon T.210 (*Faju jing* 法句經, Zhi Qian’s earlier rendition of a version of the *Dharmapāda*), and is greatly abbreviated compared to the known Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Udānavarga*.

¹³¹ See Sengrui’s preface at T vol. 4 no. 212, p. 609c10; cf. Willemen 1973: 217 and note 77.

¹³² See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 13.99c14–15, 14.101c13–15, 15.109b2–8; *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.329a7–8, 2.332b29–c3, 5.354a26–29. Yao Xu was the younger brother of Yao Chang and therefore the paternal uncle of the latter’s successor Yao Xing, who held him in great esteem and conferred a number of prominent appointments on him; see *Jin shu*, 107.2977–82; *Zizhi tongjian*, 106.3366, 108.3411, 3425, 114.3589. He was put in charge of the garrison at Pufan in 396, and held its commandership at least until 402; see *Zizhi tongjian*, 108.3436, 112.3544. The period is consistent with that of Fahe’s activity in Guanzhong according to the Buddhist sources.

Chang'an group. After the death of Dao'an and the end of Fu Jian's regime, and leaving aside the solitary withdrawal of Zhao Zheng, the group seemingly split into two halves. Zhu Fonian and Dharmananda stayed in Guanzhong and successfully gained patronage from the new rulers of Qin, the Yao clan, thus paving the way for the triumphal arrival of Kumārajīva a decade later. Nothing is known of Dharmananda's fate after 391; the indication in the *Gaoseng zhuan* that he returned to the Western Regions is not very solid, although apparently sensible.¹³³ Zhu Fonian, however, was still in Chang'an, and close to the Yao Qin court, in 399.

The other splinter, including Fahe, Saṃghadeva and Saṃghabhadrā, between 385 and 387 moved instead to the Jin enclave in Luoyang, where at least the first two monks set about a wholesale revision of the translations that the group had produced in the Chang'an period. One senses a streak of tension in these alternative choices, a disagreement perhaps, over matters of scripture and politics. If this is what it was, however, it must not have been too severe in the case of Fahe and Saṃghabhadrā, since they would go back to Guanzhong – if briefly, in the latter's case – and on at least one occasion work once more with Zhu Fonian at the Qin court.

¹³³ According to Huijiao, “when Yao Chang invaded [the region] Within the Passes, people would feel the danger of remaining trapped; [Dharma]nanda then took his leave and returned to the Western Regions. It is unknown how he ended” 及姚萇寇逼關內，人情危阻。難提乃辭還西域，不知所終；see *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328c3–4; tr. Shih 1968: 49. This cannot be entirely true, since Dharmananda was happy to stay in Guanzhong until at least 391, keeping connections with Yao Chang's court, as we have seen. The biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (13.99b24) simply states that the monk “stayed in Qin for several years; it is unknown how he ended afterwards” 在秦積載，後不知所終. The two accounts share the last sentence (不知所終), an old trope of Chinese historiography ever since the biography of Laozi in the *Shiji* 史記.

Only Saṃghadeva never retraced his steps. He was never to meet Zhu Fonian or to set foot in Chang'an again, and eventually went solo in the South, gaining a reputation as a scholastic authority in his own right.

II.2 Saṃghadeva's revision

It has long been assumed by a large number of scholars that the Kashmiri monk Gautama Saṃghadeva translated the *Zengyi ahan jing* anew in A.D. 397, and that the extant text of the scripture (T.125) is in fact his version.¹³⁴

The information stems from the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (T.2034), a work of Buddhist history and bibliography that Fei Zhangfang 費長房 (fl. 562–598), a defrocked monk writing for the emperor of a newly unified China, completed in A.D. 598 under the Sui 隋 dynasty. According to his entry, Saṃghadeva issued the *Zengyi ahan jing* between 13 February and 14 March 397 (Long'an 隆安 1. 1), assisted by the Chinese monk Zhu Daozu 竺道祖 (348–419) in the role of redactor (*bishou* 筆受). Fei does not state where this happened; he expressly notes that this was the second translation, and that it only had minor differences with the one by Dharmananda (是第二譯, 與難提本小異). As his authorities, he adduces the two catalogues of Zhu Daozu and Baochang 寶唱, both of them long lost.¹³⁵ This record subsequently made its way into a great number of later catalogues, including the authoritative *Kaiyuan*

¹³⁴ See, among others, Demiéville 1951a: 374 note 1; Zürcher 1959/2007: 204; Mochizuki 1960, vol. 4, p. 3031a; Lamotte 1967: 105; Hubert Durt in Durt et al. 1985: 101; Enomoto 1986: 19–20, 25; Bareau 1988: 69; Mizuno 1989: 1–4, 9–11.

¹³⁵ See *Lidai sanbao ji*, 7.70c5–6; on Fei Zhangfang's sources see below, note 140 and the discussion in ch. 2, § IV. On Zhu Daozu see *Gaoseng zhuan*, 6.363a5–18.

Shijiao lu 開元釋教錄 of A.D. 730.¹³⁶

More recent scholarship, however, has been questioning the attribution of T.125 to Saṃghadeva. On the one hand, between 397 and 398, at Jiankang, Saṃghadeva also produced a new translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, which was likewise meant to replace the earlier one by Dharmananda and Zhu Fonian, and was based on a foreign manuscript (*huben* 胡本) expounded by another monk from Kashmir, Saṃgharakṣa (Sengqieluocha 僧伽羅叉, d.u.).¹³⁷ This work is extant (*Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經, T.26), and it has been observed that its style and terminology are too much at variance with those of T.125 for the two scriptures to stem from the same translator. Ergo, T.125 is not Saṃghadeva's work.¹³⁸ Moreover, the very existence of a second translation or revision of the *Zengyi ahan jing* by Saṃghadeva has been called into question.¹³⁹ The information is not to be found in the oldest catalogue, the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, which yet does know about Saṃghadeva's retranslation of the *Madhyama-āgama*. This silence, coupled with the notorious inaccuracy of Fei Zhangfang's bibliography, warrants legitimate doubts as to whether a second rendition of the *Ekottarika-āgama* was produced at all.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ See *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, 3.505a4, 19.715a11–13.

¹³⁷ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 2.10c7–8, and especially the original colophon (ca. 401) to the edited text of Saṃghadeva's retranslation, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64a4–28; tr. Nakajima 1997: 189; cf. Chen 2005: 612.

¹³⁸ See Matsumura 1989: 367; Anālayo 2006: 145–146; Nattier 2007: 195–196 note 48; Lin 2009: 130–132.

¹³⁹ See Matsumura 1989: 364–366; Lin 2009: 126–129.

¹⁴⁰ On the limited reliability of the *Lidai sanbao ji* see Nattier 2008: 14–15, also discussing previous literature. It must be said that a good number of the erroneous attributions in Fei Zhangfang's catalogue rest on the indications of Buddhist bibliographies produced at Jiankang in the early part of Liang Wudi's 梁武帝 reign (502–549); this was certainly the case for the two authorities to which he points for his entry on Saṃghadeva's retranslation of

However, a document that so far has largely escaped careful scholarly scrutiny does prove that this was the case. Shi Daoci's 釋道慈 (fl. 391–401) 'Preface to the Medium *Āgama* Scriptures' (*Zhong ahan jing xu* 中阿毘曇經序), which we have briefly quoted above for its testimony on the circumstances of Dao'an's death, gives an important account of the activities of Saṃghadeva after he left Chang'an, including mention of the revised translations that the Kashmiri master accomplished in that period. Below is the relevant portion of the document:

昔釋法師於長安出《中阿毘曇》、《增一》、《阿毘曇》、《廣說》、《僧伽羅叉》、《阿毘曇心》、《婆須蜜》、《三法度》、《二眾從解脫緣》。此諸經律凡百餘萬言，並違本失旨，名不當實，依怙屬辭，句味亦差。良由譯人造次，未善晉言，故使爾耳。會燕秦交戰，關中大亂。於是良匠背世，故以弗獲改正。乃經數年，至關東小清，冀州道人釋法和、屬賓沙門僧伽提和，招集門徒，俱遊洛邑，四、五年中研講遂精。其人漸曉漢語，然後乃知先之失也。於是和乃追恨先失，即從提和更出《阿毘曇》及《廣說》也。自是之後，此諸經律漸皆譯正。唯《中阿毘曇》、《僧伽羅叉》、《婆須蜜》、《從解脫緣》，未更出耳。會僧伽提和進遊京師。

Formerly, in Chang'an, the Master of the Law Śākya (Shi fashi 釋法師, i.e. Dao'an 道安) issued the 'Medium *Āgama*' (*Zhong ahan* 中阿毘曇, *Madhyama-āgama*), the '[*Āgama*] Increasing by One' (*Zengyi* 增一, *Ekottarika-āgama*), the 'Abhidharma' (*Apitan* 阿毘曇),¹⁴¹ the 'Expanded Discourses'

the *Zengyi ahan jing* in 397, the apocryphal catalogue of Zhu Daozu 竺道祖 (a Liang forgery) and that of Baochang 寶唱, completed in ca. 516; cf. Tan 1991: 111–120; Palumbo 2003: 180 note 31.

¹⁴¹ The *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra, i.e. the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaskandha-sāstra*, which had been first translated in 383; see above, pp. 31–32 and note 54. Only Saṃghadeva's revision is extant (*Apitan ba qiandu lun* 阿毘曇八健度

(*Guangshuo* 廣說, i.e. the *Vibhāṣā*),¹⁴² the ‘[Scripture compiled by] Saṃgharakṣa’ (*Sengqieluocha* 僧伽羅叉), the ‘Heart of Abhidharma’ (*Apitan xin* 阿毘曇心, *Abhidharmahṛdaya*),¹⁴³ the ‘[Collection of Treatises of] Vasumitra’ (*Poxumi* 婆須蜜), the ‘[Treatise on the] Three Principles’ (*San fadu* 三法度, **Tridharmaka śāstra*),¹⁴⁴ the ‘Causes accompanying liberation for the Two Congregations’ (*Erzhong congjieltuo yuan* 二眾從解脫緣, probably the *Vinaya* of Yaśas).¹⁴⁵ These scriptures and discipline (*jinglü* 經律, i.e. *sūtra* and *vinaya*), amounting to more than one million words altogether, were all inconsistent with the originals and flawed in meaning; terms would not correspond to realities, words were assembled imaginatively, even the style¹⁴⁶ was inadequate. It was

論, T vol. 26 no. 1543).

¹⁴² See above, pp. 20–21 and 62, note 127.

¹⁴³ Initially translated in 382 as ‘Abhidharma compendium’ (or ‘abstract’, *Apitan chao* 阿毘曇抄); see above, p. 14 and note 12. Only Saṃghadeva’s revision has been preserved (*Apitan xin lun* 阿毘曇心論, T.1550).

¹⁴⁴ *San fadu lun* 三法度論 (now extant as T.1506) is the title of Saṃghadeva’s retranslation of the ‘Compendium of the Four Āgamas’ (*Si ahanmu chao* 四阿含暮抄, also extant as T.1505) of Vasubhadra, translated in late 382 from a manuscript that Kumārabuddhi had brought to Chang’an; see above, pp. 14–15 and note 13.

¹⁴⁵ *Cong jietuo* 從解脫 is the distinctive translation of *prātimokṣa* that Saṃghadeva deploys in the *Zhong ahan jing*, e.g. at 9.478b16 and *passim*; cf. Mochizuki 1960, vol. 5, p. 4275a. No translation under the title *Erzhong congjieltuo yuan* 二眾從解脫緣 has been preserved, and Daozi expressly states that Saṃghadeva did not achieve this revision. The ‘two congregations’ or *saṃghas* are obviously *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*; since mention is made of ‘causes’ (*yuan* 緣) for the *prātimokṣa*, the reference is perhaps to a *vinaya* text, in which etiological narratives explain the precepts. The only such text translated by the Chang’an group was the *Vinaya* (*Binaiyē* 鼻奈耶, T.1464) that Zhu Fonian had translated in A.D. 383 from an original recited by the Kashmiri *vaiṇayika* Yaśas and transcribed by Kumārabuddhi.

¹⁴⁶ Literally “the flavour of sentences” (*ju wei* 句味).

made to be so precisely because the translators were hasty and unskilled in the Chinese language (*Jin yan* 晉言).¹⁴⁷ At that juncture, Yan 燕 and Qin 秦 engaged in war, and [the region] Within the Passes (Guanzhong 關中) was in turmoil. Then the Clever Foreman (Dao'an) passed away, and for this reason they did not get to correct [their work]. A number of years went by (*jing shu nian* 經數年), until [the region to the] East of the Passes (Guandong 關東, the area around Luoyang) cleared up somewhat. Shi Fahe 釋法和, a man of the Path (*daoren* 道人) from Jizhou 冀州, and Saṃghadeva, a *śramaṇa* from Kashmir, gathered the disciples, and together they went to the city of Luo 洛邑 (Luoyang 洛陽). In the span of four or five years, they applied themselves to study until they were adept. That man (i.e. Saṃghadeva) gradually became proficient in Chinese, and only then could he understand the earlier flaws. Thereupon [Shi Fa]he, reflecting with regret upon those earlier flaws, assisted [Saṃgha]deva in issuing the 'Abhidharma' (*Apitan* 阿毘曇) and the 'Expanded Discourses' (*Guangshuo* 廣說, i.e. the *Vibhāṣā*) anew. After this, all those scriptures and vinaya were translated and corrected (*yizheng* 譯正). Only the 'Medium Āgama' (*Zhong ahan* 中阿含, *Madhyama-āgama*), the '[Scripture compiled by] Saṃgharakṣa' (*Sengqieluocho* 僧伽羅叉), the '[Collection of Treatises of] Vasumitra' (*Poxumi* 婆須蜜) and the 'Conditions accompanying liberation for the Two Assemblies' (*Erzhong congjieltuo yuan* 二眾從解脫緣, i.e. the *Vinaya*) had not been issued anew (*gengchu* 更出). At that juncture, Saṃghadeva travelled unto the capital (*jingshi* 京師, i.e. Jiankang).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Literally "the Jin 晉 words" 晉言. I revised my initial translation of the last part of this sentence thanks to a suggestion from Stefano Zacchetti.

¹⁴⁸ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.63c22–64a5; cf. the translations in Nakajima 1997: 188, and Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 751 (only partial, and somewhat inaccurate).

The note then proceeds to relate the circumstances in which, after moving to Jiankang, Saṃghadeva continued his work there and notably re-translated the *Zhong ahan jing* in 397–398.

In his memoir, Daoci reports that Saṃghadeva and Fahe set out to revise *all* the main canonical translations that Dao'an's group had produced in Chang'an, among which the *Zengyi ahan jing* is expressly mentioned. In this series of texts, so we are told, only the *Madhyama-āgama*, the 'Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa', the 'Collection of Vasumitra' and the *Vinaya* had been left unrevised by the time Saṃghadeva moved to Jiankang. It seems therefore clear from this document that Saṃghadeva did produce a revised version of the *Zengyi ahan jing* before that time, although exactly when, it is not said.

One scholar who paid due attention to Daoci's preface was Sakaino Kōyō 境野黄洋 (1871–1933); on its basis, he concluded that records of a wholesale retranslation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* by Saṃghadeva at Jiankang should be seen as a fanciful blunder (想像で加えた誤り), for what the Kashmiri master produced, and in Luoyang, was a mere revision (修正せられしもの) of Dharmānanda's version. The latter has therefore been preserved, albeit in a revised form.¹⁴⁹ This may or may not be right, but the account of Daoci presents a few moot points that need to be addressed.

In the first place, it is not true that it had been impossible for the Chang'an group to revise their translations because of the war in Guanzhong and Dao'an's death. We have seen above that *all* those translations had been carefully revised and edited, including the very last issue, the *Zengyi ahan jing*. This twist may have been

¹⁴⁹ See Sakaino 1935/1972 (originally published in 1927–29): 224–228. Other studies (including Unebe 1970: 35; Matsumura 1989: 363; Mizuno 1989: 2) briefly discuss Daoci's preface, but fail to take notice of its hint at Saṃghadeva's work on the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

necessary to save Dao'an's memory, and shift onto unnamed translators the blame for a perceived inadequacy of the Chinese versions.

The document also gives a rather woolly picture of Saṃghadeva's movements. According to this account, the monk apparently remained in Guanzhong "for a number of years" (*jing shu nian* 經數年) before moving to Luoyang, where he and Fahe stayed for four or five years. From Luoyang, Saṃghadeva then moved directly to Jiankang. However, we know from several other documents that the Kashmiri monk, before going to the Southern capital, had by the end of 391 moved to Xunyang 尋陽, on the slopes of Lushan 廬山 in Jiangxi. There he was hosted in the community of Dao'an's erstwhile disciple Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), and at the latter's request, between 391 and the autumn of 392, he produced new translations of the **Tridharmaka śāstra* (*San fadu lun* 三法度論, formerly *Si ahanmu chao* 四阿含暮抄) as well as of the *Abhidharmahrdaya* (*Apitan xin* 阿毘曇心, formerly *Apitan chao* 阿毘曇抄).¹⁵⁰ It is unclear how long Saṃghadeva remained at Lushan and when exactly he moved to Jiankang, although this must have happened before December 397.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72b16–28 (*Apitan xin xu* 阿毘曇心序, anonymous preface); 10.72b29–23a1 (*Apitan xin xu* 阿毘曇心序, by Huiyuan); 10.23a2–29 (*San fadu xu* 三法度序, by Huiyuan); 10.23b1–5 (*San fadu jing ji* 三法度經記, anonymous colophon); all of them are translated in Nakajima 1997: 269–278. According to the first of these documents, Saṃghadeva, assisted by Dao'ci, started the translation of the *Abhidharmahrdaya* at Xunyang, Lushan, during the winter of Taiyuan 泰元 16 (13 November 391 – 9 February 392) and completed it in the autumn of the following year (5 August – 31 October 392). See also *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.329a8–13, tr. Shih 1968: 53; 6. 359b18–22, tr. Zürcher 1959/2007: 246 (placing the start of both translations in Taiyuan 16, i.e. 20 February 391 – 9 February 392).

¹⁵¹ In his biography of Saṃghadeva, Sengyou states that the monk travelled to Jiankang in Long'an 隆安 1 (13 February 397 – 2 February 398); see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 13.99c20–21 (repeated nearly verbatim in *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.329a13–

The omissions in Daoci's document need not diminish its historical value; its purpose was simply to provide the retranslation of the *Madhyama-āgama* with some background, not to give a detailed account of events. With some stretching, we may tentatively suggest the following reconstruction:

1. After the death of Dao'an (June–July 385), Saṃghadeva and Fahe remained in Guanzhong “for a number of years” (*jing shu nian* 經數年). *Shu* 數 normally means ‘several’; if we understand it conservatively as ‘more than two’, and further count years as ongoing rather than elapsed (a customary practice in China), we may assume that the two monks with their disciples moved to Luoyang in the third year after Dao'an's demise, thus in 387.
2. Saṃghadeva and Fahe were active in Luoyang “during four or five years” (四、五年中), and it was at the end of this period that the Kashmiri master was proficient enough in the Chinese language to undertake with Fahe the ambitious proposition to issue anew the nine major translation works of the Chang'an group in the period 382–385. Since Saṃghadeva was already at Lushan by the end of 391, we can only situate these “four or five years”, and again counting years as ongoing, between 387 and 391. The new translations must have started towards the end of this span, in 390–391.
3. Of the nine titles mentioned at the outset, four (1. *Madhyama-āgama*, 2. ‘Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa’, 3. ‘Collection of Vasumitra’, 4. *Vinaya*) had not been dealt with yet by the time Saṃghadeva arrived at Jiankang, whereas two (*Abhidharma-*

14); however, since Sengyou's source is clearly Daoci's preface, this is probably only a narrative elaboration on that document, which only mentions that the translation of the *Zhong ahan jing* started at the Southern capital in that year.

hṛdaya and *San fadu lun*) were retranslated at Lushan in 391–392. This only leaves three items: 1. the *Abhidharma* (of Kātyāyanīputra, i.e. the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*); 2. the ‘Expanded Discourses’ (*Guangshuo* 廣說, i.e. the *Vibhāṣā* of **Śītapāṇi*); finally, 3. the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The document of Daoci explicitly mentions the *Abhidharma* and the *Vibhāṣā* as the first items ‘issued anew’ in the project, and this must have happened in Luoyang.¹⁵²

¹⁵² The *Chu sanzang ji ji* (10.73b6–13) includes a ‘separate record’ (*bieji* 別記) on the translation of the **Indriya-skandha* (*Gen qiandu* 根曄[v.l. 鍵]度). This was the sixth book of the **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*, Kātyāyanīputra’s *Abhidharma*, which Saṃghadeva had been unable to recite upon the first translation of the work in 383. Saṃghadeva himself was eventually able to translate this section as well when he came across another monk from Kashmir, *Dharmapriya (Tanmobei 曇摩卑), who had memorised it. The record states that it was written on 19 February 390 (Taiyuan 泰元 15. 1. 19) at the Waguan 瓦官 monastery of Yangzhou 揚州 (Jiankang), suggesting at first sight that the translation was carried out at the Southern capital. This would be problematic, since at this stage Saṃghadeva had not even reached Lushan and must have still been in Luoyang. There are two possibilities. One is that in the record, ‘fifteen’ 十五 should be amended to ‘nineteen’ 十九; the resulting date would be 7 March 394, by which time Saṃghadeva might well have reached Jiankang. However, as I explain above on the basis of Daoci’s preface, the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra was the very first text among those that Saṃghadeva translated anew, and this must have happened whilst he was in Luoyang around A.D. 390. We must nevertheless bear in mind that the city was then under Jin control, and Saṃghadeva would accordingly have been able to keep contacts with the Buddhist community of Jiankang, which he was to reach in any case a few years later. It is therefore conceivable that a copy of the newly translated **Indriya-skandha* was promptly sent in February 390 from Luoyang to Jiankang, where the record was written. This interpretation, which enables us to accept the document as it is, fits particularly well the reconstruction presented here of the timeline of Saṃghadeva’s retranslations. The ‘separate record’ is also included at the end of the relevant section in the complete translation of the **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*; see T.1543, 24.887a19–24. Here, however,

4. In principle, work on the *Ekottarika-āgama* could have been carried out during the years that Saṃghadeva spent at Lushan 廬山 from late 391. The *Lidai sanbao ji* states that in his retranslation of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, the Kashmiri master was assisted by Zhu Daozu 竺道祖 (348–419) in the role of redactor (*bishou* 筆受); this monk, a Southerner, was active at Lushan in Huiyuan's community, and then at Jiankang apparently from the end of the 390s and until ca. A.D. 402, but never at Luoyang.¹⁵³ If so, his collaboration with Saṃghadeva before the latter's coming to Jiankang could only have taken place at Lushan; the *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定眾經目錄 (A.D. 695, revised ca. A.D. 700), whose editors still had access to the catalogue of Baochang (Fei Zhangfang's source), expressly state that Saṃghadeva translated the *Zengyi ahan jing* at Lushan. However, as we are going to see, Baochang's records are most undependable, and in the case at hand were based on a bibliography allegedly compiled by Zhu Daozu, which, however, appears to have been a forgery.¹⁵⁴ It is on the basis of this catalogue that Fei Zhangfang indicates Daozu as redactor also for Saṃghadeva's retranslation of the *Zhong ahan jing*;¹⁵⁵ but it was in fact someone else, Daoci, who held that role, as this monk himself states in his preface to that translation.¹⁵⁶ On the

the date is wrongly given as Qin Jianyuan 秦建元 15 instead of Taiyuan 泰元 15, and the same faulty reading appears in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (T.2145, p. 73 note 17). This is twice impossible: firstly, because obviously a Qin era would never have been used at the Jin capital; moreover, the resulting date would correspond to 21 February 379, and at this time Saṃghadeva had not even arrived in China yet.

¹⁵³ See *Gaoseng zhuan*, 6.363a5–15.

¹⁵⁴ See below, ch. 2, pp. 147–151.

¹⁵⁵ See *Lidai sanbao ji*, 7.70c3.

¹⁵⁶ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64a14–15.

other hand, no mention of a translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing* is included in the relatively sizeable group of documents relating to Saṃghadeva's stay at Lushan.¹⁵⁷ On the basis of Daoci's preface alone, the odds are therefore that the revised *Zengyi ahan jing* was issued at Luoyang between 390 and the early part of 391, shortly before Saṃghadeva would leave the Central Plain for the South.

Finally, we are able to say that Saṃghadeva did produce a new issue of the *Zengyi ahan jing*; we also have a reasonable idea of where and when he did it. However, what kind of textual object would it have been? Was it a simple revision of the Chinese version, as Sakaino assumed, or an entirely new translation? In either case, could it be substantially different from Dharmananda's issue? And what is the relationship of Saṃghadeva's text to T.125?

Daoci's document uses two rather vague expressions to describe the intervention of Saṃghadeva and Fahe on the translations of the Chang'an group. One is *gengchu* 更出, 'issued anew' (or 'again'), which may but does not necessarily imply a retranslation; the other term is *yizheng* 譯正, which above I have rendered literally as 'translated and corrected', although arguably it could also be construed as 'translated *or* corrected'. In the case of the *Madhyama-āgama* there certainly was a fresh translation, based on an entirely new text. The *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra was Saṃghadeva's own turf, since he had been the reciter of that text in 383. New translations, and not mere revisions, are also documented for the *Abhidharmahṛdaya* and the *San fadu lun*, for which the manuscripts that Kumārabuddhi had brought in 382, or copies thereof, were probably available to Saṃghadeva and Fahe.¹⁵⁸ A retransla-

¹⁵⁷ See above, p. 72, note 150.

¹⁵⁸ See the documents mentioned in note 150 above; on the manuscripts brought by Kumārabuddhi see above, pp. 14–15, note 13.

tion would also have been possible for the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi, both in view of the existence of a manuscript of this text, produced at the time of its first translation in A.D. 383, and of the presence in 390–391 at Luoyang of Saṃghabhadra, the leading *Vibhāṣā* expert. The *Ekottarika-āgama*, however, was the memory treasure of Dharmananda, and there is no evidence that its Indic original was ever put down in writing. Conceivably, Saṃghadeva (perhaps with Saṃghabhadra's support) could have known parts of it, and quite possibly a certain recensional arrangement that he would see as correct, but from what we have learned so far we do not expect him to have mastered the entire collection.

His 'new issue' of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, then, can only be imagined as a new redaction – and it would have been the fourth one – of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, possibly including retranslations of selected scriptures in this *āgama*, rather than a completely new translation.

On the basis of the aforesaid, and even if we choose to dismiss Fei Zhangfang's indication in this sense, this fourth redaction is unlikely to have been radically different in its full extent from any of the preceding three, although we can imagine more substantial changes for specific segments of the collection, their sequence and the general style and terminology. The retranslation agenda of Saṃghadeva and Fahe seems to have been moved chiefly by a perception that the works of the Chang'an period were unfaithful and exceedingly loose, as we shall further discuss in the next section.

On the other hand, the ideological profile of the Kashmiri monk is that of an orthodox Sarvāstivādin, aligned with the positions of the Vaibhāṣika masters of his country.¹⁵⁹ In the South, in the first

¹⁵⁹ This much can be inferred in the first place from his expertise in the *Jñāna-prasthāna* / **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra* of Kātyāyanīputra; Saṃghadeva's retranslation of the *Madhyama-āgama* (T.26) is also consistent with distinctive dogmatic positions of the Sarvāstivādins; see Enomoto 1986: 21–22.

decades of the 5th c. he was remembered as the introducer of Indian Buddhist scholasticism in China and a short-lived ‘Hīnayāna’ icon, teaching that the *vaipulya* scriptures were the work of Māra.¹⁶⁰ We are going to see that he may have radicalised his stance during his period at Jiankang, but it does seem unlikely that Saṃghadeva would tamper with the *Zengyi ahan jing* by adding the very Mahāyānist phrasing and notions that, especially in the prefatory chapter, stand out in the received text (T.125).¹⁶¹ That Saṃghadeva could not be the latter has been argued, as we have seen, on the basis of internal evidence alone, by pointing to the manifest inconsistency of terminology and style between T.125 and T.26.¹⁶² This argument, however, is far from conclusive in itself. The translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* at Jiankang in 397–398 was the culmination of the project of revision that Saṃghadeva had started in Luoyang about ten years earlier. Its outcome, the *Zhong ahan jing* (T.26), represents the maturity of a translation idiom that the Kashmiri master had been building from scratch in those years, and may further reflect the influence of the Jiankang milieu of learned monks and aristocratic donors in which it was produced. It is a highly idiosyncratic text, and its distinctive phraseology, often favouring transcription-cum-translation in the rendering of Indic

¹⁶⁰ In his preface to a commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, possibly written not long after Kumārajīva’s translation of this scripture in 406, Sengrui 僧叡 (ca. 352–436) states in passing that “before [Saṃgha]deva, none of the scholar-monks from India had ever come [to China]” 自提婆已前, 天竺義學之僧並無來者; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 8.59a9. On Saṃghadeva as a master of the Small Vehicle, leading his disciples in southern China to say that Mahāyānist texts were ‘books of Māra’, see the letter of Fan Tai 范泰 (355–427) to the monks Huiguan 慧觀 (ca. 377–447) and Daosheng 道生 (ca. 360–430), in *Hongming ji*, 12.78b18–22; cf. Zürcher 1959/2007: 230.

¹⁶¹ This is instead the view of Mizuno Kōgen (1989: 38–39).

¹⁶² See the studies mentioned above, p. 67, note 138.

terms (e.g. *yanfu zhou* 閻浮洲 for Skt. Jambudvīpa), is in fact largely unparalleled.

Things, however, would have been different at the outset of the retranslation endeavour. Below I offer a comparison of a small sample of distinctive terms in translation or transcription, including not only T. 125 and T.26, but also Saṃghadeva's new issues of the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi (T.1547), produced at Luoyang probably in 390–391, and of the **Tridharmaka śāstra* (*San fadu lun* 三法度論, T.1506), translated at Lushan in 391–392. It is immediately evident that, while the hiatus between T.125 and T.26 is conspicuous, the two intermediate issues are visibly closer to the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing*.

Table 1.

	T.125	T.1547	T.1506	T.26
<i>evaṃ mayā śrutam</i>	聞如是	聞如是	—	我聞如是
<i>brahmākayika</i>	梵迦夷	—	梵迦夷	梵身
<i>yojana</i>	由旬 (78) 由延 (7)	由延	由旬	由延
<i>Jambudvīpa</i>	閻浮提 (19) 閻浮里地 (20) 閻浮里 (13) 閻浮利地 (2) 閻浮利 (1)	閻浮提 (3) 閻浮利地 (2) 閻浮利 (1)	閻浮提	閻浮洲
<i>Śāriputra</i>	舍利弗	舍利弗	—	舍梨子
<i>arhat</i>	阿羅漢 (213) 阿羅訶 (2) 阿羅呵 (11)	阿羅漢	阿羅漢	阿羅訶 (102) 阿羅漢 (1) 阿羅呵 (1)
<i>Jetavana</i>	祇樹	祇樹	—	勝林

<i>āryāṣṭāṅga</i>	賢聖八品道 (27)	八聖道 (5)	—	八支聖道
<i>mārga</i>	賢聖八道品 (3)	聖八道 (4)		
	賢聖八道 (1)			
<i>asura</i>	阿須倫	阿須羅 (20)	—	阿修羅 (54)
		阿須倫 (4)		阿須羅 (1)

There is an even more significant fact to consider. In the final part of his preface, Daoci explains that due to political troubles (probably related to the rebellion of Sun En 孫恩 and the struggle between military leaders at Jiankang),¹⁶³ the final redaction of the *Zhong ahan jing* was postponed for about three years after the completion of the draft (*caoben* 草本) in A.D. 398; he then gives the following account of the differences between Dharmananda and Saṃghadeva's translations:

時遇國大難，未即正書。乃至五年辛丑之歲，方得正寫、校定、流傳。其人傳譯，准之先出，大有不同。於此二百二十二經中，若委靡順從，則懼失聖旨。若從本制名，類多異舊，則逆忤先習，不愜眾情。是以其人不得自專，時有改本，從舊名耳。然五部異同，孰知其正？

At that time we came across the great disturbance in the country, and could not correct the written text (*zhengshu* 正書) [of the *Zhong ahan jing*]. Only in the fifth year [of the Long'an era], with Jupiter in *xinchou* 辛丑 (30 January 401 – 17 February 402), could we correctly copy it, collate it, establish it, and put it into circulation. When that man (i.e. Saṃghadeva) translated (*chuanyi* 傳譯) [Saṃgharakṣa's text], he compared it to the previous issue, and there were great differences. In these 222 scriptures,¹⁶⁴ had he listlessly

¹⁶³ On these events, see Zürcher 1959/2007: 113, 154–155.

¹⁶⁴ This is the total number of scriptures in the *Zhong ahan jing*, in agreement with the received text (T.26).

conformed [to the previous translation], he feared he would have lost the Holy Purport.¹⁶⁵ Had he established the terms by following [Saṃgharakṣa's] text, the categories were very different from the old [version], so he would have been in conflict with what he had learned before, and would not have pleased the feelings of the community. Thus he could not act on his own responsibility, and when there was a changed text (*you gai ben* 有改本), he followed the old terms. Yet the Five Sects (*wubu* 五部) have their differences, and who knows which is right?¹⁶⁶

Labouring under these qualms, Daoci then decided to compile an appendix to the translation in a separate scroll, including a synopsis of the old and new terms (諸改名者, 皆抄出注下, 新舊兩存, 別為一卷).¹⁶⁷

If I understand the passage correctly, when Saṃgharakṣa's recitation revealed a radically different text of the *Madhyama-āgama*, Saṃghadeva, as apparently the larger monastic communities of Jiankang and possibly Luoyang, was somehow reluctant to reject completely Dharmananda's translation, and made an effort to follow to an extent the old terminology (unless the character *bu* 不 has been dropped before *cong jiuming* 從舊名). The change in vocabulary was nevertheless glaring, and the prudent Daoci decided to append a record of the changes (now lost). It is also significant that Daoci hints at 'differences between the Five Sects'; surely he refers to the narrative according to which the saṃgha would have split into five groups after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, a story that is conspicuously absent from Buddhist writings in China until after Dao'an's

¹⁶⁵ The meaning of the Buddha's words.

¹⁶⁶ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64a19–24; cf. the translation in Nakajima 1997: 189–190, which differs from mine on a number of points.

¹⁶⁷ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64a25–26.

death, but suddenly emerges around the turn of the 5th c.¹⁶⁸ Daoci implies that the two translations of the *Madhyama-āgama* belonged to two different sects, but whoever might have introduced this notion? My impression is that it was Saṃgharakṣa, the Kashmiri reciter of the collection, to make a difference and push Saṃghadeva into a clearcut distancing from his past, apparently defined in newly introduced sectarian terms. Otherwise, we would not be able to explain why Saṃghadeva should have been concerned “not to act on his own initiative” and not to depart too radically from the previous translation, whatever he thought of it. If so, Saṃghadeva’s revision of the *Zengyi ahan jing* before his encounter with Saṃgharakṣa at Jiankang would have been driven by different premises, and arguably have resulted in a far less dissimilar output.

None of the above clearly amounts to evidence suggesting that Saṃghadeva should be positively associated to T.125. It is, however, conceivable that at least portions of the received text, or perhaps its mere internal structure, might go back to the revision that this monk did carry out, probably at Luoyang in 390–391. Pending further findings in the remainder of this study, it will be wise to keep an open mind before adjudicating on what is by all means an extraordinarily tangled textual history.

¹⁶⁸ Daoci’s preface (ca. A.D. 401–402) may be the oldest document alluding to this tradition in China. A fuller account appears in a preface written by Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) between ca. 410 and 412; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.65c9–18. A further hint, which does not say that the sects were five, and places their schism at the time of Aśoka, a (or ‘in the’) century after the Buddha’s *nirvāṇa*, appears in the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, translated by Kumārajīva in 402–406; see T.1509, 2.70a8–10; tr. Lamotte 1944: 106–109. Sengyou reports a narrative on the schism of the Five Sects, taken from a *Vibhāṣā* (*Piposha* 毘婆沙), but unattested in the three extant treatises with this title; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 3.19c9–27. In another account, Sengyou identifies the Five Sects as the Sarvāstivāda, Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṃghika, Mahīśāsaka and Kāśyapīya; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 3.20a12–21b10.

II.3 Zhu Fonian 竺佛念

As we have seen, Daoci's preface attests to Saṃghadeva's deep unease about the translations of the Chang'an group, of which he himself had been a prominent member. Those renditions are described as "... inconsistent with the originals and flawed in meaning; terms would not correspond to realities, words were assembled imaginatively, even the style was inadequate. It was made to be so precisely because the translators were hasty and unskilled in the Chinese language" 違本失旨, 名不當實, 依怙屬辭, 句味亦差。良由譯人造次, 未善晉言, 故使爾耳。

Since Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 had been the leading interpreter in Dao'an's team, one wonders whether these remarks were aimed especially at him. Japanese scholars have long seen this éminence grise in the Buddhist translation circles of Chang'an during the crucial decades astride the turn of the 5th c. as a champion of literary, embellished renditions of canonical texts, against the more literal and faithful approach purportedly upheld by Dao'an.¹⁶⁹

More recently, a study of Jan Nattier on Zhu Fonian's translation of the *Zuisheng wen pusa shizhu chugou duanjie jing* 最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經 (T.309), a text on the ten stages of the bodhi-sattva path, has cast more fundamental doubts on the nature of this monk's work. Under close scrutiny, T.309 reveals itself as a patchwork heavily borrowing from earlier canonical renditions in Chinese, therefore qualifying as less of a translation than a product of creative authorship.¹⁷⁰ To explain this apparent forgery, Nattier follows the biography of Zhu Fonian in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, ac-

¹⁶⁹ Unebe 1970, which unfortunately I could only consult briefly while this book was already in proofs, is probably still the most detailed study on Zhu Fonian in Japanese scholarship. See also Ōchō 1958: 228–232; Kamata 1990: 116–119; and the remarks in Silk 2006: 49.

¹⁷⁰ See Nattier 2010: 239–252.

according to which the activity of the monk from Liangzhou would have been divided into two main stages, respectively in the latter part of the Jianyuan era (A.D. 365–385) of Fu Jian and then, after a gap of more than a decade following the death of this emperor, during the Hongshi 弘始 era (A.D. 399–415) of Yao Xing 姚興, ruler of the Later Qin dynasty. While in the former period Zhu Fonian would have worked on non-Mahāyāna texts recited by foreign masters, his second act would have been a solitary enterprise centring on Mahāyāna scriptures. Eclipsed by the presence of Kumārajīva, who monopolised the favour of the Qin court, the monk would thus have attempted to regain his lost clout by concocting a good number of Bodhisattva texts out of whole cloth.¹⁷¹

Independently from Nattier, and in connection to our very object of enquiry, Lin Jia'an 林家安 has concluded that the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* stems again from the hands of Zhu Fonian, who around A.D. 410 would have radically altered and expanded Dharmananda's translation of 384–385. Lin's thesis builds on the evidence of another translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, seemingly predating the received text, and on the difficulty in assigning the latter to Saṃghadeva; this scenario suggests the agency of a third actor interfering with the text after Dharmananda and Saṃghadeva, and the similarity of T.125 with the translation idiom of Zhu Fonian points to this figure as the most likely suspect.¹⁷²

I will discuss the evidence of this different translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* below (ch. 2, § III.3). Here I wish to assess the ground behind these scholarly views of Zhu Fonian, the cumulative effect of which amounts to a character assassination of sorts, and may well tempt us into explaining through this shadowy figure any

¹⁷¹ See Nattier 2010: 232–235, referring to *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 15.111b12–23, and her conclusions *ibid.* pp. 252–257.

¹⁷² See Lin 2009: 132–139.

mischief we may sense in the rendering of canonical texts around the turn of the 5th c.

Zhu Fonian's reputation as an undependable embellisher of scripture rests to a large extent on a single document, the 'Postscript to the Scriptural Collection of Saṃgharakṣa' (*Sengqieluocha ji jing houji* 僧伽羅剎集經後記), which has been mentioned above in connection to the date of Dao'an's death. One section of the 'Postscript' has the following to say:

且《婆須蜜經》及曇摩難提口誦《增一阿含》并《幻網經》，使佛念為譯人。念迺學通內外，才辯多奇，常疑西域言繁質，謂此土好華。每存瑩飾文句，減其繁長。安公、趙郎之所深疾。窮校考定，務在典骨。既方俗不同，許其“五失胡本”。出此以外，毫不可差。“五失”，如安公《大品序》所載。余既預眾末，聊記卷後，使知釋、趙為法之至。

As for the 'Scripture of Vasumitra' as well as the 'Āgama Increasing by One' and the 'Scripture of the Veil of 'Illusion' (Māyā) (*Huanwang jing* 幻網經, Skt. **Māyājāla sūtra*)¹⁷³ that were recited by Dharmananda, [Dao'an and Zhao Wenye] employed [Zhu] Fonian as interpreter. [Zhu Fo]nian's learning would encompass the inner (i.e. Buddhist) and the outer (i.e. non-Buddhist) [texts], his talent and eloquence were exceedingly rare. He would always mistrust the expressions of the Western Regions for being involved and coarse, and utter the beautiful flourish of this land. He would regularly keep glossy, polished sentences and erase those that are knotty and lengthy, something which Peer An (An gong 安公, i.e. Dao'an) and Squire Zhao

¹⁷³ A sūtra with this title was included in the (apparently) Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* in Sanskrit, fragments of which have been found at Turfan; see Hartmann 2012: 58. There is no other evidence that Dharmananda recited such a text.

(Zhao lang 趙郎, Zhao Wenye) would deeply abhor. They, [instead,] would thoroughly collate and critically establish [the text], putting their effort into the bones of the scripture. Since the countries and customs are different, they would allow [only] for the ‘Five Losses of the foreign original’ (*wushi huben* 五失胡本).¹⁷⁴ But apart from this, they would admit of no discrepancy whatsoever. The ‘Five Losses’ are as reported in Peer An’s ‘Preface to the Larger Version’ (*Dapin xu* 大品序). May I, pleased as I am to be the last in the Congregation, make this record at the end of the scroll, so as to make known that Shi 釋 [Dao’an] and Zhao 趙 [Wenye] were the best in the Law.¹⁷⁵

The anonymous author of this postscript tenders a somewhat back-handed praise of Zhu Fonian’s translation skills, which in fact highlights the liberties that the leading Buddhist interpreter from Liangzhou would apparently take in performing his task, and against him extols Dao’an and Zhao Wenye’s faithfulness to the letter of the scripture. If the document were really from the time of the translations or shortly thereafter, at the end of the 4th c., we would have good reason to assume that Saṃghadeva’s retranslations and revisions were indeed meant to make up for what at the time was perceived as Zhu Fonian’s cosmetic tampering with the holy texts. However, the postscript is clearly apocryphal, as the following points will reveal:

¹⁷⁴ An allusion to the five kinds of admissible unfaithfulness in translation that Dao’an postulates in his ‘Preface to an abstract of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā* scripture’ (*Mohe boluoruo poluomi jingchao xu* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序): reversion of the word order, embellishment, omission of redundant passages, omission of incomprehensible passages, omission of explicative repetitions in the transition from one section to another: see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 8.52b23–c2; tr. Hurvitz–Link 1974: 427.

¹⁷⁵ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71b29–c6.

1. It opens by saying that on 28 December 384 (Jianyuan 20. 11. 30), under the Great Qin 大秦, the monk from Kashmir Saṃghabhadra orally recited (*kou song* 口誦) this scripture (i.e. the Scriptural Collection of Saṃgharakṣa) at the Stone Ram Monastery (Shiyang si 石羊寺) in Chang'an, and that Vibhāṣā (Piposha 毘婆沙) and Buddharakṣa (Fotuluocha 佛圖羅剎) translated it. However,
2. since the Chinese was coarse, Dao'an and Zhao Wenye revised the text thoroughly, and completed their amendments on 9 March 385 (Jianyuan 21. 2. 9).¹⁷⁶

These indications are glaringly inconsistent with what Dao'an himself says in his preface to the same translation:¹⁷⁷

1. Saṃghabhadra had brought a manuscript of the scripture (齎此經本), whose translation was therefore not based on his recitation from memory.
2. The interpreter / translator was Zhu Fonian, not Vibhāṣā and Buddharakṣa.
3. The dates do not tally: Dao'an did collate and establish (對檢定) the text together with Fahe (not Zhao Wenye) in order to complete the translation, but the editing was *concluded* on 28 December 384 (Jianyuan 20. 11. 30), the very same day on which, according to the Postscript, the translation had *started* with Saṃghabhadra's recitation.
4. A monk styled 'Vibhāṣā' (Piposha 毘婆沙), possibly to be identified with Buddhayaśas (ca. 340–d. after 413), is only known from a somewhat later period; in particular, he is said to have translated the *Śāriputra-abhidharma* (*Shelifu apitan* 舍利弗阿毘

¹⁷⁶ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71b25–29. It is interesting to observe that Sengyou's catalogue entry (*ibid.* 2.10b8–11) is based on this bogus record rather than on Dao'an's original preface to the translation.

¹⁷⁷ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71b16–21.

曇) at the Stone Ram Monastery (Shiyang si 石羊寺) of Chang'an, apparently between 407 and 415.¹⁷⁸

Two further points should be highlighted:

5. In the Postscript, Dao'an is referred to with the honorific epithet 'Peer An' (An gong 安公), which is attested in documents written in southern China from the late 5th c., but in none of the early records on the monk.¹⁷⁹
6. The Postscript mentions Dao'an's 'Preface to an abstract of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā* scripture' (*Mohe boluoruo poluomi jing-chao xu* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序) under the alternative title 'Preface to the Larger Version' (*Dapin xu* 大品序), which elsewhere is only known from the table of contents of the *Falun* 法論, a collection of Chinese documents on Buddhism compiled

¹⁷⁸ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 2.11b8–10, 3.20c16–17; cf. *ibid.* 10.71a7–23, 13.102c6–7.

¹⁷⁹ 'An gong' 安公, which Sengyou uses regularly (see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 1.5c2 and *passim*), appears in a eulogy for Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) attributed to the celebrated Southern scholar and Buddhist layman Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433), but the attribution is almost certainly spurious; see *Guang hongming ji*, 13.267a23, and cf. Tsukamoto–Hurvitz 1985: 950. The earliest occurrence of the epithet thus seems to be in a preface written in A.D. 485 by another Southern scholar, the Jingzhou hermit Liu Qiu 劉虬 (438–495); see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.68c2. In documents written during his lifetime or shortly after his death, Dao'an is named as follows: Shi Fashi 釋法師 (Master of the Law Śākya), *Da biqu erbaishi jie sanbu heyi xu* 大比丘二百六十戒三部合異序, by Zhu Tanwulan (fl. 380–397), ca. 380, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 11.81a3; Shi Heshang 釋和尚 (Śākya upādhyāya), *Apitan xin xu* 阿毘曇心序, anonymous, ca. 392, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72b17; Shi Fashi 釋法師 (Master of the Law Śākya), *Zhong ahan jing ji* 中阿含經記, quoted by Daoci 道慈 (fl. 391–402), ca. 402, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.63c22; Wangshi An Heshang 亡師安和上 (the Late Master An upādhyāya), *Dapin jing xu* 大品經序, by Sengrui 僧叡 (ca. 352–436), 405, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 8.53a17; Wangshi 亡師 (the Late Master), *Yuyi lun* 喻疑論, by Sengrui, ca. 420, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 5.41b15.

between ca. A.D. 465 and 469 at the Liu Song 劉宋 court by Lu Cheng 陸澄 (425–494).¹⁸⁰

Simply put, the ‘Postscript’ is a distorted record written long after the fact, probably in the South towards the end of the 5th c., and while its portrait of Zhu Fonian as a translator may well hold a grain of truth, it cannot be used as a reliable source on its own. More interesting is what Zhu Fonian himself says at the end of his preface to the translation of the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana (T.2045), recited by Dharmananda, which he wrote in A.D. 391:

佛念譯音，情義實難。或離文而就義，或正滯而傍通，
或取解於誦人，或事略而曲備。冀將來之學士，令鑒罪
福之不朽。設有毫釐潤色者，盡銘之於萌兆。

[When I,] Fonian, interpret (*yi*in 譯音), my intentions are straight but the reality is difficult. Sometimes I depart from the text to approach the meaning, or I fix the knotty points understanding from the context. Sometimes I get explanations from the reciter, or if the substance is abridged I add the details. I hope that future scholars be made to see whatever felicity or infelicity survives. Should there be the slightest embellishment, it is all written in stone from the early signs.¹⁸¹

This statement reads like a candid disclaimer, revealing Zhu Fonian’s awareness of his weaknesses as a translator, perhaps also of a public perception thereof. Yet it does not look like the confession of a forger, and it is important to stress that the monk penned these remarks for a work authored jointly with Dharmananda, who after nearly a decade in China would have been able to assess the integ-

¹⁸⁰ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 12.83b14. On Lu Cheng, the then Vice Director of the Imperial Secretariat, and the *Falun*, see Pelliot 1920: 266.

¹⁸¹ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 7.51c12–16.

rity of his interpreter. In fact, Zhu Fonian expressly states that his translations were also based on explanations provided by the reciter, a point that is as obvious as it is easy to forget. We shall return to it later.

Nattier's findings about the apocryphal nature of T.309 are certainly significant, and in themselves provide compelling evidence that this particular text cannot be accepted, in its entirety at least, as a genuine translation from an Indic original. Here too, however, a few caveats are in order. Firstly, the suggestion that Zhu Fonian's career divides into two neatly distinguished periods, of which the latter (399–415) would have been devoted to the production of Mahāyānist forgeries, does not stand scrutiny. It is based on the monk's biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, but there are several good reasons to take this document with a pinch of salt. In this source, a brief biographical notice on Zhu Fonian (57 characters) is already appended at the end of the biography of Dharmananda, and information on the monk from Liangzhou is scattered across several other vitas, so that it is not clear why a somewhat larger account (295 characters) should also be provided farther on in the text.¹⁸² In the main biography, reference is made to the 'false' (*wei* 偽) Jianyuan 建元 era of Fu Jian; this loyalist labelling of northern dynasties, implying that the author endorsed the perspective of the southern court in Jiankang, is regularly found in the *Mingseng zhuan* and in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, but only sporadically in Sengyou's lives of monks, where it may point to textual contamination from the other two sources.¹⁸³ However it may have been, the in-

¹⁸² See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 13.99b24–27 (shorter biography) and 15.111b8–25 (larger biography).

¹⁸³ See *Meisō den shō*, Z vol. 77 no. 1523, p. 346a7 and *passim*; *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328b9 and *passim*. In the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, references to the 'false' northern dynasties and their eras occur regularly in the catalogue section, which goes back to the second edition of the book issued in ca. A.D. 515 and under the

formation in this notice is both incomplete and inaccurate. It omits two of Zhu Fonian's most important works, his translations of the Dharmaguptaka vinaya (*Sifen lü* 四分律, T.1428) in 412 and of the *Ārgha-āgama* (*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經, T.1) in 413. It states that the monk translated the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana in ca. 384 rather than in 391, and implies that he remained idle between the death of Fu Jian and the Hongshi 弘始 era, which is again not true.¹⁸⁴ As regards T.309 in particular, the lexicon of translation of this item suggests a date *before* Kumārajīva's period of activity.¹⁸⁵ Finally, in the absence of any preface or other record, it is difficult to establish what this Mahāyānist text was exactly meant to represent, and in what circumstances Zhu Fonian produced it.¹⁸⁶ But

influence of the Liang court; see e.g. *ibid.* 2.10b1–2 and *passim*. In the biographical section, which Sengyou appear to have compiled by ca. A.D. 503 and away from the court, the term appears only in six biographies and one sub-biography, but inconsistently: see *ibid.* 13.99a29 (Saṃghabhadra), 14.102c10 (Buddhayaśas), 14.103c20–21 (Buddhabhadra), 15.109a6–7 (Dao'an), 15.109b6–7 (Fahe), 15.111b12 (Zhu Fonian), 15.113b8 (Zhimeng 智猛).

¹⁸⁴ On the translation of the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana in A.D. 391 see above, p. 59 and note 121; but cf. the remarks below, ch. 5, pp. 241–242 and note 136. The *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 was also translated in A.D. 398–399, thus shortly before the beginning of the Hongshi era; see above, pp. 63–64, note 130.

¹⁸⁵ On a cursory examination, T.309 uses pre-Kumārajīva forms such as *wen rushi* 聞如是 instead of *rushì wōwēn* 如是我聞 for Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ, ni-huan* 泥洹 instead of *niepan* 涅槃 for *nirvāṇa*, *axulun* 阿須倫 instead of *ax-iuluo* 阿修羅 for *asura*, the old translations for the 37 *bodhipākṣika-dharmas*, and so on. The new forms are instead used in Zhu Fonian's translations of the Dharmaguptaka vinaya and of the *Ārgha-āgama*.

¹⁸⁶ It would be important to assess, for example, to what extent some of the textual parallels with earlier Chinese translations that Nattier has located in T.309 may represent, rather than sheer forgery, the 'recycling' of ready-made pericopes to match similar or identical passages (or at least perceived as such) in the source-text. Of course, there may well have been no such thing as an Indic "source-text" in the case at hand. However, textual liberties, sometimes ex-

even if we assume that this monk, at any one point in his long career and for whatever reason, indulged the temptation to fashion his own homemade Bodhisattva texts, it would be dangerous to extend such an assumption to the *āgama* side of his work. Mahāyāna texts are *apocrypha scripta* by definition. Since at least the 1st c. A.D. they keep on emerging in written form and from carefully hidden sources in order to bypass the mainstream oral tradition crystallising in the *āgama* / *nikāya* literature. A forger of such texts in China would thus have followed a method of production and revelation that would not have been different in principle from the Indian practice. For the large *āgama* collections, however, it seems difficult to follow Lin Jia'an and imagine a scenario where a Chinese translator, be it even Zhu Fonian, tampers in solitude with the already translated and circulating *Zengyi ahan jing*, expanding it considerably and adding a large number of scriptures of his own liking, without the sanction of a foreign master – and without anyone noticing.

Once this red herring is left off the trail, we should be able to direct our misgivings elsewhere. Saṃghadeva may well have had his own axe to grind with Zhu Fonian, but then also with Dharmnanda, judging from his breakup with the duo and irrevocable departure from Guanzhong in the aftermath of Fu Jian's death. Yet, of the nine scriptures that he decided to translate anew, one at least, the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi, had nothing to do with Zhu Fonian, since another monk, Buddharakṣa, had acted as interpreter for it. Only one person had meddled with each and every translation of the group, and this was obviously Dao'an. In a number of prefaces, the

treme, are well attested in the history of Buddhist translations in China, and this very study will hopefully illustrate the complexity of human agency and cultural negotiations that may have been behind them, something which the scenario of a solitary forger perhaps oversimplifies.

Chinese monk professes a concern for faithfulness to the Indic original even at the expense of the literary quality of the output, a position that he shared with Zhao Zheng. This is what the author of the ‘Postscript to the Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa’ would believe at the end of the 5th c., and what modern scholars have also been willing to accept.¹⁸⁷ However, we should not fail to appreciate the potential extent of Dao’an’s interference with the translations of his group. He was always there ‘ordering’ (*ling* 令) foreign masters and Chinese monks alike to do what he wanted, imposing gruelling schedules, closing texts with his own revisions, and occasionally demanding to issue scriptures all over again. He would make and unmake translations, and he alone had the authority to do so, both in view of his long established charisma and of his uniquely privileged position at the Qin court, which invested him with a decisive additional layer of political leverage.

Seen against this background, Saṃghadeva’s decision to issue *all* the translations of the Chang’an group anew, as soon as the providentially simultaneous demise of Dao’an and Fu Jian set him free from the smothering embrace of the Qin milieu, has all the outward appearances of a liberating, in-your-face adieu to that double-edged sponsorship.

¹⁸⁷ Dao’an’s main statement of his views on canonical translations is included in his ‘Preface to an abstract of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā* scripture’ (*Mohe boluoruo poluomi jingchao xu* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序), where he formulates the influential thesis of the ‘five [admissible] losses [in translation]’ (*wushi* 五失) and of the five unchangeable points (*san buyi* 三不易); see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 8.52b23–c2; for a full translation and analysis of this document see Hurvitz–Link 1974: 426–432. Zhao Zheng’s propensity for literal translation and adherence to the Indic original against any form of embellishment results from his reported speech in Dao’an’s preface to the *Vibhāṣā*; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.73c15–22. For a full discussion of Dao’an’s approach to translation see Ōchō 1958: 236–255; also Chou 2000: 21–23.

Once again, it will be important in the following part of this study to bear in mind the full complexity of the intricate web of personalities and agendas behind the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and duly visualise, at the centre of that web, the spinning agency of its dominus, Shi Dao'an.

III. Four redactions, how many translations?

We are now in a position to draw some preliminary conclusions regarding the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China, and place any further questions where they need to be. Our chief primary source, Dao'an's preface, describes this translation as a single process stretching from May/August 384 to January/April 385, in which Dharmananda and Zhu Fonian respectively recited ("issued", *chu* 出) and translated the Indic text of the collection, resulting in a Chinese redaction in 41 scrolls. Dao'an and Fahe "examined and corrected" (*kaozheng* 考正) the rendition, aided by two Chinese monks as proofreaders, and produced one additional scroll of summaries. However, things appear to have been somewhat more complex. Another *Zengyi ahan jing* in 46 scrolls had already been produced before the end of 384, but for some reason Dao'an chooses not to mention it in his final foreword. Some three months after the writing of the preface, in June–July 385, the monastic leader died, and his fellowship broke ranks. One of the team's eminences, the Kashmiri monk Gautama Saṃghadeva, parted company with Dharmananda and Zhu Fonian and, initially with Fahe, undertook a retranslation of the whole output of the group. This included the *Zengyi ahan jing*, of which a new issue was produced probably at Luoyang in ca. 390–391. There were, accordingly, four redactions of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, but so many questions remain:

1. What was the relationship between the first redaction in 46 scrolls and the second one in 41 scrolls? Was the latter a mere revision of the former, or a brand new translation?

2. Why are Saṃghadeva and Saṃghabhadra, who yet had taken part in nearly all the team's translations until the end of 384, not mentioned in Dao'an's preface? Were they sidelined from all the stages of the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, or just from the final one resulting in the second and third redaction?
3. What happened to the redaction in 46 scrolls after the issue of the third redaction in 41 + 1 scrolls, and especially after the death of Dao'an? Was it destroyed, or did it remain available, in full or in part, for copy and circulation?
4. What was the nature of Saṃghadeva's fourth redaction, and to what extent did it differ from the previous ones?
5. Finally, was there any further passage in the textual history of the *Zengyi ahan jing* between the four redactions of the period 384–391 and the establishment of the received text (T.125)? Did anyone else after Saṃghadeva work on the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China, producing complete or partial new translations, or revisions, or additions?

We cannot give conclusive answers to these questions here, but some observations may orient the discussion that will follow.

Let us consider in the first place that behind the four redactions – if we exclude the passage from the second to the third one, which does seem to have implied mere editing work on the Chinese text – there may have been as many as three 'translations', by which term we should mean distinct acts of integral or partial recitation of the collection, conveyed in Chinese by an interpreter, presumably accompanied by extensive discussion, and committed to a written draft.

In the transition from the 46-scroll to the 41-scroll redaction, something more than ordinary editing is suggested by the significant difference in size, and by the already mentioned precedent of the retranslation of the **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra* on Dao'an's order between December 383 and January 384. As for Saṃghadeva and Saṃghabhadra, it cannot be excluded that they, or one of them, had initially assisted in the transla-

tion of the two *āgamas*; these were admittedly Dharmananda's territory, but it does seem strange that the two Kashmiri masters would be kept out from what was arguably the most important undertaking of the group.

We obviously do not know what happened to the redaction in 46 scrolls; however, we should not take it for granted that it was completely superseded by the authoritative third redaction. With the death of the domineering figure of Dao'an and the dispersal of the Chang'an group, there would have been no obligation not to make use of the earlier redaction or at least of parts of it, as long as they physically survived.

I have already attempted above some preliminary hypotheses regarding the nature and scope of Saṃghadeva's revision. I have also voiced my scepticism at the possibility that the *contents* of any of the redactions of the *Zengyi ahan jing* may have been significantly altered and even expanded outside the agency of the two primary groups of translation producers – Dharmananda, Zhu Fonian, Dao'an and Zhao Zheng at Chang'an in 384–385 and Saṃghadeva and Fahe at Luoyang in 390–391 – and this regardless of any speculation on the activities of Zhu Fonian in the obscure second half of his career. However, interference with the recensional structure of the early redactions, implying substantial rearrangement of the chapter sequence and possibly even cross-contamination between the different redactions, may and indeed is likely to have taken place in the further textual history of the collection.

To reach less tentative conclusions, we now need to broaden the horizon of our enquiry, and make room for a number of important witnesses.

CHAPTER TWO

Witnesses to the context and early reception of the *Zengyi* *ahan jing* 增一阿含經

I. Before the translation

It is well-known that the *Zengyi ahan jing*, the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and, to the extent that its surviving fragments from different recensions permit to speculate, the Sanskrit *Ekottarika-āgama* are collections of Buddhist discourses arranged in numerical progression of factors ‘increasing by one’ or ‘by-one-limb-more’ from one to eleven, and accordingly arranged in eleven series (called *nipātas* in the Pāli version).¹ Historically, however, the *Ekottarika-āgama* in particular is a somewhat elusive textual object, and any study of its introduction to China should take due note of this obscurity prior to the translation of the collection in A.D. 384–385. Its existence in ‘India’ itself at an early date rests on the twin assumptions that the *Ekottarika-āgama* is a Northern counterpart (in Sanskrit and/or a Middle Indic, notably Gāndhārī) to the Pāli *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, and that the latter is a work of some considerable age. Accordingly, the identification of early ‘*Ekottarika-āgama* sūtras’ among the sources in Sanskrit, Gāndhārī and Chinese rests chiefly on the

¹ See the overviews in Norman 1983b: 54–57 and Allon 2001: 9–25.

existence of parallels in the Pāli collection.² The problem with this approach is that it assumes the sharing not only of a principle of textual organisation, but also of a common transmission and redactional history among different and often far-flung Buddhist communities. While there may be good reasons, especially linguistic and doctrinal, to postulate the relative antiquity of individual Buddhist discourses, their inclusion in closed scriptural corpora at specific historical stages is an altogether different matter.

Let us briefly register, then, a few positive facts. A Sarvāstivāda Vaibhāṣika tradition attested around the middle of the 4th c. avers that the *Ekottarika-āgama* originally comprised one hundred series, but in time textual loss had reduced it to ten series. This challenges twice the ‘originality’ of the extant collections, since they consist of neither one hundred nor ten, but eleven series. I will discuss this tradition in greater detail in the Epilogue. A Chinese canonical translation (T.6, to be discussed in the next section), probably dating to the 3rd c. A.D., mentions by name the four *āgamas* and refers to them as closed texts, although it does so in such terms that reveal no positive knowledge of their contents and structure. Prior to this stage, I am aware of a single mention of the *Ekottarika*-[*āgama*?], in a British Library Gāndhārī fragment (BL 13) from northwest Pakistan or eastern Afghanistan that may date from the early 1st c. A.D.; the fragment, part of a verse commentary, notably refers to a section in the *Ekottarika* (Gdh. *ekotaria*) on items “that have sixteen parts” (Gdh. *ṣoḍaśagiehi* < Skt. *ṣoḍaśāṅgikaḥ*).³ At face value, this

² Harrison 1997 is an example of this conception.

³ See Baums 2009: 512–513, 677; for the palaeographic dating of the fragments see *ibid.* pp. 108–109. None of the early mentions of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in Sanskrit sources (surveyed in Allon 2001: 11) can be dated

would seem to envisage an *Ekottarika-āgama* including a *ṣoḍaśanipāta*, thus in more than eleven series, which brings some corroboration to the Vaibhāṣika tradition. However, it is equally possible that at this stage the *Ekottarika-āgama* was conceived, in certain areas at least, as an open repository, in which discourses would be memorised and transmitted according to the principle of numerical progression without an established limit; this would explain the admittedly unlikely memories of a mammoth collection in one hundred series, and also the relatively sizeable number of *Ekottarika* and *Aṅguttara* sūtras with duplicates or close parallels in other collections.

Prior to Dao'an's times, as we are going to see, Chinese materials do not shed significant light on this obscure Indian background. In the following sections, I shall briefly survey the evidence of the knowledge of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China before, around and up to some time after Dharmananda's recitation, thus placing this major canonical transmission in its broader historical context.

I.1 The narrative on the origin of the *āgamas* in the *Parinirvāṇa sūtra* (T.6)

In his preface to the third redaction of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, probably written in March–April 385, Dao'an notes that “among the scriptures previously issued in this land there is a motley of those inside [the *Āgamas*]”; he further refers to a tradition according to which the Four *Āgamas* had been ‘collected’ (*ji* 集) by forty *arhats* in groups of ten people, each one of them

with any certainty before the 4th c.; I shall discuss below (pp. 289–293) the alleged *Ekottarika-āgama* quotation in the Gāndhārī inscription of Indravarma of A.D. 5/6.

‘compiling’ (*zhuan* 撰) one of the four collections.⁴ These two indications aptly summarise the degree of knowledge of the *Āgamas* in China up to Dao’an’s times.

There is no evidence that *āgama* collections, and the *Ekottarika-āgama* in particular, were known in the early stage of canonical translations in China. In his catalogue, which was apparently compiled in A.D. 374, but was probably updated until at least two years later and possibly beyond, Dao’an adds notes after a number of translations by the Indo-Parthian monk An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 148–170), explaining that they were ‘issued’ (*chu* 出) from this or that *āgama*.⁵ It is unclear exactly when and on what basis these ascriptions were made; it is tempting to assume that Dao’an added them after meeting the *āgama* expert

⁴ See above, p. 42.

⁵ On these ‘*āgama*’ translations, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 2.6a5 (長), 6a7 (長), 6a9 (長), 6a12 (雜), 6a13 (增一), 6a24 (中); cf. Nattier 2008: 49–55. As is well known, although lost as an independent text, Dao’an’s catalogue largely survives in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*. In a document included in the latter source (T.2145, 5.40a2), Dao’an appears to place the compilation of his catalogue in the second year of the Kangning 康寧 era under the Jin dynasty; the era name is generally interpreted as a clerical error, for there was in fact a Ningkan 寧康 era of Jin, whose second year roughly corresponds to A.D. 374. However, the catalogue included a mention of the *Guangzan jing* 光讚經, Zhu Fahu’s 竺法護 (a.k.a. Dharmarakṣa, 229–306) partial translation of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*: see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 2.7b12. This translation only reached Dao’an at Xiangyang on 27 June 376; it had been sent in 373 from Liangzhou 涼州, where it was originally held, via foreign merchants to Chang’an, and from Chang’an, again using merchants as couriers, one An Fahua 安法華 (presumably a Buddhist monk) sent it to Xiangyang; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.62c4–8, and cf. the detailed translation and discussion in Zacchetti 2005: 59–60. It seems therefore that the inclusion of the *Guangzan jing* in the catalogue would only have been possible in the latter half of 376 or later.

Dharmananda in 383, but since the notes also assign certain scriptures to the *Dīrgha-* (長阿含) and *Samyukta-āgama* (雜阿含), which were beyond the Bactrian monk's specialisation, this may not be a sound assumption after all. Alternatively, Dao'an may have obtained some preliminary, more specific information on the contents of (some recension of) the *āgamas* from learned informants in the monastic communities of Liangzhou and Chang'an, with which he corresponded in his last years at Xiangyang (ca. 376–379).⁶

In any case, there is no evidence to maintain that An Shigao presented or indeed understood these translations as being based on *āgama* texts. This is particularly important as regards the collection entitled *Zajing sishisi pian* 雜經四十四篇, 'Forty-four miscellaneous scriptures', in which a significant number of discourses have parallels in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. Building on the work of Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善 and Hayashiya Tomojirō 林屋友次郎, Paul Harrison has deftly reconstructed this collection, which is presently embedded in layers within the *Qichu sanguan jing* 七處三觀經 (T.150A), An Shigao's translation of a version of the *Saptasthāna sūtra*.⁷ However, Harrison's characterisation of the *Zajing sishisi pian* as 'an *Ekottarikāgama* com-

⁶ See the previous note on the events surrounding the transmission of the *Guangzan jing* to Xiangyang.

⁷ See Harrison 1997. In the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (2.6a13), the *Zajing sishisi pian* is reported as missing; Sengyou also states that according to Dao'an, the *Zajing sishisi pian* was issued from the *Ekottarika-āgama*, but since he had failed to indicate the titles (of the 44 items), it was unclear which scriptures were included (安公云出《增一阿含》, 既不標名, 未詳何經). Harrison (*ibid.* p. 266) convincingly argues that Sengyou could simply not identify the presence of the *Zajing sishisi pian* inside the *Qichu sanguan jing*.

pilation' is misleading: we simply do not know if these texts were selected from an extant *Ekottarika-āgama*, or indeed from any larger, closed collection.⁸

We should instead take seriously Dao'an's indication that before Dharmananda, scriptures that *he* identified as *āgama* texts had just been translated at random in a motley assortment (斑斑).

In the preface, Dao'an also refers to a tradition reported in the final section of a non-Mahāyāna *Parinirvāṇa sūtra* (*Bannihuan jing* 般泥洹經, T vol. 1 no. 6), probably translated in the mid-to-late 3rd c.⁹ After the *parinirvāṇa* story, this text and a

⁸ See Harrison 1997: 265. Farther on in his study (pp. 279–280), Harrison problematises this assumption, but eventually upholds the notion of an “An Shigao’s *Ekottarikāgama*”. Although arguments from silence are never conclusive, it is interesting to observe that in a document written around A.D. 180, which is also the oldest witness to the understanding of the Buddhist canon in China, An Shigao’s leading disciple Yan Futiao 嚴浮[v.l. 佛]調 mentions the First Council and the twelvefold division of the Buddha’s word that resulted from it, but makes no reference to the *āgamas* (眾賢共使阿難演其所聞, 凡所著出十二部經); see *Shami shihui zhangju xu* 沙彌十慧章句序, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.69c23–24. A further problem with Harrison’s reconstruction is that he, on somewhat tentative grounds, suggests a Sarvāstivāda affiliation for this hypothetical *Ekottarika-āgama* of An Shigao, and noting its little textual contact with T.125, concludes that the latter “cannot be Sarvāstivādin, or Mūlasarvāstivādin for that matter” (*ibid.* p. 280). This really rests on too many assumptions, including the idea that there would have been a single *Ekottarika-āgama* of the Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda, never changing between the 2nd and the 4th centuries.

⁹ Jan Nattier (2008: 126–128) assigns the translation of T.6 to the *upāsaka* of Yuezhi descent Zhi Qian 支謙 (a.k.a. Zhi Yue 支越, 194/199–253/258) on stylistic grounds; Jungnok Park (2008 [2010]: 365–366) proposes that T.6 is a revision of another rather similar *Parinirvāṇa sūtra* (T.5) and suggests a translation date “possibly around 280”. A terminus ante quem for

somewhat similar Chinese parallel (T.5) continue with an account of the ‘First Council’,¹⁰ which ends with the production of the collections of Buddhist scriptures:

大迦葉即選眾中四十應真，從阿難受得四阿含：一、《中阿含》，二、《長阿含》，三、《增一阿含》，四、《雜阿含》。此四文者，一為貪婬作，二為喜怒作，三為愚癡作，四為不孝不師作。四阿含文，各六十疋素。眾比丘言：「用寫四文，當興行於天下。」故佛闢維處，自生四樹。遂相撿斂，分別書佛十二部經，戒律法具。其在千歲中持佛經戒者，後皆會生彌勒佛所，當從彼解度生死履。

The Great Kāśyapa then selected forty ‘Respondent Realised Ones’ (*yingzhen* 應真, *arhats*) from the congregation. They received the Four *Āgamas* from Ānanda: first, the *Medium Āgama* (*Zhong ahan* 中阿含, *Madhyama-āgama*); second, the *Long Āgama* (*Chang ahan* 長阿含, *Dīrgha-āgama*); third, the *Āgama Increasing by One* (*Zengyi ahan* 增一阿含, *Ekottarika-āgama*); fourth, the *Miscellaneous Āgama* (*Za ahan* 雜阿含, *Samyukta-*

T.6 is provided by some quotations from it in the *Fengfa yao* 奉法要 (Essentials for the Observance of the [Buddhist] Law), written by Xi Chao 郗超 (336–377); see Ch’en 1958: 130.

¹⁰ Here and elsewhere in this study, ‘First Council’ refers to the great assembly traditionally held shortly after the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa*, resulting in the recitation of the discourses of the Buddha and the creation of some sort of canon; to the best of my knowledge, Yan Futiao’s document of ca. A.D. 180 mentioned above (note 8) represents the oldest evidence in any language for this tradition. However, I must hasten to add that I use the expression ‘First Council’ purely out of convention, as I am not at all convinced of the historicity of the further ‘Councils’ that according to much later sources would have taken place in the first centuries after the death of the Buddha.

āgama). Of these four texts, the first was made for the covetous and lascivious, the second was made for those prone to anger, the third was made for the fools, the fourth was made for those unfilial and disrespectful to their teachers. For each of the Four *Āgama* texts there were sixty bolts of plain silk. The *bhikṣus* in the congregation said, “We shall use them to write the four texts and spread them around the world”. Thus on the place of the Buddha’s *jhāpita* (cremation), four trees were spontaneously born. Then [the forty *arhats*] compared and collected [the texts] and separately wrote down the twelvefold canon of the Buddha (*Fo shierbu jing* 佛十二部經, Skt. *dvādaśāṅga-buddha-vacana*) along with the law of the precepts. Those observing the scriptures and the precepts of the Buddha during one thousand years, in the end will all be reborn together in the place of the Buddha Maitreya, and from him will be delivered from the taint¹¹ of birth and death.¹²

No Indic parallel is known for this rather peculiar narrative, which at least in its reference to silk as a writing support reveals traces of local readaptation. The specialist ‘moral’ functions of the Four *Āgamas* and the notion that they had exactly the same size reveals ignorance of their real nature, structure and contents. This is nevertheless the oldest document in China where the Four *Āgamas* are mentioned by name and as written, closed

¹¹ Reading 漏 instead of 履 with the Song, Yuan and Ming editions.

¹² *Bannihuan jing* (T.6), 2.191a19–27; cf. the translations of this passage in Przyluski 1926: 85–86, and Ch’en 1958: 133. The parallel text in T.5 (2.175c2–11, also translated in Przyluski, *loc. cit.*) is very similar, including the detail of the sixty bolts of silk on which each *āgama* was to be written, but it does not mention the individual names of the four *āgamas*.

texts, with the *Ekottarika-āgama* as one of them. The seeming absence of any other reference for more than one century and Dao'an's hint in his preface suggest that this improbable tradition enjoyed the status of a *locus classicus* on the Four *Āgamas* in China until the arrival of Dharmananda.

I.2 Kumārajīva and the *Ekottarika-āgama*

An interesting reference to the *Ekottarika-āgama* occurs in the biography of Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, ca. 355/360–413) in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*. Here one reads that in his precocious childhood, the celebrated Indo-Kucanean master, already a Buddhist novice, went to Kashmir (Jibin 罽賓) at the age of eight (nine *sui* 歲),¹³ and there he studied under the guidance of the eminent Sarvāstivāda master Bandhudatta (Pantoudaduo 槃頭達多). He notably learned a *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* (*Zazang* 雜藏, a mistake for 雜鎔 = *Samyukta-āgama*?), the *Madhyama-āgama* 中阿鎔 and the *Dīrgha-āgama* 長阿鎔, but, intriguingly, not an *Ekottarika-āgama*. This he was able to study instead few years later (shortly after the age of eleven) at Kashgar (Shale 沙勒) together with the *Ṣaṭpāda-abhidharma* (*Apitan liuzu* 阿毘曇六足), i.e. the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins.¹⁴

Kumārajīva's exact year of birth is unknown, but it is probably later than 344 and 350, the two most favoured dates. As

¹³ In Chinese sources, years, especially for a person's age, are usually reckoned as ongoing rather than elapsed, hence they should be lowered by one year to match Western reckoning. Below I only give the latter.

¹⁴ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 14.100b10–29. The 'Six Feet' (Ch. *liuzu* 六足, Skt. *Ṣaṭpāda*) are the six Abhidharma treatises of the Sarvāstivāda that were supposed to complement their chief scholastic work, the *Jñānaprasthāna*/**Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra* of Kātyāyanīputra (1st c. B.C.): see Takakusu 1905: 73–117; Willemen – Dessein – Cox 1998: 65–68, 121–122.

Sylvain Lévi noticed long ago, a Chinese document of A.D. 379 giving a brief description of the Buddhist establishments in Kucha mentions in passing a ‘young (*nian shao* 年少) *śramaṇa* Kumāra’, of remarkable intelligence and a student of the Great Vehicle, albeit at the same time a disciple of the local *āgama* master Fotushemi 佛圖舌彌,¹⁵ a sketch in which one can reasonably identify Kumārajīva.¹⁶ If the Kuchean master was still a young monk around 379, he may have been born between 355 and 360, but probably not as early as 344 or 350.¹⁷

A preliminary conclusion is then that an *Ekottarika-āgama* was circulating in Kashgar during the late 360s or early 370s, within circles that were also engaged in the study of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, but must have differed in some respects from the Sarvāstivāda of Kashmir, represented by Bandhudatta. From the biography of Buddhayaśas (Fotuoyeshe 佛陀耶舍, ca. 340–d. after 413) in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, we learn that it was

¹⁵ The reconstruction of the Sanskrit form of this name, if a Sanskrit name it was, is problematic. Lévi (1913: 339) suggested “Buddhasvāmin?”, with a question mark, but while the first two syllables Fotu- 佛圖 (EMC *but-dɔ) are acceptable as a transcription of ‘Buddha-’, the EMC reconstructed pronunciation of the latter two, -shemi 舌彌 *ziat-mjið/mji, does not go well with Lévi’s assumption. Leon Hurvitz proposed *Buddhajanman, *Buddhajrmbha and *Buddhajrmbhin, see Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 254, 749. I prefer not to venture any reconstruction.

¹⁶ See Lévi 1913: 338–340; cf. *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 11.79c16–17: “There is a young *śramaṇa* styled Kumāra. He is of great talent and lofty intelligence, and a scholar of the Great Vehicle. [Fotu]shemi and he are master and disciple, but [Fotu]shemi is a scholar of the *āgamas*” 有年少沙門，字鳩摩羅，才大高明，大乘學，與舌彌是師徒，而舌彌阿含學者也。

¹⁷ See the sensible remarks of Paul Pelliot (2002: 17–18), who suggested that the traditional year of birth of Kumārajīva in 344 should be lowered “d’une dizaine d’années”, thus around ca. 355.

under this master that Kumārajīva studied the Abhidharma and also the Sarvāstivāda vinaya (the ‘Discipline in Ten Recitations’, *Shisong lü* 十誦律) whilst in Kashgar; presumably he also received instruction in the *Ekottarika-āgama* from the same teacher.¹⁸ The personality of Buddhayaśas, born in Kashmir from a Brahmin family but of possibly Western origins in view of his trademark red moustache, deserves close attention. His biographies describe him as a maverick, arrogant character, reciting large numbers of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna scriptures from his youth, and accordingly looked at askance within the clergy of Kashmir. Although a Buddhist novice from the age of 12, he could not find a master willing to confer formal ordination on him until he was 26, and it was apparently shortly thereafter that he moved to Kashgar.¹⁹ His rather eclectic doctrinal profile was grounded in the first place in Sarvāstivāda scholasticism and vinaya, and he was especially known as a Vibhāṣā expert, which is unsurprising for a Kashmiri master in those times. In his late years, however, he reached Kumārajīva at Chang’an (402–413), collaborating to his translations of Mahāyāna texts, and even acting as reciter of the Indic text of the Dharmaguptaka vinaya between 410 and 412.²⁰ At the time of his first encounter with Kumārajīva, around 370, Buddhayaśas seems to embody a type of dissident Sarvāstivādin, steeped in the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra and yet leaning towards the culture of the Great Vehicle, which was then strong in Kashgar. It was in fact during his relatively short stay (one year) in that

¹⁸ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 14.102b5.

¹⁹ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 14.102a15–b2; *Gaoseng zhuan*, 2.333c16–334a5, tr. Shih 1968: 85–87.

²⁰ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 14.102c1–15; *Gaoseng zhuan*, 2.334b7–21, tr. Shih 1968: 88–90.

kingdom, at the very time when he was studying under Buddha-yaśas, that the youth Kumārajīva reportedly converted to the Mahāyāna after encountering a prince of Yarkand and his brother, who were teaching *vaipulya* texts under the styles of Sūryabhadra and Sūryasoma.²¹ That an *Ekottarika-āgama* should circulate in this milieu is of great significance to our discussion. It is also interesting to observe the coexistence in Kucha, side by side, of *āgama* and Mahāyāna scholarship in the relationship between Kumāra[jīva] and Fotushemi.

II. Around the translation

II.1 The *Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* 撰集三藏及雜藏傳 (T.2026)

The ‘Narrative of the Compilation of the Three Repositories and of the Miscellaneous Repository’ (*Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* 撰集三藏及雜藏傳, T.2026; hereafter ‘Narrative’) is an account of the First Council held after the Buddha’s *nirvāṇa*, relating the production on that occasion of the Tripiṭaka and of a Kṣudrakapiṭaka. Since it gives special emphasis to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and notably attests to a particular recension of the collection that is at variance with the extant Chinese version (T.125), the ‘Narrative’ deserves an important place in this study. The following analysis of this text builds on the work of Jean Przyluski, who offered a brief discussion and a full French translation of it, and Mizuno Kōgen, who explored the connec-

²¹ See *Gaoseng zhuan*, 2.330c12–24, tr. Shih 1968: 64–65. The very short account of this episode in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 14.100c6–9 is misplaced to after Kumārajīva’s return from Kashgar to Kucha.

tion between this document and the textual history of the *Zengyi ahan jing*.²²

The book announces itself under the full title ‘Narrative of the Compilation of the Three Repositories and of the Miscellaneous Repository by Kāśyapa and Ānanda to the north of the city of Sāṅkāśya after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha’ (佛涅槃後迦葉阿難於摩竭國僧伽尸城北撰集三藏及雜藏傳).²³ The largest part of the ‘Narrative’ is written in Chinese verses of four characters, and is followed by a prose coda focusing on the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

The versified account can be divided into five main sections:

1. A prologue extolling Ānanda as the chief custodian of the Buddha’s word, and inviting the audience to have faith in him.²⁴
2. A section relating the funeral of the Buddha in Kuśinagara and the partition of his relics, before the great assembly of the saṃgha.²⁵
3. A section detailing the opening of the Council. Kāśyapa summons 84,000 arhats, who had attended the funeral, to Magadha for the great assembly. He selects Ānanda as the best suited to recite in full the Buddha’s word. After ritually accusing him for his faults, among which that of having pleaded with the Buddha to have women admitted in the order, Kāśyapa puts Ānanda in charge of the assembly. Māra intervenes with his hosts, attempting to disrupt the Council

²² See Przyluski 1926: 89–111; Mizuno 1989: 39–42.

²³ See T.2026, p. 1a6–7; cf. Mizuno’s remarks (1989: 40) on this location for the First Council, which diverges from most other accounts setting the Council in Rājagṛha.

²⁴ See T.2026, p. 1a8–23; tr. Przyluski 1926: 91–92.

²⁵ See T.2026, p. 1a24–c16; tr. Przyluski 1926: 92–95.

and prevent the preservation of the Dharma. Kāśyapa and Ānanda tame him by putting three carcasses – a dead man, a dead dog and a dead snake – around his head.²⁶

4. A section relating the recitation of the Tripiṭaka (Sūtra-, Vinaya- and Abhidharmapiṭaka) and of the Kṣudrakapiṭaka, outlining the respective contents of the four collections.²⁷
5. A brief epilogue in which all the crowds of devas and men attending the great assembly take their leave and return to their places.²⁸

After the end of the versified account, a coda in prose repeats with minor differences the extended title already seen at the beginning, and presents the ‘Narrative’ as consisting of exactly 200 *ślokas* (*shoulu* 首盧).²⁹ Finally, the book ends with an explanation concerning the section of the Elevens in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.³⁰

As can be seen from the foregoing summary, the ‘Narrative’ offers a connected account of the funeral of the Buddha and of the First Council, in accordance with most northern sources and

²⁶ See T.2026, pp. 1c16–3a7; tr. Przyluski 1926: 95–103.

²⁷ See T.2026, pp. 3a7–4a9; tr. Przyluski 1926: 103–110.

²⁸ See T.2026, p. 4a9–16; tr. Przyluski 1926: 110–111.

²⁹ Przyluski (1926: 111) misunderstands *shoulu* 首盧 as a Chinese word meaning ‘rubric’, further assuming that these “deux cents rubriques” would have been those making up the Kṣudrakapiṭaka, mentioned immediately before in the passage. The term is in fact a transcription of Skt. *śloka*, significantly attested for the first time in Dao’an’s ‘Preface to an abstract of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā* scripture’ (*Mohe boluoruo poluomi jingchao xu* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序), written in early A.D. 382, and in which the monk’s comments imply that the notion of this prosodic unit was being newly introduced to China; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 8.52b15–17 and note 12; *Fan fanyu* (T.2130), 1.984b22.

³⁰ See T.2026, p. 4a17–26; tr. Przyluski 1926: 111.

unlike the Pāli tradition, which instead separates the two episodes between the *Mahāparinibbana sutta* and the *Cullavagga*.³¹ A distinctive trait of this version is the presence of *devas* and kings from beginning to end, and the use of very large, Mahāyāna-style figures to describe the number of those involved in the gatherings, notably 36 *koṭis* of people attending the funeral in Kuśinagara and 84,000 arhats at the council (rather than the 500 mentioned almost everywhere else). 36 *koṭis*, however, is the number of the inhabitants of Takṣaśilā (Taxila) in the Sanskrit legend of king Aśoka in the *Divyāvadāna*;³² more significantly, 84,000 arhats attend the First Council also in the Preface of the *Zengyi ahan jing* and in the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T.1507). There are, in fact, more elements linking these three texts, which I shall discuss in detail below, and surely the most telling of them is the hierarchy of the *āgamas*: just like its two counterparts, the ‘Narrative’ gives pride of place to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, to which a visibly greater number of *gāthās* and the entire conclusion in prose of the book are devoted, and ranks it at the head of the four collections, followed by *Madhyama-*, *Dīrgha-* and *Samyukta-āgama*.³³

The ‘Narrative’ also provides a valuable table of contents of an *Ekottarika-āgama* recension in eleven series, allegedly recited at the First Council, indicating the main topics for each of them (probably to be found especially in the first sūtra of each *nipāta*). They are listed as follows:

1. Ones: *Buddhānusmṛti* (*nianFo* 念佛)

³¹ On this contrast see Ch’en 1958.

³² See *Divyāvadāna* (XXVI, *Pāṃśupradānāvadāna*), ed. Cowell – Neil, p. 381,7.

³³ See T.2026, p. 3a26–c5; tr. Przyluski 1926: 104–108. On the ranking of the four *āgamas* see below, ch. 5, § III.

2. Twos: the two principles (*liang fa* 兩法) of Reflection (*siwei* 思惟, Skt. *manasikāra* ?) and Wholesome Thought (*shanxin* 善心, Skt. *kuśala-citta* ?)
3. Threes: Three Kinds of Knowledge (*san zhi* 三知)³⁴
4. Fours: Four Noble Truths (*si di* 四諦, Skt. *catvāry ārya-satyāni*)
5. Fives: Five Faculties (*wu gen* 五根, Skt. *pañcendriyāṇi*)
6. Sixes: Six Great Elements (*liu da* 六大, Skt. *ṣaḍ dhātavaḥ*)
7. Sevens: Seven Factors of Awakening (*qi jue* 七覺, Skt. *sapta sambodhyaṅgāni*)
8. Eights: Eight Bases (?, *ba ju* 八據)³⁵
9. Nines: Nine Abodes (*jiu zhi* 九止, Skt. *nava sattvāvasāḥ*)
10. Tens: Ten Powers (*shi li* 十力, Skt. *daśa balāni*)
11. Elevens: From the sūtra of ‘the Cowherds’ (*Fangniu’er* 放牛兒) to the ‘Sūtra on Kindness’ (*Ci jing* 慈經).

The ‘Sūtra on Kindness’ thus marked the end of the version of the *Ekottarika-āgama* underlying the ‘Narrative’ (慈經斷後, 增一經終).³⁶ This important circumstance and the titles of the initial and final sūtras in the Elevens are reiterated in the prose coda of the document, where the two texts are respectively named as ‘Scripture of the Eleven Factors of the Cowherds’

³⁴ Possibly a reference to the dogmatic series known as ‘Three Faculties’ (Skt. *trīṇīndriyāṇi*); see Stache-Rosen 1968(I): 85–86 for their mention in the *Sanḡītisūtra* and in its commentary, the *Sanḡītiparyāya*.

³⁵ The text at T.2026, p. 3b3 has *ba ju* 八據, lit. ‘eight apprehensions’; Przyluski (1926: 105) reads 據 instead of 據 and translates as “huit appuis”. This reading is not supported by any of the editions collated in the Taishō apparatus, but it does make better sense. I have adopted it, although I am not able to say what these ‘eight bases’ (or ‘leanings’) would have been.

³⁶ See T.2026, p. 3a27–b5; tr. Przyluski 1926: 105.

(*Fangniu'er shiyi shijing* 放牛兒十一事經) and 'Scripture on the Practice of Kindness' (*Xingci jing* 行慈經).³⁷

The outline of the *Ekottarika-āgama* according to the 'Narrative' shows some important points of contact with the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing*. In particular, the Ones, Fours and Nines in T.125 indeed open with *Buddhānusmṛti* (sūtra 2.1), the Four Noble Truths (sūtra 25.1) and the Nine Abodes (sūtra 44.1) respectively. Other topics, such as the Five Faculties (31.3), the Seven Factors of Awakening (39.6) and the Ten Powers (46.3, 46.4), are also to be found in their respective series, although not in the opening position. However, as Mizuno has not failed to point out, there is overall a visible discrepancy especially in the final section. The 'Scripture of the Cowherds' can be identified with the one opening the *varga* having the same title (*Fangniu pin* 放牛品, no. 49) in T.125, which corresponds to the beginning of the Elevens, whereas the 'Scripture on Kindness' marks the end of the same section.³⁸ However, these texts do not close the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, which continues instead with three more *vargas* (*Li sanbao pin* 禮三寶品, no. 50; *Feichang pin* 非常品, no. 51; *Da aido banniepan pin* 大愛道般涅槃品, no. 52), distributed over four scrolls and totalling 29 sūtras. Of these, only the first three (from 50.1 to 50.3) discuss series of 11 factors; the remaining 26 sūtras hinge on other numbers, and sometimes have no numerical contents at all; yet they all share the same terminology and style of the previous sections. Mizuno, who assigns T.125 to Saṃghadeva, notes that one sūtra (50.4) in this

³⁷ See T.2026, p. 4a20–21; tr. Przyluski 1926: 111.

³⁸ See *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125), 49.1, 46.794a7–795a16 for the 'Sūtra of the Cowherds', and *ibid.*, 49.10, 47.806a17–b3 for the 'Sūtra on the Practice of Kindness'.

final group stands out for its different vocabulary, and identifies it as an isolated remainder of Dharmananda's lost (according to him) translation, fortuitously interpolated into the extant collection. He further *assumes* that the Indic original translated by Saṃghadeva consisted of 444 sūtras plus the preface; in order to match the number of 472 sūtras mentioned in Dao'an's preface to the *Zengyi ahan jing*, the Kashmiri monk would thus have added 28 sūtras translated from some other Indic text.³⁹

I regard this reconstruction as eminently unlikely: it is difficult to understand why Saṃghadeva should take the trouble to retranslate the entire *Ekottarika-āgama* from another original, and yet feel obliged to tally the sūtra count of the version that he had discarded. I will defer my conclusions on the relationship between the 'Narrative' and the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* to a further section of this study (ch. 5, § VI). However, it will be useful to gather here some preliminary observations on the nature and broad chronology of this intriguing document. It should be noticed in the first place that although the 'Narrative' presents itself as an account of the First Council, its connection to a version of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is so prominent and exclusive that it can reasonably be seen as a text attached to such a version, probably as a preface or an appendix. In fact, the structure of the 'Narrative' is very similar to that of the 'Prefatory Chapter' (*Xupin* 序品) of the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125); there too the collection is introduced by an account of the first compilation of the canon, which in both cases is said to have included the Tripiṭaka and the Kṣudrakapiṭaka (*zazang* 雜

³⁹ See Mizuno 1989: 41–42. The 28 sūtras correspond to the 29 additional texts after the last one in the Elevens (50.3), with the exception of no. 50.4. On Dao'an's reference to the *Zengyi ahan jing* as consisting of 472 scriptures, see above, p. 43.

藏), although the ‘Prefatory Chapter’ of T.125, as we are going to see, assigns Mahāyānist contents to the latter repository. It is therefore tempting to assume that the ‘Narrative’ represents the preface or postface to another, lost Chinese version of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Such a version, however, may well have been merged into the received text rather than jettisoned altogether, also in view of the significant overlap of contents between the two and of the marked similarity in the description of the canon. Again, more of this will be said below.

A number of elements suggest that the ‘Narrative’ was produced within Sarvāstivāda circles, transmitting a different recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama* from the one in use among the Sarvāstivāda Vaibhāṣika of Kashmir. According to the *Vibhāṣā* treatises, the latter adopted an *Ekottarika-āgama* in ten series.⁴⁰ The ‘Narrative’ at first sight departs from this model, since it evidently refers to a text in eleven series. Yet, at a closer look, it almost seems to make a special case for the existence of the Elevens. In the versified part, the ‘table of contents’ of the *Ekottarika-āgama* assigns well-defined numerical topics to all the series from the Ones to the Tens, but it can only describe the Elevens in terms of its first and last sūtras, thus implicitly admitting its heterogeneity compared to the rest of the collection. The impression becomes stronger in the prose epilogue:

上《增一阿含》，從一至十。為十一處經者，撰諸十一事經，以《放牛兒十一事經》為始，以《行慈十一事經》為終。因其所引，便出其經。以事相連，故合為一卷。此《放牛經》者，佛說放牛十一事，以況比丘道具十一行，成道樹根栽枝葉茂盛，多所覆蔭。因放牛兒於坐發念，佛知其意，故說十一事

⁴⁰ See below, pp. 305–307.

以所⁴¹行者。放牛者即解便逮羅漢。

The superior⁴² *Āgama Increasing by One* (*Zengyi ahan* 增一阿含, *Ekottarika-āgama*) from the Ones goes up to the Tens. To make the scriptures of the place (*chu* 處, *nipāta*) of the Elevens, all the scriptures on 11 factors have been compiled, taking the ‘Scripture of the Eleven Factors of the Cowherds’ (*Fangniu’er shiyi shijing* 放牛兒十一事經) as beginning and the ‘Scripture on the Practice of Kindness’ (*Xingci jing* 行慈經) as conclusion. On the basis of what they refer to, these scriptures have been issued accordingly, connecting the factors in sequence and thus joining them into one scroll. In this ‘Scripture of the Cowherds’, the Buddha explains 11 factors to herd cows, in order to exemplify⁴³ that the path of the *bhikṣus* possesses 11 forms of conduct, [so that] the roots of the Bodhi tree grow luxuriant branches and leaves, and many are sheltered by it. Thus as the cowherds were conceiving thoughts whilst sitting, the Buddha knew their minds and accordingly explained 11 factors to reject their conduct. The cowherds then were immediately released and attained [the condition of] arhats.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Read *chi* 斥 instead of *suo* 所 with the Song, Yuan, Ming and Kunaichō editions; see T.2026, p. 4 note 4.

⁴² The meaning of *shang* 上, here translated as ‘superior’, at the beginning of this sentence is not clear. In the light of what follows, it may refer to the ‘upper’ or ‘main’ (also ‘older’?) portion of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, represented by the series from the Ones to the Tens as opposed to the (additional) Elevens. Przyluski’s translation of the term as “tout d’abord” (1926: 111) does not make sense to me.

⁴³ Przyluski (1926: 111) understands *kuang* 況 in its usual adverbial meaning (“à plus forte raison”), but the preposition *yi* 以 indicates that the character should be understood as a verb; in this function, *kuang* can mean ‘to illustrate with examples, to make a simile’.

⁴⁴ T.2026, p. 4a19–26; cf. tr. Przyluski 1926: 111.

It is unclear whether this coda stems from the same authors of the versified account. The reference to the Elevens being “composed” (*zhuan* 撰) into one “scroll” (*juan* 卷) does not necessarily point to an addition made in China, but it does show that there was a written recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the background, to which the addition of the Elevens warranted commentary and explanation. A reference to the Elevens, as we have seen, is already included in the verses. If we tighten the focus, however, it turns out that the stanza describing this series may have been interpolated. As Przyluski aptly pointed out, the Chinese text of the ‘Narrative’ consists of four-character verses, and these verses appear to be arranged in meaningful quatrains, with each group of four characters probably corresponding to a *pāda* in the underlying Indic text.⁴⁵ Now, the ‘Narrative’ presents itself as consisting of 200 *ślokas*, but on reckoning, there are 202 quatrains in the Chinese text. The number 200 may have been approximate, but it is also possible that two additional *ślokas* were inserted artificially in the main body. In fact, Przyluski, although unsuspecting, noticed the presence of two irregular stanzas (nos. 149 and 182), respectively including five and three verses instead of the usual group of four.⁴⁶ It is certainly striking that the first of these two abnormal stanzas (no. 149) should be precisely the one in which the Elevens are described.⁴⁷

It would seem, then, that the ‘Narrative’ was originally attached to an *Ekottarika-āgama* in ten series such as the one of

⁴⁵ See Przyluski 1926: 89.

⁴⁶ See again Przyluski 1926: 89.

⁴⁷ The stanza includes five verses (十處十力 / 十一處經 / 名放生兒 / 慈經斷後 / 增一經終), and something seems amiss especially in the central three (here underlined). See T.2026, p. 3b3–5; tr. Przyluski 1926: 105.

the Sarvāstivāda Vaibhāṣika, but that along the way to China it was adjusted, with little effort to conceal the insertions, in order to suit a collection in eleven series. We shall only be able to assess the full significance of this fact after discussing what the *Fenbie gongde lun* has to say on the transmission of the *Ēkottarika-āgama*. We shall also see shortly that at least one important sūtra from the *āgama* recension underlying the ‘Narrative’ is extant.

The authors of the probable interpolations in the ‘Narrative’ appear to have attached great significance to the ‘Sūtra of the Cowherds’, to the extent that they present this scripture alone as justifying the creation of a series of Elevens in the *Ēkottarika-āgama*. In doing so, however, they acknowledge that the structure of this collection was from the Ones to the Tens, as envisaged by the Sarvāstivāda Vaibhāṣika, to which they must still have referred in some way.

The ‘Sūtra of the Cowherds’, which has a counterpart in the Pāli *Gopālaka sutta*,⁴⁸ was probably popular among the Sarvāstivāda of Gandhāra in the 4th c., since an expanded narrative version of it appears as one of the stories in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* of Kumāralāta (fl. ca. A.D. 330), a Sarvāstivāda master from Taxila. The story closes in fact with the words, “there are eleven principles that a *bhikṣu* should study, as it is widely expounded in the sūtra” 有十一法比丘應學，如修多羅中廣說。⁴⁹ Interestingly, an integral translation of the scrip-

⁴⁸ In the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (AN 11.18 at AN V 347–353) and in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (MN 33 at MN I 220–224).

⁴⁹ See *Da zhuangyan lun jing* 大莊嚴論經 (T vol. 4 no. 201), 11.316b18–317c4; tr. Huber 1908: 308–313. For the Sanskrit fragments see Lüders 1926: 176–178, fols. 192 V 3 – 196 R 2. For a detailed analysis of this story and of its parallels in the Chinese *Ēkottarika-āgama* and *Samyukta-āgama* as well as in the Pāli *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, see Lévi 1908: 140–144.

ture – in a version that is strongly similar to the narrative recast in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, and in fact is entitled *Fangniu piyu jing* 放牛譬喻經 or **Gopālakāvadāna sūtra* – is included in the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, T.1509), a voluminous commentary on a Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* translated in A.D. 402–406 by Kumārajīva.⁵⁰ As is well known, the lost original of the *Da zhidu lun* is ascribed to the Mādhyamika philosopher Nāgārjuna (Ch. Longshu 龍樹, 3rd c. A.D.?), but the Chinese text presents massive evidence of Sarvāstivāda influence; while some scholars have been willing to credit Kumārajīva or his editors for these layers, thus saving the attribution of the work to Nāgārjuna, Étienne Lamotte has argued that the commentary in its entirety should be rather assigned to a heterodox Sarvāstivādin converted to the Mahāyāna, probably active in northwest India in the 4th c.⁵¹

In the ‘Narrative’, a further link to the Sarvāstivāda is in the story of Māra’s assault on the great assembly. Przyluski observed that the taming of Māra through the placing of the three carcasses of a dead man, a dead dog and a dead snake around his head is clearly reminiscent of a similar story in the legend of Aśoka (in the Sanskrit *Divyāvadāna*), with the difference that in the latter it is Aśoka’s teacher Upagupta who subdues the de-

On Kumāralāta and the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* *Drṣṭāntapañkti* see Lüders 1926 and Palumbo, forthcoming.

⁵⁰ See *Da zhidu lun*, 2.73b19–74b18; tr. Lamotte 1944: 146–152, with the usually abundant apparatus.

⁵¹ See Lamotte 1970: viii–xliv; Chou 2000; Takeda 2000 for some important positions on this issue. I am inclined to accept Lamotte’s conclusions, although Chou’s view of the treatise as superposing on the original layer a sort of running commentary to Kumārajīva’s translation also has merit.

mon king in this way.⁵² While the connection between the *Divyāvadāna* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya is well known, this particular story in the long Aśokan narrative is lifted from the very *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapañkti* of the Gandhāran Sarvāstivādin Kumāralāta.⁵³ The same story also appears in the **Mahā-vibhāṣā*, pointing again to the same broad scholastic, geographical and chronological background.⁵⁴

The apposition of the three carcasses of a snake, dog and man around the neck as a humbling shock therapy for vain young men and women is a theme recurring in the *āgama / nikāya* literature as well as in the vinayas of the Sarvāstivāda, Theravāda and Dharmaguptaka, usually in connection to the topic of meditation on impurity (Skt. *aśubhā-bhāvanā*).⁵⁵ However, the development of this theme into narratives on the conversion of Māra appears to have been specific to the Sarvāstivāda of northwest India.

Finally, the fact that the entire section of the Sixes pivoted on the Six Elements (*liu da* 六大, Skt. *ṣaḍ dhātavaḥ*) can be seen as another clue towards the same scholastic horizon, since this particular dogmatic series, although attested in several ca-

⁵² See Przyluski 1926: 90. For the full story, see *Divyāvadāna* (XXVI, *Pāṃśupradānāvadāna*), ed. Cowell – Neil, pp. 356,23–363,15 (the taming of Māra with the three carcasses is between pp. 357,24 and 361,8); tr. Strong 1983: 185–198 (187–193 respectively).

⁵³ See the detailed discussion in Lüders 1926: 79–93.

⁵⁴ See *Apidamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 135.697c18–698a22.

⁵⁵ See AN 9.11 (*Sāriputta sīhanāda sutta*) at AN IV 376–377, and its counterpart in the *Zhong ahan jing*, the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* (thus in a different collection) at T.26, sūtra no. 24, 5.453c9–14; MN 20 (*Vitakkasaṇḥāna sutta*) at MN I 119–120, with a counterpart at T.26, sūtra no. 101, 25.588a28–b6. See also Vin. III 69–70; *Shisong lü* (T.1435), 2.7b20–8a12; *Sifen lü* (T.1428), 2.575c10–576a22.

nonical streams, seems again to have been of some significance among the Sarvāstivāda.⁵⁶

The date and transmission history of the Chinese translation of the ‘Narrative’ are rather obscure. In the printed editions of the canon the book is said to be by an anonymous translator and assigned to the Eastern Jin 東晉 period (317–420). This attribution goes back to the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 of 730. Its author, the monk Zhisheng 智昇 (fl. 730–740), included the ‘Narrative’ in a group of 38 texts by unknown translators, all of them said to be unrecorded in previous lists of anonymous translations, which “seemed to be scriptures of a distant age”, and were accordingly inserted at the end of the section of the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* relating to the Jin dynasty (似是遠代之經, 故編於晉末).⁵⁷ Zhisheng’s dating of the text was evidently based on mere impressions, which were nevertheless not ill-founded, as we are going to see. Before the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, and starting with the *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 (T.2146), compiled in Chang’an 長安 in 594 by the monk Fajing 法經 (d.u.) and others, a number of catalogues do in fact mention the ‘Narrative’, all of them without indication of its date and translator.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ See La Vallée Poussin 1923: 49 and note 2. The series includes the four traditional elements of Earth, Water, Wind and Fire plus consciousness (*vijñāna*) and space (*ākāśa*).

⁵⁷ See *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, 3.510b8, 11–14. Zhisheng also reports the alternative title *Zhuan sanzang jing ji zazang jing* 撰三藏經及雜藏經. The book is further listed in other parts of the catalogue: see *ibid.* 13.623b18, 17.668c7, 20.697a1, 721c14–15.

⁵⁸ See *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2146), 6.146a20, 23, where the ‘Narrative’ is included in a list of 13 ‘narrative records’ (*zhuanji* 傳記) ‘composed by sages of the Western Regions’ (*Xiyu shengxian suozhuan* 西域聖賢所撰), including the Chinese translations of Aśvaghoṣa’s *Buddhacarita* and of the *Aśokāvadāna*. See also *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2147, A.D. 602), 2.161c27;

However, it is puzzling that neither the *Chu sanzang ji ji* nor the *Lidai sanbao ji*, the two largest catalogues compiled in the 6th c., are aware of its existence. A clue to the early transmission history is offered by the *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定眾經目錄 (Catalogue of All the Scriptures, Established under the Great Zhou), a bibliography that an imperial committee directed by the monk Mingquan 明詮 (d.u.) compiled and officially completed on 7 December 695, but with additions and corrections from a later date (probably ca. 700). Here the entry on the ‘Narrative’ is followed by a note presenting the book as ‘composed by sages of the Western Regions’ (*Xiyu shengxian suozhuan* 西域聖賢所撰), as already in Fajing’s catalogue, but also adding that the information was “taken from the catalogue of the Zhenji si” (出真寂寺錄).⁵⁹ The Zhenji si 真寂寺 was a monastery in Chang’an, especially established in A.D. 583 for the monk Xinxing 信行 (540–594), the leader of the controversial sect of the Three Stages (*Sanjie jiao* 三階教); the name of the temple was changed to Huadu si 化度寺 in A.D. 619.⁶⁰ A ‘catalogue of the Zhenji si’ could only have been compiled between these two dates, but it was probably already available in 594 to the compilers of the *Zhongjing mulu*, who only worked on the basis of earlier bibliographies rather than on actual col-

Da Tang neidian lu (T.2149, A.D. 664), 7.302a29, 8.312b20, 9.325c23, where for the first time reference is made to the fact that the book manuscript, on a single scroll, consisted of eight sheets of paper; *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2148, A.D. 665), 2.196b24; *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* (T.2153, A.D. 695, revised ca. 700), 14.472a5.

⁵⁹ See the previous note for the entry in the *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*. On this catalogue see Tokuno 1990: 50–52; Forte 1998.

⁶⁰ On the Zhenji si, and the circumstances of its foundation and renaming, see Hubbard 2001: 195–196.

lections of scriptures, and in one of their sources evidently found a mention of our title.⁶¹ The ‘Narrative’ must accordingly have been in this particular monastic library in the 580s; this circumstance, and the silence of the *Chu sanzang ji ji* and the *Lidai sanbao ji*, suggest that the book had remained in Chang’an for an unspecified amount of time and in very limited circulation, before the bibliographic enterprise of imperial cataloguers would rescue it from oblivion. In other words, Chang’an should be seen as the last known address for our book, and the 580s as its latest possible date. The ‘Narrative’, of course, may be considerably older; for the time being, we shall notice that the regular transcription of the word *nirvāṇa* as *niepan* 涅槃 (EMC *net-ban) suggests a precise terminus a quo in A.D. 382. This transcription of such a common Buddhist keyword, which would replace the earlier, Prakrit-based form *nihuan* 泥洹 (EMC *nej-wuan), enters China with the mission of Kumārabuddhi in that year, and is first attested in the ‘Compendium of the Four Āgamas’ (*Si ahanmu chao* 四阿含暮抄, T.1505), which Dao’an’s team issued between December 382 and January 383 from a text brought by the State Preceptor of Turfan. The transcription is in fact a landmark in the history of translations in China, as it signals the sudden advent of texts in Hybrid Sanskrit, often presented as prosodically scanned in *śloka*s.⁶²

⁶¹ On the compiling methodology of the *Zhongjing mulu* see the statement by its authors at T.2146, 7.149a2–27.

⁶² See *Si ahanmu chao* (T.1505), 1.1b22 and *passim* (42 occurrences of *niepan* 涅槃 against a single one of the Prakrit-based form *nihuan* 泥洹 at 1.4c22). My inference is obviously liable to the objection that the received texts of both the *Si ahanmu chao* and the ‘Narrative’ may have been subject to editing and scribal replacements in the course of time. However,

In the interval of roughly two centuries between 382 and the 580s, it stands to reason that the ‘Narrative’ should be placed very close to the earlier end, in the period of emergence of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China, thus in accordance with the rule-of-thumb dating (Eastern Jin, 317–420) suggested by Zhisheng. In due course I shall formulate a precise hypothesis regarding the circumstances in which this text was introduced, and its connection to the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

II.2 The *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T.1507)

The *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T vol. 25 no. 1507) is an unfinished commentary covering the first four chapters of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, the last of them only partially. Once its date and authorship are established, this document is likely to shed substantial light on the context of the original translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. A full discussion of the *Fenbie gongde lun* will be presented in the second part of this study.

II.3 The manuscript S.797 (A.D. 406)

The Dunhuang manuscript S.797 includes an almost complete *prātimokṣa* text, the earliest known in China and with no transmitted counterpart. It was copied under the Western Liang 西涼, ruling in Gansu around the turn of the 5th c., and bears a colo-

this is rather unlikely in view of the very limited circulation of both texts. The *Si ahanmu chao* was soon replaced by Saṃghadeva’s retranslation in 391–392, the *San fadu lun* 三法度論 (T.1506). The ‘Narrative’, as we have seen, until the Tang period was virtually unknown outside the Chang’an monastery, where a copy of it had been held. In neither case does internal evidence point to any editorial interference. On the emergence of the notion of the Sanskrit *śloka* in the wake of the arrival of Kumārabuddhi in A.D. 382 see above, p. 110, note 29.

phon written on 10 January 406 (Jianchu 建初 1. 12. 5), which makes it the oldest dated item from the cave library. The manuscript was briefly studied long ago by Yabuki Keiki 矢吹慶輝 and by Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, who separately identified the contents of its recto with an early translation of sections of the Sarvāstivāda vinaya, corresponding to most of scrolls 27 and 28 of the received text (*Shisong lü* 十誦律, T.1435), and its verso with the *prātimokṣa* rules of the same school, although again in a different redaction from the one handed down to us (T.1436).⁶³

A full investigation of this document would go beyond the scope of the present study, although a cursory inspection of the verso reveals at least two remarkable features. The first is the spelling of the word for the offense known in Sanskrit as *prāyaścittikā*, and attested in the forms *pāṭayantika* and *pāyattika* in respectively the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda vinayas, which are regularly reflected in the Chinese transcriptions.⁶⁴ In S.797, however, the form 波失提 EMC *pa-çit-tej occurs, which points to a somewhat different background, so that the sectarian identification suggested by Yabuki and Tsukamoto should be weighed more carefully. Moreover, a gloss in the manuscript concerning the last *prāyaścittikā* offense (no. 90), which prohibits monks from fashioning robes having the same size as that of the Buddha, seems to rule out Northwest India for the origin of this *prātimokṣa*, whilst showing that it must have been transmitted via that region; the rule states in fact that the Buddha's robe was ten cubits long, and the gloss specifies that this is the length south of the Himalayas, whereas

⁶³ See Tsukamoto 1959: 189–190; cf. Kuo 1994: 45–47.

⁶⁴ See von Hinüber 1988: 63–66.

in Kashmir and among the Yuezhi (Greater Gandhāra) it is nine cubits, both measures being acceptable.⁶⁵

The final part of the *prātimokṣa* text presents significant overlaps with a section of one composite sūtra in the *Zengyi ahan jing* (48.2).⁶⁶ In particular, the *gāthās* attributed to the six Buddhas of the past in the latter are verbatim identical to those in the former.⁶⁷

Table 1.

Past Buddha	S.797	T.125
Vipaśyin	忍辱為第一／佛說無為最／不以除鬚髮／害他為沙門	忍辱為第一／佛說無為最／不以剃鬚髮／害他為沙門
Śikhin	眼目見非邪／慧者護	若眼見非邪／慧者護

⁶⁵ 若比丘效如來作衣與如來衣等，波失提。如來衣者長十肘、廣六肘，此是如來衣（出雪山以南言佛衣十肘，雪山以內到毘賓、月氏言九肘。善能據一，故兩說之也）。I am currently preparing a diplomatic edition of the ms. S.797 at the British Library.

⁶⁶ See T.125, 48.2, 44.786a26-787c1. On this sūtra see Mizuno 1989: 21–23. The sūtra appears to consist of three separate sections, joined within the narrative framework of the recitation of the precepts on the uposatha day; among other things, it mentions perhaps for the first time in China the monastic officers *shangzuo* 上座, *chilü* 持律 and *weina* 維那.

⁶⁷ These verses, attributed to the Seven Buddhas (i.e. the six of the past and Śākyamuni), conclude the *prātimokṣa-sūtras* in most sectarian recensions except in the Pāli *Pāṭimokkha* (although the verses as such have partial counterparts in the *Mahāpadāna sutta* and in the *Dhammapada*) and in the *Jietuo jiejing* 解脫戒經 (T.1460), attributed to the Kāśyapīya sect; see Pachow 1955: 214–219. I have checked all the transmitted *prātimokṣa-sūtras* in Chinese (including the Sarvāstivāda version, T.1436), and although there are broad similarities, in none of them does the wording of the verses match the stanzas in T.125.

	不著／棄捐於眾惡／ 在世為黠慧	不著／棄捐於眾惡／ 在世為黠慧
Viśvabhū	不害亦不非／奉行於 大戒／飲食知止足／ 所山及坐席／執志為 專一／是則諸佛教	不害亦不非／奉行於 大戒／於食知止足／ 床座亦復然／執志為 專一／是則諸佛教
Krakucchanda	譬如蜂採花／其色甚 香潔／以味惠施他／ 道士遊聚如／不誹謗 於人／亦不觀是非／ 且自觀身行／諦視觀 正不正	譬如蜂採華／其色甚 香潔／以味惠施他／ 道士遊聚落／不誹謗 於人／亦不觀是非／ 但自觀身行／諦觀正 不正
Kanakamuni	執志莫輕戲／當學尊 寂道／賢者莫愁憂／ 常滅志所念	執志莫輕戲／當學尊 寂道／賢者無愁憂／ 常滅志所念
Kāśyapa	一切惡莫作／當奉行 其善／自淨其志意／ 是則諸佛教	一切惡莫作／當奉行 其善／自淨其志意／ 是則諸佛教

It is difficult to assess the significance of these parallels. They suggest that the translator(s) or editor(s) of the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* made use of the *prātimokṣa* text in S.797 as a building block for the composite sūtra 48.2. This does not necessarily imply a forgery: the underlying text of the *Ekottarika-āgama* sūtra may indeed have included the *prātimokṣa gāthās* of the past Buddhas, and the translator, as a shortcut, may have recycled an earlier rendition of those *gāthās*, which he will have memorised. The fact that for such an operation the now obscure *prātimokṣa* text in S.797 should be used rather than, say, its Sarvāstivāda counterpart translated by Kumārajīva as a side to his translation of the Sarvāstivāda vinaya in 405–406 (T.1436) can be construed in different ways. If we assume

that the latter was influential, as it does seem to have been, the failure to make use of it on the part of the translator / editor of T.125 may suggest that they acted before Kumārajīva's translation in A.D. 405–406, something that might clear the ground at least from the theory that the text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* was altered and expanded precisely during the period of Kumārajīva's activity, if not later. The parallels may also imply, though again not necessarily, that the translator / editor of the *Zengyi ahan jing* was close to the ordination lineage represented by the recension of the *prātimokṣa* rules in S.797. This makes a systematic study of the document an urgent desideratum.

II.4 The miniature stūpas of Turfan and Liangzhou 涼州 (A.D. 426–435)

The full text of one sūtra on *pratītya-samutpāda* in the *Zengyi ahan jing* (46.3) is written on no less than thirteen votive miniature stūpas from Turfan and Liangzhou 涼州, bearing inscriptions dated between A.D. 426 and 435.⁶⁸ The text is closely consistent with the one in T.125, except for the addition of structural particles (為、於、而、之) and a discrepancy in the last two *nidānas*. The miniature stūpas are octagonal in shape and display effigies of Maitreya and of the Seven Buddhas of the past, corroborating the special connection between these and the *Zengyi ahan jing*. Significantly, in all the stūpas each of the eight Buddhas is marked with one of the eight primary trigrams from the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經).⁶⁹ It should also be noticed that Liangzhou was Zhu Fonian's homeland, while Turfan

⁶⁸ See Durt – Riboud – Lai 1985; Wilson – Wardwell 1994: 313–320. For the text of the sūtra see T.125, 46.3, 42.776a18–b13.

⁶⁹ See Wang 1999.

was the provenance of Kumārabuddhi and other foreign monks who came to Chang'an in A.D. 382.

III. Early witnesses to the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經

III.1 The *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 (ca. A.D. 479–502)

The *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 is a collection of biographical materials on the Buddha and the Śākya clan, which Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), who also authored the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, compiled under the Southern Qi 南齊 dynasty (479–502).⁷⁰ The *Shijia pu* includes nine quotations from the *Zengyi ahan jing*, some of which are very long, showing only slight differences in wording from T.125. The quotations, however, may not have been meant as literal. Lin Jia'an 林家安, who has studied them in detail, convincingly concludes that the *Zengyi ahan jing* underlying the excerpts in the *Shijia pu* was identical to the received text.⁷¹

III.2 The *Fan fanyu* 翻梵語 (ca. A.D. 502–512)

The *Fan fanyu* 翻梵語 (T.2130) is a Sanskrit-Chinese glossary of Buddhist terms compiled under the Liang 梁 dynasty (502–557), most probably before 512, since it includes entries on an

⁷⁰ On the *Shijia pu* see Li 2004 and Durt 2006. A date before the end of the (Southern) Qi 齊 dynasty in A.D. 502 is suggested by repeated glosses in the text explaining Indic words “in the language of Qi” (*Qi yan* 齊言); see T.2040, 1.3c11, 4a13, 2.55c27, 58c13–14, 3.66b11, 5.81b25–26.

⁷¹ See Lin 2009: 114–123. It should be noticed, however, that the quotations provide no indication of the scroll (*juan* 卷) number; it is therefore unclear whether the underlying recension of the *Zengyi ahan jing* had the same number of scrolls and chapter sequence as in the received text, even though its contents may have been identical.

early, short version of the *Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經 rather than on the authoritative one translated in that year by Saṃghavara / Saṃghavāra (Sengqiepoluo 僧伽婆羅, 460–524).⁷² The *Fan fanyu* has glosses on more than one hundred Indic names and terms from the *Zengyi ahan jing*, followed by the number of the scroll 卷 where they would occur in the latter. Nearly all the transcriptions are to be found in T.125. Their distribution shows that the underlying text had overall the same structure as the received one, but some *vargas* are in a different position, and the scroll number in the glosses is consistently lower. The highest-numbered scroll to be cited is no. 43, and the quoted transcriptions occur in sūtra no. 51.7, i.e. in the second-last *varga*, and in scroll no. 49 of the received text;⁷³ however, transcrip-

⁷² On the *Fan fanyu* see Mochizuki 1960, vol. 5, p. 4709b–c; Chandra 2007: ix–xiv. Late Japanese catalogues (discussed in Mochizuki, *ibid.*) assign the book to the Liang monk Baochang 寶唱 (b. ca. 466 – d. after 517); the indication finds some support in the fact that the glossary occasionally refers to the ‘language of Liang’ (*Liang yan* 梁言), and only mentions texts translated before that dynasty. Three glosses on the *Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經 (at T.2130, 6.1026b19–20, 8.1037b21) do not mention any scroll number, implying that the scripture in question was in a single scroll (probably to be identified with the anonymous *Xiao* 小 *Ayu wang jing* mentioned in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 4.33c27), and therefore different from the 10-scroll *Ayu wang jing* translated by Saṃghavara in A.D. 512 (T.2043). In the latter, on the other hand, the terms in the glosses do not occur. Surely the *Fan fanyu* would have referred to the larger *Ayu wang jing*, which is repeatedly quoted in Baochang’s *Jinglü yixiang* (T.2121), if this translation had been available. Hence my inference that the glossary was written between the founding of the Liang in 502 and 512; the date of A.D. 517 frequently given in scholarship (including the title of Chandra 2007) does not appear to have any basis.

⁷³ See *Fan fanyu* (T.2130), 8.1034c19–20; cf. *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125), 51.7, 48.818c6, 9.

tions occurring in two sūtras in the last *varga* of T.125 (52.1 and 52.2) were placed in scroll no. 29 of the edition seen by the authors of the *Fan fanyu*.⁷⁴ These circumstances suggest that the glossary was quoting from a different edition in a somewhat smaller format than the received text,⁷⁵ and with a reshuffled order of chapters in some places.

III.3 The *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 parallels in the Taishō canon and the excerpts in the *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相 (ca. A.D. 517)

A significant body of witnesses to a somewhat different version of the *Zengyi ahan jing* – different, that is, from the received text in T.125 – comes from a group of 20 *Ekottarika-āgama* parallels included in the Taishō canon and in its source editions, only 11 of which (from T.127 to T.149 in the table below) were recognised as such by the Taishō editors. The parallels have been handed down as self-contained sūtras and assigned to different translators, from An Shigao to Kumārajīva, but the *Chusanzang jiji* lists all of them as anonymous translations. Mizuno Kōgen 水野弘元, who studied these texts in detail, highlighted their stylistic consistency, suggesting that they were the work of a single translator, and connected them to a similar cluster of 24 parallels to sūtras in the *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經 (T.26),

⁷⁴ See *Fan fanyu* (T.2130), 3.1002a10–12; cf. *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125), 52.1, 50.821c21–23. Also *Fan fanyu* (T.2130), 6.1020b18, 3.1002a13; cf. *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125), 52.2, 50.825a28, b9.

⁷⁵ The first scroll of this edition, for example, appears to have included up to the entire fourth *varga*, which in T.125 appears instead in the third *juan*: see *Fan fanyu* (T.2130), 2.995a12 and 3.1001b25; cf. respectively *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125), 4.10, 3.558c12–13 and 5.1, 3.558c23 with note 43.

Samghadeva's extant Chinese version of the *Madhyama-āgama*. In agreement with his assumption that the received texts of the *Zengyi ahan jing* and the *Zhong ahan jing* are both the work of Samghadeva, this scholar reached the conclusion that the two sets of parallels represent scattered remnants from Dharmananda's original versions of the two collections.⁷⁶ According to Mizuno, the telltale indicator of these translations, suggesting a common authorship, lies in their opening formula: *wen rushi yishi poqiepo zai Shiwei cheng* 聞如是一時婆伽婆在舍衛城... (Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān śrāvastyaṃ viharati*), which is slightly but visibly different from the corresponding sentence in T.125 (聞如是一時佛在舍衛國...). In other words, while the parallels use the transcription *poqiepo* 婆伽婆 for Skt. *bhagavat* and refer to Śrāvastī as a 'city' (*cheng* 城), T.125 replaces these terms respectively with 'Buddha' (*Fo* 佛) and 'country' (*guo* 國).⁷⁷ As regards the *Zengyi ahan jing* in particular, the parallels are distributed as follows:

⁷⁶ See Mizuno 1989: 4–7, 9–11. The stylometric analysis in Hung et al. 2009 corroborates Mizuno's findings concerning the common authorship of the 24 *Zhong ahan jing* parallels. However, Hung 2013 rejects the attribution of these parallels to the initial translation by Zhu Fonian and Dharmānanda, thus implicitly assuming a different, unknown authorship for them. Cf. my remarks below, ch. 7, p. 280 note 21.

⁷⁷ See Mizuno 1989: 6, with specific reference to the *Zengyi ahan jing*. Probably because he considers both T.125 and T.26 (*Zhong ahan jing*) as Samghadeva's translations, Mizuno tends to conflate the respective terminologies of the two texts, which in fact are not at all consistent; thus he also ascribes (*loc. cit.*) to T.125 the translation *you* 遊 for Skt. *viharati* as opposed to *zai* 在 in the parallels, but this is never the case. Only T.26 regularly adopts the tag *Fo you* 佛遊 in the opening formula, whereas T.125 consistently has *Fo zai* 佛在.

Table 2.

T. no.	Title	Putative translator	Putative date (A.D.)	Parallel in T.125
T.29	<i>Xianshui yu jing</i> 鹹水喻經	unknown	unknown	39.3
T.39	<i>Dingsheng wang gushi jing</i> 頂生王故事經	Faju 法炬	266–317	17.7
T.89	<i>Baguan zhai jing</i> 八關齋經	Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲	420–479	24.6
T.106	<i>Shuimo suo piao jing</i> 水沫所漂經	Zhu Tanwulan 竺曇無蘭	317–420	—
T.119	<i>Yangjueji jing</i> 鸞崛髻經	Faju 法炬	266–317	38.6
T.122	<i>Bosini wang taihou beng chentu benshen jing</i> 波斯匿王太后崩塵土釜身經	Faju 法炬	266–317	26.7
T.123	<i>Fangniu jing</i> 放牛經	Kumārajīva	386–417	49.1
T.127	<i>Siren chuxian shijian jing</i> 四人出現世間經	Guṇabhadra	420–479	26.5
T.131	<i>Poluomen bisi jing</i> 婆羅門避死經	An Shigao 安世高	25–220	31.4
T.133	<i>Pinpisuoluo yi Fo gong-yang jing</i> 頻毘娑羅王詣佛供養經	Faju 法炬	266–317	34.5
T.134	<i>Zhanghe zi liuguo chujia jing</i> 長者子六過出家經	Huijian 慧簡	420–479	35.10
T.136	<i>Si weicengyou fa jing</i> 四末曾有法經	Zhu Fahu 竺法護	266–317	42.3
T.138	<i>Shiyi xiangsi nian rulai jing</i> 十一想思念如來經	Guṇabhadra	420–479	50.1 + 49.10

T. no.	Title	Putative translator	Putative date (A.D.)	Parallel in T.125
T.139	<i>Si nili jing</i> 四泥犁經	Zhu Tanwulan 竺曇無蘭	317–420	50.5
T.140	<i>Anabindi hua qizi jing</i> 阿那邠邸化七子經	An Shigao 安世高	25–220	51.7
T.149	<i>Anan tongxue jing</i> 阿難同學經	An Shigao 安世高	25–220	35.8 ⁷⁸
T.215 ⁷⁹	<i>Qunniu pi jing</i> 群牛譬經	Faju 法炬	266–317	16.4
T.216	<i>Dayu shi jing</i> 大魚事經	Zhu Tanwulan 竺曇無蘭	317–420	—
T.508	<i>Azheshi wang wen wuni jing</i> 阿闍世王問五逆經	Faju 法炬	266–317	—
T.684	<i>Fumu en nanbao jing</i> 父母恩難報經	An Shigao 安世高	25–220	20.11

Mizuno was able to find important corroboration of his reconstruction in the *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相 (‘Features from the Scriptures and Discipline’, T.2121), a vast collection of scriptural excerpts compiled by the monk Baochang 寶唱 (b. ca. 466 – d. after 517) and others on imperial order received in late 516, and therefore completed in A.D. 517 or shortly after. The *Jinglü yixiang*, which relied on the holdings of the Buddhist library of the Liang 梁 at the Hualin yuan 華林園 in Jiankang, was largely based on an earlier chrestomathy, the now lost *Zhongjing yaochao* 眾經要抄 of A.D. 508.⁸⁰ The work includes 26 quotations from the *Zengyi*

⁷⁸ Not identified by Mizuno.

⁷⁹ On the identification of this sūtra and of the following one (T.216) as *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels see Warita 1973.

⁸⁰ See Baochang’s preface to the *Jinglü yixiang*, in T vol. 53 no. 2121, p.

ahan jing; in several cases, these are included in cumulative excerpts from more than one sūtra, so that it is difficult to discern the underlying texts. However, 16 excerpts refer to the *Zengyi ahan jing* as their sole source, and in all but one case they also indicate the scroll (*juan* 卷) number in which the relevant passage was found.

As a general observation, it should be noticed that the *Jinglü yixiang*, as its title suggests, is a thematic anthology abstracting canonical texts arranged by topic. Each excerpt is provided with a heading, which is generally connected to the particular rubric in which it is included (e.g. no. 4 in the table below, on King Prasenajit making a golden statue of the Buddha, belongs in a section ‘On the Making of Buddha Icons’ 造佛形像). Accordingly, the excerpts only quote, sometimes approximately, those parts of the text which would have been relevant to the rubric, and may therefore skip several sentences from the source or report them in paraphrase.⁸¹

The table below, which presents a synopsis of the *Zengyi ahan jing* excerpts in the *Jinglü yixiang*, is indebted to the seminal work of Mizuno and to the detailed comparative analysis recently offered by Lin Jia’an.⁸² In the table:

- ‘A’ refers to the scroll number in the *Zengyi ahan jing* indicated at the end of each excerpt.
- ‘B’ refers to the number of the scroll in which the sūtras corresponding to the excerpts occur in the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125).

1a15–26. On the Liang palace library and the circumstances in which the collection was produced see the discussion below, ch. 3, § I.

⁸¹ See on this point Lin 2009: 36–38.

⁸² See the tables and comparisons in Mizuno 1989: 12–13 and Lin 2009: 31–33, 39–109, to which one should now add Su 2013: 212–224.

- ‘C’ refers to the number of the corresponding sūtras in T.125, conventionally expressed as ‘chapter (*pin* 品, *varga*) + position in the chapter’ (e.g. 32.6 indicates the sixth sūtra in chapter 32 in the collection).
- The symbol \neq after the number in ‘C’ means that the text of the corresponding sūtra in T.125 is somewhat different from the excerpt.
- The symbol \cong after the number in ‘C’ means that the text of the corresponding sūtra in T.125 approximately matches the excerpt.
- ‘Series’ refers to the section (*nipāta*) arranged by numerical progression of factors in which the corresponding sūtra in T.125 appears. It must be emphasised that such numerical sections in T.125 can be inferred from the contents, but are not explicitly indicated.
- The ‘Parallel’ column indicates those among the 20 *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels in the Taishō canon as per the previous table, which approximately match excerpts in the *Jinglū yixiang* (thus followed by the symbol \cong).

Table 3.

	Location in T.2121	Title of the excerpt	A	B	C	Series	Parallel
1.	2.9b21-c14	三十三天應生豬中轉入人道	19	24	32.6 ≠	VI	—
2.	3.12c5-17	地大動有八種緣	24	37	42.5 ≠	VIII	—
3.	6.29c9-17	優填王造牛頭栴檀像	19	28	36.5 ≅	V	—
4.	6.30a6-9	波斯匿王造金像	19	28	36.5 ≅	V	—
5.	14.70c23-71b8	舍利弗入金剛定為鬼所打不能毀傷	30	45	48.6 ≅	X	—
6.	14.73a29-c1	舍利弗目連角現神力	27	29	37.2 ≠	VI	—
7.	15.77a1-77a25	難陀得秦女接足內愧閑居得道	39	—	—	—	—
8.	17.90c27-91a6	繫特誦掃忘簪誦簪忘掃	6[1] ⁸³	11	20.12 ≅	II	—

⁸³ The base text of the *Jinglü yixiang* in the Taishō canon (Korean edition) refers to the 1st scroll 第一卷, but the Song, Yuan, Ming and Kunaichō editions all read ‘6th’ 第六; see T.2121, 17.91a6 and note 4. The agreement of four editions, the unlikelihood of a clerical error from ‘one’ — to ‘six’ 六 (the reverse does seem more probable) and the position of the corresponding sūtra in T.125 all suggest that the latter reading is probably correct. Mizuno (1989: 12) and Lin (2009: 32) accept instead the reading ‘one’ in the base text.

Location in T.2121	Title of the excerpt	A	B	C	Series	Parallel
9. 17.91b23–92a7	鸛囀鬘暴害人民遇佛出家得羅漢道	19	31	38.6 ≠	VI	T.119 ≅
10. 18.95a21–b6	二十耳億精進大過	8 ⁸⁴	13	23.3 ≅	III	—
11. 28.151c13–152a23	波斯匿王請佛解夢	41	51	52.9 ≠	—	—
12. 29.157b27–c25	優填王請求治化方法	39	42	46.7 ≠	X	—
13. 46.241b24–242a22	毘沙惡鬼食噉人民遇佛悟解	8	14	24.2 ≅	III	—
14. 46.244a16–244a23	惡鬼見帝釋形稍醜滅	27	41	45.5 ≅	IX	—
15. 47.247b20–23	婆羅醯馬王為轉輪王寶	—	—	—	—	—
16. 47.248c15–20	驢效群牛為牛所殺	20	7	16.4 ≠	II	T.215 ≅

⁸⁴ At the end of this excerpt, the Song, Yuan, Ming and Kunaichō editions indicate the source as ‘the 29th scroll of the *Zhong ahan jing*’ 出中阿含經第二十九卷; see T.2121, 18.95b6 and note 22. This sūtra does in fact have a *Madhyama-āgama* parallel in Saṃghadeva’s retranslation; see *Zhong ahan jing* (T.26), no. 123, 29.611c26–613a26. It is possible that the sūtra appeared in nearly identical forms in the recensions of the two *āgamas* excerpted in the *Jingliu yixiang*.

As it can be seen, seven excerpts (nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 14 in the table above) approximately match the corresponding sections in the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125), whereas another group of seven (nos. 1, 2, 6, 9, 11, 12, 16) vary to such an extent that they cannot be explained as the result of imprecise quotation, abridgment or periphrasis, but must ensue from a different underlying text. Moreover, two excerpts (nos. 7 and 15) have absolutely no counterpart in the received text. It can also be noticed that the scroll numbers of the *Zengyi ahan jing* indicated in the excerpts (A in the table) never match those of the corresponding sūtras in T.125 (B), and that the former are generally lower than the latter, but without a regular proportion. More significantly, however, the *Jinglü yixiang* quotes as from the *Zengyi ahan jing* a long abstract (no. 9 in the table) bearing nearly verbatim similarity to the text of one of the ‘*poqiepo* 婆伽婆’ parallels, the *Yangjueji jing* 鶯崛髻經 (T.119, **Āṅgulināla sūtra*), thus suggesting that the latter was indeed part of a different recension of the collection. A similar match (no. 16 in the table) occurs for another parallel, the *Qunniu pi jing* 群牛譬經 (T.215), although the relevant excerpt does not include the opening formula with the ‘*poqiepo* 婆伽婆’ transcription.⁸⁵

Mizuno concludes on the basis of these findings that the *Zengyi ahan jing* quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* excerpts, which can be further connected to at least two of the 20 parallels in the Taishō canon, must be Dharmananda’s translation, whereas T.125 should be ascribed to Saṃghadeva.⁸⁶ His argument essentially pivots on the perceived stylistic similarity between the 20

⁸⁵ See Mizuno 1989: 12–15; Lin 2009: 39–41 and 71–85, respectively analysing the excerpts matching T.215 and T.119.

⁸⁶ See Mizuno 1989: 14–15.

Zengyi ahan jing parallels (with the *Jinglü yixiang* excerpts) and the 24 *Zhong ahan jing* parallels, and on the necessity of dissociating the latter from Saṃghadeva in view of the fact that this translator's version of the *Zhong ahan jing* is extant (T.26), and dramatically different from the parallels.⁸⁷

Lin Jia'an has refined Mizuno's conclusions in a number of points. This scholar also identifies the excerpts in the *Jinglü yixiang* and the Taishō parallels as remnants of Dharmananda's translation, but he does so chiefly on the understanding that the *Zengyi ahan jing* underlying Baochang's anthology is consistent with Dao'an's description of a text in 41 scrolls. Lin points out that the highest numbered scroll in the excerpts is precisely the 41st, and the quoted passage (no. 11 in the table above) corresponds to a different version of the very last sūtra (no. 52.9 in *juan* 51) in T.125; this suggests that the *Zengyi ahan jing* quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* ended in its 41st scroll, in the same way as the version that Dao'an describes.⁸⁸ As already mentioned, Lin, who rejects the attribution of the received text to Saṃghadeva, argues that this was instead the product of Zhu Fonian's individual recast and expansion of Dharmananda's translation – from 41 to 51 scrolls – around A.D. 410.⁸⁹

There are several problems with these views. Mizuno's simple alternative between 'Dharmananda's version' and 'Saṃghadeva's version' does not consider that there were in fact four different redactions of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, which may have been subject to further cross-contamination and editing in their later, obscure textual history. Lin's argument assumes a homol-

⁸⁷ See, again, Mizuno 1989: 4–7.

⁸⁸ See Lin 2009: 34–35.

⁸⁹ See Lin 2009: 130–139.

ogy between the *Zengyi ahan jing* reflected in the *Jinglü yixiang* excerpts and T.125, both of which would have thus followed the same general progression and ended with the same *varga* and *sūtra*. However, the conspicuous asymmetry between the two sequences of scroll numbers (A and B in the table above) suggests otherwise, and the glosses in the *Fan fanyu* further recommend caution: we have seen in § III.2 that those glosses point to yet another recensional arrangement (certainly also different from that of Baochang's quotations) of a *Zengyi ahan jing* superficially similar – at least in its transcriptions of Indic terms – to the received text, but apparently in a smaller number of scrolls (43+) and, significantly, with the last *varga* (no. 52) of T.125 seemingly placed in *juan* 29, thus not at the end but shortly past the middle of the collection.⁹⁰ Moreover, neither Mizuno nor Lin appears to have given due consideration to the fact that seven excerpts in the *Jinglü yixiang* do match the received text. Does this mean that the anthology was quoting two different versions without stating it, or rather that it made use of a single edition of the *Zengyi ahan jing* conflating two alternative translations? In the latter case, who produced this conflation? Were there really two different integral translations, or was an early partial translation grafted onto a newer one, and stylistically harmonised? Might the parallels represent the odd ones out of two otherwise very similar versions?

The parallels themselves present a rather problematic picture. The crucial *Yangjueji jing* 鶯崛髻經 (T.119, **Āṅgulimāla sūtra*),

⁹⁰ It is worth observing, with Mizuno (1989: 41), that chapter 52 in T.125 (*Da aidao banniepan pin* 大愛道般涅槃品) has no clear numerical rationale, and would therefore have been amenable to different collocations within the collection.

for example, is not overly dissimilar from its counterpart in T.125 (sūtra 38.6), but the latter adds at the end a long *jātaka* story on Aṅgulimāla's previous existence as the prince son of King *Mahāphala (Daguo 大果) at the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, thus explaining the roots of merit of the converted robber.⁹¹ The same situation returns with other parallels, for which the corresponding sūtras in T.125 exhibit a larger layout with additional elements.⁹² In some cases, a 'parallel' in Mizuno's table appear to be no more than a building block of an extended composite sūtra in the received text. Thus the short T.136 (*Si weicengyou fa jing* 四未曾有法經) corresponds to a mere pericope inserted within the large sūtra no. 42.3 in T.125.⁹³ While T.136 should be placed in the Fours in view of its topic, T.125/42.3 is included in the Eights because of its final section on the Eightfold Path (*Xiansheng bapin dao* 賢聖八品道); significantly, this placement of 42.3 is confirmed by the keyword *dao* 道 in the summary (*uddāna*) at the end of the *varga*.⁹⁴

A detailed investigation of the contents and style of all the parallels and of their relationship to the received text cannot be attempted here, but in the light of the above it seems legitimate to consider whether these usually short texts might represent a

⁹¹ See T.125, 38.6, 31.721c3–722c22.

⁹² A particularly revealing case is the relationship between T.140 (*Anabindi hua qizi jing* 阿那邠邸化七子經) and its counterpart in T.125 (51.7). A Sanskrit parallel has been located among the Gilgit manuscripts, which is closer to T.140 and lacks the additional parts of T.125 (51.7); see the discussion in Matsumura 1989, esp. pp. 360–361.

⁹³ See T.136, p. 859b22–c25, and cf. T.125, 42.3, 36.751b3–18. Sūtra 42.3 covers exactly four pages (12 frames) in T.125, from 36.748c24 to 37.752c23; for an integral translation of this text see Bareau 1987.

⁹⁴ See T.125, 37.755c26.

preliminary (rather than ‘other’) translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing*; this may have been subsequently superseded by a different rendition strategy, privileging the kind of long, composite scriptures that are frequently found in the received text.⁹⁵

One particular sūtra among the parallels sheds spectacular light on the nature of the recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama* underlying this possibly preliminary version of the *Zengyi ahan jing*. T.123 (*Fangniu jing* 放牛經, or ‘Scripture of the Cowherds’) is a version of the *Gopālaka sūtra*, which has its counterpart in sūtra 49.1 in T.125, and opens the section of the Elevens in the received text. We have seen above (§ II.1) that this sūtra is in great relief in the document here labelled ‘Narrative’ (T.2026), and notably in its probably apocryphal prose coda, which indeed presents it as the pivotal text justifying the very addition of a series on the Eleven factors to the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The coda presents the sūtra as follows:

In this ‘Scripture of the Cowherds’, the Buddha explains 11 factors to herd cows, in order to exemplify that the path of the *bhikṣus* possesses 11 forms of conduct, [so that] the roots of the Bodhi tree grow luxuriant branches and leaves, and many are sheltered by it.⁹⁶

Here the phrase “the path of the *bhikṣus* possesses 11 forms of conduct, [so that] the roots of the Bodhi tree grow luxuriant branches and leaves, and many are sheltered by it” (比丘道具十一行, 成道樹根栽枝葉茂盛, 多所覆蔭) deserves particular attention, for a nearly identical passage occurs in T.123:

⁹⁵ Lamotte 1967 remains to date the main attempt to analyse this problematic aspect of T.125.

⁹⁶ See above, p. 116.

比丘能行是十一事者，於此法中種，法律根栽枝葉滋茂，多所覆蔭。

If you, *bhikṣus*, can practice these 11 factors, and sow them in this Law, the roots of the Law and discipline will grow luxuriant branches and leaves, and many will be sheltered by it.⁹⁷

Coincidence is out of question. The metaphor of the ‘luxuriant branches and leaves offering shelter’ is in fact exclusive to T.123, where it also occurs in other parts of the text, but it is not to be found in any of the other versions either in Chinese (including the counterpart in T.125) or in Pāli. This means, in all possible likelihood, that T.123 was part of the recension of the *Zengyi ahan jing* to which the ‘Narrative’ was attached as a preface or postface, and that the two must have been translated together and by the same people. Accordingly, T.123, and presumably some or all of the remaining parallels, was part of an alternative recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, probably stemming in turn from a Sarvāstivāda version, and having the contents and structure that the ‘Narrative’ succinctly describes. If we find out who translated the ‘Narrative’ and when, we shall probably also uncover the nature and authorship of the alternative version of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, and clarify its connection to the received text. This will require further investigation in the second part of this study.

IV. The catalogues

Finally, a brief overview of the catalogue entries on the *Zengyi ahan jing* is in order. This exercise is usually placed at the out-

⁹⁷ T.123, p. 547a26–27.

set of every scholarly discussion of the book, but in the present case there was reason to give priority to a number of documents shedding light on the early knowledge of this collection in China, all of which either predate or are contemporary to the oldest extant Buddhist bibliography, the *Chu sanzang ji ji*.

In the catalogue section of the latter, probably completed in A.D. 515, Sengyou lists a *Zengyi ahan jing* ‘established’ (*ding* 定) in 33 scrolls (*juan* 卷). This may mean that the particular manuscript copy described in the catalogue was the result of a normative edition, whereby it may have been transcribed and arranged according to a certain format. Sengyou also mentions that there was an alternative partition into 34 scrolls. He refers to a single translation by Dharmananda, started in the summer of Jianyuan 20 (May / August 384) and completed in the spring of the following year (January / April 385).⁹⁸ These are the dates indicated in Dao’an’s preface.

After the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, the three catalogues entitled *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 (T.2146, 2147, 2148), respectively completed in A.D. 594, 602 and 665, also refer only to Dharmnanda’s issue, expressly including it in sections dedicated to scriptures for which a single translation existed (*yi yi* 一譯, *danben* 單本). T.2146 (A.D. 594) and T.2148 (A.D. 665) mention a book in 50 scrolls, whereas the compilers of T.2147 saw an edition in 51 scrolls.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 2.10b21–22. As regards the alternative scroll number, the base text of the Taishō (Korean edition of A.D. 1244) reads ‘24’ 二十四, but the alternative reading ‘34’ 三十四 in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions (see T.125, p. 10 note 13) is confirmed by their concordance, stemmatically very significant, with the Nanatsu-dera manuscript and the Kunaichō edition.

⁹⁹ See *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2146), 3.127c29; *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2147), 1.154a5–6; *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2148), 1.186b14–15.

As we have seen above, the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 of A.D. 598 is the first extant catalogue to mention two versions of the *Zengyi ahan jing*: a first translation (*diyi yi* 第一譯) issued (*chu* 出) by Dharmananda on 7 May 384 (Jianyuan 20. 4. 1),¹⁰⁰ and a second translation (*di'er yi* 第二譯) issued by Saṃghadeva in February–March 397 (Long'an 1. 1), which would have had only minor differences with the former. According to Fei Zhangfang, both versions of the *Zengyi ahan jing* consisted of 50 scrolls; however, he mentions that Saṃghadeva's version also existed in copies of 42 and 33 scrolls, and was therefore not established (*wuding* 無定).¹⁰¹ This last indication is interesting, because 42 and 33 scrolls are the sizes assigned to the *Zengyi ahan jing* of Dharmananda respectively by Dao'an in his preface (41 scrolls plus one additional scroll of summaries) and by Sengyou in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*. In other words, the '*Zengyi ahan jing* of Saṃghadeva' described in the *Lidai sanbao ji* appears to have been identical in terms of its different formats to the '*Zengyi ahan jing* of Dharmananda' described by Dao'an and Sengyou. We shall see shortly the source of Fei Zhangfang's record.

The information in the *Lidai sanbao ji* is repeated verbatim in the *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (T.2149), compiled in A.D. 664 by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667).¹⁰² This bibliography is

¹⁰⁰ This very precise date, as everything else in Fei Zhangfang's record, is taken from the catalogue of Baochang 寶唱 (ca. A.D. 516), as we shall see shortly; at first sight it seems to point to a more detailed knowledge of the circumstances of the translation; however, the first day of the fourth month was also the first day of the lunar summer, and already Dao'an and Sengyou had mentioned that Dharmananda's translation had started in that period of the year.

¹⁰¹ See *Lidai sanbao ji*, 8.75c18–19 (Dharmananda) and 7.70c5–6 (Saṃghadeva).

¹⁰² See *Da Tang neidian lu*, 3.250b3–4 (Dharmananda) and 3.246b23–24 (Saṃghadeva).

also the first to give a more precise indication of the size of Dharmananda's issue, which is said to have consisted of 50 scrolls and 795 folios.¹⁰³ However, in the section of the catalogue describing the scriptures included in the canon (*ruzang lu* 入藏錄), the *Zengyi ahan jing*, without indication of the translator's name, is mentioned as consisting of 51 scrolls arranged in five book-cases (*zhi* 帙), thus with a discrepancy of one scroll compared to the versions of both Dharmananda and Samghadeva.¹⁰⁴

An intriguing long entry on the *Zengyi ahan jing* appears in the already mentioned *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定眾經目錄 (T.2153) of A.D. 695 (revised ca. A.D. 700).¹⁰⁵ Like the *Lidai sanbao ji* and the *Da Tang neidian lu*, this bibliography mentions the two *Zengyi ahan jing* translations of Dharmananda and Samghadeva, both of them in 50 scrolls. However, T.2153 also adds significant information that is not found elsewhere. It states, without naming its source, that Samghadeva's translation was carried out at Lushan 廬山. It then quotes in extenso the record on this translation from the lost catalogue of the monk Baochang 寶唱, compiled in ca. A.D. 516.¹⁰⁶ The rec-

¹⁰³ See *Da Tang neidian lu*, 7.296c13–14, 9.322a6–7. This indication is repeated in the *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2148) of A.D. 665, 1.186b14–15, which may have drawn on Daoxuan rather than on a direct examination of a copy of the book.

¹⁰⁴ See *Da Tang neidian lu*, 8.307c22.

¹⁰⁵ For the entire record, see *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, 8.422a16–b7.

¹⁰⁶ According to his biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Baochang, acting on imperial order, compiled a catalogue of scriptures in four scrolls, revising the previous bibliography that the monk Sengshao 僧紹 (d.u.) had prepared also on imperial order received in A.D. 515 (Tianjian 天監 14). Baochang's catalogue must have been ready by the end of the following year, as he then received the order to compile the *Jinglü yixiang*, which the biography mentions as his subsequent undertaking; see *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, 1.426c21–26;

ord opens by referring to the scripture as ‘luminously established’ (*ming ding* 明定), conveying that an edition had been prepared at the Liang 梁 palace library, where Baochang was serving.¹⁰⁷ This edition was in 33 scrolls. We shall remember that Sengyou also refers to an ‘established’ edition in 33 scrolls, but identifies it as Dharmananda’s translation. The record continues by sketching some of the topics of the scriptures included in the collection. Most but not all of them can be found in the received text; moreover, the record mentions the *śrāmaṇera* Sudāya (var. Sodāyin) under the transcription Sutuoye 蘇陀耶, whereas T.125 spells the name differently (Xutuo 須陀).¹⁰⁸

The record further says that Saṃghadeva, assisted by Zhu Daozu 竺道祖 (348–419) as redactor (*bishou* 筆受), completed the translation on 14 February 397 (Long’an 1. 1. 2), thus adding the indication of the day, which is missing in the other catalogues. As his own source, Baochang refers to the *Jinshi zalu* 晉世雜錄, a catalogue allegedly compiled by Daozu.¹⁰⁹ It is not clear where the quotation from Baochang’s catalogue exactly ends. Immediately

cf. *Jinglū yixiang* (T.2121), p. 1a15–26. According to the *Lidai sanbao ji* (3.45a9), Baochang received the order to compile the catalogue in A.D. 518 (Tianjian 17), which seems to be inaccurate, unless it refers to a further revision of the same.

¹⁰⁷ Again, see the discussion below, ch. 3, § I.

¹⁰⁸ In T.125, the story of Sudāya appears in sūtra no. 30.1 at 22.659a5 ff. Among the topics of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, the record mentions the 18 constituent elements (Ch. *shiba jie* 十八界, Skt. *aṣṭadaśa dhātavaḥ*), being the six faculties with their six objects and the six consciousnesses. This topic does not appear in T.125.

¹⁰⁹ In T.2153, this catalogue is named *Jindai zalu* 晉代雜錄; the replacement in the title of *shi* 世 with *dai* 代 must reflect a Tang copy observing the taboo on the personal name of emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649), Li Shimin 李世民.

after the reference to Daozu's catalogue, the *Zengyi ahan jing* is said to consist of 737 folios. Then the following passage occurs:

又曇摩難提偽秦建元二十年四月一日譯，佛念筆受，為四十二卷，其年十一月竟。今二本俱存。而僧祐《三藏記錄》云竺¹¹⁰建元二十年夏，曇摩難提譯，為三十三卷。此似誤耳。出僧叡《二秦錄》。上二經再出，大同小異。

Moreover, Dharmananda translated [the *Zengyi ahan jing*] on the first day of the fourth month of [the year] Jianyuan 20 of the False Qin 偽秦 (7 May 384). Zhu Fonian received with the brush (*bishou* 筆受), and they made 42 scrolls. They finished in the 11th month of that year (29 November – 28 December 384). At present, the two texts [of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, i.e. Dharmananda's and Samghadeva's] are both extant. However, the 'Catalogue of the Records on the Three Repositories' (*Sanzang ji lu* 三藏記錄, i.e. the catalogue section of the *Chu sanzang ji ji*) of Sengyou says that Dharmananda's translation in the summer of Jianyuan 20 of Qin was in 33 scrolls. This seems to be a mistake. [The above information] is taken from the 'Catalogue of the Two Qin' (*Er Qin lu* 二秦錄) of Sengrui 僧叡. The above two scriptures are a twofold issue.¹¹¹ They are largely similar, with only minor differences.¹¹²

There are several reasons to assume that the foregoing passage is also part of a single quotation from the catalogue of Bao-

¹¹⁰ Read *qin* 秦 instead of *zhu* 竺.

¹¹¹ In other words, the two versions of the *Zengyi ahan jing* translate twice the same original.

¹¹² *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, 8.422a27–b3.

chang. Immediately after it, the editors of the Zhou catalogue place their own entry on the *Zengyi ahan jing* translated by Dharmananda at Chang'an in the year Jianyuan 20 of the Former Qin 前秦, which is described as consisting of 50 scrolls and 939 folios. Reference is made to the catalogue of Fei Zhangfang and to the *Da Tang neidian lu*.¹¹³ If the previous description of Dharmananda's translation had also been from the same editors, the entry would be an unnecessary duplicate. The size of the book is different (42 scrolls in one, 50 scrolls in the other). Finally, the first passage defines the Qin dynasty as 'false' (*wei* 偽), a label used under the Southern dynasties to stigmatize the Northern rivals, but evidently of little significance during the Tang period; in fact, in their entry, and everywhere else in the catalogue, the editors of T.2153 consistently refer to Fu Jian's dynasty with the neutral term 'Former Qin' 前秦. Baochang was thus the (acknowledged) source of Fei Zhangfang, and through him of all the other catalogues mentioning two translations, one by Dharmananda and the other by Saṃghadeva.

Baochang's information is suspicious at best. His source for the translation of Saṃghadeva, the *Jinshi zalu* 晉世雜錄 attributed to Zhu Daozu, appears to have been a contemporary (early 6th-c.) forgery.¹¹⁴ His other source for Dharmananda's issue, the *Er Qin lu* 二秦錄 attributed to Kumārajīva's disciple Sengrui 僧叡 (ca. 352–436), was probably a product of the same workshop. We can hardly trust the indication that Zhu Fonian acted as 'redactor' (*bishou* 筆受) rather than interpreter, but it is interesting to note that the record betrays some acquaintance

¹¹³ *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, 8.422b4–7.

¹¹⁴ See Tan 1991: 111–120; Palumbo 2003: 180 note 31.

with the real circumstances of that translation, as they emerge from Dao'an's prefaces. The first redaction may well have been completed in the 11th month of Jianyuan 20, since Dao'an refers to it as a finished work by the end of that same month in his 'Preface to the Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa'; that redaction, however, consisted of 46 scrolls, whereas 42 scrolls (41 + 1) was the size of the third redaction completed around March 385.

Against this background, it is evidently difficult to trust whatever Baochang has to say about Saṃghadeva's translation, whose nature and circumstances we have reconstructed somewhat differently on the basis of Daoci's document (ch. 1, § II.1). However, his statement that there were two different versions of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, both of them extant at that time (今二本俱存), cannot be taken lightly.¹¹⁵ Baochang's description of the contents of this version is mostly but not entirely consistent with the received text (T.125), which brings some corroboration to his claim that the two translations were largely similar, if we identify the latter with one of the two. If we further consider that the quotations from the *Zengyi ahan jing* in the *Jinglü yixiang* also bear witness to a different version of the collection from the one in our hands, we must accept that two separate recensions were available to the palace librarians of Jiankang around A.D. 516. However, this by no means implies that we should also accept Baochang's attributions, and it is significant that the same text in 33 scrolls that he would assign to Saṃghadeva was ascribed to Dharmananda by Sengyou. Adding more confusion to an already desperate conundrum, we now have

¹¹⁵ Mizuno (1989: 3) appears to misunderstand this indication as stemming from the editors of the Zhou catalogue, and therefore referring to their times (A.D. 695–700).

learned that there was also an ‘imperial established’ (*mingding* 明定) edition, resulting in the 33-scroll text variously attributed to one or other foreign master. I shall attempt below some cautious speculation about the nature of this ‘edition’.

Before closing this overview of the catalogues, mention should be made of Zhisheng’s *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* of A.D. 730. This authoritative bibliography also refers to the two translations, and in rather similar terms to the *Lidai sanbao ji*, which was one of its sources. Its inventory of scroll-formats is wider: thus Saṃghadeva’s translation as it was included in the canon is said to consist of 51 scrolls and 810 folios distributed in five cases, but mention is also made of alternative formats in 33, 42, 50 and even 60 scrolls.¹¹⁶ This version included 50 *vargas* (pin 品), two less than the received text (but this may be simply the omission of one character 五十【二】 due to a clerical error) and 472 scriptures, as in Dao’an’s preface and in the received text.¹¹⁷ Zhisheng also includes an entry on Dharmananda’s version in 50 scrolls, further mentioning its variant formats mentioned in Dao’an’s preface and in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*;¹¹⁸ for the first time, however, he makes clear that this version was missing.¹¹⁹

Buddhist catalogues between the 6th and the 8th c. thus attest to an extremely chaotic textual history. The *Zengyi ahan jing* was circulating in a bewildering variety of sizes (33, 34, 42, 50, 51, 60 scrolls, and 737, 795, 810, 939 folios). Some catalogues (Sengyou and the three *Zhongjing mulus*) only know of a single

¹¹⁶ See *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, 20.691a26–27; see also *ibid.* 3.505a4–5.

¹¹⁷ See *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, 13.610c16–18.

¹¹⁸ See *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, 3.511b14–15.

¹¹⁹ See *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, 15.637c21–23.

attribution to Dharmananda, whereas a second group (Baochang, Fei Zhangfang, the *Da Tang neidian lu*, the Zhou catalogue and Zhisheng) mentions two translations respectively by Dharmānanda and Saṃghadeva; however, with the single exception of Baochang, none of them provides evidence that the two translations were actually seen and physically present *together* in any monastic library, and Zhisheng explicitly says that Dharmānanda's issue was unaccounted for in his times. Medieval Buddhist bibliographers after Baochang may thus have been in a not too dissimilar quandary from our own: faced with traditions that Dharmānanda and Saṃghadeva had both issued versions of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, they were probably just guessing at who was behind the collection they *could* see, whilst reserving a notional record for the alternative version. The uncertainty lingered through the manuscript age, and survived into the printed editions of the canon from the Song 宋 dynasty onwards: as any reader of the Taishō volumes will know, the *Zengyi ahan jing* appears there (vol. 2, no. 125), on the basis of the Korean edition of A.D. 1243, as a text in 51 *juan* and is presented as the translation of Gautama Saṃghadeva, but the apparatus reveals that the very same text consists of 50 *juan* and is assigned to Dharmānanda in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions.¹²⁰

V. Preliminary conclusions

Here ends the first part of this enquiry, and it should be possible to add some further provisional conclusions to those anticipated

¹²⁰ See T vol. 2 no. 125, pp. 549 note 11, 830 note 25. A full inventory of the indications given in other printed editions would be of very limited use to this study.

above. A first observation is that at the end of the 4th c., the *Ekottarika-āgama* enters China virtually unannounced and, apart from Dao'an's gleanings in his catalogue entries during the late 370s, without any prior local knowledge of its structure and contents. This situation may well have reflected a state of things on the other side; without venturing absolute statements on such a difficult question as the textual formation of the *āgama* / *nikāya* corpora, it is a distinct possibility that the *Ekottarika-āgama* in particular, in northwest India at least, remained an open-ended repository for a long time.

Against this background, translating the 'collection' would have been a far more tentative undertaking than we are probably ready to admit, with considerable room for even radical rearrangements. The precarious canonical and textual status of the *Ekottarika-āgama* upon its introduction in China is highlighted by two of our findings so far: the first is the existence of two somewhat different recensions of this *āgama*, the one described in the *Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* (T.2026, what I have called the 'Narrative') and the received text; the second is the fact that both recensions came along with accounts – respectively the 'Narrative' itself and the 'Preface' to the received text – that were meant to legitimise the collection by placing its creation at the First Council, and as the first of the four *āgamas* issued on that occasion.

The combined evidence of the 'Narrative', of the *Zengyi ahan jing* quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* and of the parallels in the Taishō canon leaves little doubt that there was indeed another translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China, which may have been separate or preliminary to that resulting in the received text. Only a handful of sūtras survive from this translation, and we cannot be entirely sure whether all the 20 parallels

located by Mizuno were indeed part of it, something that only a detailed analysis of their style and contents would allow to establish. Thanks to the ‘Narrative’, however, we have a reasonably clear notion of the contents, structure and even scholastic orientation of this other translation.

What remains to be seen is who produced it and when, and what its relationship is to the received text. The testimony of the catalogues is unfortunately of little help.

They cannot give us any certainty as to whether two different versions of the *Zengyi ahan jing* were really in simultaneous circulation at any one stage. The only unambiguous statement to this effect comes from Baochang, writing around A.D. 516, who may well have seen two versions at the Liang palace library.

It is also important to stress that catalogues do not attest to ‘originals’, but merely to recensional states of given texts kept at specific monastic libraries. In the age of manuscript transmission, identical texts could exist in different-sized editions, based on different standards of folios per scroll, of column numbers per folio and of characters per column.¹²¹ We should therefore

¹²¹ See the eloquent case of the *Da Tang Kaiyuan Shijiao guangpin lizhang* 大唐開元釋教廣品歷章, a bibliography (unfortunately preserved only in part) compiled by the monk Xuanyi 玄逸 (fl. ca. 740), providing the chapter titles and sequence of a large number of scriptures. Xuanyi consistently refers to two different manuscript editions for most of the titles, respectively kept at monastic libraries in Puzhou 蒲州 and Gongcheng 供城; thus the *Fangguang bore poluomi jing* 放光般若波羅蜜經 existed in 30-scroll and 20-scroll formats; the copy at Puzhou in particular consisted of 466 folios, whereas the exemplar at Gongcheng was written over 546 folios. See *Da Tang Kaiyuan Shijiao guangpin lizhang*, in *Song zang yizhen* 宋藏遺珍 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1974), vol. 6, p. 3536a and *passim*.

be wary not to infer that the bewildering variety of formats mentioned in the catalogues may reflect substantially different redactions of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, nor should we assume that the received text in 51 *juan* represents an ‘expansion’ of the redaction in 41 (+ 1) scrolls described by Dao’an in his preface.

On the other hand, both the quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* and the glosses in the *Fan fanyu* show that at the beginning of the 6th c., the recensional order of the collection – its distinctive numerical progression – was in utter disarray. The *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2146), compiled in A.D. 594, includes a list of 18 *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels, described as “separate items of the ‘Agama Increasing by One’ by different translators” 增一阿含別品異譯. It is a miscellaneous list, which also includes An Shigao’s *Zajing sishisi pian*, but eight titles in particular can be found among the 20 parallels identified by Mizuno (T.119, T.122, T.123, T.134, T.136, T.140, T.149, T.215). For two titles, mentioned one after the other, the catalogue also indicates the scroll number of the *Zengyi ahan jing* edition from which they were drawn: one is the *Anan tongxue jing* 阿難同學經 (T.149), one of Mizuno’s parallels, issued from *juan* 38 of the underlying collection; the other item is the *Xing qixing xianbao jing* 行七行現報經, issued from *juan* 30.¹²² The *Anan tongxue jing*, which is extant, has the Buddha explaining five kinds of defiled conduct in women.¹²³ The *Xing qixing xianbao jing* no longer survives, but a long quotation from it is preserved in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, a 7th-c. Buddhist encyclopedia.¹²⁴ Consistently

¹²² See *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2146), 3.129b6–24.

¹²³ See *Anan tongxue jing* (T.149), p. 874b22–23. This sūtra has a counterpart in the received *Zengyi ahan jing*, no. 35.8; see T.125, 27.700b27–701a11.

¹²⁴ See *Fayuan zhulin* (T.2122), 69.810b18–27. I was unable to locate a parallel

with the title, the quotation makes clear that this sūtra discussed a series of seven factors. Thus a text that should have been in the Fives was in *juan* 38, while a text that presumably belonged to the Sevens was in *juan* 30: they were in the wrong sequence, and this confirms the impression already drawn from the *Jinglü yixiang* that the alternative recension(s) of the *Zengyi ahan jing* was (were) distinguished by greater structural disorder than the received text.

At the end of this study, we shall see that the collapse of the numerical progression in the *Zengyi ahan jing* probably goes back to the early stage of the translation in A.D. 384–385 rather than ensuing from textual corruption over time. It is perhaps to address a perceived disorder in the sequence of the sūtras in the collection that a text in 33 scrolls was apparently established in imperial circles (*mingding* 明定) at the beginning of the Liang dynasty. Baochang identifies this ‘established text’ with Saṃghadeva’s translation, and describes its contents in terms that suggest some difference from T.125; but Baochang was possibly the worst Buddhist librarian of all times in China.¹²⁵ Seng-

to this text in T.125.

¹²⁵ One potentially significant circumstance is represented by the fact that while in his catalogue of ca. A.D. 516 Baochang refers to the established text in 33 scrolls and assigns it to Saṃghadeva, further mentioning Dharmananda’s version as consisting of 42 scrolls, in the *Jinglü yixiang*, compiled around the same time, the same monk provides excerpts from a *Zengyi ahan jing* that reached at least 41 scrolls, and therefore cannot have been the 33-scroll edition, but may have been the 42-scroll text that he ascribed to Dharmananda. However, it is difficult to understand why, in an imperial anthology of Buddhist texts, Baochang would not refer to the officially established edition of the *Zengyi ahan jing*. Moreover, we have seen above (§ III.3) that the excerpts in the *Jinglü yixiang* appear to draw on two different versions of the

you, on the other hand, assigns the established 33-scroll version to Dharmananda. Could this have been the received text, T.125, subsequently spread through manuscript transmission to 50- and 51-scroll formats? We shall probably never know, but it is by no means impossible.¹²⁶

A colophon appended at the end of the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the *Zengyi ahan jing* presents us with a final puzzle:

增壹阿含¹²⁷十一法竟。二十五萬首盧。其有八十萬言，五百五十五聞如是一時也。

End of the Eleven principles of the ‘Āgama Increasing by One’. 250,000 *ślokas*. It has 800,000 words, 555 ‘I have heard thus at one time’.¹²⁸

The colophon poses several problems. One is that it seems to identify the end of the collection with the end of the Elevens; as

collection, one of which is consistent with the received text. If we consider that Baochang’s anthology largely drew on the earlier *Zhongjing yaochao* 眾經要抄 (ca. A.D. 508), it cannot be excluded that the *Zengyi ahan jing* excerpts in the *Jinglü yixiang* were based on this source, and therefore went back to ca. A.D. 508. The 33-scroll text may have been established between this date and its mention in the *Chu sanzang jiji* around A.D. 515.

¹²⁶ The Dunhuang ms. S.380 includes the nearly integral text (with the loss of only a handful of characters at the beginning) of sūtra 39.2 in the *Zengyi ahan jing*; cf. T.125, 33.729b12–c23. The text in the manuscript, which may date to the early 7th c. A.D., is absolutely consistent with the printed editions. However, while in the latter our sūtra 39.2 is found in *juan* 33 (32 in the Shōgozō 聖語藏 manuscript, ca. 8th c.), S.380 ends on the line ‘*Zengyi ahan jing*, 20th scroll’ 增一阿含經卷第廿. If *juan* 20 in S.380 corresponds to *juan* 32/33 in T.125, it may well be that the manuscript was based on the 33-scroll edition, which would thus have been identical in its contents to the received text.

¹²⁷ The first four characters do not occur in the Ming edition.

¹²⁸ See T vol. 2 no. 125, p. 830 note 24.

mentioned above, however, in the received text discourses on eleven factors are included between sūtras 49.1 and 50.3, after which come 29 miscellaneous sūtras. This can be explained by assuming that a different edition of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, without differing in its contents, ended indeed with the Elevens, and that the received text is the result of some significant redistribution of scriptures across the collection, something which is not difficult to assume in the light of what we have seen. The length of the original text is set at 250,000 *śloka*s, but as Mizuno has observed, the following indication of 800,000 ‘words’ suggests that the number should be corrected to 25,000, a *śloka* consisting of 32 syllables ($25,000 \times 32 = 800,000$).¹²⁹ More problematic is the apparent sūtra count at 555, since the received text, consistently with Dao’an’s indications, includes 472 scriptures plus the prefatory chapter. It should be noted, however, that 21 sūtras in T.125 (from 4.2 to 7.3) do not open with the usual formula, so that the received text includes 451 occurrences of ‘I have heard thus at one time’ (*wen rushi yishi* 聞如是一時). ‘555’ (五百五十五) is perhaps the result of a clerical error for ‘451’ (四百五十一). If this is not the case, the colophon would point to an alternative recension, being somewhat longer than the received text in 472 sūtras; on the basis of what we have learned, this longer recension can only be identified either with the first redaction in 46 scrolls produced by the Chang’an group or with Saṃghadeva’s fourth redaction, but not with the third redaction described in Dao’an’s preface, which consisted precisely of 472 sūtras. But then we would still need to explain how this colo-

¹²⁹ See Mizuno 1989: 42.

phon came to be attached to the wrong recension, which makes a clerical error an overall more economic explanation.

This is probably as far as we can go in the textual history of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, at least in its own terms. The next part of this investigation will introduce a new element in the discussion, and approach the problem of the Chinese translation of the *Ēkottarika-āgama* from an altogether different angle.

PART II

THE

FENBIE GONGDE LUN

分別功德論 (T.1507)

CHAPTER THREE

The book in the catalogues

The preliminary discussion of the translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing* in the first part of this study has attempted to establish a number of facts concerning the historical circumstances of the translation and its initial context and circulation. With this background in mind, we can now turn to our main object of enquiry, the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T.1507), which we have briefly introduced above (ch. 2, § II.2) as an early commentary on the first four chapters of the *Zengyi ahan jing*.

Below I shall consider in the first place the most significant mentions of the book in Buddhist catalogues as well as the main assessments of it in modern scholarship. Thereafter, a close investigation of the book's internal evidence will offer insights into its date and authorship, and also suggest a number of important conclusions on the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

The Korean Tripiṭaka (K 973) and its late avatar, the Taishō daizōkyō (T vol. 25 no. 1507), include a *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 in five scrolls (*juan* 卷). A sub-heading, which with marginal differences occurs in all the editions collated in the Taishō canon, presents the text as an anonymous translation of the Later Han 後漢 period. This indication, probably via a work akin to the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu lüe chu* 開元釋教錄略出 (T vol. 54 no. 2155),¹ can be

¹ See *Kaiyuan Shijiaolu lüe chu*, 4.743c26: 分別功德論三卷(或云經)失譯在後漢錄. This catalogue, which is commonly thought to have been compiled by the monk Zhisheng 智昇 (fl. 730–740), uses a distinctive numbering of the

traced back to catalogue records produced between the 6th and the 8th c., to which we shall now briefly turn.

I. The *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (ca. A.D. 515)

A *Fenbie gongde jing* 分別功德經 in five scrolls is already mentioned as an anonymous translation, but not as of the Han period, in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (compiled in layers and in two separate editions between ca. 503 and 515). The entry is followed by a note in small characters: “one [alternative] name [of the book is] ‘Commentary on the *Āgama* scriptures increasing by one’; Kāśyapa and Ānanda made [it]” 一名增一阿含經疏。迦葉、阿難造.² The section of Sengyou’s catalogue in which this entry appears features an impressive list of 1,306 anonymous translations, which is generally held to be a continuation of the analogous list by Dao’an (a much shorter one).³ This segment of the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, however, is probably based to a large extent on the holdings and catalogue of the imperial Buddhist library of the Liang 梁 at the Hualin yuan 華林園 rather than on the monastic library of the Dinglin si 定林寺 near Jiankang,

texts in the canon according to the character sequence in the *Qianzi wen* 千字文, which served as the basis for most of the printed editions of the canon from the Kaibao zang 開寶藏 (972–983) onwards. However, Fang Guangchang 方廣鎬 has persuasively argued that the received *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 is only one in a group of similar catalogues that were probably compiled in the latter half of the 9th c., in the aftermath of the great persecution of Buddhism of 843–846, on the basis of Zhisheng’s *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* of 730; see Fang 2006: 403–418.

² *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 4.21c13.

³ Dao’an’s catalogue of anonymous translations appears in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 3.16c7–18c2. The list consists of 142 titles, 11 of which were a supplement added by Sengyou.

where the monk had initially prepared his own bibliography.⁴ A number of elements would seem to suggest it:

1. In the preface to this section, Sengyou appears to lambast unnamed monks of uncertain doctrinal standing, but well connected to the court, who in those years were being tasked with the compilation of official catalogues of Buddhist texts.⁵ He was probably alluding to Liang court bibliographers such as the monks Sengmin 僧旻 (467–527) and Baochang 寶唱 (b. ca. 466 – d. after 517). The former in 508 was detached by imperial order to the Dinglin si, Sengyou's monastery, with a brief to prepare excerpts from the canonical scriptures and a catalogue thereof. The outcome was a voluminous collection, the now lost *Zhongjing yaochao* 眾經要抄 (Essential Excerpts from the Mass of Scriptures) in 88 scrolls; on its basis, several years later (ca. 516/517), and again at imperial behest, Baochang compiled the *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相 (Features from the Scriptures and Discipline).⁶ This vast anthology in 50 scrolls is extant, and includes a great number of excerpts as well as items that Sengyou reports as missing in the *Chu sanzang ji ji*. The significance of this circumstance will appear from the following points.

⁴ On the Liang Buddhist library at the Hualin yuan see *Sui shu*, 32.907; *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, 1.421c21–26. On the Dinglin si as Sengyou's monastery see *Gaoseng zhuan*, 11.402c8, 13.412c11. He was also associated with the Jianchu si 建初寺, according to tradition the oldest monastery in Jiankang, in view of the fact that he had entered religious life as a novice there (*ibid.* 11.402c5). On Sengyou's initial compilation of his catalogue see *Liang shu*, 50.710.

⁵ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 4.21c7–9.

⁶ See Baochang's preface to the *Jinglü yixiang*, in T vol. 53 no. 2121, p. 1a15–26, which acknowledges its antecedent. On the *Zhongjing yaochao* see *Lidai sanbao ji*, 1.44a23, 11.99a23–27; *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, 1.426c7–9. Cf. also *Lidai sanbao ji*, 11.94b14–17, where the two works are confused as a single one.

2. A large number of items in Sengyou's list indeed consist of translation excerpts (*chao* 抄), as the monk himself points out in the preface. Sengyou was extremely critical of the practice – which was customary in court circles, such as the salon of Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), prince of Jingling 竟陵, that he had frequented between 484 and 492 – to cut sections and chapters from complete translations of sūtras in order to make them into short, separate books.⁷ It is very unlikely that the library of his monastery would make such wide room for texts lacking canonical legitimacy, if not as a result of some form of imperial interference.
3. A note at the end of the first part of the list of anonymous translations, including 846 titles, explains that all these books had been obtained for the 'new collection' (*xinji* 新集), that their texts were currently available, and that all of them were present in the repository of scriptures (新集所得, 今並有其本, 悉在經藏); it is not immediately clear which specific 'repository of scriptures' 經藏 is meant here, but the author's monastic library seems the most obvious candidate. The note continues by saying that the following part of the list includes books that were missing, and that Sengyou had not seen (條新撰目錄闕經, 未見經文者如左).⁸ At the end of the second part of the list, Sengyou indeed explains that it is based on the examination of various catalogues, but that he had not seen these texts, which were presently lacking (詳校群錄, 名數已定, 並未見其本, 今闕此經). A final note points out that of the 1,306 books listed in it, the first 846 "had already been copied" 已寫, and "were in the repository" 在藏,

⁷ See Sengyou's remarks in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 5.37c1–7. On the monk's connection to the prince of Jingling see Link 1960: 23 and note 36.

⁸ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 4.32a1–3.

whereas the latter 460 titles “had not been copied yet” 未寫, and were currently lacking 今闕.⁹ The only interpretation that I can give to these remarks is that the 1,306 titles in this section were available in their entirety at some other library, and that a process of acquisition was ongoing, whereby a great number of texts had already been procured for Sengyou’s library, but several hundred were still missing. Something related to the political and ideological climate must have prompted Sengyou to make an inventory of texts of sometimes dubious canonical status (mostly excerpts) that were originally held elsewhere.

4. That these anonymous texts were indeed at the palace library is indicated by the fact that a great many of the books listed in this section are quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* (ca. 517), which was based on that library; this imperial anthology crucially quotes also some of those texts that Sengyou reports as ‘lacking’ or even as apocryphal.¹⁰ The upshot is that after 508 there must have been a process of cross-acquisition between the two libraries, in which the imperial Buddhist collection was expanded with excerpts made at Sengyou’s monastery; the latter, however, probably had to update its collection in turn on the basis of the newly enlarged imperial holdings and attendant catalogues.

From the above digression, we may infer that an exemplar of the *Fenbie gongde lun* (with *jing* 經 as the last character in the title) was held at the palace library in Jiankang towards 515, and a copy of it was made for Sengyou’s monastic library. This is further confirmed by the fact that the *Jinglü yixiang* includes

⁹ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 4.37b13–16.

¹⁰ See e.g. *Jinglü yixiang*, 15.81b10–82a20, 30.159b15–c21, 5.19c5–15; cf. respectively *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 4.33a18, 33b24, 5.38b21.

two long quotations from respectively *juan* 4 and 5 of the *Fenbie gongde jing* 分別功德經, which match the received text of T.1507 (based on the Korean edition) in exactly the same *juans*.¹¹ Sengyou must have had a very cursory look at the book, if he did at all, as he apparently could not decipher its nature; the title *Fenbie gongde jing* and the indication that Kāśyapa and Ānanda were its authors may have been provided by palace librarians.¹² However, we should notice that according to Sengyou's early record the book was also known as *Zengyi ahan jing shu* 增一阿含經疏. This alternative title, which is not repeated elsewhere, quite possibly sheds light on the origins of the work, as we shall see below.

II. The *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (A.D. 598)

The unlikely attribution of our book to the Han period seems to go back to the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, completed in 598, which in its section devoted to the Later Han 後漢 dynasty mentions the *Fenbie gongde jing* 分別功德經 as an anonymous translation in five scrolls, followed again by a note whereby “Kāśyapa and Ānanda composed [the original text]” 迦葉、阿難撰.¹³ Farther on, in a bibliographical section arranged by genre (*sūtra*, *abhidharma*, etc.), Fei Zhangfang mentions a *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 in three scrolls;¹⁴ this second entry was presumably lifted from a catalogue of those years, the *Zhong-*

¹¹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.45b10–c8, 5.50b16–27; cf. respectively *Jinglū yixiang*, 35.190c15–191a7, 45.237a19–29.

¹² As Mizuno (1989: 35) observes, this indication of authorship may stem from the prominent role that the two leading disciples of the Buddha have in the first part of the commentary.

¹³ See *Lidai sanbao ji*, 4.54b19.

¹⁴ See *Lidai sanbao ji*, 14.120a10.

jing mulu 眾經目錄, compiled in Chang'an 長安 in 594 by the monk Fajing 法經 (d.u.) and others.¹⁵ In spite of the slightly different title and format, both entries must have referred to one and the same text: the Taishō apparatus shows that the *Fenbie gongde lun* has been handed down in both 5-juan (Korean) and 3-juan (Song 宋 / Sixi 思溪, Yuan 元 / Puning 普寧, Ming 明 / Jingshan 徑山, Kunaichō 宮内庁) editions, whose contents are nevertheless identical.¹⁶

Fei may have had some flimsy reason for his otherwise unfounded ascription of the *Fenbie gongde lun* to an anonymous Han author, for at one point the commentary explains “what in the language of Han is called *chou* 籌 (stick)” 漢言曰籌 as what in India is called *sheluo* 舍羅 (Skt. *śalākā*, the counting rod);¹⁷ of course, reference to Chinese as “the language of Han” by no means implies a Han date.

III. The *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (A.D. 730)

The first Buddhist bibliographer who seems to have had a relatively correct understanding of our text is the monk Zhisheng 智昇 (fl. 730–740) in his *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 of A.D. 730. Although he conventionally kept the established label of the book as an anonymous Han translation, and was aware of a further attribution to Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (a.k.a. Dharmarakṣa, 229–306) in the now lost catalogue of the monk Fashang 法上

¹⁵ See T vol. 55 no. 2146, 5.142c5.

¹⁶ On these different printed editions of the canon see the thorough discussion in Zacchetti 2005: 101–102, 110–117. On the 3-scroll *Fenbie gongde lun* in the Kunaichō edition (宮 in the Taishō apparatus), which is based on the blockprint of the Kaiyuan si in Fuzhou 福州 in 1135 (Shaoxing 5), see Kunaichō zushoryō 1931 (appendix): 80b–81a.

¹⁷ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.43a13–14.

(495–580), Zhisheng observed in a note that the *Fenbie gongde lun* was in fact a commentary to the first four chapters of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, including quotations from it that would agree with the translation of this scripture in his possession. He therefore remarked, “it seems that [the *Fenbie gongde lun*] and the *Zengyi ahan [jing]* have been translated by the same person” 似與增壹阿含同一人譯.¹⁸ Since Zhisheng would ascribe the translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing* known to him, which was already in 51 scrolls as in the received text, to Gautama Saṃghadeva in 397,¹⁹ he was indirectly suggesting that this monk had also authored the *Fenbie gongde lun* some time after the last mentioned date. Zhisheng also pointed out that the text mentions, among other things, the Sarvāstivāda school (Sapoduo jia 薩婆多家), and accordingly cannot be the work of Kāśyapa and Ānanda.²⁰

¹⁸ *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, 13.621b20–24. On Fashang see *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, 8.485a1–c29.

¹⁹ See *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, 3.505a4, 19.715a11–13.

²⁰ Zhisheng’s observations on the *Fenbie gongde lun* were later repeated verbatim by the Korean monk Sugi 守其 (fl. 1247–1251), the chief compiler of the second Koryŏ canon, in his editorial notes entitled *Koryŏguk sinjo taejang kyojŏng pyŏllok* 高麗國新雕大藏校正別錄 (Separate record of collations to the new carving of the Great Repository [of Scriptures] of the Koryŏ kingdom). The book is in *Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* 高麗大藏經 (Seoul: Dong-Kook University, 1957–), vol. 38, pp. 512–725 (K.1402); the entry on the *Fenbie gongde lun* is in *kwŏn* 卷 27, p. 701b17–c5. Sugi’s note is also appended to the Korean edition of the *Fenbie gongde lun*, see T.1507 p. 52c15–24. On Sugi’s collation notes see Buswell 2004, especially pp. 147, 170 on the *Fenbie gongde lun*; Buswell, however, incorrectly credits Sugi with the authorship of the record, which the Korean monk was in fact merely copying from the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*.

CHAPTER FOUR

Modern scholars

Modern scholarship has not failed to take notice of the *Fenbie gongde lun*, notably in connection to the commentary's narratives on the First Council and the compilation of the *āgama* literature.¹ However, only cursory assessments have been given of the book's nature and date or of its relationship to the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. I summarise below the handful of more specific treatments of which I am aware.

I. Jean Przyluski

One of the first modern scholars to pay more than passing attention to the *Fenbie gongde lun* was Jean Przyluski (1885–1944), who produced annotated translations into French of large excerpts from the book as part of his studies on the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya, on the funeral of the Buddha, on the legend of king Aśoka and on the Council of Rājagṛha.² Przyluski did not attempt any detailed investigation of the text, simply characterising it as a partial commentary on the first chapters of the

¹ See, for example, the numerous references to the *Fenbie gongde lun* in the indexes of Akanuma 1939/1981: (20), s.v. 分別功德論 / 分別功德經, and Lamotte 1958: 813, s.v. “*Fen-pie-kong-tō-louen*”. Especially Lamotte in his *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* draws repeatedly on this commentary, which he considered a Han translation, and on a variety of topics ranging from the Buddhist sects to the legend of Aśoka.

² See Przyluski 1914: 559–562; 1918: 403; 1923: 215–222, 1926: 115–116, 116–120, 120–121, respectively translating *Fenbie gongde lun*, 5.51c2–52a4, 1.32b2–5, 3.39a28–40b19, 4.40c21–41a5, 1.31c27–32b13, 2.34b12–23.

“*Ekottara-āgama*”, and accepting it as a Later Han translation. On one occasion, however, he observed that the mention, in the *Fenbie gongde lun*, of a Bodhisattvapiṭaka as part of the canon recited at the First Council, “prouve que notre texte a été sinon rédigé, au moins remanié par les adeptes d’une secte mahâyâniste”.³

II. Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨

An important preliminary discussion of the *Fenbie gongde lun* appeared as an entry in Mochizuki Shinkō’s 望月信亨 (1869–1948) monumental dictionary of Buddhism, first published in 1933.⁴ Mochizuki initially defines the *Fenbie gongde lun* as an “Indian treatise of the Small Vehicle” 印度小乘論部, and reconstructs its title as Skt. *punya-vibhaṅga*. He notes that the book, in five scrolls and attributed to an anonymous translator of the Later Han, comments on the text of the first four chapters (*pin* 品) of the *Zengyi ahan jing*.

In particular, within the 59 *gāthās* of the Preface (*Xu pin* 序品) in the Chinese translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, *juan* 1 starts from the fourth stanza (迦葉思惟正法本) and goes on until the thirty-ninth stanza (集此諸法為一分); *juan* 2 covers the remaining part of the Preface and the second chapter (*Shinian pin* 十念品); *juan* 3 comments on the third chapter (*Guangyan pin* 廣演品); *juan* 4 discusses the one hundred foremost disciples of the Buddha in the fourth chapter (*Dizi pin* 弟子品),

³ See Przyluski 1926: 114.

⁴ I shall refer, however, to the third revised edition of 1960, s.v. “*Funbetsu kudoku ron* 分別功德論”, in vol. 5, pp. 4500c–4501a. The entry bears no indication of its author, and it is unclear whether it should be ascribed to Mochizuki himself or to one of his assistants (a likely candidate would have been Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆). Here I shall conventionally refer to Mochizuki as the author.

starting from disciple no. 1 (Julin biqu 拘隣比丘, Skt. Kauṇḍinya *bhikṣu*)⁵ up to no. 45 (Pojjali biqu 婆迦利比丘, Skt. Valkalin *bhikṣu*); finally, *juan* 5 goes from disciple no. 46 (Nantuo biqu 難陀比丘, Skt. Nanda *bhikṣu*) to no. 71⁶ (Shiwang biqu 釋王比丘, Skt. Śākyarāja⁷ *bhikṣu*). However, two disciples are omitted, viz. no. 10 (Xiang Jiaye 象迦葉, Skt. Gayā-Kāśyapa) and no. 15 (Da Jiaye 大迦葉, Great/Mahā-Kāśyapa). Moreover, in certain places the sequence of the disciples is not consistent with the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing*. Mochizuki gives a full Japanese translation of the note on the *Fenbie gongde lun* in the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, and like Zhisheng he points out the mentions of the Sarvāstivāda and of the ‘foreign master(s)’ (外國師); moreover, he highlights the presence of numerous Mahāyānist references in the commentary, notably to the Six Perfections and to the Bodhisattvapiṭaka, the distinction between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna precepts, the ten stages of the Bodhisattva, and so on. On the basis of such evidence it can be inferred that the commentary was written by a Mahāyānist exegete, possibly belonging to the Mahāsāṃghika school.⁸

⁵ Sanskrit reconstructions of the names of the disciples are mine; the sources on which they are based are indicated in the Appendix.

⁶ Actually no. 62 of the list in T.125.

⁷ An epithet of the monk Bhadrīka (Pāli Bhaddiya), the scion of a family of Śākyan rājas of Kapilavastu and accordingly the foremost amongst the disciples of noble birth (*uccākulikānaṃ*, AN 1.14 at AN I 23; cf. the *Zengyi ahan jing*: 豪族富貴, 天性柔和, 所謂釋王比丘是, at T 125, 2.558a20–21). The epithet is attested in the story of Bhadrīka (no. 89) in the *Avadānaśataka*, ed. Speyer, vol. II, p. 115,2; cf. *Zhuanji baiyuan jing* (T.200), 9.249b8; also in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapaṅkti* of Kumāralāta, see Lüders 1926: 162 (fol. 147 R 1).

⁸ The attribution of the *Fenbie gongde lun* to the Mahāsāṃghikas was not new in Japan, as it had already been proposed in the Tokugawa period – on rather flimsy ground – by the scholar-monk Kiben 基辨 (1718–1792) in

Finally, Mochizuki observes that the translation of the *Fenbie gongde lun* cannot date from the Later Han period, but must be from the Eastern Jin or later; perhaps, as the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* says, it is related to Gautama Saṃghadeva's translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing*.

III. Mori Sodō 森 祖道

A brief study of the *Fenbie gongde lun* was published by Mori Sodō 森 祖道 in 1970.⁹

After a survey of the Buddhist catalogues, Mori rejects the attribution of the translation of the commentary to the Later Han period, and concludes that it was produced instead after that of the *Zengyi ahan jing* in 384–385 – perhaps by the same translator, as suggested in the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* – and after Dao'an's death in the latter year.¹⁰ Nevertheless, he does accept the book as a rendering from an Indic original, for which the hypothetical title **Vibhaṅga-guṇa-śāstra* is proposed, possibly composed in northern India during the reign of Kaniṣka or after. The commentary seems in fact knowledgeable of the distinction between the orthodox Sarvāstivāda (*Sapoduo jia* 薩婆多家) of Kashmir and the masters of the same school from other countries (*waiguo shi* 外國師).¹¹ On the other hand, Mori notes that some glosses in the text, like the one mentioned above on the *śalākā* (counting rod), and including comments that betray a

his *Daijō hōon girin jō shishi ku shō* 大乘法苑義林章師子吼鈔 (1776); see T vol. 71 no. 2323, 11.672a2–3, 673c24–28.

⁹ Mori 1970.

¹⁰ See Mori 1970: 33–34.

¹¹ See Mori 1970: 35–36. Mori here elliptically refers to the *Mahā-vibhāṣā*, where such a distinction occurs repeatedly, presumably accepting the tradition that assigns this great Sarvāstivāda treatise to the age of the Kuṣāṇa emperor.

Mahāyānist stance, seem to reflect a Chinese writer's perspective; he regards such notes as later interpolations, and leaves the problem of the translator undecided.¹²

IV. Mizuno Kōgen 水野弘元

Mizuno Kōgen 水野弘元 (1901–2006), who devoted a significant part of his remarkably long and wide-ranging scholarly life to the study of the Chinese *āgamas*, should also be credited with a focused discussion of the *Fenbie gongde lun*.¹³ Building on Zhisheng's indication, Mizuno observes that the commentary is thoroughly consistent with, and therefore seemingly based upon, the present *Zengyi ahan jing*; he goes one step further, suggesting that the *Fenbie gongde lun* may not be a translation at all, but it may have been written (directly in China) after the translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, either by the translator himself or by someone closely related to him.¹⁴ This scholar's distinctive view of the *Zengyi ahan jing* is that its original translation by Dharmananda was a Sarvāstivāda work, portions of which now survive only in some twenty *Ekottarika-āgama* sūtras independently transmitted, and did not include the Mahāyānist elements, especially the Preface, which stand out in the received text (T.125); this is instead a revision by Saṃghadeva.¹⁵ Since the *Fenbie gongde lun* largely agrees with the received text, Mizuno evidently implies that this commentary was written some time after 398, although he cannot determine whether it was produced before or after Kumārajīva's transla-

¹² See Mori 1970: 37–38.

¹³ See Mizuno 1989: 35–39.

¹⁴ See Mizuno 1989: 36.

¹⁵ See Mizuno 1989: 4, 38–39; cf. above, pp.113–114, 131–140.

tion of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* (in 404–405).¹⁶ Mizuno also offers a relatively detailed summary of the commentary's contents, taking due note of its eye-catching Mahāyānist traits. He finally remarks against the historical dependability of the *Fenbie gongde lun*, although his arguments on this point are less than cogent.¹⁷

V. Other scholars

A few more scholarly notes on the *Fenbie gongde lun* should be mentioned in this survey.

¹⁶ See Mizuno 1989: 36–37. He does note that the text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* as quoted in the *Fenbie gongde lun* shows occasional discrepancies with T.125, notably as at one point it refers to the expression *poqiepo* 婆伽婆 for *bhagavat*, a transcription that he considers as distinctive of Dharmananda's translation. However, Mizuno suggests that the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* had left this term “by mistake” (勘違いして), evidently because he thinks that the commentary was based on Saṃghadeva's translation.

¹⁷ Mizuno observes that the commentary presents Mādhyantika and Mahendra as the disciples of Ānanda; but this seems impossible, since both monks lived in the time of Aśoka, at least one century and possibly much more after Ānanda (1989: 38). He presumably refers to the indications of the Pāli chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa*, but is ostensibly unaware of the fact that also in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya Mādhyandina (i.e. Mādhyantika) is named as a disciple of Ānanda; see *Gilgit manuscripts* (ed. N. Dutt), vol. III, part 1, p. xvii, 4–5. Why the latter source should command less authority than the Sinhalese *vāṃsas* is not clear. Mizuno (*ibid.* p. 39) also dismisses the indication in the *Fenbie gongde lun* according to which the Sarvāstivāda *Ekottarika-āgama* was in ten rather than eleven series, since it contrasts with his finding that Dharmananda's translation (which he considers as based on a Sarvāstivāda version of the *āgama*) did include the Elevens; once again this is none too solid, as it will be clearer below.

Lin Li-kouang (Lin Liguang 林藜光, 1902–1945) translated the story of the *bhikṣu* Brahmadata, which the commentary presents to illustrate the meditation on the Congregation (*nian-seng* 念佛, *saṃghānusmṛti*), and observes that this passage, which emphasises the importance of the saṃgha over the Buddha, seems to reflect the tenets of the Mahīśāsaka. This is because according to the *Samayabhedopacaracanacakra*, the famous (and no doubt overestimated) treatise on Buddhist sects attributed to one Vasumitra, the Mahīśāsaka would see the Buddha as a member of the saṃgha, and consequently held that making offerings to the latter would be more meritorious than making separate offerings to the former.¹⁸

Paul Demiéville (1894–1979) touched upon the *Fenbie gongde lun* in his study on the Council of Vaiśālī. Demiéville, who considered the *Zengyi ahan jing* as a Mahāsāṃghika work, describes our book as “un commentaire (partiel) de l’*Ekottarāgama*, lui aussi d’inspiration Mahāsāṃghika fortement mâtinée de Mahāyāna, et qui pousse très loin la casuistique disciplinaire”; he understands the title *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論, translated as “*L’analyse des mérites*” and tentatively reconstructed as Skt. **Guṇavibhaṅgopadeśa*, as referring to the main chapter covered in the commentary, no. 4 in the *Zengyi ahan jing* and corresponding to the Pāli *Etadagga* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (1.14), which in fact discusses the respective merits of the prominent disciples of the Buddha. Demiéville also draws attention to the fact that the author of the commentary expressly refers to an *Ekottarika-āgama* recension including a preface (as

¹⁸ See Lin 1949: 82–83 note 1; cf. *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.36a13–24. Lin’s argument loses weight when one considers that the emphasis on the saṃgha in this case simply depends on the fact that the passage in question focuses on *saṃghānusmṛti*.

is the case with the received *Zengyi ahan jing*, T.125), and differing from that of the Sarvāstivāda.¹⁹

Finally, a number of Chinese scholars have recently explored the *Fenbie gongde lun* on purely linguistic grounds in order to assess the approximate age of what they consider its translation. They all agree that the vocabulary of the commentary suggests a date in the 4th c. or later, thus incompatible with the tradition that assigns the work to the Later Han.²⁰

¹⁹ See Demiéville 1951b: 277 and note 1.

²⁰ See Fang – Gao 2003; Fang 2011; Wang 2012.

CHAPTER FIVE

Internal evidence on the date and authorship of the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T.1507)

I. General features and contents of the commentary

Buddhist catalogues and the assessments of modern scholars have offered a useful preliminary picture. The *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T vol. 25 no. 1507), whose title is initially attested as *Fenbie gongde jing* 經, is a commentary on the full text of the first three chapters (*pin* 品, Skt. *vargas*) and roughly two thirds of the fourth chapter of an *Ekottarika-āgama* having ostensibly the same structure and contents of the received Chinese version of this collection (*Zengyi ahan jing*, T.125). It therefore discusses the Prefatory Chapter (*Xupin* 序品, 1), including a fundamental account on the genesis of the canon at the First Council and of the *Ekottarika-āgama* itself; the second chapter on the Ten Recollections (*Shinian* 十念, 2); the third chapter, being an ‘Expansion’ (*Guangyan* 廣演, 3) on the previous one; and 62 out of the hundred foremost ‘Disciples’ of the Buddha, making the subject of chapter four (*Dizi* 弟子, 4). The date and authorship of the book are unknown; its attribution to an anonymous translator of the Eastern Han period appears to be one of the many blunders of the *Lidai sanbao ji* (or of its sources), and can be safely rejected.

An excellent summary of the *Fenbie gongde lun* was already provided by Mochizuki and was presented above (ch. 4, § II). A detailed synopsis of its contents and of the corresponding passages in T.125 is given in the Appendix at the end of this study; it will highlight the close agreement between the commentary and the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing*. The very minor differences in the list of the eminent disciples, noted in Mochizuki's entry, do not seem particularly meaningful.

Other aspects, however, deserve attention. The commentary generally refers to the sūtra by using clear indicators of quotation, chiefly the topic marker *zhe* 者 alone or in combination with such expressions as “the *gāthā* says” (*jie yun* 偈云),¹ “what is said as” (*suowei* 所謂),² “therefore [the scripture] says” (*gu yue* 故曰),³ or simply “it says” (*yun* 云).⁴ Apart from recognisable citations, in a great number of instances, terms and whole phrases occurring verbatim in T.125 are interspersed in the text of the commentary without any quotation marker.⁵ In such non-explicit references there are occasional discrepancies, which may simply depend on their periphrastic nature.⁶ However, in a couple of cases the commentary's quotations do not match the sūtra. One stanza, which judging from the context should be found in a group of ten *gāthās* that Ānanda utters towards the end of the Preface in T.125, only shares a few characters and part of the import with its presumably corresponding verse in

¹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.30c8 and *passim*.

² See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32b6 and *passim*.

³ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32b16 and *passim*.

⁴ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.33c3 and *passim*.

⁵ See e.g. *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.31c27, and cf. *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.549c24.

⁶ See e.g. *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.34a15–16 (以阿若拘鄰最長, 以須跋為最小), and cf. *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550b21 (初化拘鄰真佛子 / 最後小者名須拔).

the received text.⁷ Perhaps more significantly, in the comments on the first sūtra in the *Zengyi ahan jing* (2.1), explaining the basic opening formula of every scripture, the commentary refers to the transcription *poqiepo* 婆伽婆 for Skt. *bhagavat* / *bhagavān*, whereas T.125 consistently uses the translation *shizun* 世尊, ‘World-Honoured’, except in a single heterogeneous sūtra (50.4) towards the end of the collection. The commentary says in fact, “‘*bhagavat*’ is the epithet of the World-Honoured” (『婆伽婆』者, 世尊之稱也).⁸ Further isolated discrepancies will be discussed below.

The *Fenbie gongde lun* is written in a didactic, occasionally colloquial style, characterised by the frequent use of rhetorical questions and antitheses.⁹ The narrative matter is overwhelming and constitutes an essential part of nearly every explanation. The use of different registers of discourse as well as variant ren-

⁷ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.34c16–17 (頌云：『上者持三藏 / 其次四阿含 / 或能受律藏 / 即是如來寶』), and cf. *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.552b14–15 (阿含雖難誦 / 經義不可盡 / 戒律勿令失 / 此是如來寶).

⁸ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.35b16–17. As we have seen above (ch. 4, p. 176 note 16), Mizuno, who considers the presence of this transcription in the opening formula as a telltale mark of Dharmananda’s version, explains away its occurrence in the commentary (according to him based on Samghadeva’s translation) as the result of ‘inadvertence’ on the part of its authors. For the single instance of *poqiepo* 婆伽婆 in the received text see *Zengyi ahan jing*, 50.4, 48.806c21.

⁹ See e.g. *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.33c13–18 (或問曰 … 或曰 … 解云 … 何以明之? “someone asks … someone [else] says … the explanation is … How can we illustrate it?”, followed by a narrative example); *ibid.* 2.35c29–36a1 (或問曰 … 答 … 何以知之? “someone asks … the answer is … How do we know it?”, followed by a scriptural quotation); *ibid.* 2.36a2–4 (又曰：「若然者, 何以不 … 而 … ? 答曰 … “one further says, ‘If it is so, why not … rather than … ? The answer is …’”); *ibid.* 1.30c5–6 (難曰 … 答曰 … “an objection says … the answer is …”); see also *ibid.* 1.31b22, 2.33b14–15, 2.34a18–23, 2.34c5–8, 2.36a6–7, 4.45c24–25, 4.46a24–25.

derings of Indic concepts and terms points to a composite authorship. These and several other distinctive features of the commentary will be discussed in detail below, but one overarching ideological aspect that warrants early mention is the strongly Mahāyānist interpretation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* that dominates the entire book; Mahāyānist concepts, terms and intimations are already present in the *Zengyi ahan jing* itself, but the commentary, while generally confirming their presence in the underlying text, expands on these elements considerably.¹⁰

Two important issues need a preliminary clarification. Firstly, since the *Fenbie gongde lun* roughly covers only the first four chapters of the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*, it is unclear whether we should consider it as 1) a deliberately partial commentary, or 2) an incomplete text, the greatest part of which has been lost, or finally 3) an unfinished commentary, which for some reason was interrupted in the early stages of its writing. Secondly, as we have seen above, scholars are divided as to whether the commentary was written in India and then translated, or composed directly in China and in Chinese.

As regards the redactional nature of the commentary – partial, incomplete or unfinished – it is not altogether impossible that someone would write a commentary on just the first four *vargas* of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, since they include some of the most distinctive parts of the collection and notably its idiosyncratic ‘Preface’. Accordingly, they could arguably be taken to represent the entire *āgama*. The ‘Preface’ itself does precisely as much at one point, as it briefly outlines the contents of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, whilst making specific reference only to the

¹⁰ See the discussion in this chapter, § VI.

second, third and fourth chapters.¹¹ However, nothing in the text of the commentary suggests that this would have been its self-imposed scope; such a possibility is instead undermined by the fact that the *Fenbie gongde lun* covers only less than two thirds of the fourth chapter, as it interrupts at the sixty-second eminent disciple of the Buddha out of an announced one hundred. Therefore, at least the final portion of the comments on chapter four must have been left out.

Could the text have been handed down incompletely, then? This is again unlikely. There is no obvious sign of textual loss or corruption in any of the printed editions, nor is there any evidence that these are based on one or more defective manuscripts. As we have seen above, the received text of the *Fenbie gongde lun* was already established, with virtually identical structure and contents, at the beginning of the 6th c. in Jiankang, witness the two long quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang*. On the other hand, it should be noticed that the commentary lacks an introduction, and starts very informally by glossing a verse in the fourth stanza of the opening *gāthās* of the *Zengyi ahan jing*.¹² The entire text of the *Fenbie gongde lun* looks in fact unpolished, in no way similar to a formal treatise of exegesis, and somehow uneven in its style and terminology; as already suggested, this may indicate a plural authorship.

The most plausible hypothesis, then, is that the *Fenbie gongde lun* is an unfinished commentary, which was abandoned in its early stages of redaction without further additions or revi-

¹¹ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550b16–25.

¹² “When the initial *gāthās* say, “Kāśyapa reflected on the foundations of the Correct Law”, they mean that he reflects on [the fact that] the words and teachings of the canonical law are extremely numerous” 建初偈所說曰：「迦葉思惟正法本」者，謂思惟經法言教甚多；see *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.30a23–24; cf. the identical verse at T.125, 1.549b19.

sions. As Paul Demiéville had suggested, the title *Fenbie gongde* 分別功德 (*lun / jing*), ‘Analysing merits’, probably refers to the perceived prominence within the commentary of the section discussing the fourth chapter of the *Zengyi ahan jing* on the respective ‘merits’ and qualities of the foremost disciples of the Buddha. This title, however, does not describe the book faithfully or adequately, and it must have been assigned to it ex post facto, presumably by Chinese librarians willing to label a problematic bibliographic object; the various attempts (including Demiéville’s) to reconstruct a Sanskrit original for the title are therefore unwarranted.

This brings us to the second question: is the *Fenbie gongde lun* the translation of an Indian commentary on the *Ekottarika-āgama*, or is it rather a commentary on an already extant translation of the same, as proposed by Mizuno against previous scholarship? The strict agreement between the commentary and the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* shows unambiguously that the former was written with some version of the latter in view; while what we have learned above on the four different redactions of the collection suggests some caution before connecting the commentary to any one of them, it seems safe to establish from the outset that the *Fenbie gongde lun* was written in China, and on the basis of a redaction of the *Zengyi ahan jing*. However – and even though it betrays a partially Chinese authorship, as we are going to see – the commentary is not a ‘Chinese’ text insofar as it visibly relies on contents and explanations that can only have been provided by a foreign informant; this is evident in a number of its dogmatic positions and in its rich narrative contents, which in most cases are not attested anywhere else in the Buddhist literature in Chinese; the *Fenbie gongde lun* is a veritable gallery of *avadānas*, and has a story to

tell for each of the foremost disciples of the Buddha. Most importantly, as we are going to see, the commentary knows and reports traditions on the transmission of the *Ekottarikāgama* that cannot have originated in China.

The following sections will attempt to shed light on all these aspects.

II. The ‘foreign master/s’ (*waiguo shi* 外國師) and ‘that man’ (*qi ren* 其人)

In its discussion of the First Council, the commentary reports in passing the opinion of one or more ‘foreign master/s’ (*waiguo shi* 外國師):

外國師云迦葉所以不說法者，於四辯中無有辭辯。
又云本是辟支佛，但以神足現化。

The foreign master/s say/s that the reason why Kāśyapa did not preach the Law is because within the Four Discernments (*sibian* 四辯, Skt. *catasraḥ pratisaṃvidah*), he did not possess the Discernment of Eloquence (*ci-bian* 辭辯, Skt. *pratibhānapratisaṃvid*). [He/they] further say/s that originally (*ben* 本), Kāśyapa was a *pratyekabuddha* and would only manifest his supernatural powers (*shenzu* 神足, Skt. *ṛddhipāda*).¹³

It is unclear whether the expression *waiguo shi* 外國師 here refers to one or more specific individuals, or instead to a category or group. Farther on in the commentary, in a section discussing the textual transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the foreign masters and their disciples are mentioned as those among whom the scripture has been transmitted:

¹³ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.31b19–21. On the Four Discernments see La Vallée Poussin 1925: 89–97.

外國法師徒相傳，以口授相付，不聽載文。

The masters and disciples of the Law in the foreign countries (*waiguo fashitu* 外國法師徒), in transmitting [the *Ēkottarika-āgama*], have imparted it orally; they do not permit it to be recorded in a written text.¹⁴

Since in both of these passages mention is also made of the Sarvāstivāda (Sapoduo jia 薩婆多家), which, on the other hand, is the only Buddhist school to be expressly mentioned in the commentary, Mori Sodō 森 祖道 suggested that *waiguo shi* 外國師 in the *Fenbie gongde lun* may have the specific meaning it has in the Vibhāṣā treatises, where it refers to the *ābhidharmikas* outside Kashmir, reportedly upholding different dogmatic views from the Vaibhāṣika masters of that country.¹⁵ This suggestion has merit, and I will consider it in greater detail below. For the time being, however, it is important to understand what sort of relationship the ‘foreign master/s’ could bear to the authorship of our commentary.

In the first of the two passages discussed above, the ‘foreign master/s’ are said to hold the rather peculiar view that Kāśyapa, the leading elder at the First Council, had originally been a *pratyekabuddha*.¹⁶ This notion occurs already earlier on in the com-

¹⁴ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.34a28–29.

¹⁵ See Mori 1970: 35–36.

¹⁶ I have not been able to trace the tradition that Mahā-Kāśyapa was a *pratyekabuddha* to any canonical source. My difficulty is compounded by the obscurity of the notion itself of *pratyekabuddha*, which in early medieval China at least seems to have been initially transmitted or understood as **pratyayabuddha* and construed as referring to someone who becomes a Buddha on account of his prior conditions (Ch. *yuan* 緣, Skt. *pratyaya*) rather than by himself, hence the frequent translation as *yuanjue* 緣覺; see the discussion of a relevant passage of the *Yogācārabhūmi* of Saṃgharakṣa in Demiéville

mentary, but here the authors do not quote any other authority:

迦葉所以用滅盡定力最勝者，以迦葉本是辟支佛故也。夫辟支佛法，不說法教化，專以神足感動、三昧變現。

The reason why Kāśyapa is the foremost in employing the power of the concentration of complete extinction (*miejin ding* 滅盡定, Skt. *nirodha-samādhi*)¹⁷ is because

1951a: 425–426. It is not at all clear whether this notion of *pratyayabuddha* was a later development, notably a Mahāyānist one (see Kloppenborg 1974: 10) or rather the very original form of the concept (see Norman 1983a: 96–102). The *Fenbie gongde lun*, however, agrees with the *Yogācārabhūmi* in stressing that a distinctive trait of *pratyeka(pratyaya)buddhas* is that they do not teach others. When the commentary states that Kāśyapa “originally” (*ben* 本) was a *pratyekabuddha*, I am tempted to understand this as referring to a previous life, but the concept that a *pratyekabuddha* can be reborn as a human being defeats my limited Buddhological understanding. In a short sūtra within the *Zengyi ahan jing* (12.6, in T.125, 5.570a23–b19), the Buddha invites Kāśyapa to desist from his stern ascetic practice, and accept food and clothing from donors on account of his old age and failing health. Kāśyapa, however, holds fast to his regime, and states that if the Buddha had not achieved *anuttarā samyak-saṃbodhi*, he would have become a *pratyekabuddha*, giving himself entirely to the practice of the *āraṇyaka*. In personal communications, Jan Nattier notes that it is unclear whether the condition of *pratyekabuddha* ever was a ‘live option’, as the term may have been applied instead to those practicing towards it; Anālayo proposes that in the light of T.125, 12.6, Mahā-Kāśyapa had arguably been ‘going to become’ a *pratyekabuddha*. On the strength of both suggestions, it makes sense to assume, if tentatively, that in the tradition behind the *Ekottarika-āgama* translated in China, Mahā-Kāśyapa was known as a former practitioner toward the state of a *pratyekabuddha*, and had thus achieved his supernormal powers.

¹⁷ More than one reader of my manuscript has observed that Skt. *nirodha-samāpatti* is a more likely equivalent for Ch. *miejin ding* 滅盡定. However, the hybrid form *miejin sanmei* 滅盡三昧, which occurs both in the *Fenbie gongde lun* (2.36a22) and repeatedly in the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125,

originally he was a *pratyekabuddha*. Now, the principle (*fa* 法, *dharma*) of the *pratyekabuddha* is not to preach the Law nor to teach and convert, but to specialise in exerting influence by means of supernatural powers (*shenzu* 神足, Skt. *rddhipāda*) and the manifestations of *samādhi*.¹⁸

The authors of the commentary thus maintain a highly distinctive notion that is subsequently ascribed to the ‘foreign master/s’. This circumstance suggests that the latter informed to some extent the former, either directly or indirectly.

Further light on this connection is shed by the second passage above, where the ‘foreign masters’ are revealed as the transmitters of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This passage is part of a larger account on the tradition of this *āgama* (to be fully translated in the conclusions of this study), which is enigmatically introduced as the reported speech of a personage simply called ‘that man’ (*qi ren* 其人). The context does not offer any clue as to his identity, since no named individual is mentioned in the immediately preceding lines. The expression, then, cannot be pronominal but must be purely deictic: it must refer to someone who was in some form in the presence of the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun*, or whose information was available as contextually reported speech. There is only one other place in the commentary where the expression ‘that man’ 其人 is seemingly used in the same way. It is a passage discussing a section in the

16.629b23 and *passim*), seems to suggest an underlying *nirodha-samādhi*. The latter expression appears to be attested as a variant of *nirodha-samāpatti* in the *Avadānaśataka* (ed. Speyer, vol. II, p. 184,13 and note 9), significantly in the story of a *pratyekabuddha*; cf. Feer 1891: 417 and note 5.

¹⁸ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.30b29–c3.

Prefatory Chapter (*xupin* 序品) of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, which enumerates the six perfections of the Bodhisattva and notably describes the perfection of giving (Skt. *dāna-pāramitā*). In the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, the relevant line reads thus:

諸有勇猛施頭目 / 身體血肉無所惜 / 妻妾國財及
男女 / 此名檀度不應棄
The brave ones give their heads and eyes, bodies and
limbs, flesh and blood without regret / spouses, realm
and wealth as well as sons and daughters / this is called
the non-retrogression (Skt. *avaivartya*) of the perfection
of *dāna*.¹⁹

The *Fenbie gongde lun* comments as follows:

其人云『頭目施』者，七住已上。『財物施』者，
六住已下。從此退者，不墮生死，要至涅槃耳。
That man says that the “gift of the head and eyes” (*tou-
mu shi* 頭目施) [corresponds to] the Seventh Stage [of
the Bodhisattva path] and above, [whereas] the “gift of
wealth” (*caiwu shi* 財物施) [corresponds to] the Sixth
Stage and below. [Even] those who retrogress from this
will not fall into birth-and-death (Skt. *saṃsāra*), but will
attain *nirvāṇa*.²⁰

Here ‘that man’ steps in to tender a line of commentary over a passage of scripture. This circumstance, along with the deictic use of the expression and the fact that farther on ‘that man’ expounds with authority on the very history and transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, seemingly speaking on behalf of the ‘foreign masters’, suggests that the writing of the commentary

¹⁹ *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550a15–16.

²⁰ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32c17–19.

was attended by someone having direct knowledge of the source text. In theory, it could have been anyone. However, we only know of one person matching this profile, and that person was Dharmananda.

III. The description of the Tripiṭaka and the hierarchy of the four *āgamas*

The ‘Prefatory Chapter’ (*Xupin* 序品) of the *Zengyi ahan jing* offers an account of the compilation of the Tripiṭaka. As expected, the *Ekottarika-āgama* is given pride of place among the collections of Buddhist scriptures, and Ānanda himself is made to advocate its distinctive numerical arrangement as the best suited to preserve the Buddha’s teaching – the Treasure of the Law (*fabao* 法寶) – from the risk of oblivion. Coherently with this view, the Preface presents a sequence of the four *āgamas* that places the *Ekottarika* (增一) in the first position, followed by *Madhyama* (中), *Dīrgha* (長) and *Samyukta* (雜).²¹ The same sequence is also attested in a cluster of Buddhist texts only preserved in Chinese translation. Chief among them is the ‘Narrative’ (*Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* 撰集三藏及雜藏傳, T.2026), which above (ch. 2, §§ II.1 and III.3) we have identified as a document attached as a preface or postface to another recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, probably stemming from a Sarvāstivāda lineage different from the Vaibhāṣika of Kashmir.²² The sequence returns in two Mahāyānist works, the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (T.1509, **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, tr. in 402–406) and the *Ru dasheng lun* 入大乘論 (T.1634, **Mahāyānāvātāra-śāstra*, tr. in 427–439), and in a slightly different

²¹ *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.549c23–550a8.

²² See T.2026, p. 3a22–c4, and the discussion above, ch.1, §§ II.1 and III.3.

form (with *Samyukta* preceding *Dīrgha*) in the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya-vibhāṣā* (T.1440, *Sapoduo pini piposha* 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙), a commentary to the discipline of that school, possibly translated under the Later Qin 秦 in the early 5th c.²³

Predictably, the *Fenbie gongde lun* also proposes the same hierarchy of the four *āgamas*.

In its discussion of the Preface, the commentary fully endorses the precedence it gives to the *Ekottarika* and its ranking of the *āgamas*; in fact, it strengthens the message by ascribing this ordering also to Ānanda.²⁴ The Buddha's closest disciple is even said to have initially envisaged an arrangement in numerical progression for the entire canon, a single gigantic *Ekottarika-piṭaka* of sorts.²⁵ This plan, however, would have met with opposition and eventually deflected into the familiar tripartite division:

阿難思惟：『一，便從一、二，從二、三、四、五、六乃至十，各令事類相著。』或有說者，理不可爾，按如佛語，不可次比也。

Ānanda thought, “[There is] one, and then following one, two, and following two, three, four, five, six up to ten. Each [number] causes factors to be set forth in categories”. [But] there were some who said that the [or-

²³ See *Da zhidu lun*, 2.69c4–6; *Ru dasheng lun*, 1.36c15–16; *Sapoduo pini piposha*, 1.503c27–504a1. For a useful synopsis of the sequence of the four *āgamas* across different Buddhist texts and schools, see Mizuno 1989: 34.

²⁴ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.31c27–32b13; this section is fully translated in Przyluski 1926: 116–120.

²⁵ Here it seems apposite to quote the following remarks of a contemporary scholar apropos of the *Ekottarika-āgama*: “... given that Buddhist sutta/sūtra literature is characteristically enumerative and classificatory and is pervaded by a tendency to proliferate similar elements ... it can be seen that virtually the entire corpus of discourses attributed to the Buddha and his monks could qualify for inclusion in this nikāya/āgama” (Allon 2001: 17).

ganising] principle could not be like this, and that to follow the words of the Buddha, one could not arrange them in sequence.²⁶

After a digression on the Vinaya- and Abhidharmapiṭaka, the commentary returns on the hierarchy of the four *āgamas* laid out in the *gāthās* of the sūtra, and elaborates on the meaning and content of each of them by claiming once again to report Ānanda's thoughts. The *Ekottarika-āgama* opens the list, and is presented as follows:

以一為本，次至十，一、二、三隨事增上，故曰《增一》。

[The *Ekottarika-āgama* / *Zengyi ahan jing*] takes one as the base and progresses until ten. It increases according to the factors, one, two, three, [etc.]. Therefore it is called “[Āgama] Increasing by One (*zengyi* 增一)”.²⁷

²⁶ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a3–5. Cf. Przyluski 1926: 117 and his apt remarks *ibid.* note 1 (but the first part of his translation: “Un suit un: deux suit deux” does not make any sense). It is interesting to observe that here, and also in a passage shortly thereafter, Ānanda is made to envisage an *Ekottarika* progression in ten series rather than eleven, of the kind that the commentary itself at one point attributes to the Sarvāstivāda (see below), and indeed is described in these terms in the *Vibhāṣā* compendia: see *Piposha lun* (T.1547), 1.418b13–16; *Apitan piposha lun* (T.1546), 10.65a5–8, 25.182a17–20; *Apitamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 16.79b8–10.

²⁷ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a26–27. It is unclear whether this description betrays once again the Vaibhāṣika notion of an *Ekottarika-āgama* in ten series: the passage translated above, from the Korean edition of the *Fenbie gongde lun*, refers to a progression from one to ten, but the Song and Yuan edition and the Kunaichō edition of 1135 add ‘one’ — after ten, so as to reach eleven 次至十一. It is equally possible that the character — was dropped due to a

Next comes the *Madhyama-āgama*, briefly presented as made of middling items that are neither big nor small, neither long nor short.²⁸ The summary description of the third *āgama*, the *Dīrgha*, reveals a positive awareness of at least some of the contents of this collection, which was translated into Chinese only in 413 (T.1), some three decades after the *Ekottarika-āgama*.²⁹ Finally, the *Samyukta-āgama* is sketched as made of

scribal error in the ancestral text of the Korean edition, or that it was added in the other editions. There can be no doubt that the *Zengyi ahan jing* upon which the *Fenbie gongde lun* was commenting included eleven series, as in the received text (T.125), since it quotes and discusses the very passage in the preface of the *Zengyi ahan jing* where the latter is presented as a scripture in eleven series: see *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32b21–c2, and cf. *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550a4–7. The commentary itself reads a progressive principle in the number ‘eleven’, which it evidently upholds. One amusing anecdote tells the story of a *grhapati*, who pays homage to a stūpa, followed by his slave; the householder invokes the Buddha with his ten powers (*shili* 十力, Skt. *daśabala*), but the slave after him praises the Buddha with his *eleven* powers (十一力, *ekādaśabala*). The householder wants to correct what he sees as the slave’s mistake, but the latter replies that there can be nothing wrong in adding one more power to the Buddha. On their return they submit the matter to various *ācāryas*, who rule that the Buddha’s powers can be reckoned as three or ten or simply as numberless, but certainly are not limited to ten. A chastened *grhapati* then takes vows and frees the slave, to whom he entrusts the household; see *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.37c16–25. Nevertheless, and in the light of the previously translated passage, it is entirely possible that the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* could include in their discussion, albeit incoherently, Vaibhāṣika theses on the structure and rationale of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which they certainly knew.

²⁸ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a27–28.

²⁹ It is said to “expound things of the distant past, unbroken [narratives] from beginning to end across the *kalpas*, scriptures on original events, the Seven Buddhas, and the Seven Treasures of the Holy Monarch” (久遠事、歷劫不絕本末、源由事經、七佛、聖王七寶, see *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a28–29. In this sketch one can easily recognise such stories as those in the *Aggañña sut-*

sūtras that sever the bonds (*duanjie* 斷結), but which are hard to recite and to memorise, since the items are many and sundry, and cause people to enjoy them but also to forget them.³⁰

The outline of the contents of the four *āgamas* in the *Fenbie gongde lun* is in several places strikingly similar to the one given in the ‘Narrative’, as will appear more clearly from Table 1 below.

These parallels suggest a close connection between the commentary and the ‘Narrative’, which I am going to discuss below (§ VI). For the time being, it should be noticed that the commentary transforms the sequence of the four *āgamas* into an explicit hierarchy, with the *Ekottarika* and *Madhyama* preceding the other two in view of their orderly format, and notably the *Samyukta* being somehow dismissed as unmemorable. But then we should not fail to observe that this view happens to suit perfectly the profile of Dharmananda, the Bactrian monk who introduced the first complete *āgamas* to China: he was an *Ekottarika*- and *Madhyamabhāṇaka*, we are told.³¹ Surely his Chinese hosts will have asked him why he would give priority to just these two *āgamas*, and he may well have claimed the sanction of tradition on his specialisation.

ta / *Xiaoyuan jing* 小緣經, *Mahāpadāna sutta* / *Daben jing* 大本經, and of the *Cakkavatti Sīhanāda sutta* / *Zhuanlun shengwang xiuxing jing* 轉輪聖王修行經 of respectively the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經.

³⁰ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32b1–2. This description suggests that the authors of the commentary, or their source, knew this *āgama* as *Kṣudraka*- rather than *Samyukta-āgama*. For a translation of the entire passage outlining the four collections see Przyluski 1926: 119.

³¹ See Dao'an's preface to the *Zengyi ahan jing*: 有外國沙門曇摩難提者 孰與廣聞, 誦二阿含, 溫故日新; and Dharmananda's biography: 遍觀三藏, 闇誦《增一》、《中阿鉢》經; respectively in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64b6–8 and 13.99b12–13.

Table 1.

Āgama	T.1507	T.2026
Ekottarika 增一	一二三隨事增上，故曰增一	一一縷縷，經緯成布，以一一說，成於增一
Madhyama 中	不大不小，不長不短，事處中適，故曰中也	亦不大長，亦不至短，結義得偶，名中阿含
Dirgha 長	久遠事，歷劫不絕本末，源由事經，七佛、聖王七寶，故曰長也	并及先世，劫世流轉…七世過佛…諸寶計數，多有轉輪諸王喜聞，故名曰長
Saṃyukta [Kṣudraka] 雜	諸經斷結，難誦難憶，事多雜碎，惠令人忘，故曰雜也	此法當據，學之喜忘，欲斷諸結，是故曰雜

IV. The view of the vinaya

In the first part of the *Fenbie gongde lun*, the *Vinayapīṭaka* is introduced as follows:

毘尼者，禁律也。為二部僧說檢惡斂非，或二百五十，或五百事，引法防姦。猶王者祕藏，非外官所司，故曰內藏也。此戒律藏者亦如是，非沙彌、清信士、女所可聞見，故曰律藏也。

The vinaya (*pini* 毘尼) is the discipline of the prohibitions. It expounds for the twofold saṃgha (i.e. *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*) how to restrain evil and control misbehaviour, respectively in 250 and in 500 articles, drawing on the Law to guard against immorality. It is like the secret storehouse of the king, which cannot be managed

by the external officials, and is therefore called ‘Inner Storehouse’. The repository of the precepts and discipline is also like this. It is not something that *śrāmaṇeras* or knights and women of pure faith (*qingxin shinü* 清信士女, i.e. *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*) are allowed to hear or see. Therefore it is called ‘The Repository of Discipline’ (*lüzang* 律藏).³²

The same idea is stressed farther on in the commentary. Expounding on a stanza in the ‘Prefatory chapter’, where the Repository of Discipline is defined as the ‘Treasure of the Thus Come’ (*Rulai bao* 如來寶), the authors state:

所以云「寶」者，喻若王有寶藏，不使外人知，唯有內臣與王同心者，乃使典掌耳。戒律亦如是：若能持二百五十及與五百事者，乃授其人。不可使外部、清信士、女所可瞻翫。故喻王寶也。

The reason why [the scripture] says “Treasure”, is that it makes a comparison with the king, who, having a treasury (*baozang* 寶藏), does not let outsiders know [about it]; only the inner [circle of] ministers and those who are intimate with the king are allowed to manage it. It is likewise with the precepts and the discipline: those who are able to keep the 250 and the 500 articles, to those people they will be transmitted. It is not something that outer groups (*waibu* 外部)³³ or knights and women of pure faith are allowed to peruse. Therefore it is compared to the king’s treasure.³⁴

³² *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a11–15.

³³ Outsiders to the Buddhist religion, especially Brahmins: cf. the use of *waibu* in the shorter *Vibhāṣā* (*Piposha lun*), 1.418c13–24.

³⁴ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.34c17–21.

Finally, again the same concept is reiterated in the section of *Fenbie gongde lun* discussing the *Zengyi ahan jing* chapter on the hundred foremost disciples of the Buddha. One of them is Upāli (Youpoli 優波離), the best at keeping the precepts, to whom the Buddha entrusts in fact the *Vinayapiṭaka* along with a stern warning:

汝真能持律。以律藏付汝，勿令漏失。此藏諸藏之中最在其內，不可示沙彌及以白衣。

Truly you are able to keep the discipline. To you I entrust the Repository of Discipline (*lüzang* 律藏). Do not leak it or lose it. This is the innermost of all repositories; you are not allowed to show it to the *śrāmaṇeras* and the white-clad (i.e. laypeople).³⁵

It seems difficult to imagine the esoteric view of the vinaya that appears from these passages after Kumārajīva's translation of the Sarvāstivāda vinaya in 406, or that of the Dharmaguptaka vinaya in 410–412. Both translations were public events, involving large congregations of clerics, but also members of the court and other laypeople.³⁶

However, the notion that the rules of monastic discipline should be guarded and transmitted in close secrecy is to be found in Dao'an's preface to the *Vinaya* text that Zhu Fonian translated in 383:

天竺持律不都通視，唯諸十二法人、堅明之士，乃開緘滕而共相授。耶捨見囑見誨諄諄。人可使由之，

³⁵ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.46c19–21. Paul Demiéville (1951b: 246 note 1) already drew attention to the first and last of the above three passages.

³⁶ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 2.20a28–c5, about the circumstances of the translation of these two vinayas. The translation of the Dharmaguptaka vinaya had been expressly solicited by the Qin ruler.

不可使知之。其言切至乃自是也。而今而後，秦土有此一部律矣。唯願同我之人，尤慎所授焉。未滿五歲，非持律人，幸勿與之也。

In India, the Keepers of the Discipline (*chilū* 持律, Skt. *vinayadhara*) do not generally communicate or show [the precepts]. Only with men of the twelvefold rule,³⁷ steadfast and enlightened knights do they open the seals and mutually impart them. Yaśas³⁸ has received transmission and instruction most assiduously.³⁹ “You can make people follow it (i.e. a moral norm), you cannot make them understand it”.⁴⁰ Those words were most severe and haughty. But henceforward, the land of Qin will have this book of discipline. I only pray that men like us be especially vigilant about what has been transmitted. Before five years [of monastic seniority] are completed, and unless it is to a Keeper of the Discipline, I trust you will not give it [to anyone].⁴¹

As we have seen above, Dao'an returns on this issue, and in stronger terms, in his very preface to the *Zengyi ahan jing*. There he remarks that in the “foreign countries” (*waiguo* 外國), “*śrāmaṇeras* and the white-clad (*shami baiyi* 沙彌、白衣)”⁴² are not allowed to see discourses on discipline, even when they

³⁷ The twelve kinds of ascetic practice (Skt. *dvādaśa-dhūta-guṇā*).

³⁸ This is the vinaya master from Kashmir, who had come to Chang'an with Kumārabuddhi in 382, as we have seen above.

³⁹ An allusion to the *Book of Odes* (*Shi jing* 詩經), III.3, which Dao'an also uses in his preface to the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*; see above, ch. 1, p. 43 note 86.

⁴⁰ A quotation from the *Analects* of Confucius, VIII.9.

⁴¹ T vol. 24 no. 1464, p. 851b2–7.

⁴² The same expression occurs in the last of the three passages from the *Fenbie gongde lun* translated above.

are embedded in the sūtras. He therefore vents his outrage at the inclusion of what he saw as part of the *bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* within a freely accessible scripture translated by Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥 (fl. ca. 196–220), and finally warns his evidently selected readers to guard the secrecy of the text.⁴³

The final decades of the 4th c. witness a growing demand for complete monastic regulations among the Buddhist communities in China, especially in Chang'an.⁴⁴ It is difficult to determine what stimulated that demand, whether it was the spontaneous necessity of a presumably swelling social body (but why so suddenly, and so late?), or rather the perception that a more structured form of monasticism was taking shape out there in the Western Regions. It seems, however, that holders of this crucial knowledge were not forthcoming. When the Chinese monk Sengchun 僧純 (fl. 379–392) went to Kucha in the late 370s and attempted to procure a *prātimokṣa* text for nuns, the local head of the clergy and *āgama* expert, Fotushemi 佛圖舌彌, would not give his consent for the rules to be taken out of the country, and only after earnest supplications could the Chinese monks obtain the text of the precepts. The same document giving this information also relates that princesses and noblewomen from the kingdoms of Serindia would come to Kucha to study the precepts and receive regular ordination from Fotushemi, for they could not do as much in their countries.⁴⁵

⁴³ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64b22–c2, and my full translation above, pp. 43–44. On these documents and on Dao'an's view of the vinaya see also Ōchō 1958: 168–184.

⁴⁴ On the introduction of the first vinaya texts to China, see Ōchō 1958: 11–189; and the useful overview in Funayama 2004: 97–100.

⁴⁵ See *Biqiuni jieben suochu benmo xu* 比丘尼戒本所出本末序 (anonymous), in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 11.79c18–26; tr. Nakajima 1997: 336; cf. Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 748–750.

A resistance against the free circulation of vinaya texts also transpires from the account of the Chinese monk Faxian 法顯 (331/342–418/423), who in A.D. 399 famously set out for India from Chang'an in search of books of discipline, whose scarcity and incompleteness in China he deeply lamented. To fulfil his goal and obtain manuscripts of the vinaya, Faxian had to travel up to Pāṭaliputra in Magadha. This was reportedly because in the countries of northern India (*Bei Tianzhu zhuguo* 北天竺諸國, by which the Northwest is meant), the vinaya “would always be transmitted orally from master to master, and there was no text that one could copy” 皆師師口傳, 無本可寫; this was especially true for the Sarvāstivāda, whose vinaya was then followed by the monastic communities “in the land of Qin” (Qin di 秦地). Yet, in Pāṭaliputra Faxian could come across a written abstract (*chao* 抄) of the Sarvāstivāda vinaya in about 7,000 *gāthās* as well as an integral copy of the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya, both of which, significantly, were in the library of a Mahāyāna monastery.⁴⁶ A vinaya transmitted only verbally and between masters in the same (Sarvāstivāda) lineage, with no chance for outsiders to access it in written form, was evidently restricted, and Paul Demiéville was therefore right in seeing Faxian's testimony as matching the indications of the *Fenbie gongde lun* in this regard.⁴⁷ The same testimony, however, also shows that diverging attitudes were to be found across sectarian and geographic divides.

From an ecclesial perspective, there would have been good reasons to oppose the manuscript circulation of the vinaya. Consigning the rules to the written medium would implicitly

⁴⁶ See *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, p. 864b17–25; cf. the translations of the relevant passage in Beal 1884, vol. 1, p. lxx; Giles 1923: 64; Deeg 2005: 561.

⁴⁷ See Demiéville 1951b: 244–245 with note 1 on pp. 245–247.

undermine the verbal authority of the vinaya teacher and the protocols of obedience in the monastic community, its corporate identity as *nikāya*. It could also encourage the proliferation of irregular spin-offs staking claims to their saṃgha legitimacy out of the mere possession of the written rules (against a model of monastic franchise, as it were, where the continuation of the saṃgha and the lawful implantation of new communities would rest on the direct oral transmission from a pedigreed master).

A short eschatological text, the *Fenbie jing* 分別經 (T vol. 17 no. 738), the original of which may date from the 4th c. and have been written in Central Asia, gives an interesting illustration of these concerns as it expressly attacks at one point the manuscript transmission of the precepts, suggesting that the scripture was composed at a time when the written codification of the rules was ongoing but not yet established or generally accepted:

阿難問佛：「後若有人信樂應法，至心欲求斷世違俗以從正道，若時無明師傳教誡者，若有一人書寫戒律授與之，便可得度為道者不？」佛言阿難：「皆當得知禁法者，爾乃可授戒耳。不可以文字受，便為應法。何以故？佛為天上天下之大智，天上天下之大度，天上天下之大明。不可妄傳失旨，皆當明於戒法禁律，事事委練，乃為相授耳。不明法戒禁要之事而妄授人戒法，違佛誠信，反用為是，大罪不小也。宜以審諦。」

Ānanda asked the Buddha: "In the future, if there is someone who has faith in the Law, who enjoys [the Law], who obeys [the Law], and most heartily wishes to abandon the world and leave the lay life in order to follow the Right Path; if at that time there is no expert teacher who can impart and teach the precepts; if there is [instead] someone who writes down the discipline of the precepts and transmits it to him, in that case will

[that man] be able to be ordained as a religious (lit. ‘one of the Path’, *dao zhe* 道者)?” The Buddha said to Ānanda: “One must always be able to know the prohibitions and the Law; only then will he be allowed to transmit the precepts. One cannot transmit [the precepts] in writing and then be in accordance with the Law. Why? The Buddha is the Great Wisdom above and below heaven, the Great Salvation above and below heaven, the Great Light above and below heaven. One may not recklessly impart [the Buddha’s teachings] and lose their meaning. One must always be expert in the Law and the precepts, in the discipline of the prohibitions, and confidently practise them article by article – then he will transmit them. If one does not understand the essential articles of the Law, the precepts and the prohibitions, and yet recklessly transmits the precepts and the Law to other people, he will violate the Buddha and the sincere faith [one has in Him]. Doing this on the contrary is a major offence, not a small one. One should seriously consider it”.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ *Fenbie jing*, p. 541c28–542a8. A *Fenbie jing* in one scroll, thus consistent with the title and size of T.738, is mentioned for the first time in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (4.28b13), within a lengthy list of anonymous translations that, as explained above (ch. 3, § I), is probably based on the holdings at the Buddhist library of the Liang imperial household in the early 6th c. (including scriptures that, of course, could be of considerably earlier date). The next catalogue to mention the *Fenbie jing* is the *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 of A.D. 594, which significantly places the title in a list of fifty-three apocryphal (*weiwang* 偽妄) scriptures, notably in a sub-group of eight texts “produced by Xiao Ziliang” 蕭子良所造 (T.2146, 4.139a4, 7–12). This verdict, however, was reversed only four years later by the *Lidai sanbao ji* (6.64a28), which includes the *Fenbie jing* among the translations of Zhu Fahu 竺法護

(a.k.a. Dharmarakṣa, 229-306), an attribution that would obtain afterwards and reach the printed editions of the canon. Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460-494), prince of Jingling 竟陵, was a member of the imperial clan of the (Southern) Qi 齊 dynasty; from the mid-480s and until his death, his villa on the outskirts of Jiankang was a favoured salon for literati and eminent Buddhist monks. Sengyou, who had been himself part of that coterie, remembers that the prince would indulge in the reprehensible practice of creating Buddhist scriptures in the form of artificial excerpts (*chao* 抄) from longer canonical texts (see *Chu sanzang jī jī*, 5.37c1-7), and it is possible in principle that the *Fenbie jīng* could be one such excerpt. However, it is unlikely that the text could be a wholesale concoction of the prince, as nothing of the largely Mahāyānist outlook that prevailed in the court Buddhism of southern China at the end of the 5th c. finds room in it. Its language, including the opening formula *wen rushi* 聞如是 and the transcription *bannihuan* 般泥洹 for *parinirvāṇa*, is consistent with translations produced before the late 4th c. The *Fenbie jīng*, laid out as a dialogue between the Buddha and Ānanda, vehemently denounces the degeneration of the Buddhist clergy and the rise of Māra towards the end of the millennium after the Buddha's nirvāṇa. One remarkable feature is the fact that China (Zhendan 真丹, Skt. Cīnasthāna) is singled out as the country where this age of dissolution will reach its nadir (p. 542b24-26); however, the text shows no obvious evidence of Chinese indigenous beliefs. The references to China may reflect either the translator's interference or a Central Asian perspective, expressing concern toward the growth of perceivedly deviant varieties of Buddhism in the great neighbour. A noteworthy expression in the sūtra is *wu mo zhi shi* 五末之世, 'age of the five ends', which may be a variant of the phrase *wu ni'e shi* 五逆惡世, 'age of the five abominations', occurring farther on in the text (see *Fenbie jīng*, p. 542b20, 25), or perhaps refer to the 'five corruptions' (*pañca-kaṣāya*) marking the decay of the world, on which see Chappell 1980: 139-142. Elsewhere I have only found *wu mo zhi shi* 五末之世 in a eulogy for a statue of the Buddha Amitāyus (Amitābha), written by the monk Zhi Dun 支遁 (a.k.a. Zhi Daolin 支道林, 314-366); see *Guang hongming jī*, 15.196c9-10. A cryptic hint by the same monk in another document suggests that he was aware of some eschatological narrative, which may or may not have been that of the *Fenbie jīng*, setting the end of the Buddhist millennium in China: see *Guang hongming jī*, 15.196a26-29.

The precepts, so the text seems to argue, can only be handled by those who fully master them; writing them down would open the gates of unrestrained circulation among the uninitiated and unworthy. But such a concern, which was already challenged in China by ever more demanding monastic audiences, was finally and blatantly disavowed in 405, when the foreign monk Dhar-maruci came to Chang'an bringing along a manuscript of the entire Sarvāstivāda vinaya; he then enabled Kumārajīva to complete the translation of the daunting code, which had been abandoned in midstream due to the sudden demise of *Puṇyatāra (Furuoduoluo 弗若多羅), the Kashmiri master in the Sarvāstivāda lineage who had started its oral transmission.⁴⁹ Nine years later Faxian would return from his long Indian expedition, bringing to China manuscripts of the Mahāsāṃghika and Mahīśāsaka vinayas, which he had procured respectively in Pāṭali-putra and in Ceylon. A new era had started, in which the precepts could not only be circulated, but also commented upon in written form, and even made the object of public lectures.⁵⁰

The *Fenbie gongde lun* evidently belongs to a stage that was as yet unaccustomed to such novelties. We must look for its authorship in the period before Kumārajīva, and notably register the fact that Dao'an, in two documents written in 383 and in 385, professes the very same view of the vinaya that the commentary repeatedly upholds.

⁴⁹ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 2.20b3–11; cf. Demiéville 1951b: 243–244.

⁵⁰ On these developments, see Funayama 2004: 100–115.

V. The authors' notion of the origin of the Abhidharma and the identification of Kātyāyanīputra with Mahā-Kātyāyana

According to the Prefatory Chapter (*Xupin* 序品) of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, a Tripiṭaka (*sanzang* 三藏) inclusive of an Abhidharmapiṭaka was recited at the First Council, shortly after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. This notion is attested in a number of canonical sources from different sectarian traditions, although it appears more frequently in texts related to the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda; the contents of the Abhidharmapiṭaka appear to have been conceived in different terms in almost every individual account.⁵¹ The *Fenbie gongde lun* generally supports the narrative on the compilation of the Tripiṭaka in the scripture, but while in the *Zengyi ahan jing* Ānanda alone is credited with the production of the threefold canon, the commentary assigns the production of the Abhidharmapiṭaka to someone else:

阿毘曇者，大法也。所以言大者，四諦大慧，諸法牙旗，斷諸邪見、無明洪癡，故曰大法也。亦名無比法。八智十慧，無漏正見，越三界閼，無與等者，故曰無比法也。迦旃延子撰集眾經，抄撮要慧，呈佛印可，故名大法藏也。

'Abhidharma' [means] 'Great Law' (*da fa* 大法). The reason why it is called 'great', [is that by] the great wisdom of the Four [Noble] Truths and the insignia (*yaqi* 牙旗) of the principles (*zhufa* 諸法, the *dharma*s) it severs all perverse views and the vast foolishness of ignorance; therefore it is called the 'Great Law'. It is also called the 'Incomparable Law' (*wubi fa* 無比法). [By] the eight kinds of cognition, the ten kinds of wisdom, and the untainted (Skt. *anāsrava*) right view, it over-

⁵¹ See Lamotte 1958: 198; Willemen – Dessein – Cox 1998: 2 and note 8.

comes the hindrances of the Three Realms (*sanjie* 三界) and is without comparison; therefore it is called the ‘Incomparable Law’. The son of Kātyāyan[ī] (Jiazhanyan zi 迦旃延子, Kātyāyanīputra) compiled and collected the mass of canonical texts, excerpted [from them] the essential wisdom, and presented it to the Buddha, who gave his seal of approval. Therefore [the Abhidharma-*mapiṭaka*] is called the ‘Repository of the Great Law’.⁵²

From this passage, it appears that although Ānanda may have devised the Tripiṭaka and recited the *sūtras*, the Abhidharma-*piṭaka* in particular was the achievement of Kātyāyanīputra, a personage best known for his authorship of the Sarvāstivāda *Jñānaprasthāna*, and who, according to traditions attested since the 5th c., would have lived a considerable time after the Buddha.⁵³ This, however, was not the opinion of the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun*: another passage in the section of the commentary dealing with the eminent disciples of the Buddha makes it clear beyond doubt that Kātyāyanīputra was identified with one of them, Māhā-Kātyāyana:

迦旃延所以稱『善分別義』者，欲撰法，心中惟曰：「人間憤鬧，精思不專。」故隱地中七日，撰集大法，已訖呈佛，稱曰：「善哉。」聖所印可，以為一藏。此義微妙，降伏外道，故稱第一。

The reason why Kātyāyana is praised as the one ‘skilled at distinguishing meanings’ (*shan fenbie yi* 善分別義) is that when he was about to compile the Law, he thought in his mind, “there is utter confusion in the world, one cannot concentrate on his deepest thoughts [there]”.

⁵² *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a15–20.

⁵³ See the discussion below in this section.

Therefore he secluded himself underground for seven days, and compiled and collected the ‘Great Law’. Once he had finished, he presented [his work] to the Buddha, who praised it and said: “Excellent!” And having been approved with the seal of the Sage, it was made into one Repository. These meanings are subtle and wondrous, and can defeat the outer doctrines. Therefore [Kātyāyana] was praised as the first [in distinguishing meanings].⁵⁴

In chapter 4, ‘The Disciples’ (*Dizi pin* 弟子品) of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, the full line here commented upon reads as follows:

善分別義，敷演道教，所謂大迦旃延比丘是。

He, who is said to be skilled at distinguishing meanings, and expounding the teaching of the path, is Great Kātyāyana *bhikṣu*.⁵⁵

This description of Māhā-Kātyāyana matches rather well its counterpart in the Pāli *Etadagga* (*saṅkhittena bhāsitaṃ vitthārena atthaṃ vibhajantānaṃ yadidaṃ Mahā-Kaccāno*);⁵⁶ modern scholars have understood it as saying that Mahā-Kaccāna was the best at expanding upon the pithy utterances of the Buddha in order to explain them,⁵⁷ but the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* singled out the *Ekottarika-āgama*’s praise of Kātyāyana’s analytical skills, his ability to ‘distinguish meanings’ (Ch. *fenbie yi* 分別義, which is arguably an exact equivalent of *atthaṃ vibhajati* in Pāli). It is interesting to observe that such a

⁵⁴ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.42c21–24.

⁵⁵ *Zengyi ahan jing*, 3.557b14–15.

⁵⁶ AN 1.14 at AN I 23.

⁵⁷ See e.g. Woodward: “[chief among those] who are expounders in full of brief sayings” (1932: 17); Lamotte: “le premier de ceux qui expliquent au long le sens des brefs aphorismes du Buddha” (1944: 109 note 2).

characterisation of Kātyāyana is paralleled in the Pāli *Dīpavaṃsa*, which was compiled in Ceylon around the same time when the *Ekottarika-āgama* was making its way to China.⁵⁸ The Sinhalese chronicle presents at one point a sort of abstract from the *Etadagga* featuring only nine among the foremost disciples of the Buddha and their respective points of excellence; Kaccāna (Kātyāyana) is included in the list simply for being the first “in establishing distinctions” (*vibhajjanamhi Kaccāno*).⁵⁹

Outside the *Fenbie gongde lun*, the notion that Kātyāyana was responsible for the compilation of the Abhidharmapiṭaka is to be found in the first place in the ‘Narrative’ (T.2026):

迦梅造竟 / 持用呈佛 / 佛言上法 / 當名上法 /
於中破癡 / 益於世間 / 此眾經明 / 故名大法 /
總持外道 / 斷於貢高 / 眾法牙旗 / 是名大法。

When Kātyāyana had finished his work, he held it and presented it to the Buddha. The Buddha said, “It is the Law supreme, and it should be called ‘Law Supreme’ (*shangfa* 上法)”. It destroys foolishness from within, beneficial to the world, the light of this mass of scriptures, thus it is called ‘Great Law’ (*da fa* 大法). It restrains the heretics and sunders their pride, the insignia (*yaqi* 牙旗) of the mass of principles (*dharmas*), thus it is named ‘Great Law’.⁶⁰

This passage is indeed so close to the *Fenbie gongde lun* even in wording that it seems difficult, once again, to escape the impression of a direct connection between the two works.

⁵⁸ “[N]ot long after 350 AD” according to Oskar von Hinüber (1996: 89), although a somewhat later date is by no means impossible.

⁵⁹ *Dīpavaṃsa* 5.9 in Oldenberg 1879: 34.

⁶⁰ See T.2026, p. 3c12–16; cf. tr. Przyluski 1926: 108.

From texts to the historical world, a further echo of the same description of Kātyāyana appears in two documents of Dao'an. In his preface to the translation of the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi, probably written in November 383, the monk states:

阿難所出十二部經，於九十日中佛意三昧之所傳也。其後別其選，至小乘法，為四阿含。阿難之功於斯而已。迦梅延子撮其要行，引經訓釋，為阿毘曇四十四品。要約婉顯，外國重之。優波離裁之所由，為毘尼，與阿毘曇、四阿含並為三藏。身毒甚珍，未墜於地也。

The 12 sections of canonical texts that Ānanda produced, were transmitted in the samādhi of the mindfulness of the Buddha in 90 days. Afterwards he made distinctions among those canonical texts within the Law of the Small Vehicle, and made the Four Āgamas. Ānanda's achievement stopped at this. Kātyāyanīputra (Jiazhan-yan zi 迦梅延子, lit. 'the son of Kātyāyan[ī]') excerpted their essential lines (*yaohang* 要行), and by quoting the canonical texts, glossing and explaining, he made the 44 chapters of the Abhidharma. It is terse and elegant, and in the foreign countries they hold it in great esteem. Upāli selected their causes and made the Vinaya, which together with the Abhidharma and the Four Āgamas constitutes the Three Repositories (Tripiṭaka). In India they are highly venerated, and "have not yet fallen to the ground" (*wei zhui yu di* 未墜於地也).⁶¹

Again, in his preface to the translation of the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*, completed in January 384 or shortly thereafter, Dao'an adds:

⁶¹ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.73b15–20. The phrase in inverted commas at the end of this passage is a quotation from the Confucian *Analects*; see below, § XI.3.

阿毘曇者，秦言大法也。… 佛般涅槃後，迦旃延（義第一也）以十二部經浩博難究，撰其大法為一部，八捷度四十四品也。

‘Abhidharma’ in the language of Qin (i.e. in Chinese) [means] ‘Great Law’. ... After the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, Kātyāyana (original note: the first at [analysing] meanings 義第一也), considering that the 12 sections of canonical texts were overly extensive and difficult to exhaust, compiled his ‘Great Law’ as a book in eight *skandhas* and 44 chapters.⁶²

As it can be seen, there is one difference of some significance with the position expressed in the *Fenbie gongde lun* and in the ‘Narrative’, in that the latter two works claim that Kātyāyana / Kātyāyanīputra composed the Abhidharma whilst the Buddha was still in the world, whereas according to Dao’an this happened soon after the *parinirvāṇa*. It is nevertheless abundantly clear that Dao’an, presumably reporting what he had heard from his foreign informants, identified the Buddha’s disciple (Māhā-)Kātyāyana, to whom he would also refer as Kātyāyanīputra, as the author of the Abhidharma treatise which we know as *Jñānaprasthāna* or **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*, but which he would simply call ‘Abhidharma’ or ‘Great Law’, further equating this treatise with the Abhidharma section of the Tripiṭaka.⁶³

This view, however, had already been discarded by the time Kumārajīva translated the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (A.D. 402–

⁶² *Chu sanzang jiji*, 10.72a10–17.

⁶³ This scenario is confirmed by the fact that in the ‘Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa’ (*Sengqieluocha jing* 僧伽羅剎經), translated by Dao’an’s team in the latter half of A.D. 384, ‘Kātyāyanīputra’ (Jiazhanyanzi 迦旃延子) is named as one of the Buddha’s eminent disciples; see T.194, 2.133b3–4. See also the comments in Chou 2000: 24–27.

406). In this work, a clear distinction is made between the Buddha's disciple Māhā-Kātyāyana (*Mohe Jiazhangyan* 摩訶迦旃延) and the *ābhidharmika* monk from the Brahmin clan Kātyāyana (*xing Jiazhangyan poluomen daoren* 姓迦旃延婆羅門道人), neither of whom is credited with the compilation of the Abhidharma-śāstra, which was instead Ānanda's achievement. The latter Kātyāyana is presented as a personage living at an indefinite time after Aśoka, therefore long removed from the age of the Buddha, and as the author of the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaśāstra* (*Fazhi jing ba qiandu* 發智經八千度), a treatise based on exhaustive reading of the Tripiṭaka, on which the *Vibhāṣā* (*Piposha* 鞞婆娑) exegesis would have been produced in turn at a later stage; this personage is evidently identical to the Kātyāyanīputra of the Sarvāstivāda Vaibhāṣika tradition.⁶⁴

Māhā-Kātyāyana, instead, is said to have composed a work simply called **Piṭaka* (*Pile* 毘 [毘] 勒) to explain the words of the Buddha when the Lord was still in the world, a work that the author or translator of the *Da zhidu lun* presents as “circulating up to the present time in Southern India” (至今行於南天竺).⁶⁵ Étienne Lamotte linked this indication to the (very late)

⁶⁴ See *Da zhidu lun*, 2.70a10–14; tr. Lamotte 1944: 109–110.

⁶⁵ See *Da zhidu lun*, 2.70a20–22; tr. Lamotte 1944: 113. It is interesting to observe that the passage discussing Kātyāyanīputra and Māhā-Kātyāyana occurs immediately after a section on the genesis of the Abhidharma-śāstra, the collection of which is entirely credited to Ānanda (*Da zhidu lun*, 2.69c15–70a5; tr. Lamotte 1944: 105–106); a question then follows concerning the origins of the *Jñānaprasthāna-Aṣṭaśāstra* and of the ‘Abhidharma in Six Parts’ (Skt. *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma*), in other words of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, and it is here that ‘a Brahmin monk of the Kātyāyana clan’, living after Aśoka, is mentioned as the author of the former work. Whether the section was in the original text of the *Da zhidu lun* or it was added in China by its translators and editors, its position in the work suggests that it was meant to address the very notion that Kātyāyanīputra

Theravāda tradition crediting Kaccāna (Kātyāyana) with the authorship of the *Peṭakopadesa*, a relatively early work of exegesis in Pāli that the Burmese Theravādins regard as canonical on the understanding that this Kaccāna is the Buddha's disciple.⁶⁶ However, the aura of antiquity surrounding anything written in Pāli is no sufficient reason to assume that this tradition is older or more 'historical' than that of the 'Narrative' and of the *Fenbie gongde lun*. In the wake of the work of Stefano Zacchetti and Stefan Baums, it is now emerging that the *Peṭakopadesa* is likely to have originated in northwest India and in the Gāndhārī area.⁶⁷ If so, traditions on the authorship of that work will have developed in the same region, and the 4th-c. notion, attested in our Chinese sources, that Māhā-Kātyāyana produced an (Abhidharma)piṭaka seems to be at the core of these different narratives.

Significantly, the larger *Vibhāṣā* treatise (**Mahā-Vibhāṣā*) that Daotai 道泰 (d.u.) and Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) translated respectively in A.D. 427 and 656 also expressly distinguishes

(and/alias) Mahā-Kātyāyana might be associated with the creation of the Abhidharmapiṭaka, as per the tradition of the 'Narrative' and of the *Fenbie gongde lun*.

⁶⁶ See Lamotte 1944: 109 note 2, 113 note 1. On the *Peṭakopadesa* and the tradition on its authorship see Norman 1983b: 108–109; Zacchetti 2002: 76.

⁶⁷ See Zacchetti 2002, which has crucially identified ch. 6 of the *Peṭakopadesa* as a rather close counterpart to the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 (T.603), a scholastic treatise translated into Chinese by the Indo-Parthian monk An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 148–170). Stefan Baums (2009: 28–37; forthcoming) has shown that the distinctive exegetical method of the *Peṭakopadesa* (what he calls 'categorical reduction') is paralleled in a group of recently discovered Gāndhārī commentaries from northwest Pakistan / eastern Afghanistan, and may well have been a scholastic development specific to that area in the 1st–2nd c. A.D.

between Māhā-Kātyāyana and Kātyāyanīputra;⁶⁸ however, the *Vibhāṣā* (Piposha 鞞婆沙) compendium of *Śītapāṇi that Saṃghabhadra introduced and translated in 383 with the assistance of Dharmananda contains no such indication. Since it is reasonable to assume that Saṃghabhadra and Dharmananda (possibly with Saṃghadeva) were Dao'an's chief informants on these matters, we must infer that they were not aware of the full contents of the larger *Vibhāṣā* treatises, at least not on the specific but crucial issue regarding the identity of Kātyāyanīputra. However, we should not conclude from this that they were necessarily 'wrong' or 'misinformed', as their understanding may well have reflected a widespread conviction in their times in a different corner of the large Vaibhāṣika community. It should also be noticed that the identification of Kātyāyanīputra with Mahā-Kātyāyana is consistent with the related notions that the canon recited at the First Council included an Abhidharma section, and that the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra* was the Abhidharma.

VI. The relationship with the *Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* 撰集三藏及雜藏傳 (T.2026) and the Mahāyānist layer

In the preceding sections we have seen that some distinctive views that the *Fenbie gongde lun* expresses on the canon and on its constituent parts are echoed in the writings of Dao'an, and more generally suggest a date before Kumārajīva. Below we shall gather more evidence pointing in this direction. There is, however, another set of parallels linking the commentary to a specific text, the (here) so-called 'Narrative' (*Zhuanji sanzang*

⁶⁸ See *Apitan piposha lun* (T vol. 28 no. 1546, Daotai's version), 1.4a26–b1; *Apidamo da piposha lun* (T vol. 27 no. 1545, Xuanzang's version), 2.5c11–17.

ji zazang zhuan 撰集三藏及雜藏傳, T.2026), of which preliminary discussions were offered above (ch. 2, §§ II.1 and III.3). Indeed, the entire description of the formation of the canon in the *Fenbie gongde lun* is extremely similar to that presented in this text, in some cases sharing with the latter traditions that are otherwise unattested. In particular:

- both the commentary and the ‘Narrative’ envisage a fourfold canon, adding a Kṣudrakapiṭaka (*zazang* 雜藏) to the Sūtra-, Vinaya- and Abhidharmapiṭaka;
- both texts include the highly peculiar notion that the First Recitation was attended by 84,000 *arhats* (rather than 500 or 1,000, as everywhere else).⁶⁹
- both texts indicate the same sequence of the Four Āgamas, as they give priority to the *Ekottarika* (增一), followed by *Madhyama* (中), *Dīrgha* (長) and *Samyukta* (雜);
- the description of each of the Four Āgamas is very similar in the ‘Narrative’ and in the commentary;
- like the commentary, the ‘Narrative’ also attributes the authorship of the Abhidharmapiṭaka to the Buddha’s disciple (Māhā-)Kātyāyana.

It should be noticed that the first three of these features also occur in the Prefatory Chapter (*Xupin* 序品, hereafter ‘Preface’) of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, so that a triangular connection appears

⁶⁹ That the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* took this figure seriously and literally is shown by a passage in the commentary, which tries to reconcile the number of 84,000 arhats with that of one hundred foremost disciples also indicated in the scripture. They explain that the latter represent the best ones out of cohorts of 220 (to be corrected to 210) across the four groups of the saṃgha (此經今正出百人, 第一通四部眾, 二百二〔read 一〕十各第一); see *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.34a21–23. Indeed, $100 \times 4 \times 210 = 84,000$.

to link the ‘Preface’, the commentary and the ‘Narrative’.⁷⁰ The relationship between the first two needs little elaboration, since the *Fenbie gongde lun* was obviously commenting on the ‘Preface’. That the presentation of the First Council in the ‘Preface’ should echo that in the ‘Narrative’ is perhaps an indication that the authors of the former shared to an extent the tradition reflected in the latter; this point will be mooted below.

Potentially more significant are the parallels between the ‘Narrative’ and the commentary, since they include aspects that are not shared with the ‘Preface’ of T.125. They may be explained by assuming that the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* and those of the ‘Narrative’, the latter either in its original or in its Chinese translation, drew on the same tradition, and independently of each other made ample use of it in their discussion of the First Council. It should be noticed, however, that the parallels also invest instances of wording, sometimes highly peculiar. Thus both sources translate ‘Abhidharma’ as ‘Great Law’ (*dafa* 大法), a term which is further used by Dao’an in one of his prefaces.⁷¹ Both characterise the contents of the Abhidharma as ‘the insignia of all *dharma*s’ (諸/眾法牙旗).⁷² The outline of the contents of the four *āgamas* is also phrased very similarly.⁷³ On the other hand, the ‘Narrative’, composed in *śloka*s, has all the appearances of a tradition-text handed down orally, and we were able to detect precisely the few probable interpolations within it. It seems a priori more likely that a discursive text such as the *Fenbie gongde lun* might draw on the ‘Narrative’ rather

⁷⁰ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1, 1.549b23–24 (84,000 arhats), 549c28–29 (ranking of the four *āgamas*), 550c9–10 (Tripiṭaka and Kṣudrakapiṭaka).

⁷¹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a15–22, 4.42b3, 4.42c23; T.2026, pp. 3a19, 24, 3c12–18, 4a6, 9. See also below, § XI.1.

⁷² See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a16; T.2026, p. 3c15.

⁷³ See the synopsis in Table 1 above.

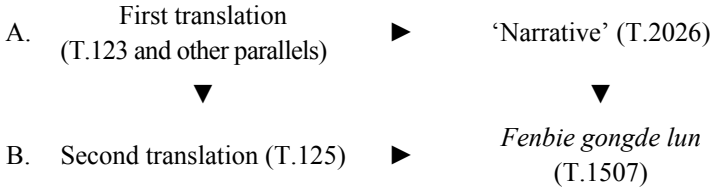
than the other way around. One wonders, then, whether the Chinese translation of the ‘Narrative’ and the *Fenbie gongde lun* might not share a common authorship, in other words whether the people who translated the former might also have written the latter. We have seen above (ch. 2, § II.1) that although the ‘Narrative’ has a very obscure transmission history, the transcription of the word *nirvāṇa* as *niepan* 涅槃 suggests a date not earlier than A.D. 382, since this form appears to have been introduced with the translation in that year of the ‘Compendium of the Four Āgamas’ (*Si ahanmu chao* 四阿含暮抄) that Kumārabuddhi had brought from Turfan.

Another sensitive finding was that the ‘Narrative’ was probably attached to a recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama* different from the one reflected in T.125, and of whose Chinese translation a handful of sūtras located by Mizuno survive as independently transmitted texts, chief among them the variant version of the *Gopālaka sūtra* in T.123 (*Fangniu jing* 放牛經).⁷⁴ The relationship between the *Fenbie gongde lun* and the ‘Narrative’ thus seems to parallel that between the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125) and the lost alternative translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which has its witnesses in T.123 and the other parallels. In other words, the ‘Narrative’ was produced with the alternative translation (T.123 and the others) in view, whilst the *Fenbie gongde lun* seems to follow closely T.125 or a slightly different redaction of it. But if, as it seems, the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* knew the ‘Narrative’, there is a good degree of likelihood that the translators of T.125 likewise knew the alternative translation underlying the ‘Narrative’ itself.

If we try to represent this situation in outline, we can think

⁷⁴ See above, ch. 2, § III.3.

of two different stages of translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China reflecting as many recensions of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, which we shall respectively call A and B, and whose relationship can be represented as follows:



in which the elements below and to the right of the arrows presuppose the existence of those above and to the left.

Mizuno, who only considered the left-hand side of this scheme, reached the conclusion that A corresponds to the translation based on Dharmananda’s recitation, whereas B would represent Saṃghadeva’s retranslation. Things are unfortunately far more complex, and we shall only be able to draw a conclusion at the end of this enquiry. Here we can observe that Dao’an, at the beginning of A.D. 384, knows (Māhā-)Kātyāyana as the author of the *Abhidharmapiṭaka*, and translates ‘Abhidharma’ as ‘Great Law’ (*da fa* 大法), suggesting that he may have known the ‘Narrative’ by that stage.

A further, intriguing clue comes from another prominent member of the Chang’an team, Zhao Zheng 趙整 (fl. 375–392). As we have seen above, soon after the death of Fu Jian in October 385, this influential courtier and talented writer could finally fulfil his aspiration and took vows as a Buddhist monk under the name Daozheng 道整.⁷⁵ According to his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, to mark his entrance into religious life,

⁷⁵ See above, pp. 58–59.

Zhao, still a poet at heart, composed the following stanza (*song* 頌):

佛生何以晚	Why was the Buddha born so late?
泥洹一何早	How early has he entered <i>nirvāṇa</i> !
歸命釋迦文	I entrust my life to Śākyamuni
今來投大道	And shall henceforth tread the Great
	Path. ⁷⁶

The first half of this stanza has embarrassed more than one scholar: what sort of chronological perspective can be possibly reflected in the notion that the Buddha was born too late, but that he entered *nirvāṇa* too early? In particular, how could Zhao Zheng, who was living several centuries after the age of the Buddha, lament over the late appearance of the Lord? If he was instead referring to the future Buddha Maitreya, and regretting that he would not live to see him (something that the express mention of Śākyamuni appears to exclude), then why sighing over that Buddha's early *nirvāṇa*?⁷⁷

Erik Zürcher pointed out that the puzzling first two lines of Zhao Zheng's stanza are found verbatim, and attributed to Laozi 老子, in medieval quotations from the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (Scripture on the Conversion of the Aliens). This long-lost Taoist book, which according to an anecdotal tradition attested since the 6th c. would have been forged around A.D. 300 by an obscure priest of the Celestial Master (Tianshi 天師) sect, addressed the growing influence of Buddhism with a story in which the Indian religion was depicted as the creation of Laozi

⁷⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan*, 1.328c18–19; tr. Shih 1968: 50.

⁷⁷ See the translations and remarks on these verses in Zürcher 1959/2007: 297; Shih 1968: 50–51 and note 187.

during his legendary travels across the Western Regions. The legend came with a sting, for the sage-god of the Taoists was said to have devised the strict rules of Buddhist monasticism, notably sexual abstinence and head-shaving, in order to tame the wanton barbarians of the West.⁷⁸ Unable to explain the meaning of the verses, Zürcher reached the rather implausible conclusion that they were suggested by the *Huahu jing*.⁷⁹

As a devout Buddhist, however, surely Zhao Zheng would have looked elsewhere for inspiration. Most probably, this came from the ‘Narrative’ (T.2026). The first part of this text features a vivid account of the funeral of the Buddha in Kuśinagara. In one of the opening stanzas, the crowds of *devas* and men attending the event wail:

世尊出晚 / 涅槃何早

“The World-Honoured appeared [so] late” / “Why did he enter *nirvāṇa* so early?”⁸⁰

In the context of the ‘Narrative’, the lines make perfect sense. The lament that the Buddha had left the world too early is the human response of disciples and devotees, and is frequently

⁷⁸ Zürcher 1959/2007: 288–320 offers a classic but largely outdated overview of the legend and of the religious polemics in its background. For recent reassessments, assigning the *Huahu jing* to a somewhat later period and context (late 4th – early 5th c.), see Liu 1998; Palumbo 2001: 44–48. For a quotation from the *Huahu jing*, including the two lines on the Buddha’s birth and *nirvāṇa*, see *Poxie lun* 破邪論 (T.2109, A.D. 622), 1.477c18–19.

⁷⁹ See Zürcher 1959/2007: 297, with his comments: “the occurrence of these two lines in a text of ca. 385 AD ... proves that the *Huahu jing* was well-known and exerted some influence at that period among the members of the highest classes at Chang’an”.

⁸⁰ T.2026, p. 1a25; cf. tr. Przyluski 1926: 92.

attested, for example, in the *Mahā-parinibbana sutta*.⁸¹ A distinctive feature of the ‘Narrative’, however, is the prominent presence of *devas* both at the funeral and at the First Recitation. From the perspective of *devas*, who enjoyed lifespans reckoned in many thousands of years, Śākyamuni had indeed appeared too late, and his passage had been too brief. It seems therefore highly probable that Zhao Zheng had these very lines in view when he, as the skilled lyricist that he was, made out of them a stanza on the occasion of his own ordination.

Combined with Dao’an’s allusions, and reminding ourselves of the terminus a quo in A.D. 382, Zhao Zheng’s verses strongly suggest that the ‘Narrative’ had been introduced and presumably translated in Chang’an between that year and A.D. 385, right in the period of activity of Dao’an’s team. When we further consider that the ‘Narrative’ must have been attached to the translation of an alternative recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, now represented by T.123 and a few other surviving scriptures, we finally have some evidence that a *Zengyi ahan jing* different from T.125 was indeed issued, at least in part, in those years. It remains to be seen, and it will be seen shortly, whether this finding really validates Mizuno’s theory that this first translation (‘A’ according to the scheme proposed above) was the one based on Dharmananda’s recitation and described in Dao’an’s preface of March 385, whereas the received text (T.125, the ‘B’ version) would represent Saṃghadeva’s later issue.

For the time being, another aspect needs to be brought to the fore: this is the complex relationship between the ‘Narrative’,

⁸¹ See the refrain *atikhippaṃ bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhu loke antarahitanti* in DN 16 at DN 157–158 and *passim*.

the *Fenbie gongde lun* and the ‘Preface’ of T.125 regarding the Mahāyānist contents of the canon recited at the First Council. All three sources state that apart from the Tripiṭaka of Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma, a ‘Miscellaneous Repository’ (*zazang* 雜藏, Kṣudrakapiṭaka) was also issued on that occasion, but while the ‘Preface’ appears to assign the *vaipulya* scriptures to it, and the *Fenbie gongde lun* mentions an entire separate Bodhisattvapiṭaka, the ‘Narrative’ at first sight makes no reference to such contents, thus ostensibly departing from its two parallels.⁸²

However, a closer inspection reveals a more nuanced situation. Let us begin with T.125.

The ‘Preface’ of the received *Zengyi ahan jing* opens with a long versified account in 59 stanzas (each stanza consisting of four seven-character verses) of the recitation of the canon at the First Council. One of the distinctive features of this account is the descent of Maitreya into the assembly, and his role in praising and steering Ānanda’s endeavour. After the formulation of the three main repositories of Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma, and notably of the Four *Āgamas* with their classification of scriptures, a relatively long section (stanzas nos. 28–40) describes how Maitreya exhorts Ānanda to collect separately the principles (*fa* 法, *dharma*s) concerning the career of the Bodhisattva, the arousal of his thought to be established in the Great Vehicle (菩薩發意趣大乘), and his practice of the Six *pāramitās*, which are discussed one by one. Aware of the abstruseness of the emptiness of the *dharma*s, and of the fact that the fools have no faith in the practice of the Bodhisattva (菩薩之行愚不信), Ānanda decides to collect all these principles in a separate section (集此諸法為一分) for those who have unwavering faith and

⁸² See the remarks in Mizuno 1989: 41.

no doubts, a decision which elicits Maitreya's praise.⁸³ What this separate section is, the 'Preface' does not say at first, but goes on instead to present the *Ekottarika-āgama* in some detail (stanzas nos. 41–56): this collection is extolled as the foremost among the Buddha's teachings (此增一最在上); it encompasses the Three Vehicles (如是阿含增一法, 三乘教化無差別); those able to master it will also master the entire body of scriptures of the Tathāgata (其有專心持增一, 便為總持如來藏);⁸⁴ consonantly with this grandiose view, a veritable Mahāyāna-style 'cult of the book' is prescribed for the *Ekottarika-āgama*, with the assertion that making copies of it and worshipping them will produce incalculable merit (若有書寫經卷者, 繒綵花蓋持供養, 此福無量不可計).⁸⁵ Only towards the very end of the versified account (stanza no. 57) does the 'Preface' make a passing mention of the Four Repositories, including Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma, and then:

方等大乘義玄邃 / 及諸契經為雜藏

The meaning of the Great Vehicle and of the 'Spacious' (*fangdeng* 方等, *vaipulya*) is profound and abstruse, and [its] scriptures form the 'Miscellaneous Repository' (*zazang* 雜藏, *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*).⁸⁶

It is worth observing that while the Taishō apparatus does not signal any variant for this line among the several editions it collates, the text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* carved on stone at Fang-

⁸³ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550a9–b5.

⁸⁴ That the expression *rulaizang* 如來藏 in this verse may refer to the *tathāgata-garbha* seems unlikely in view of the context, although some more or less deliberate punning cannot be excluded.

⁸⁵ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550b6–c8.

⁸⁶ *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550c10.

shan 房山 (southwest of Beijing) between A.D. 1157 and 1164 under the Jurchen Jin 金 dynasty presents a small but significant difference: the second character after *fang* 方 is *de* 得 rather than *deng* 等, so that the reference to the *vaipulya* (*fangdeng* 方等) scriptures disappears.⁸⁷ This isolated reading admittedly yields a slightly awkward sentence. In the preceding verses, the *devas* praise the achievement of the great recitation and the resulting division of the Buddha's word into the Tripiṭaka (*sanjang* 三藏) of Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma, after which they utter the line mentioning the Kṣudrakapiṭaka.⁸⁸ If we follow the Fangshan text and the variant *de* 得 as a *lectio difficilior*, the passage could be interpreted as follows:

方得大乘義玄達 / 及諸契經為雜藏

And then (i.e. after the Tripiṭaka is completed) one attains the meaning of the Great Vehicle, which is profound and abstruse, and the [remaining] scriptures form the 'Miscellaneous Repository' (*zazang* 雜藏, Kṣudrakapiṭaka).

The 'Great Vehicle' in this case would not necessarily be identical with the *vaipulya* sūtras, especially if we consider that its earlier mention in the 'Preface' relates it to the resolution for the achievement of supreme gnosis of *the* Bodhisattva, the Buddha before his final awakening.

Even if we disregard the alternative reading of the Fangshan text, the 'Preface' only drops an almost casual hint at the Mahāyānist contents of the Kṣudrakapiṭaka, but otherwise it does not seem interested in this particular section of the canon, which would have been in any case of secondary importance com-

⁸⁷ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, Fangshan ed., vol. 22, p. 3a.

⁸⁸ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550c7–9.

pared to the Mother of all Scriptures, the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

The *Fenbie gongde lun* generally follows the ‘Preface’ rather closely, but on this point it seems to envisage a different and more logical sequence. In fact, it glosses on the term *zazang* 雜藏 (Kṣudrakapiṭaka) immediately after discussing the three main repositories and the sequence of the four *āgamas*, corresponding to stanzas nos. 21–23, and before other comments referring to stanza no. 25. It thus suggests that the Kṣudrakapiṭaka was mentioned around stanza no. 24 rather than no. 57, as it is instead in the received text, and soon after the other parts of the canon. The commentary’s definition of the Kṣudrakapiṭaka is also somewhat different from the hint in the ‘Preface’:

所謂『雜藏』者，非一人說。或佛所說，或弟子說，或諸天讚誦，或說宿緣、三阿僧祇菩薩所生。文義非一，多於三藏，故曰『雜藏』也。佛在世時，阿闍世王問佛菩薩行事，如來具為說法。設王問佛：「何謂為法？」答：「法即《菩薩藏》也」。諸方等正經，皆是《菩薩藏》中事。先佛在時，已名《大士藏》。阿難所撰者，即今四藏是也，合而言之為五藏也。

What is called “Miscellaneous Repository” (*zazang* 雜藏, Kṣudrakapiṭaka) is not preached by a single person. Sometimes it is preached by the Buddha, sometimes by the disciples, sometimes it is the *devas* chanting praises (*zan*, Skt. *stotra*), sometimes it preaches the past causes and the births of the Bodhisattva during the three *asamkhyeya*[*kalpas*]. The forms and contents (*wenyi* 文義) are not one, and are more numerous than in the Three Repositories (*sanzang* 三藏, Tripiṭaka), therefore it is called “Miscellaneous Repository”. When the Buddha was in the world, king Ajātaśatru inquired of the Buddha about the practice of the Bodhisattva. The Thus Come gave a full explanation of the Law for him. If the king would ask the

Buddha, “What is the Law?”, the answer would be, “the Law is the ‘Repository of the Bodhisattva’ (*pusa zang* 菩薩藏, *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*)”. All the correct ‘Spacious Scriptures’ (*fangdeng zhengjing* 方等正經, *vaipulya sūtras*) are items in the ‘Repository of the Bodhisattva’. When the previous Buddhas were in the world, it was already named ‘Repository of the Great Knights’ (*Dashi zang* 大士藏, **Mahāsattvapiṭaka* ?). What Ānanda has compiled are the present four repositories (*piṭakas*, i.e. *Sūtra*-, *Vinaya*-, *Abhidharma*- and *Kṣudraka*-). If one mentions them altogether (i.e. including the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*) there are five repositories.⁸⁹

As it can be seen, the *Fenbie gongde lun* places the *vaipulya* scriptures in a separate, additional repository – the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* – rather than in the *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*.⁹⁰ It must be emphasised that the commentary nowhere says or implies that a *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* was mentioned in the *Zengyi ahan jing*. This appears to have been the interpretation of its authors, warranted by the already mentioned group of stanzas (nos. 28–40), certainly present in their *Zengyi ahan jing*, in which Maitreya exhorts Ānanda to collect the texts on the career of the *Bodhisattva* and the Six Perfections in a separate section. They expressly state farther on that “the reason why Maitreya descended is that he feared lest Ānanda would merge the principles of the *Bodhisattva* in the Three Repositories, and the Great and Small [Vehicle] would not be distinguished” 彌勒所以下者,

⁸⁹ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32b6–13; cf. tr. Przyluski 1926: 119–120.

⁹⁰ On the term ‘*Bodhisattvapiṭaka*’ and its different referents in Buddhist literature see Pedersen 1976: 23–35, and Pagel 1995: 3–36 (especially pp. 10–16 for references to the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* as ‘a’ or ‘the’ collection of *Mahāyāna sūtras*).

懼阿難合菩薩法在三藏, 大小不別也;⁹¹ that Maitreya advised that the Great Vehicle should be assigned to a separate repository, and that he explained the practice of the Six Perfections as “essentials for Great Knights (Mahāsattvas)” (*dashi muyao* 大士目要);⁹² that matters relating to the Six Perfections are fully included in the Bodhisattvapīṭaka and should not be conflated with the Tripiṭaka, and that Maitreya praised Ānanda for ensuring that this would be the case.⁹³

Interestingly, the *Fenbie gongde lun* introduces the Bodhisattvapīṭaka through a dialogue between king Ajātaśatru and the Buddha. This may well be a reference to the *Azheshi wang jing* 阿闍世王經 (T vol. 15 no. 626; Skt. **Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā sūtra*), a Mahāyānist text featuring king Ajātaśatru as protagonist, and engaging in dialogues with the Buddha; the sūtra mentions repeatedly the Bodhisattvapīṭaka as the foremost section of a peculiar Mahāyāna Tripiṭaka, the other parts of which would have been a Śrāvaka-pīṭaka and a Pratyekabuddhapīṭaka.⁹⁴ Although the attribution of its translation to Zhi Chen 支讖 (*Lokakṣema, fl. 168–185) must probably be rejected, the *Azheshi wang jing* was certainly known in China from well before the end of the 4th c.⁹⁵ We cannot exclude that this seeming reference to the *Azheshi wang jing* was due to the ‘foreign master’

⁹¹ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32c7.

⁹² *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32c13–14.

⁹³ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.33b2–4, 2.33b12–13.

⁹⁴ See *Azheshi wang jing* (T.626), 2.398a24–b2. On the **Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā sūtra*, only extant in three Chinese and one Tibetan translation, apart from a few Sanskrit fragments in Harrison – Hartmann 2002, see Harrison 1993: 152–156. For a translation and discussion of the passages relating to the Bodhisattvapīṭaka in the Tibetan version see Pagel 1995: 8–10, 14–15.

⁹⁵ See Nattier 2008: 78–79, 84–85.

behind the commentary, but as the *locus classicus* for the notion of a Bodhisattvapiṭaka in China, it seems more likely that it stems from the Chinese side of the document's authorship.

To sum up, the *Zengyi ahan jing* underlying the *Fenbie gongde lun* probably did not include the verse assigning the *vai-pulya* scriptures to the Kṣudrakapiṭaka, nor did it mention the Bodhisattvapiṭaka; it did, however, certainly include a reference to the Kṣudrakapiṭaka itself as well as the stanzas in which Ānanda, praised and exhorted by Maitreya, places the teachings concerning the career of the Bodhisattva and the Six *pāramitās* in an unspecified separate section.

This brings us back to the initial question regarding the nature of the Kṣudrakapiṭaka and the apparent lack of any reference to Mahāyānist contents of the canon in the 'Narrative', in spite of the influence that this document seems to have had on both the 'Preface' and the *Fenbie gongde lun*. As a matter of fact, the description of the Kṣudrakapiṭaka in the 'Narrative' is closely consistent with the one given in the *Fenbie gongde lun*, which once again appears to have been modelled on the earlier document. For the 'Narrative' also presents the Kṣudrakapiṭaka as featuring discourses of the Buddha on his past causes as well as discourses by arhats, *devas* and even heretics, the births of the Bodhisattva during the three *asamkhyeyakalpas*, and hymns of praise; it likewise points out that the topics in this corpus are more numerous than in the entire Tripiṭaka.⁹⁶ The description of the Kṣudrakapiṭaka in the *Fenbie gongde lun* and in the 'Narrative' is therefore virtually identical, as will appear more clearly from the table below illustrating the topics and features of the Kṣudrakapiṭaka.

⁹⁶ See T.2026, 3c21–4a1; tr. Przyluski 1926: 109–110.

Table 2.

T.1507	T.2026
非一人說 或佛所說，或弟子說， 或說宿緣、三阿僧祇菩薩所 生。 或諸天讚誦， 文義非一，多於三藏	此說各異，隨眾意行 佛說宿緣，羅漢亦說，天梵外 道 三阿僧祇菩薩生中，所生作緣 讚菩薩生 此中諸義，多於三藏

This concordant characterisation of the Kṣudrakapiṭaka should not be underestimated. A body of literature giving pride of place to the course of the Bodhisattva through the three *asaṃkhyeyakalpas* would inevitably be concerned with such ‘Mahāyānist’ topics as the arousal of the aspiration to full and complete awakening, the practice of the Six Perfections, and more generally the career of the Bodhisattva. This is all the more significant if one considers that the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya, which also envisages a Kṣudrakapiṭaka, sketches its contents merely in terms of accounts of the past lives of arhats and pratyekabuddhas.⁹⁷

Far from pointing to interference with the text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* from the Chinese side, the very hermeneutical twist by which the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* identified the ‘separate section’ devoted to Bodhisattva teachings, discussed in stanzas nos. 28–40 of the ‘Preface’, with the Bodhisattva-piṭaka confirms that those stanzas were a genuine part of the source-text. This fact warrants a more general consideration: the *Fenbie gongde lun* offers in many places an unreservedly Mahāyānist reading of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, for example in its

⁹⁷ See *Mohesengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 (T.1425), 32.491c20–22.

emphasis on the emptiness of the *dharma*s, its repeated reference to Bodhisattva-precepts, or in the straightforward claim that the *ārya-saṃgha* includes all the Three Vehicles and notably a Mahāyāna-saṃgha (*dashengseng* 大乘僧).⁹⁸ It is difficult to say to what extent these passages in the commentary reflect the perspective of the Chinese side of its authorship; however, ‘that man’ representing the authority of the ‘foreign masters’ (*waiguo shi* 外國師) in the discussion of the *Ekottarika-āgama* must have been acquiescent and cooperative, to say the least, towards such a hermeneutical unfolding. Had he not shared the broadly ‘Mahāyānist’ orientation that is already evident from the stanzas in the ‘Preface’, with their emphasis on the career of the Bodhisattva, this would have been impossible.⁹⁹ Indeed, most of the ‘Mahāyānist’ hints and phrases scattered across the entire received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* should be carefully reassessed in this light.

VII. The “small” ‘Larger Version’ (*Dapin* 大品) of the *Prajñāpāramitā*

In the section commenting upon the stanzas on the perfections of the Bodhisattva in the ‘Preface’, the *Fenbie gongde lun* quotes a line about “sixty bodhisattvas achieving the path of the arhat” 六十菩薩得羅漢道 from a chapter entitled ‘Fundamental Non-Existence’ (Benwu 本無) of the so-called ‘Larger Version’

⁹⁸ For all these passages and many more the reader is referred to the synopsis in the Appendix at the end of this study. See, however, the immediately following example (§ VII).

⁹⁹ It is certainly significant that, as we have seen above (§ II, pp. 189–190), ‘that man’ (*qi ren* 其人) intervenes at one point in the commentary to gloss upon the stanza in the ‘Preface’ concerning *dāna-pāramitā*, and explains it in terms of the Ten Stages of the Bodhisattva path.

(*Dapin* 大品), i.e. a text of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* family.¹⁰⁰ Mizuno Kōgen has pointed out that such a chapter exists in fact in the two Chinese translations of the *smaller* version of the Perfection of Wisdom (the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*), respectively by Zhi Chen (T.224) and Zhi Qian (T.225), where *benwu* renders *tathatā* in the Sanskrit text; the wording of the quotation is closer to Zhi Chen's translation, and the reference to the 'Larger Version' should be considered a mistake by the author of the *Fenbie gongde lun*.¹⁰¹ However, the line quoted in our text occurs in nearly identical terms in the *Mohe banruo chaojing* 摩訶般若鈔經 (T vol. 8 no. 226), in a chapter entitled precisely *Benwu* 本無.¹⁰² A number of scholars (for example, Leon Hurvitz and Arthur Link) have identified this text with the one described by Dao'an in his 'Preface to an abstract of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā* scripture' (*Mohe boluoruo poluomi jing-chao xu* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄序).¹⁰³ The text foreworded by Dao'an was in fact a summary of a 'Larger Version' (*Dapin* 大品) from an Indic manuscript in 17,260 *śloka*s, translated by the Indian monk Tanmopi 曇摩婢 (*Dharmapriya) in 382. In a study that I have been unable to access, Kajiyoshi Kōun 梶芳光運 has argued that T.226 is clearly an *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, and therefore cannot be identified with the abridged translation described by Dao'an, which must have been lost.¹⁰⁴ The quotation in the *Fenbie gongde lun* reopens the question, since it describes as part of a 'Larger Version' (*Dapin* 大品) a chapter title and a line

¹⁰⁰ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32c19–20.

¹⁰¹ See Mizuno 1989: 36–37.

¹⁰² T.226, 4.525c3–4.

¹⁰³ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 8.52b8–c26. Cf. Hurvitz and Link 1974: 426–428 and 447 note 111.

¹⁰⁴ Kajiyoshi's conclusions are summarised in Zacchetti 2005: 39 note 155.

of text that are to be found verbatim in T.226. If we also consider that Dao'an, like other Buddhist scholars in 4th-century China, would think of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* itself just as an “abstract” of a larger *Prajñāpāramitā*,¹⁰⁵ it is by no means impossible that a text like T.226 could be circulated as a further, expanded excerpt from the big issue, whatever its connection to the manuscript in 17,260 *śloka*s described by Dao'an.¹⁰⁶ If so, this quotation in the *Fenbie gongde lun* corroborates the impression of a date before Kumārajīva (surely the Indo-Kuchean master's authoritative translation of a Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* in 403–404 would have left little room for this sort of references), and especially of a connection of our text to Dao'an, to whom ‘Fundamental Non-Being’ (*benwu* 本無) was the core idea of the Perfection of Wisdom sūtras.¹⁰⁷

VIII. Scriptural quotations

The commentary includes three explicit scriptural quotations. All of them are only introduced by the sentence “the scripture says” (經曰 / 經云), with no indication of the title.

¹⁰⁵ See Zürcher 2007: 339–340 note 182.

¹⁰⁶ Certainly this is what catalogues appear to have said ever since the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (2.10b1–4); Sengyou also gives for this alleged excerpt the alternative title *Chang'an pin* 長安品, with which title T.226 has also been handed down. The identification is further corroborated in the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, 3.511a19–26: Zhisheng expressly objects to the “common tradition” 共傳 that the ‘Abstract of the *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture’ would be based on a scripture in the category of the ‘Larger Version’ (共傳云與《大品》、《放光》、《光讚》同本者, 或恐尋之未審也); to him, it was clearly based on the same original as the smaller version (與《道行》、《小品》、《明度》等同本). Zhisheng only knew of one abstract.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Tsukamoto – Hurvitz 1985: 381–382; Zürcher 2007: 190–193.

VIII.1 *Da ai jing* 大哀經 (*Tathāgatamahākaruṇā-nirdeśa*)

The first quotation (故經曰：『小乘之慈，慈猶肌膚。大士之慈，徹於骨髓。』)¹⁰⁸ draws with some approximation on the *Da ai jing* 大哀經 (T vol. 13 no. 398), a translation of the *Tathāgatamahākaruṇānirdeśa* completed in A.D. 291 by Zhu Fahu.¹⁰⁹ In the original, the passage negatively contrasts the compassion (Ch. *ci* 慈, Skt. *karuṇā*) of the disciples and *śrāvakas* (*dizi zhong shengwen* 弟子眾聲聞) to the superior one of the *bodhisattvas* (*pusa* 菩薩); the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* stress the message by replacing disciples and *śrāvakas* with the blanket label ‘Small Vehicle’ (*xiaosheng* 小乘, Skt. *hīnayāna*), and the *bodhisattvas* with a Chinese literary equivalent, *dashi* 大士 (‘great knight’). Although obviously not exclusive to him, both terms are attested in the writings of Dao’an, who indeed seems to have been the first to use the expression ‘Small Vehicle’ in Chinese Buddhism outside of translations.¹¹⁰

VIII.2 *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*)

The second citation (經曰：『法出諸佛，法生佛道。』)¹¹¹ quotes verbatim, but with its two parts in reversed order, a phrase in Zhi Qian’s translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*.¹¹² In

¹⁰⁸ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.33a17–18.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *Da ai jing*, 3.425a3–5: 諸弟子眾、聲聞種類，志懷恐懼，其所慙哀，畏怖如魚，慈猶肌膚。

¹¹⁰ For Dao’an’s use of *xiaosheng* 小乘, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.70a19, 73b16, and cf. the discussion in Zhou 1991; for *dashi* 大士, see *id.*, 10.71b11, 16, 71c9, 27, 73b24.

¹¹¹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.36a1–2.

¹¹² Cf. *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 (T vol. 14 no. 474), 2.535c6–7: 法生佛道，法出諸佛。

its original context, the passage emphasizes the priority of the veneration of the Law (*dharmapūjā*) over other forms of material cult, since the enlightenment of the Buddha proceeds from the *dharma*.¹¹³ The *Fenbie gongde lun* uses the citation to support the thesis that the *dharma* takes precedence over the Buddha (或問曰：「法為在先，佛為在先？」答：「法在先。」). It should be noticed that in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, completed in 406, the relevant passage is worded very differently, and the reference to the *dharma* is merely elliptical.¹¹⁴

VIII.3 *Zhude futian jing* 諸德福田經

A third quotation on the primacy of the Buddhist saṃgha among the ninety-six kinds of saṃgha (故經云：『九十六種僧，佛僧最為真。』) is taken rather faithfully from the *Zhude futian jing* 諸德福田經 (T vol. 16 no. 683), a proto-Mahāyāna sūtra on merit without a known Indic counterpart, translated by the monks Faju 法炬 (d.u.) and Fali 法立 (d. before ca. 308) between 290 and ca. 308.¹¹⁵

These quotations warrant two comments. First, they are sufficiently close to received Chinese translations for us to speculate that the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* were drawing on such versions rather than on Indic texts. One or more of the authors must therefore have been conversant with the Buddhist literature in Chinese. Secondly, the citation from Zhi Qian's version of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in particular gives some ground to place our commentary before A.D. 406, since this

¹¹³ See Lamotte 1962: 373–374 (Ch. XII, § 6).

¹¹⁴ See *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 (T vol. 14 no. 475), 3.556a29–b1. On the translations by Zhi Qian and Kumārajīva see Lamotte 1962: 3–5, 8–11.

¹¹⁵ See *Zhude futian jing*, p. 778c1.

translation, as Lamotte observed, “devait être complètement supplantée par la traduction de Kumārajīva”, which was released in that year.¹¹⁶

IX. The Aśoka narratives

Two long narrative excursions on king Aśoka conclude the section of the commentary discussing the third chapter (*Guangyan pin* 廣演品) of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, which, as its title suggests, ‘expands’ on the theme of the second *varga*, the Ten Recollections (*shinian* 十念).¹¹⁷ The first story, which illustrates the ‘recollection of the body’ (*nianshen* 念身, Skt. *kayagatānusmṛti*), features the episode of Aśoka’s hell-prison and of the king’s conversion at the hands of a monk, who, entrapped in the prison, attains arhatship after observing the bodies of the captives mangled and dissolved in grisly tortures. The monk then thwarts his own ordeal with a display of magical powers, which causes Aśoka to repent and turn into a devout Buddhist.¹¹⁸ The second story, exemplifying the ‘recollection of death’ (*niansi* 念死, Skt. *marañānusmṛti*), tells the conversion of Aśoka’s impious brother, who sees all Buddhist monks as well-fed hypocrites. The king makes up a charge of usurpation against him, but expediently leaves him on the throne for seven days before the execution. The ‘recollection of death’ and the apposite intercession of a Buddhist monk in his favour then deeply transform Aśoka’s brother, who takes vows and eventually becomes

¹¹⁶ See Lamotte 1962: 5.

¹¹⁷ On the Ten Recollections see Lin 1949: 122–124; Seyfort-Ruegg 1967: 158–159; Yamabe 1999: 65–66, 127–128. I follow Lin for the Sanskrit names of the ten forms of *anusmṛti*.

¹¹⁸ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.39a27–c15; French translation in Przyluski 1923: 215–218.

an arhat.¹¹⁹

Both episodes have well-known Sanskrit counterparts respectively in the *Pāṃśupradānāvadāna* and in the *Vītaśoka-kāvadāna*, two of the four consecutive chapters of the *Divyāvadāna* in which the Buddhist legend of Aśoka finds its classic expression.¹²⁰ The *Divyāvadāna* chapters, in turn, have equally well-known Chinese parallels in the *Ayu wang zhuan* 阿育王傳 (Narrative of King Aśoka),¹²¹ whose translation is attributed to one An Faqin 安法欽 in A.D. 306; in the *Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經 (Scripture of King Aśoka),¹²² translated in A.D. 512 by Saṃghavara (Sengqiepoluo 僧伽婆羅, 460–524); and in the Aśoka ‘sūtras’ included in the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, a *Samyukta-āgama* that Guṇabhadra (Qiunabatuolo 求那跋陀羅, 398–464) translated in A.D. 435–436.¹²³

I have argued elsewhere that the traditional attribution of the *Ayu wang zhuan* cannot be trusted, as internal evidence assigns this translation to a date well into the 5th c.¹²⁴ If so, no version of the expanded narratives on Aśoka would have been available yet by the time the *Ekottarika-āgama* was translated at Chang’an. However, there is no need to press this point here, since the stories on Aśoka in the *Fenbie gongde lun* clearly belong to a different tradition from the one attested in the *Divyāvadāna*

¹¹⁹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.39c16–40b19; tr. Przyluski 1923: 218–223.

¹²⁰ For parallels of the two narratives in the *Fenbie gongde lun*, see *Divyāvadāna* (XXVI, *Pāṃśupradānāvadāna*), ed. Cowell – Neil, pp. 373,22–380,17; tr. Strong 1983: 210–219; and *ibid.* (XXVIII, *Vītaśokavadāna*), pp. 419,14–424,25; tr. Strong 1983: 221–229.

¹²¹ T vol. 50 no. 2042; French translation in Przyluski 1923: 223–427.

¹²² T vol. 50 no. 2043; English translation in Li 1993.

¹²³ See *Za ahan jing*, 23.161b13–170c20 (no. 604), 25.177b15–180a5 (no. 640), 25.180a6–182a7 (no. 641).

¹²⁴ See Palumbo 2012: 311.

chapters and in their Chinese parallels. In the latter, for example, a murderous Aśoka, personally enmeshed in grotesque killings such as that of his five hundred concubines, builds his hell-prison on the advice of the sadistic Girika, whom he has hired to slay people on his behalf. In the *Fenbie gongde lun*, Aśoka conceives his infernal jailhouse after seeing the real hells of king Yama whilst on a tour of inspection.¹²⁵ The version of the commentary seemingly unfolds from the story of the Pāli *Nimi-jātaka*, where the *cakravartin* Nimi, led across the skies by Indra's charioteer Mātali in a journey towards the heavens of Tāvātimsa, has indeed a Dantean vision of Yama's netherworld.¹²⁶ The date of the *Nimi-jātaka* is difficult to determine, but the story was already known among the Sarvāstivāda of Kashmir in the first half of the 4th c., since it is referred to in the larger *Vibhāṣā* treatises;¹²⁷ it was probably through this conduit that it was funnelled into the swelling legend of Aśoka. Other discrepancies between the two versions include the names of the main characters and the setting of some episodes. The monk who converts Aśoka is named Samudra in the *Divyāvadāna*, but *Sambuddha (Ch. Shanjue 善覺)¹²⁸ in the *Fen-*

¹²⁵ This is also the version of the story that was known to Faxian: see *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, p. 863b23–c20; cf. the translations in Beal 1884, vol. 1, p. lxiii–lxvi; Giles 1923: 56–58; Deeg 2005: 556–557.

¹²⁶ Jā 541 at Jā VI 97–129.

¹²⁷ See *Apitan piposha lun*, 7.48c15–27; *Apidamo da piposha lun*, 172.867b17–c1.

¹²⁸ Przyluski (1923: 216) reconstructs Shanjue 善覺 as Suprabuddha, which is admissible. However, I prefer *Sambuddha for a number of reasons. One is that, in rendering the name, the translators appear to have wavered between Shanjue 善覺 and Shannian 善念 (Good Thought). In the *Fenbie gongde lun* (3.39b22, c14), the monk who converts Aśoka is named Shanjue 善覺; however, in the strictly related *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana (T.2045), which, as we shall see shortly, was probably from the same hands, the same personage

is called Shannian 善念 (T.2045, pp. 173b23, 183a15). In the commentary itself, in the episode of Sugātra, the monk is named twice as Shannian (3.40a15, b5), but in the second one of the two occurrences, the Song, Yuan, Ming and Kunaichō editions all read Shanjue. The translation Shannian 善念 (Good Thought) is compatible with an underlying Skt. *sambuddha* (in the sense of ‘well known/perceived’ or also of ‘clever, wise’), but not with Skt. *suprabuddha*. A second reason is that, if the name was *Sambuddha, the variant Samudra in the *Divyāvadāna* and in its Chinese parallels can be explained as developing from a Prakrit form of the same name (cf. Pāli *samudda* for Skt. *samudra*, and Gāndhārī *sabudha* for Skt. *sambuddha*). A third clue pointing in the same direction is the fact that in sūtra no. 1100 in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, Shanjue 善覺 is the name of the *bhikṣu* called Samiddhi in its Pāli counterpart in the *Samyutta-nikāya* (see *Za ahan jing*, 39.289b15–c20, and cf. SN 1.20 at SN I 8–12). Pāli *samiddhi* (‘prosperous, successful’) does not tally with Ch. *shanjue* 善覺, but it is close enough phonetically to Skt. *sambuddha* / *sambuddhi*, on which (or a Prakrit form thereof) the Chinese translation will have been based. Finally, in the *Fenbie gongde lun*, Shanjue 善覺 is also the name of the monk who is said to be at the origins of the received text of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This Shanjue had received the *Ekottarika-āgama* from Uttara, who had received it from Ānanda. Shanjue was thus a monk of some importance, indirectly related to Ānanda and evidently active not long after him. I am not aware of any Suprabuddha matching this profile. The Pāli tradition, however, has preserved the name Sambhūta for the monk who was also known as Sānavāsī (Śāṇakavāsīn in the *Divyāvadāna*): he had been ordained under Ānanda and had personally seen the Buddha, yet one hundred years after the latter’s *parinirvāṇa* he was still around at Vesali, where he was one of the foremost elders along with Sabbakāmī, Revata and Yasa; see Malalasekera 1938: 1063. Crucially, the same group of elders is mentioned in the Chinese translations of the Dharmaguptaka vinaya (*Sifen lü* 四分律, T vol. 22 no. 1428) and of the Mahīśāsaka vinaya (*Mishasai bu hexi wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律, T vol. 22 no. 1421). In both texts, the Sambhūta of the Pāli tradition appears under the transcription Sanfutuo 三浮陀 (EMC *sam-buw-da); see T vol. 22 no. 1428, 54.970b4–9, 971a6–8; T vol. 22 no. 1421, 30.193a20, 194b16–19. As the reconstructed pronunciation clearly suggests, the name underlying the transcription would have easily been construed as *Sambud-

bie gongde lun; Aśoka's brother is called Vītaśoka in the Sanskrit tale and in its Chinese counterparts, but Sugātra (Xiuqie-dulu 修伽妒路) in the commentary. He becomes an arhat in Videha in the former, in Takṣaśilā (Shishi cheng 石室城)¹²⁹ in the latter. In general, the two narratives in the *Fenbie gongde lun* follow a simpler plot and are more coherent in their mutual connection. Thus the elusive Samudra in the *Divyāvadāna* disappears after the episode of the hell-prison, never to enter again any other scene of the story, and leaves the stage to other monks such as Upagupta and Yaśas: this is surprising, since Aśoka's conversion, on which the entire legend arguably hinges, had been his exploit and no one else's. In the *Fenbie gongde lun*, however, *Sambuddha plays an important role also in the conversion of Sugātra, and it is to this monk that Aśoka entrusts his brother when the latter decides to take vows.

But if neither the Sanskrit legend of the *Divyāvadāna* nor any of its Chinese parallels are the source of the *Fenbie gongde lun*, then which is it?

The story of *Sambuddha and the hell-prison of Aśoka in the commentary is nearly verbatim identical to, but shorter than,

dha. In other words, one and the same Prakrit name, probably heard as **saṃjuda* and understood as Skt. *sambuddha* by the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun*, may conceivably have found its way in Pāli as Sambhūta and in Sanskrit as Samudra. The *Fenbie gongde lun* does not expressly identify the Shanjue 善覺 who received the *Ekottarika-āgama* from Ānanda via Uttara with the 'old *bhikṣu*' (老比丘) bearing the same name, who converted Aśoka. Yet there is evidently nothing impossible in this equation, especially in view of the remarkable longevity that the Pāli and Chinese sources assign to Sambhūta Sānavāsī / Sanfutuo. Intriguingly enough, in the erratic narrative of the *Divyāvadāna*, Sānavāsī's Sanskrit alter ego Śāṇakavāsin appears as the teacher of Aśoka's Buddhist mentor, the monk Upagupta.

¹²⁹ On this rendering of the name Takṣaśilā see below, § XI.4.

a long passage in the *Ayu wang taizi Fayi huaimu yinyuan jing* 阿育王太子法益壞目因緣經 (‘Scripture on the Causes of the Destruction of the Eyes of Law-Increasing [Dharmavardhana], Grand Childe of King Aśoka’; T vol. 50 no. 2045), which Zhu Fonian translated between 8 and 15 April 391 from an Indic text in 343 *ślokas* recited by Dharmananda 曇摩難提. This *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana, Aśoka’s son, appears to be an earlier recension of the tale that would later become the *Kunālāvadāna* in the *Divyāvadāna* (no. XXVII), but it also includes narrative portions that in the Sanskrit collection occur within the *Pāṃśu-pradānāvadāna* (no. XXVI), such as the very story of the hell-prison. The version in the *Fenbie gongde lun* is manifestly related to that in T.2045: it reads in fact as a prose abridgment of the latter, which is in verses.¹³⁰

One might infer from this finding that someone who had Zhu Fonian and Dharmananda’s translation at hand, although not necessarily anyone related to them, wrote the *Fenbie gongde lun* after 391. This obvious assumption is, however, problematic in view of the second Aśokan narrative in the commentary, the story of Sugātra illustrating *marañānusmṛti*. This story is not included in T.2045, nor is it attested in its distinctive form anywhere else.¹³¹ Yet, the story of Sugātra and that of

¹³⁰ See Table 3 below in this section, comparing *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.39a27–c15, and *Ayu wang taizi Fayi huaimu yinyuan jing*, pp. 178b5–179b21. I have underlined those phrases and characters that are identical in the two texts, but the connection between them is glaring throughout. The only difference of note is that while the commentary mentions the monk in the third person, in the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana it is the monk himself who relates the episode of the hell-prison in the first person. On the translation of T.2045 see above, p. 59 note 121.

¹³¹ In the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 (T vol. 4 no. 212), which Zhu Fonian and Samghabhadra translated in 399, the story of Aśoka’s brother is used to il-

*Sambuddha are visibly connected, since the monk's role in the conversion of Aśoka's brother presupposes his earlier accomplishment with the king. Moreover, at the beginning of the *avadāna* of Sugātra in the *Fenbie gongde lun*, passing mention is made of two more personages, who shared the ungodly attitude of Aśoka's brother:

修伽妒路不信三尊。大臣耶舍、夫人善容亦同不信。
三人同心患王。

Sugātra did not have faith in the Three Venerable ones.¹³² The great minister Yaśas (Yeshe 耶舍) and the consort Good-Face (Shanrong 善容) did not have faith either. The three of them with one mind caused distress to the king.¹³³

Now, Yaśas and Good-Face feature prominently in the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana (T.2045). Their wicked duo schemes against Aśoka's gorgeous son – he out of jealousy, she out of unrequited sexual attraction – and with a false charge have his

illustrate a verse – 畏而畏樂寡, corresponding to *Udāna* (*Apramāḍavarga*), 4.15 (ed. Bernhard) – on the insignificance of pleasure in the midst of fear; see *Chuyao jing*, 6.641a10–c10. The story is only vaguely reminiscent of the version in the *Fenbie gongde lun*, with which it does not present any obvious textual overlap. Aśoka's brother is here called Shanrong 善容, 'Good-Face, Excellent-Appearance', which in the commentary and in the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana (T.2045) is the name of the queen, although in this case it can be a rough translation of Sugātra ('Excellent body / limbs'). The lack of connection between the two versions is particularly significant, since the translator of the *Chuyao jing*, Zhu Fonian, had also translated T.2045, which is closely related to the Aśokan narratives in the commentary.

¹³² The Buddha, the dharma and the saṃgha.

¹³³ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.39c20–21.

eyes gouged out.¹³⁴ This narrative element is distinctive to the version translated by Zhu Fonian and Dharmananda,¹³⁵ but the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* seem to have had insider knowledge of it, since they refer to it within the story of Sugātra, which does not appear in T.2045.

In my opinion, this set of circumstances strongly suggests the presence of Dharmananda among the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun*. In 391 he recited the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana from memory, and his memory was the sole place where published and unpublished portions of the Aśokan story, in the distinctive versions he knew, could coexist. The fact that he was also the leading knower of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the scripture commented upon in the *Fenbie gongde lun*, only adds likelihood to this assumption. The literal agreement between one of the two stories in the commentary and the *avadāna* translated in 391 does not necessarily mean that the former was written after the latter date. It is conceivable that a first translation, or a draft of it, was already produced when Dharmananda was active in Dao'an's group, between 383 and 385. Indeed, the biography of Zhu Fonian in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* expressly says as much, although I would not rest my argument solely on its basis.¹³⁶ It

¹³⁴ See *Ayu wang taizi Fayi huaimu yinyuan jing*, pp. 173a25–b22, 175a18–b11.

¹³⁵ In the *Kunālāvadāna*, Aśoka's wanton queen is called Tiṣyarakṣitā (see *Divyāvadāna* XXVII, ed. Cowell – Neil, p. 407,5–24), which cannot match any Sanskrit name that may have underlain the Chinese Shanrong 善容 (Good-Face). The ungodly minister Yaśas does appear in a self-contained episode at the beginning of the same *avadāna* (*ibid.* pp. 382,4–384,23), which, on the other hand, is lifted from the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭānta-paṅkti* of Kumāralāta (cf. Lüders 1926: 119–121); however, in the *Divyāvadāna* the minister Yaśas has no connection whatsoever with the queen, and no agency in the blinding of Aśoka's son.

¹³⁶ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 15.111b12–20. According to this account, Dharmananda issued (*chu* 出) the *Wangzi Fayi huaimu yinyuan jing* 王子法益壞目因

is important to stress, however, that in 391 Zhu Fonian (with Dharmananda) presented the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana to his political patrons of the moment, Yao Min 姚旻 and the Later Qin, with a clear indication of the value he assigned to the Aśokan story as a model for the Buddhist monarch, especially in his relationship with the clergy.¹³⁷ It does seem unlikely that Dharmananda would have failed to present some form of the story earlier on to his devoted patron Fu Jian, the ruler that more than anyone else had fostered hopes of a Buddhist empire, keeping it locked instead in his mind for many years.

緣經 during the Jianyuan 建元 era (365–385) of Fu Jian, notably after the translation of the ‘Scripture of Vasumitra’ and before that of the two *āgamas*; Zhu Fonian translated the text and wrote a preface to it 念為宣譯并作經序. Since, as we have seen above (ch. 1, pp. 32–35), the translation of the ‘Scripture of Vasumitra’ was completed on 15 August 384, and the initial redactions of the two *āgama* translations were ready by 28 December in the same year, we might assume that a version of the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana was produced in the late summer 384. However, in the biography, Sengyou is seemingly unaware of the preface in which Zhu Fonian himself dates the translation to 391 and under the rule of the Yao 姚 clan; since this preface is included elsewhere in the very *Chu sanzang ji ji* (7.51b14–c16), it is possible that he got hold of this document only after the initial redaction of his work (ca. 503), which included the biographies; on the other hand, as I have suggested in a previous section (ch. 1, p. 90 and note 183), the biographical account of Zhu Fonian in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* may have been contaminated through contact with the *Gaoseng zhuan* and the *Mingseng zhuan* at some point in the textual history. Whether the indication in the biography is just inaccurate or was instead supported by further evidence of an earlier translation, it is impossible to say. See, however, my further argument above.

¹³⁷ See above, pp. 59–60.

Table 3.

T.1507 分別功德論	T.2045 阿育王太子法益壞目因緣經
<p>昔佛去世後百歲，時有阿育王，典主閭浮提，群臣夫人象馬各有八萬四千。</p> <p>時王巡行國界，見閻羅王有十八地獄，亦有臣吏，僻問罪囚。王問左右曰：「此何等入？」答曰：「此死人王也，主分別善惡。」王曰：「死人王尚能作地獄，治罪人。我是生人王，不能作地獄耶？」問諸群臣：「誰能造地獄？」諸臣對曰：「唯有極惡人能造地獄耳。」王敕諸臣訪覓惡人。臣即行覓，見有一人坐地織罽，旁有弓箭，兼有釣魚鉤。復以毒飯食雀，並織罽並釣魚射鳥捕雀。</p> <p>臣還以狀白王，惡人如是。王曰：「此人極惡，必能辦地獄事。」王遣人喚曰：「王欲見汝。」惡人曰：「我是小人，無有識知。」王用我為曰：「王正欲得汝治地獄事。」其人即歸家，有老母，語母曰：「王喚我。」母語兒曰：「王喚汝為？」兒曰：「王欲使我治地獄事。」母曰：「汝去，我云何活？」母即抱兒腳，不放，兒意欲去，即拔刀斫母，殺而去。至王所，</p>	<p>王念昔遊。巡行國界。乃經諸山。鐵圍之表。聞下有聲。雷震天地。嚮嚮哀切。音甚酸酷。王乃不眴。見閻羅王。臣吏參佐。辟問罪囚。所犯形狀。輒便決斷。隨罪付治。無增減心。十八地獄。熱熾湧沸。十六鬲子。圍繞一鑊。刀山劍樹。火車爐炭。罪人叫哭。苦毒萬端。王問左右。此為何人。諸臣答曰。死人王也。王別善惡。檢罪輕重。司察殃咎。料簡賢愚。是時阿育。告群臣曰。死王猶尚。造地獄治。我今乃是。生民之王。豈復不能。地獄治化。問諸群臣。誰有斯人。極惡兇暴。領地獄者。諸臣對曰。唯有無澤。五逆之人。能造地獄。黃髮赤眼。卷眉腫頰。高顴鸞鼻。乃能行惡。</p> <p>王敕諸臣。訪覓惡人。如此比類。速來上奏。臣即馳奔。國界縣邑。見一池側。有一織罽。傍設弓箭。仰射飛鳥。前灑毒飯。用捕群雀。腳牽釣餌。以釣淵魚。後施玄弰。微伺獐鹿。引頸鳥鳴。招致鳥獸。諸人見之。審如所募。臣還以狀。白王情實。行</p>

<p>T.1507 分別功德論</p>	<p>T.2045 阿育王太子法益壞目因緣經</p>
<p>王問曰：「母不放汝，何由得來？」曰：「殺母而來。」王曰：「真惡人也！必能辦地獄事。」即委此人作地獄城，設鑊湯劍樹，即拜此人為地獄王，與立臣佐，各有所典，如閻羅王。王約敕曰：「若有人入此城者，不問貴賤，得便治罪。」王曰：「正使我入中者，亦莫聽出。」時有老比丘，名曰善覺，常行乞食。至此城門，外見好華香，謂內有人。即便入城，但見治罪人，驚怖欲還出。時獄卒不聽出，欲將至鑊湯。道人求曰：「小寬我至日中。」又語，頃有男女二人坐犯姪。將來欲治罪，置碓臼中擣之，斯須變成為沫。道人見之，始念：「佛語：『人身如聚沫』，誠哉斯言！」又頃復變為白色，復念：『人身如白灰聚，變易不一，如幻如化，諦計非真。』即時意悟，漏盡結解。</p> <p>獄卒復催入鑊湯。時比丘笑，獄卒瞋恚，使四人挾兩腋倒著鑊中，即時湯冷，比丘即化作千葉蓮花，於蓮華中結跏趺坐。獄卒驚怪，白阿育王曰：「今獄中有奇怪事，願王暫屈臨視。」</p>	<p>求惡人。其誠如斯。</p> <p>王言善哉。乃果我願。究尋此人。必辦獄事。王遣人喚。云吾欲見。重賜珍寶。隨意所須。惡人報曰。我是小人。無有識知。王用我為。</p> <p>使復答言。卿必遷貴。欲得汝身。治地獄事。其人歡喜。即還到家。具以事狀。而啟父母。父母聞之。甚懷憂感。各自抱兒。不放令去。</p> <p>兒意勇盛。即拔利劍。斫殺父母。而捨之去。往至王所。跪拜問訊。揖讓修敬。在一面立。王問惡人。卿父母在。無瞻養者。何由得來。</p> <p>彼人自陳。父母固遮。以劍斫殺。而捨之來。王言善哉。真五逆者。猶害父母。餘人何怙。即委此人。造地獄城。鑊湯劍樹。注鐵垣牆。</p> <p>尋使其人。為地獄王。立諸臣佐。各有所典。如閻羅王。約敕獄卒。有入獄者。無令使出。不問貴賤。豪尊長者。得便治罪。勿責曲直。</p> <p>修治園觀。狀如天宮。時我獨步。頭陀乞食。漸漸以次。到此城門。外見香花。樹木繁茂。謂是好人。豪貴居家。即便入門。欲從索食。</p>

<p>T.1507 分別功德論</p>	<p>T.2045 阿育王太子法益壞目因緣經</p>
<p>王曰：「<u>我先有要</u>，『<u>正使我入中</u>，亦不聽出。<u>我今那得入耶？</u>」<u>吏白王曰：</u>「<u>但入，無苦。</u>」<u>王即隨入</u>，見<u>道人在蓮華上坐</u>。問曰：「<u>汝是何人也？</u>」曰：「<u>我是道人。</u>」道人語王：「<u>汝是癡人。</u>」王曰：「<u>何以名我為癡人也？</u>」道人曰：「<u>汝本作童子時</u>，以一把土上佛。佛受，咒願言：『<u>汝後當王閻浮提</u>，作鐵輪王，名阿育，一日之中當起八萬四千佛圖。』此獄是佛圖耶？」王意即悟，便前悔過，以善覺為師。於是罷獄興福，起八萬四千圖廟。以是言之，『念身得涅槃』，此其義也。</p>	<p>但見治罪。驚怖欲還。獄卒前捉。不聽使出。將至鑊所。欲加五毒。我復求曰。小見寬恕。至日中者。抱恩無已。學道日淺。又不廣誦。願聽見許。禮十方佛。惡人默許。期剋日中。語未久頃。男女二人。坐犯姪法。將入治罪。置碓臼中。以杵搗之。斯須之間。變成為沫。時吾見之。唯念佛語。身如聚沫。誠哉斯言。受身胎分。要有斯對。遇聖恒沙。誰免此患。吾今當計。非常之義。分別九漏。不淨之穢。又頃復變。為白鵠色。思念此形。如久骨聚。變易非一。如幻如化。即時意悟。漏盡結解。欣情內充。形發於外。快哉福報。與生死別。心意寂定。志如金剛。天焦地爛。融然一體。彌天熾火。安能燒我。獄卒復催。時入鑊湯。我時方笑。顏色容悅。獄卒瞋恚。差其四人。各扶兩腋。倒著鑊中。湯冷火滅。變成清涼。考掠撻笞。普皆休息。即便化作。千葉蓮花。於蓮花中。結跏趺坐。坐臥涌沒。作十八變。或飛虛空。去地七仞。獄卒見驚。白阿育王。獄中奇異。未</p>

T.1507 分別功德論	T.2045 阿育王太子法益壞目因緣經
	<p>曾所見。<u>願王暫屈</u>。至泥犁城。<u>臨視災怪</u>。窮異之變。<u>王語惡人</u>。<u>我先有要</u>。<u>正使我入</u>。<u>亦不得出</u>。<u>轉輪王教</u>。<u>言無有二</u>。<u>我今那得</u>。<u>復入此門</u>。<u>吏白王曰</u>。<u>但入無苦</u>。<u>聽今一日</u>。<u>後更立限</u>。<u>王即隨入</u>。<u>見鑊中人</u>。<u>在蓮花上</u>。<u>結跏趺坐</u>。<u>王遙問曰</u>。<u>汝是何人</u>。</p> <p><u>我復報曰</u>。<u>吾是比丘</u>。<u>王復問曰</u>。<u>汝今在獄</u>。<u>當稱罪囚</u>。<u>何言比丘</u>。<u>時吾語言</u>。<u>汝真愚人</u>。<u>蒙聖遺恩</u>。<u>王南天下</u>。<u>永劫積功</u>。<u>始乃得之</u>。</p> <p><u>方更謗聖</u>。<u>稱為罪囚</u>。<u>王問道人</u>。<u>汝今何故</u>。<u>轉輪王前</u>。<u>面稱愚人</u>。<u>時吾告曰</u>。<u>汝童子時</u>。<u>以一把土</u>。<u>奉上如來</u>。<u>佛受咒願</u>。<u>詣迦葉寺</u>。</p> <p><u>以水和泥</u>。<u>補寺南壁</u>。<u>記汝後當</u>。<u>南閻浮提</u>。<u>作轉輪王</u>。<u>名曰阿育</u>。<u>一日之中</u>。<u>便當興立</u>。<u>八萬四千</u>。<u>如來神廟</u>。<u>王今此獄</u>。<u>是浮圖耶</u>。</p> <p><u>反更招禍</u>。<u>無邊之罪</u>。<u>神識倒錯</u>。<u>癡心纏裹</u>。<u>愚中之愚</u>。<u>莫甚王身</u>。<u>或人執迷</u>。<u>至死不改</u>。<u>今稱汝愚</u>。<u>何惑之有</u>。<u>王意即寤</u>。<u>五體投地</u>。</p> <p><u>便自懺悔</u>。<u>即事我身</u>。<u>於是罷獄</u>。<u>興立善本</u>。</p>

X. A pericope rhyming in Chinese

In the section of the commentary on the fourth *varga* of the *sūtra* (*Dizi pin* 弟子品, on the foremost disciples of the Buddha), one passage narrates the conversion of Vāḡīśa (Ch. Pengqishe 朋耆奢 [EMC *bəŋ-gji-ɕia], Pāli Vaṅḡīsa) and the reasons why he is extolled as the best at composing verses and odes in praise of the Buddha.¹³⁸ In particular, it is said that when Vāḡīśa went to the Buddha to receive his teachings, the latter welcomed him as a *bhikṣu* and preached to him the Four Noble Truths. Vāḡīśa then attained arhathood on the spot and composed a *stotra* in praise of the Blessed One, which earned him a reputation as the leading Buddhist poet. The ensuing stanza corresponds to the verses uttered by Vaṅḡīsa on the occasion of a *pravāraṇa* ceremony (*not* of his own conversion) in the *Pavāraṇa sutta* of the Pāli *Samyutta-nikāya*, an entire section of which (the *Vaṅḡīsa-vagga*) is in fact dedicated to this monk.¹³⁹ In Chinese translations, versions of the *Pravāraṇa sūtra* including this stanza are found in several places, including the *Zengyi ahan jing* itself, but the wording of the verses is different in each case.¹⁴⁰

Several things stand out in this section of the *Fenbie gongde lun*. The prose tends to follow a regular four-character prosody; the literary rendition *yingzhen* 應真, ‘Respondent Realised’ is used for *arhat* instead of the usual transcriptions *luohan* 羅漢 /

¹³⁸ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.43c5–44a17 (starting from 所以稱朋耆奢比丘能造偈頌者), commenting on *Zengyi ahan jing*, 3.557b22–23 (能造偈頌嘆如來德, 鵬耆舍比丘是). The name is attested in Sanskrit in the form Vāḡīśa (‘poet’, ‘eloquent speaker’) in the list of eminent disciples in Aśvaghōṣa’s *Saundarananda*, XVI.89a (ed. Johnston 1928: 122). The Chinese transcription suggests an original *Vāṅḡīśa, midway between the Pāli and Sanskrit forms.

¹³⁹ SN I 191–192.

¹⁴⁰ See T.26, *sūtra* no. 121, 29.610c6–19; T.61, p. 858c28–859a6; T.99, no. 1212, 45.330c4–18; T.125, no. 32.5, 24.677b14–21.

aluohan 阿羅漢, which occur everywhere else in the commentary.¹⁴¹ In particular, one reads that when the Buddha “preached for [Vāgīśa] the Four [Noble] Truths, he immediately attained [the state of] ‘Respondent Realised’; *expressing feelings of joy* [from] *within, he gave shape to words* and composed verses to praise the World-Honoured One” (為說四諦, 即得應真, 喜情發中而形於言, 便作頌偈, 讚於世尊). Here, the phrase “*expressing feelings of joy* [from] *within, he gave shape to words*” 喜情發中而形於言 is an almost literal quotation from Mao Heng’s 毛亨 (2nd c. B.C.) preface to the *Book of Odes* (*Shi jing* 詩經), the Confucian classic of poetry.¹⁴² As in the case of the allusion to the *Analects* discussed below (§ XI.3), these indications betray the presence of a well-bred Chinese scholar among the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun*. The impression becomes compelling when we observe that the verses of the *pravāraṇa* stanza in the commentary appear to rhyme in Early Middle Chinese:

清淨十五日	五百比丘集	(EMC *dzip)
已斷諸結使	仙人不受習	(EMC *zip)
猶如轉輪王	群臣普圍遶	(EMC *ɲiaw’)
四海及與地	所典無有表	(EMC *piaw’)
降伏人如是	導師無有上	(EMC *dzian ^h)
將護諸聲聞	三明壞結性	(EMC *siajɲ ^h)
一切世尊子	無有塵垢穢	(EMC *ʔwɨaj ^h)

¹⁴¹ On this Taoist-inspired translation of *arhat*, frequently used among Buddhist literati in the 4th c. and notably by Dao’an in many of his prefaces, see Demiéville 1951a: 346 note 2; Link 1957: 4 note 13.

¹⁴² See Mao Heng’s preface in *Mao shi buzheng*, ed. Long Qitao, vol. 1, p. 7. The relevant line in the received text reads 情動於中而形於言, but the second character is 發 in a citation included in a letter that the Buddhist painter and lay devotee Dai Kui 戴逵 (d. 395) wrote to the monk Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416); see *Guang hongming ji*, 18.224a17–18.

已破愛欲網 今禮星中月 (EMC *ɣuat)¹⁴³

Only the last two lines would not rhyme in medieval Chinese, but they did in Old Chinese, as both the final characters *hui* 穢 (OC *ɣwats) and *yue* 月 (OC *ɣwat) belong in the same rhyming group in the *Shi jing*.¹⁴⁴ It is difficult to say whether this circumstance attends to the phonology and dialect of the author of the verses in Chinese, or whether this author deliberately resorted to an archaic pronunciation so as to achieve a classical intonation. Be that as it may, the general tenor of this section and the allusion to Mao Heng effectively cast Vāgīśa, the prototype of the Buddhist *kavi*, as an accomplished Chinese bard, and point to a scholarly Chinese author and a literati audience in the backstage of the commentary.

XI. Distinctive terms and expressions in the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T.1507)

XI.1 Da fa 大法 (Great Law) = Abhidharma

The term *Abhidharma* (*Apitan* 阿毘曇) is translated in the commentary as ‘Great Law’ (*da fa* 大法);¹⁴⁵ Dao’an gives exactly the same peculiar gloss in his preface to the translation of Kātyāyanīputra’s *Abhidharma*.¹⁴⁶ *Da fa* 大法 for ‘Abhidharma’ is also attested in the *Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* (T.2026), which, as we have seen, is probably a product of the same group of authors and translators.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.44a8–15.

¹⁴⁴ See Schuessler 2009: 241, 22-5 and 22-8.

¹⁴⁵ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a15–16 (阿毘曇者，大法也). See also *ibid.*, 1.32a20, 4.42b3, 42c23.

¹⁴⁶ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72a10 (阿毘曇者，秦言大法也).

¹⁴⁷ See *Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan*, pp. 3a19, 3a24, 3c14–18, 4a6, 4a9.

XI.2 Shenzi 身子 = Śāriputra

The name of Śāriputra is rendered four times in the usual transcription Shelifu 舍利弗, but a good eleven times as Shenzi 身子, ‘body-son’, implying that the first part of the name was construed as (some form of) Skt. *śarīra*.¹⁴⁸ Dao’an uses this idiom in two of his prefaces.¹⁴⁹ Before him, Shenzi appears only in two places in as many translations by Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (a.k.a. Dharmarakṣa, 229–306); it is also occasionally attested in the 5th and 6th centuries,¹⁵⁰ but we are going to see that such a late chronology should be excluded for our text.

XI.3 “... has not yet fallen to the ground” (*wei zhui yu di* 未墜於地)

Of one among the one hundred eminent monks listed in the sūtra, a certain Jiaqu 迦渠 (v.l. 伽渠, *Gagga ?), the *Fenbie gongde lun* says that “this *bhikṣu* would constantly support the Buddha in spreading conversion, and make that this teaching would not fall to the ground” 此比丘恒助佛揚化, 常以此教未墜於地.¹⁵¹ The last part of this phrase (*wei zhui yu di* 未墜於地) is an allusion to the Confucian *Analects* (XIX.22): “The way of king Wen and king Wu has not yet fallen to the ground, it is still among men” 文武之道, 未墜於地, 在人. Here the speaker is Confucius’ disciple Zigong 子貢, who thus explains to Gongsun Chao 公孫朝 of Wei 衛 that the ancient doctrines taught by his

¹⁴⁸ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.37b15; 3.39a11; 4.41b11–12, 41b14, 44a22, 46b7; 5.47a21, 47c29, 51b18, 51b23. On the translation of the name ‘Śāriputra’ as Shenzi 身子 see the remarks in Karashima – Nattier 2005: 372.

¹⁴⁹ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 6.45b13, 10.72a14.

¹⁵⁰ See Karashima – Nattier 2005: 372.

¹⁵¹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.45c14–15.

master were a living legacy. As a classical reference, the phrase betrays a Chinese presence among the authors of the commentary. Most significantly, however, this line from the *Analepts* appears to have been one of Dao'an's favourite idioms, especially in his Chang'an years (379–385), as he quotes it in no less than six of his prefaces, four of which were written in that period.¹⁵²

XI.4 Shishi 石室 = Takṣaśilā

In the narrative excursion on Aśoka's brother Sugātra (= Vītaśoka), the name of the city of Takṣaśilā occurs, rendered as Shishi 石室, 'Stone Chamber'. This peculiar translation is typical of Zhu Fonian.¹⁵³

¹⁵² See Dao'an's 'Preface to the Vinaya' (*Binaiye xu* 鼻奈耶序, 383), in T vol. 24 no. 1464, p. 851a9–10; his 'Preface to an abstract of the four Āgamas' (*Si ahanmu chao xu* 四阿鎗暮抄序, 383), in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 9.64c6–7; his 'Preface to the *Vibhāṣā*' (*Piposha xu* 鞞婆沙序, 383), in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.73b20; his 'Preface to the Collection of Vasumitra' (*Poxumi ji xu* 婆須蜜集序, 384), in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.71c23. Probably written shortly before the Chang'an period are Dao'an's 'Preface to the *Daoxing jing*' (*Daoxing jing xu* 道行經序) and the 'Preface to the *Shifa juyi jing*' (*Shifa juyi jing xu* 十法句義經序), see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 7.47b27 and 10.70a29. Apart from Dao'an's writings and the *Fenbie gongde lun*, the *Analepts* quotation does not occur verbatim anywhere else in the entire Taishō canon, although two or three approximate allusions are attested in later texts.

¹⁵³ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.40b6, and cf. *Ayu wang taizi Fayi huaimu yinyuan jing* 阿育王太子法益壤目因緣經 (T vol. 50 no. 2045), pp. 173c19, 173c23, 174a22, 174b24, 174c20, 174c28, 175c17, 175c21, 177a29, 177b10, 177b18; *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 (T vol. 4 no. 212), 12.676a22, b5, b13. In these passages the equivalence 石室 = Takṣaśilā is implied by the context, but it is confirmed in the *Anabindī hua qizi jing* 阿那邠邸化七子經 (T vol. 2 no. 140), p. 862b4–5: 此北方有國, 城名石室, 國土豐熟, 人民熾盛, 彼有伊羅波多羅藏, for which a Sanskrit parallel has been located in Gilgit ms. no. 13: *asti grhapate gāndhāreṣu janapadeṣu takṣaśilā nāma nagarī tatra gāndhārājñā*

XI.5 Zhenjing 真淨 = Śuddhodana

The name of king Śuddhodana in the commentary is consistently rendered as Zhenjing wang 真淨王.¹⁵⁴ Outside the *Fenbie gongde lun*, this idiom is only found in the *Zengyi ahan jing* and in the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 (T vol. 4 no. 212), in both of which Zhu Fonian was involved as translator, as well as in the *Xing qixing jing* 興起行經 (T vol. 4 no. 197), a collection of ten *jātaka* / *avadāna* stories.¹⁵⁵ The terminology of T.197, which is listed as anonymous in the *Chu san zang ji ji*, but has been attributed to the Han translator Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥 starting with the *Lidai sanbao ji* in A.D. 598, includes in fact some forms that are typical of Zhu Fonian (e.g. 偷婆 for *stūpa*).¹⁵⁶ The

elapatro nāma mahānidhir upanikṣiptaḥ bahuratno (ed. Matsumura 1989: 370 par. 19). T.140, erroneously attributed to An Shigao, corresponds in fact, but with significant differences, to sūtra 51.7 in the *Zengyi ahan jing*, 49.818b5–819b10. T.140 is in fact one of the *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels identified by Mizuno; see above, ch. 2, § III.3.

¹⁵⁴ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.31c15, 5.47b28, 49b24, 50a20, 51a1, 51a11–12, 52b13–14, 52b28, 52c4.

¹⁵⁵ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 15.623a2–5 and *passim*; *Xing qixing jing*, 2.170b24, 173c19; *Chuyao jing*, 2.619b15, 17, 619c2, 6, 18, 620a3, 7, 12–13, 620b2, 5, 24.740a17.

¹⁵⁶ For the earliest mentions of the book in the catalogues, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 4.21c23 (anonymous); *Zhongjing mulu* (T.2146, A.D. 594), 3.130b20 (anonymous); *Lidai sanbao ji*, 4.54b2 (Kang Mengxiang), whose indications have been subsequently handed down reaching the printed editions of the text. A detailed analysis of the stylistic features of T.197 cannot be attempted here, and my suggestion that it may be a translation by Zhu Fonian must remain to an extent impressionistic; on the other hand, Zhu Fonian's 'style' (as anyone else's) is likely to have evolved over time, and will have expressed itself somewhat differently through changing redactors (*bishou* 筆受). However, among the interesting intertextual patterns that T.197 displays, I should note a peculiar rendition of the Four Noble Truths (苦諦、苦習諦、苦盡諦、苦盡

link between these three texts and the *Fenbie gongde lun* can only be Zhu Fonian himself, who certainly translated the *Zengyi ahan jing* and the *Chuyao jing*.

XI.6 Huoman tongzi 火鬘童子 = *Jyotipāla (< Jyotimāla) māṇava

The commentary has a brief allusion to this character and to an episode in which he insults the Buddha Kāśyapa, which is taken to illustrate a sentence in the Prefatory Chapter of the *Zengyi ahan jing* on the “good and evil deeds” (*shan’e xing* 善惡行) of the Bodhisattva in his career.¹⁵⁷ The full story appears in the *Xing qixing jing* 興起行經, for which a connection to Zhu Fonian has been suggested above in view of its rendering of the name Śuddhodana. Here the young Brahmin Huoman tongzi 火鬘童子 (*Jyotipāla [< Jyotimāla] māṇava) is revealed to be a former incarnation of the Buddha Śākyamuni.¹⁵⁸

道諦), which elsewhere occurs only in T.123 (pp. 546b21–23, 547a13–14). We have seen above (ch. 2, § III.3) that the latter text, being a version of the *Gopālaka sūtra*, was probably part of a preliminary translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, to which the document here called the ‘Narrative’ (T.2026) must have been attached; and that the ‘Narrative’ bears in turn a very close relationship to the *Fenbie gongde lun* (ch. 5, § VI). A small (textual) world, indeed.

¹⁵⁷ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.33a24–29, and cf. *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550a21.

¹⁵⁸ *Xing qixing jing*, 2.172c5–174b3. The story is part of a broader narrative group, with parallels in Pāli in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, in Chinese in the *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經 (*Madhyama-āgama*), and in Sanskrit in the *Mahāvastu* and in the *Samghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya; see Anālayo 2010: 71–84 for a detailed discussion. The name of the character in the *Fenbie gongde lun* and in the *Xing qixing jing* matches the one attested in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (Jotipāla) and in the *Mahāvastu* (Jyotipāla); the equivalence 火鬘童子 = Jyotipāla māṇava is confirmed by a passage in the *Beihua jing* 悲華經, Dharmakṣema’s translation of the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*

The six examples above were just the first results of a random search; a systematic examination of the text would probably yield more such parallels. They are entirely consistent with the ideological and narrative features of the commentary, and point to the same, very specific milieu.

sūtra (T.157, in which, however, it is a question of a different Jyotipāla), where in the Chinese text (5.199b11–12) 有一人字曰火鬘 corresponds to *Jyotipālo nāma māṇavakaḥ* in the Sanskrit (ed. Yamada 1968: 193,9). It should be noticed that the form 火鬘 in the three Chinese sources suggests that Jyotipāla was either heard or read as *Jyotimāla.

CHAPTER SIX

The authorship, date and nature of the document

The evidence gathered in the preceding chapters should be sufficient to draw some definite conclusions about the authorship of the *Fenbie gongde lun*.

We shall observe in the first place that an origin of the document after the arrival of Kumārajīva in A.D. 402, and the authoritative new translations that this monk produced especially up until A.D. 406 (Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Da zhidu lun* / **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, Sarvāstivāda vinaya, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*), seems utterly unlikely.¹ In the *Fenbie gongde lun*, the view of the vinaya, the identification of Kātyāyanīputra with Mahā-Kātyāyana, the canonical quotations (in particular from Zhi Qian's translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*), the reference to the 'Larger Version' (*Dapin* 大品) of the *Prajñāpāramitā* all consistently point to the period before the activity of the great Indo-Kuchean master.

On the other hand, it is clear that the commentary could not have been written before at least a preliminary translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, thus before the appearance of Dharmananda in Dao'an's team during A.D. 383. Within the period of exactly two decades thus defined (A.D. 383–402), only a very limited group of people would have been in a position to engage in

¹ On the chronology of Kumārajīva's translations see the synopsis in Chou 2000: 53–56.

such a close discussion of the newly translated text as we find in the *Fenbie gongde lun*. We have seen, in particular, that:

1. The commentary rests to a large extent on the indications of a foreign informant, speaking with authority of the original text of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and reporting the views of the foreign masters (*waiguo shi* 外國師) among whom this collection had been transmitted. This person, mentioned twice simply as ‘that man’ (*qi ren* 其人), could hardly have been anyone else but Dharmananda, the only *Ekottarika-bhāṇaka* ever known in China.
2. The presence of Dharmananda is further suggested by the two long Aśokan narratives in the commentary, since these reflect variants of the legend that were unique to the Indo-Bactrian master and, in the case of the story of Aśoka’s brother Sugātra, were apparently never published.
3. The priority of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and *Madhyama-āgama* among the four *āgamas*, although also attested in the ‘Narrative’ (*Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan*, T.2026), which seems to have been one of the chief sources used by the authors of the commentary, matches once again Dharmananda’s profile, since he specialised in precisely these two collections.
4. The esoteric view of the vinaya, which is repeatedly expressed in the commentary, has close parallels in two documents that Dao’an wrote respectively in A.D. 383 and 385. It cannot be reconciled with the state of things after the translation of the Sarvāstivāda vinaya in A.D. 405–406.
5. The identification in the commentary of Kātyāyanīputra, the author of the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*, with the Buddha’s disciple Mahā-Kātyāyana, further resulting in the identification of the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaskandha-śās-*

tra with the Abhidharmapiṭaka, is again mirrored in Dao'an's prefaces.

6. Dao'an's mannerisms (Shenzi 身子 for Śāriputra), favourite quotations (from the *Analects* of Confucius) and hobby-horses (*prajñāpāramitā* thought and 'fundamental non-existence') are also in relief in the commentary.
7. A further intimation of the presence of a Chinese scholar among the authors comes from the rhymed pericope from the **Pravāraṇa sūtra*, which also deftly deploys an allusion to Mao Heng's 'Preface' to the *Book of Odes*. In this case, apart from Dao'an, one thinks of Zhao Zheng, Fu Jian's poet laureate and close attendant, who acted as an executive producer of sorts in most of the translations of the Chang'an group and notably in that of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.
8. Finally, the commentary displays a number of distinctive translation idioms of Zhu Fonian.

It is all but a foregone conclusion resulting from the above that the *Fenbie gongde lun* is the work of the original translation team, which produced the first redactions of the *Zengyi ahan jing* in A.D. 384–385: Dharmananda, Zhu Fonian, Dao'an, Zhao Zheng, whose distinctive voices echo throughout the commentary. Any alternative hypothesis, including the possibility that the book may stem instead from the hands of Saṃghadeva and (or) some of his associates after the Chang'an period (Fahe in Luoyang, Huiyuan at Lushan), would have the burden of proof on itself. We should in fact *assume the existence of someone else* having Dharmananda's insider knowledge of the tradition of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, privy to his peculiar version of the Aśoka legend, prone to repeat Dao'an's pet phrases and Zhu Fonian's translation trademarks, and so on. Occam's razor will save us from lingering in this exercise.

If we accept this conclusion, and in particular admit the presence of Dao'an among the authors of T.1507, the date of the document is pinned down to the relatively short period between Dharmananda's emergence in the spring of 383 and the death of the Chinese master exactly two years later. Yet, so many things happened in those two years, and it is important to establish which specific stage in the elaborate translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* the commentary reflects. On consideration, there are four alternative possibilities. The commentary may have been written:

1. after the first redaction, in the second half of 384 or in the early weeks of 385;
2. after the second redaction, during the 40-day revision that Dao'an and Fahe carried out on the text, at some point between February and March 385;
3. after the third and final redaction, in the spring of 385 and at the very end of the activities of the Chang'an group.

However, we should also consider the possibility that

4. the commentary was produced *concurrently* with the translation process, along with the explanation of the Indic text that would have been preliminary to its Chinese redaction. This may have happened as early as the first half of 384; an earlier date seems unlikely, since in the previous year all the men in the team were fully occupied with the simultaneous work on the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi and on the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra.

Options 1, 2 and 4 are particularly critical, since they allow for the possibility that the discussion within the translation group as expressed in the commentary may have fed into one of the three redactions; crucially, this would mean that ideas and phrases from Dharmananda and the people around him might have crept into the rendition of the text that he recited. This

slightly unsettling scenario would be nevertheless absolutely plausible, and several instances of such a practice have been brilliantly identified by Funayama Tōru 船山 徹.²

There is, however, an elephant in these conclusions' room so far, and this is the alternative translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to which the *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels in the Taishō canon, and especially the 'Narrative' (*Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* 撰集三藏及雜藏傳, T.2026), bear decisive witness. We have seen above that the 'Narrative' must have been attached as a preface or appendix to another recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, probably stemming from a Sarvāstivāda lineage different from the Vaibhāṣika of Kashmir.³ The clear connection, involving textual matches, between the prose coda of the 'Narrative' and the alternative version of the *Gopālaka sūtra* in T.123 (*Fangniu jing* 放牛經) suggests that the latter was part of the alternative translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* envisaged in the former.⁴ Now, a number of elements assign the translation of the 'Narrative', and presumably of the *Zengyi ahan jing* attached to it, to the period between A.D. 382 and 385, but the earlier limit can be moved forward to A.D. 383 in view of the fact that only then did Dharmananda start to collaborate with Dao'an's team.⁵ A terminus ante quem in A.D. 385 for the 'Narrative' is confirmed by our present conclusions on the authorship of the *Fenbie gongde lun*. The commentary, in fact, visibly shares the view of the canon presented in the other document, and the frequent verbatim overlaps between the two suggest that the authors of the *Fenbie gongde lun* were aware not

² See Funayama 2002 and 2006.

³ See above, ch. 2, § II.1.

⁴ See above, ch. 2, § III.3.

⁵ See above, ch. 5, § VI.

just of the contents of the Indic text of the ‘Narrative’, but also of its already produced Chinese translation.⁶

This leaves us with a rather embarrassing situation. The commentary reflects a *Zengyi ahan jing* essentially identical to the received text at least for the first four chapters, and notably including its peculiar ‘Preface’, but at the same time it also presupposes, and to a great extent relies upon, the ‘Narrative’, which was instead attached to a different version of the *Zengyi ahan jing*. If what has been said above holds, this means that *two somewhat different translations of the Ekottarika-āgama were produced at Chang’an within Dao’an’s team between A.D. 383 and 385*, with the version related to the ‘Narrative’ and including T.123 preceding the version related to the *Fenbie gongde lun* and virtually consistent with T.125.

Chronologically, this storyline does not pose any major problem. At least some partial discussion of the contents of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and *Madhyama-āgama* had already started at the beginning of A.D. 384, as appears from Dao’an’s hints in his preface to the translation of the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra.⁷ A full translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in particular was produced before the end of that year, resulting in the first redaction in 46 scrolls. Was this the alternative translation to which the ‘Narrative’ was attached, and of which T.123 and other parallels are surviving remnants? This possibility would fit the timeline that we have been tracing, but also raises rather serious questions regarding the nature of the final redaction and the role of Dharmananda in such a seemingly radical recast of the collection. The conclusions of this investigation are around the corner, and I prefer to address this extremely sensitive issue there.

⁶ Again, see above, § ch. 5, § VI.

⁷ See above, ch. 1, pp. 37–38.

Here we can use the evidence of an earlier translation to refine our conclusions regarding the nature and date of the *Fenbie gongde lun*. If initial work on the *Ekottarika-āgama* resulted in the ‘Narrative’ and the recension of the collection described in it, including scriptures such as (at least some of) the parallels identified by Mizuno and notably the variant *Gopālaka sūtra* (T.123), the recension of the collection envisaged in the commentary, and a fortiori the commentary itself, must be placed at the very end of the process, resulting in the third redaction of the *Zengyi ahan jing*. This is the book in 41 + 1 scrolls, to which Dao’an’s preface refers. The literal agreement between the commentary and the initial portions of the received text of the collection (T.125) reveals that the latter must indeed be very close to the *Zengyi ahan jing* issued in March / April 385; at the same time, the commentary refers to an already redacted Chinese text, of which it could distinguish versified and prose parts as well as internal sections.⁸ The greatest likelihood is therefore that the commentary was written between the completion of the third redaction in March / April 385 and the tumultuous events of June / July of the same year. The onslaught of the Xianbei troops on Chang’an, the resulting chaos in the area, the death of Dao’an at that juncture and the final fall of the capital at the beginning of the summer offer a perfectly plausible explanation of why the commentary could not progress beyond two thirds of the fourth chapter, but was left behind as an incomplete text.

The absence of an introduction, the generally informal character of the comments and the lack of precise references to

⁸ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.34c4–5 (reference to the ‘initial *gāthās*’ 上偈 and to the ‘long columns’ 長行, i.e. the prose passages), 2.34c13 (reference to the ‘previous section’ 上章).

named sections (*vargas*) in the collection can be largely understood against this background. However, we should pause to take a closer look at the nature of the document that, so far, we have indulgently characterised as a simple ‘commentary’, further referring to it under the apocryphal title *Fenbie gongde lun*. As suggested above (ch. 3, § I), this title (with *jing* 經 instead of *lun* 論 as the last character) is probably the brainchild of a slipshod palace librarian in Jiankang, who, at some point before A.D. 515, conceived it after skimming through the document and noticing the ample room in it for the discussion of the respective ‘merits’ of the pre-eminent disciples of the Buddha. Yet, T.1507 is by no means a mere ‘analysis of the merits’ of the great *śrāvakas*, and it is plain enough that it is neither a ‘scripture’ (*jing* 經) nor a ‘treatise’ (*lun* 論). This points us back to the alternative title *Zengyi ahan jing shu* 增一阿含經疏, ‘Commentary to the *Āgama scriptures increasing by one*’, which the *Chu sanzang ji ji* alone among all catalogues reports.⁹ Surely this must have been the original title, and it certainly does describe the contents of T.1507 far more accurately than the misleading heading with which the book has been handed down to us. But there is more than meets the eye in the expression *Zengyi ahan jing shu* 增一阿含經疏. For the *shu* 疏 (lit. ‘report’) is a distinctive type of commentary, appearing out of nowhere in China between the late 4th and the early 5th centuries, and quickly rising to a position of prominence as a genre of Confucian exegesis. Mou Runsun 牟潤孫 (1908–1988), who authored a groundbreaking study of its origins, argued that the *shu* emerges from the Buddhist practice of *sūtra* lecture (*jiangjing* 講經), notably as a record of the oral exposition of a master to an audience. As an extensive, detailed elucidation of scripture, the *shu* 疏 marks

⁹ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 4.21c13, and the discussion above (ch. 3, § I, pp. 164, 168).

a visible departure from the interlinear commentary known as *zhu* 注 (lit. ‘infusion’), a favoured form of exegesis in China until the 4th c. also in the Buddhist world, which consisted instead of focused annotations and glosses interspersed in the written text of their object.¹⁰ Mou also pointed out the connection between the *shu* form of exposition and the practice of canonical translation, which would both necessitate and stimulate this sort of comment and analysis.¹¹

One particularly revealing document among those he collected is the preface that Kumārajīva’s disciple and editor Sengrui 僧叡 (ca. 352–436) wrote to his own trial with the new genre, a *shu* commentary to the recently issued *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (A.D. 406); Sengrui himself had assisted Kumārajīva in this translation in the role of redactor (*bishou* 筆受). After explaining his motivations for the writing of the commentary, Sengrui states:

故因紙墨以記其文外之言，借眾聽以集其成事之說。… 自非筆受，胡可勝哉？是以即於講次，疏以為記。
Thus I took paper and ink to record the words outside the text, and relied on the audience to collect the discourses completing the items [of scripture]. ...Who else if not the redactor (*bishou*

¹⁰ See Mou 1958/1987, esp. pp. 241–244, 248–256.

¹¹ See Mou 1958/1987: 256–260. Cf. John Jorgensen’s comments in Makeham 2003: 88. The notion that a major strand of the Confucian commentarial tradition took its cue from the Buddhist side has encountered predictable resistance, with some scholars rather tracing the origins of the *shu* to the purely Chinese ‘chapter and verse’ (*zhangju* 章句) genre; see Dai 1970. However, Mou’s thesis has also received significant support, and the *shu* has notably been seen as the historical antecedent of the ‘sūtra lecture texts’ (*jiangjingwen* 講經文) diffused in popular preaching in late medieval times, of which a great number of specimens have been found among the Dunhuang manuscripts; see Hirano 1984: 321–324.

筆受) could succeed [at this task]? Therefore soon after the lecture I made a ‘report’ (*shu* 疏) to record it.¹²

It is unclear how long after the translation Sengrui wrote his commentary, which is not extant. However, he avers that the work built on his privileged role as redactor, and reported the oral explanations that Kumārajīva had offered “outside the text” and complementing the mere letter of the scripture, on the occasion of lectures that may or may not have been those out of which the Chinese version of the sūtra was issued. In this task, Sengrui also relied on the audience.

In the course of the 5th c. and afterwards, the *shu* would crystallise as another written genre of exegesis, largely distancing itself from its origins in orality and lecture.¹³ However, the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* 增一阿含經疏, as we now may call it, is likely to have followed a very similar procedure to the one that Sengrui describes. Its didactic style and rhetorical interlocations, the deictic references to ‘that man’ expressing the views of the foreign masters, the abundant use of examples and narrative illustrations certainly suggest as much. Indeed, it may have been the very first instance of the new commentarial format, behind whose sudden appearance on the Chinese scene one perceives the novelty of that practice of ‘extensive explanation’, which was the hallmark of the Vaibhāṣikas.¹⁴

¹² *Pimoluojieti jing yishu xu* 毘摩羅詰提經義疏序, in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 8.59a13–17. Cf. tr. Nakamura 1997: 145, and the brief discussion of this document in Chou 2000: 79.

¹³ On the *shu* genre and the reception of Mou Runsun’s thesis see Tanaka 1990: 58–61; Van Zoeren 1991: 124–127; Makeham 2003: 85–89.

¹⁴ Mou (1958/1987: 248–251) tentatively traces the emergence of the *shu* commentary to the late 4th c. and the obscure figure of Zhu Fachong 竺法崇, who authored a work of this kind on the *Lotus* sūtra, the *Fahua yishu*

We can now see them: Dharmananda, Dao'an, Zhu Fonian, Zhao Zheng, with or without the other members of the group and possibly in front of an audience, discussing their last translation in a city under siege during that spring of A.D. 385. As the glories of Fu Jian's empire were dimming from paean to dirge, they were still there, adding one final precious page to their impressive chapter in the history of Buddhism in China.

法華義疏 (now lost); according to Mou's rather complex reconstruction, this would have happened between ca. A.D. 371 and 391. Mou also implicitly assumes that the *shu* was a purely indigenous development. A detailed refutation of this part of his argument cannot be attempted here, and will be presented on another occasion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* reconsidered

This study has pursued the origins of a strange and seminal Buddhist work, the Chinese version of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. To this end it was necessary to wade through a textual and historical morass, assessing in the first place the background and circumstances of its translation, the personalities behind it and a number of witnesses to its circulation. A preliminary exploration yielded the conclusion that the original translation of this *āgama* in A.D. 384–385, based on the recitation of the Indic text that the Bactrian monk Dharmananda performed at Chang'an, and with Zhu Fonian in the role of interpreter, was in fact an extended process, resulting in three different redactions of the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經. The third redaction, which Dao'an describes in a preface that he wrote for it in March / April 385, consisted of 472 scriptures in 41 scrolls, and was produced at the end of a 40-day revision of a draft (the second redaction) having the same size, but to which a further scroll of summaries was added. Before them, however, an initial redaction in 46 scrolls had already been issued in the course of A.D. 384.

A further revision by Gautama Saṃghadeva and Fahe was carried out at Luoyang in A.D. 390–391. This fourth redaction cannot have been a wholesale retranslation of the entire collection, but apart from more or less robust editing, it may have in-

volved a new rendition, perhaps from different originals, of selected scriptures within it.

This circumstantial textual history, based on a handful of contemporary documents, was then tested against an initial group of witnesses. An examination of the document here named as the ‘Narrative’ (*Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* 撰集三藏及雜藏傳, T.2026) and of a number of *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels in the Taishō canon confirmed with reasonable certainty the existence of another translation of the *Ēkottarika-āgama* in China, preceding the production of the ancestor of the received text (T.125) and somewhat different from it.

In the second part of the study, the problem of the connection between the received text of the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125) and its original translation was approached from a new perspective. An analysis of the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T.1507) revealed this document as an unfinished commentary to that translation. The commentary, whose real title was *Zengyi ahan jing shu* 增一阿含經疏, was produced within the first translation team – including Dharmananda, Zhu Fonian, Dao’an and Zhao Zheng – as a brand new format of exegesis, the *shu* 疏, a record of one or more lectures on the sūtra accompanied by extensive discussion of its contents. This exercise was performed with the greatest likelihood on the third redaction of the *Zengyi ahan jing* during the spring (April–June) of A.D. 385, and was brought to a sudden end by the death of Dao’an and the fall of Chang’an to the invading Xianbei forces after a prolonged siege.

This finding establishes a decisive point: at least for the first four *vargas* and 27 sūtras out of respectively 52 *vargas* and 472 sūtras in the received text, and apart from isolated discrepancies, T.125 should be accepted as the redaction of the *Zengyi ahan jing* – the third one, in our reconstruction – that Dao’an describes in his foreword of March / April 385. The adherence of

the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* to initial parts of the received text is highly significant, especially since it proves that the idiosyncratic ‘Prefatory Chapter’ (*Xupin* 序品) of T.125, with its elaborate narratives of the First Council and the transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to Uttara as well as its Mahāyānist references, was there from the very beginning as an integral part of the text recited – or at least endorsed – by Dharmananda.

The breakthrough, however, comes with a price, for we are left with rather narrow margins to situate the origins of the other translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, to which the ‘Narrative’ was probably attached, and of which a number of isolated sūtras survive, most certainly among them the variant version of the *Gopālaka sūtra* (T.123). This translation, as we have seen, must have been produced within the Chang’an group well before the final redaction of the *Zengyi ahan jing* and the aborted writing of its *shu* commentary; the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* itself visibly relies on the ‘Narrative’ for its description of the canon and account of the First Council. Yet, the ‘Narrative’ and the initial translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* must also have been based on the recitation and expositions of Dharmananda, the only member of the group named in the sources as an *āgama* expert. We shall remember that throughout A.D. 383, and until mid-January of the following year, Dao’an’s team was immersed in the parallel translation of the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi and of the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra, whereas its next recorded undertaking, the ‘Collection of Vasumitra’, was started on 11 April 384.¹ This leaves an unaccounted gap of about three months between January and April 384, and it is reasonable to assume that preliminary work on the *āgamas*, possibly including the translation of the ‘Narrative’, had already started in that

¹ See above, ch. 1, pp. 20–21, 31–33.

period.² On the other hand, Dao'an states that:

- I. the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* began between 7 May and 2 August 384 (summer of Jianyuan 20);
- II. a redaction of the *Zengyi ahan jing* in 46 scrolls had been completed before 28 December 384;
- III. the translation was completed between 27 January and 24 April 385, and revised in 40 days, resulting in a final redaction in 41 + 1 scrolls.

If we try to fit these indications into a single, coherent timeline, we are forced to conclude that the first translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, based on the recension described in the 'Narrative' and witnessed by T.123 and other parallels, can only have taken place between May / August and some time before December 384, and must be identified with the redaction in 46 scrolls. This translation would then have been replaced by means of either a radical revision or, more probably, a veritable retranslation, which would then have to be placed, with some approximation, between the late autumn of 384 and January / February 385.

However, it must be pointed out that Dao'an gives these indications in two separate documents, and inconsistently. I and III appear in the preface to the *Zengyi ahan jing*, whereas II is a passing reference at the end of the earlier 'Preface to the Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa'. Dao'an's reticence regarding the initial translation in his final foreword suggests that he may not have acknowledged the initial undertaking by then, in which case his chronological indications in that document (I and III above) can only refer to the second stage of the translation, resulting in the

² This is what the hints at the two *āgamas* in Dao'an's preface to the translation of the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra, probably written in late January or February 384, also seem to suggest; see above, p. ch. 1, p. 37.

second and third redactions.

In this scenario, the initial translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* would have taken place *before* the beginning of the second translation in May / August 384, and we can speculate that it ended with only partial success, since the project was restarted.

This reconstruction seems to account better for the shift from the first to the second translation, and I will adopt it here. Tentatively, the following timeline can be suggested (conjectural stages in the sequence are preceded by an asterisk):

Table 1.

late January 384	The revision of the translation of the <i>Abhidharma</i> of Kātyāyanīputra is completed.
*8 February 384	Lunar New Year's Day of Jianyuan 20; work begins on the <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> and on the <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> .
*February–June/July 384	Preliminary translation of the <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i>; translation of the 'Narrative' (T.2026). The translation of the <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> probably also starts in this period.
11 April – 15 August 384	Translation of the 'Collection of Vasumitra'
*ca. July 384	The decision is taken to revise or restart the translation of the <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i>; a new recitation of the collection takes place.
*Autumn 384	Translation of the 'Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa'; the translation of the <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> is probably completed in this period.
28 December 384	The revision of the translation of the 'Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa' is completed. The transla-

	tions of the <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> in 60 (59) scrolls and of the <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> in 46 scrolls are mentioned as completed in the course of the preceding year.
February 385	The draft of the second redaction of the <i>Zengyi ahan jing</i> is finished; it consists of 41 scrolls, divided in two parts of respectively 26 and 15 scrolls.
February–March 385	40-day revision of Dao'an and Fahe
March/April 385	The third redaction of the <i>Zengyi ahan jing</i> is completed: 41 scrolls, 472 sūtras, one additional scroll of summaries. Dao'an's preface.
*April–June 385	Lectures and discussions on the newly translated <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> with Dharma-nanda, Dao'an, Zhu Fonian and Zhao Zheng; writing of the <i>Zengyi ahan jing shu</i> 增一阿含經疏 as a record of the discussions.
June 385	Xianbei onslaught on Chang'an; chaos in the area of the capital.
June/July 385	Death of Dao'an
August 385	Fall of Chang'an; dispersal of Dao'an's former group.

There are, however, far more substantial problems than the chronological sequence of the translations. Why, as it seems, was the first rendition of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discarded? What prompted the decision to carry out a new translation? What was the role of Dharmananda in the two issues? Can we believe that one and the same reciter would produce apparently

so different versions of the collection? The last aspect especially may well strain Buddhological credence, and call the entire reconstruction presented in this study into question. These moot points evidently need to be carefully assessed.

Our best lead is still the ‘Narrative’, which in view of its close connection to the preliminary version of the *Zengyi ahan jing* on the one hand and to the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* on the other represents the main link between the first and the second translation. The artificial inclusion of an interpolated stanza and a prose coda accounting for the rationale of the Elevens conveys that the ‘Narrative’ was originally related to an *Ekottarika-āgama* in ten series, such as the one of the Sarvāstivāda Vaibhāṣika, but was subsequently adopted and adapted by a group transmitting an *Ekottarika-āgama* in eleven series, the topics of which are sketched in the document.³ Accordingly, Dharmananda may have learned and recited the ‘Narrative’ in the course of his presumable exposure to the Vaibhāṣika traditions, but would not necessarily have committed to memory the entire collection related to that text in its original layout. This may explain why several but not all of the chief topics of the eleven series of the *Ekottarika-āgama* described in the ‘Narrative’ are found in T.125.⁴ In other words, the Indo-Bactrian master may not have been able to recite this recension in its entirety – or perhaps he did not want to. A more problematic aspect, however, is that in the transition from the first to the second translation, a number of discourses appear to have been expanded with additional layers, resulting in those large ‘composite sūtras’ that stand out in the received text.⁵ Would Dharmananda lend himself to such a

³ See above, ch. 2, § II.1.

⁴ See above, ch. 2, pp. 111–113.

⁵ See above, ch. 2, pp. 141–143 for a brief discussion of three parallels (T.119, T.136, T.140), probably parts of the initial translation, which were

controversial practice, and thereby undo the very tradition-text that he had brought to China in the temple of his mind? Unfortunately, the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* does not cover any of those sūtras, and we cannot know what would have been the hermeneutical stance of the group, with Dharmananda in the foreground, regarding this category of texts. Reading through the commentary, however, it becomes apparent that the contents, often highly distinctive, of several sūtras occurring farther on in the uncommented portions of the collection were indeed known to its authors. I could identify references to the following sūtras in T.125: 24.5,⁶ 29.6,⁷ 29.9;⁸ 30.3;⁹ 32.5,¹⁰ 36.5,¹¹ 42.3;¹² 50.4,¹³

then recast into composite discourses in T.125.

- ⁶ This sūtra shares with the commentary a distinctive formulation of the Four Noble Truths that is unattested elsewhere: see *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.34c28–29, and cf. T.125, 24.5, 14.619a10.
- ⁷ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.30c28–31b14, and cf. T.125, 29.6, 21.657a18–658a4 (sūtra on the Four Inconceivables, *si bukesiyi* 四不可思議).
- ⁸ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.38a26–b2, 5.52b9–11, and cf. T.125, 29.9, 21.658b25–c17 (metaphor of the four great rivers flowing into the sea, like the four castes merge into the common Śākya clan of the saṃgha).
- ⁹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.43a11–b1, and cf. T.125, 30.3, 22.662a4–24 (story of Kuṇṭhadhāna *bhikṣu*, the best at using the *śalākā* counting rod).
- ¹⁰ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.44a8–15, and cf. T.125, no. 32.5, 24.677b14–21 (verses of Vāgīśa for the *pravāraṇa*).
- ¹¹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.37c27–38a17, and cf. T.125, 36.5, 707c4–708a20 (story of the *bhikṣuṇī* Utpalā [var. Utpalāvarṇā] and the monk Subhūti).
- ¹² See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.30a25–b3, and cf. T.125, 42.3, 36.749b28–c11 (simile of the elephants of increasingly greater strength).
- ¹³ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32c8–10, and cf. T.125, 50.4, 48.809a22–23 (the cakravartin Mahādeva). A variant of the narrative material of this sūtra is included in the ‘Preface’ of the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125, 1.551b26–552a22, 553c5–23). Anālayo 2011b is a study of the story in 50.4, whereas Anālayo 2013 compares the two versions with a focus on the one in the ‘Preface’. After a close investigation of their narrative and terminological features, Anālayo concludes that they stem from different translators (2013: 25–43).

and it is significant that in most cases such parallels correspond in outline to portions of long, hybrid texts within the extant *Zengyi ahan jing*. The circumstance suggests that the textual and narrative material of the composite sūtras, whether it stemmed from Dharmananda or from those around him, was indeed available to the original translation team, so that we do not need to assume external agency or posthumous interference to account for these awkward segments of the extant collection.

But still, why would they do this? And what would have been Dharmananda's position in this apparent subversion of the initial translation? One thread of speculation, and it cannot be much more than this, is tendered in Dao'an's preface to the third redaction. Describing the layout of the text that had been produced on the basis of the recitation of the Bactrian master, and which Zhu Fonian had conveyed in Chinese, Dao'an states that it consisted of 41 scrolls, divided into an upper and a lower part. He explains:

上部二十六卷，全無遺忘。下部十五卷，失其錄偈也。
The upper part, in 26 scrolls, was completely without lapses; the lower part, in 15 scrolls, omitted the summary *gāthās* (*lujie* 錄偈).¹⁴

It is not immediately clear what is meant by “omitted the summary *gāthās*” (失其錄偈). Since the previous sentence mentions that there had been no lapse of memory (全無遺忘) for the first

The stylometric analysis of 50.4 in Hung 2013 concurs that this sūtra “was not part of the original *Ekottarika-āgama* collection that was translated as T 125” (*ibid.* p. 130). The reconstruction presented here, while acknowledging the heterogeneity of 50.4, explains it as the expression of a different and arguably earlier stage in the process of translation of the *Zengyi ahan jing* rather than as the product of one or more different translators. See also below, p. 280, note 21.

¹⁴ See above, ch. 1, pp. 42.

part, with evident reference to the recitation of Dharmananda, one understands that the Bactrian master had forgotten the *uddānas* – brief stanzas (*jie* 偈) consisting of lists (*lu* 錄) of key-words, providing a sort of index at the end of each *varga* – for well over one third of the entire collection, 15 out of 41 scrolls in the Chinese redaction. If this is what Dao'an wanted to say, however, it seems none too credible: how could Dharmananda forget the brief *uddānas*, and not the much longer sūtras that those mnemonic verses were supposed to summarise? The impression is that the Chinese monk is glossing over a far more embarrassing situation. In those cases where the *uddānas* were “omitted”, Dharmananda may in fact have been unable to recite at least part of the sūtras in the relevant *vargas*; but then, how would the gaps be filled? One possibility is that Dharmananda was invited to expand on his skeletal utterances, providing a subplot of traditions that were handed down within his *bhāṇaka* lineage. The *Zengyi ahan jing shu*, which uses some of the materials included in scriptures in the later portions of the collection to comment upon the sūtras in the first four chapters, appears to corroborate this possibility. However, it is also conceivable that in such a situation, the entire translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* would transform into much more of a collective undertaking, and other members of the group – Zhu Fonian, Dao'an, the other foreign masters – could step in on occasion to supply the missing portions. Versions of individual sūtras that were known within the group might even have been chosen to replace those that Dharmananda had initially recited. On the other hand, in spite of its being based on a defective recitation, the initial translation may well have included an altogether greater number of sūtras, especially in those series that Dharmananda fully mastered, many of which would nevertheless be left out during the second translation: this would explain the

trimming from 46 to 41 scrolls, and also the statistically significant fact that approximately one in four of the *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels, seemingly stemming from the first translation, have no counterparts in the received text.¹⁵

Conjectures, no doubt, which nevertheless have the advantage of making sense of what we know without positing further ghosts down the textual history line.

One thing at least is certain, however, and it does deserve attention: the second redaction of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, resulting from what we have identified as the second translation of the collection in the second half of A.D. 384, was arranged into two neatly separated parts, with the upper portion grouping all the scriptures that Dharmananda had been able to recite without lapses, and the lower part including instead the defective items. Unless we assume that Dharmananda's memory failures followed exactly the sequence of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and were therefore entirely concentrated in the latter third of the collection – something hard to believe, if nothing else in view of the defining significance of the Elevens – this means that the artificial rearrangement into two parts decisively subverted the numerical progression of the series. Dao'an seems to ascribe this partition to Dharmananda and Zhu Fonian, since in the preface

¹⁵ Three of the 20 parallels identified by Mizuno and Warita (T.106, T.216, T.508) are unmatched in T.125; see above, ch. 2, Table 2, pp. 133–134. To these one must add the *Xing qixing xianbao jing* 行七行現報經, of which only a fragment survives (see above, ch. 2, p. 156), and two equally unparalleled *Zengyi ahan jing* excerpts in the *Jinglü yixiang* (see nos. 7 and 15 in ch. 2, Table 3 above). This circumstance lends some support to the possibility that the colophon at the end of the *Zengyi ahan jing* in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions, mentioning 555 sūtras in the collection against 472 in the received text, may have originally referred to the initial translation, notwithstanding the extreme caution with which I have presented this document above (ch. 2, pp. 158–159).

he only steps in with a first person pronoun to report his work of ‘scrutiny and correction’ (*kaozheng* 考证) of the already bisected redaction. However, it does seem unlikely that he would stay aloof from such a critical editorial decision, only to sanction it after the fact. From all we know, we expect Dao’an to have been the very architect of this division of the collection into moieties, indeed of the entire second translation.

Against this background, it seems probable that after the death of the leader and the traumatic end of the Chang’an group, someone would jettison this contrivance and attempt to restore the disrupted sequence of the collection. Saṃghadeva and his revision immediately come to mind, but the obscure palace edition under the Liang, resulting in an ‘established text’ in 33 scrolls, provides an alternative context in which such an operation may have been conducted.

These considerations finally enable us to assess to a fuller extent the relationship between the third redaction of March / April 385 and the received text (T.125). The *Zengyi ahan jing shu* proves that the first four *vargas* in the former were virtually identical to the latter, although the discrepancy of two *gāthās* in the ‘Prefatory Chapter’ (*Xupin* 序品), and the fact that the opening of the sūtras as described in the commentary would apparently use the transcription *poqiepo* 婆伽婆 for Skt. *bhagavat* instead of the translation *shizun* 世尊, should alert us to the possibility of an imperfect identity.¹⁶ In his preface, Dao’an describes the final redaction as consisting of 41 scrolls divided into two parts of 26 and 15 scrolls, respectively with and without summary verses, and including 472 scriptures altogether.¹⁷ The received text (T.125) also consists of exactly 472 sūtras

¹⁶ See above, ch. 5, pp. 180–181; cf. also p. 224.

¹⁷ See above, ch. 1, pp. 42–43.

plus the prefatory chapter, although they are spread over 50 or 51 scrolls (a fact of limited significance); however, it shows no trace of the partition into moieties, since the *uddānas*, whilst covering only 31 out of 52 *vargas*, are irregularly distributed across the entire collection.¹⁸ On the other hand, the received text does seem to follow a relatively consistent progression of the series, even though, as already noted, the last three *vargas* (50, 51, 52) appear to lack a clear numerical rationale, and are appended after the Elevens (no. 49), which yet should have closed the collection.¹⁹

This layout thus strongly suggests that the received text is the result of an editorial revision, attempting to bring back the quintessential progression of the *Ekottarika-āgama* that Dao'an's heavy-handed management of the collection had all but demolished, and placing at the end, as an appendix of sorts, three *vargas* that would not fit into any of the series. We may never know whether this was the accomplishment of Saṃghadeva, or the much later intervention of the Liang librarians; and of course, we are free to imagine further unknown actors. It is also possible that more than one attempt was made to put the *Zengyi ahan jing* back in sequence: the glosses in the *Fan fanyu* 翻梵語 (T.2130), as we could see, attest to a recension in 43 or slightly more scrolls, in which the succession of the *vargas* was already largely similar but not identical to the received text; this recension, which was apparently circulating at Jiankang between A.D. 502 and 512, cannot be identified with the 33-scroll Liang Palace edition: could it be Saṃghadeva's revision?²⁰ The fact, not-

¹⁸ On the distribution of the summary stanzas in T.125 see Lin 2009: 22–24, 110–113, and the detailed analysis in Su 2013.

¹⁹ See above, ch. 2, p. 113. On the numerical progression in the received text, see the very clear synopsis in Lin 2009: 22–24.

²⁰ See above, ch. 2, § III.2.

ed by Mizuno, that a single sūtra in T.125 (50.4) shares the language and style of the parallels stemming from the initial translation, and therefore represents a textual intrusion into the present shape of the collection, suggests that the revision was performed when the initial translation itself, or at least portions of it, were still available, something which we know to have been the case as late as the time of Baochang.²¹ On the other hand, it is perhaps significant that no one catalogue after Baochang can prove the actual existence and circulation of two different versions of the *Zengyi ahan jing*.²² The Liang edition, then, may well have marked a point of no return in the textual history of

²¹ On sūtra 50.4 see Mizuno 1989: 41; cf. Anālayo 2013 and Hung 2013. Hung notes a significant number of stylistic and terminological inconsistencies between this sūtra and the group of 24 texts (labelled as M-24) that Mizuno had identified as remnants of the initial translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* by Dharmananda and Zhu Fonian (see above, ch. 2, § III.3, pp. 131–132). He concludes from this circumstance that sūtra 50.4 in T.125 and the M-24 group are the work of different translators, and that the latter in particular cannot be ascribed to Dharmananda and Zhu Fonian (Hung 2013: 129–130). There does not seem to be any cogent reasoning behind the second conclusion, whereas the former assumption may underestimate the agency of possibly different redactors and editors in the transition from the translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* to that of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Be that as it may, surely testing the stylistic and lexical relationship between 50.4 and the 20 *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels in the Taishō canon (listed above in ch. 2, Table 2) would have been more relevant to the textual history of the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. At a cursory inspection, several ‘grams’ (stylistically significant character strings) that Hung finds in 50.4 but not in M-24 are nevertheless attested in T.123 (e.g. 何等, 佛告, 爾時世尊), the most important (in view of its connection to the ‘Narrative’) among the *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels. A more systematic analysis including the remaining parallels would certainly be valuable.

²² See above, ch. 2, p. 155.

the collection. How much else of the text was changed in the revision(s) apart from its mere structural arrangement, is again something that cannot be conclusively established. The *Zengyi ahan jing shu*, however, provides the strongest indication that what has been handed down to us is in essence, if certainly not in shape, the very improbable *Ekottarika-āgama* that Dharmananda, Zhu Fonian, Dao'an and the others laboriously produced from the summer of A.D. 384 until the beginning of the following year. It is therefore again to this text and to its early, unfinished commentary that we should finally turn in the conclusion of this study.

EPILOGUE

The cultural origins of the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* and the rise of Greater Serindia in the history of Buddhism

Our story draws to its denouement, and the crowded gallery of characters that filled its eventful stage has almost veiled the larger question looming in the backdrop: what, after all, is the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*?

What we have learned about its translation is doubtless unsettling. Dharmananda appears to have negotiated his recitation of the collection with his Chinese hosts, and his memory failures, whether real or just imputed, apparently warranted some more or less significant diversion from the initial recension, involving both expansions on the parts of the Indo-Bactrian master and an uncertain degree of interference from the home side, which in the end certainly affected the sequence of the sūtras. Yet, in his preface to the Chinese rendition of the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana, Zhu Fonian had already alerted us at least in part to the routine nature of such a procedure. Describing his work as interpreter, the monk from Liangzhou states:

或取解於誦人，或事略而曲備。

Sometimes I get explanations from the reciter, or if the substance is abridged I add the details.¹

¹ See above, ch. 1, p. 89.

In the case of the large *āgama* collections, for which no precedent existed in China, the extent of this approach, both tentative and cooperative, can only have been magnified. The entire translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, stretching from probably the beginning of A.D. 384 until about one full year later, should probably be seen as more of the shooting of a film, with several scenes eventually cut out (the *Zengyi ahan jing* parallels), but also a good number of library shots – and more importantly perhaps, with Dao'an firmly sitting on the director's chair.

It is left for us to assess what sort of Buddhist reality would be reflected in the final version, the third redaction envisaged in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu*, and what kind of cultural and doctrinal agency Dharmananda may have brought into it. We have seen in the first place that the 'Narrative', which must have tagged the recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama* that Dharmananda initially recited (albeit apparently defectively), suggests a connection with a Sarvāstivāda group referring to, but differing from, the Vaibhāṣika of Kashmir, a group that was newly shifting from the *Ekottarika-āgama* in ten series of the latter to one in eleven series; a couple of elements in that document notably pointed us to the world of the Gandhāran Sarvāstivādin and celebrated avadānist Kumāralāta (fl. A.D. 330).² The degree of Dharmananda's identification with this background is uncertain,³ but at the very least the 'Narrative' must have been in his family album. A priori, we do not expect him to have revealed a radically different scholastic orientation in the transition from the first to the second translation, thus between the first and the second half of A.D. 384. Our main chance to shed light on this point lies, of course, in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu*. We shall

² See above, ch. 2, pp. 118–120.

³ See my remarks above, ch. 7, pp. 273–274.

shortly see what the commentary has to say concerning the origins and transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and assess its historical value as well as its significance for determining the broad scholastic horizon within which the text was produced. Before we do this, however, it will be useful to briefly explore the geographical provenance of the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* as it can be inferred from the received text.

The personal profile of Dharmananda, a Bactrian coming to China in a party of Kashmiri clerics, mistaken on occasion for an Indian monk, already suggests a background for our text in a broad area stretching westwards from the upper course of the Indus to the regions between Bāmiyān and Termez, south of the mid-course of the Amu-darya, an area that would therefore have included Gandhāra and the territories of diffusion of the Kharoṣṭhī script. Indeed, a northwest Indian, Central Asian or even Serindian origin for the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* has long been assumed in scholarship.

Already Jean Przyluski, on somewhat impressionistic grounds, characterised the *Ekottarika-āgama* as a representative text of what he called “l’École cachemirienne” or “Église du Cachemire”, a blanket term for Buddhism in Kashmir and Gandhāra in a period vaguely identified with the age of Kaniṣka.⁴ Benjamin Rowland highlighted the link between the tradition of the

⁴ See Przyluski 1918: 435, where attention is drawn to a short *Parinirvāṇa sūtra* in this Āgama, in which the Buddha predicts that after his extinction the Dharma shall be established in Northern India (吾滅度後, 佛法當在北天竺, *Zengyi ahan jing*, 42.3, 36.750c22–23). Elsewhere, the same scholar (1923: 206–212) highlights the prominent role that the *Ekottarika-āgama* assigns to lay Buddhists and their forms of religious expression, notably giving and merit-making, which he sees as typical of the “École cachemirienne”. For a definition of the latter and an imaginative outline of the stages of development of early Buddhism, see Przyluski 1923: 11–18.

Buddha statue of king Udāyana, reported at length in one of the sūtras in the collection, and the iconography of Gandhāra in the Kuṣāṇa period, further pointing to the presence of the same tradition in the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya.⁵ Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善 noted that the reference in more than one sūtra in T.125 to the four great rivers of the world issuing from Lake Anavatapta – Indus, Ganges, Sītā (probably Yarkand-darya), Oxus (Amudarya) – suggests that the collection was significantly altered in northwest India, notably in Kashmir, which lies at the centre of this hydrography.⁶

There is in fact more evidence to substantiate these findings. Sūtra 30.3 in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, telling the story of Anathapiṇḍada's daughter Sumāgadhā (Ch. Xumoti 須摩提) and her resistance as a Buddhist to the heretical religious faith of her husband's family, mentions a somewhat rare placename – Oḍi (Wuchi 烏持, EMC *ʔo-dri/dri; MC *ʔuo-dji), an ancient name for Uḍḍiyāna (the Swāt valley in northwest Pakistan) – as the locale where the Buddha converted an evil *nāga-rāja* with the aid of his guardian Vajrapāṇi.⁷ The story of the Buddha's jour-

⁵ See Rowland 1948: 184, with reference to *Zengyi ahan jing*, 36.5, in T.125, 28.703b13–708c3.

⁶ See Akanuma 1939/1981: 40–41; cf. *Zengyi ahan jing*, 29.9, 21.658b26–658c17; 48.5, 45.791c1–793a2.

⁷ This sūtra has been transmitted separately in two editions: in the *Zengyi ahan jing* (no. 30.3, 2.660a1–665b10) and then independently in the Ming edition of the canon (printed in ca. 1400) under the title *Xumoti nü jing* 須摩提女經 (T vol. 2 no. 128B, pp. 837c10–843a21), where the translation is wrongly attributed to Zhi Qian 支謙. Apart from a limited number of variants and lacunae in the latter, the two texts are identical. For the line on the conversion of the *nāga-rāja* in Oḍi, see *Zengyi ahan jing*, 22.661c23–24 and note 22; *Xumoti nü jing*, p. 839c5–6. Only T.128B gives the correct reading Wuchi 烏持 for Oḍi; T.125 (based on the Korean edition) has a faulty Mati 馬提, but a look at the apparatus shows the variants Machi 馬

ney with Vajrapāṇi to northwest India is one of the distinctive narrative portions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya; one of the highlights of this story is the conversion of the *nāga* Apalāla, an episode abundantly represented in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra between the 3rd and the 5th centuries.⁸ Although it does not cover the sūtra in question, the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* recounts the *nāga*'s conversion in Oḍi as a narrative digression on the Buddha's disciple Panthaka, mentioned in the fourth *varga* of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, thus showing that this tradition was indeed in the background of Dharmananda's recitation.⁹

持 (an obvious alteration of 烏持) in the Shōgozō 聖語藏 manuscript (ca. 8th c.) and Wuzhang 烏仗 in the Yuan and Ming editions; the latter form (EMC *ʔɔ-driaŋʔ) is attested in the Tang period as a transcription of Uḍḍiyāna (see e.g. *Shijia fangzhi*, 1.959c2), and it is on its basis that Lamotte (1966: 131 and note 5) could correctly identify the setting of the story. The reading Wuzhang 烏仗, however, must be a Tang scribal replacement for the original Wuchi 烏持, which is confirmed in Dharmananda's translation of the **Dharmavardhana-avadāna*; see T.2045, p. 175a12 and note 3. Above in the text the additional MC (=Middle Chinese) reconstruction is based on Schuessler 2009. On this sūtra in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, its Chinese parallels and their connection to the Sanskrit *Sumāgadhā-avadāna* see the detailed discussion in Mizuno 1989: 25–30; it should be noticed that none of the parallels mention the conversion of the *nāga-rāja* in Oḍi.

⁸ See Przyluski 1914: 507–508, 510–512. For the representations of this episode in the iconography of Gandhāra see Zin 2006: 54–68, which also offers a full overview of the story in Buddhist literature, expanding on Lamotte 1966: 130–131.

⁹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 5.51c2-52a4; tr. Przyluski 1914: 559–562. In this passage, the mention of Oḍi, and consequently the setting of the story, are obscured by a clerical error: the conversion of the *nāga* takes place in fact in an otherwise unknown kingdom of Juchi 俱持, which is evidently a scribe's mistake for Wuchi 烏持. Since the commentary says that the *nāga* was ravaging the land of Magadha, Jean Przyluski assumed that Juchi 俱持 was also in Magadha or nearby; he then contended that the core of the story was

In the past few decades, the kingdom of Oḍi in Swāt has attracted significant scholarly attention due to a handful of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in Gāndhārī, dating from the 1st c. A.D. and documenting the devout relic worship of its Indo-Scythian sovereigns.¹⁰ The same world, and far more prominently, returns in another *Ekottarika-āgama* sūtra (29.3) in the Fours.¹¹ Here the Buddha expounds on the ‘Four Blessed Deeds of Brahmā’ (*si fan zhi fu* 四梵之福), which respectively consist in 1) the act of establishing a stūpa in a place where previously there was none, 2) repairing an old stūpa / temple, 3) bringing concord within the saṃgha and 4) the merit of the devas and men who first persuaded the Buddha to turn the Wheel of the Law.

The sūtra ends with a cosmological coda, in which the Buddha addresses the question of a monk who wants to know how the blessing deriving from such deeds can be quantified. The initial part of the sūtra is formulated as follows:

爾時，世尊告諸比丘：「今當說四梵之福。云何為四？若有信善男子、善女人，未曾起偷婆處，於中能起偷婆者，是謂初梵之福也。」

At that time, the World-Honoured One said to the *bhikṣus*: “Now I will expound the four blessed deeds of

created in Magadha and greatly expanded at a later stage in Mathurā, only to be further elaborated in its latest variants (Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya) in north-west India. This misunderstanding of the *Fenbie gongde lun* thus became one of the pillars of this scholar’s influential thesis that Buddhist narratives are at their oldest if set in Magadha, younger if in Mathurā and most recent if in the Northwest; see Przyluski 1923: 6–7.

¹⁰ For an historical overview of the Buddhist kings of Oḍi, summarising an already conspicuous literature, see Salomon 2007: 276–279.

¹¹ *Zengyi ahan jing*, 29.3, 21.656a29–c8. For an overview of the passages in the *Zengyi ahan jing* referring to the cult of relics and stūpas see Legittimo 2009.

Brahmā. What four? If there are sons and daughters of good family who have faith, and can erect a stūpa in a place where no stūpa had been previously established, this is called the first blessed deed of Brahmā ...¹²

Years ago, Richard Salomon and Gregory Schopen identified a similar passage (*ime bhagavato śākyamuṇisa śarira pradīṭhavi... apradīṭavitaprove padeṣe bramapuñ[o] prasavati* “... [he] establishes these bodily relics of Lord Śākyamuni in a ... previously unestablished place; he produces brahma-merit ...”) as a formula of relic deposition in the inscription of Indravarma, a member of the royal clan of the Indo-Scythian kingdom of Avaca in Gandhāra.¹³ The inscription, in Gāndhārī Prakrit and in the Kharoṣṭhī script, is dated to the year 63 of the Azes era (probably A.D. 5/6). Building on the earlier work of Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Salomon and Schopen traced a number of canonical parallels to the formula, including: 1, the present *Ekottarika-āgama* passage; 2, a brief reference to an unnamed ‘sūtra’ on the four kinds of persons producing brahma-merit (Skt. *brāhma-puṇya*) in the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu (late 4th c.?). 3, a full quotation from the Sanskrit text of this sūtra, again unnamed, in Yaśomitra’s (d.u.) commentary to Vasubandhu’s work, the *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*; 4, the [**Mahā*]-*Vibhāṣā*. The two scholars reached the conclusion that the formula in the inscription was a quotation from an early *Ekottar[ik]āgama* in Gāndhārī, probably circulating in northwest India around the turn of the Common Era.¹⁴ This is, however, problematic in many

¹² *Zengyi ahan jing*, 21.656b1–4.

¹³ On Indravarma and the kingdom of Avaca in Buddhist legend and history see Palumbo, forthcoming.

¹⁴ See Salomon – Schopen 1984: 115–121. On the concept of *brāhma-puṇya* and its formulations in the canonical literature see La Vallée Poussin 1924: 250–251, and a dense update in Martini 2011: 157–158 note 83.

respects. Although Salomon and Schopen convincingly show, on grammatical grounds, that the phrase in the inscription is a self-contained formula derived from some other text, which may have been a *sūtra*, the phrase itself is sufficiently different from the *Ekottarika-āgama* pericope to question the identification. The inscription simply mentions the deposition of relics of Lord Śākyamuni, not the erection of *stūpas*;¹⁵ more importantly, the formula in the inscription does not refer to the deposition of relics as the ‘first’ merit of Brahmā (or as the merit of the first among four kinds of persons), thus lacking the crucial indication that would reveal it as part of a numerical sequence, the only criterion through which its belonging to an *Ekottarika-āgama*-type *sūtra* could be inferred.¹⁶ We shall see below that the canonicity of our *sūtra* was disputed in the very northwestern milieu where it circulated in the 4th c. A.D., and in which the alternative view was held that ‘the four kinds of *brāhma-puṇya*’ meant a different thing. It is therefore more likely that the phrase in the inscription of Indravarma draws on an earlier and simpler canonical formulation, which then became one of the

¹⁵ A number of further Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (discussed in Salomon – Schopen 1984) also simply talk about “establishing relics in a previously unestablished place”, and if *stūpas* are occasionally mentioned in the context, they are not in the formula itself. Relic cult is not necessarily *stūpa* cult, and the inscriptions themselves suggest that among the Indo-Scythians of northwest India around the turn of the Common Era, relic deposition was often practised outside *stūpas*. The formula would thus have encouraged a proliferation of relic establishments based on light infrastructure (a simple clod of earth, a column, a reliquary) rather than the cumbersome multiplication of *stūpas* implied by the *Ekottarika-āgama* *sūtra*.

¹⁶ Gérard Fussman, who accepts the identification of the formula as an *Ekottarika-āgama* citation, has further questioned its attribution to a canon in Gāndhārī, proposing instead that its original was “une version sanskritisée de ce texte au début de n.è.”; see Fussman 1989: 442 note 21.

building blocks of the *Ekottarika-āgama* sūtra. A partial confirmation to this hypothesis comes from the *Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經 (Scripture of King Aśoka, T.2043), translated in A.D. 512 by Saṃghavara (Sengqiepoluo 僧伽婆羅, 460–524); this is a Chinese counterpart to the four *Divyāvadāna* chapters illustrating the legend of Aśoka, but including narrative materials that are not present in the Sanskrit collection. Among these portions is the *avadāna* of a devout artisan, who builds monasteries and halls for the saṃgha, and becomes a *bhikṣu* under Aśoka's teacher Upagupta, eventually reaching arhatship.¹⁷ In the story, Upagupta encourages the artisan to keep on performing his meritorious activity, providing canonical sanction for it:

佛已說此言：「若有地未起寺處，若人於彼能起寺者，當得梵功德。」

The Buddha has said these words: “If there is a place where no temple¹⁸ has been erected before, if a person in that place can erect a temple, [that person] will obtain the merit of Brahmā (*fan gongde* 梵功德)”.¹⁹

Farther on in the *avadāna*, the artisan is made to repeat his teacher's exhortation:

優波笈多語我：「若有地未起寺處，汝當起寺。」

Upagupta told me: “If there is a place where no temple has been erected before, you will erect a temple [there]”.²⁰

Recently, Klaus Wille skilfully identified 47 small palm-leaf

¹⁷ See *Ayu wang jing* (T.2043), 9.164c5–165a5; tr. Li 1993: 161–162 (unfortunately inaccurate in this case).

¹⁸ ‘Temple’ translates *si* 寺, which can refer either to a stūpa or to a monastery.

¹⁹ *Ayu wang jing* (T.2043), 9.164c19–20.

²⁰ *Ayu wang jing* (T.2043), 9.164c28–29.

fragments of an Aśoka legend in Sanskrit, similar to the version of Saṃghavara, among the manuscripts in the Schøyen collection I. One fragment that he could not fully identify (SC 2379/50) tallies in fact with our *brāhma-puṇya* pericope:

/// .. payati sa brāhmaṃ puṇyaṃ pra[s](a)[v]. + /// (SC
2379/50 Ae)
/// + .ā .i .. .e .. [thiv]īpradeśe + /// (SC 2379/50
Ae)²¹

The first line probably corresponds to Upagupta's quotation, whereas the second line must be the artisan's reiteration of the first part of the formula. The identification of both is permitted by the sūtra citation in Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthā*, mentioned above (I have highlighted in bold the letters that Wille was able to read in the Schøyen fragment):

sūtra uktaṃ. catvāraḥ pudgalāḥ brāhmaṃ puṇyaṃ prasavṃti.
apra^{ti}ṣṭhite p^rthivīpradeśe Tathāgatasya śārīraṃ stūpaṃ prati-
ṣṭhāpayati. ayaṃ prathamāḥ pudgalo **brāhmaṃ puṇyaṃ**
prasavati²²

As it can be seen, Yaśomitra's quotation matches the Schøyen fragment and enables us to identify the latter with Upagupta's canonical citation in the *avadāna* of the artisan, but with one important difference: where the *Sphuṭārthā* reads *ayaṃ pratha-*

²¹ See Wille 2000: 228. It must be said to Wille's credit that he had correctly located the broad section of T.2043 matching this fragment (see his note *ibid.* p. 229). However, he places the obverse and reverse of the folio fragment in the wrong order: his B side should probably be the A side (corresponding to the final part of the preceding *avadāna* in T.2043, 9.164b3–c4), and viceversa.

²² *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (ed. Wogihara), p. 438,4–6. For a translation of this passage, see Salomon – Schopen 1984: 116.

mah pudgalo (pudgalah), ‘this first [kind of] person’, the Schøyen fragment simply reads *sa (sah)*, ‘he / that one’, and therefore confirms the exactitude of Saṃghavara’s translation in the corresponding passage of the *Ayu wang jing*. In other words, just like the formula in the inscription of Indravarma, Upagupta’s canonical quotation does not envisage a series of four kinds of person achieving *brāhma-puṇya* through as many forms of meritorious deeds, but a single undifferentiated person performing the establishment of relics (Indravarma) or stūpas (Upagupta) in previously unestablished places. Accordingly, neither quotation can have been from an *Ekottarika-āgama*, and the inscription of Indravarma in particular cannot be used as proof of the existence of this *āgama* in northwest India around the turn of the Common Era. Of course, one can speculate that both the Avaca donors and the authors of the Aśoka legend were deliberately abridging the *Ekottarika-āgama* text to serve their immediate purpose. But apart from the lack of parsimony of such an assumption, it seems to me that the importance of establishing relics or stūpas would only have been highlighted by stating that this was the foremost deed among those granting *brāhma-puṇya*, had such a canonical formulation existed in the background.

The exact provenance of the Buddhist manuscript fragments in the Schøyen collection is uncertain, but when they emerged on the dealers market in the 1990s they were reportedly presented as coming from caves near the Bāmiyān valley in Afghanistan. Linguistic criteria, and the fact that fragments of several texts, including vinaya, of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins were also found in the same group of manuscripts, have prompted the hypothesis that the collection came from a library

of this school, whose strong presence in Bāmiyān in the first half of the 7th c. is attested by Xuanzang.²³

As regards the fragments of the Aśoka legend parallel to the *Ayu wang jing*, a date in the 6th c. has been suggested on the basis of their script, the so-called ‘Gilgit / Bamiyan Type I’.²⁴ Even if we assume that the book behind these particular fragments was indeed part of a Mahāsāṃghika library, however, this would by no means imply that it was a ‘Mahāsāṃghika recension’ of the story. Its rather close Chinese parallel does not reveal any such connection, and the Sanskrit legend of Aśoka in general is usually associated to the Mūlarvāstivāda in view of the close relationship between the *Divyāvadāna* and the vinaya of that school. On the other hand, a monastic library, especially Mahāsāṃghika, may well have been catholic in its selections.²⁵ But if any guess at the ‘scholastic affiliation’ of our *brāhma-puṇya* fragment is likely to remain an idle exercise, more significant is the match between the Schøyen document and the inscription of Indravarma, suggesting that the unusual *brāhma-puṇya* formula in its simpler, pre-*Ekottarika-āgama* recension was indeed well known in the territories between Bactria and Gandhāra.²⁶ It may well be from these regions that the formula

²³ See Braarvig 2000: xiii. For Xuanzang’s testimony on the dominant presence of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins in Bāmiyān, see *Da Tang xiyu ji* (T.2087), 1.873b12–13.

²⁴ See Sander 2000: 293–295, 300. The manuscript would therefore be roughly contemporary with the Chinese translation of the *Ayu wang jing* (A.D. 512).

²⁵ See below, note 49.

²⁶ Here I am assuming that the Sanskrit text of the *Ayu wang jing* originated in the same broad region in which the Schøyen fragments were reportedly found, which is of course speculative. The translator Samghavara hailed from quite a different area, Funan 扶南 (Mekong delta, between Cambodia and Vietnam). However, no source states that he brought the text of the *Ayu wang jing*, which instead seems to have been available from an un-

found its way in a presumably Sanskrit *Ekottarika-āgama* that, as we shall see shortly, by the middle of the 4th c. was circulating among the Sarvāstivāda Vaibhāṣika of Kashmir, and the same provenance is a priori more likely for this particular segment of Dharmananda's text.²⁷

All the elements gathered so far, to which a few more shall be added below, corroborate the perception that the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* has its geographical origins in a broad area between Bactria and Kashmir that happens to coincide with Dharmananda's haunts. This provenance will be of significance in assessing the problem of the scholastic affiliation of this collection, and it is with this background in mind that we can now turn to the main document shedding light on this question. The *Zengyi ahan jing shu* includes in fact an account on the origins and transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and if what has been said above regarding the authorship of the commentary holds, we should take the document as a close reflection of the views of the original translation team. In particular, the account starts with the words "that man says ..." (*qi ren yun* 其人云), and I have argued above (ch. 5, § II) that this must be a reference to Dharmananda himself. If so, what we have here is nothing short of a calling card of the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*. Below is a full translation of this passage:

known source at the Liang court; Saṃghavara translated in fact 11 rather different scriptures, all of them on imperial order; see his biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T.2060), 1.426a3–22.

²⁷ If we accept that the *Abhidharmakośa*, where the formula is also mentioned, was written by the same Vasubandhu whose life was translated in Chinese by Paramārtha, it shall be noticed that this Vasubandhu was a native of Puruṣapura (Peshawar), and therefore hailed once again from the same north-western background; see Takakusu 1904: 269.

其人云此經本有百事。阿難囑優多羅《增一阿鈴》。出經後十二年，阿難便般涅槃。時諸比丘各習坐禪，不復誦習。云佛有三業，坐禪第一。遂各廢諷誦。經十二年，優多羅比丘復般涅槃。由是此經失九十事。外國法師徒相傳，以口授相付，不聽載文。時所傳者盡十一事而已。自爾相承正有今現文耳，雖然薩婆多家無序及後十一事。經流浪經久，所遺轉多。所以偏囑累此弟子《增一》者，以其人乃從七佛以來偏綜習《增一阿鈴》。前聖亦皆囑及此經，是以能仁時轉復勤及此比丘。時優多羅弟子，名善覺，從師受誦《增一》，正得十一事，優多羅便般涅槃。外國今現三藏者，盡善覺所傳。師徒相授，于今不替。

That man says that this scripture originally had one hundred [series of] factors. Ānanda [initially] transmitted the 'Āgama Increasing by One' (*Zengyi ahan* 增一阿鈴, *Ekottarika-āgama*) to Uttara. Twelve years after he had issued the scripture, Ānanda entered *parinirvāṇa*. At that time all the *bhikṣus* practiced sitting *dhyāna*, and no longer recited [the scripture(s)]. They would say that the Buddha had three activities,²⁸ and that sitting *dhyāna* was the foremost; accordingly, they all neglected the chanting [of scriptures]. After [another] twelve years, the *bhikṣu* Uttara also entered *parinirvāṇa*. Hence the scripture lost 90 [series of] factors. The masters and disciples of the Law in the foreign countries, in transmitting [the *Ekottarika-āgama*], have imparted it orally; they do not permit it to be recorded in a written text (*buting zai wen* 不聽載文). In time, what was transmitted would reach eleven [series of] factors and no more. Henceforth the transmission has had exactly the present text, although the Sarvāstivāda school (Sapoduo jia 薩婆

²⁸ Here probably the exercise of *śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajñā*, as the following mention of 'sitting *dhyāna*' (corresponding to *samādhi*) suggests.

多家) lacks the preface and the Eleven factors at the end. The scripture has been drifting along for a long time; there have been many transmissions. The reason why [Ānanda] separately entrusted the ‘[Āgama] Increasing by One’ to this disciple (i.e. Uttara), is that that man ever since the Seventh Buddha (i.e. Vipāśyin) had been separately learning the ‘Āgama Increasing by One’. Just as the former sages (i.e. the Buddhas of the past) had entrusted this scripture, thus at the time of the Mighty and Humane (*nengren* 能仁, Śākyamuni) [Ānanda] exhorted in turn this *bhikṣu* (i.e. Uttara). In time, a disciple of Uttara named Excellently-Awakened (Shanjue 善覺, *Sambuddha) verbally received from his master the ‘[Āgama] Increasing by One’; just when he had reached the Eleven factors, at that time Uttara entered *parinirvāṇa*. At present, in the Three Repositories (Tripiṭaka) of the foreign countries, [the *Ekottarika-āgama*] is completely [identical to] the one that Excellently-Awakened transmitted. It has been imparted from master to disciple, and until now it has not been altered.²⁹

The account offers several layers of interpretation, and the fact that it stems from the very transmitter of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China adds crucial significance to it. Dharmananda says, among other things, that the *Ekottarika-āgama* of the Sarvāstivāda, unlike the one discussed in the commentary – the one he had recited – lacked the Preface and the Elevens. Scholars favouring the Mahāsāṃghika hypothesis have not failed to

²⁹ *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.34a23–b8. I have rendered the entire passage after the verb *yun* 云 as reported rather than direct speech. If my understanding of the authorship of the commentary is correct, these, and up to “...until now it has not been altered” 于今不替, are in fact the words of Dharmananda (“that man”), reported in Chinese by the team’s interpreter Zhu Fonian.

stress this circumstance, which seems to rule out a Sarvāstivāda affiliation for the text translated in China.³⁰ Things, however, are somewhat more complex. It should be noticed in the first place that the Sarvāstivāda collection is not said to be different, only to be lacking the Preface and the Elevens. Dharmananda implies therefore that its text was otherwise the same as the one he had recited; indeed, he states that the *Ekottarika-āgama* transmitted ever since the time of Uttara was exactly the present one (自爾相承正有今現文耳), and that until now it had never been altered in all the ‘foreign countries’. It is difficult to accept these claims at face value. They would imply that a single, identical *Ekottarika-āgama* from the Ones to the Tens was recited across the Buddhist world, and therefore in different schools, but there is overwhelming evidence that this was simply not the case.³¹ If so, however, it is worth asking why, of all the schools,

³⁰ See Demiéville 1951b: 277 and note 1; Akanuma 1939/1981: 35–36.

³¹ Apart from the dramatically different *Āṅguttara-nikāya* in the Theravāda tradition, the Central Asian (Turfan and Gilgit) fragments of the Sanskrit *Ekottarika-āgama* (on which see Waldschmidt 1980: 169–174 and Allon 2001: 10–11, 14) do not match the *Zengyi ahan jing*, but neither do they point to a common source text, in spite of their apparently greater similarity to the Pāli. The same can be said for at least some of the *Ekottarika-āgama* quotations scattered across Chinese translations: for example, Harivarman’s **Satyasiddhi-śāstra* (or **Tattvasiddhi-śāstra*, *Chengshi lun* 成實論, T vol. 32 no. 1646, written in ca. 360 and translated by Kumārajīva in 411–412) refers to an otherwise unknown *Tathāgata-varga* of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (*Zengyi ahan Rulai pin* 增一阿含如來品); it also mentions a series of five Inconceivables in the *Ekottarika-āgama* (增一阿含中說有五事不可思議), whereas both the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* and T.125 only mention four; see *Chengshi lun*, 1.243a25–27, 7.291a4. For the record, according to a biographical tradition preserved in China, Harivarman had been ordained under the Sarvāstivāda master Kumāralāta, but had subsequently approached the Mahāsāṃghikas in Pāṭaliputra by the time he wrote the **Satyasiddhi-śāstra*; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 11.78c9–14, 79a12–

Dharmananda should single out just the Sarvāstivāda. This is in fact the only school to be mentioned in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu*. In the other passage where its name occurs, a Sarvāstivāda thesis on the four causes of lapse (*tuizhuan* 退轉, Skt. *parihāṇi*) for the nine kinds of arhats (Skt. *nava-aśaikṣa*) is apparently reported as authoritative, and shortly after two theses of the “foreign masters” (*waiguo shi* 外國師), to explain Mahā-Kāśyapa’s demurral at reciting the words of the Buddha at the First Council, on account of his weak memory and old age.³² Dharmananda, then, did not identify himself and the *Ekottarika-āgama* he had recited as ‘Sarvāstivāda’, yet he referred to this school as authoritative, or at least set himself aside if it was someone else among the authors of the commentary to do as much. In either case, this seems an unlikely posture for, say, a ‘Mahāsāṃghika master’, whoever we think it was. The conundrum becomes only more puzzling when we consider that far more substantial contacts exist between both the *Zengyi ahan jing* and its *shu*

19. An inventory of all extant *Ekottarika-āgama* quotations in Chinese and Tibetan sources would be of great service, although I suspect that such an exercise would not yield very consistent patterns. There were probably many *Ekottarika-āgama* recensions, even within the same ‘school’.

³² See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.31b23–26. The passage of the *Zengyi ahan jing* commented upon is at T.125, 1.549c4. The *Vibhāṣā* treatises mention five causes of lapse rather than four, only two of which (illness and travelling to distant places) correspond to those indicated in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu*: see *Piposha lun* (T.1547), 2.427b8–11; *Apitan piposha lun* (T.1546), 1.3b23–25; *Apidamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 1.3c20–22. However, since the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi now extant (T.1547) is a revised version that Saṃghabhadra and Saṃghadeva issued at Luoyang in 390–391, it cannot be excluded that a different list was given in the first, lost translation made at Chang’an in 383, and to which Dharmananda had participated. On the nine kinds of arhat see Lamotte 1980: 2218.

commentary on the one hand and the Sarvāstivāda literature, notably the *Vibhāṣā* treatises, on the other.

1. The image of the four great rivers of the world issuing from Lake Anavatapta – Indus, Ganges, Sītā (Yarkand-darya), Oxus (Amu-darya) – features prominently in two sūtras in T.125 (29.9, 48.5), notably as a metaphor for the notion that all Buddhist monks belong to the Śākya clan, and in this respect it is briefly alluded to twice in the commentary.³³ The same hydrography, and in far greater detail, including lists of the tributaries for each of the four rivers, appears in the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā*.³⁴
2. All three *Vibhāṣā* treatises discuss at length a slightly different version of the *Ekottarika-āgama* sūtra (29.3) expounding the ‘brahmic merit’ (Skt. *brāhma-puṇya*) that derives from four kinds of action, chief among them the establishment of stūpas in previously unestablished places. We have seen above that this canonical text, notably its formula for the first kind of *brāhma-puṇya*, has a particular connection with Gandhāra (inscription of Indravarma of A.D. 5/6) and with the area of Bāmiyān (Schøyen fragment). The pericope on the four kinds of persons acquiring *brāhma-puṇya* is quoted as from an unspecified sūtra of the Buddha (世尊契經說, 佛經說, 佛說); since for the *Vibhāṣā* treatises ‘sūtras’ were only those included in the four *āgamas*, it is reasonable to assume that their authors envisaged an *Ekottarika-āgama* behind the *brāhma-puṇya* pericope. In the *Vibhāṣā* quotations, the second kind of action producing the merit of Brahmā is founding new monasteries or lodgings for the saṃgha (instead of

³³ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.38a26–b1; 5.52b6–11.

³⁴ See *Apitan piposha lun* (T.1546), 2.14c25–15a11; *Apidamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 5.21c29–22a20.

‘repairing old temples / stūpas’ as in T.125), whereas the fourth merit derives from the exercise of the four *brahma-vihāras* / four *apramāṇas* (T.125 mentions the merit of the devas and men who first persuaded the Buddha to turn the Wheel of the Law).³⁵ This partial discrepancy is consistent with the fact that only some of the few *Ekottarikāgama* quotations in the treatises have parallels in the *Zengyi ahan jing*, although it is noteworthy that the matches occur in the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi (T.1547) rather than in the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā*.³⁶ However, the *brāhma-puṇya* sūtra does attest to a very significant overlap between the two traditions. This is all the more significant, when one considers that according to the *Vibhāṣā* treatises, the canonicity of this sūtra was far from universally accepted: the *Dārṣṭāntikas* (Ch. *piyuzhe* 譬

³⁵ See *Piposha lun* (T.1547), 11.499b4–13; *Apitan da piposha lun* (T.1546), 42.319b17–22; *Apidamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 82.425c13–21. In his commentary to the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu, Yaśomitra (d.u.) offers an integral quotation of the *brāhma-puṇya* pericope from an unspecified ‘sūtra’; see *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (ed. Wogihara), p. 438,4–14. The quotation agrees with the version in the *Vibhāṣā* treatises, thus differing from the *Zengyi ahan jing* as regards the second and fourth merit. In particular, Yaśomitra’s text matches the quotation in the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi (T.1547) in its extensive formulation of the fourth kind of merit, against the synthetic wording of the two **Mahā-Vibhāṣā* translations (T.1545, T.1546).

³⁶ For matching quotations, see *Piposha lun* (T.1547), 1.417a4–5, and cf. T.125, 15.10, 7.578a4–9; T.1547, 1.417a5–7, and cf. T.125, 25.2, 17.631b11–18. In both cases, the formulation is slightly different, but the sūtras are clearly the same. *Ekottarika-āgama* quotations with no parallels in T.125 appear instead in *Apitan da piposha lun* (T.1546), 3.17a27–b3, 3.20c9–10; *Apidamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 6.28c11–13. This limited inventory only considers explicit references; needless to say, many *Ekottarika-āgama* parallels are likely to be hidden in the crowd of unspecified sūtra quotations spread across the *Vibhāṣā* treatises.

喻者, lit. the ‘exemplists’), in particular, rejected it as spurious, and claimed that only the four *brahma-vihāras* / *apramāṇas* would qualify as *brāhma-puṇya*.³⁷

3. The *Zengyi ahan jing shu* states that there are three categories of *devas*: ‘raised’ (*ju* 舉), ‘born’ (*sheng* 生) and ‘pure’ (*qingjing* 清淨), respectively corresponding to *cakravartin* kings, the gods from the *catur-mahārājikas* upwards and the group of Buddhas, *pratyekabuddhas* and *śrāvakas*.³⁸ The same threefold distinction is given in the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śīta-pāṇi, where the thesis is attributed to the Sarvāstivāda master Pārśva, and in Daotai’s translation of the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā*, where it is ascribed to the Sarvāstivāda master Ghoṣaka, although significantly both works include only arhats in the third group.³⁹
4. A sizeable number of narrative elements in both the *Zengyi ahan jing* and its commentary point towards the overlapping pool of stories in the *Divyāvadāna* and in the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya.⁴⁰ A full inventory of these elements cannot be offered here, but in more than one case Dharmananda

³⁷ See *Piposha lun* (T.1547), 11.499b13–25; *Apitan da piposha lun* (T.1546), 42.319b22–c1; *Apidamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 425c21–426a5.

³⁸ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 3.38b23–c5; see also the synopsis in the Appendix at the end of this study.

³⁹ See *Piposha lun* (T.1547), 10.487b26–29; *Apitan piposha lun* (T.1546), 41.311a20–24. I have not been able to trace this thesis in Xuanzang’s translation of the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā* (T.1545).

⁴⁰ The *Divyāvadāna* includes 38 stories, of which 19 have close parallels in the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya. Building on the work of previous scholars, Hiraoka Satoshi (1998) has convincingly demonstrated that the compilers of the former borrowed from the latter; however, both the provenance of the remaining 19 *avadānas*, including the four chapters on Aśoka, and that of the stories in the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya, are still largely unclear.

seems to have known more archaic versions of those stories, or simply their narrative building blocks. In particular:

- 4.1 We have seen above (ch. 5, § IX) that Dharmananda was familiar with extensive portions of the legend of Aśoka, but in simpler and more coherent forms compared to the versions in the *Divyāvadāna*.
- 4.2 Sūtra 43.2 in T.125 features a story in which the Buddha Dīpaṃkara makes a prophecy through the emission of multi-coloured light from his smiling mouth, which then re-enters his body from different spots depending on the meaning of the prediction.⁴¹ Shizutani Masao 静谷正雄, and after him Hiraoka Satoshi 平岡 聡, have noticed the repeated appearance of this theme (with the same or different Buddhas) in the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya.⁴² Neither scholar, however, has mentioned that this distinctive form of prophecy plays a pivotal role in the legend of Aśoka in the *Divyāvadāna*, since it is through it that the Buddha predicts the future kingship of the little boy Jaya.⁴³ This legend is *not* included in the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya, and its relationship to the latter is assumed chiefly on the basis of its proximity in the same collection to stories clearly taken from that vinaya. Its original narrative elements, however, must have been elsewhere, and Dharmananda's *Ekottarika-āgama* tradition appears to have been closer to several of those elements, which would then emerge in the *Divyāvadāna* either via the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya or from somewhere else.
- 4.3 The commentary reports the story of Ānanda's entry into *nirvāṇa* in the middle of the Ganges, which marks the border

⁴¹ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 43.2, 38.758b12–24.

⁴² See Shizutani 1973: 58; Hiraoka 2007b: 213–214.

⁴³ See *Divyāvadāna* (XXVI, *Pāṃśupradānāvadāna*), ed. Cowell – Neil, pp. 366,23–368,8.

between Magadha and Vaiśālī. There he ordains his two disciples Madhyāntika (Mochanti 摩禪提) and Mahendra (Mo-shenti 摩呻提), whom he respectively sends to Kashmir (Jiebin 羯賓) and Siṃhaladvīpa (Shizizhu guo 師子渚國, Ceylon) to spread the Buddha's Law in those countries. Then he enters *nirvāṇa* and cremates his body, dividing his *śarīra* in two to let the two rival countries worship them. This story is again attested in the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya, but with the significant difference that only Madhyāntika is mentioned as the disciple whom Ānanda sends on a mission to Kashmir.⁴⁴

- 4.4 In the commentary on sūtra 2.1 in T.125 on *Buddhānusmṛti* (*nianFo* 念佛), the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* states among other things that miracles happen when the Buddha enters a city, as all the blind, deaf, dumb and lame are healed, and all those who see his *lakṣaṇas* and *anuvyajñanas* are converted.⁴⁵ This Buddha producing miraculous healings is more reminiscent of the Gospels' narratives on Jesus than of any depiction of the Lord in the early literature. Some form of Western influence on the Bactrian Dharmananda cannot be excluded, and at least another motif in the commentary, the simile of the lame and the blind making up for each other's weakness, also seems to point to Western origins.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.37b13–28. For the story in the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya see *Genben shuo yiqieyou bu binaye zashi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (T.1451), 40.410b10–411a5; cf. Rockhill 1884: 164–167 for the Tibetan version.

⁴⁵ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 2.35c21–25.

⁴⁶ In the *Zengyi ahan jing shu*, the maxim of the lame and the blind helping each other is applied to Ānanda and Mahā-Kāśyapa's cooperation at the First Council; see *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.31c22–23. J.D.M. Derrett (2002: 525–528), with his astounding erudition, traces a good number of sources

However, the prodigies occurring upon the Buddha's entrance in a city form a self-contained narrative module, which Hiraoka Satoshi has been able to locate in a cluster of texts significantly bending on the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda side, with the notable exception of two passages in the *Mahāvastu*.⁴⁷ None of these texts is demonstrably earlier than the 4th c. In this case and in the preceding ones, it is a distinct possibility that all these narrative elements were originally elaborated in the Indo-Bactrian Buddhist culture of Dharmananda – in a 'proto-Mūlasarvāstivāda' milieu of sorts – before making their way to the territories east of the Indus.

Probably the single most important clue to Dharmananda's ambiguous connection to the Sarvāstivāda comes from the account translated above on the transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. In the first part of this account, we read that this collection originally consisted of one hundred series; after first Ānanda and then Uttara entered *parinirvāṇa*, the disciples neglected the recitation of the Buddha's word and 90 series were lost. This account is very similar to the one found in the *Vibhāṣā* of

for this story, reaching, however, the paradoxical conclusion that its origin was in India, from where it would have reached the Greek and Jewish world. Yet the very evidence he gathers points to the opposite conclusion; Western instances of the maxim are very numerous since the beginning of the Common Era, whereas the 'early' Indian witnesses are limited to occurrences in the *Purva Mīmāṃsā* and Sāṃkhya literature, whose chronology is at best uncertain, and in Buddhaghosa (5th c.).

⁴⁷ The group includes the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya in Sanskrit (Gilgit mss.) and Chinese, the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Prātihārya sūtra*, *Dharmarucy-avadāna* and *Pāṃśupradānāvadāna* in the *Divyāvadāna*, the Sarvāstivāda vinaya in Chinese and, as mentioned, two passages in the *Mahāvastu*; see Hiraoka 2002: 178–180, 202–204. I am indebted to Dhammadinnā for drawing my attention to Hiraoka's discussion of this theme.

*Śītapāṇi and in the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā*. In Daotai's translation of the latter (A.D. 427), the relevant passage reads as follows:

曾聞《增一阿含》從一法增乃至百法。今唯有一法增乃至十法在，餘悉亡失。又於一法中，亡失者多，乃至十法，亡失亦多。

It has been heard that formerly the 'Āgama Increasing by One' (*Ekottarika-āgama*) would increase from one principle (*fa* 法, Skt. *dharma*, i.e. from the *ekaniṣṭhā*) to one hundred principles. Today there is only [a text] increasing from one principle to ten principles; everything else has been lost. Moreover, within the one principle (i.e. in the *ekaniṣṭhā*) the losses are many, and up to the ten principles the losses are also many.⁴⁸

The notion of an *Ekottarika-āgama* in one hundred series is significantly also attested in the Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya, where it may represent either the memory of a very early, common lore or, more probably in my opinion, the sign of a recent exposure to Sarvāstivāda influences.⁴⁹ How-

⁴⁸ *Apitan piposha lun* (T.1546), 10.65a5–8; the passage is repeated in virtually identical terms at 25.182a17–20. See also *Piposha lun* (T.1547), 1.418b14–15; *Apidamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 16.79b8–10. Xuanzang's translation of the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā* gives a further, more specific illustration of the Sarvāstivāda tradition on a hundredfold *Ekottarika-āgama*, saying that this had once included discussions of the Five Fetters (*wujie* 五結, Skt. *pañca-saṃyojana*) and of the Ninety-eight Tendencies (*jiushiba suimian* 九十八隨眠, Skt. *aṣṭa-navati-anuśaya*) respectively in the Fives and in the Ninety-eights (!), which had subsequently been lost (於《增一阿含》五法中說五結，九十八法中說九十八隨眠，時經久遠而俱亡失); see T.1545, 46.236b28–c1.

⁴⁹ See *Mohesengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 (T vol. 22 no. 1425), 32.491c19–20: 一增二增三增乃至百增，隨其數類相從，集為《增一阿含》。As mentioned in part above, the Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṃghika vinaya was based on

ever, the idea of a massive scriptural loss over time, resulting in the reduction of the *Ekottarika-āgama* from one hundred to just ten series, is a distinctively Vaibhāṣika tradition, which Yaśomitra reports as such in his *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*.⁵⁰ It is clearly this tradition that Dharmananda envisages when he mentions that the originally hundredfold *Ekottarika-āgama* had lost 90 series of factors (經失九十事) after the *parinirvāṇa* of Uttara, the disciple to whom Ānanda had transmitted the collection. It is again relying on the same tradition that in two other places in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* reference is made to an *Ekottarika-āgama* in ten series.⁵¹ Yet, in the very account on the transmission of the scripture, just one phrase after the reference to the loss of 90 series, the notion that the *Ekottarika-āgama* handed down from the past consisted of *eleven* series is suddenly and inconsistently introduced:

時所傳者盡十一事而已。

In time, what was transmitted would reach eleven factors and no more.

a manuscript that Faxian had obtained at a Mahāyāna monastery in Pāṭaliputra, along with an excerpt from the Sarvāstivāda vinaya in about 7,000 *gāthās* and a copy of the **Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya* (*Za Apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論, T vol. 28 no. 1552), an important work of Sarvāstivāda scholasticism (see on it Dessein 2003: 289–292): see *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, p. 864b17–28; tr. Deeg 2005: 561. It seems therefore that at the beginning of the 5th c., the Mahāsāṃghika community in Magadha from which the vinaya manuscript stemmed was more than knowledgeable about Sarvāstivāda doctrines and traditions.

⁵⁰ See *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (ed. Wogihara), p. 188,24–26: *aṃtarhitam tat sūtram iti Vaibhāṣikāḥ. tathā hi Ekōttarik’āgama ā śatād dharma-nirdeśa āsīt. idānīm tv ā daśakād drśyamta iti kathayanti.*

⁵¹ See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32a3–4, 26–27; cf. the discussion above, ch. 5, pp. 192–193, notes 26 and 27.

This twist of the Vaibhāṣika notion, wedging a place for the Elevens in a tradition that only knew of ten series, matches exactly the identical ploy that we have seen in the ‘Narrative’, and confirms the close connection between that text and our commentary. In fact, it is made clear at the end of the account in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* that this text in eleven series was the very *Ekottarika-āgama* that the foreign masters had handed down, and was now being brought to China. The commentary starts by explaining the reasons for the ‘separate transmission’ (*pian zhu-lei* 偏囑累) of the *Ekottarika-āgama* from Ānanda to Uttara, who had been learning the collection under all the Buddhas of the past. The *bhikṣu* Uttara (Youduoluo 優多羅) is well known from the prefatory chapter (*xupin* 序品) of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, where in a long narrative excursion Ānanda explains to Mahā-Kāśyapa this monk’s special karmic connection to the *Ekottarika-āgama*. At the time of Vipāśyin, Uttara was named *Ekottara (*Yijuyouduoluo* 伊具優多羅), and had received the ‘*dharma* increasing by one’ (*zengyi zhi fa* 增一之法) from that Buddha. The transmission had then continued throughout his former existences under the past Buddhas – as *Mukhottara (*Muqie-youduoluo* 目伽優多羅) from Śikhin, as *Nāgottara (*Long Youduoluo* 龍優多羅) from Viśvabhū, as *Vajrottara (*Leidian Yoduoluo* 雷電優多羅) from Krakucchanda, as *Devottara (*Tian Youduoluo* 天優多羅) from Kanakamuni, as *Brāhmottara (*Fan Youduoluo* 梵優多羅) from Kāśyapa – until his present rebirth as Uttara at the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni.⁵² The reference to him in the commentary is therefore consistent with the *Zengyi ahan jing*.

Afterwards, however, the commentary introduces “a disciple of Uttara named Excellently-Awakened (Shanjue 善覺)”, who is not

⁵² See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.551a27–b25.

mentioned in the scripture. This monk had received the *Ekottarika-āgama* from Uttara, but the latter had only transmitted to him eleven series as he passed away. Accordingly, the *Ekottarika-āgama* up to the Elevens transmitted to Shanjue became the established text of this collection across the ‘foreign countries’, and was handed down unaltered down to the present.

A monk named Shanjue 善覺, ‘Excellentlly Awakened’, is presented elsewhere in the commentary as the “old *bhikṣu*” (*lao biqiu* 老比丘) who converts Aśoka in the episode of the prison-hell (ch. 5, § IX). I have suggested above that this personage is the selfsame monk who received the *Ekottarika-āgama* from Uttara; I have also proposed several reasons to reconstruct his Indic name as *Sambuddha, and further to identify him with the eminent monk known as Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī in Pāli and as Śāṇakavāsin in Sanskrit. In the Theravāda, Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka traditions, Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī / *Sambuddha (Sanfutuo 三浮陀), an erstwhile disciple of Ānanda, is one of the foremost Elders attending the Council of Vesālī / Vaiśālī one century after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, opposing the Vajjian heresy. These Elders, so we are told, had been in the clergy for more than a hundred years by that time and had personally seen the Buddha.⁵³ This obviously strains credulity, but it is important to note that the personage in these traditions is depicted as a sectarian icon leading the Council against the Vajjiputtakas, the future Mahāsāṃghikas.

The Sanskrit *Pāṃśupradānāvadāna* in the *Divyāvadāna* presents Śāṇakavāsin as the teacher of Aśoka’s teacher Upagupta;⁵⁴ its Chinese counterparts, the *Ayu wang zhuan* and the *Ayu wang jing*, include additional narrative portions where Śāṇakavāsin,

⁵³ See above, ch. 5, pp. 236–238, note 128.

⁵⁴ See *Divyāvadāna* (XXVI, *Pāṃśupradānāvadāna*), ed. Cowell – Neil, p. 349,8–11.

like Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī, is introduced as Ānanda's disciple.⁵⁵ These portions, in turn, have exact parallels in the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya preserved in Chinese and Tibetan.⁵⁶

In the *Divyāvadāna*, Śāṇakavāsin, Upagupta and Aśoka are situated in time by means of prophetic utterances in which the Buddha predicts their future existence with an identical formula: *varṣaśataparinirvṛtasya ... nāma ... bhaviṣyati* “a hundred years after [my] *parinirvāṇa*, there will be a (perfumer, monk, king) named ([Upagupta's father] Gupta, Śāṇakavāsin, Upagupta, Aśoka)”.⁵⁷ I have argued elsewhere that this formula and notably the tag phrase *varṣaśataparinirvṛtasya*, occasionally inflected in the locative as *varṣaśataparinirvṛte*, must have originated among the Kuṣāṇa and referred to an *ongoing* period of one hundred years – a century – rather than an elapsed one, in which latter case we should paradoxically assume that Gupta, Śāṇakavāsin, Upagupta and Aśoka had exactly the same age. A misunderstanding of this phrase subsequently engendered tall stories of sprightly centenarians such as those found in the Pāli chronicles about Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī and the other Elders.⁵⁸ If we admit instead the existence of an earlier tradition placing Sambhūta Sāṇavāsī / Śāṇakavāsin and Aśoka *in the century* after the Buddha's demise, their chronological relationship need

⁵⁵ See *Ayu wang zhuan* (T.2042), 4.114b7–15, 115b3–19, tr. Przyluski 1923: 328–329, 334–335; *Ayu wang jing* (T.2043), 7.153a22–27, 154b9–28, tr. Li 1993: 109, 114–115.

⁵⁶ *Genben shuo yiqieyou bu binaye zashi* (T.1451), 40.408c13–20, 409c11–26; cf. Rockhill 1884: 162 for a summary of the Tibetan version.

⁵⁷ See *Divyāvadāna* (XXVI, *Pāṃsupradānāvadāna*), ed. Cowell – Neil, pp. 348,23–24 (Gupta), 349,8–9 (Śāṇakavāsin), 356,18–19 (Upagupta), 379,19–20 (Aśoka).

⁵⁸ See Palumbo 2011: 11–12.

no longer rest on far-fetched assumptions of longevity. It is on a tradition of this sort that Dharmananda seems to draw as he describes *Sambuddha as a grand-disciple of Ānanda and the monk who, in his old age, converted Aśoka.⁵⁹ It is clear, however, that *Sambuddha in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* partakes of only some of the traits respectively ascribed to Sambhūta Sāṇa-vāsī / *Sambuddha in the Theravāda, Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka traditions and to Śāṇakavāsin in the Mūlasarvāstivāda narratives. The most important, present in all versions, is his proximity to Ānanda and his role as chief legate of the Dharma

⁵⁹ There is a third mention of the monk Shanjue / *Sambuddha in the commentary: he is the *bhikṣu* whom Mahā-Kāśyapa sends to heaven to summon the elder Gavāmpati, who had failed to appear at the great council after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, and was staying aloof in his heavenly abode, absorbed in *samādhi*; the elder demurs, only entrusting his robes and bowl to Shanjue, and enters into extinction immediately after. See *Fenbie gongde lun*, 4.40c21–41a5, where the name Gavāmpati is alternatively translated as Niujiāo 牛腳 or (partly) transcribed as Qiaohuan 橋涓. Przyluski offers a French translation of this passage (1926: 115–116) and an interesting discussion of the myths surrounding Gavāmpati (*ibid.* pp. 240–242); he explains the translation Niujiāo 牛腳 as based on an underlying *Gavāmpādī, ‘ox-foot’. The story also appears in the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya and in the *Da zhidu lun*. In the former, the monk sent to Gavāmpati is Pūrṇa, who is presented as the youngest in the congregation; the latter source only mentions an unnamed “junior monk” (*xiazuo* 下坐). Both versions state that Gavāmpati was residing in the wood or palace of Śrīṣa, but only the *Da zhidu lun* specifies that this was a place in heaven. See *Genben shuo yiqieyou bu binaye zashi* (T.1451), 39.402c20–403c20; cf. Rockhill 1884: 149 for the Tibetan version; *Da zhidu lun*, 2.68b19–69a7; tr. Lamotte 1944: 97–100. Shanjue 善覺, ‘Excellently Awakened’, cannot be a translation of Pūrṇa, but the tradition that the monk who visited Gavāmpati was a very junior member of the congregation at the time of the First Council would be consistent with *Sambuddha’s role as a grand-disciple of Ānanda.

in the generation after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. With the former group in particular *Sambuddha shares the form of the name,⁶⁰ while he is closer to the Śāṇakavāsin of the Mūlasarvāstivāda for the connection that this personage is said to have had, albeit indirectly, with Aśoka. Two more potential links can be mentioned with the latter. One is that according to Xuanzang, at his passage around A.D. 630, Śāṇakavāsin was the object of a special cult in the area of Bāmiyān, where his bowl and his hempen robe (*śāṇaka*), after which he would have been named, were preserved in a monastery across the Hindukush, to the southwest of the city.⁶¹ We cannot be certain whether such a cult was established already in Dharmananda's times, but the fact that it was centred in the approximate home region of the Indo-Bactrian monk is certainly telling.

A further clue of some significance is a tradition mentioned in all the *Vibhāṣā* treatises, starting from the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi, but reported with additional elements in the Chinese counterparts to the *Aśokāvadāna*, according to which a very large number of contents of the Law, notably 77,000 *jātakas* and 10,000 texts of *abhidharma*, would have been lost with the *nirvāṇa* of Śāṇakavāsin.⁶² This Elder, then, was seen as the last witness to the full extent of the Buddha's word, from which he was only one generation away, and this characterisation is very similar to that of *Sambuddha in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu*. The

⁶⁰ See, again, ch. 5, pp. 236–238, note 128 above for a hypothesis on the common Prakrit intermediary that may have been behind the different forms.

⁶¹ See *Da Tang xiyu ji* (T.2087), 1.873b26–c8.

⁶² See *Piposha lun* (T.1547), 1.418b16–20; *Apitan piposha lun* (T.1546), 10.65a8–13, 25.182a20–24; *Apitamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 16.79b10–15. See also the longer narratives in *Ayu wang zhuan* (T.2042), 5.120c22–121b1, tr. Przyluski 1923: 366–369; *Ayu wang jing* (T.2043), 9.162a15–c8, tr. Li 1993: 149–152.

tradition of the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* thus claims its ancestry from a stage in Buddhist history that would have been innocent of sectarian branching; in fact, the commentary simply does not acknowledge any such division.⁶³

Where does this leave us? And how should we finally characterise the scholastic profile of Dharmananda and of his *Ekottarika-āgama*? In modern scholarship, this monk is sometimes labelled as a ‘Sarvāstivādin’, but the evidence on which such a description rests is never clearly spelled out.⁶⁴ In his preface to the translation of the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra, written in early 384, Dao’an states that all the Indian monks coming to Chang’an in those years would simply venerate this text along with the *Vibhāṣā*, and engage in their recitation.⁶⁵ What we have learned about the activities of the Chang’an group does seem to confirm this claim, and Dharmananda was a prominent member of that group. It is certainly the case that he took part to the translations of two texts, the *Vibhāṣā* of *Śītapāṇi and the ‘Collection of Vasumitra’, which can be reasonably defined as Sarvāstivāda. To be sure, in the former case Dharmananda is only said to have written down the Indic text that Saṃghabhadra recited, and on the other hand, this initial translation be-

⁶³ I shall only give very restrained expression here to my perception (an outsider’s, no doubt) that lingering views among Buddhologists concerning scholastic and sectarian developments may rest on a good dose of anachronism; the application, that is, of Late Antique narratives of councils and schisms to the plainly dark early history of Buddhism. In this regard, little progress appears to have been made since the admirably cautious overview of these narratives that Ivan P. Minaev gave long ago (see Minayeff 1894: 187–207). See, however, the refreshing remarks on the topic of ‘school affiliation’ in Boucher 2005: 293–294, and Fussman 2012: 196–199.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Mizuno 1989: 1, 9, 38; Harrison 1997: 280.

⁶⁵ See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 10.72a24–25 (其身毒來諸沙門，莫不祖述此經，憲章鞞婆沙，詠歌有餘味者也。).

ing lost, we cannot assess whether it stood out in any way for its doctrinal formulations. For the ‘Collection of Vasumitra’, the Indo-Bactrian monk took a more active role as expounder of the original text, although he shared it with Saṃghabhadra and Saṃghadeva. We have seen that according to Watanabe Baiyū, the latter treatise was probably the expression of a Sarvāstivāda lineage from outside Kashmir, the so-called ‘foreigners’ (Skt. *bahirdeśaka*) or ‘Westerners’ (Skt. *pāścātya*). The only text that can be assigned to Dharmananda in its entirety is the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana (T.2045), which is in fact visibly reflected in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu*.

From the above, we may probably conclude that Dharmānanda was sharing the general scholastic orientation of the foreign monastic community at Chang’an in the 380s, and rubbing shoulders with Kashmiri masters such as Saṃghabhadra and Saṃghadeva, whose Sarvāstivāda affiliation seems more clearly established. Yet, this does not make him a Sarvāstivādin by default, however close he may have been to that scholastic environment. Instead, it is particularly significant that in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu*, Dharmananda refers to the Sarvāstivāda Vai-bhāṣika tradition on the transmission of an *Ekottarika-āgama* in ten series, whilst going his own way with a collection in eleven series, a ruse already displayed in the interpolated stanzas and coda to the ‘Narrative’. It is in the space of this incoherence that the Indo-Bactrian master’s allegiances are probably ensconced. We should then perhaps pause to consider Mori Sodō’s suggestion, made on the basis of an admittedly hasty investigation, that the ‘foreign masters’ (*waiguo shi* 外國師) mentioned in the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* (*Fenbie gongde lun*) should be seen as identical with the group mentioned repeatedly under the same or similar labels in the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā*, the *bahirdeśaka* or

pāścātya.⁶⁶ Since it is now clear that the position of the ‘foreign masters’ is that of Dharmananda as the transmitter of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and the one that the authors of the commentary endorse, one wonders whether the Indo-Bactrian monk should not be identified with this particular group, of which he would certainly match at least the geographical profile. There are two problems with this otherwise seductive possibility, although neither of them is insurmountable. The first difficulty is that we know precious little about the *bahirdeśakas*, and what little we know comes from the biased reports of the Vaibhāṣikas of Kashmir. It is on the basis of the latter that the *bahirdeśakas* are generally understood to have been a ‘dissident’ or simply different sub-sect of the Sarvāstivāda, living somewhere to the west of Kashmir. However, since their views are reported exclusively in terms of their occasional disagreement with the Kashmiri masters in the interpretation of the *Abhidharma* of Kātyāyanīputra (i.e. the *Jñānaprasthāna* / **Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*) and of its ancillary *Abhidharma* treatises (the so-called ‘Six Feet’, *Ṣaṭpāda-abhidharma*), it would probably be more cautious to characterise the *bahirdeśakas* as Western communities devoted to the study of this *abhidharma* literature and the practice of ‘extensive commentary’ (*vibhāṣā*) to it, though not necessarily sharing the same ordination lineages, recensions of the rules and whatever else may have defined the Sarvāstivāda of Kashmir as a *nikāya*. They would then have been alternative groups of *ābhidharmikas* and *vaibhāṣikas*, probably engaging their Kashmiri brethren in doctrinal contests that would not have been too different from the Christian councils taking place, in that same 4th c., on the other side of Eurasia. If so, Dharmananda could certainly have been one of them. It would, of

⁶⁶ See Mori 1970: 35–36.

course, be crucial to locate some distinctive *bahirdeśaka* thesis inside the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* and especially in its *shu* commentary, but very little material is available for such an enquiry. Of the fifteen points of doctrinal disagreement between the Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda and the ‘foreigners’ that Watanabe Baiyū has patiently reconstructed, only one seems to be of potential significance: the masters of Kashmir only acknowledged four *pāramitās* of the Bodhisattva – *dāna*, *śīla*, *vīrya*, *prajñā* – as they would subsume *kṣānti* and *dhyāna* under *śīla* and *prajñā* respectively. The ‘foreign masters’, instead, would uphold the well-known list of six *pāramitās*.⁶⁷ This may mean perhaps that the six perfections, which are given great emphasis especially in the prefatory chapter of the *Zengyi ahan jing* as well as in the corresponding part of the commentary, were a notion of some importance for the *bahirdeśaka*. Their description in the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* is by no means incompatible with such a matrix, and there are indeed significant similarities with the presentation of the *pāramitās* in the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā*, in spite of the fact that this was *not* a *bahirdeśaka* work. For example, both texts characterise *dāna-pāramitā* in terms of the ‘heroic’ (*yongmeng* 勇猛) gift that the Bodhisattva makes of his eyes and body.⁶⁸ And although the Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda would not acknowledge *kṣānti* as a separate *pāramitā*, it is again significant that both texts should illustrate the virtue of forbearance with the story of the eponymous character Kṣānti *bhikṣu*, a previous incarnation of the Bodhisattva, who was tortured and mutilated by the cruel king Kali; the *gāthās* in the prefatory chapter of the

⁶⁷ See Watanabe 1954: 116. For the relevant passage in the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā* see *Apidamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 178.892a26–b24.

⁶⁸ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550a15–16 (commented upon in *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.32c17–19), and cf. *Apidamo da piposha lun*, 178.892b6–12.

Ekottarika-āgama merely hint at it, but the commentary makes sure that the reference is not lost.⁶⁹ The story was already there at great length, and with the same illustrative function, in an earlier translation of the Chang'an group, the 'Scripture of Saṃgharakṣa'; it would return again in a text plainly of the Great Vehicle, the *Da zhidu lun* translated by Kumārajīva.⁷⁰

These aspects warrant some caution in assessing the 'Mahāyānist' traits in the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*, which so far have been seen mostly as indications of a Mahāsāṃghika origin, if not as local accretions.⁷¹ There is a Mahāyānist undertide in the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā*, which so far has largely eluded scholarly attention, also due to the persistent misunderstanding on the age of the *Vibhāṣā* treatises. Recently, however, Michael Radich has convincingly argued that the Vaibhāṣika formulations of the doctrine of the bodies of the Buddha imply an awareness of parallel discourses on the Mahāyāna side.⁷² On her part, Giuliana Martini has drawn attention to the presence of discourses on the Three Vehicles in the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā*, notably expressed in a distinctive parable that would find its way into the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta*, a probably 5th-c. large Mahāyānist compendium of a rather fundamentalist 'Bodhisattva' movement in Central Asia.⁷³ These traits, which further research would prob-

⁶⁹ See *Zengyi ahan jing*, 1.550a19–20, with the commentary in *Fenbie gongde lun*, 1.33a15–20, and cf. *Apidamo da piposha lun*, 178.892b28–c2.

⁷⁰ See *Sengqieluocha suoji jing* (T.194), 1.118c25–119b8; *Da zhidu lun*, 4.89b11–14, tr. Lamotte 1944: 263–265. Lamotte (*ibid.* pp. 264–265 note 1) provides an extensive inventory of the sources on the story of Kṣānti, which in the Pāli tradition is only attested in the *jātakas* and in the commentaries, but is abundantly reported in the Mahāyāna literature as well as in the *Mahāvastu*.

⁷¹ See, for example, the discussion in Akanuma 1939/1981: 37–40.

⁷² See Radich 2010, esp. pp. 150–154.

⁷³ See Martini 2013: 55. The parable is that of the hare, the horse and the

ably find in greater number, can be interpreted in different ways. A conservative assessment should see them at least as evidence of a special interest, within clusters inside the vast Sarvāstivāda galaxy, for the Buddha as a model rather than as a teacher, and thence for his course as a Bodhisattva (in the story of Kṣānti *bhikṣu*, for example) across the three *asaṃkhyeyakalpas* and prior to the achievement of supreme awakening.⁷⁴ Looking beyond the short-lived ministry of Śākyamuni, the career of the Bodhisattva and the *jātaka* stories linking his achievements through the ages would also offer a convenient template for the creation of paragons and lineages that could extend their salvific agency to the saṃgha in the world after the Buddha. The story of the Bodhisattva Vasumitra, which Dao'an sketches in a preface written right when the second translation of the *Ekottarikāgama* was ongoing (late summer of A.D. 384), and linked to the authorship of a probably *bahirdeśaka* treatise of dogmatics, was a first important intimation of this trend.⁷⁵

It is probably in this light that the narrative of Uttara in the 'Preface' of the *Zengyi ahan jing* should be correctly understood: there, just like the Bodhisattva in his successive lifetimes, this disciple of Ānanda is presented as the receiver of the *Ekottarika-āgama* across the ages of the past Buddhas, from each one of which he had received the '*dharma*s increasing by one'; the fact that in the present age he receives this *āgama* from

elephant crossing a river, respectively representing the *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas* and Buddhas. It is attested in all of the three *Vibhāṣā* treatises: see *Piposha* (T.1547), 4.445c9–16; *Apītan piposha lun* (T.1546), 37.277a15–21; *Apīdamo da piposha lun* (T.1545), 143.735b16–21.

⁷⁴ This, as we have seen, was notably the focus of the Kṣudrakapīṭaka according to both the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* and its antecedent, the 'Narrative': see above, ch. 5, pp. 227–229.

⁷⁵ See above, ch. 1, pp. 33–34.

Ānanda significantly portrays the latter, rather than Śākyamuni, as a counterpart to Vipāśyin and the others.⁷⁶ The karmic bond that in the *jātaka* tales the Buddha often establishes between himself and his disciples, by means of a story revealing their mutual connection in a former life, is thereby transferred to the relationship, in the post-*nirvāṇa* world, between the great leaders of the saṃgha and their own disciples. That Dharmananda was prone to deploy such narratives is suggested not only by his probable role as informant of the legend of Vasumitra, attached to a translation to which he had actively contributed as expounder of the Indic text, but also by the story of another karmic bond, the one between *Sambuddha (Shannian 善念) and Aśoka's son, in the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana (T.2045): here the arhat tells the prince that *they* had been father and son since the time of Vipāśyin.⁷⁷

In view of the above, then, the hypothesis that the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* may be the product of a *bahirdeśaka* lineage is by no means built on sand, and this even duly taking into account the amount of distortion that the collection is likely to have suffered in its translation. The *Zengyi ahan jing shu* appears to support this scenario significantly, with the role that it assigns to the 'foreign masters'. There remains, however, one further, important difficulty. The **Mahā-Vibhāṣā* stems from Kashmir, whereas the *Zengyi ahan jing shu* was written in China, although with the decisive contribution of Dharmananda. In order to accept, with Mori, that the 'foreign masters' in the commentary are the selfsame *bahirdeśakas* of the **Mahā-Vibhāṣā*, we should assume that this epithet was not merely

⁷⁶ See above, p. 308.

⁷⁷ See *Ayu wang taizi Fayi huaimu yinyuan jing*, pp. 179c22–180b17. On the variant translations Shanjue 善覺 / Shannian 善念, for *Sambuddha see above, ch. 5, pp. 236–238, note 128.

deictic – the masters based ‘abroad’ from the perspective of either Kashmir or China, in which case it would have been meaningless – but was instead used as a proper name, possibly by the ‘foreign masters’ themselves as a self-designation.⁷⁸ This would imply in turn that these ‘foreigners’ accepted in full the Indian perspective that would have made them such. Again, this should not be seen as improbable: the rising prestige of Sanskrit among the Buddhist communities beyond the Indus in the course of the 4th c. points instead to a deep process of acculturation, in which Buddhist identity had to gauge itself against a renewed idea of India.⁷⁹ It cannot be a coincidence that in the same period, and precisely with Dao’an, the Buddhists of China start voicing their own ‘borderland complex’, the perception that their faith had placed them in a ‘foreign land’.⁸⁰ Whether Dharmananda would have shared this view is difficult to say, but it is intriguing that Dao’an, after initially mistaking him for another cleric from Kashmir, in 385 would refer to the Bactrian master as a “foreign *śramaṇa*” (*waiguo shamen* 外國沙門) from Tokharistan. This ‘foreignness’ of Dharmananda would have been self-evident to a Chinese, but it is not at all clear that this is what Dao’an meant, since he never refers to any of the Kashmiri or Indian monks in the same way and, on the other hand, he knew exactly from which country the reciter of the *Ekotta-*

⁷⁸ Yaśomitra (d.u.) explains the term *bahirdeśakā* simply as referring to those who reside outside the territory of Kashmir; see *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (ed. Wogihara), p. 134,24. However, this definition is little more than a truism, and does not necessarily reflect the original understanding of the expression.

⁷⁹ On this process, see the studies and sources mentioned above, ch. 1, p. 28, note 39.

⁸⁰ Dao’an expresses this view in more than one of his prefaces: see, for example, *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 6.45a10–11, 46a8–9.

rika-āgama was coming. In other words, he may have described Dharmananda as ‘foreign’ from an Indian rather than a Chinese point of view.

One final piece of evidence will give us a possible idea of the *bahirdeśaka* world as Dharmananda would have envisaged it. In one passage of the *avadāna* of Dharmavardhana (T.2045), which Dharmananda and Zhu Fonian translated in A.D. 391, Aśoka announces to his wicked minister Yaśas that he intends to share the rule of Jambudvīpa with his beloved son, keeping for himself most of India proper, including Ceylon, and leaving the outer lands to Dharmavardhana:

新頭河表至娑伽國、乾陀越城、烏持村聚、劍浮、安息、康居、烏孫、龜茲、于闐至于秦土，此閭浮半賜與法益。

[The territories] beyond the Indus river up to the Saga (Saka) kingdom, the city of Gandhāvatī (Gandhāra) and the village(s) of Oḍi, Kamboja (Jianfu 劍浮, EMC *kiam^h-buw, here probably the lower Hindukush) and Parthia (Anxi 安息), Kanka (Kangju 康居, the region around Tashkent) and Wusun 烏孫 (the Issyk-kul area), Kucha and Khotan and as far as the land of Qin 秦 (China), this half of Jambu[dvīpa] I shall grant to Fayi 法益 (Dharmavardhana).⁸¹

This fictional bisection of Aśoka’s realm is distinctly anomalous in an Indian perspective, although it is reminiscent of contemporary political developments in the Roman empire. What deserves notice, however, is the fact that the lands beyond the Indus and as far as China are here identified with the future kingdom of Dharmavardhana, the absolute protagonist and real

⁸¹ See *Ayu wang taizi Fayi huaimu yinyuan jing*, p. 175a11–14.

hero of the story. The pious prince, ruling the northwestern marches from Takṣaśilā (Shishi 石室), was tied by karma and faith to the arhat *Sambuddha, the very same elder who had converted his father Aśoka and, as we know from the *Zengyi ahan jing shu*, was at the origin of the transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The list of the territories that Aśoka wants to bestow on Dharmavardhana seems to follow a clockwise loop, starting from the Indus and going up through the Saka kingdom (presumably one or the other of the several Kṣatrapa polities that lingered in the mid-lower Indus well into the 4th c.), Gandhāra, Swāt (Oḍi), Bactria (Kamboja). The remaining stations complete the itinerary to China across Central Asia, and happen to reflect to a large extent the route of the Sarvāstivāda expansion in the mid-4th c.

It would be unwise to dismiss the myth of Dharmavardhana and its political geography as a mere footnote to the grand legend of Aśoka, which probably had not even reached its mature expression when the former was conceived.⁸² Clearly, the story must have meant something to Dharmananda and to his *bhāṇaka* lineage, and it is significant that it should present the idea of an India beyond India, a Western half of Aśoka's Jambudvīpa including China and the whole of Central Asia. This imaginary geography was nevertheless real insofar as it described the areas of most intense missionary activity in the 4th c., and across which the transition from Kharoṣṭhī and Gāndhārī to Brāhmī and Sanskrit was reaching fruition in the Buddhist communities. China was a named component of this world, as much as Bactria and Gandhāra. To Dharmananda, it was the 'kingdom of Dharmavardhana', but today we might refer to it as 'Greater

⁸² Cf. Przyluski 1923: 106–109, where the story of Dharmavardhana is characterised as an expression of this scholar's "période cachemirienne".

Serindia'. It was an extensive area where, by the end of the 4th c., a continuous network of saṃgha establishments from Taxila to Liangzhou was finally enabling what Erik Zürcher has called 'contact expansion', a diffusion of Buddhism relying on "proximity, continuity, and feedback", where the haphazard dribbling of long-distance transmission could give way at last to the agency of organised clergies.⁸³ In this vast area of intense cultural contact, where the idea of India was being reinvigorated under the ascendancy of the Guptas, and more powerful suggestions were probably echoing from farther afield in the Mediterranean, the enduring presence of China would not have failed to cast its own discreet charms. This Greater Serindia, this very improbable world where Bactrians could pose as Indians, Vai-bhāṣika masters sport red moustaches and *Yijing* trigrams top miniature stūpas, is after all not an unreasonable setting for the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

⁸³ See Zürcher 1990: 26–27, where the notion is applied to explain the late emergence of Buddhism in the Tarim basin (traditional 'Serindia') after the mid-3rd c. A.D.

APPENDIX

**A synopsis of T.1507
and the corresponding
passages in T.125**

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
1.30a23–b7	First Council	Kāśyapa reflects on the immensity of the Buddhist literature; simile of the elephants of increasingly greater strength (in T.125, sūtra 42.3)	1	1.549b19
1.30b7–15	First Council	Kāśyapa reflects on the way to preserve the Law for a thousand years; he summons Ānanda with 84,000 <i>arhats</i> . Excursus on Kāśyapa's supernormal powers ensuing from his trance of <i>nirodha-samāpatti</i> . Kāśyapa rescues Śakra when the god's lifespan is about to end. Kāśyapa originally was a <i>pratyekabuddha</i> .	1	1.549b21–24
1.30b16–c8	First Council: Kāśyapa	Qualities of the 84,000 <i>arhats</i> attending the First Council. The sūtra mentions them as forming Four Groups (<i>sibu</i> 四部, i.e. <i>bhikṣus</i> , <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> , <i>upāsakas</i> and <i>upāsikās</i> ; the expression is used conventionally), but there are in fact eight more groups of men and <i>devas</i> . Narrative digression to stress the importance of <i>pratiya-samutpāda</i> :	1	1.549b24–29
1.30c8–27	First Council: 84,000 <i>arhats</i> ; <i>pratiya-samutpāda</i>			

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		the Buddha tells Ānanda a previous-life story where he was an Asura-king and Ānanda was a child.		
1.30c28–31b15	Four Inconceivables	Digression on the Four Inconceivables (<i>si buke siyi</i> 四不可思議). Narrative: debate between Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra (Manyuanzi 滿願子) and a Brahman.	29	21.657a18–658a4
		Kāśyapa and Ānanda encourage each other to take the lead in the recollection of the Buddha's word. Kāśyapa excuses himself on account of his old age and weak memory. The authors quote the 'foreign master/s' to explain that Kāśyapa was originally a <i>pratyekabuddha</i> and lacked the discernment of eloquence, and also the Sarvāstivāda about the four causes of lapse for an arhat. Kāśyapa exhorts Ānanda to recite the Buddha's word on account of his strong memory and practical knowledge (<i>dengzhi</i> 等智, Skt. <i>samvṛti-</i>		
1.31b25–c26	First Council: cooperation of Kāśyapa and Ānanda; respective qualities of the two monks		1	1.549c2–7

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品 T.125
		<p><i>jñāna</i>). Story of the Brahman testing Ānanda's skills at calculation. Ānanda venerates Kāśyapa on account of his seniority and because Kāśyapa had been his father in five hundred previous lifetimes. Kāśyapa and Ānanda complement each other, the first with his authority as the foremost elder and the second for his mental acuity, and make up for each other's weaknesses, like the lame and the blind. Accordingly, their cooperation ensures the preservation of the Dharma.</p>	
1.31c27–32a20	<p>First Council: Ānanda establishes the Tripiṭaka</p>	<p>Ānanda reflects on the immensity of the canonical texts, which it would be impossible to preserve in a single corpus (<i>vijū</i> 一聚). He initially plans to arrange the entire canon according to the principle of numerical progression, but this view is rejected. He then conceives a tripartite division, and the gods of the Śuddhāvāsa heavens approve the idea. The three sections are then established: <i>sūtra</i> (契經, lit.</p>	<p>1.549c24–27 1</p>

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		'connected canons'), <i>vinaya</i> (毘尼) and <i>abhidharma</i> (阿毘曇). Explanation of the meaning and nature of each of the three repositories.		
1.32a20–b5	First Council: Ānanda establishes the Four Āgamas	<p>Ānanda reflects that the three parts of the Tripiṭaka correspond to the three forms of liberation through <i>samādhi</i> (san tuo 三脫, Skt. <i>vimokṣa-traya</i>): the <i>sūtras</i>, <i>vinaya</i> and <i>abhidharma</i> respectively correspond to [the <i>samādhis</i> of] emptiness (<i>kong</i> 空), signlessness (<i>wuxiang</i> 無相) and wishlessness (<i>wuyuan</i> 無願). Ānanda further considers that the <i>sūtras</i> should be divided into four groups according to their general principle: 'Increasing by One' (Zengyi 增一, <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i>), 'Medium' (Zhong 中, <i>Madhyama-āgama</i>), 'Long' (Chang 長, <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i>), 'Miscellaneous' (Za 雜, <i>Samyukta-āgama</i>). Once the compilation of the Tripiṭaka is complete, Ānanda also establishes summary <i>gāthās</i>, one for every ten <i>sūtras</i>, as a mnemonic aid to future reciters.</p>	1	1.549c28–29

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
1.32b6– 13	First Council: Kṣudrakapīṭaka and Bodhisattvapīṭaka	<p>Explanation of ‘Kṣudrakapīṭaka’ (<i>Zazang</i> 雜藏): it is miscellaneous in content, including discourses of the Buddha and of his disciples, odes of praise sung by <i>devas</i>, the previous births of the Bodhisattva during the three <i>asamkhyeyakalpas</i>. Inquiry of Ajātaśatru to the Buddha about the work of the Bodhisattva: the Buddha says that the Law [of the Bodhisattva] is the Bodhisattvapīṭaka (<i>Pusa zang</i> 菩薩藏), which includes all the ‘Spacious Correct Scriptures’ (<i>fangdeng zhengjing</i> 方正經, <i>vaipulya sūtras</i>), and already existed in the time of the former Buddhas under the name ‘Repository of the Great Knights’ (<i>Dashi zang</i> 大士藏, <i>Mahāsattvapīṭaka</i>?). What Ānanda has compiled are the present four <i>pīṭakas</i> (i.e. <i>sūtra</i>-, <i>vinaya</i>-, <i>abhidharma</i>- and <i>ksudraka</i>-). Altogether (i.e. including the Bodhisattvapīṭaka) there are five <i>pīṭakas</i>.</p>	1	1.550c10

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
1.32b13– c2	First Council	Emptiness of the <i>dharmas</i> . Explanation of the principle of numerical progression at the basis of the <i>Ēkottarika-āgama</i> .	1	1.550a3–7
1.32c2– 2.33b14	First Council: Maitreya descends to explain the Six Perfections. Rationale of the Bodhisattavapīṭaka	Ānanda ascends the lion's throne (<i>shizi zuo</i> 師子座, Skt. <i>simhāsana</i>). Maitreya descends to praise him, and exhorts him to keep the Tripiṭaka and the Bodhisattvapīṭaka separate. Brief reference to the story of king Great Heaven (<i>Datian</i> 大天, Skt. Mahādeva), who possessed the four <i>brahma-vihāras</i> (<i>si fantang</i> 四梵堂); his line continued for 84,000 generations of kings, who all possessed the <i>brahma-vihāras</i> . (See sūtra 50.4) Yet only Mahādeva was a Great Knight (<i>dashi</i> 大士, bodhisattva / mahāsattva), all the others were lower-ranking (<i>xiaojie</i> 小節); this shows that the Great Vehicle is difficult to practice. Maitreya, wishing that the Great Vehicle be separately manifested and preserved, explains the Six Perfections (<i>pāramitā</i>)	1	1.550a9–b5

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品 目	T.125
		<p>by way of ‘essentials of the bodhisattva / mahā-sattva’ (<i>dashi muyao</i> 大士目要).</p> <p>1) Giving / charity (<i>shi</i> 施, Skt. <i>dāna</i>). Two kinds: out of faith and out of fear. The ‘gift of the eyes’ (頭目施) and the ‘gift of wealth’ (財物施), mentioned by ‘that man’ 其人 (in the sūtra), respectively correspond to the Bodhisattva stages from the seventh above and from the sixth below. Quotation from the ‘Fundamental Non-Existence’ (<i>benwu</i> 本無) chapter of the ‘Larger Version’ (<i>Dapin</i> 大品), i.e. a Larger <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i> text.</p> <p>2) Discipline / precepts (<i>jie</i> 戒, Skt. <i>śīla</i>). When the sūtra mentions ‘diamond-like precepts’ (戒如金剛) and ‘precepts like broken jars’ (戒如坏瓶) it respectively refers to Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna precepts. Story of the bodhisattva-bhikṣu of incomparable beauty in the time of the Buddha. He explains the emptiness of the <i>dharma</i>s to a beau-</p>		

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		<p>tiful woman he has encountered on a begging tour. Ānanda sees them and, suspecting misbehaviour, reports the matter to the Buddha. But the Buddha disabuses him and explains the spiritual achievement of the bodhisattva-monk.</p> <p>3) Forbearance (<i>ren</i> 忍, Skt. <i>kṣānti</i>). Definition. Quotation from the <i>Da ai jing</i> 大哀經 (<i>Tathāgata-mahākaraṇīrdeśa</i>) on the difference between <i>śrāvakas</i> and bodhisattvas. Story of the monk Kṣānti, whose hands and feet were cut off, and shed milk instead of blood.</p> <p>4) Effort (<i>jingjin</i> 精進, Skt. <i>vīrya</i>), as the sūtra preface says, “can make good evil conduct” 作善惡行. Story of the youth *Jyotipāla (< Jyotimāla, Ch. Huoman tongzi 火鬘童子), a former incarnation of Śākyamuni, who spoke disparagingly of the Buddha Kāśyapa; even <i>the</i> Bodhisattva himself could then commit verbal abuse, but he could</p>		

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.33b14– c12		correct his misconduct through his ascetic effort.		
		5) Meditative absorption (<i>chāndīng</i> 禪定, Skt. <i>dhyāna</i>) is entering into absolute stillness and tranquility (入寂泊然不動).		
		6) Wisdom (<i>zhīhui</i> 智慧, Skt. <i>prajñā</i>) is unfathomable insight, like the grains of sand of the Ganges.		
		The Six Perfections are fully discussed in the <i>Bodhisattvapiṭaka</i> , which should not be united with the <i>Tripiṭaka</i> . Ānanda keeps them distinct because the principle of emptiness is difficult to understand, and he fears lest bodhisattvas would doubt it. Maitreya praises him for this. In the preface, “achieving the fruit of the path” (<i>chéng dàoguó</i> 成道果) refers to the <i>sarvajñāna</i> (<i>sayunran</i> 薩云然, omniscience) of the Great Vehicle.		
2.33b14– c12		Reasons for saying “I have <i>heard</i> thus” (<i>wén rúshì</i> 聞如是) rather than <i>seen</i> (<i>jiàn</i> 見): in the future, the	1	1.550b6– 16

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.33c12– 34a12	First Council: Ānanda conceives the opening formula of the sūtras	fourfold saṃgha will receive Ānanda's words, not what he has seen. First sermon to five people, including Ajñāta-Kauṇḍinya. Different locations of the sermons. If one cannot name the place one should say 'at Śrāvastī', because in this city the Buddha spent the longest period, twenty-five years. Explanation of the reference to Jetavana and Anāthapiṇḍada. Meaning of "to practice a single principle" (<i>xiu yifa</i> 修一法). Everything starts from a single <i>dharma</i> .	1	1.550b17– 20
		Discussion of the reference to the Ten Recollections (<i>shi nian</i> 十念) in the opening gāthās. Reason why the recollections of the Buddha, the dharma and the saṃgha take precedence in the list over that of discipline (<i>śīlānusmṛti</i>), which some object should come first. There are also reasons to place the recollection of the body (<i>śemhian</i> 身念, <i>kavagātānusmṛti</i>) in the first position. Story of the handsome <i>āranyaka</i> monk,		

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.34a12–23	First Council: foremost disciples of the Buddha	<p>who meets a beautiful girl whilst on a begging tour; they feel mutually attracted, but when the girl smiles the vision of her white teeth prompts the monk to meditate on the impurity of the body. Recollection of death (<i>sinīan</i> 死念, <i>marañānu-smṛti</i>); five paths of rebirth. Explanation of the existence of two <i>vargas</i> on the Ten Recollections (i.e. nos. 2 and 3): in the former the Buddha speaks without anyone asking questions, therefore there are no explanations; in the latter the monks ask questions and the Buddha explains in detail.</p> <p>Discussion of the reference in the opening <i>gāthās</i> to the most honoured disciples (<i>zum dizi</i> 尊弟子) of the Buddha, from Ajñāta-Kauṇḍinya to Subhadra. Differences in the attested number of the Buddha's disciples (1,250, 500). Story of the 500 <i>arhats</i> and of the <i>nāga-rāja</i> at Lake Anavatapta. There were 84,000 <i>arhats</i> at the First Council. The</p>	1	1.550b20–21

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		scripture names one hundred of them, choosing the best one out of 210 for each of the Four Groups (100x210x4=84,000).		
2.34a23– b8	Origins and transmission of the <i>Ēkottarika-āgama</i>	The <i>Ēkottarika-āgama</i> was originally in one hundred series. Ānanda transmitted it to his disciple Uttara. After Uttara's <i>nirvāṇa</i> , ninety series were lost. In the oral transmission, a text in eleven series was reached. The Sarvāstivāda <i>Ēkottarika-āgama</i> has only ten series and no preface. Ānanda transmitted the <i>Ēkottarika-āgama</i> to Uttara because the latter had been learning this <i>āgama</i> since his former life at the time of the Buddha Vipāśyin. Uttara transmitted the <i>Ēkottarika-āgama</i> to his disciple Excellently-Awakened (Shanjue 善覺, *Sambuddha). All the Tripiṭakas in the foreign countries have the same <i>Ēkottarika-āgama</i> that Excellently-Awakened transmitted.		1.550c15– 551b26

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.34b8– c4	<p>First Council:</p> <p>Kāśyapa declares Ānanda's faults.</p> <p>Previous incarnation of Ānanda as the <i>cakravartin</i> king Dīrghāyus.</p>	<p>Kāśyapa addresses Ānanda as a child because he had been his father across many past lifetimes. A <i>bhikkṣuṇī</i>, who is Ānanda's younger sister, protests. Kāśyapa explains that Ānanda has two faults: 1, he has persuaded the Buddha to admit women in the order, causing the Law to last less than a thousand years; 2, Ānanda ordained sixty disciples without first testing them; thirty of those monks had then lapsed and returned to the lay status. The <i>bhikkṣuṇī</i> who had protested is reborn in hell on account of her addressing Kāśyapa angrily. (A variant of this story is in the <i>Cīvara sutta</i>, SN II 217–222; T.99 no. 1144; T.100 no. 119). Ānanda relates (<i>baṭṭin</i> 白引) the story of his previous existence as the Wheel-Turning king Long-Lived (Changshou 長壽, Skt. Dīrghāyus), entrusted with the teaching of his father, a great king. He ascended the throne and ruled, but</p>	1	1.551b26– 552a22, 553c5–23

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.34c4– 26	First Council: Ānanda speaking in prose and verses; nature of his audiences	<p>when he was about to enter religious life (<i>chujia</i> 出家), he abdicated in favour of his son, the Crown Prince Good-Vision (Shangan 善觀, Skt. Sudarśana?). This transmission (i.e. of <i>cakravar-tin</i> rulership followed by abdication and monk-hood) went on from father to son without interruption through the past ages. In the same way [the <i>Ēkottarika-āgama</i>] continues in its transmission from master to disciple in the present age, and in neither case the teaching has been lost. Ānanda reports this story to prove (against Kāśyapa's criticism) that he has certainly de-served the transmission of the Buddha's doctri-nal legacy.</p>	1	1.552b4–c7

T1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T125
2.34c26–35a18	Ten Recollections	Excursus on the general features of the sūtras. Origins of the Buddha's sermons. Ajñāta-Kauṇḍinya and the first disciples.	2.1	1.552c9–10
2.35a18–b12	Ten Recollections	Explanation of the expression “[I] have heard thus” (<i>wen rushi</i> 聞如是, Skt. <i>evaṃ mayā śrutam</i>) in the opening of the sūtras.	2.1	1.552c9
2.35b12–16	Ten Recollections	Explanation of the expression “at one time” (<i>yishi</i> 一時, Skt. <i>ekasmin samaye</i>) in the opening of the sūtras.	2.1	1.552c9
2.35b16–20	Ten Recollections	Explanation of the epithet <i>bhagavat</i> / <i>bhagavān</i> (<i>poqiepo</i> 婆伽婆) in the opening of the sūtras.	2.1	[1.552c9]
2.35b20–c8	Ten Recollections	Explanation of the expression “[in the] Je[ta] wood, [in the] garden of the Giver-to-the-Lonely-Ones (i.e. Anāthapiṇḍada)” (<i>Qishu Geigudu yuan</i> 祇樹給孤獨園, Skt. <i>Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme</i>) found in the opening of the sūtras.	2.1	1.552c9–10

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.35c9–15	Ten Recollections	Analysis of the phrase “the Buddha declared to the <i>bhikṣus</i> ” 佛告諸比丘 in the opening of the <i>sūtras</i> . Why <i>bhikṣus</i> , and not <i>upāsakas</i> and <i>upāsikās</i> (<i>qingxin shinü</i> 清信士女)? Because <i>bhikṣus</i> are the foremost in the fourfold assembly, as they have defeated all evil and defilements. They are also called <i>śramaṇa</i> (<i>shamen</i> 沙門), which means, “the mind attains stilling” (<i>xin de xiuxi</i> 心得休息). They are further called ‘eradicators of hunger’ (<i>chujin</i> 除饑), for while the world craves after lust of form, <i>bhikṣus</i> destroy any such wish and reach the gate of <i>nirvāṇa</i> .	2.1	1.552c10
2.35c15–27	Ten Recollections: <i>Buddhānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianFo</i> 念佛)	Recollection of the Buddha. The Buddha’s body is diamond-like and undefiled. When he moves, his feet remain suspended at four inches above the ground and project a thousand-spoked foot-print. All insects find refuge under his feet, and when they die they are reborn in heaven. Story of	2.1	1.552c10–15

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		the evil <i>bhikṣu</i> and erstwhile heretic, who accused the Buddha of killing insects while walking; on the contrary, dead insects would return to life when they fell into the Buddha's steps. Miracles happen when the Buddha enters a city, and all the blind, deaf, dumb and lame are healed. Those who get to see his thirty-two primary and eighty secondary marks are converted. The Buddha is the lord of all the <i>dharma</i> s (佛諸法之主).		
2.35c27–36a10	Ten Recollections: <i>dharmānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianfā</i> 念法)	Meanings of <i>dharma</i> (法). Quotation from Zhi Qian's 支謙 translation of the <i>Vimalakīrtinirdeśa</i> to assert the priority of the <i>dharma</i> over the Buddha. It is the Buddha, however, who explains the <i>dharma</i> , which is why <i>Buddhānusmṛti</i> precedes <i>dharmānusmṛti</i> .	2.2	1.552c17–24
2.36a10–b2	Ten Recollections: <i>saṃghānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianseng</i> 念僧)	Definitions of 'saṃgha'. Notion of the saṃgha as 'field of blessing' (<i>liangfú tián</i> 良福田), illustrated by the story of the <i>bhikṣu</i> Brahmadatta (see Lin 1949: 82–83 note 1).	2.3	1.552c25–553a3

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.36b3– c2	Ten Recollections: <i>śīlānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianjie</i> 念戒)	<p>General definition and function of the precepts. Story of the two thirsty monks stopping at a pond, on their way to meet the Buddha. One avoids drinking from the pond so as not to kill the insects in it, in accordance with the precepts; he dies, but is reborn in heaven. The other drinks to live and see the Buddha. At the meeting, however, the Buddha explains that the monk who had died to observe the precepts is closer to him than the one who has lived and is physically there. Difference between precepts for <i>śrāvakas</i> (<i>shengwenjia</i> 聲聞家) and bodhisattvas (<i>dashi</i> 大士). The six perfections of the latter start from charity (<i>shi</i> 施, Skt. <i>dāna</i>), whereas the Ten Recollections have <i>śīla</i> (<i>jie</i> 戒) in the front group; this, however, is the <i>śīla</i> of the <i>śrāvakas</i>. Two kinds of precepts: common precepts (<i>sujie</i> 俗戒), including the five basic restrictions (五戒, <i>pañca-śīla</i>) and the ten</p>	2.4	1.553a4–11

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		forms of wholesome behaviour (十善, <i>dasa-kusāla</i>), but also the 250 and 500 precepts for monks and nuns; and precepts of the Path (<i>daojie</i> 道戒), including the three <i>samādhis</i> (<i>san sanmei</i> 三三昧) and the Four Noble Truths. The precepts of the Small Vehicle (<i>xiaosheng</i> 小乘) restrain the bodily form (<i>xing</i> 形), whereas the Bodhisattva precepts control the mind (<i>xin</i> 心); the two are therefore respectively outer (<i>wai</i> 外) and inner (<i>nei</i> 内), but they both lead to <i>nirvāṇa</i> .		
2.36c2–4	Ten Recollections: <i>tyāgānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianshi</i> 念施)	The gift of wealth (<i>caishi</i> 財施) and the gift of the Law (<i>fashi</i> 法施) are complementary. Through the former one attains the latter. Both constitute the perfection of <i>dāna</i> , through which one reaches <i>nirvāṇa</i> .	2.5	1.553a12–19
2.36c4–11	Ten Recollections: <i>devatānusmṛti</i> (<i>niantian</i> 念天)	Heavens of the Three Realms (desire, form, formless). Two kinds of heavens / <i>devas</i> : 1) receiving blessing (<i>shoufu tian</i> 受福天); 2) of the virtues of	2.6	1.553a20–27

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.36c12– 37a9	Ten Recollections: <i>upaśamānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianxiu</i> 念休息)	the path (<i>daode tian</i> 道德天). <i>Devatānusmṛti</i> as recollection of the practice that enables beings to be reborn as <i>devas</i> .	2.7	1.553a28– b6
		Recollection of stilling as quiet abiding of the mind, in which the five kinds of desire do not arise. Two kinds of stilling, the one of the Brahmins and heretics, who seek blessing, and the true one of the four fruits of the (Buddhist) <i>śramaṇa</i> . Story of the <i>bhikkṣu</i> Surāḍha (Xuluotuo 須羅陀), who accuses a meditating Brahman of being a killer at heart, since he performs asceticism with the hidden desire to be reborn as a king, and therefore to become one day a slayer of multitudes. The comment closes on a quotation from the “later explanation” (<i>houjie</i> 後解), i.e. a phrase from sūtra 3.7 in the <i>Zengyi ahan jing</i> , which is in fact an expansion on the theme of <i>upaśamānusmṛti</i> .		

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.37a9– 27	Ten Recollections: <i>kayaḡatānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianshen</i> 念身)	[No gloss on <i>āṇapānāsmṛti</i> (<i>nian'anban</i> 念安般)]. Recollection of the body (<i>nianshen</i> 念身) as observation / contemplation (<i>guan</i> 觀) of the foulness and impurity (<i>elu bujing</i> 惡露不淨, Skt. <i>āsubha</i>) of the thirty-six parts of the body (<i>sanshiliu wu</i> 三十六物). Story of the <i>āraṇyaka</i> monk, who drinks water from a river, and finds a lock of a woman's hair in his bowl. He then indulges in sensuous fantasies, until he finds out that the hair was from the body of a recently dead woman lying in a shallow grave upstream. He then realises the impermanence of the body, which is merely made of the four <i>mahābhūtas</i> (<i>woshen sida hecheng</i> 我身四大合成).	2.9	1.553b15– 22
2.37a27– b7	Ten Recollections: <i>marāṇānusmṛti</i> (<i>niansi</i> 念死)	Recollection of death as meditation on impermanence. Story of the suicide of the monk Valkalin (Pojili 婆吉梨, where 吉 may be an error for 迦; cf. Pāli Vakkali).	2.10	2.553b23– c1

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
2.37b7– 13	Ten Recollections (expansion)	Rationale for the existence of two <i>vargas</i> on the Ten Recollections (i.e. ch. 2, 十念, and ch. 3, 廣演): the former offers a general explanation for those with sharp faculties (<i>ligen zhongsheng</i> 利根眾生), whereas the latter explains it again for the dull-witted (<i>dungen zhongsheng</i> 鈍根眾生). Gloss on five additional phrases on <i>Buddhānussmṛti</i> in sūtra 3.1.	3.1	2.554a8–15
		Excursus: story of Ānanda's entry into <i>nirvāṇa</i> as an illustration of <i>Buddhānussmṛti</i> . A Brahman soothsayer sees the signs of Ānanda's imminent demise and informs king Ajātaśatru, who summons the monk. Ānanda stops in the middle of the Ganges, which marks the border between Magadha and Vaiśālī. There he ordains his two disciples Madhyāntika (Mochanti 摩禪提) and Mahendra (Moshenti 摩呬提), whom he respectively sends to Kashmir (Jiebin 羯賓) and Simha-		
2.37b13– 28	<i>Buddhānussmṛti</i> ; Ānanda's <i>nirvāṇa</i>			

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		ladvīpa (Shizizhu guo 師子渚國, Ceylon) to spread the Buddha's Law in those countries. Then he enters <i>nirvāṇa</i> and cremates his body, dividing his <i>śarīra</i> in two parts to let the two countries worship them.		
3.37c5– 25	Ten Recollections (expansion): <i>Buddhānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianFo</i> 念佛)	More on <i>Buddhānusmṛti</i> ; visualisation of the Buddha's body; story of Ānanda healed by the Buddha's physician Jīvaka; story of the householder and his servant worshipping a stūpa and arguing whether the Buddha possesses ten or eleven powers.	3.1	2.554a7– b10
3.37c26– 38a18	Ten Recollections (expansion): <i>dharmānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianfa</i> 念法)	Recollection of the Principle/s (<i>nianfa</i> 念法, <i>dharmānusmṛti</i>) is moving from desire to the absence of it; from the contaminated (<i>youlou</i> 有漏, Skt. <i>sāsrava</i>) to the uncontaminated (<i>wulou</i> 無漏, Skt. <i>anāsrava</i>), from the conditioned (<i>youwei</i> 有為, Skt. <i>samskṛta</i>) to the unconditioned (<i>wuwei</i> 無為, Skt. <i>asamskṛta</i>).	3.2	2.554b11– c5
		Story of the <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> Utpalā. When the Buddha,		

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		<p>who had ascended to the heaven of the Tra- yastrīṃśas to preach to his mother Mahāmāyā, returns to earth after ninety days to the north of the city of Sāṅkāśya, a large crowd of kings and grantees gathers to welcome him; the nun then magically assumes the appearance of a <i>cakra-</i> <i>vartin</i> king to gain the front row and thus be the first to see the Buddha, only to resume her real form when this happens. The Buddha, however, contrasts her reckless behaviour to that of the monk Subhūti, who, upon hearing of the Bud- dha's return, had decided to stay where he was, pondering over the Buddha's teaching that all <i>dharma</i>s are empty (<i>yiqie zhufa kong</i> 一切諸法 空, <i>sarva-dharma-sūnyatā</i>). He therefore was in fact the first to see the Buddha. Accordingly, <i>dharmānusmṛti</i> is to realise the emptiness of the <i>dharma</i>s (解了法空即是念法).</p>		

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
3.38a18–b8	Ten Recollections (expansion): <i>samghānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianzhong</i> 念眾)	<p>‘Recollection of the Congregation’ (<i>nianzhong</i> 念眾, <i>samghānusmṛti</i>) refers to the Holy Congregation (<i>xiansheng zhong</i> 賢聖眾, Skt. <i>ārya-saṃgha</i>). There are in fact also the ninety-five heretic saṃghas; they can have their <i>vinayas</i> and practice their <i>dhyāna</i>, but they cannot attain the Noble Eightfold Path and accordingly cannot reach <i>nirvāṇa</i> nor escape <i>samsāra</i>. Quotation from the <i>Zhude futian jing</i> 諸德福田經. All those in the fourfold saṃgha of the Tathāgata together constitute the Śākya family, like the four great rivers with the Ganges merge into the ocean. There are (Buddhist) renunciants in all the four castes, and they all equally have the Śākya family as their caste. The <i>ārya-saṃgha</i> includes all the Three Vehicles: inside it are the saṃgha of the <i>arhats</i>, the <i>pratyekabuddhas</i> (<i>yuanyijue</i> 緣一覺) and the Mahāyāna saṃgha (<i>dashengseng</i> 大乘僧). All the</p>	3.3	2.554c6–555a4

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		Buddhas, <i>pratyekabuddhas</i> and <i>śrāvakas</i> in the three periods of time reach <i>nirvāṇa</i> through the saṃgha; so did the <i>bhikṣu</i> Brahmadatta.		
		Recollection of the precepts (<i>nianjie</i> 念戒, <i>śīlānusmṛti</i>) is the practice of the precepts of purity and the observance of the discipline, which is like the practice of a potter moulding clay. The observance of the precepts together with the practice of the Thirty-seven Factors (Skt. <i>bodhipāṅkṣika-dharma</i>) and of all the <i>samādhis</i> cuts the Seven Tendencies (<i>qishi</i> 七使, Skt. <i>*sapta-amūṣaya</i>) and the Nine Fetters (<i>jiujie</i> 九結, Skt. <i>*nava-saṃyojana</i>), and leads to <i>nirvāṇa</i> .	3.4	2.555a5–28
3.38b8–14	Ten Recollections (expansion): <i>śīlānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianjie</i> 念戒)			
		Different forms of giving: of own (<i>youzhu</i> 有主) and not own (<i>wuzhu</i> 無主) things; giving (<i>yu</i> 與, Skt. <i>dāna</i>) and forsaking (<i>she</i> 捨, Skt. <i>tyāga</i>); of wealth and of the Law (<i>dharma</i>). Elaboration on these oppositions.	3.5	2.555a29–b24
3.38b15–22	Ten Recollections (expansion): <i>tyāgānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianshi</i> 念施)			

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
3.38b22– c25	Ten Recollections (expansion): <i>devatānusmṛti</i> (<i>niantian</i> 念天)	<p>Three categories of heavenly beings (<i>tian</i> 天, <i>devas</i>): 1, raised (<i>ju</i> 舉); 2, born (<i>sheng</i> 生); 3, pure (<i>qingjing</i> 清淨). ‘Raised <i>devas</i>’ are the Wheel-Turning Holy Kings (<i>zhuanlun shengwang</i> 轉輪聖王, <i>cakravartins</i>), who are raised (elected) by the people (為眾人所舉). Holy kings teach people the ten forms of wholesome behaviour and cause them to be reborn in heaven. They are above ordinary people, thus they are called heavenly beings (<i>devas</i>). Some say that <i>cakravartins</i> are better than Buddhas, for when they rule no one falls into the three lower paths, which does not happen when Buddhas appear in the world. Some say that Buddhas are better, for they teach people to go beyond heaven and reach <i>nirvāṇa</i>.</p> <p>‘Born <i>devas</i>’ are those from the Four Heavenly Kings (<i>si tianwang</i> 四天王, Skt. <i>catur-mahārājika</i>) to the gods of the Twenty-eight Heavens</p>	3.6	2.555b25– 555c19

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		<p>(<i>ershiba tian</i> 二十八天). They are reborn as <i>devas</i> on account of their merits, but they do not escape <i>saṃsāra</i>.</p> <p>‘Pure <i>devas</i>’ are the Buddhas, <i>pratyekabuddhas</i> and <i>śrāvakas</i>, who have extinguished all fetters (<i>jie</i> 結, Skt. <i>saṃyojana</i>) and tendencies (<i>shi</i> 使, Skt. <i>anuśaya</i>). The eight (sic) Heavens of Pure Abode (<i>jingjutian</i> 淨居天, Skt. <i>suddhavāsa-deva</i>) are superior to ‘elected’ and ‘born’ <i>devas</i>, but inferior to ‘pure’ <i>devas</i>. However, recollection of ‘elected’ and ‘born’ <i>devas</i> also can lead to <i>nirvāṇa</i>. Story of the old couple of lay devotees of Śrāvastī: she dies first and is reborn in Trayastrimśas; he becomes a monk and increases his zeal after she descends to visit him, until he becomes an <i>arhat</i>.</p>		
3.38c25–39a9	Ten Recollections (expansion):	Two kinds of stilling (<i>xiuxi</i> 休息): that of ordinary people, which is mere rest, and the religious	3.7	2.555c20–556a14

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
	<i>upaśamānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianxiuxi</i> 念休息)	stilling (<i>dao xiuxi</i> 道休息). Story of the imper- turbable monk Denghui 等會 (Samghāta?).		
		Definition of <i>ānapānāsmṛti</i> . Śāriputra, Maudga- lyāyana, Kāśyapa, Āsvajit, Ānanda in their former lives had all venerated and followed innumerable Buddhas, but none of them had been able to learn <i>ānapānāsmṛti</i> ; they could only do so when they encountered the Buddha Śākyamuni. Only Rāhula (Luoyun 羅云) and Mahā-Kapphaṇa (Mohejie- piluo 摩訶劫匹羅) had always studied <i>ānapānā- smṛti</i> . Further definition of this practice.	3.8	2.556a15– b14
3.39a9– 27	Ten Recollections (expansion): <i>ānapānāsmṛti</i> (<i>nian 'anban</i> 念安般)			
		Recollection of the body means to analyse the Four Great elements (<i>mahābhūta</i>) and realise that the five <i>skandhas</i> (<i>wuyin</i> 五陰) are all illusory. Story of king Aśoka and of his hell-prison as illustration of the attainment of <i>nirvāṇa</i> through <i>kāyagatānusmṛti</i> . The old <i>bhikṣu</i> Excellently-Awakened (Shanjue 善 覺, *Sambuddha) is trapped within the king's pris-	3.9	2.556b15– c12
3.39a27– c15	Ten Recollections (expansion): <i>kāyagatānusmṛti</i> (<i>nianshen</i> 念身)			

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
3.39c16– 40b19	Ten Recollections (expansion): <i>marañānussmṛti</i> (<i>niansi</i> 念死)	on; seeing the bodies of the captives being horribly tortured and mangled, he is awakened to impermanence and freed of all defilements. He then shuns his own torture with a display of magical powers, which eventually causes Aśoka's conversion. The king repents and takes the monk as his master; he destroys the prison and erects 84,000 stūpas.	3.10	2.556c13– 557a9
		Discussion of the phrase “recollecting death one can reach <i>nirvāṇa</i> ” (念死得至涅槃). Story of Aśoka's brother Sugātra (Xiugiedulu 修伽妒路), who unlike the king has no faith in the Buddha, the dharma and the sangha. Aśoka with a stragem first condemns Sugātra to death with a false charge of usurpation, but allows him to enjoy the status of a king for seven days before being executed; then he has a Buddhist monk intercede for him. Sugātra is thus persuaded to enter religion; Aśoka entrusts him to Excellently-Awakened		

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
		(Shanjue 善覺, *Sambuddha), the same monk who had converted him. Sugātra is sent to Takṣaśīlā, where he becomes an <i>arhat</i> by practising the contemplation of corpses.		
		General introduction to the chapter on the foremost disciples of the Buddha. The Buddha expounds the merits and qualities of his best disciples in anticipation of the latter age, when innumerable people from the four castes, Buddhists and Brahmans, will boast about and insult others.		
4.40b26–c1	Foremost Disciples		4.1	2.557a17–18
4.40c1–11	Foremost Disciples: 1 (1) ¹	Kaṇḍinya (Julin 拘鄰) [<i>Saundarananda</i> (hereafter <i>Saund.</i>)]	4.1	2.557a19–21
4.40c11–15	Foremost Disciples: 2 (2)	Udāyin (Youtuoyi 優陀夷)	4.1	2.557a21–22
4.40c15–16	Foremost Disciples: 3 (3)	*Mahādharmā (Mohetan 摩訶曇; Moheṇan 摩訶男 [Mahānāman] in the sūtra)	4.1	2.557a22–23
4.40c17–18	Foremost Disciples: 4 (4)	Subāhu (Shanzhou 善肘) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.1	2.557a23–24

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
4.40c19–20	Foremost Disciples: 5 (5)	Vāspa (Popo 婆破) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.1	2.557a24–25
4.40c21–41a5	Foremost Disciples: 6 (6)	Gavāmpati (Niujiào 牛蹠, Qiaohuan 橋涇; Niuji 牛跡 in the sūtra)	4.1	2.557a25–26
4.41a6–15	Foremost Disciples: 7 (7)	Uttara? (Shansheng 善勝)	4.1	2.557a26
4.41a16–20	Foremost Disciples: 8 (8)	Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa (Youliupi Jiaye 優留毘迦葉)	4.1	2.557a27–28
4.41a21–24	Foremost Disciples: 9 (9)	Nadī-Kāśyapa (Jiang Jiaye 江迦葉)	4.1	2.557a28–29
4.41a25–b11	Foremost Disciples: 10 (11)	Asvajit (Mashi 馬師)	4.2	2.557b4–5
4.41b11–15	Foremost Disciples: 11 (12)	Śāriputra (Shenzi 身子; Shelifu 舍利弗 in the sūtra)	4.2	2.557b5–6
4.41b16–25	Foremost Disciples: 12 (13)	Maudgalyāyana (Mulian 目連; Da Muqianlian 大目犍連 in the sūtra)	4.2	2.557b6–7

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
4.41b26– c20	Foremost Disciples: 13 (14)	Śroṇakoṭīkaṃ (Ershiyi er 二十億耳)	4.2	2.557b7–8
4.41c21– 42a14	Foremost Disciples: 14 (16)	Aniruddha (Analü 阿那律)	4.2	2.557b9– 10
4.42a15– 29	Foremost Disciples: 15 (17)	Revata (Liyue 離越; Liyue 離曰 in the sūtra) [Saund.]	4.2	2.557b10– 11
4.42b1– 14	Foremost Disciples: 16 (18)	Dravya *Malla[putra] (Taluopo mo 他羅婆摩, Tuoluopo moluo 陀羅婆摩羅 in the sūtra) [Saund.]	4.2	2.557b11– 12
4.42b15– 16	Foremost Disciples: 17 (19)	*Younger Dravya *Malla[putra] (Xiao Tuoluopo 小陀羅婆, Xiao Tuoluopo moluo 小陀羅婆摩羅 in the sūtra)	4.2	2.557b12– 13
4.42b17– c20	Foremost Disciples: 18 (20)	Rāṣṭrapāla (Laizhapoluo 賴吒婆羅; Luo-zhapoluo 羅吒婆羅 in the sūtra) [Saund.]	4.2	2.557b13– 14
4.42c21– 43a11	Foremost Disciples: 19 (21)	Kātyāyana (Jiazhanyan 迦旃延; Da Jiazhanyan 大迦旃延 in the sūtra) [Saund.]	4.2	2.557b14– 15
4.43a11– b1	Foremost Disciples: 20 (22)	Kuṇṭhadhāna (Juntoupotan 君頭波歎; Juntoupomo 軍頭婆莫 / Juntoupohan 軍頭婆漢 in the sūtra) [Saund.]	4.3	2.557b18– 19

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
4.43b2-16	Foremost Disciples: 21 (23)	Piṇḍola (Bintoulu 賓頭盧)	4.3	2.557b19-20
4.43b16-c5	Foremost Disciples: 22 (24)	Kṣema (Chen 識) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.3	2.557b20-22
4.43c5-44a17	Foremost Disciples: 23 (25)	Vāgīśa (Pengqishe 朋耆奢; Pengqishe 鵬耆舍 in the sūtra) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.3	2.557b22-24
4.44a18-26	Foremost Disciples: 24 (26)	Kauṣṭhila (Juxiluo 拘絺羅; Mohejuxiluo 摩訶拘絺羅 in the sūtra) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.3	2.557b24-25
4.44a27-b9	Foremost Disciples: 25 (28)	Nandika or Nandaka? (Nanti 難提)	4.3	2.557b26-27
4.44b10-15	Foremost Disciples: 26 (30)	? (Shiluo 施羅)	4.3	2.557b28
4.44b15-24	Foremost Disciples: 27 (29)	Kṛmīla (Jinpiluo 金毘羅; cf. Pāli Kimbila; he pre-cedes Shiluo 施羅 in the sūtra) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.3	2.557b27-28
4.44b28-c5	Foremost Disciples: 28 (31)	*Bhūmi (Fumi 浮彌; cf. Pāli Bhūmija)	4.3	2.557b29

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
4.44c6–10	Foremost Disciples: 29 (33)	Vatsa (Pocha 婆差) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.4	2.557c4–5
4.44c11–16	Foremost Disciples: 30 (32)	Kāṅkṣā Revata (Huyi liyue 狐疑離越; cf. Pāli Kankhā Revata; he precedes Vatsa in the sūtra) (Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya <i>Bhaiṣajyavastu</i>)	4.4	2.557c3–4
4.44c17–22	Foremost Disciples: 31 (34)	*Dāsa? (Tuoduosuo 陀多素; Tuosu 陀素 in the sūtra)	4.4	2.557c5–6
4.44c23–29	Foremost Disciples: 32 (35)	*Niva? (Nipo 尼婆)	4.4	2.557c6–7
4.45a1–13	Foremost Disciples: 33 (36)	Uttara (Youtuoluo 優多羅) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.4	2.557c7–8
4.45a14–23	Foremost Disciples: 34 (37)	? (Luxining 盧醯甯)	4.4	2.557c8–9
4.45a24–b2	Foremost Disciples: 35 (38)	? (Youqianmo 優鉗摩; Youqianmo nijiang 優鉗摩尼江 in the sūtra)	4.4	2.557c9–10
4.45b3–8	Foremost Disciples: 36 (39)	*Śānti (Yixin 一心; Shanti 刪提 [var. Nati 那提] in the sūtra)	4.4	2.557c10–11
4.45b9–c9	Foremost Disciples: 37 (40)	Dharmaruci (Tanmoliuzhi 曇摩留支)	4.4	2.557c11–12

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
4.45c10– 16	Foremost Disciples: 38 (41)	*Gagga? (Jiaqu 迦渠, Jialei 迦淚 [K], Qiequ 伽渠 [SYM] in the sūtra)	4.4	2.557c12– 13
4.45c17– 46a28	Foremost Disciples: 39 (42)	Batkula (Pojuluo 婆拘羅) [<i>Aśokāvadāna</i>]	4.5	2.557c16– 18
4.46a29– b12	Foremost Disciples: 40 (43)	Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra (Manyuanzi 滿願子)	4.5	2.557c18– 19
4.46b13– c22	Foremost Disciples: 41 (44)	Upāli (Youpoli 優波離) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.5	2.557c19– 20
4.46c23– 47a13	Foremost Disciples: 42 (45)	Valkalin (Pojjiali 婆迦利) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.5	2.557c20– 21
5.47a20– b4	Foremost Disciples: 43 (46)	Nanda (Nantuo 難陀) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.5	2.557c21– 23
5.47b4– 17	Foremost Disciples: 44 (47)	*Bhadra? (Potuo 婆陀)	4.5	2.557c23– 558a1
5.47b17– 23	Foremost Disciples: 45 (48)	? (Sini 斯尼)	4.5	2.558a1–2

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
5.47b24–c23	Foremost Disciples: 46 (49)	Deva Subhūti (Tian Xuputi 天須菩提)	4.5	2.558a2–3
5.47c23–48a1	Foremost Disciples: 47 (50)	Nandaka (Nantuojia 難陀迦)	4.5	2.558a3–4
5.48a2–22	Foremost Disciples: 48 (51)	Sumana (Xumona 須摩那)	4.5	2.558a4
5.48a22–49a13	Foremost Disciples: 49 (52)	Śaivala (Shipoluo 尸婆羅) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.6	2.558a7–8
5.49a14–21	Foremost Disciples: 50 (53)	Upasena (Youpoxian 優波先; Youpoxian Jialantuozhi 優波先迦蘭陀子 in the sūtra) [<i>Saund.</i>]	4.6	2.558a8–9
5.49a22–b18	Foremost Disciples: 51 (54)	*Bhadrāsena (Potuoxian 婆陀先)	4.6	2.558a9–10
5.49b19–50a11	Foremost Disciples: 52 (55)	Mahā-Kapṛiṇa (Mohe Jiayanna 摩訶迦延那) [<i>Saund.</i> ; <i>Avadānaśataka</i>]	4.6	2.558a10–11
5.50a12–b11	Foremost Disciples: 53 (56)	*Udapāna? (Youtoupan 優頭槃)	4.6	2.558a11–12

T.1507	General topics	Specific contents	品	T.125
5.50b12– c18	Foremost Disciples: 54 (57)	Kumāra Kāśyapa (Jumoluo Jiaye 拘摩羅迦葉)	4.6	2.558a12– 13
5.50b19– 51a22	Foremost Disciples: 55 (58)	*Mukharāja (Mianwang 面王) [<i>Saund.</i> Moharāja; cf. Pāli Mogharāja]	4.6	2.558a13– 14
5.51a23– c1	Foremost Disciples: 56 (59)	Rāhula (Luoyun 羅云; Luoyun 羅雲 in the sūtra)	4.6	2.558a14– 15
5.51c2– 52a4	Foremost Disciples: 57 (60)	Panthaka (Bantuo 般陀; Bantu 般兔 – var. 般特, 般 菟 – in the sūtra) [<i>Divyāvadāna</i> (hereafter <i>Div.</i>)]	4.6	2.558a15– 16
5.52a5– b5	Foremost Disciples: 58 (61)	Cūda Panthaka (Zhuli Bantuo 祝利般陀; Zhouli Bantu 周利般兔 in the sūtra) [<i>Div.</i>]	4.6	2.558a16– 17
5.52b6– c13	Foremost Disciples: 59 (62)	Śākyarāja (Shiwang 釋王) [i.e. Bhadraka; <i>Avadā-</i> <i>naśataka</i>]	4.7	2.558a20– 21

¹ The number in brackets refers to the sequence in T.125.

Abbreviations and references

AN = *Āṅguttara-nikāya* (PTS ed.)

Avadānaśataka = Speyer, J. S. 1906–1909: *Avadānaśataka: a century of edifying tales belonging to the Hīnayāna*. Edited by —. (Bibliotheca Buddhica III). 2 vols. St.-Petersbourg.

Dīpavaṃsa = Oldenberg, Hermann 1879: *The Dīpavaṃsa: an ancient Buddhist historical record*. Edited and translated by —. London – Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

Divyāvadāna = Cowell, Edward B., and Robert A. Neil, eds. 1886: *The Divyāvadāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends. Now First Edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit Mss. in Cambridge and Paris*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DN = *Dīgha-nikāya* (PTS ed.)

Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra = Yamada, Isshi 1968: *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra. Edited with Introduction and Notes by —*. 2 vols. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

MN = *Majjhima-nikāya* (PTS ed.)

Saundarananda = Johnston, E. H. 1928: *The Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa. Critically edited with notes by —*, Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford.

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Vin. = *Vinayaṭīkā* (PTS ed.).

T = *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Compiled under the direction of Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭. Vols. 1-85. Issaikyō kankōkai 一切經刊行會. Tokyo 1924–1932.

- Z* = *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經, 750 vols., Zōkyō Shoin 藏經書院. Kyoto 1905-1912. References are made to the revised edition *Shinsan dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經, edited by Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照 and others. 88 + 2 vols. Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会. Tokyo 1975-1989.
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- Sui shu* 隋書 (Book of the Sui). 85 *juan*, by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579-648), Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643) and others; presented to the throne in 636. The 'Essays' (*zhi* 志) section was completed in 656. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1973.
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- Wei shu* 魏書 (Book of the Wei). 114 *juan*. Compiled by Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572) and presented to the throne in 554; revised in 572. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1974.
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