

Research on the *Sam̐yukta-āgama*

Research on the *Samyukta-āgama*

edited by Dhammadinnā

in memory of Karashima Seishi 辛嶋 静志

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Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (DILA) Series

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

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

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

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

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

- Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts Research Series (DILA-RS)
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Among our goals is the extensive development of digital publishing and information to adapt to the inter-active and hyper-connective environment of the Web 2.0 age. This will allow research outcomes to be quickly shared and evaluated through the participation of individual users, through such media as blogs, shared tagging, wikis, social networks and so on. Our hope is to work towards developing

an open environment for academic studies (perhaps called Science 2.0) on Digital humanities that will be more collaborative and efficient than traditional academic studies. In this way, the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts will continue to help foster the availability of digital resources for Buddhist studies, the Humanities, and the Social sciences.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Huimin' with a stylized flourish at the beginning.

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

Preface

It is my pleasure to introduce this fourth volume of proceedings of the *Āgama* seminars held by the Āgama Research Group.ⁱ

Hosted by Fundación Bodhiyāna de la Argentina, on October 27th and 28th of 2018, we came together in Buenos Aires to exchange on our research on texts and themes related to the Collections of Connected Discourses – *Samyukta-āgama* in Sanskrit, *Samyutta-nikāya* in Pali – transmitted by different early Buddhist lineages of reciters.

The topics broached shed light on these textual materials both by way of detailed mappings and bird’s-eye perspectives, or different combinations thereof. This research draws attention to fundamental methodological points posed by the study of the Collections of Connected Discourses as windows into the formation of early Buddhist texts and the organisation of their transmission.

The present volume comprises nineteen studies contributed by eighteen different scholars. Unlike our previous volumes of proceedings with chapters following the authors’ names in alphabetical order, these studies are arranged thematically, in seven sections. This format is the outcome of the increase in the number of research papers and areas of research covered and also of the growth in coordination and collaborative spirit that has developed over the years among our research community. Often questions and conversations that had emerged during a preceding seminar carried over into the planning of the following seminar, and thus effectively motivated the trajectory of research that would be shared in the course of the next gathering.

The first section, “The Collections of Connected Discourses: Structural and Redactional Principles”, opens the volume by framing the Collections of Collected Discourses in relation to their initial oral delivery and to the principles governing their organisation into assemblages of groups of discourses.

Oskar von Hinüber's "The *Sagātha-vagga* in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*: Formation and Vedic Background", based on the seminar's opening keynote presentation, is an appropriate reminder and illustration of the Indological foundation necessary for the study of early Buddhist texts and teachings. His contribution investigates the position of the *Sagātha-vagga* in relation to the structure and content of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and to the rest of the Pali *Sutta-piṭaka*, proposing a possible pre-*Khuddaka-nikāya* formation of the *Sagātha-vagga*, thus prior to the time of the First Saṅgīti.

Bhikkhu Anālayo's "*Peyāla* in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*: Contraction and Expansion in Textual Transmission" closely investigates the functioning of the principle of *peyāla* (Sanskrit; Pali *peyyāla*), that is, the practice of textual contraction and expansion among the discourses found in the section on the aggregates, the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, in the complete *Saṃyukta-āgama* extant in Chinese translation (Taishō no. 99), in comparison with the Pali *Khandha-saṃyutta*. This investigation throws into relief the multiple interfaces between style and function as well as formal and doctrinal developments, which often stand in relationships of reciprocal conditioning.

The intertwining of form and content recurs in Rupert Gethin's "Reading Repetitions in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and Early *Abhidhamma*: From the *Mahā-vagga* to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*", which takes its cue from the observation that the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and *Saṃyukta-āgama* are constructed around the framework of a specific set of lists which similarly informs the structure of certain early canonical *Abhidharma* texts of different schools. This research shows that the use of *peyyāla* repetition-templates needs to be acknowledged as an intrinsically oral characteristic of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* literary method.

The second section of the volume, "The Early Discourses: Gandharan Circulation", collects three articles on Gandhari versions of the early discourses. These take up some peculiarities of this regional tradition and offer reflections on the insights it has to offer on the formative phases of early Buddhist textuality as a whole.

Richard Salomon’s “Where are the Gandharan *Sūtras*? Some Reflections on the Contents of the Gandhari Manuscript Collections” assesses the significance of the *Āgama* texts in Gandhari for which there is at present a direct attestation. He concludes that in the period represented by most Gandharan manuscripts only certain types of discourses were set down in written form, or at least were written out frequently. In this setting, *kṣudraka*-type discourses were predominant among the extant written witnesses. This situation appears to be explainable in terms of the functional and practical reasons informing the curriculum of instruction in Gandharan monasteries.

Mark Allon’s “A Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* Version of the ‘Discourse on Not-self’ (Pali *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*, Sanskrit **Anātma-lakṣaṇa-sūtra*)” studies for the first time one of the recent Gandhari manuscript findings in the Senior collection. It presents a diplomatic edition, reconstruction, translation and annotation of a Gandhari version of the ‘Discourse on Not-self’. Based on the groundwork laid out in this way, Mark Allon analyses the reasons for the popularity of this text, the likely explanation for its inclusion in the Senior collection, and its overall consistency with the Dharmaguptaka affiliation established for the Senior collection.

Joseph Marino’s “The Gandhari ‘Discourse on Pleasure and Pain’: Some Thoughts on Similes and Textual Variation in the Connected Discourses” presents an edition and translation of the ‘Discourse on Pleasure and Pain’ (**Suhadukha-sūtra*). This is another Gandhari discourse from the Senior collection, in this case with no direct parallels known in other early Buddhist lineages of recitation. Marino reflects on the functioning of similes in the construction of Connected Discourses, which, similar to that of repetitions and expansions, is applied within fixed and closely controlled parameters that insure doctrinal consistency.

The third section of the volume, “The Early Discourses: Transmission in Sanskrit”, showcases the typical philological challenges

posed by the largely fragmentary and incomplete corpora of manuscripts containing Sanskrit versions of the early Buddhist discourses and collections.

Jin-il Chung's "Towards a New Edition of the First Twenty-five Sūtras of the *Nidāna-saṃyukta*: Current State and Remaining Difficulties" offers a taster of a possible refinement of earlier, pioneering text-critical efforts, in this case those of Chandrabhāl Tripāṭhī. This new edition of the Sanskrit *Nidāna-saṃyukta* (in collaboration with Fukita Takamichi 吹田 隆道) includes all Sanskrit materials known to date, and it relies on complex interpretation efforts and multilingual expertise.

The other paper featured in this section of the volume is Peter Skilling's (Bhadra Rujirathat) "'Discourse on the Relative Value of the Varieties of Knowledge' (*Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra*): A Translation". He interprets and studies the Sanskrit *Vidyāsthānopama*, a short discourse in mixed prose and verse without known parallels. The grouping in Central Asian manuscripts of this discourse with *rakṣā* texts can be explained in the light of the liturgical function of scriptural compilations. Skilling argues for the discourse being 'canonical' in its own right even if not included in the formal canonical collections, the *Āgamas*.

The fourth section of the volume, "School Affiliation: Multiple Recitations and Institutional Identities", engages with the challenging question of so-called school affiliation of *Āgama* texts and collections, particularly the meaningfulness of a distinction between Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda lineages of transmission.

The first of the two voices in this conversation is that of Jens-Uwe Hartmann, with his "Sanskrit Versions of the *Āgamas*: Schools, Regions and Editors". He reflects back on the approaches taken to this question particularly in the Göttingen Indological tradition engaged in the textual and lexicographic study of the extremely fragmentary Northern Silk Road corpus. His response to the at times

circular methodological assumptions is to take a somewhat sceptical position on the very possibility of solving it from within the same terminological paradigm that shaped these issues in the first place.

Initially stimulated by Hartmann's seminar communication, Bhikkhu Anālayo's "'Mūlasarvāstivādin and Sarvāstivādin': Oral Transmission Lineages of *Āgama* Texts" looks at the topic from the point of view of a scholar who has contributed significantly to the development of a text-historical approach to the early Buddhist textual tradition informed by an oral model of transmission. Problematising the accuracy of the use of the expression 'sect' in discussions of Buddhist *nikāyas* as monastic institutions, he puts to the fore the recital of the *Āgamas* and *Vinayas* as a key token of monastic institutional identity. This shows in which sense the 'Mūlasarvāstivāda' and 'Sarvāstivāda' terminology can serve as heuristically valid identifiers for the transmission of the received *Samyukta-āgama* and *Madhyama-āgama*, extant in Chinese translation.

The volume's fifth section, "*Sūtra* Quotations and References: Intra-, Inter-, Co- and Cross-textuality", gathers four close-up studies of *Samyukta-āgama* discourse material that appear also in different ways in other canonical and scholastic works. These range from different versions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, to subcommentaries on the *Abhidharmakośa*, and practice compendia such as the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

Yao Fumi's 八尾 史 "Traces of Incorporation: Some Examples of *Samyukta-āgama Sūtras* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*" adds significant analytical depth to the well-known observation in scholarship that the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* includes many textual parallels to discourses transmitted in the *Āgamas*. She explains that it is not always unequivocal which canonical corpus, the *Vinaya*- or else the *Sūtra-piṭaka*, borrowed text from the other. Her research also shows that such insertions were not always done very carefully and the traces they left in the texts can reveal significant discrepancies between different extant versions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

Based on an edition, translation and comparative study of discourse quotations parallel to discourses in the *Samyukta-āgama*, Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā’s “Highlights from a Comparative Study of the *Samyukta-āgama* Quotations in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*” documents that the recensions of the *Samyukta-āgama* represented by Śamathadeva’s *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* are quite closely related yet not identical. This study articulates a tentative model for the pervasive variation in the Greater Sarvāstivāda textual transmission that correlates the characteristic variations of these versions of the early discourses to the local identity dynamics in the Buddhist institutions responsible for their transmission informed by both universalising and particularising tendencies.

The following piece in this section of the volume is Bhikkhu Pāsādika’s “*Samyukta-āgama* Quotations in Yaśomitra’s *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*”, a meticulous survey of the *Samyukta-āgama* discourse quotations preserved in Yaśomitra’s *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. This is intended as a companion to the author’s repertory of discourse quotations in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, a standard reference work (*Kanonische Zitate im Abhidharmakośabhāṣya des Vasubandhu*), and as a supplement to his previously published partial examinations of canonical quotations in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*.

The final paper in the fifth section is Bhikṣu Huimin’s 釋惠敏 “Cross-references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the *Samyukta-āgama*’s *Mātrkā* Transmitted in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*”. He offers an inquiry into the textual relationship between the complete Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* and the *Sūtra-vastu*, the first division of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, which includes a *mātrkā*-type mapping of the *Samyukta-āgama*, based on a study of explicit cross-references in the *Sūtra-vastu* to passages in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

The sixth section, “*Āgamas* in Chinese: Translation Processes”, centres on the Chinese translations of *Samyukta-āgama* collections, in particular on aspects that illuminate the formation and transmission history of their underlying Indic originals.

The section begins with the late Karashima Seishi's 辛嶋 静志 contribution "The Underlying Languages of the Three Chinese Translations of the *Samyukta-āgamas* (Taishō nos. 99, 100 and 101) and their School-Affiliations". He presents linguistic-historical data and theories on the original texts underlying each of the three *Samyukta-āgamas* presently included in the Chinese *Tripitaka*, on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the Chinese renditions of Indic proper names in these three *Āgama* translations. Karashima argues that Taishō no. 100 should be ascribed to the Mahīśāsaka lineage, translated from a written original brought to China by the monk Faxian 法顯.

The following paper, Marcus Bingenheimer's "A Study and Translation of the *Yakṣa-samyukta* in the Shorter Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*", offers the first annotated translation of the *Yakṣa-samyukta* contained in the incomplete Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (Taishō no. 100). Resolving a number of philological issues, Bingenheimer finds confirmation for his previously argued common Indian ancestor of this collection and the complete Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (Taishō no. 99). An appendix revisits the discussion around the school attribution and the history of translation of Taishō no. 100, in response to Karashima's arguments for its Mahīśāsaka affiliation.

The last contribution to this section, Ken Su's [Su Jinkun 蘇錦坤] "Notes on the Translation and the Translator of the Shorter Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (Taishō no. 100)", takes up several issues relevant to the Indian transmission history of Taishō no. 100. Exploring the translation process in China and the relationship between Taishō no. 99 and Taishō no. 100, he presents internal textual reasons why the translation of Taishō no. 100 would have been based on an oral recitation. Ken Su also critically examines the proposals by Karashima regarding the Indic sources and translation circumstances of both Taishō no. 99 and Taishō no. 100.

The paper presented by Paul Harrison at the seminar would have also belonged to the present section of the volume, as it was devoted

to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* compilation present in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* as no. 101 in the Taishō edition, most of it attributable to the pioneer of Han Dynasty 漢朝 Buddhist translations in China, An Shigao 安世高. However, the paper took on a life of its own and developed into a book to be published by the Āgama Research Group under the title *An Early Chinese Saṃyukta-āgama Compilation, Text and Annotated Translation*, containing an introduction, integral critical edition and annotated translation of this early *Saṃyukta-āgama* compilation.

The seventh and last section of the volume, “Canon Formation and Textual Scholarship: Philologies between Tradition and Modernity”, follows the ancient Indian Collections of Connected Discourses through mediaeval and modern Buddhist philological approaches in China and Taiwan.

Choong Mun-keat’s 鍾秉潔 [Wei-keat 煒傑] “Ācāriya Buddhaghosa and Master Yinshun 印順 on the Three-*aṅga* Structure of Early Buddhist Texts” discusses the interpretation of the scriptural category of the *aṅgas*. He compares the positions elaborated by a traditional Indian Theravāda exegete active in Sri Lanka, the fifth-century Indian commentator Buddhaghosa, and a contemporary Chinese monastic scholar, the already mentioned Master Yinshun. The author sides with the Master’s model as a plausible text-historical explanation for the early formation of the Collections of Connected Discourses, against Bhikkhu Anālayo’s previously published research on the same topic.

The following article in this section, which is also the twentieth and last in the volume, is Stefania Travagnin and Bhikkhu Anālayo’s joint “Assessing the Field of *Āgama* Studies in Twentieth-century China: With a Focus on Master Yinshun’s 印順 Three-*aṅga* Theory”. This contribution first positions Master Yinshun’s ideas in light of his Chinese predecessors in the field of *Āgama* studies in Mainland China and Taiwan, and then offers a restatement and further elaboration of Bhikkhu Anālayo’s findings on the *aṅga* in relation to the assemblage of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.

By way of drawing this introduction to a close, may I express my gratitude to the many friends and colleagues who have contributed to making the seminar a highly successful meeting and to those who have in various ways cooperated in the production of this volume (among whom, Geraint Evans and Derek Sola have helped with the English revision, and Wu Wan-chen 吳宛真 who assisted in various ways).

The venerable Bhikṣu Zhihan 釋智翰, president of the Fundación Bodhiyāna de la Argentina, has generously endorsed the project and inspired the foundation's donors and volunteers to support us. This heartfelt support from the Buddhist community has made everything possible.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of the late Karashima Seishi 辛嶋 静志, our Karashima-sensei 辛嶋 先生, who unexpectedly passed away at the age of just sixty-one on July 23rd, 2019. The Sensei's linguistic genius, scholastic achievements and unrelenting research drive certainly do not call for additional praise nor ceremonial memorialisation on my part, but I feel I can confidently speak for all of the colleagues and friends participating in this volume in saying that they will surely remain a lasting inspiration to us all.

Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā
 Director, Āgama Research Group
 Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts
 November 30th, 2019

ⁱ Previously published volumes are: *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, *Research on the Dīrgha-āgama* and *Research on the Madhyama-āgama*, in the Dharma Drum Buddhist College Research Series, 6, and the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts Research Series, 1 and 6 respectively, printed in Taiwan by the Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation in 2013, 2014 and 2017. The seminars were held at the Dharma Drum Buddhist College, later Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts, on April 20th, 2012, October 18th and 19th, 2013, and October 23rd and 24th, 2015.

**I. THE COLLECTIONS OF
CONNECTED DISCOURSES:
STRUCTURAL AND REDACTIONAL PRINCIPLES**

**The *Sagātha-vagga*
in the *Samyutta-nikāya*:
Formation and Vedic Background**

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Abstract

This essay explores the formation of the first division of the received Pali *Samyutta-nikāya*, the *Sagātha-vagga*, in the light of its early Indian setting. It traces the mutual relation between the Vedic and the early Buddhist world from the angle of language and literature, particularly the presence and significance of Vedic motifs in the early layers of the Pali canon. The position of the *Sagātha-vagga* is investigated in relation to the structure and content of the *Samyutta-nikāya* as a whole, as well as to the rest of the Pali *Sutta-piṭaka*. The essay queries why the disparate textual material that forms the *Sagātha-vagga* was inserted into the *Samyutta-nikāya* and positioned at the beginning of this collection, and what this may further imply in terms of the formation of the Pali *Sutta-piṭaka*. [ed.]

History and development of language and literature of early Buddhism are closely connected to and best understood against the cultural background of the Veda, particularly of the early *Upaniṣads*. Moreover, when explaining early Middle Indic linguistic history it is imperative to include the Vedic grammatical tradition and to make use of the early Sanskrit grammarians from Pāṇini to Patañjali.¹

Before entering into a discussion of traces of Vedic language and literature in the *Sagātha-vagga* and in the *Samyutta-nikāya* in general, it may be useful to place this particular aspect of the relation between the Veda and early Buddhism very briefly into its proper context in the history of research by simply recalling that at the very beginning of investigations on Buddhism in Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century many Vedic scholars were at the same time well versed in Buddhism and vice versa. Therefore, it was soon recognized that a thorough knowledge of the Vedic period is required to understand the beginnings of the Buddhist cultural world.²

It is sufficient here to mention only two prominent names. The great pioneer of European research on Buddhism Eugène Burnouf (1801–1851) also laid the foundations of Vedic studies. Almost a century later, Hermann Oldenberg (1854–1920) summarized his lifelong researches on both the Veda and Buddhism and on their mutual relation in his book *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, which was published from Göttingen in 1915.

However, in contrast to Oldenberg, who was first of all interested in the history of ideas and in the emergence of the mental world of early Buddhism, the accent of the following considerations will be

¹ This is discussed in detail in von Hinüber (forthcoming).

² The verse *kiṃsu sabbaṃ addhabhavi* ... (SN I 39,3*–6*), for example, can be understood only by the help of Vedic evidence (von Hinüber 2015a [2016] [2019]).

on language and literature rather than on philosophy and thought. Particularly the language proves time and again to be a safe guide when tracing the continuation of Vedic usage in Buddhism.

Of course, this connection can be seen best, perhaps only, in those Buddhist texts that are extant in their original Indian language as, for instance, in the Gandhari fragments (perhaps in the future, when sufficient relevant material will be available), and certainly in Pali texts, of course not only in the *Sagātha-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, but almost everywhere in the older layers of the Theravāda canon.

Still, the *Sagātha-vagga* occupies a special position not only in respect of the relation between the Veda and early Buddhism.³ Particularly its last section, the *Sakka-samyutta* (SN I 216–240), explicitly refers to the prominent Vedic god Indra, who under his name Śakrá > Sakka, applied to Indra since the *Ṛgveda*, is omnipresent in Buddhist texts. Of course, other parts of the *Sagātha-vagga* also connect back to Vedic texts.

Attention to this connection was drawn explicitly for the first time, it seems, by Charles Rockwell Lanman (1850–1941), in his contribution to the *Festschrift* offered to his teacher Rudolf Roth (1821–1895) in Tübingen in 1893. In this article Lanman (1893: 187–190) pointed out certain similarities between the Svarbhānu myths alluded to in *Ṛgveda* V 40 and the myth of Rāhu swallowing the sun

³ The *Sagātha-vagga* is published as vol. I of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, edited by Léon Feer in 1884 (second edition by G.A. Somaratne in 1998 = SN I²). There is a second *Sagātha-vagga* in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, located in the first chapter of the *Vedanā-samyukta*, the second division of the *Salāyatana-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*. This *Sagātha-vagga* (SN IV 204–216) deals with various aspects of *vedanā*; cf. Feer's 1884: IV, introduction to SN IV and Norman 1983: 50 note 114. There is no *vagga-uddāna* (SN IV 238), but the title of the *vagga* is guaranteed by *vedanāsamyutte sagāthavaggassa pathame*, Spk III 74,4.

and releasing it after the intervention of the Buddha as described in the *Devaputta-samyutta* (SN I 51,1–23*).⁴

Moreover, in many respects the *Sagātha-vagga* as the first part of the *Samyutta-nikāya* stands apart from the following four sections, the *Nidāna*-, *Khandha*-, *Salāyatana*-, and *Mahā-vagga*, which are usually considered as an early attempt to collect certain aspects of the teaching of the Buddha in a systematic way even before the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* was created.⁵ In contrast, the first of the five *vaggas* does not contain much material really relevant to Buddhist teachings. Furthermore, only the *Sagātha-vagga* is named after its literary form in contrast to the subsequent four *vaggas*, which get their titles from their respective content, or, as in the case of the *Mahā-vagga*, from its size.

The marked difference between the *Sagātha-vagga* and the rest of the *Samyutta-nikāya* was correctly perceived at an early time. This can be inferred from the pertinent structure of Buddhaghosa's commentary named *Sāratthappakāsinī*.⁶

At the beginning of his four *Nikāya* commentaries, Buddhaghosa discusses at great length first the introductory formula of all subsequent *suttantas*, *evaṃ me sutam*, etc. At the end of the explanation of

⁴ However, there is only a very superficial similarity between these myths, which are independent from each other, as pointed out by Jamison 1991: 141–144.

⁵ It is regrettably difficult to draw much benefit from Bucknell 2007, because it is impossible to uphold the postulated unity of the *Bhikkhunī-samyutta* in the *Sagātha-vagga* (SN I 128–135) and the *Bhikkhu-samyutta* at the end of the *Nidāna-vagga* (SN II 273–286). The first two *suttantas* of the latter do not contain any verse, which forbids its inclusion into the *Sagātha-vagga* (SN I). Moreover, the inner structure of both *samyuttas* is totally different.

⁶ The name of the commentary is explained by Buddhaghosa in the *nigama* as *sā hi Mahā-aṭṭhakathāya sāraṃ ādāya niṭṭhitā esā*, “It (i.e., the *Sāratthappakāsinī*) is completed after having taken the essence (*sāra*) from the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*” (Spk III 308,6*).

the *Nidāna*, he usually places a methodological remark, when he introduces the four *suttanikkhepas*, the ‘four reasons for laying down a *suttanta*’, as a system for their classification.⁷ While this remark is systematically positioned immediately after the discussion of *evaṃ me sutam* in the commentaries on the *Dīgha-*, *Majjhima-*, and *Aṅguttara-nikāyas*, it is inserted in the *Samyutta-nikāya* commentary only at the beginning of the *Nidāna-vagga* (Spk II 3,20–4,24), even though the *Sagātha-vagga* begins with *evaṃ me sutam* as well, which is duly discussed by Buddhaghosa at the beginning of his *Sāratthappakāsinī* (Spk I 4,5–13,27). The reason for the separation of the explanation of *evaṃ me sutam* and the four *suttanikkhepas* is due to the form particularly of the first *suttantas* in the *Sagātha-vagga*. For, they frequently start without any hint at an event that induced the Buddha to deliver a discourse and the decisive sentence *tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi*, etc., found at the very beginning of the *Nidāna-vagga* (SN II 1,9), is missing.⁸ Therefore, no *suttanikkhepa* can be determined for most *suttantas* of the *Sagātha-vagga*. This formal difference draws a clear line between this and all following *vaggas* of the *Nikāya*. Consequently, the position of the *suttanikkhepas* indicates, as it were, that the ‘real’ or ‘true’ *Samyutta-nikāya* begins only with the *Nidāna-vagga*.⁹

Indeed, the *Sagātha-vagga*, which is in many respects quite different from the rest of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, shows more similarities to collections assembled in the *Khuddaka-nikāya* such as the *Sutta-nipāta*

⁷ The *suttanikkhepas* are discussed in von Hinüber 1996: § 230.

⁸ The first *suttanta* of the *Sagātha-vagga* that would allow determining a *suttanikkhepa* is the beginning of the second *Vagga* 2. *Nandana-vagga* (SN I 5,19).

⁹ Cf. also the pertinent remarks by Bodhi 2000: I 13. If not indicated otherwise, translations from the *Samyutta-nikāya* follow Bhikkhu Bodhi’s (Bodhi 2000).

than to its own *Nikāya*. Therefore, the question arises why the short pieces collected in the *Sagātha-vagga* are not placed in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, but at the beginning of the *Samyutta-nikāya* instead.

It is, however, not only the form of the texts, which is similar to texts in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, the same is true for their content. Like, for instance, *Dhammapada* verses, which often have no recognizable connection to Buddhism but, on the contrary, are parallel to Brahmanical literature such as the (Rau 1959 [2012]; cf. Franke 1906 [1978]: 344–399 and Hegarty 2018) verses of the *Sagātha-vagga*, too, frequently if not mostly contain general maxims devoid of any Buddhist content, as illustrated by the following random example:

kiṃsu rathassa paññāṇaṃ
kiṃsu paññāṇaṃ aggino
kiṃsu raṭṭhassa paññāṇaṃ
kiṃsu paññāṇaṃ itthiyā
dhajo rathassa paññāṇaṃ
dhūmo paññāṇaṃ aggino
rājā raṭṭhassa paññāṇaṃ
bhattā paññāṇaṃ itthiyā,
SN I 41,21*–42,2*.

What is the token of a chariot? What is the token of fire?
What is the token of a kingdom? What is the token of a
woman? The standard is the token of a chariot; smoke is
the token of fire; The king is the token of a kingdom; the
husband is the token of a woman.

This is, of course, in stark contrast to the often highly technical matters discussed in the following *vaggas*. Therefore, the obvious question arises, why this material was inserted into the *Samyutta-nikāya* and not into the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, where it clearly belongs. A perhaps likely guess is the following.

The *Sagātha-vagga* preserves on the whole material that is very disparate and consists of a large variety of verses, which, it seems, were current in and assembled from the collective memory of early Buddhist monks, who had learned and used to rehearse them even before they joined the Buddha.

For, some verses, which were, in all likelihood, originally pre-Buddhist or originated outside Buddhism, seem to have been adapted, however loosely, to Buddhism. The following verses, which are placed in the *Yakkha-saṃyutta*,¹⁰ although they deal with a Pisācī, lend themselves as a clear example:¹¹

*mā saddā karī Piyaṅkarā
bhikkhu dhammapadāni bhāsate
api dhammapadaṃ vijāṇiyā
paṭipajjema hitāya no siyā
[pāṇesu saṃyamāmase
sampaṇānamusā na bhaṇāmase]
sikkhema susīlaṃ attano
api mucceṃ pisācayoniyā,
SN I 209,23*–30*.*

¹⁰ The Chinese translations of this *saṃyutta* are discussed in the present volume by Bingenheimer 2020 (see his translation and discussion of SĀ² 320 [‘The Mother of Piṅgala’]). The Chinese versions show a markedly stronger Buddhist colour than the much older Theravāda text. — The name Piyaṅkara occurs in Pali only in these verses; according to Edgerton 1953, *s.v.* the same name is attributed to other persons in Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Still another name is attested at Kanaganahalli, Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 99 [III 2.25]: *yakhi piyekaramātā*, “The Yakṣī, the mother of Piye-kara”.

¹¹ The faulty meter of the verses has been corrected. The same metrical errors are preserved in the quotation in Sv 410,1*–8*: *piyaṅkara* [without *plutī*]; *bhāsati*; *api ca*; *vijāṇiya*.

Do not make a sound, Piyaṅkara! The monk recites words of the Dhamma. If we understand the word of the Dhamma, we want to follow it; this will be beneficial for us. [We will control ourselves in respect to the lives (of others), we will not speak consciously any lie.] We should train ourselves in good behaviour, perhaps we will be freed from our rebirth as Piśācas.

Within these Vaitālīya verses the line *pāṇesu saṃyamāmase / sam-pajānamusā na bhaṇāmase* clearly does not really scan.¹² This can be taken as an indication that it is most likely a secondary though old insertion in order to give a Buddhist touch to the verses. Moreover, it remains doubtful whether or not the *bhikkhu* mentioned here originally was a Buddhist or any other ascetic. The Dhamma, referred to by the poet who conceived these lines, which according to the accompanying prose were recited by Anuruddha, is not necessarily that of the Buddha. Therefore, it remains equally doubtful whether or not the commentary is right in connecting the *dhammapadāni* to the *Appamāda-vagga* of the *Dhammapada* (Dhp 21–32).¹³

Be this as it may, the remark of Buddhaghosa shows how easily these verses could be adapted to Buddhist discourse, if they were originally composed in a non-Buddhist environment. Of course, the

¹² However, *pāṇesu saṃyamāmase* could be a *śloka-pada b* replacing a *vaitālīya-pada a* according to Smith 1949 [2001]: 1159 [§ 8.5].

¹³ *dhammapadāni ti iha pāṭiyekkaṃ saṅgahaṃ ārūlhā chabbīsativaggā tanti adhipetā. tatra thero tasmim samaye antovihāre nisinnō madhura-sareṇa sarabhaññaṃ katvā appamādavaggaṃ bhāsatī*, Spk I 308,34–309,3, “‘Words of the *Dhamma*’: Here this refers to the text tradition in twenty-six chapters [i.e., the *Dhammapada*], which constitutes a separate collection. At that time, the Elder was sitting there in a monastery and recited the *Appamāda-vagga* with sweet intonation” (cf. *sarabhañña-pariyosāne*, “at the end of the recitation”, at Vin I 196,37).

monk mentioned in the first line may have recited verses similar to those collected in the *Dhammapada*, a text that, like the *Sagātha-vagga*, contains a mixture of Buddhist, semi-Buddhist, and non-Buddhist material. Therefore, both collections share the common feature that they preserve verses from the collective memory of monks, most likely dating back to the early period of orality in our text tradition.

If the chequered material preserved in the *Sagātha-vagga* was collected that early, it is perhaps an initial attempt to secure the many floating oral texts, which resulted in one of the first ‘minor’, that is, *khuddaka* texts. This might have happened even before the *Khuddaka-nikāya* was conceived as a collection for all the many independent floating texts and for everything that would not fit anywhere else in the first four *Nikāyas* (Lamotte 1958: 171–174 = 1988: 156–159).

Titles of originally independent texts, which were later incorporated into the *Khuddaka-nikāya* are indeed known from various partly very early sources beginning with the Bairāt inscription of Aśoka up to the much later the *Divyāvadāna*.¹⁴ Putting such texts together did not and could not result in any systematized collection like the first four *Nikāyas*. Therefore, content and number of texts ultimately included in the *Khuddaka-nikāya* necessarily vary considerably not only from school to school, but even within Theravāda as the description of the canon preserved in the introduction to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* shows. Moreover, the *Khuddaka-nikāya* was the last collection to remain open for additions.¹⁵

If these slightly speculative assumptions concerning the formation of the *Sagātha-vagga* are approximately correct, this is another indication of the high age of its content in terms of relative chronology,

¹⁴ Cf. Lamotte 1958: 172 = 1988: 157 and von Hinüber 1996: § 97.

¹⁵ For details see von Hinüber 1996: §§ 85, 97–99, 119 and note 16 below.

because it would predate the formation of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*. For, according to the Theravāda tradition this *Nikāya* existed already at the time when the report on the first council was composed, which mentions ‘five *Nikāyas*’, but not yet an *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* (*pañca nikāye pucchi*, Vin II 287,27).¹⁶

A further indication of a pre-*Khuddaka-nikāya* origin of the *Sagātha-vagga* besides its uneasy accommodation in the *Samyutta-nikāya* may be found in the *Vaṅgīsa-samyutta* (SN I 185–196).¹⁷ All verses spoken by this monk were collected with slight variations in the *Thera-gāthā* (Th 1209–1262), where, however, sixteen verses in (mostly) *triṣṭubh* meter from the *Vaṅgīsa-sutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta* (Sn 343–358 = Th 1263–1278)¹⁸ are added to the fifty-three (mostly) *śloka*s

¹⁶ According to the survey of the Theravāda canon at Sv 15,22–27 the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* put the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, which they call *Khuddakagantha*, into their *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*: *Khuddakagantho ... Abhidhammapiṭakasmim yeva saṃgahaṃ āropayimsu*, Sv 15,25–26. However, if the account of the first council is accepted, the five *Nikāyas* predate the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. Therefore, the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* seem to preserve an old tradition, according to which *Abhidhamma* texts were first put into the *Khuddaka-nikāya* and remained there even after the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* was created. Looking back, this arrangement almost necessarily seemed to have happened the other way around, with the *Khuddaka* texts being incorporated into the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. This, however, does not make any sense at all in spite of the heroic attempt to justify the arrangement of the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* *ex post* in Sv-pt I 29,13–18. The same process was repeated much later, when again an isolated *Abhidhamma* text, the *Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga*, was embedded in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, because a closed *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* no longer allowed any addition (see note 15 above). The formation of the *Khuddaka-nikāya* will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming publication.

¹⁷ This *samyutta* is put into a comparative perspective by Choong 2007.

¹⁸ The last *śloka* of the *Mahā-vagga* (Th 1279) does not occur in the *Sutta-nipāta*.

extracted from the *Sagātha-vagga*. So many verses are ascribed to no other Thera; Vaṅṭīsa's exceptionally rich poetic heritage therefore fills the whole *Mahā-nipāta*, which is the last and longest chapter of the *Thera-gāthā*.

This is no wonder because Vaṅṭīsa was considered in the *Etad-aggā-vagga* of the *Aṅuttara-nikāya* as the first among those monks who possess presence of mind combined with poetical vision and inspiration.¹⁹

Before Vaṅṭīsa entered the *Saṅgha*, he was not only a skull tap-per who could predict the rebirth of the person whose skull he had in his hand,²⁰ but first of all a gifted poet, who probably even made a living from poetry as a verse in the *Vaṅṭīsa-saṃyutta* suggests:²¹

*kāveyyamattā²² vicarimha pubbe
gāmāgāmaṃ purāpuraṃ
ath' addasāma sambuddhaṃ
saddhā no udapajjatha,
SN I 196,12–13* = Th 1253.*

Drunk with the skill in composing poetry, formerly, we wandered from village to village, from fortified place to fortified place. Then we saw the awakened one. Faith arose in us.

¹⁹ AN I 24,1–21: *etad-aggāṃ, bhikkhave, mama sāvakānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ ... paṭibhānavantānaṃ yadidaṃ Vaṅṭīso*.

²⁰ Taddei 1979 and 1983 = 2003: I 189–227. Additional images from private collections in Japan that were unknown to Taddei are found in Kurita 2003: 273, nos. 578 and 579; cf. also Santoro 2010

²¹ Translation after Norman 2007: 124. That Vaṅṭīsa might have made a living from poetry is confirmed by the commentary on *kāveyyaṃ* at DN I 11,10, Sv 95,30: *jīvikatthāya kabbakaraṇaṃ*.

²² This word occurs again at SN I 110,22*; Geiger's translation at SN I 196,12* "berauscht von Wahrsagerei" is untenable.

The wording *gāmāgāmaṃ purāpuraṃ* might echo a situation in the Vedic world with *kavis* wandering from one migrating group (*grāma*) to the next, from one fortified place (*pūr*) to the next²³ offering their services.²⁴ While the word *kavi* has a highly positive connotation in Vedic Sanskrit, the occupation of a *kavi* is viewed with suspicion in Buddhism, and enumerated among the ‘wrong ways of making a living’ (*micchājīva*, DN I 11,6–10).

It is therefore only natural that, because of his former profession, Vaṅṭīsa was assumed to have composed an exceptional number of verses as a gifted *paṭibhānakavi*.

This early technical term of Indian poetics corresponds to what would be called an extempore poet today, who is defined in the commentary on the enumeration of the four classes of poets in the *Catukka-nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* as someone who “composes in a moment by using his imagination like the Thera Vaṅṭīsa.”²⁵

In contrast to the *Sagātha-vagga*, where Vaṅṭīsa’s verses are embedded in a well-structured series of twelve short suttantas of mostly four or five verses,²⁶ the same verses follow each other in an unstructured sequence in the *Thera-gāthā*. This is not an isolated

²³ The usage of the word *pur* is investigated by Rau 1976 [2012]: 861–907; Rau’s results are contested by Stuhmann 2008. In the *Ṛgveda* the fortified *purs* are inhabited by the enemies of the Aryans.

²⁴ This was observed already by Pischel and Geldner 1889: XXIV and 166. — On the idea of the *kavi* in the *Ṛgveda* as contrasted to Pali usage cf. Jamison 2007: 144 (cf. index s.v. *kavi*).

²⁵ The four classes of poets are: *cintākavi*, *sutakavi*, *atthakavi*, *paṭibhānakavi*, AN II 230,11–13 with Mp III 211,9–13: *yo cintetvā kavyaṃ karoti, ayaṃ cintākavi nāma; yo sutvā karoti, ayaṃ sutakavi nāma; yo ekaṃ atthaṃ nissāya karoti, ayaṃ atthakavi nāma; yo taṃ khaṇaṃ yeva vaṅṭīsatthero viya attano paṭibhānena karoti, ayaṃ paṭibhānakavi nāmā ti*.

²⁶ Because the *Vaṅṭīsa-(Nigrodhakappa)-sutta* is markedly longer and contains a dialogue, it is accommodated in the *Culla-vagga* of the *Sutta-nipāta*.

case, because the same is true for most of the long *nipātas* at the end of the *Thera-gāthā*, where verses of different origin are patched together without paying much attention to content or coherence.²⁷

It is therefore conceivable that Vaṅṭṣa's verses were extracted from their respective contexts in the *Sagātha-vagga* and united with those found in the *Sutta-nipāta*, when the *Thera-gāthās* were assembled to be ultimately included into the *Khuddaka-nikāya*.

In sum, if the *Sagātha-vagga* can be considered as some sort of forerunner of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, the texts united here could be included as *Khuddaka* texts before the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, only here in the four *Nikāyas* available at the time.²⁸ For, they could neither be accommodated in the *Dīgha-* or *Majjhima-nikāyas*, because the individual pieces are too short and because their literary form differs considerably from, quite often hardly resembles a *suttanta*, nor could they be inserted into the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, because there is nothing numerical in these texts.

If this admittedly conjectural explanation is approximately correct, the position of the *Sagātha-vagga* within the *Samyutta-nikāya* can be understood. At the same time, structural arguments derived from the literary form would again support the high antiquity of verses and connected stories, which is likely also for various other reasons discussed in the following.

Before entering into some smaller, mostly linguistic details, which connect the *Sagātha-vagga* (and other texts of the *Samyutta-nikāya*)

²⁷ The only exception is the *Tālapuṭatthera-gāthā* in the *Paññāsa-nipāta*, which vaguely seems to form a unified whole as observed by Norman 2007 (reviewed by Kieffer-Pülz 2008 and Wright 2008): 310 on Th 1091–1145.

²⁸ It is conceivable that a period during which only four *Nikāyas* existed is mirrored in the Chinese version of the **Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, T 5 and its elaboration T 6; cf. Przyluski 1926–1928 : 81 and 85, and on T 5 and T 6 Park 2008 [2010].

to the Veda, a look at some of the individual *Samyuttas* of the *Sagātha-vagga* is useful. For, particularly its last chapter, the *Sakka-samyutta* (SN I 216–240) clearly follows Vedic literary traditions.²⁹

Many of the short *suttantas* in the *Sakka-samyutta* are brief stories told by the Buddha and introduced by *bhūtapubbaṃ*, ‘once upon a time’, an introduction also used in *jātakas*.³⁰ Only very rarely this introduction is replaced by *sakko devānaṃ indo pubbe manussa-bhūto* (SN I 228,13; SN I 229,4; SN I 231,15, etc.) “formerly, Sakka, the king of Gods, as a human ...”. In still other *suttantas* the Buddha is questioned about Sakka, or Sakka comes in person to meet the Buddha.

Although there are other *samyuttas* devoted to various heavenly beings (*Devatā-samyutta* (SN 1), *Devaputta-samyutta* (SN 2), *Yakkha-samyutta* (SN 10)) only two *samyuttas* of the *Sagātha-vagga* (*Brahma-samyutta* (SN 6), *Sakka-samyutta* (SN 11)) are concentrating on one particular deity only, and it is certainly not by chance that these are the Gods Brahmā and Sakka.

At the time when Buddhism began, Indra’s position as one of the most important Vedic Gods was already waning with Brahmā rising to the position of the supreme god of the pantheon for a short period. This transitional period of ancient Indian religious history, which is contemporary with early Buddhism, forms an intermediate phase between the earlier Vedic and the later Hindu religions as observed by Paul Hacker (1913–1979). Interestingly this “Brahmaism”, as it was called by Hacker (1964 [1978]), can be traced mainly through the oldest layers of the *Purāṇas* and Buddhist texts.³¹ However, in spite

²⁹ This *Samyutta* is studied from a comparative perspective by Bingenheimer 2008b; cf. also Bingenheimer 2008a and Choong 2012.

³⁰ Cf. von Hinüber 1998 (reviewed by von Simson 1999, Caillat, 1999/2000 and Rocher 2003): 183–185 and 188–190.

³¹ McGovern 2012 discusses corresponding developments in the *Mahā-bhārata* without referring to Hacker 1964 [1978]; cf. also Bailey 1983.

of his high importance at the time, Brahmā Sahampati appears but rarely even in the *Brahma-saṃyutta*. However, he acts at decisive moments, for instance, when the Buddha overcomes his initial reluctance to teach only after the intervention of Brahmā (SN I 136–140, etc.).

Śakra or Indra, on the other hand, was the chief of the Gods during a period, which was obviously past already, and which pre-dates that of ‘Brahmaism’ as indicated very clearly by *bhūtapubbaṃ*, ‘once in the past’, used to introduce the many relevant stories.

While Śakra ruled, there was an eternal conflict between the Gods (*devas*) and the Asuras as the opponents of the Gods, which pervades the Brāhmaṇa texts. Although this persistent conflict is the same in both, in Vedic texts and in the *Sakka-saṃyutta*, there is a difference. In the Veda the conflict mostly revolves around the sacrifice. This aspect of the conflict has left no trace in Buddhist texts. A common feature is, however, that the Gods are afraid and need help, usually from Prajāpati in the Veda. This can be illustrated by the *Dhajagga-suttanta* (SN I 218–220), which remains very popular among Theravāda Buddhists until today.³²

Again a war broke out between the Gods and the Asuras, and this is introduced as usual by “once in the past, monks, a war between the Gods and the Asuras broke out” (*bhūtapubbaṃ bhikkhave devāsura-saṃgāmo samupabbūḷho*, SN I 218,30).

³² The Sanskrit version is published by Waldschmidt 1959 [1967]: 378–388. It is remarkable that the ‘Vedic’ part of the story (SN I 218,31–219,26) is removed from its initial position as an introduction and shrinks from about 28 lines of Pali to one fourth of only 7 lines of Sanskrit text; no Vedic god except Indra is mentioned in the Sanskrit version. This text corresponds to the *Mahāsūtra* no. 6: *Dhvajāgra-nāma-mahāsūtra* in Skilling 1994: 290–309, cf. introduction, p. XXIII, and Skilling 1997: 441–467, Introduction to *Mahāsūtra* 6 (*Dhvajāgra-nāma-mahāsūtra* [2]), cf. pp. 64–66.

These stories begin regularly with the wording °-*saṃgāmo sam-upabbūlho*, which occurs in the canonical language only in this phrase with only the past participle of the verb being actually attested. It echoes Vedic models like, for instance, *devāś ca ha vā asu-rāś ca saṃgrāmaṃ samayatanta* (*Gopathabrāhmaṇa* 1,3.5).

Now, before the battle actually begins, Sakka exhorts the Gods: “When you feel fear arising then look at the top of my standard, and your fear will disappear.”³³ However, in case the Gods are unable to see his standard, Sakka suggests that they look at that of Pajāpati, Varuṇa or Īśāna and, in doing so, invokes part of the Vedic pantheon with Prajāpati, Varuṇa and Rudra. These Gods are mentioned together only once again in the Theravāda *Tipiṭaka* in a slightly longer sequence of names in the *Tevijja-suttanta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (DN 3), where the following Gods are invoked: Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Īśāna, Maharddhi, and Yama.³⁴ It is remarkable that the names of the principal Gods of the later Hindu pantheon, Śiva and Viṣṇu, are not yet included,³⁵ and even Śiva’s name appears in disguise under his older name Īśāna or Rudra. This is clearly still the world of the Vedic Gods, with Indra being named first, and not yet the interme-

³³ Sakka uses a formula typical to oral texts to describe fear: *bhaya cham-bhītatta lomahaṃsa* (2+4+4).

³⁴ *Indam avhayāma, somam avhayāma, varuṇam avhayāma, īśānam avhayāma, pajāpatim avhayāma, brahman avhayāma, mahiddhim avhayāma, yamam avhayāmā ti*, DN I 244,25–28. A Vedic parallel to these enumerations from the *Atharvaveda* is pointed out by Bollée 1981: 174; cf. also Śiva, Varuṇa, Kubera, Śakra, Brahmā (*Divyāvadāna* 1,9) and Śiva, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Mahendra, Upendra (*Divyāvadāna*, 232,1). The god Mahiddhi occurs only here; it is neither commented upon at Sv 402 nor at Sv-pṭ I 521.

³⁵ Viṣṇu is mentioned in the *Mahāsamaya-suttanta* (DN 14) as *Veṇhu*, DN II 259,22*.

diate phase of the later “Brahmaistic” period with Brahmā as the highest god, who appears only near the end of this list of Gods lead by Indra.

However, Sakka’s plan did not and could not work, and the fear of the Gods in battle with the Asuras was not dispelled. Therefore, as sometimes in the Veda as well, Sakka himself becomes afraid and disappears. The Buddha explains the reason: “For Sakka, who is not free from passion, hatred and delusion, disappeared, fleeing fearful, paralyzed, frightened.”³⁶

With this explanation the story takes a Buddhist turn. For, the Buddha contrasts himself to Sakka and compares the fear of the Gods in battle to that of his monks exposed to loneliness in the wilderness under a tree or in an empty house. If fear overcomes them, they should remember the Buddha, the *Saṅgha* or the *Dhamma*, and their fear will disappear. For, in contrast to Sakka, the Buddha is of course free from passion, etc., and not subject to flight, but unshakable.

However, the Buddha must be remembered in a very formal way by reciting a protective formula recommended for this particular purpose. This is the well-known *iti pi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammaśārathī satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā* (SN I 219,31–33), which is until today used as a kind of Buddhist creed.

Although the background-story clearly has Vedic undertones, the wording of the protective formula has its formal roots in a different non-Buddhist tradition. As Heinz Bechert (1932–2005) demonstrated, the *iti pi so* is composed in rhythmical prose by using what he calls

³⁶ *Sakko hi bhikkhave avītarāgo avītadoso avītamoho bhūru chambhī uttrāsī palāyī*, SN I 219,26. Again, formulas typical for oral text composition are used: *avītarāga*, *avītadosa*, *avītamoha* (5+5+5) and *bhūru*, *chambhī*, *uttrāsī* (2+2+3).

proto-*vedhas* (Bechert 1988; Bizot and von Hinüber 1994). *Vedhas* occur in Middle-Indic texts, in early Buddhist and in contemporary Jain narrative and magical literature.³⁷ On the other hand, *vedhas* are alien to Vedic literature.³⁸

Thus it is possible to trace two non-Buddhist, or better perhaps pre-Buddhist traditions in the *Dhajagga* section of the *Sakka-samyutta*: The story is derived from Vedic models and the protective formula may be based on another popular tradition of narrative as well as magic literature.³⁹

The reference to the Vedic god Śakra is used in the introduction to the *iti pi so* only as a contrastive background; the image of Sakka as being fearful himself is presented without any immediate reference to the teaching of the Buddha. Only in the second part the short *suttanta* is integrated into Buddhism.

Moreover, there are not only verses such as those mentioned above, but also stories without any connection to Buddhism. When the eternal war between the Gods and the Asuras rages once again, some virtuous *ṛṣis*, who live peacefully together by the shore of the ocean are aware that the Gods are virtuous (*dhammika*) and that the Asuras are not. Therefore, they fear danger from the Asuras during the imminent war and, consequently, resolve to approach Sambara, the king of Asuras in order to ask him for *abhaya*, ‘freedom from fear and danger’. Sambara, however, rather harshly refuses:

³⁷ Cf. also von Hinüber 2018.

³⁸ A different type of rhythmic prose is traced in the Veda by Brereton 2006: 323–345.

³⁹ On a perhaps different non-Vedic literary narrative tradition cf. Jacobi 1903 [1970] with additions in Brockington 1998: 144 (Brockington 1998 is reviewed by Lienhard 1999 and von Hinüber 2002 [2009]) and von Hinüber 1994: 33; Jacobi 1903 [1970]: 304–306 with additions in Brockington 1998: 144.

*isayo sambaram pattā
 yācant' abhayadakkhiṇaṃ
 kāmaṃkaro hi te dātum
 bhayassa abhayassa vā*

[Sambara answers:]

*isīnaṃ abhayaṃ natthi
 duṭṭhānaṃ sakkasevināṃ
 abhayaṃ yācamānānaṃ
 bhayaṃ eva dadāmi vo*

[Then the ṛṣis retort:]

*abhayaṃ yācamānānaṃ
 bhayaṃ eva dadāsi no
 patigaṇhāma te etaṃ
 akkhayaṃ hotu te bhayaṃ
 yādisaṃ vapate bījaṃ
 tādisaṃ harate phalaṃ
 kalyāṇakārī kalyāṇaṃ
 pāpakārī ca pāpakaṃ
 pavuttaṃ tāta te bījaṃ
 phalaṃ paccanubhossasi,*

SN I 227,21*–29*.

The ṛṣis went to Sambara and asked for the boon of safety: “It is up to you to grant danger or safety.” — “There is no safety for wicked ṛṣis who side with Sakka. Although you beg for safety, I shall give you only danger.” — “Although we begged for safety, you give us only danger. We accept that from you. May there be unperishable fear for you. Which seed you sow, that fruit you harvest, doing good, good (fruit), doing bad, bad (fruit). You have sown your seed, my dear, you are going to experience the fruit.”

Thus cursed, poor Sambara is gripped by alarm three times during the night.⁴⁰ The only purpose of the story seems to be to denigrate one of the chiefs of the Asuras and, following the commentary, to provide the background for a second story.

For, according to Buddhaghosa, Sambara fell seriously ill because of this curse and his mind began to tremble. That is why he got the name Vepacitti. “From that time onwards, his mind gripped by disease trembled. For this very reason his second name Vepacitti originated” (*tato patthāya gelaññajātaṃ cittaṃ vepati. ten’ ev’ assa Vepacittī ti aparaṃ nāmaṃ udapādi*, Spk I 347,15). In spite of this view of the commentary, Vepacitti, who is present in Buddhist Sanskrit texts under the names Vemacitrin or Vaimacitra, but absent from the Veda, and Sambara are two different Asuras, as still another story from the *Sakka-samyutta* confirms, which continues the story of the curse of the *ṛṣis*, at least according to Buddhaghosa.

Vepacitti the king of Asuras suffers from an undisclosed disease. When Sakka visits him to inquire about his health, Vepacitti asks Sakka to cure him as soon as he sees him approaching. Sakka is ready to help, but for a price: “Teach me, Vepacitti, the Sambara magic” (*vācehi maṃ Vepacitti sambarimāyaṃ*, SN I 239,1). Vepacitti hesitates, consults with the Asuras, who strongly advise Vepacitti against complying, and answers:

*māyāvī maghavā sakka
devarāja sujampati
upeti nirayaṃ ghoram
sambaram va sataṃ samaṃ,
SN I 239,10*f.*

⁴⁰ *abhisatto rattiyaṃ sudaṃ tikkhattuṃ ubbijji*, SN I 228,2; so read with CPD, s.v. *abhisatta*; SN I² erroneously has *abhisapito* following SN I¹ and the Burmese tradition.

A magician, ‘liberal’ (*maghavā*) Sakka, king of Gods, lord of Sujā, goes to a terrible hell for a century like Sambara.

This clearly shows that post-Vedic Vepacitti and Vedic Śambara are different, as already pointed out by all translators of the *Samyutta-nikāya*.

The commentary connects this disease to the curse of the *ṛṣis* by pointing out that, because they were still alive at the time, Sakka might have asked them to revoke their curse.

Although Śambara is well-known in Vedic literature and since the *Ṛgveda* an enemy of Indra, his career as a magician might begin only with this paragraph in the *Sakka-samyutta*. In the Veda, in contrast, Śambara is a powerful ruler over 99 *purā*s or fortified places without being immediately connected to magic.⁴¹ Therefore, this feature of Śambara’s personality could belong to a tradition of popular narrative literature rather, which is preserved in the *Sagātha-vagga* and clearly connected to Vedic mythology at first here, as far as we can see.

While Śambara does not seem to have left many tangible traces in the extant Buddhist literature,⁴² the *śambarasiddhi* is, rarely, mentioned as a kind of magic practice, particularly in texts emanating from Guṇāḍya’s *Bṛhatkathā* such as Budhasvāmin’s *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṃgraha* or Somadeva’s *Kathāsaritsāgara*, but only seldom otherwise as far as that can be gathered from the insufficient lexicographical

⁴¹ It seems that Stuhmann 2008: 34 considers all Asuras including Śambara as magicians: “Śambara wird mal mehr als Zauberer geschildert”. Still, Śambara is not explicitly called a ‘magician’ in contrast to his fellow-asura Pipru (*Ṛgveda* 10.138.3: *pīpror āsurasya māyīno*).

⁴² Cf. Edgerton 1953: s.v. *saṃvara* (4). The *śabarimaya* (*śāmarimāyā*) is however mentioned in an *Avadāna* from Gandhāra: Lenz 2010: 74,165 and 75 (with von Hinüber 2015c: 98).

aids available. Most likely the *Śāmbarīmāyā* (or *Śāmbarīśilpa*, *Naiṣadhīyacarita* 6,14) was quite well known in ancient India, although it is but poorly presented in the extant sources.

If it is correct that the Paiśācī, which Guṇāḍhya used in the failed attempt to create a worldly literary language on the basis of Buddhist Middle Indic, can be located in the region of Kauśāmbī (von Hinüber 2001: § 101),⁴³ both sources, the *Sagātha-vagga* and the *Brhatkathā*, may be rather close to each other in time and space. Consequently, the post-Vedic magician Śambara may have his roots in the eastern part of northern India, if the as usual fairly thin evidence can be stretched that far. At any rate, the Vedic connection between Śakra and Śambara is preserved in the *Sagātha-vagga*, although at a different level. In the Veda, Indra does not politely enquire about Śambara's health, but simply slays the Asura.

More interesting than this side-line is the image of Sakka as outlined in the *Sagātha-vagga*, when he encounters the Asuras as in the Veda, however in quite a different way. Indra is no longer necessarily the god of war, who fights the Asuras in battle, but a god behaving in a very civilized and friendly or, more appropriately put, in a Buddhist way.

This can be demonstrated by an incident told in one of the stories in the *Sakka-samyutta* that emphasizes that Sakka is not subject to anger (*kodha*). An exceptionally ugly Yakṣa sits down on Sakka's

⁴³ Ollett 2017: 137 assumes (without referring to texts composed in Paiśācī [von Hinüber 2001: § 51] or to the grammars by Vararuci and Hemacandra [von Hinüber 2001: §§ 65 and 66], which describe this language) that Paiśācī was neither Sanskrit nor Prakrit nor Apabhraṃśa and as such an “imaginary language”. Indeed, like Pali (von Hinüber 2001: § 40), which is not discussed in any detail in Ollett's book, Paiśācī can be considered as an ‘artificial’ language and as such outside the trinity of Sanskrit/Prakrit/Apabhraṃśa.

seat in heaven (SN I 237,15–238,24).⁴⁴ When the Gods notice the outrageous Yakṣa, they get angry, and the Yakṣa becomes “more and more handsome, more and more beautiful, more and more pleasant”⁴⁵ the angrier they get, because as a *kodhabhakkha* he feeds on anger. However, when Sakka himself finally approaches and salutes the Yakṣa respectfully announcing his name three times “I am, dear sir, Sakka, the lord of the Gods” the beauty of the Yakṣa wanes, he becomes ugly again and in the end disappears. After sitting down on his throne, Sakka addresses the Gods with two verses stating that he himself is forgiving and never angry for a long time, or, in case he should get angry, he would not speak harsh words. This is a world of a difference from the Vedic Indra.

Similarly, Sakka’s friendly and peaceful ways are underlined when the god Sakka and the Asura Vepacitti jointly pay a visit to the virtuous *ṛṣi*s this time living somewhere in the wilderness (SN I 226,10–227,2). The pompous Vepacitti enters the hermitage by the main entrance and retains his sandals⁴⁶ and sword, and has his royal umbrella held over his head, while the modest and polite Indra duly removes all his royal insignia and enters through an ordinary gate.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *bhūtapubbaṃ aññataro yakkho dubbaṇṇo okoṭimako sakassa devānaṃ indassa āsane nisinno ahosi*, SN I 237,17–18. For a discussion of *okoṭimaka*, a word that occurs only in formulas, cf. von Hinüber 1994: 17–20. Moreover, the formula *paṭiḷeṇissāmi paṭikoṭṭissāmi paṭivaṭṭessāmi*, SN II 265,5 (6+6+6) contains another word of this type: *paṭiḷeṇissāmi* occurs only in this formula, which is used only here in the Theravāda canon.

⁴⁵ *abhirūpataro, dassanīyataro, pāsādikataro*, SN I 237,24–25: (6+6+6).

⁴⁶ *aṭaliyo upāhanā*, SN I 226,15 = MN II 155,7, which means hardly ‘boots’ as Bodhi 2000: 327 translates; Geiger’s 1930 [2003]: 355 guess is ‘fest-sitzende Schuhe’. The meaning of *aṭaliyo* is unclear, cf. CPD, s.v. *aṭalī* and Cone 2001: I 49, s.v. *aṭalī*.

⁴⁷ The *Sekkhīya* rules nos. 57–61 of the *Pātimokkha* prescribe a correspond-

As a consequence of his rude behaviour, the *ṛṣis* ignore Vepacitti altogether and greet only Indra in a verse, addressing him as *deva-rāja* and *sahassanetta*, ‘Thousand-eyed one’.

This name Sahassanetta / Sahasranetra is used in the Sanskrit epics as a variant of the older Vedic Sahasrākṣā, which also survives as *sahassakkhi* in Pali. This and some other names of Indra are explained in the *Sagātha-vagga* in a small series of parallel derivations:⁴⁸ “Formerly, Sakka, the king of Gods, as a human being ...” (*sakko ... devānaṃ indo pubbe manussabhūto ...*, SN I 229,4–5, etc.):

1. was a young Brahman named Magho, therefore his name is Maghavā;

2. he gave gifts in every fortified place (*pure pure dānaṃ adāsi*, SN I 229,8), therefore his name is Purindada;

3. he gave gifts in the right way, therefore he is Sakka (*sakka-ccam dānaṃ adāsi*, SN I 229,10),

4. he provided a space to live in, therefore he is Vāsava (*āva-sathaṃ adāsi*, SN I 229,12); moreover,

5. Sakka, the king of Gods, can think of a thousand items in a moment, therefore he is Thousand-eyed (*sakko devānaṃ indo sahassam pi atthānaṃ muhuttaṃ cinteti*, SN I 229,14);

6. Sakka the king of Gods, has the Asura maiden Sujā as his wife, therefore he is Sujāpati (*sakkassa devānaṃ indassa sujā nāma asurakaññā pajāpati ahoṣi*, SN I 229,17–18), and finally

7. Sakka, the king of Gods, is the ruling sovereign of the Thirty-two Gods, therefore he is the King of the Gods (*sakko devānaṃ indo tāvatimsānaṃ issariyādhipaccaṃ rajjaṃ kāresi*, SN I 229,18).

ing behaviour, when they forbid monks to teach someone, who holds an umbrella, etc. in his hand (Vin IV 200,9–201,9: *chatta*-° (57), *daṇḍa*-° (58), *sattha*-° (59), *āvudha-pāṇi* (60), *sa-upāhana* (61)).

⁴⁸ These names together with their derivations in the Chinese translations of the *Samyukta-āgama* are discussed by Bingenheimer 2008b: 154–157.

The last ‘etymology’ connects to the following narrative and introduces the story telling how Sakka gained his position as king of the Gods after a series of six *vratas*.

The explanations given here are not only quite different from those current in the Vedic world, but, plainly and probably, even intentionally wrong and distorted. Indra’s name Maghavā, which is used only in the nominative in Pali, occurs in the *Sagātha-vagga* and again in a single *Jātaka* verse: “Whom the Gods call Lord of Sujā and whom they call in the world of men Maghavā” (*yam āhu deveṣu sujampatīti, maghavā naṃ āhu manussaloke*, Ja IV 403,27–28* = Ja V 137,26–27*). The word *maghavan-* ‘liberal, making gifts’ is well-known in Vedic and survives also in the later language. It might occur in the meaning ‘liberal’ even in the *Sagātha-vagga* in the slightly ironic refusal of Vepacitti to hand over the *sambaramāyā* to Indra, when he calls Indra *maghavā sakka* ‘liberal Sakka’ although Sakka offers his help only if he is rewarded by being taught an obviously powerful magic spell, indeed a very liberal offer!

Likewise, Indra as Vāsava, the chief of the eight Vasus, remains popular in epic and Purāṇic literature, where he has, however, to cede the leadership of the Vasus to Agni and Viṣṇu. Again, the Buddhists are of course aware of the correct meaning of Vāsava as shown in the *Mahāsamaya-suttanta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.⁴⁹ Sakka’s name Purindada seems to be a conscious distortion of his attribute *puramḍarā*, ‘destroyer of fortified places’, current since the time of the *Ṛgveda*. The thousand eyes of Indra are explained in the Veda by a curse of the *ṛṣi* Gautama. The story is told in the Ahalyā myth, which is alluded to already in the *Śatapatha-*, *Jaiminīya-* and *Śaḍvīmśa-Brāhmaṇas*,

⁴⁹ *vasūnaṃ vāsavo seṭṭho sako 'p' āgā purindado*, DN II 260,1* with: *vasūnaṃ devatānaṃ seṭṭho vāsavo yo sakko ti ca, purindado ti ca vuccati, so pi āgato*, Sv 690,20–22.

while the full version has been transmitted only in the epics (Söhnen-Thieme 1996).

It is therefore hard to imagine that all these partly very popular Vedic traditions were completely unknown to the authors of the *Sagātha-vagga*, particularly because some of them are referred to elsewhere in the *Tipiṭaka*. The relevant knowledge was introduced into Buddhism by those Brahmins, who were among the early followers of the Buddha, if the tradition is taken at face value. At least some of them should have known the Veda well.⁵⁰ Therefore, the distorted ‘etymologies’ were most likely invented purposefully in order to attribute some almost Buddhist features to Sakka such as giving excessively, etc.

Knowledge of the Veda is also demonstrated by the use of a corresponding vocabulary in Buddhist texts. The *Vinaya* term *pārājika* is a prominent example, which connects the language of early Buddhism closely to that of the Veda. Another instructive instance is the designation for a certain type of clothing called *saṃkacchika*, because in this particular case Vedic vocabulary is not only continued, but also supplemented by evidence from early Buddhist usage.⁵¹ Although neither word occurs in the *Sagātha-vagga*, this text is nevertheless connected to the Veda by other linguistic features, because rare words or grammatical constructions, which were described by ancient Indian grammarians, do occur here.⁵² So far unnoticed is the technical word Sanskrit *kaumārī* > Pali *komārī*.

⁵⁰ Brahmanical knowledge as documented in Theravāda texts is traced by Falk 1988 or Oberlies 1997.

⁵¹ The word *pārājika* is discussed by von Hinüber 1985: 62 = 2009: 43; for additional details see von Hinüber (forthcoming). On *saṃkacchikā* see Anālayo and von Hinüber 2016.

⁵² The first to notice a grammatical construction that is taught by Sanskrit

khattiyo dvipadaṃ seṭṭho
balivaddo catuppadaṃ
komārī seṭṭhā bhariyānaṃ
yo ca puttānaṃ pubbaḷo,
 SN I 6,13*f.

The Kṣatriya is the best of bipeds, the ox of quadrupeds, a maiden is the best of wives, the first born is the best of sons.

All three translators of the *Sagātha-vagga*, C.A.F. Rhys Davids (1857–1942) in 1917, Wilhelm Geiger (1856–1943) in 1930 and Bhikkhu Bodhi in 2000 seem to follow the editorial error of Léon Feer, who in 1884 preferred the Burmese *kumārī* to the superior Sinhalese reading *komārī*, which is confirmed in the meantime by the old manuscripts from Northern Thailand. Consequently, Feer’s error is duly corrected in the new edition of the *Sagātha-vagga* by G.A. Soma-ratne in 1998. It seems, however, that the significance of this change escaped Bhikkhu Bodhi, when he translated the *Samyutta-nikāya*. For, *komārī* corresponds to the rather rare technical Sanskrit word *kaumārī* which, according to Patañjali, designates ‘a wife married when she still is a virgin’.⁵³

In his important article on marriage customs common to ancient India and European antiquity Paul Thieme (1905–2001) was unable to trace an immediate Middle Indic correspondence to Sanskrit *kau-mārī*, although he pointed out that *komarapati* (Ja II 120,12*) occurs in a *Jātaka* verse.⁵⁴ At that time the Pali evidence from the *Sagātha-*

grammarians, but found only in Pali was Franz Kielhorn (1840–1908) (Kielhorn 1898 [1969]).

⁵³ That this wife is considered as the best is underlined by the commentary: *komārī ti kumārīkāle gahitā. ayaṃ sesabhariyānaṃ seṭṭhā*, Spk I 33,25.

⁵⁴ Thieme 1963 [1984]; cf. also *komārasāmi*, Ja I 397,14, *komārikā bhā-*

vagga almost necessarily escaped the attention of Thieme, because it was still hidden in the critical apparatus of Feer's edition. Once recovered, this is another link between the early Buddhist language and Vedic usage as described by Indian grammarians. It is perhaps not by chance that this precious evidence is preserved almost exclusively in the *Sagātha-vagga* and in *Jātaka* verses, because the respective verses are embedded in the popular narrative literature of the oral period of the text tradition.

A last example brings us back to the *Sakka-samyutta*. When, during one of the endless wars between Gods and Asuras, Vepacitti gives orders to capture Sakka:

*sace ... asurā jineyyuṃ devā parājeyyuṃ yena naṃ sakkaṃ
devānaṃ indaṃ kaṇṭhepañcamehi bandhanehi bandhitvā
mama santike āneyyātha asurapuraṃ,*

SN I 221,5–7

If the Asuras should win and the Gods were defeated,
bind Sakka the lord of the Gods with fetters, with the fifth
around his neck and bring him to me in the city of Asuras.

The king of the Gods gives the same order in respect to Vepacitti; in the end, the Gods win, and Vepacitti is brought before Sakka in fetters.

The crucial word in this story is *kaṇṭhepañcamehi* 'with the fifth (fetter) around the neck'. This is the reading of the Burmese manuscripts correctly preferred here by Feer to the Sinhalese manuscripts, which read *kaṇṭhapañcamehi*.⁵⁵ However, he seems to have erroneously separated the compound, because *kaṇṭhe² pañcamehi* is printed, which looks like two separate words, but would not construe. For-

riyā, Ja VI 269,22* and Ja VI 570,30*, *komārikā*, Ja III 266,5*, *komā-
rikabhāriyā*, Ja III 266,8.

⁵⁵ This reading is erroneously preferred in SN I².

unately, the correct reading *kaṇṭhepañcamehi* is confirmed as a compound by the sub-commentary, which was not available to Feer: *kaṇṭhepañcamehī ti kaṇṭhabandhanapañcamehi, vibhatti-alopena niddeso*, Spk-pt B° I 332,17, commenting on *kaṇṭhepañcamehī ti dvīsu padesu hatthesu kaṇṭhe ca*, Spk I 342,10–11, “*kaṇṭhepañcamehi* means whose fifth of the fetters is around his neck; a word, in which the case ending has not been suppressed”.

This compound with a locative case ending in the first member can be explained by referring to Patañjali’s comment on Pāṇini 2.2.24, *Vārttika* 12. The example for this particular *bāhuvrīhi*-compound given in the *Mahābhāṣya* is *kaṇṭhesthaḥ asya kālo kaṇṭhe-kālo*, *Mahābhāṣya* I 423,23.⁵⁶

A similar rare compound with a locative case ending in the first member occurs in another story about Sakka:

tasmim kho pana ... saṅgāme asurā jiniṃsu, devā parājiniṃsu.
parājitā ca kho ... devā apāyaṃsv’ eva uttarenamukkhā, abhi-
yaṃsv’ eva ne asurā. atha kho ... sakko devānam indo mātā-
lisaṅgāhakaṃ gāthāya ajjhabhāsi
kulāvakā mātali simbalismim
īsā mukhena parivajjayassu
kāmaṃ cajāma asuresu pāṇaṃ
*mā-y-ime diḍḍā vikulāvā ahesu ti.*⁵⁷
evaṃ bhaddanta vā ti kho ... mātalisāṅgāhako sakkassa

⁵⁶ For details see von Hinüber (forthcoming); cf. also Wackernagel 1905: 278 [§ 109 aḍ].

⁵⁷ *mā-y-ime diḍḍā vikulāvakā ahesuṃ* is unmetrical; Feer quotes *mā-y-ime diḍḍā vikulāvā ahesu*, Ja I 203,11* so read m.c. with E°, C° in the Ja and manuscript B in SN I. SN I²: *mā-y-ime diḍḍā vikulāvakā ’suṃ* (unmetrical and against the manuscript tradition). On *mā-y-ime* [— —] cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 270.

*devānam indassa paṭissutvā saḥassayuttaṃ ājaññarathaṃ
paccudāvattesi. atha kho ... asurānaṃ etad ahoṣi: paccu-
dāvatto kho dāni sakkassa devānam indassa saḥassayutto
ājaññaratho. dutiyam pi kho devā asurehi saṅgāmessantī
ti bhūtā asurapuram eva pāvi-siṃsu. iti kho ... sakkassa
devānam indassa dhammen' eva jayo ahoṣī ti,*

SN I 224,19–225,4; cf. AN IV 432,4–433,24.

Once in the past the Gods and the Asuras were arrayed in battle. In that battle the Asuras won, the Gods were defeated. And being defeated the Gods withdrew with their faces turned **towards the north** while the Asuras pursued them. Then Sakka, the king of Gods, addressed Mātali, his charioteer, with a verse:

“Avoid, Mātali, with your chariot pole the bird nests in the Simbali woods.

With pleasure we give up our lives among the Asuras.

May these birds not be without their nest.”

“Yes, your lordship”, replied Mātali, the charioteer to Sakka, to the king of Gods and turned back the chariot to which a thousand thoroughbreds were yoked. “For another time the Gods will encounter the Asuras” thought the Asuras and, frightened, entered the fortified place of the Asuras. Thus victory was with Sakka, the king of Gods, only because of his righteousness.

The word *uttarenamukhā*, ‘whose face is turned to the north’, is of particular interest in this paragraph. For, if the history of the text transmission is investigated,⁵⁸ it becomes soon obvious that the original reading was here, in the *Anguttara-nikāya* parallel and in other contexts *uttare mukha*. However, the original *uttare mukha* was

⁵⁸ This is done in von Hinüber (forthcoming).

changed by scribes to *uttarenamukha* in the course of the text transmission, because this rare formation was no longer understood. The first member of the compound *uttare-°* was replaced by *uttarena*, which is commonly used to indicate “in the north” in Pali, but never **uttare*. Following an adaptation to what was erroneously felt as normal usage, the strange ungrammatical compound *uttarena-mukha* with an instrumental ending in *°-ena* in the first member was created.⁵⁹ Once the original wording *uttareṃmukha* is recovered, this compound can be added to the corresponding word formation taught by Sanskrit grammarians.

Besides this interesting grammatical detail, it should be noted that the righteousness of Sakka emphasized in this story as the reason of his victory, even though he was in fact fleeing, fits well the overall pattern of the *Sakka-saṃyutta*. As pointed out already, the Vedic god Indra is presented in this Buddhist context as quite a different god from that in the Veda. He is no longer the bellicose warrior, who slays his opponents including Śambara, the lord of ninety-nine strongholds, as in the *Ṛgveda*. This stark contrast between the Vedic Śakra and the Buddhist Sakka must have been striking to all contemporary listeners who heard the stories told in the *Sagātha-vagga*. The difference is immediately obvious once Vedic Indra stories which must have been almost universally known at the time are compared.⁶⁰ The reason for this remarkable shift in the image of Sakka is easy to guess.

⁵⁹ No compound with an instrumental ending in *°-ena* is listed by Wackernagel 1905: 278 [§ 109 aβ] with Debrunner 1957: 78. The compound *uttarena-mukha* is not discussed in Davane 1956. CPD, s.v. *uttara*, 2. and s.v. *uttarenamukha*, and Cone 2001, s.v. *uttara*¹, 2 (i), both list the word without further comment; neither dictionary mentions *uttareṃmukha*.

⁶⁰ The relevant material is collected in Rau 1966 [2012]: 1222–1226 and 1973 [2012]: 1197–1221.

According to the Buddhist tradition there were many Brahmins among the first members of the early Buddhist *Saṅgha* who brought their own narratives with them. Moreover, Buddhists and Brahmins who never joined the *Saṅgha* were not living in separate worlds.

Immediate evidence of contact between both parties can be traced again by the help of linguistic observations in an old formulation of introductions to *suttantas* which do not mention any monastery but Brahmin settlements and villages instead. Most important is the wording of these old introductions, which preceded the standard wording now prevalent. An example from the last paragraph of the *Brāhmaṇa-samyutta* in the *Sagātha-vagga* is apt to demonstrate that:

evaṃ me suttaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā Sakkesu viharati
— *Khomadussaṃ nāma Sakkānaṃ nigamo*⁶¹ — *atha kho*
bhagavā pubbaṇhasamayaṃ nivāsetvā pattacīvaram ādāya
Khomadussaṃ nigamaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi,

SN I 184,2–5.

Thus have I heard. At one time the Lord was dwelling in the land of the Śākyas. — There is a settlement of the Śākyas named Khomadussa. — Then the Lord dressed in the morning and with his bowl and robe entered the settlement Khomadussa for alms.

The story begins by telling that because it was drizzling continuously the Buddha entered the assembly hall (*sabhā*) for shelter, where some Brahmin householders (*brāhmaṇagahapatika*) were assembled in council on some business. They greeted the Buddha, who of course had no right at all to enter the assembly hall, with hostile words: “Who of these shavelings and who of these ascetics would know the rules of an assembly?” (*ke ca muṇḍakā samaṇakā ke ca sabhā-dhammaṃ jānissanti*, SN I 184,12). Of course, the Buddha is able to

⁶¹ E^c SN I¹ and E^c SN I² wrongly read *nigame*.

appease the Brahmins with a verse recalling that the only true assembly is where there are good people, etc.

Two points are worthwhile noticing: The way in which the settlement (*nigama*) Khomadussa is introduced, and the fact that this settlement is inhabited by Brahmins. The wording ... *viharati* — *Khomadussam nāma Sakyānaṃ nigamo* — *atha kho* ... points to a parenthesis of place names as described by Karl Hoffmann (1915–1996).⁶² The original form is found, for instance, in the *Majjhima-nikāya* at the beginning of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-suttanta*: “... The Lord stayed in the land of the Kurus. — There is a settlement in the land of the Kurus named Kammāsadhamma. — There ...” (... *bhagavā kurūsu viharati* — *kammāsadhammaṃ nāma kurūnaṃ nigamo* — *tatra kho* ..., MN 10 at MN I 55,28–30). In the *Sagātha-vagga* the pattern is slightly developed with *tatra kho* being replaced by *atha kho*. A *nigama*, ‘settlement’,⁶³ inhabited by Brahmins is often mentioned in these formulas, while neither a Vedic *pura*, ‘fortified place’, nor *nagara*, ‘town’, occur.

Although this parenthesis stands alone in the *Sagātha-vagga*, there are altogether eleven similar instances in other parts of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* compared to eight parentheses in the thirty-four *suttantas* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, and ten each in the one hundred fifty-two *suttantas* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* and in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* adding up to thirty-nine introductions of this type. If Brahmins are mentioned also in the respective *suttantas*, the villages or settlements are meeting places where Buddhists encountered Brahmins as well as Vedic culture.

Although these encounters were not always particularly friendly, occasionally Brahmins joined Buddhism. They brought with them

⁶² This is discussed in detail in von Hinüber 2006 [2008 (2009)] [2019] (particularly 198–201).

⁶³ On the meaning of *nigama* cf. von Hinüber (forthcoming).

their knowledge of the Veda, Vedic mythology, ritual literature and narratives, where particularly Indra was difficult to avoid. Moreover, this knowledge was in addition constantly intruding into Buddhism from the general intellectual environment dominated by Vedic culture. Thus it is only natural that all this left many traces in early Buddhist texts.⁶⁴

The first Buddhists had to establish themselves in a Vedic environment. They did so following a very Indian strategy by incorporating Indra, if not as the highest, but as probably still one of the most popular Vedic Gods during the period into their own world by developing and transforming him into a friend and protector of the Buddha as well as of the Dharma. They thus included Śakra into Buddhism, where he loses his outstanding, but at the time already somewhat shaky position as one of the supreme Gods in the Vedic pantheon and becomes markedly subordinate to the Buddha.

This reinterpretation and assimilation⁶⁵ of Indra to Buddhism

⁶⁴ In the same way, the female ascetics, who became the first Buddhist nuns, brought with them and preserved certain rules, which they were used to following before they joined Buddhism (von Hinüber 2008 [2019]: 17–19). The results reached in this article were criticized by Anālayo 2008. This criticism was refuted in the review of Mohr and Jampa Tsedroen (ed.) 2008 in von Hinüber 2015b [2019]: 197–201 and the review of Anālayo 2016 in von Hinüber 2019: 93 note 8. A response to this review has been published in Anālayo 2019. This will bring, as far as I am concerned, the discussion to an end.

⁶⁵ In later times, there was assimilation in the reverse direction, when Buddhist law came under the influence of *Dharmaśāstra* as pointed out by Schopen 2004 [1994]: 56; cf. also the paragraph on murder at Vibh-a 382,29–383,32 compared to *Manusmṛti* XI 127 (quoted from von Hinüber 1995 [2009]: 43 note 102) and, in general terms, Bronkhorst 2016. Correspondingly, in art a Buddha image was adapted to Śaivism in Mathurā (Krüger and Letz 2006).

was possible at a time of upheaval with many new, non-Vedic schools of thought emerging. Moreover, during the period when Buddhism originated, a shift from Indra to Brahmā as the supreme god of the pantheon had already begun. Both factors favoured and allowed the creation of a modified Buddhist image of Indra.⁶⁶

The beginning and development of this ‘act of inclusivism’ (Paul Hacker)⁶⁷ can be observed best in the *Sagātha-vagga*, where Śakra/Sakka is still close to his Vedic roots, but the old Vedic mythology concerning this god is in course of being astutely assimilated and turned in a new direction. The conflict with the Asuras remains prominent, but victory is no longer gained by force and violence or sacrifice, but by methods preferred by the emerging religion, by the superiority of benevolent persuasion and righteous behaviour in accordance with the new *Dhamma*. Nowhere in the *Tipiṭaka* is this link between Veda and Buddhism more prominent than in the *Sakka-saṃyutta* of the *Sagātha-vagga*.

It is my most pleasant obligation to acknowledge with thanks that the article profited from a thoughtful reading by ven. Dhammadinnā.

⁶⁶ A parallel to this process is provided many centuries later by the ‘intentional cultural politics’ (“eine Art bewußter Kulturpolitik”) of the brothers Vidyāranya (Mādhavācārya) and Sāyaṇa, who were able to redefine Śaṅkara as the supreme philosopher of Hinduism at a time of upheaval when the empire of Vijayanagara was founded in the early fourteenth century after the collapse of the Hoysala kingdom following devastating Muslim raids in South India; cf. Hacker 1978: 478, and, in a larger context, Kulke 1985 [1993]; cf. also Slaje 2010.

⁶⁷ Hacker 1978: VIII; cf. also 386 and 599, and, following up and critically evaluating Hacker’s ideas, Oberhammer 1983 and Seyfort Ruegg 2008: 97–99.

Abbreviations and Symbols

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| B ^e | Burmese edition |
| C ^e | Sinhalese edition |
| CPD | <i>The Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> (ed. Trenckner et al. 1924–2011) |
| DN | <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> |
| E ^e | European edition |
| Ja | <i>Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā</i> |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| Mp | <i>Manorathapuraṇī</i> |
| SĀ ² | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 100) |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> (ed. Feer 1884) |
| SN I ² | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> (ed. Somaratne 1998) |
| Sn | <i>Sutta-nipāta</i> |
| Spk | <i>Sāratthapakāsinī</i> |
| Sv | <i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī</i> |
| Sv-pt | <i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-purāṇa-ṭīkā</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition |
| Th | <i>Thera-gāthā</i> |
| Vibh-a | <i>Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā</i> (<i>Sammohavinodanī</i>) |
| * | after a reference indicates a verse |

Note

Abbreviations of Pali texts follow Helmer Smith's *Epilegomena to the Critical Pāli Dictionary*, vol. 1 (1924–1948), supplemented and updated in vol. 3 (2011): XV–XXVIII, where also the editions are listed; these and other abbreviations are explained in the list above.

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***Peyāla* in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*:
Contraction and Expansion
in Textual Transmission**

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Abstract

In this contribution I investigate the practice of textual contraction and expansion among the discourses found in the section on the aggregates, the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* extant in Chinese translation as entry no. 99 in the Taishō 大正 edition. I first survey the types of abbreviation found in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, then calculate the amount of text that is only represented by such abbreviations, and then relate my results to the topic of the early Buddhist oral tradition.

Contents

- I. Introduction
- II. Types of Abbreviation Found in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*
- III. Quantifying Abbreviations in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*
- IV. *Peyāla* and the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition
- Conclusion
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I. Introduction

The present research takes its inspiration from a remark made by Peter Skilling (2013: 122 note 17), to the effect that:

The immense importance of the ‘*peyāla* principle’, which entails both contraction and expansion, for the understanding of Buddhist literature has unfortunately scarcely been recognized. We could learn a lot by analyzing the many uses of *peyāla* (Pali *peyyāla*).

This remark was followed a few years later, in his contribution to the last seminar convened by the Āgama Research Group, by a survey of the topic “repetition and the *peyāla* principle”, which ends by noting that a paper studying this feature “is called for, but I leave that for someone else” (Skilling 2017: 292 note 52).

In recognition of the pertinence of his remarks, it seemed fitting to me to follow up this suggestion for the present seminar organized by the Āgama Research Group, and try to take at least a modest step in the direction of exploring the practice of textual abbreviation and expansion, *peyāla*.¹ The overall theme of the seminar makes the *Saṃyukta-āgama* an obvious choice for such an exploration. As a study of the whole *Saṃyukta-āgama* collection from this viewpoint would probably require a monograph, rather than being possible within the confines of an article, the need arises to choose just one *saṃyukta*. Here the *Skandha-saṃyukta* recommends itself as it is the only section of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* for which *uddānas* have been

¹ On the term *peyāla/peyyāla* see Gethin 2007: 383–384 and on the same principle in Gandhari manuscripts see Lenz 2003: 85–91 and Salomon 2011: 182–183.

preserved. For the present type of research, the information that can be gathered from such summary verses, listing the titles or contents of the discourses of a subsection of the collection, can be quite helpful.²

The same choice also appears apposite from a doctrinal perspective, in so far as out of the different topics that serve as the scaffolding for the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* alike, the five aggregates illustrate an aspect of the topic at hand. This is because the implications of this scheme, in particular of the fourth aggregate, have undergone a process of expansion exemplifying features that also relate to the use of *peyāla*.

In its usage in the early discourses, the analysis into five aggregates affected by clinging serves to highlight the main aspects of individual experience to which one is prone to cling to. Regarding the fourth aggregate, *saṅkhāras*/行, a discourse in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and its parallel in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* agree that this particular aggregate stands for ‘volition’, *cetanā*/思, in relation to any of the six sense-doors.³ The employment of a different term, explaining *saṅkhāras*/行 with the help of the term *cetanā*/思, differs from the definition given for the other four aggregates, where each time the term used to refer to the aggregate recurs in the actual definition.

The term *cetanā*/思 in turn can occur in the company of other near-synonyms. An example is a simile that serves to illustrate the nature of volition as one of the four nutriments. The simile depicts how someone about to fall into, or even to be thrown into, a pit full of blazing coal would have the wish to get away.⁴ The *Saṃyukta-*

² On *uddānas* cf. Allon and Silverlock 2017: 7–11. Regarding the distinction between such summary verses and colophons, von Hinüber 2017: 49 explains that *uddānas* “are relics of the oral text transmission, while true colophons belong to the written tradition.”

³ SĀ 41 at T II 9c8 and SN 22.56 at SN III 60,25.

⁴ SĀ 373 at T II 102c18 and SN 12.63 at SN II 99,32.

āgama version of this simile employs the two terms ‘intention’, 思, and ‘wish’ or ‘aspiration’, 願, to describe this person’s mental condition; the *Samyutta-nikāya* parallel achieves the same aim with the help of three terms, which in addition to ‘intention’, *cetanā*, are ‘wish’, *patthanā*, and ‘aspiration’, *pañidhi*.

The same three recur together with *sāṅkhāra* as a set of four terms of similar implications in a discourse in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* to describe the harmful results of wrong view. The repercussions of upholding wrong view are such that whatever is one’s ‘volition’, *cetanā*, ‘wish’, *patthanā*, ‘aspiration’, *pañidhi*, and ‘mental formation’, *sāṅkhāra*, it will only conduce to harm.⁵ A Sanskrit fragment parallel mentions the same four terms in the same sequence.⁶ Another occurrence of this statement with the same set of four expressions, found in a different section of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, has a counterpart in the *Samyukta-āgama* in the four terms 思, 欲, 願, and 爲, which seem to correspond well to the four Pali terms.⁷

The purpose of this brief excursion has been to show how *sāṅkhāra* via *cetanā* to *patthanā* and *pañidhi* can lead to an accumu-

⁵ AN 1.7.9 at AN I 32,8.

⁶ Tripāṭhī 1995: 156,7 (§ 17.51): *yā cetanā yā prārthanā yaḥ praṇidhir ye ca saṃskārās*. Another parallel, EĀ 17.5 at T II 583a27, reads: 意行, 所趣, 所念及諸惡行. I hesitate to draw any conclusions based on this particular formulation, given the complexity of the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and its general trend towards irregularity. This trend is evident in the present case by the fact that, what should be the same statement a few lines earlier at T II 583a20, only reads 所念, 所趣及餘諸行; a formulation also found in the next discourse, EĀ 17.6 at T II 583b4+10 for the corresponding case of right view. On irregularities in the translation terminology of the *Ekottarika-āgama* see also Radich 2017: 25–26.

⁷ AN 10.104 at AN V 212,26 and SĀ 787 at T II 204 a26.

lation of near-synonyms that serve to express similar nuances in the repetitive manner that is so characteristic of early Buddhist discourse. As explained by Mark Allon (1997: 191),

A common feature of the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts is the proliferation of similar word elements and units of meaning to form sequences or ‘strings’. We frequently encounter sequences of two, three or more adjectives or adjectival units qualifying the same noun, a number of nouns all acting as the subject of the same sentence or as the object of the same verb. We encounter sequences of adverbs modifying the same verb, or a number of parallel verbs occurring together in the same sentence, and so on.

In the context of the fourth aggregate, the tendency to string together near-synonyms could have provided a starting point for a trend to include increasing numbers of other mental factors or qualities under the same header of *saṅkhāras*. As a final result, the fourth aggregate became an umbrella category that comprises anything that is not explicitly covered by the other aggregates.⁸

⁸ An example in case is Dhs 18,10, which concludes a long list of various factors that, from its viewpoint, pertain to the fourth aggregate by stating that, whatever other immaterial states there are, apart from the aggregates of feeling, perception, and consciousness, all these are to be included in the *saṅkhāra*-aggregate. Bodhi 2000: 45 comments that with “the Abhidhamma Piṭaka and the commentaries the *saṅkhāra-kkhandha* further serves as an umbrella category for classifying all mental concomitants of consciousness apart from feeling and perception. It thus comes to include all wholesome, unwholesome, and variable mental factors mentioned but not formally classified among the aggregates in the Sutta Piṭaka.” Karunaratne 1988: 118 reasons that, given that “or-

This in turn results to some degree in a shift of perspective for the entire scheme of five aggregates. What originally appears to have served as an analysis of how clinging to a sense of identity takes place, now becomes a map of what an individual is made up of.⁹ From singling out chief aspects of the sense of identity, the scheme of five aggregates has evolved into a comprehensive survey that accommodates each and all type of mental factors and qualities. This reflects a drive towards comprehensive coverage that is characteristic of *Abhidharma* analysis and exegesis.¹⁰

thodoxy prevented any addition to the number of *khandhas*”, the exegetical tradition “found an ingenious way to satisfy their own needs as well as the demands of orthodoxy. The restrictive conative signification of *saṅkhāra* was widened to include all mental factors and accordingly *saṅkhārakkhandha* was treated anew and transformed into the most spacious and accommodating category among the *khandhas*.” Rhys Davids 1978 [1936]: 324 speaks of the need “to find some pigeonhole wherein to store *the increasing number of terms for mental life, taking shape with the growth of mental analysis*.” McGovern 1872 [1979]: 87 notes that in this way a “most convenient dumping ground was found to be *saṃskāra*, which thus became a weird medley of otherwise unclassified mental factors.” Cox 1995: 68 notes that, since in the case of the *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma* the same tendency led to “the addition of the non-mental dissociated factors. The inclusion of these dissociated forces within the *saṃskāraskandha* contributed to a certain tension in the meaning of the term *saṃskāra*.” For Sanskrit fragments of the section on the *cittaviprayuktāḥ saṃskārāḥ* in the *Pañcavastuka* cf. Chung and Fukita 2017: 66–70.

⁹ Hamilton 1996: xxiv and xxix concludes that, in its usage in the Pali discourses, “the analysis of the human being into five *khandhas* is not an analysis of what the human being consists of”; instead, such analysis “is given not in terms of what he or she consists of but in terms of how he or she operates.”

¹⁰ In his study of repetition in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, von Simson 1965: 41

In this way, the fourth aggregate exemplifies a tendency to proliferation of synonyms as a feature of early Buddhist oral transmission and the results to which this can lead. Although the use and deployment of *peyāla* is not confined to oral transmission, but makes its impact similarly in manuscript culture and even modern-day printing, the need for its employment and its broad application is a direct effect of the repetitive nature of early Buddhist orality, a feature so evident in the use of strings of synonyms.

II. Types of Abbreviation Found in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*

In what follows I survey instances of the implementation of the *peyāla* principle in the way these manifest in the *Skandha-saṃyukta* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.¹¹ I begin, in the present section II, by exploring the different types of abbreviation found. Then I attempt to

(§ 11.1) considers comprehensive coverage (“Vollständigkeit”) and rhetorical efficacy (“rhetorische Wirksamkeit”) as central driving forces in the construction of series of terms with similar meanings. A shift in function of such formulas from the early discourses to exegetical literature has been identified by von Hinüber 1994: 27, in that what earlier served to facilitate memory becomes building material for the construction of commentaries, “scheint es nicht mehr das Ziel der Verfasser zu sein, eine mündlich konzipierte Prose durch Formeln dem Gedächtnis leichter einprägsam zu gestalten. Die frühen Kommentare kehren das Prinzip um und nutzen die Reihung von semantisch verwandten Wörtern zur Kommentierung.” On the beginning stages of *Abhidharma* thought as evident in the early discourses see in more detail Anālayo 2014b.

¹¹ A study of abbreviation and expansion in SĀ 139 to SĀ 187, in comparison with their Pali parallels, has already been undertaken by Paek 1997 (I am indebted to Oskar von Hinüber for drawing my attention to this research).

gauge the amount of text involved in section III, and discuss implications of my findings for understanding and assessing the nature of early Buddhist oral transmission in section IV.

My survey of types of abbreviation follows the order in which the relevant discourses occur in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*. My presentation corresponds to the reconstructed order of the collection as shown in Table 1 (the numbering of discourses is according to the Taishō edition).

Table 1. Reconstructed Order of the *Skandha-saṃyukta*

| Fascicle no. | <i>Skandha-saṃyukta</i> Discourses |
|--------------|------------------------------------|
| Fascicle 1 | SĀ 1 to SĀ 32 |
| Fascicle 2 | SĀ 256 to SĀ 272 |
| Fascicle 3 | SĀ 59 to SĀ 87 |
| Fascicle 4 | SĀ 33 to SĀ 58 |
| Fascicle 5 | SĀ 103 to SĀ 110 |

The first discourse in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, SĀ 1, recommends contemplation of impermanence as a way of implementing right insight, which will lead to disenchantment and liberation. The passage for the first aggregate reads as follows:¹²

當觀色無常。如是觀者，則為正觀；正觀者，則生厭離；
厭離者，喜貪盡；喜貪盡者，說心解脫。

You should contemplate bodily form as impermanent. One who contemplates like this achieves right insight. One who has right insight arouses disenchantment. One who has disenchantment eradicates delight and lust. One who eradicates delight and lust, I say, liberates the mind.

¹² SĀ 1 at T II 1a7.

The application of this teaching to each of the five aggregates employs a frequently found type of abbreviation, where the text is only given in full for the first and the last item, whereas the middle items are presented in abbreviated manner. The discourse indicates the need for supplementation in this manner:¹³

如是觀受, 想, 行, 識 ...

In the same way contemplate feeling ... perception ... formations ... consciousness ...

Here the expression 如是, ‘in the same way’, serves as a marker of the fact that an abbreviation has taken place. The discourse gives the full formula of the teaching again for consciousness.

SĀ 1 has two Pali parallels in discourses 12 and 51 of the *Khandha-saṃyutta*.¹⁴ Discourse 12 differs in so far as it first qualifies each of the five aggregates as impermanent and then only turns to disenchantment, etc. Discourse 51, however, proceeds similar to SĀ 1 in so far as here the seeing of the bodily form aggregate as impermanent leads on to the description of right view and disenchantment, etc., before taking up the next aggregate.

In the exposition of the ensuing aggregates, the Burmese, PTS, and Siamese editions of discourse 51 abbreviate only the treatment of perception. Thus in these three editions the text of the contemplation to be carried out is found in full for bodily form and feeling, as well as for formations and consciousness. This shows that the pattern mentioned above of giving in full only the first and last member of a list, although frequently found, is not the default approach for such cases.

¹³ SĀ 1 at T II 1a9.

¹⁴ SN 22.12 at SN III 21,8 and SN 22.51 at SN III 51,13.

The Ceylonese edition, however, follows the pattern also observed in SĀ 1 of abbreviating the exposition of the three middle aggregates and giving the full treatment only for the first and the last, the aggregates of bodily form and consciousness. Thus this Pali edition abbreviates in the same manner as the *Samyukta-āgama* discourse, in contrast to the pattern followed in the other Pali editions.¹⁵

Variations between the Pali editions can also be found in regard to the degree of abbreviation employed for the standard introduction to the discourse. Discourses in the *Skandha-samyukta* give the full formula, showing that, for whatever reason, no need was felt to abbreviate this description. The formula reads as follows:¹⁶

如是我聞：一時佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。

Thus have I heard.¹⁷ At one time the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park.

A full version of the introductory formula is found in the first discourse of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, but other discourses in this collection employ abbreviation.¹⁸ The Pali parallels to SĀ 1 abbreviate in different ways:

evaṃ me sutam, sāvattthiyaṃ tatra kho ... (B^e, E^e and S^e of discourse 12)

¹⁵ In addition to variations in abbreviation practice between different editions of the Pali canon, the same can be observed when comparing *Samyukta-āgama* discourses transmitted by different groups of reciters within the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition; cf. Dhammadinnā 2020.

¹⁶ SĀ 1 at T II 1a6.

¹⁷ For a survey of scholarship on this introductory phrase and my reasons for taking the expression 'at one time' to refer to the Buddha's sojourn rather than to the hearing of the discourse see Anālayo 2014a.

¹⁸ SN 1.1 at SN I 1,8: *evaṃ me sutam, ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā ...*

sāvatthi, tatra 'voca ... (E^e of discourse 51)

sāvatthinidānaṃ ... (B^e of discourse 51)

sāvatthiyaṃ ... (C^e of discourse 12, C^e and S^e of discourse 51)

The differences between the Pali editions, together with the fact that the Chinese parallel gives the introduction in full, make it clear that even a bare reference to Sāvattḥī is best reckoned as an abbreviation of the standard introductory formula. It is, in my view, out of the question to take such a reference to designate the place where the discourses were collected, as had been suggested by some scholars.¹⁹

The instructions on the five aggregates in SĀ 1 being completed, the discourse proceeds with the following reference:²⁰

¹⁹ Rhys Davids 1924: xi–xii reasons that “it is possible that the Sāvattḥī monastery or monasteries became, at least till the rise of the Asokan empire, the centre where the collecting of Suttas was carried on ... if they are just headed ‘Sāvattḥī’ or *Sāvattḥī nidānaṃ*, this may not mean that the Buddha’s sojourn at Sāvattḥī is to be ‘taken as read’. It may only mean: ‘Sutta from the Sāvattḥī collection’ ... when, centuries later, the Suttas, possibly for the first time anywhere, were fully written out in Ceylon, it was a natural thing to assume that ‘Sāvattḥī’, with or without *nidānaṃ*, meant more than it originally meant.” Woodward 1930: xviif agrees, considering it likely that “the whole collection was stored and systematized in Sāvattḥī. We should thus read *nidhāna* (store-house) for *nidāna* (context or connection), and picture to ourselves a sort of college or centre for receiving notes of discourses and fitting them into an arbitrary framework, which is about all we have left to-day ... I conclude that this particular Nikāya was made up at this centre; that some of the discourses happened there; that the words *nidāna* and *nidhāna* have been confused; that *nidāna* refers to the collection of source, and not to the locality, of events.”

²⁰ SĀ 1 at T II 1a14; notably this is found before the standard conclusion reporting the delighted reaction of the listening monastics.

如觀無常，苦，空，非我亦復如是。

Just as with contemplating impermanence, in the same way also for *dukkha*, emptiness, and not-self.

Here the need for supplementation takes the form 如, ‘just as’, and 亦復如是, ‘in the same way also’. The usage of these markers implies that another three distinct discourses should be recited; in fact the edition by Master Yinshun 印順(1983: 3) counts each individually, as a result of which SĀ 2 in the Taishō edition becomes the fifth discourse in Yinshun’s edition.

Two of these three additional discourses have a counterpart in the *Khandha-saṃyutta* in discourses 13 and 14, which take up the same basic type of contemplation found in discourse 12 for impermanence and apply this to *dukkha* and not-self.²¹ This is precisely what results from executing the instructions in SĀ 1 for 苦 and 非我.

The lack of a counterpart to ‘emptiness’, 空, reflects a recurrent pattern in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and other texts of related reciter traditions (in the present case, a presentation corresponding to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse can be found in an Uighur fragment).²²

The pattern is to mention emptiness explicitly, in addition to the three characteristics found regularly in Pali discourses.²³ This in a way illustrates the principle mentioned earlier of the proliferation of near-synonyms that in the course of time can lead to a change of meaning. Whereas in their general usage in the early Buddhist discourses, emptiness and not-self are near-synonyms, once they occur

²¹ SN 22.13 at SN III 21,19 and SN 22.14 at SN III 21,25.

²² Fragment A18, Zhang 1996: 350.

²³ According to de Jong 2000: 177, “a later development is a series of four items, void being added between suffering and not-self.” Baba 2004: 944 concludes that in general “the Northern Āgamas include expressions of emptiness that are more recent than those in the first four Pāli Nikāyas.”

side by side they easily come to be interpreted as conveying different nuances. In the present case, then, with not-self already covered, ‘emptiness’ can be taken to stand for what does not belong to a self.²⁴

Pali discourses 13 and 14 of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* employ some degree of abbreviation. In the Ceylonese and PTS editions both discourses abbreviate the insight contemplation given in full for discourse 12 with the help of *pe* (the PTS edition explicitly marks the abbreviation with *pe* only for discourse 13). The Burmese and Siamese editions, however, only abbreviate in the case of discourse 13, but give the insight contemplation again in full for discourse 14.

The use of abbreviation is also attested in a Sanskrit fragment parallel to SĀ 1, which has preserved *vistarena yāv*. The same fragment has also preserved *saṃskārā vijñānam anātm*, which shows the application of the not-self characteristic to the five aggregates.²⁵

The next discourse in the *Skandha-saṃyukta* follows the same basic pattern, in that SĀ 2 gives the introductory formula in full and abbreviates the middle three aggregates with the help of 如是. The exposition completed, it applies the treatment given to impermanence also to *dukkha*, emptiness, and not-self, this time marked with the help of the similar phrasing 如是 ... 亦復如是.²⁶

In Yinshun’s edition, however, SĀ 2 corresponds just to a single discourse, based on his observation that the relevant *uddāna* refers

²⁴ Yinshun 2017 [1985]: 209 note 17 refers for this type of understanding to the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 45b5: 非我行相對治我見, 空行相對治我所見. As pointed out by Yinshun 2017 [1985]: 31 and 206, the addition of 空 in a way narrows down the meaning of the very term 空, inasmuch as, once ‘not-self’ is already covered by 非我, the additional 空 only conveys the sense of ‘not pertaining to a self’, 非我所.

²⁵ Kha ii 9a2+4, de La Vallée Poussin 1913: 580.

²⁶ SĀ 2 at T II 1a25 where, similar to the case of SĀ 1, the instruction is found before the standard conclusion reporting the delighted reaction of the listening monastics.

only to a single discourse.²⁷ This implies that the formula for expansion (by applying the treatment to *dukkha*, emptiness, and not-self) must be of relatively late occurrence, as it appears to have come into being only after the *uddāna* had already reached its present form. In fact the exposition on impermanence itself (SĀ 2) has a parallel in Pali discourse 52 of the *Khandha-samyutta*, but the other discourses that would result from implementing the abbreviation and applying the same treatment to the other characteristics have no parallel.

In other words, what could at first sight appear to be a substantial difference between the *Samyukta-āgama* and the *Samyutta-nikāya*, resulting in the absence of a Pali parallel for altogether three discourses extant in Chinese (albeit only in abbreviation), is probably just the result of a rather late addition in the *Samyukta-āgama*. Perhaps a mistaken copying of the instructions found at the end of SĀ 1 has led to the present form of SĀ 2.

The pattern of abbreviating the middle three aggregates recurs in SĀ 3, and in this case also in its Pali parallel in the Ceylonese and PTS editions.²⁸ The Burmese and Siamese editions, however, again abbreviate only the case of the third aggregate of perception for the first part of the discourse; only in the second part of the discourse do these editions abbreviate all the middle three aggregates.

A few discourses later in the *Skandha-samyukta*, an indication that the exposition on impermanence should similarly be applied to *dukkha*, emptiness, and not-self can be found again, this time in relation to SĀ 8:²⁹

²⁷ Yinshun 1983: 6 note 11. The *uddāna* is found at T II 1c20: 無常及苦, 空, 非我, 正思惟, 無知等四種, 及於色喜樂. This reflects altogether ten discourses, of which the first four (無常及苦, 空, 非我) correspond to SĀ 1, the fifth (正思惟) to SĀ 2, the next four (無知等四種) to SĀ 3 to SĀ 6, and the last (於色喜樂) to SĀ 7.

²⁸ SĀ 3 at T II 1b1 and SN 22.24 at SN III 27,3.

²⁹ SĀ 8 at T II 1c29.

如無常, 苦, 空, 非我亦復如是。

Just as with impermanence, in the same way also for *dukkha*,
emptiness and not-self.

The same pattern is also found in a Sanskrit fragment parallel:³⁰

(e) *vaṃ duḥkhaṃ śūnyam anātmā*.

The resulting four discourses are recognized in the *uddāna*.³¹ These have three parallels in discourses 9 to 11 of the *Khandha-saṃyutta*, which cover impermanence, *dukkha*, and not-self.³² The last is also taken up in a discourse quotation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, with a full version of the discourse extant in Tibetan in Śamatha-deva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā*.³³

A case of internal abbreviation can be seen in SĀ 15, where a monk approaches the Buddha with the request to be given a teaching for his intended withdrawal into solitude. His original request reads as follows:³⁴

善哉, 世尊, 今當為我略說法要。我聞法已, 當獨一靜處,
修不放逸。修不放逸已, 當復思惟, 所以善男子出家, 剃
除鬚髮, 身著法服, 信家非家出家, 為究竟無上梵行, 現
法作證: 我生已盡, 梵行已立, 所作已作, 自知不受後有。

It would be well if the Blessed One would now teach me

³⁰ SHT IV 30a R7, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 78.

³¹ T II 3a4: 過去四種說。

³² SN 22.9 at SN III 19,16, SN 22.10 at SN III 19,35 and SN 22.11 at SN III 20,15.

³³ Pradhan 1967: 464,5 and Up 9001 at D 4094, *mngon pa*, *nyu* 77b4 or P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, *thu* 123a3, translated in Dhammadinnā 2012: 71–72.

³⁴ SĀ 15 at T II 3a8.

the essentials of the Dharma in brief. On having heard the Dharma, I shall practice alone in a quiet place without negligence. Having practiced without negligence, I shall in turn reflect on that for whose sake a clansman's son goes forth, shaves off beard and hair, and puts Dharma robes on the body, out of faith going forth from home to homelessness for the unsurpassed supreme holy life, to realize here and now that 'birth for me has been eradicated, the holy life has been established, what had to be done has been done, I know that for myself there will be no receiving of further existence.'³⁵

Whereas in the Pali version the Buddha directly comes out with the required teaching, in the *Samyukta-āgama* version he first repeats what the monk had said. As the statement is rather long, the repetition employs the abbreviation 乃至, 'up to', reading:³⁶

當為我略說法要，我聞法已，獨一靜處，修不放逸，乃至自知不受後有。

[It would be well if the Blessed One] would [now] teach me the essentials of the Dharma in brief. On having heard the Dharma, I shall practice alone in a quiet place without negligence ... *up to* ... 'knowing that for myself there will be no receiving of further existence'.

³⁵ The Pali counterpart, SN 22.36 at SN III 36,15, is considerable shorter, reading: "It would be well if the Blessed One would now teach me the Dharma in brief so that, on having heard the Dharma from the Blessed One, I might dwell alone, secluded, diligent, energetic, and resolute."

³⁶ SĀ 15 at T II 3a15. Regarding the often used 乃至, Silk 2013 [2014]: 208 notes that "the modularity and formulaic structure of these texts was of course obvious to traditional scribes as well, and their frequent recourse to the use of abbreviations such as *peyālam* (or simply *pe*) or 乃至 *nāizhi* illustrate their conscious awareness of the phenomenon."

The abbreviation itself is unproblematic, as the full passage is found just a few lines earlier. Nevertheless, the beginning part of the quote is shortened, wherefore in the passage above I have supplemented in square brackets the part needed for it to correspond to the original. This is a recurrent pattern in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, in that abbreviated passages can come with some irregularities.³⁷

The two parallels agree in employing abbreviation also in their respective concluding sections, which report that the monk indeed went into seclusion and eventually became an arahant.³⁸ Here the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse again uses 乃至, ‘up to’, which has its counterpart in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* parallel in *pe*.³⁹

The next discourse in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, SĀ 16, has the same introductory narration. Hence, after the phrase “At that time a certain monk approached the Buddha”, it employs the following expression.⁴⁰

所問如上, 差別者 ...

What he asked is as above, with the difference ...

This makes it clear that the whole introductory narration needs to be supplemented from the preceding discourse, except for the stipu-

³⁷ As noted by Jantrasrisalai et al. 2016: 35–36, “the application of abbreviation formulae in Buddhist manuscripts is typically somewhat casual and inconsistent.” This is in line with a general pattern where, in the words of Salomon 2011: 167–168, “in practice one often finds a surprising degree of textual variation in the manuscript versions of canonical Buddhist texts. In short, in Buddhism there is an underlying sense, and sometimes even an explicit acknowledgement, that the spirit of the law outweighs its letter.”

³⁸ His secluded practice and eventual realization are also reported in a Sanskrit fragment parallel, Kha ii 10a, Chung 2008: 317,7: *ājñātavān sa bhi[k]ṣur arhan babh[ū]va*.

³⁹ SĀ 15 at T II 3b12 and SN 22.36 at SN III 37,23.

⁴⁰ SĀ 16 at T II 3b15.

lated difference, which is then described right after the above formula. A Sanskrit fragment parallel to SĀ 16 gives the introductory narration in full.⁴¹ The Pali parallel is discourse 35 in the *Khandha-saṃyutta*, which thus occurs before discourse 36 (the parallel to SĀ 15). In line with their respective positioning in the collection, discourse 35 gives the introductory narration and question in full and discourse 36 employs some degree of abbreviation, although only for the standard formulaic description of how the monk approached the Buddha, paid respect, and sat down.⁴² Regarding the concluding section, in both collections the respectively second discourse has the concluding section with the monk's secluded practice and attainment in a more abbreviated manner than the preceding discourse.⁴³ Clearly, reciters of both collections were expected to supplement in similar ways, an expectation that implies fixed collections in which the sequence of discourses remains stable.

The next three discourses in the *Skandha-saṃyukta* have the same plot of a monk asking for instructions for secluded practice and eventually becoming an arahant, hence these discourses keep abbreviating both parts with 乃至, 'up to'.⁴⁴ Discourse 20 then consists of

⁴¹ Chung 2008: 318,3 (§ 2a to 3): *athānyataro bhikṣur yena bhagavāms tenopasaṃ(krānta upasaṃkramya bhagavataḥ pādaḥ śirasā vanditvāikānte nyaṣīdat ekāntaniṣaṇ)[ṇ](a)ḥ sa bhikṣur bhaga[v](a)m[t](a)m idam av[oca]t: sādhu me bhadaṃta bhagavan saṃkṣiptena dharman deśaya yad ahaṃ bhagavato dharmam [ś]ru[tv]ā eko vya[v](akṛṣṭo 'pramatta ātāpī pravivikto vihareyam).*

⁴² SN 22.36 at SN III 36,13.

⁴³ SĀ 16 at T II 3b26 to 3b27 (compared to SĀ 15 at T II 3b9 to 3b13) and SN 22.36 at SN III 37,22 to 37,24 (compared to SN 22.35 at SN III 36,3 to 36,10).

⁴⁴ SĀ 17 at T II 3c9 and 3c25, SĀ 18 at T II 4a3 and 4a26, and SĀ 19 at T II 4b3 and 4b24 (the last two discourses also abbreviate the Buddha's

only a mention of the title, followed by.⁴⁵

亦如是說。⁴⁶

should also be spoken like this.

This seems to imply that exactly the same discourse as SĀ 19 should be recited again, only with a different title. Notably, this discourse is not taken into account in the *uddāna*.⁴⁷ This suggests that the apparent doubling of a discourse, due to being assigned two different titles, happened only after the *uddāna* had reached its present form. The arising of two different titles is of particular interest in so far as the discourses in the *Skandha-saṃyukta* generally come without titles (including SĀ 19), which can only be reconstructed from the *uddānas*. This in turn suggests that SĀ 20 came into being at a time after the closure of the *uddāna* but before the loss of explicit mention of discourse titles in this section of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (which might in fact just be a decision taken by the translators into Chinese, although the *uddānas* were translated at least for the *Skandha-saṃyukta*).

The last discourse in the first chapter of the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, of which no Pali parallel is known, employs internal abbreviation.

reply with the help of the same 乃至; cf. SĀ 18 at T II 4a6 and SĀ 19 at T II 4b7).

⁴⁵ SĀ 20 at T II 4b25.

⁴⁶ I follow Yinshun 1983: 30 note 2 who suggests emending 深 to read 染.

⁴⁷ T II 5b26 lists 使 (= SĀ 15), 增諸數 (= SĀ 16), 非我 (= SĀ 17), 非彼 (= SĀ 18), 結繫 (= SĀ 19), 動搖 (= SĀ 21), 劫波所問 (= SĀ 22), 亦羅睺羅所問二經 (= SĀ 23 and SĀ 24). The title for SĀ 20 is 深經, which Yinshun 1983: 30 note 2 suggests emending to 染經. The Pali parallel to both, SN 22.70 at SN III 79,7, has the title *rajanīyasaṇṭhita* in the Burmese and PTS editions and just *rajanīya* in the Ceylonese edition (S^c does not give a title).

The exposition in SĀ 32 proceeds as follows:⁴⁸

若沙門婆羅門於色不如實知, 色集不如實知, 色滅不如實知, 色味不如實知, 色患不如實知, 色離不如實知故, 不堪能超越色。

If recluses and brahmins do not know bodily form as it really is, do not know the arising of bodily form as it really is, do not know the cessation of bodily form as it really is, do not know the gratification in bodily form as it really is, do not know the danger in bodily form as it really is, do not know the escape from bodily form as it really is, [then] for this reason they are not able to transcend bodily form.

When it comes to the corresponding case of those who do know, the text takes the following abbreviated form:⁴⁹

若沙門婆羅門於色, 色集, 色滅, 色味, 色患, 色離如實知, 此沙門婆羅門堪能超越色。

If recluses and brahmins know bodily form ... the arising of bodily form ... the cessation of bodily form ... the gratification in bodily form ... the danger in bodily form ... the escape from bodily form as it really is, [then] these recluses and brahmins are able to transcend bodily form.

Here the fact of abbreviation is obvious enough, hence no explicit markers are used. Consultation of the full formula given earlier for the negative case of not knowing is required in order to recognize in what way the passage here has been abbreviated.

Continuing with examples from the second chapter of the recon-

⁴⁸ SĀ 32 at T II 7a14.

⁴⁹ SĀ 32 at T II 7a20.

structed *Skandha-saṃyukta*, a case that shows a feature not yet discussed is SĀ 259 together with its Pali parallels. The discourse reports a discussion between Mahākoṭṭhita and Sāriputta on what a monk, who has not yet attained ‘comprehension of the Dharma’, should give attention to.⁵⁰ The discourse has two Pali parallels found consecutively as discourses 122 and 123 in the *Khandha-saṃyutta*; the only difference between them being that the discussion in discourse 122 starts off with a monk who is ‘virtuous’, *sīlavant*, whereas in discourse 123 the monk is instead qualified as ‘learned’, *sutavant* (neither of the two alternative terms in discourses 122 and 123 corresponds to the expression found in SĀ 259). Thus the existence of two separate discourses in this part of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* is only due to this difference, a difference that could easily have arisen due to an error during oral transmission. The same holds for the case of SĀ 20, discussed above. In the present case the doubling of discourses due to a rather minor difference affects only a single term in one passage in the discourse and, in the case of SĀ 20, the issue at stake is just the title. Both cases are noteworthy inasmuch as they reflect a concern with precision, going so far as to result in the creation of an additional discourse just to accommodate a rather minor difference. The PTS edition in fact explains the difference between the two discourses 122 and 123 in a footnote and then just abbreviates the second discourse as:⁵¹

bārāṇasi-nidānaṃ.

⁵⁰ SĀ 259 at T II 65b12: 比丘未得無間等法 (the expression 無間等 is a rendering of *abhisamaya* regularly employed in T 99), with a parallel in SHT IV 30e V4, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 85: *dharmena āyuṣ-maṃ sārīputra bhikṣuṇā dharmān-abhi[sa](mayati)*.

⁵¹ SN 22.123 at SN III 169,5.

The three Asian editions, however, still give the body of the discourse. The above drastic abbreviation would be an editorial decision taken by Leon Feer when preparing this volume of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, originally published in 1890. Thus in this case the introduction of a substantial abbreviation can be dated to the late nineteenth century.

My next example is discourse SĀ 262, which reports an instruction on the impermanent nature of the five aggregates. This instruction is given in abbreviation for the middle three aggregates and without the employment of any marker.⁵²

色無常, 受, 想, 行, 識無常.

Bodily form is impermanent. Feeling ... perception ...
formations ... consciousness is impermanent.

The Pali parallel in discourse 90 of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* has the corresponding passage in full, reading:⁵³

*rūpaṃ kho, āvuso channa, aniccaṃ, vedanā aniccā, saññā
aniccā, saṅkhārā aniccā, viññāṇaṃ aniccaṃ.*

Another abbreviation occurs in a later section of SĀ 262 in relation to the standard formulation of dependent arising, where only the first two and the last two links are given, such that the intervening part is abbreviated with the help of 乃至, ‘up to’:⁵⁴

緣無明有行, 乃至生, 老, 病, 死, 憂, 悲, 惱, 苦集.

conditioned by ignorance are formations ... *up to* ... birth, old
age, disease, death, worry, sorrow, vexation, and pain arise.

⁵² SĀ 262 at T II 66b13.

⁵³ SN 22.90 at SN III 132,23.

⁵⁴ SĀ 262 at T II 67a5.

The use of this abbreviation presupposes that the reciters were sufficiently familiar with this key doctrine to be able to supplement the missing links, as the full formula had not yet been given in the other discourses in this chapter, or in the preceding first chapter of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*. In fact the full formula does not occur anywhere in the remaining chapters of the *Skandha-saṃyukta*.

In line with the earlier mentioned case of SĀ 15, the abbreviated part of SĀ 262 shows some light irregularity, since the correct statement at the end should be ‘conditioned by birth is old age’. In other words, the part that comes after the abbreviation 乃至 should have read 緣生有老, instead of just 生, 老, and this would more naturally have been followed directly by ‘death’, 死, rather than by ‘disease’, 病.

The situation for the parallel discourse 90 in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* differs, as in the Pali collection the *Khandha-saṃyutta* comes after the *Nidāna-saṃyutta*, which gives the full formula of dependent arising right away in its first discourse.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the Ceylonese edition of discourse 90 does not abbreviate and gives the whole formula for the twelve links in full; only the other three editions abbreviate after the first two links.

My next case is SĀ 271, which presents a teaching on the need to be free from lust for the five aggregates. After explaining the problem of lust in regard to the first aggregate of bodily form, the instructions take the following form:⁵⁶

於受, 想, 行, 識不離貪, 不離欲, 不離愛, 不離念, 不離
渴; 彼識若變, 若異, 於汝意云何, 當起憂, 悲, 惱, 苦為
不耶?

Not being separated from lust for feeling ... perception ...
formations ... consciousness, not separated from desire for

⁵⁵ SN 12.1 at SN II 1,16.

⁵⁶ SĀ 271 at T II 71b7.

it, not separated from craving for it, not separated from missing it, not separated from thirsting for it, if that consciousness changes, if it becomes otherwise, what do you think, will worry, sorrow, vexation, and pain arise?

Here the middle three aggregates are only mentioned once, without a marker of abbreviation, and then the remainder of the exposition only covers consciousness. The reply to this question then takes up only the case of consciousness, so that, strictly speaking, it only acknowledges explicitly the detrimental repercussions of lust for bodily form and consciousness (although the other three are of course implied).⁵⁷

In most editions of the corresponding Pali discourse the inquiry is given in full for the first and last aggregate, and for the fourth aggregate of volitional formations with only a minor abbreviation, so that only the cases of feeling and perception are completely abbreviated. In the Ceylonese edition perception alone is completely abbreviated, reading *saññāya pe*.

The pattern of abbreviating the middle members of a list, evident in SĀ 271, can also manifest in relation to the six senses. This can be seen in SĀ 61 (found in the third chapter of the *Skandha-samyukta*), which offers definitions of each of the five aggregates. In the case of feeling, this definition proceeds as follows:⁵⁸

眼觸生受, 耳, 鼻, 舌, 身, 意觸生受; 是名受受陰。

Feeling arisen from eye-contact ... ear- ... nose- ... tongue- ... body- ... feeling arisen from mind-contact. This is called the feeling aggregate of clinging.

⁵⁷ In the parallel SN 22.84 at SN III 107,10+16+23 the replies just take the affirmative form *evam bhante*, without going into further details.

⁵⁸ SĀ 61 at T II 15c23; the discourse does not have a Pali parallel.

Here the abbreviation goes so far as to dispense even with a reference to ‘contact’ for the senses in the middle portion. The same pattern of abbreviation, without an explicit marker, occurs in a Tibetan parallel in Śamathadeva’s *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā*, so much so that the above translation of the Chinese can equally serve as a rendering of the Tibetan passage below:⁵⁹

mig gi ’dus te reg pa las skyes pa’i tshor ba dang, rna ba dang, sna dang, lce dang, lus dang, yid kyi ’dus te reg pa las skyes pa’i tshor ba ste. ’di ni tshor ba nye bar len pa’i phung po zhes bya’o.

In the case of the next aggregate of perception, the Tibetan version maintains its earlier pattern, but the Chinese abbreviates further, this time employing the marker 乃至, ‘up to’ (as also done for the remaining aggregates).⁶⁰

眼觸生想, 乃至意觸生想; 是名想受陰.

Perception arisen from eye-contact ... *up to* ... perception arisen from mind-contact. This is called the perception aggregate of clinging.

My next example, SĀ 64, describes consciousness that is not established anywhere in the following manner:⁶¹

識不住東方, 南, 西, 北方.

⁵⁹ Up 1016 at D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 18a6 or P 5595, *mngon pa’i bstan bcos, tu* 20a7; translated in Dhammadinnā 2013: 126.

⁶⁰ SĀ 61 at T II 15c26.

⁶¹ SĀ 64 at T II 17a17; the parallel SN 22.55 at SN III 58,22 describes the unestablished condition of consciousness without any reference to the four directions.

Consciousness is not established in the eastern direction,
the southern ... the western ... the northern direction.

In line with a standard pattern, the middle members of a list are given in an abbreviated form, without any need for an explicit marker.

The subsequent discourse in the *Skandha-samyukta*, SĀ 65, continues after its formal conclusion with a list of other discourses that should similarly be recited. This reads as follows:⁶²

如觀察，如是分別，種種分別，知，廣知，種種知，親近，
親近修，習，入，觸，證，二經亦如是廣說。⁶³

As for ‘examining’, in the same way for ‘analysing’, ‘analysing in various ways’, ‘understanding’, ‘widely understanding’, ‘understanding in various ways’, ‘becoming familiar with’, ‘becoming familiar with by cultivating’, ‘practicing’, ‘engaging with’, ‘contacting’, and ‘realizing’, (twelve) discourses should also be recited fully in the same way.

SĀ 65 has a parallel in discourse 5 of the *Khandha-samyutta*,⁶⁴ but the additional twelve discourses that would result from executing the above instruction are without a Pali parallel. The next three discourses in the *Skandha-samyukta* have a similar instruction at their end, which is in turn further abbreviated, as follows:⁶⁵

如觀察，如是乃至作證十二經，亦應廣說。

⁶² SĀ 65 at T II 17b14.

⁶³ The mention of ‘two’, 二, needs to be emended by adding +, ‘ten’; see Yinshun 1983: 111 note 3.

⁶⁴ SN 22.5 at SN III 13,29.

⁶⁵ The first quote is taken from SĀ 66 at T II 17c9, the second corresponds to SĀ 67 at T II 18a5 and SĀ 68 at T II 18a23.

As for ‘examining’, in the same way ... *up to* ... ‘realizing’, twelve discourses should also be recited fully in the same way.

如觀察, 乃至作證十二經, 亦如是廣說。

As for ‘examining’ ... *up to* ... ‘realizing’, twelve discourses should also be recited fully in the same way.

Here the abbreviated reference to a set of discourses needs first to be expanded by recourse to the previous abbreviated reference to a set of discourses. Without access to SĀ 65, one would be at a loss to know what comes between ‘examining’ and ‘realizing’ so as to result in altogether twelve activities that then can lead to the recitation of corresponding separate discourses.

SĀ 66 has a parallel in the discourse 5 of the *Khanda-saṃyutta*, but the other two, SĀ 67 and SĀ 68, have no Pali parallel. As a net result of this situation, none of the forty-eight discourses mentioned in these abbreviated recitation instructions has a Pali counterpart.

Another abbreviation in SĀ 66 comes after a detailed instruction on how a lack of examining arising, gratification, danger, and escape leads to delighting, craving, and attachment. Having been expounded in relation to bodily form, the same is then applied to the other aggregates in the following manner:⁶⁶

受, 想, 行, 識亦如是廣說。

Feeling ... perception ... formations ... consciousness
should also be recited fully in the same way.

Most editions of the Pali version instead adopt the pattern of giving the exposition in full for the first and last aggregate and abbreviating

⁶⁶ SĀ 66 at T II 17b24.

the three middle ones;⁶⁷ the Ceylonese edition, however, only abbreviates the case of perception.

A pattern similar in kind to the one mentioned above in relation to SĀ 262 occurs in SĀ 68, where the links of dependent arising from craving to *dukkha* are presented in this manner:⁶⁸

緣受生愛, 乃至純大苦聚生。

In dependence on feeling, craving arises ... *up to* ... this entire great mass of *dukkha* arises.

Clearly, someone not sufficiently familiar with the links of dependent arising would have stood little chance of performing a successful recitation of the *Skandha-samyukta*.

The next discourse, SĀ 69, has three instructions regarding how recitation should be carried out in full. According to the first two of these three, the treatment given to bodily form should be similarly executed for the other aggregates; the third makes it clear that three more discourses should be executed in the same manner. The two instructions read as follows:⁶⁹

如是受, 想, 行, 識廣說。

In the same way feeling ... perception ... formations ... consciousness are to be recited in full.

如色, 受, 想, 行, 識亦如是。

As for bodily form, in the same way also for feeling ... perception ... formations ... consciousness.

⁶⁷ SN 22.5 at SN III 14,9; the exposition of consciousness is slightly abbreviated at its end.

⁶⁸ SĀ 68 at T II 18a11; the passage has already been translated in Choong 2000: 45. SĀ 68 does not have a Pali parallel.

⁶⁹ SĀ 69 at T II 18b4, 18b11 and 18b15.

如當說，有，及當知，亦如是說。

As for ‘I will teach’, [so with] ‘there is’ and ‘you should understand’, [discourses] should also be recited in the same way.

Whereas SĀ 69 has a parallel in discourse 44 of the *Khandha-saṃyutta*,⁷⁰ the additional discourses resulting from the above recitation instruction do not have a Pali parallel. The same type of instruction to execute two further discourses occurs at the end of SĀ 70.⁷¹ In this case, a Pali parallel in discourse 103 of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* corresponds to the first alternative mentioned in the above recitation instruction, rather than to SĀ 70 itself.⁷² The recitation instructions to expand SĀ 69 and SĀ 70 to become three discourses each are reflected in the relevant *uddāna*.⁷³

The next discourse, SĀ 71, has a whole series of recitation instructions for further discourses. The original discourse begins with the Buddha stating, ‘I will now teach you’. The first injunction for reciting another discourse indicates the following:⁷⁴

餘如是說，差別者：當知 ...

Another [discourse] is to be recited in the same way, with the difference: ‘you should understand ...’

⁷⁰ SN 22.44 at SN III 44,1.

⁷¹ SĀ 70 at T II 18b27.

⁷² In SN 22.103 at SN III 158,1 the actual exposition sets in by just stating the matter at hand, which thus corresponds to the alternative ‘there is’, 有, in the recitation instructions in SĀ 70.

⁷³ T II 19a2: 其道有三種，實覺亦三種。

⁷⁴ SĀ 71 at T II 18c12. The discourse has a parallel in Śamathadeva’s *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, Up 5006 at D 4094, *mngon pa*, ju 268b1 or P 5595, *mngon pa*’i *bstan bcos*, thu 11b4, translated by Dhammadinnā 2013: 130–131.

Then comes a paragraph with four phrases that should replace the original ‘I will now teach you’, followed by the standard conclusion to a discourse reporting the delighted reaction of the audience. Then comes the next instruction:⁷⁵

如當說, 有, 及當知, 亦如是說, 又復差別者 ...

As for ‘I will teach’, ‘there is’, and ‘you should understand’, [discourses] should also be recited in the same way; again with the difference ...

The first part refers back to SĀ 71, in that the introductory phrase ‘I will teach’ should be replaced with the other two phrases. Then the same SĀ 71 should be recited with an additional description of a monastic who by dint of successfully applying the teaching becomes an arahant. This description occurs after the reference ‘again with the difference’.

Another five times instructions occur indicating variations to be applied to this description. Four of these express the same basic meaning of the monastic becoming an arahant in different terms, whereas the remaining one adds an explanatory gloss on some of the epithets used in the previously mentioned description of an arahant. The instruction itself reads each time:⁷⁶

又復差別者 ...

Again [it should be recited] with this difference ...

The *uddāna* clarifies that the final result should be four discourses on modes of teaching and six discourses related to the arahant.⁷⁷ The

⁷⁵ SĀ 71 at T II 18c15.

⁷⁶ SĀ 71 at T II 18c18, 18c20, 18c22, 18c23 and 18c27. The instructions are cryptic and I am indebted to the discussion in Su 2009 for enabling me to make sense of them.

⁷⁷ T II 19a3: 有身四種說, 羅漢有六種.

series of discourses that results from executing these instructions has a single parallel in discourse 105 of the *Khandha-saṃyutta*.⁷⁸

An example for a truncated reference to the five aggregates can be seen in another discourse, SĀ 75, which takes the following form:⁷⁹

有五受陰。何等為五？謂色受陰。

There are five aggregates of clinging. What are the five?

That is, they are the bodily form aggregate of clinging.

The discourse continues by examining the bodily form aggregate and thus fails to list the remaining four aggregates. Although the Pali parallel does not have an introductory statement on the five aggregates,⁸⁰ a Sanskrit fragment parallel has preserved the following:⁸¹

(*upā*)*dānaskandhaḥ vedanā saṃjñā*.

This makes it fairly probable that the passage quoted above from SĀ 75 is the result of textual loss, rather than being a radical form of abbreviation. The present case thereby serves to draw attention to the possibility of textual corruption. Due to the recurrent lack of use of a marker of abbreviation, such a case is less easily identified. Nevertheless it needs to be kept in mind that what at times appears to be an abbreviation at first sight, might on closer inspection turn out to be a loss of text.

The survey so far has already covered most of the type of abbreviations found in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, so that the material to be considered from the remaining two chapters is considerably less. A

⁷⁸ SN 22.105 at SN III 159,6.

⁷⁹ SĀ 75 at T II 19b22.

⁸⁰ SN 22.58 at SN III 65,22.

⁸¹ SHT IV 30b R3, Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 80.

case that shows how the same passage can be abbreviated in different ways is SĀ 38. The preceding discourse SĀ 37 and the Pali parallel to both, discourse 94 in the *Khandha-samyutta*, do not abbreviate in a comparable manner. Here is the original passage from SĀ 38, followed by two abbreviated repetitions:⁸²

有世間法，我自知自覺，為人分別演說顯示，知見而說，
世間盲無目者不知不見。世間盲無目者不知不見，我其
如之何？

There is a [worldly] phenomenon in the world which I
have myself understood and myself realized, and which I
analyse, explain, and disclose to people, speaking with
knowledge and vision. Those in the world who are blind
and without vision do not understand and do not see it.
What can I do about those in the world who are blind and
without vision, who do not understand and do not see it?

云何世間世間法，我自知自覺，乃至不知不見？

What is the worldly phenomenon in the world that I have
myself understood, myself realized ... *up to* ... who do not
understand and do not see it?

是名世間世間法，我自知自見，乃至盲無目者不知不見，
其如之何？

This is called the worldly phenomenon in the world that I
have myself understood, myself realized ... *up to* ... what
can I do about those who are blind and without vision,
who do not understand and do not see it?

Here the second instance is more heavily abbreviated than the third. Now once the reciter is expected to expand the first abbreviated pas-

⁸² SĀ 38 at T II 8c16, 8c19 and 8c22.

sage with the full formula, there would be no need to supply more material for the same purpose on a subsequent occasion. Thus the fact that the last statement is less heavily abbreviated than the previous one would be due to the influence of a recurrent pattern, when abbreviating lists, to give not only the first member, but also the last member in full or at least in a more expanded form than the middle members.

An instance of abbreviation that requires recourse to the preceding discourses in the collection can be found in SĀ 40. The passage proceeds in this way:⁸³

色封滯識住, 受, 想, 行封滯識住, 乃至非境界故。

Engaging with bodily form, consciousness is established, engaging with feeling ... perception ... formations, consciousness is established ... *up to* ... because this is outside the sphere of experience.

The discourse itself provides no further clue as to what needs to be supplemented so that the passage links up to the idea of being outside the sphere of someone's experience. In order to locate the relevant material, recourse to the preceding discourse SĀ 39 is required, according to which the claim cannot be upheld that consciousness could be established apart from the other four aggregates, as that is outside of the claimant's sphere of experience.⁸⁴ The same indication occurs also in the Pali parallel to SĀ 40 and probably in a Sanskrit fragment parallel, which has preserved parts of a corresponding passage.⁸⁵

⁸³ SĀ 40 at T II 9b1.

⁸⁴ SĀ 39 at T II 9a11. The same need to have recourse to the preceding discourses arises again in SĀ 40 at T II 9b4: 乃至清淨真實, which needs to be supplemented with material from SĀ 39.

⁸⁵ SN 22.53 at SN III 53,15 and fragment Kha ii 6b, de La Vallée Poussin

An abbreviation of the noble eightfold path on its second and subsequent occurrences in a particular discourse can be seen in SĀ 42, where only the first occurrence lists all factors. The second instance reads:⁸⁶

正見乃至正定。

Right view ... *up to* ... right concentration.

The editions of the Pali parallel right away abbreviate the noble eightfold path by mentioning only its first and last member.⁸⁷

A cross reference to an *Ekottarika-āgama* collection can be found in SĀ 52; in fact the discourse in question consists only of this reference. After giving the title of the discourse, this reference reads:⁸⁸

如增一阿含經四法中說。

It should be recited as in the Fours of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

This would be a reference to a Mūlasarvāstivāda *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, such that they could supplement a whole discourse from it. It is noteworthy that a discourse comes up for recitation that has already been included in another discourse collection. Perhaps even more remarkable is the fact that, as the very use of this abbreviation shows, reciters of the *Samyukta-āgama* were apparently expected to be able to supplement it easily, be this from memory or from access to a written copy of this collection.

1913: 574.

⁸⁶ SĀ 42 at T II 10b11.

⁸⁷ SN 22.57 at SN III 62,16.

⁸⁸ SĀ 52 at T II 12c3; see also Yao 2020 on the related phenomenon of abbreviated references to discourses in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

A cross-reference to another discourse can also be seen in SĀ 106 in the fifth chapter of the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, which takes the following form:⁸⁹

如焰摩迦契經廣說, 乃至 ...

As spoken fully in the ‘Discourse to Yamaka’, *up to* ...

Fortunately the ‘Discourse to Yamaka’, from which the required material is to be supplied, occurs just two discourses earlier in the same chapter of the *Skandha-saṃyukta* and thus is considerably easier accessed than the earlier reference to a discourse from the *Ekottarika-āgama*. In the *Khandha-saṃyutta* the two corresponding Pali discourses follow each other immediately and the instruction in discourse 86 does not explicitly refer to the preceding discourse to Yamaka for any supplementation.⁹⁰

III. Quantifying Abbreviations in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*

The above survey shows different types of abbreviation in use in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, which could be distinguished into those that are either ‘marked’ or else ‘unmarked’. Various markers can be used to indicate that an abbreviation has taken place or to give instructions regarding how a passage should be supplemented, such as 如是, ‘in the same way’, or 乃至, ‘up to’, etc. But at times abbreviations occur without any marker. Another distinction could be made between ‘internal’ and ‘external’ abbreviations. At times the passage to be sup-

⁸⁹ SĀ 106 at T II 32c27.

⁹⁰ SN 22.86 at SN III 116,1.

plemented is found internally, within the same discourse, but at other times it is placed externally, in the sense of being found in another discourse in the same collection (or on one occasion even in a different discourse collection). The following four types of abbreviation result from the above distinctions:

- marked and internal
- marked and external
- unmarked and internal
- unmarked and external

In addition to these four types of abbreviation, a fifth alternative to be kept in mind is the possibility that a passage could have suffered from textual loss and does not involve an intentional abbreviation.

In order to gain an impression of the degree to which text has been abbreviated, and of the frequency of each of these four types of abbreviation, I have implemented all instructions for supplementation with the required material in the *Skandha-samyukta*.⁹¹ For this purpose, I have mostly followed Yinshun's understanding of the implications of a particular abbreviation, whenever this was unclear. An exception is SĀ 2, where I have adopted the instruction in the Taishō edition to supplement another three discourses, whereas Yinshun has not followed this instruction because the resultant discourses are not mentioned in the respective *uddāna*. In other words,

⁹¹ I have taken out recitation instructions like 乃至, 'up to', so that these are not counted as either original text or as supplemented text. A few times the original had the first and last statement in full, but with slight differences in formulation. I have followed the formulation in the first statement for my supplementations and also adjusted the last statement accordingly (adjustments which hardly influence the word count of the material reckoned as original).

I have simply taken the text in the Taishō edition as it is, rather than attempting to improve on it.⁹²

A case where I have been unable to execute the instructions is SĀ 52, as this gives only the title and then enjoins to supplement the body of the discourse from the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Without access to this collection, nothing can be done in terms of supplementation. Hence I leave SĀ 52 completely out of account.

Based on a character count of the bare text of the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, with all annotations, punctuation, etc., removed and with the required supplementations carried out, I arrive at about 31% original text (without its *peyāla* markers) and about 69% supplementation. In other words, as illustrated in Figure 1, about two thirds of the full text of the *Skandha-saṃyukta* is present only by way of abbreviation.

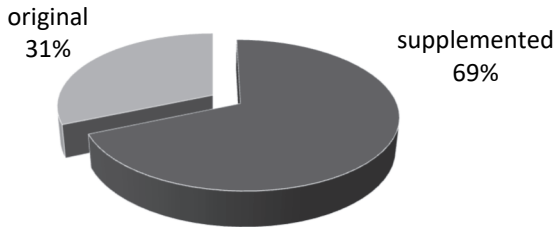


Figure 1. Ratio between Original and Supplemented Text
in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*

The substantial role placed by abbreviation can be further explored by examining how much of it corresponds to the four types identi-

⁹² Thus I have also left out a correction given at T II 65c1 in the CBETA edition, on which my research is otherwise based. In the case of SĀ 65, I have followed the recitation instructions, which result in twelve discourses, and emended the reference ‘two’ to ‘twelve’, as discussed above.

fied above. Here the category of abbreviations that are not marked and are external, in the sense that they need to be supplemented from outside of a discourse, occurs very rarely. This is the case to such an extent that the character count does not even reach up to 1% of the total of abbreviations. Due to its lack of statistical significance, I leave this category out of the survey below in Figure 2.

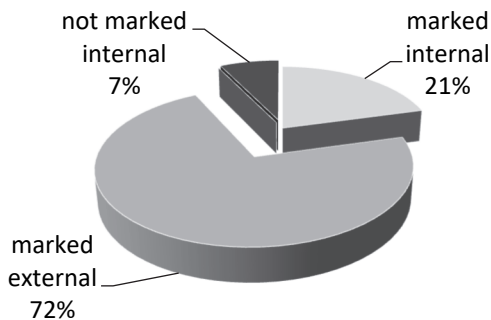


Figure 2. Ratio between Different Types of Supplemented Texts

Regarding the remaining three categories, particularly notable is that marked abbreviations are the clear majority, accounting for 93% of the material all together. This does not reflect the frequency of occurrence of this type, as unmarked abbreviations occur fairly frequently. But these usually concern only a few terms that need to be added, hence the amount of material that results from this type of abbreviation is relatively small.

Out of the marked abbreviations, particularly prominent are those that are external, in the sense of needing to be supplemented from outside of the discourses in which they occur. These amount to about 72% of all abbreviated material. In contrast, abbreviations to be sup-

plemented from within the same discourse amount to only about 28%.

The category of abbreviations that are marked and external accommodates a single reference to another discourse by name and a few instances where similar material is found in the previous text. The bulk of the contribution made by this category, however, is due to the additional discourses that result from recitation instructions given to the effect that the text of a discourse should be repeated in full in the form of another discourse on its own, with a few specified changes. This ‘proliferation of discourses’, if it can be called such, appears to have substantially increased the percentage of material that in the *Skandha-saṃyukta* is present only in abbreviation.

Before exploring this further, I would like to note that the tendency to create a series of discourses based on at times rather minor textual variations is not confined to the reciters of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*. The same tendency is also plainly evident in the textual material analysed in the contribution by Rupert Gethin to this volume (Gethin 2020). Such instances in the Pali collections seem to reflect a similar tendency to proliferation as evident in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*.

In order to explore the impact of such proliferation of discourses in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, I have removed all additional discourses that had come into being through following the recitation instructions. As a result, the ratio between original and supplemented text changes substantially, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Now only about 40% is supplemented text and 60% original. In other words, when only abbreviations that concern the body of the same discourse are supplemented, the additional material is less than the amount of text that is already there.

Nevertheless, even leaving aside the extra discourses created by following the recitation instructions, the use of other forms of abbreviation still accounts for a substantial portion of text, about 40%.

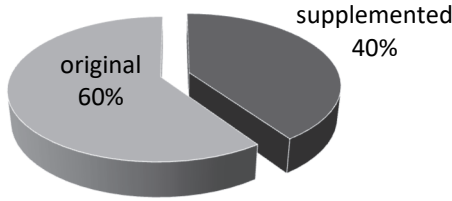


Figure 3. Ratio between Original and Supplementation
When Additional Discourses Are Left out of Account

IV. *Peyāla* and the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition

The quantitative analysis shows the degree to which *peyāla* finds employment in the *Skandha-samyukta*. Needless to say, abbreviation can only perform its function properly as long as the reciters know in what way the text is to be supplemented. At times this is evident enough, for instance when the middle members of a particular list are given in short. Such cases do not even require an explicit marker. No markers are also needed when standard formulas are shortened. Such shortening usually involves an abbreviation of something that can be supplemented from within the same discourse.

According to the quantitative analysis, abbreviations that are not marked and need to be supplemented from outside of a discourse occur so rarely that they are statistically insignificant. What falls into this category are standard lists of terms like the noble eightfold path or the series of dependent arising, which are so well known that they can be given in abbreviation even when no template for filling this up is found within the same discourse. This finding in turns makes

it in my view somewhat less probable that unmarked abbreviation can be taken as a ready-at-hand explanation for substantially different passages in parallel versions of a discourse, involving, for example, the presence or the absence of a full account of the gradual path of training.

Now the recurrent pattern of abbreviating the middle members of a particular list could well harken back to the period of oral transmission. The texts regularly exhibit a feature where a particular statement is followed by a detailed exposition that leads up to a repetition of the initial statement. This type of procedure clearly reflects the oral setting, where the speaker(s) had to make sure that the audience keeps in mind the main topic. The abbreviation of middle members of a list appears to follow the same pattern, as once the full formula is given for the first member of the list, it would seem more natural to abbreviate the entire remainder of the list. The fact that this is not done could well be due to the fact that some degree of abbreviation was already in use in the oral setting, in particular coming in handy as a time saving measure when having to recite a larger portion of text. In such a situation, it would have been natural for such abbreviation to follow the model set by the texts themselves, namely to repeat once more at the end what was stated at the outset. Other cases of abbreviation, however, seem to reflect the written medium.

The use of markers like 乃至, ‘up to’, or 如是, ‘in the same way’, come in handy for passages that are to be supplemented from a similar occurrence earlier in the same discourse. The need to make sure that the reciters know what to do would explain why marked abbreviations account for a high proportion of the supplemented material.

Decisions on when *peyāla* is required differ. Whereas the *Skandha-saṃyukta* in its present form does not reflect a felt need to abbreviate

the standard introductory formula to a discourse, the information about the discourse being ‘thus heard’ and the whereabouts of the Buddha are expressed with a variety of shortened phrases in the parallel Pali discourses.

The proliferation of synonyms, evident in the case of the fourth aggregate of *sāṅkhāras*, can also be seen in the tendency in the *Skandha-samyukta* to mention ‘emptiness’ in addition to ‘not-self’, apparently considered sufficiently important to warrant the recitation of two separate discourses with otherwise equal content to express these two nuances.

The same concern to make sure that even a small nuance in difference is not lost expresses itself also in the instruction to recite the exact same discourse again in order to do justice to an alternative title or to an alternative term somewhere in the exposition. This phenomenon is so pervasive that it can safely be taken to express a basic concern of the transmitters and reciters of the early discourses. As pointed out by Allon (1997: 358), regarding the employment of repetition in Pali discourses,

the scale on which this is pursued, that is the proportion of the text involved, [can hardly be seen] as anything other than proof, or at least as a very strong indication, that these texts were designed to be memorised and transmitted verbatim ... In contrast, material such as the contemporary Yugoslav epics ... which is composed ‘during the performance’, although exhibiting many forms of repetition, does not exhibit the form of gross repetition encountered in Pāli sutta texts.

In fact an application of the research by Parry and Lord on Yugoslav epics to early Buddhist discourse literature is problematic in several

respects. From a methodological viewpoint, it involves a category mistake, inasmuch as conclusions drawn from epic material cannot be taken as a self-evident standard when evaluating material that is not epic and situated in a substantially different performance context.⁹³ As pointed out by William Graham (1987: 138), the

oral use and even oral transmission of scripture should not be confused with folk oral tradition in which verbatim accuracy is not aspired to (i.e., in which ‘formulaic composition’ predominates: see, for example, Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* ...).

It is also problematic in so far as it can easily appear to stand in continuity with the colonial and post-colonial cultural arrogance of insisting to consider everything non-Western from the sole viewpoint of Western experiences and research. This makes it to my mind indispensable to try to come to terms with the early Buddhist oral tradition on its own cultural terms and situated within its ancient Indian context, rather than resorting to Western models. In other words, rather than Yugoslavian epic, the oral transmission of Vedic texts should be the model against which early Buddhist oral transmission is evaluated.

One of the differences that emerge from such comparison is that the average early Buddhist reciter need not have gone through the rigorous memorization training that a Vedic reciter was expected to undergo from early youth onwards. This makes errors and variations only natural. Moreover, alongside the texts to be transmitted, a growing body of oral commentary came into existence. Given that

⁹³ I already presented this and several other related arguments in Anālayo 2014a and 2015, building on research by von Hinüber 1989 and 1994, Allon 1997 and Wynne 2004.

one of the shortcomings of human memory is to conflate original information with individual inferences drawn, it is again only natural if new material of an original commentarial type should have made its way into the discourses. As I have shown elsewhere, there is substantial evidence corroborating precisely the integration of commentarial material into the early discourses (Anālayo 2010b). This would provide a model for appreciating an evident concern with precision, which is also apparent in the proliferation of different discourses just to accommodate a minor variation in title or a term, discussed above, with an equally evident integration of new material.

In an insightful study of *peyāla* in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, Gethin (2007: 383 and note 25) concludes that:

although over time these repetition sections have become more or less fixed, they originally seem to have been composed in a manner that invites addition and expansion—within certain parameters ... I would wish to stand by the claim that there are good reasons for thinking of different recensions of Buddhist texts crystallizing after a period of somewhat freer composition and adaptation.⁹⁴

As far as I can see, the proposal of an initial period of free improvisation has no firm grounding in the evidence at our disposal. This evidence rather shows that patterns of change were continuous and not something that happened only at an early stage. The same is also evident from the survey in this paper of the practice of abbreviation. Although some abbreviations may well hark back to very early times,

⁹⁴ McGovern 2016: 209 note 4 similarly states: “I believe that the evidence points strongly in favor of Cousins’ original intuition ... that there may have been an improvisational element involved comparable to the epic poetry studied by Parry and Lord.”

others are clearly late, as evident by consulting their parallels or the respective *uddānas*. In fact substantial differences in this and other respects can occur even between parallel Pali discourses, which could clearly not be the product of an early period of improvisation only (Anālayo 2014a: 52–53).

Besides, the texts themselves reflect an ongoing concern with correct reproduction of the oral material to be transmitted. An illustrative example in case is the monastic code of rule, a text that clearly involves fixed wording, leaving no room for an improvisatory model. Still, numbers of differences can be found between the codes of rules of different monastic traditions (Anālayo 2020: 396–405), and these differences are of the same type as those found between parallel discourses.

At times it seems as if the attempt of the reciters to remember precisely has preserved formal aspects, even though the meaning has been lost, a pattern for which Georg von Simson (1965: 137–138) gives the following examples:

vivattacchaddo – *vighuṣṭaśabdo*

brahmujjuggatto – *brhadṛjugātro*

muducittaṃ – *muditacittaṃ*

aññatāro – *ājñātavān*

sammodi sammodanīyaṃ – *sammukhaṃ sammodanīṃ*

Such errors are not the result of an early period of free improvisation, but rather must be due to failed attempts to preserve with precision. In sum, what research has brought to light so far concords with the emic perspective, in that the type of improvisation that is characteristic for the Yugoslavian bard is not relevant to a proper understanding of early Buddhist oral tradition. I believe it is time to

set this model aside so as to enable an appreciation of the strengths and weaknesses of the early Buddhist oral tradition on its own terms, culturally by situating it in its ancient Indian context and genre-wise by distinguishing it from epic material.

With such a proposal I in no way intend to encourage turning a blind eye to differences. In other publications I have relied precisely on at times substantial differences between parallel versions in order to discern, for example, the beginnings of the *bodhisattva* ideal (Anālayo 2010a and 2017). Many more examples could be mentioned, but suffice it to say that the differences that emerge from comparative studies are precisely what makes the early discourses such a fertile field for research and exploration.

The assumption of an initial period of free improvisation would also not work for an extreme case of the use of *peyāla* found in a discourse in the *Madhyama-āgama*, without any known parallel.⁹⁵ This discourse could hardly have ever been recited in full, as on supplementing all the material that has been abbreviated, it would become more than twice as long as the entire *Madhyama-āgama* collection (which takes several days of recital) (Anālayo 2014b: 44–47). In other words, this case could only have come into being after the period of oral transmission was over. Nevertheless, content-wise the discourse stays well within the compass of early Buddhist thought. In other words, the building blocks for this discourse are simply taken from other discourses, an itself natural tendency in oral transmission.⁹⁶ Thus even this case, where *peyāla* has clearly run riot

⁹⁵ MĀ 222 at T I 805c11 to 809a25.

⁹⁶ As observed by Allon 1997: 367, “the insertion of another list of, say, ‘five good things’ in a text containing a parallel list of fives would not be a violation of *buddhavacana*, because the Buddha had in fact spoken of these ‘five good things’ on another occasion.”

and become an exercise in its own right rather than being an actual abbreviation of a text that existed in full, the material itself does not carry any innovation. This conforms with the other cases of abbreviation surveyed here and in Gethin's (2020) contribution to this volume, which similarly proliferate in various ways without resulting in substantial innovation.

Conclusion

The principle of *peyāla* has a pervasive influence in the text studied in this paper, the *Skandha-saṃyukta* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* extant in Chinese translation, to the extent that nearly two thirds of the full text is now only represented in an abbreviated manner. At times the need to supplement abbreviated material is explicitly marked as such, but at others times abbreviations take place without a marker. These cases need to be distinguished from the occurrence of accidental loss of text. The textual material to be employed for supplementation can be found either internally, in the same discourse, or else externally, in another discourse. In one instance the instructions even refer to a discourse from a no longer extant *Ekottarika-āgama* as the source for supplementation.

Decisions on when to use *peyāla* were clearly not taken only at an early period, but rather reflect an ongoing process of negotiation. Just as it would have been convenient for individual rehearsal to abbreviate standard passages in order to be able to recite a collection of texts swiftly, similarly in a manuscript culture and even in modern day printing the same principle has retained its advantages. Its pervasive use in early Buddhist literature reflects the equally pervasive occurrence of repetition, a characteristic of an oral tradition that

needed to employ this and other means in an attempt at precise transmission. Precise transmission was sometimes hampered by the limitations of human memory and the ongoing flowing in of new ideas and understandings via the medium of commentary during oral performance.

Taken together, these various aspects point to the richness of the material at hand, a close study of which enables identifying the beginning stages of a range of developments that had a considerable impact on later Buddhist traditions.

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------|--|
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| B ^e | Burmese edition |
| C ^e | Ceylonese edition |
| CBETA | Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association |
| D | Derge edition |
| E ^e | European edition (PTS) |
| EĀ | <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125) |
| Dhs | <i>Dhammasaṅgaṇī</i> |
| P | Peking edition |
| PTS | Pali Text Society |
| S ^e | Siamese edition |
| SĀ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition (CBETA) |
| Up | <i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā</i> |
| < > | emendation |
| [] | supplementation |

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**Reading Repetitions
in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and
Early *Abhidhamma*:
From the *Mahā-vagga* to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi***

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Abstract

The *Samyutta-nikāya* and *Samyukta-āgama* are constructed around the framework of a particular set of lists: twelvefold dependent origination, the five bundles, the six sense-organs and the seven sets (applications of mindfulness, right endeavours, bases of success, faculties, powers, constituents of awakening, eightfold path). The same set of lists informs the structure of certain canonical *Abhidharma* texts of different schools (e.g., the *Vibhaṅga*, the *Dharmaskandha*, the **Śāriputrābhidharma*). The *Mahā-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the *Mārga-varga* of the *Samyukta-āgama* both focus on the seven sets and additional items. A feature of the *Mahā-vagga* is the use of templates of up to three layers of repetition; the manner in which these are applied to particular lists appears to be one of the ways the compilers of the *Samyutta-nikāya* use to communicate their understanding of the Buddha's teaching; in particular the close relationship between the developing of the sevens sets and the developing of *jhāna* is indicated by the application of the same repetition templates in each case. Turning to the *Abhidhamma*, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*'s account of the arising of episodes of consciousness uses repetition templates of up to six layers to suggest the richness of skilful consciousness by indicating over one hundred thousand varieties. In a manner that seems to build on the *Mahā-vagga*'s association of the seven sets with the *jhānas*, this account brings out how, through the development of sense-sphere, form-sphere, and formless-sphere consciousness, the development of the seven sets is brought to fulfilment in the thousands of varieties of transcendent *jhāna*.

Contents

- I. The Structure of the *Samyutta-nikāya*
- II. The structure of the *Mahā-vagga*
- III. Reading the Repetitions of the *Mahā-vagga*
- IV. The *Cittuppāda-kaṇḍa* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*
- V. Concluding Remarks
- Abbreviations
- References

I. The Structure of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*

The *Saṃyutta-nikāya* of the Theravāda or, perhaps more properly, Theriya school consists of five ‘books’ (*vagga*):

1. *Sagātha-vagga*: ‘The Book of [Discourses] with Verses’
2. *Nidāna-vagga*: ‘The Book of the Links [of Dependent Origination]’
3. *Khandha-vagga*: ‘The Book of the Bundles’
4. *Saḷāyatana-vagga*: ‘The Book of the Six Sense Organs’
5. *Mahā-vagga*: ‘The Great Book’

Each book consists of a number of *saṃyuttas*, that is, ‘groups’ of discourses (*suttas*) connected by their common subject matter:

1. *Sagātha-vagga*: 11 *saṃyuttas*
2. *Nidāna-vagga*: 13 *saṃyuttas*
3. *Khandha-vagga*: 10 *saṃyuttas*
4. *Saḷāyatana-vagga*: 10 *saṃyuttas*
5. *Mahā-vagga*: 12 *saṃyuttas*

This gives a total of fifty-six *saṃyuttas*. Each *saṃyutta* is divided into a number of ‘chapters’, also called *vagga*,¹ and each chapter consists of most commonly and, it seems, ideally ten *suttas*, but in practice sometimes more, sometimes fewer. The number of chapters in a *saṃyutta* varies considerably, from just one to as many as fifteen (in the case of the *Khandha-saṃyutta*). The structure of the first book, the *Sagātha-vagga*, is the most even and most straightforward.

¹ The same term, *vagga*, is used for the five major divisions of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and the smaller subdivisions of the *saṃyuttas*. In order to avoid confusion, I will use ‘book’ when talking of the former and ‘chapter’ when talking of the latter.

While its first *saṃyutta* (the *Devatā-saṃyutta*) is the largest (consisting of eight chapters and eighty-one *suttas*), it does not dominate the whole *sagāthā* book in the manner that the *Nidāna-saṃyutta*, *Khandha-saṃyutta* and *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* dominate their respective books: in each case these *saṃyuttas* comprise half of the whole book.² Turning to the *Mahā-vagga*, while a single *saṃyutta* does not dominate, it is immediately clear, and becomes even clearer the more we examine this final book, that it is dominated by a particular group of seven sets of items that are familiar from other *Nikāya* contexts:

1. four applications of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*)
2. four right endeavours (*sammappadhāna*)
3. four bases of success (*iddhipāda*)
4. five faculties (*indriya*)
5. five powers (*bala*)
6. seven constituents of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*)
7. eightfold path (*aṭṭhaṅgika-magga*)

What is clear is that the structure of the *Samyutta-nikāya* is thus informed by a particular group of lists or sets of items, as shown in Table 1 below.

Thus the second, third and fourth books of the Theravāda *Samyutta-nikāya* focus on lists or sets of items that, from the perspective of early Buddhism, in one way or another encompass the whole of the universe, the whole of the world as experienced: the links of dependent arising, the five ‘bundles’, the senses and their objective fields. The final book focuses on seven sets of items that are presented in a number of places in the early *Nikāya-Āgama* literature as encompassing the totality of the practices or qualities that need to be

² In the PTS edition the *Nidāna-saṃyutta* is 132 pages of 286, the *Khandha-saṃyutta* 188 of 279, and the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* 203 of 403.

developed in order to achieve awakening: they are the *dhamma* that the Buddha has taught, the path leading to awakening.³ In the post-canonical literature these seven sets thus come to be collectively referred to as ‘the thirty-seven qualities that contribute to awakening’. In the context of early *Abhidharma* literature Lance Cousins (2015a) has dubbed these two sets of lists the ‘world sets’ and ‘awakening sets’ respectively.

Table 1. Lists or Sets of Items and the Structure of the *Samyutta-nikāya*

| Book | Group of Lists or Set |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Book 2: <i>Nidāna-vagga</i> | <i>paṭiccasamuppāda</i> |
| Book 3: <i>Khandha-vagga</i> | five <i>khandhas</i> |
| Book 4: <i>Salāyatana-vagga</i> | six/twelve <i>āyatanas</i> |
| Book 5: <i>Mahā-vagga</i> | four <i>satipaṭṭhānas</i> |
| | four <i>sammappadhānas</i> |
| | four <i>iddhipādas</i> |
| | five <i>indriyas</i> |
| | five <i>balas</i> |
| | seven <i>bojjhaṅgas</i> |
| | <i>aṭṭhaṅgika-magga</i> |

As far as we can tell, the counterpart *Samyukta*-collections of *sūtras* of other Buddhist schools were built around the same set of lists (Anesaki 1908: 68–76). Thus the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Samyukta-āgama* (Chinese *Za ahan* 雜阿含, T 99) seems to have had a similar basic

³ The *locus classicus* is the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (DN 16 at DN II 120); for further references see Gethin 2001: 229–347 and 356, and Cousins: 2015a: 96–145.

structure to that of the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya*, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Basic Structure of
 the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the *Samyukta-āgama*

| Theravāda | Mūlasarvāstivāda ⁴ |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Sagātha-vagga</i> | 1. <i>Skandha-varga</i> |
| 2. <i>Nidāna-vagga</i> | 2. <i>Ṣaḍāyatana-varga</i> |
| 3. <i>Khandha-vagga</i> | 3. <i>Nidāna-varga</i> |
| 4. <i>Ṣaḍāyatana-vagga</i> | 4. <i>Śrāvaka-varga</i> |
| 5. <i>Mahā-vagga</i> | 5. <i>Mārga-varga</i> |
| | 6. <i>Tathāgatha-varga</i> |
| | 7. <i>Pudgala-varga</i> |
| | 8. <i>Sagātha-varga</i> |

The same set of ten lists seem to have been at the core of these collections, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Sets of Ten Lists in
 the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the *Samyukta-āgama*

| Theravāda | Mūlasarvāstivāda |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>paṭiccasamuppāda</i> | 1. <i>skandha</i> |
| 2. <i>khandha</i> | 2. <i>āyatana</i> |
| 3. <i>āyatana</i> | 3. <i>pratītyasamutpāda</i> |

⁴ This division of T 99 is tentative; it is based on combining information from Anesaki 1908: 68–76 and Roderick Bucknell’s paper presented at the *Samyukta-āgama* seminar (not included in the present volume).

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 4. <i>magga</i> | 4. <i>smṛtyupasthāna</i> |
| 5. <i>bojjhaṅga</i> | 5. [<i>samyakprahāṇa</i>] |
| 6. <i>satipaṭṭhāna</i> | 6. [<i>rddhipāda</i>] |
| 7. <i>indriya</i> | 7. <i>indriya</i> |
| 8. <i>sammappadhāna</i> | 8. <i>bala</i> |
| 9. <i>bala</i> | 9. <i>bodhyāṅga</i> |
| 10. <i>iddhipāda</i> | 10. <i>mārga</i> |

It also seems likely that the use of these sets of items as the framework for the *Samyutta-nikāya* and other *Samyukta-* collections is one of the reasons why the same sets of items become established at the core of the early *Abhidharma* literature. Essentially the same sets of lists, somewhat expanded, provide the framework for the Theravāda *Vibhaṅga*, the Sarvāstivāda *Dharmaskandha* and the Dharmaguptaka **Śāriputrābhidharma* (Frauwallner 1995: 15–21 and 97–99, Watanabe 1983: 53–87, Bronkhorst 1985: 305–20, Gethin 2001: 20–22, 281 and Cousins 2015a: 128–131), as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Sets of Lists as a Framework for the Theravāda *Vibhaṅga*, Sarvāstivāda *Dharmaskandha* and Dharmaguptaka **Śāriputrābhidharma*

| <i>Vibhaṅga</i> | <i>Dharmaskandha</i> | * <i>Śāriputrābhidharma</i> (<i>sapraśnaka-apraśnaka</i>) |
|------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>khandha</i> (5) | 1. <i>śikṣāpada</i> (5) | 1. <i>āyatana</i> (12) |
| 2. <i>āyatana</i> (12) | 2. <i>srotāpattyaṅga</i> (4) | 2. <i>dhātu</i> (18) |
| 3. <i>dhātu</i> (18) | 3. <i>avetyaprasāda</i> (4) | 3. <i>skandha</i> (5) |
| 4. <i>sacca</i> (4) | 4. <i>śramaṇyaphala</i> (4) | 4. <i>āryasatya</i> (4) |
| 5. <i>indriya</i> (22) | 5. <i>pratipad</i> (4) | 5. <i>indriya</i> (22) |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 6. <i>paṭiccasamuppāda</i> | 6. <i>āryavaṃśa</i> (4) | 6. <i>bodhyaṅga</i> (7) |
| 7. <i>satipaṭṭhāna</i> (4) | 7. <i>samyak-pradhāna</i> (4) | 7. <i>akuśala-mūla</i> (3) |
| 8. <i>sammappadhāna</i> (4) | 8. <i>ṛddhipāda</i> (4) | 8. <i>kūśala-mūla</i> (3) |
| 9. <i>iddhipāda</i> (4) | 9. <i>smṛtyupasthāna</i> (4) | 9. <i>mahābhūta</i> |
| 10. <i>bojjhaṅga</i> (7) | 10. <i>āryasatya</i> (4) | 10. <i>upāsaka</i> |
| 11. <i>magga</i> | 11. <i>dhyaṇa</i> (4) | 11. <i>dhātu</i> |
| 12. <i>jhāna</i> (4) | 12. <i>apramāṇa</i> (4) | 12. <i>karma</i> |
| 13. <i>appamaññā</i> (4) | 13. <i>ārūpya</i> (4) | 13. <i>pudgala</i> |
| 14. <i>sikkhāpada</i> (5) | 14. <i>samādhībhāvanā</i> (4) | 14. <i>jñāna</i> |
| 15. <i>paṭisambhidā</i> (4) | 15. <i>bodhyaṅga</i> (7) | 15. <i>pratītyasamutpāda</i> |
| 16. <i>ñāṇa</i> | 16. <i>kṣudrakavastuka</i> | 16. <i>smṛtyupasthāna</i> (4) |
| 17. <i>khuddakavātthu</i> | 17. <i>indriya</i> (22) | 17. <i>samyakprahāṇa</i> (4) |
| 18. <i>dhammahadaya</i> | 18. <i>āyatana</i> (12) | 18. <i>ṛddhipāda</i> (4) |
| | 19. <i>skandha</i> (5) | 19. <i>dhyaṇa</i> (4) |
| | 20. <i>dhātu</i> (18, etc.) | 20. <i>mārga</i> |
| | 21. <i>pratītyasamutpāda</i> | 21. <i>akuśala-dharma</i> |

Taking into consideration all four Theravāda *Nikāyas*, it would seem that the basic underlying structure of the four primary collections of the *Sutta-piṭaka* consists of divisions or chapters (*vagga*) consisting of groups of ten *suttas* (Bucknell 2014: 74–79). This perhaps survives most obviously in the case of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, which as it comes down to us consists of 152 *suttas* arranged in three sets of fifty (*pañṇāsa*). Each set of fifty consists of five chapters of ten *suttas* each, except the penultimate chapter of the third set of fifty, which has twelve *suttas*. Two additional *suttas* had to be fitted in somewhere, it seems.⁵ This suggests that the *Dīgha-nikāya* was ide-

⁵ Bucknell 2014: 79–82 suggests that ten *suttas* have been moved from an original *Saṃyutta-nikāya* context to the *Majjhima-nikāya*. He com-

ally envisaged as a collection of three sets of ten *suttas* (rather than the three books of respectively thirteen, ten and eleven *suttas* that have come down to us).⁶ Similarly, it seems likely that the *Samyutta-nikāya* was originally conceived as a collection of five sets of ten *saṃyuttas*. But it is apparent that as each of these collections developed this ideal structure has not held. In part, as already noted, this must be a consequence of further *suttas* being admitted as canonical which then needed to be placed somewhere. But in the context of especially the *Samyutta-nikāya* (and *Anguttara-nikāya*) it must also be a result, I think, of the development of the practice of generating *suttas* by the use of ‘repetition templates’ or *peyyāla*.⁷

The use of *peyyālas* in the *Samyutta-nikāya* takes on the character of a particular form or style that is largely alien to modern sensibilities. It would seem to be a development of the practice found especially in the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, where in a sequence of ten *suttas* essentially the same material is presented in ten different narrative frames. But as Oskar von Hinüber (1996: 36–37 [§ 71]) has pointed out, in the *Samyutta-nikāya* the narrative frame is often all but lost. In the context of the repetition series it is paired down to a minimum and standardised, most frequently in the form of the *sāvatthi-nidāna*;⁸ a particular point of teaching is stated,

ments that the reason for this is unclear, but possibly it reflects a desire to bring the third ‘set of fifty’ nearer to the actual number fifty.

⁶ Bucknell 2014 has plausibly argued that there is evidence of the moving of blocks of discourses from the Middle to the Long Collections in the case of both Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda canons; this means that there may have been earlier versions of the Long Collections with only ten or twenty discourses.

⁷ On the extensive repetitions of the *Anguttara-nikāya* see Bodhi 2012: 62–63 and 82–84; but the basic underlying structure of each of the eleven sections (*nipāta*) is chapters (*vagga*) of ten *suttas*.

⁸ But not exclusively; see the repetition of the *pāṭaliputta-nidāna* at SN V 16.

and then various terms, expressions or similes are substituted to produce a sequence of *suttas* in a much abbreviated form which all seem to say the same thing. What is the point? Clearly the substitution of terms in some cases is helpful in suggesting certain equivalences.⁹ This is certainly sometimes the case when the same literary form is employed in the canonical *Abhidhamma* literature,¹⁰ but in the *Samyutta-nikāya* often the specific substitutions themselves *prima facie* add very little.

The use of *peyyāla* repetition-templates needs to be acknowledged as a characteristic feature of the *Samyutta* and *Aṅguttara* literary method. It proliferates in a manner that is difficult to follow and difficult to make immediate sense of. Nonetheless, I want to argue in what follows that in the *Samyutta-nikāya* it is used as a means to communicate significant points about the topics that are presented in this way—points that would, in the literary forms that we are more used to, be presented discursively and descriptively. I also want to argue that it is a method that is taken up, developed and exploited in the early *Abhidhamma* literature. And in this context I would also like to explore not only how there is a close affinity between the method of the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the early *Abhidhamma* but also between their contents. Finally, as a literary form, the use of *peyyāla* templates seems intrinsically oral; it is difficult to imagine its development and exploitation outside the context of oral composition and transmission. To the extent that this is so, the texts that display this feature prominently must have been composed orally and transmit-

⁹ For example, the *asaṅkhata-samyutta* (SN 43 at SN IV 359–373) gives eleven explanations of ‘the path leading to the unconditioned’ (*asaṅkhata-gāmi-magga*), and thirty-one different equivalent terms for *asaṅkhata*.

¹⁰ In repeating the same definition for different terms, the *padabhājanīya* (Dhs 9–17 [§§ 2–57]) provides important information about which terms are to be regarded as indicated essentially the same *dhamma*.

ted orally. The material form in which these texts now appear, in written manuscripts and printed books, is thus essentially artificial and alien to their intrinsic nature. I will thus conclude with some speculations about the implications of this.

II. The structure of the *Mahā-vagga*

In order to understand what those who compiled the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* might be trying to tell us by the use of the *peyyāla* templates we need first to try and understand precisely how this literary form works and how it is employed in the texts. But this is not straightforward as the modern printed editions of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* present the text inconsistently and do not always seem to understand what is going on (von Hinüber 1996: 36 [§ 70]; Gethin 2007: 365–387). This probably reflects the situation in the manuscripts themselves. Given the intrinsically oral nature of the text just noted, this is perhaps to be expected. I will thus begin by trying to set out the structure of one book of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, the *Mahā-vagga* or ‘Great Book’. The *Mahā-vagga* perhaps exploits the use of *peyyāla* repetitions more completely than any other. (What follows is summarised in Table 7 appended at the end of this paper, ‘The Structure of the *Mahā-vagga*’.)

As already noted, the *Mahā-vagga* features one *saṃyutta* dedicated to each of the seven sets of items beginning with the four applications of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhānas*). It also contains five additional *saṃyuttas* making a total of twelve. The number of ‘chapters’ (*vagga*) in each *saṃyutta* varies from two to thirteen, and the principle that each chapter should contain ten *suttas* breaks down completely; by my calculations (explained below) some chapters contain as many as 180 *suttas*. The number of chapters and *suttas* in each *saṃyutta* is as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. The *Mahā-vagga* (SN V)

| <i>Samyutta</i> | <i>Vaggas</i> | <i>Suttas</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>Magga</i> | 13 | 546 |
| <i>Bojjhaṅga</i> | 13 | 632 |
| <i>Satipaṭṭhāna</i> | 10 | 164 |
| <i>Indriya</i> | 12 | 526 |
| <i>Sammappadhāna</i> | 5 | 114 |
| <i>Bala</i> | 5 | 456 |
| <i>Iddhipāda</i> | 8 | 488 |
| <i>Anuruddha</i> | 2 | 24 |
| <i>Jhāna</i> | 5 | 114 |
| <i>Ānāpāna</i> | 2 | 20 |
| <i>Sotāpatti</i> | 7 | 74 |
| <i>Sacca</i> | 11 | 131 |
| | 93 | 3,289 |

A feature of the structure that is immediately apparent in the *Mahā-vagga* is the order of the *saṃyuttas*. In the *Nikāya-Āgama* literature the seven sets are listed in a fixed order that makes sense numerically but is also capable of being interpreted as descriptive of the progressive development of the Buddhist path. Certainly in the post-canonical literature there is evidence of such an understanding (Gethin 2001: 240–247 and 338–340). Given the fixed order of the lists the fact that the *Mahā-vagga* presentation diverges from that order would seem to be deliberate, but what the compilers of the *Samyutta-nikāya* wanted to say by using a different order is not immediately obvious. Nonetheless I will speculate on the logic of the order presently.

Despite the changed order, the presentation of the seven sets in the *Samyutta-nikāya* preserves the integrity of this composite list in

a number of ways. The most obvious way in which this is achieved is by keeping the seven sets together and placing their respective *samyuttas* first in the sequence of twelve *samyuttas* that make up the *Mahā-vagga*. That the eightfold path comes first might simply suggest its primacy. In one the most succinct statements of the Buddha's teaching, namely the account of the four truths in the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta*, the truth or reality (*sacca*) of the path leading to the cessation of suffering is stated precisely as the eightfold path. Placing the eightfold path first in the *Mahā-vagga* signals precisely that this final book is concerned with that path. It also suggests that the other six sets should be understood with reference to the eightfold path; that is, as subordinate to or part of the eightfold path. (This is also clear, of course, from the way some of the eight constituents are sometimes defined, especially right endeavour and right mindfulness, which are defined in terms of the four right endeavours and the four applications of mindfulness (Gethin 1992: 151–154 and 2001: 191–192).) The *Magga-samyutta* is followed by the *Bojjhaṅga-samyutta*. This might mislead us into thinking we have a straightforward descending numerical sequence from eight to seven. But this does not work since we then have the four applications of mindfulness, the five 'spiritual' faculties, the four right endeavours and the five powers, and the four bases of success. Such a numerical sequence perhaps has a kind of mnemonic quality: 8, 7, 4, 5, 4, 5, 4. However, this mnemonic numerical sequence is not quite pure in the present context, as the *Indriya-samyutta*, while giving pride of place to the five spiritual faculties, in fact also takes into account the two sex faculties, the faculty of life, the three knowledge faculties, the six sense-faculties, the five feeling faculties, giving us all twenty-two of what becomes a standard *Abhidharma* list.¹¹ Yet placing the path, constit-

¹¹ SN V 203–207; see Gethin 2001: 105, note 3. The order of the presentation

uents of awakening and applications of mindfulness first and thereby giving them primacy resonates with other *Nikāya-Āgama* treatments and statements which suggest that in sum the *satipaṭṭhānas* are precisely conceived as the method of developing the constituents of awakening and actualising the eightfold path.¹² In which case the faculties, right endeavours, powers and bases of success are here subordinated to this basic process: they become aspects of the practice of the application of mindfulness. The five spiritual faculties are the basic resources; the right endeavours highlight the basic endeavour of abandoning what is unskilful and developing what is skilful; and the bases of success focus on four different ways to achieve the *samādhī* that forms the basis of the successful practice of the application of mindfulness.

The more interesting, if obscure or alien, way in which the compilers of the *Mahā-vagga* try to say something about the seven sets is by the use of ‘repetitions’ or *peyyālas*. In the *Mahā-vagga* manuscripts, the principal sequences of repetition are sometimes signalled in the names of the chapters, which are called *aññatthitiya-peyyāla*, etc.; but minor sequences of repetition are not necessarily marked in this way.¹³ In order to determine how these sequences of repetition work in the *Mahā-vagga* and what they tell us, we need to clarify the overall structure of the *Mahā-vagga*.

The precise structure of the *Mahā-vagga* is not easy to follow and is perhaps presented in the manuscripts inconsistently. As noted, the

of the twenty-two faculties in the *Mahā-vagga* seems somewhat random.

¹² DN II 83 = DN III 101 = SN V 160–161 = AN III 387 = AN V 195: *pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaraṇe catūsu satipaṭṭhānesu supatīṭṭhitacittā sattabojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā*. See Gethin 2001: 58–59, 169, 172 and 258. Cf. T 26 at T I 582b12–13: 悉斷五蓋心穢慧羸。立心正住於四念處。修七覺支。

¹³ Again cf. SN V 12–27.

Mahā-vagga consists of twelve *saṃyuttas*, and a *saṃyutta* is ideally divided into ‘chapters’ (*vaggas*) consisting of ten *suttas* each. However, the pattern of repetitions in the *Mahā-vagga* interferes with this scheme. To take the initial *magga-saṃyutta* as an example: as presented in Léon Feer’s PTS edition, this comprises eight chapters in all. The first three chapters do consist of ten *suttas* each. The fourth chapter has an initial ten *suttas*, but is then followed by ninety-eight *peyyāla suttas* in five sets: (8) + (7 + 7) + (7 + 7) + (7 + 7) + (12 + 12 + 12 + 12). Thus as presented by Feer the fourth chapter consists of a total of 108 *suttas* and includes the *aññatitthiya-peyyāla*, *suriya-peyyāla*, *ekadhamma-peyyāla* I, *ekadhamma-peyyāla* II and the *gaṅgā-peyyāla*. On the other hand, in other modern printed editions these five *peyyālas* are each treated as chapters (*vagga*) in their own right, or even as comprising several chapters.

The Burmese edition presents the whole *magga-saṃyutta* as consisting of two sequences of eight chapters, counting the *aññatitthiya-peyyāla*, *suriya-peyyāla*, *ekadhamma-peyyāla* I and *ekadhamma-peyyāla* II as separate chapters. The *gaṅgā-peyyāla* is then presented as made up of four distinct chapters of twelve *suttas* each by way of the four sub-series of repetitions based on *vivekanissita*, *rāgavinaya-pariyosāna*, *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna*. And yet where the full *gaṅgā-peyyāla* repetition series occurs in subsequent *saṃyuttas* it is treated as just one chapter.¹⁴

The Siamese edition also treats the *aññatitthiya-peyyāla*, *suriya-peyyāla*, *ekadhamma-peyyāla* I and *ekadhamma-peyyāla* II as separate chapters. Indeed, it talks of an *aññatitthiya-vagga* rather than an *aññatitthiya-peyyāla*.¹⁵ The Siamese edition then counts the *gaṅgā-*

¹⁴ The C^e Buddha Jayanti Tripiṭaka has sixteen *vaggas* (counting *gaṅgā-peyyāla* as four), presumably simply following B^e. Bodhi’s 2012 translation also follows B^e.

¹⁵ SN (S^e) 35.8.

peyyāla as just a single chapter, and so counts thirteen chapters (*vagga*) in all for the *magga-samyutta*.

Thus in the printed editions there is inconsistency in the counting of the chapters which is reflected in the terminology: *aññatitthiya-vagga*, *aññatitthiya-peyyāla*, *aññatitthiya-peyyālavagga*. The way of counting the chapters in the Siamese edition seems to me to be most consistent and intelligible, and forms the basis of my understanding of the numbers of chapters in each *samyutta* in Table 5 presented above. Table 6 below refines this presentation by distinguishing between chapters that are unique to a particular *samyutta* and those chapters that are based on a repetition template which is common to a number of *samyuttas*.

Thus the same set of five ‘repetition chapters’ (*peyyāla-vagga*) occurs in eight of the twelve *samyuttas*: those of the seven sets and four *jhānas*. Three of those eight *samyuttas* consist only of those five *peyyāla-vaggas*: the *Sammappadhāna*-, *Bala*-, and *Jhāna-samyuttas*.¹⁶ This means that forty chapters, nearly half of the total of ninety-three chapters that make up the *Mahā-vagga*, are constituted by these repeated repetition chapters. Moreover, three other *samyuttas* have additional unique repetition chapters: the *Magga-samyutta* has four, the *Bojjhaṅga-samyutta* two, and the *Sacca-samyutta* five. So this means then that fifty-one chapters, over half of the total number of ninety-three chapters, are repetition chapters.

¹⁶ There is also a *Jhāna-samyutta*, SN 34 at SN III 263–278, but this talks of skill in maintaining, etc., *jhāna*, which is not there defined with reference to sequence of first, second, third and fourth *jhāna*.

Table 6. Chapters Unique to a Particular *Saṃyutta* and Chapters Based on a Shared Repetition Template

| <i>Saṃyutta</i> | Unique Vaggas | <i>Gaṅgā-peyyāla-vagga</i> | <i>Appamāda-vagga</i> | <i>Balakaraṇīya-vagga</i> | <i>Esana-vagga</i> | <i>Ogha-vagga</i> | Total Vaggas |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>Magga</i> | 8 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| <i>Bojjhaṅga</i> | 8 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| <i>Satipaṭṭhāna</i> | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| <i>Indriya</i> | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 12 |
| <i>Sammappadhāna</i> | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| <i>Bala</i> | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| <i>Iddhipāda</i> | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| <i>Anuruddha</i> | 2 | | | | | | 2 |
| <i>Jhāna</i> | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| <i>Ānāpāna</i> | 2 | | | | | | 2 |
| <i>Sotāpatti</i> | 7 | | | | | | 7 |
| <i>Sacca</i> | 11 | | | | | | 11 |
| | 53 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 93 |

The application of the same set of five *peyyāla-vaggas* to all seven sets clearly again reinforces a sense of the integrity of the composite list as a whole, and that each set is somehow part of the whole that is the path to the cessation of suffering. The grouping of the four *jhānas* together with the seven sets by applying the five *peyyāla-vaggas* suggests in the first place that the *jhānas* too are straightforwardly part of the path; this, of course, follows from the definition of right concentration in terms of the four *jhānas* in the *Magga-samyutta* itself (SN 45 at SN V 10). More generally the point would seem to be that developing the *jhānas* is precisely the way or context in which the seven sets are developed; by developing the *jhānas* a monk or nun develops the qualities encompassed by the seven sets, by developing the qualities encompassed by the seven sets he or she develops the *jhānas*. In bringing the *jhānas* into close relationship with the seven sets in this way, the *Mahā-vagga* anticipates something of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*'s presentation of 'transcendent *jhāna*' (*lokuttarajjhāna*). That is, by applying exactly the same set of repetition templates to just the seven sets and the *jhānas*, the *Mahā-vāgga* integrates the development of the qualities set out in the seven sets with the practice of *jhāna*. As we shall see, in similar vein, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* presents awakening as a special type of *jhāna* characterized by the full development of the seven sets of qualities: while qualities relating to six of the seven sets are variously present in episodes of consciousness, it is only in the transcendent *jhānas* that the constituents of awakening and all eight constituents of the path arise together.

Interestingly the *jhānas* are not simply appended to the sequence of the seven sets; there is an intervening *samyutta*, the *Anuruddha-samyutta*. This *samyutta* stands out since it is the only *samyutta* in the *Mahā-vagga* named after a person. Why Anuruddha here? What is said of Anuruddha elsewhere in the canon fails to make this im-

mediately obvious. Each of the five major books of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* contains at least one *saṃyutta* named after a person:

- SN I: *Vaṅgīsa-saṃyutta* (12 *suttas*)
- SN II: *Kassapa-saṃyutta* (13 *suttas*); *Rāhula-saṃyutta* (22 *suttas*)
- SN III: *Rādha-saṃyutta* (46 repetitive *suttas* on the *khandhas* immediately following the *Khandha-saṃyutta*); *Sāriputta-saṃyutta* (10 *suttas*); *Vacchagotta-saṃyutta* (55 *suttas*)
- SN IV: *Jambhukhādaka-saṃyutta* (16 *suttas*), *Sāmaṇḍaka-saṃyutta* (16 *suttas*), *Moggallāna-saṃyutta* (129 *suttas*), *Citta-saṃyutta* (10 *suttas*)
- SN V: *Anuruddha-saṃyutta* (24 *suttas*)

There are thus eleven *saṃyuttas* named after persons in all. Seven of those are named after monks; the *Jambhukhādaka-* and *Sāmaṇḍaka-saṃyuttas* are named after wanderers (each comprises sixteen parallel *suttas*); Citta is a householder, and Vacchagotta a wanderer. There is thus one *saṃyutta* named after a monk in each of the first, fourth and fifth books of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, and two each in the second and third books. Given that the *Kassapa-saṃyutta*, *Sāriputta-saṃyutta* and *Moggallāna-saṃyutta* feature in the second, third and fourth books respectively, and that in the list of the Buddha's chief disciples Anuruddha is elsewhere mentioned after Sāriputta, Mahāmoggallāna, and Mahākassapa,¹⁷ it seems he is perhaps simply due a mention at this point.

All twenty-four of the somewhat repetitive *suttas* of the *Anuruddha-saṃyutta* turn out to be about Anuruddha's cultivation of the applications of mindfulness. So in terms of the structure of the *Mahā-vagga* we have immediately appended to the seven sets a series of *suttas* in

¹⁷ AN 1.14 at AN I 23,21 where Anuruddha is said to be chief among the Buddha's disciples possessing the divine eye (*dibbacakkhu*).

which an individual monk exemplifies the practice of what is by default the first of the seven sets. At this point a logic for the particular set of five *samyuttas* grouped with those of the seven sets is perhaps implied. Anuruddha exemplifies the development of the qualities encompassed by the seven sets through his practice of the application of mindfulness; further the applications of mindfulness—and all seven sets of qualities—can be understood as typically developed through the practice of *jhāna*. How are the *jhānas* developed? Immediately following the *Jhāna-samyutta* is the *Ānāpāna-samyutta*. Thus the answer appears to be by especially the practice of mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasati*).¹⁸ Indeed the standard exposition of

¹⁸ This is not explicit, although SN 54.8 at SN V 318–319 does state that a monk who wishes to attain the *jhānas*, the formless attainments and cessation of perception and feeling should attend to the concentration of mindfulness of breathing. My general point is that the basis for the attainment of *jhāna* is generally unstated in the Nikāyas, so the juxtaposition of *jhāna* and *ānāpānasati* seems deliberate, and that interpreting this as intended to indicate that *jhāna* is to be attained by the practice of mindfulness of breathing fits with the way *jhāna* and mindfulness of breathing are associated elsewhere in the *Nikāya-Āgama* literature. I have elsewhere (Gethin 2004: 203–209) argued that the meditation practices set out as contemplations of body (*kāyānupassanā*) in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* and *Kāyagatāsati-sutta* can be understood as giving the specific practices for the attainment of *jhāna* that are omitted from the accounts of the stages of the path found as found in the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta* (DN 2), etc. That the practice of *satipaṭṭhāna* leads to *jhāna* is explicit in the *Dantabhūmi-sutta* (MN 125 at MN III 136). I have outlined further evidence in an article on schemes of the path in the *Nikāyas* and *Āgamas* (Gethin 2020): in particular the association of *jhāna* and *satipaṭṭhāna* in the *Kāyagatāsati-sutta* (MN 119) and its *Āgama* parallel (MĀ 81), and the manner in which the language of the sixteen stages of mindfulness of breathing references language used in the account of *jhāna*, as noted by Kuan 2008 and Cousins 2015b. In short, I

mindfulness of breathing in sixteen stages that is repeatedly set out in the *suttas* of the *Ānāpāna-saṃyutta* is explicit about the manner in which it brings to development both the four applications of mindfulness and the seven constituents of awakening.¹⁹

The eleventh *saṃyutta* of the *Mahā-vagga* is the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta*. This seems to represent something of a break from the sequence of the previous ten *saṃyuttas*, which are all either concerned explicitly with the seven sets of qualities, or explicitly related to them: in the case of the *Anuruddha-saṃyutta*, by being entirely about the four applications of mindfulness; in the case of the four *jhānas*, by the application of the five common repetition chapters; in the case of the *Ānāpāna-saṃyutta*, by being about the complete development of the applications of mindfulness and the constituents of awakening through mindfulness of breathing. The *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta*, however, neither mentions the seven sets of qualities nor includes any of the *peyyāla-vaggas*. It is essentially a set of seventy-four *suttas* that all

wish to suggest that for the *Nikāya-Āgama* literature the practice of *satipaṭṭhāna* (namely, the application of mindfulness to different objects of meditation such as breathing in and out) and the practice of meditation aimed at attaining *jhāna* are essentially the same practice. Thus the purpose of the application of mindfulness is the stilling of the mind with a view to attaining *jhāna*, a heightened state of mindfulness and concentration; this forms the basis for the full development of the four applications of mindfulness by developing the seven constituents of awakening.

¹⁹ Four *suttas* (SN 54.13, 14, 15 and 16 at SN V 328–340) towards the end of the *Ānāpāna-saṃyutta* detail how the sixteen stages of mindfulness of breathing bring to fulfilment the four applications of mindfulness and the seven constituents of awakening. This agrees with the *Ānāpānasatisutta* (MN 118 at MN III 82–87). SN 54.10 at SN V 322–325 also maps the sixteen stages of mindfulness of breathing onto the four applications of mindfulness.

highlight the four qualities of one who has attained the stream. These are well considered (*avecca*) faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, and conduct that is dear to the noble ones and that conduces to *samādhī*. The placing of the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta* at this point in the *Mahā-vagga* appears to be related to the notion that the production, generation and establishing of the constituents of the eightfold path—and hence all the qualities of the other six sets—in the life of the monk or nun should be understood in terms of stream-entry. The *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta* thus encourages religious practice by giving reassurance that well established and well considered faith in the Buddha, his teaching and followers, combined with a commitment to virtuous conduct, are signs that the qualities encompassed by the seven sets are established and that, with development, they will lead to complete fruition.

The twelfth and final *saṃyutta* is the *Sacca-saṃyutta*. The first chapter of this consists of ten *suttas* emphasising that the Buddhist path is about understanding the four truths. The second chapter is the *Dhammacakkappavattana-vagga* and begins with the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*. The *Sacca-saṃyutta* proceeds with mostly short *suttas* simply emphasising the centrality of coming to understand the four truths. (The third *chapter* begins with the well-known *Simṣapā-sutta*.) Many of the *suttas* are repetitive, following templates that involve substitutions (such as changes in simile). In fact the final five of the eleven chapters of the *Sacca-saṃyutta* are explicitly repetition chapters; I will return to this presently.

The logic of concluding the *Mahā-vagga*, and indeed the whole *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, with the *Sacca-saṃyutta* seems relatively straightforward. The focus of the *Mahā-vagga* is the path, the way leading to the cessation of suffering, the fourth truth; the goal of the path is understanding the four truths. While emphasising that the Buddha's

teaching is about understanding the four truths, the *Sacca-saṃyutta* also at the end repeatedly makes the point that it is the stream enterer (*sotāpanna*) who has accomplished an initial understanding of the four truths, and in doing so it reprises the immediately preceding *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta*. In terms of the overall structure of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, two sequential *suttas* in the second chapter of the *Sacca-saṃyutta* also succinctly define the truth of suffering with reference to, first, the five bundles of grasping (*upādānakkhandha*) and then the six internal sense organs (*suttas* 13 and 14), while defining the truth of the path with reference to the noble eightfold path. In doing so they recall the underlying structure of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* as a whole and how we have moved from a focus on the first truth (in the third and fourth books, the *Khandha-vagga* and *Salāyatana-vagga*) to the fourth truth in the final book, the *Mahā-vagga*.

III. Reading the Repetitions of the *Mahā-vagga*

Having considered the logic of the overall structure of the *Mahā-vagga* I want now to look more closely at the way the repetition chapters function in the *Mahā-vagga* with particular reference to the seven sets of qualities and the *jhānas*.

In the first place, we should note that the constituents of the path and the constituents of awakening are treated uniquely in so far as their *saṃyuttas* begin with an initial sequence of independent non-*peyyāla* *suttas*, followed by (a) repetition chapters that are specific to each (three in the case of the *Magga-saṃyutta*, two in the case of the *Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta*), and (b) the five common repetition chapters. What do these distinctive *peyyāla* templates seem to want to tell us

about the constituents of the path and the constituents of awakening in particular?

In effect nine of the *Magga-samyutta*'s thirteen chapters are of the repetition type. In addition, many of the *suttas* of the first four chapters are simple and repetitive in style, but the first of the explicitly *peyyāla-vaggas* is the fifth, the *aññatitthiya-peyyāla*. This gives a series of eight items for the sake of which the religious life (*brahmacariya*) is lived. If wanderers of other schools ask the Buddha's monks, 'For what purpose is the religious life lived under the ascetic Gotama?',²⁰ they should be told the following:

1. for cleansing oneself of passion (*rāgavirāgaṭṭhaṃ*)
2. for the abandoning of fetters (*saṃyojanappahānatthaṃ*)
3. for the removal of the (latent?) tendencies (*anusayasamugghātanatthaṃ*)
4. for full knowledge of the ways (*addhānapariññatthaṃ*)
5. for the destruction of taints (*āsavānaṃ khayatthaṃ*)
6. for realizing the fruit of knowledge and freedom (*vijjāvimutti-phalasacchikiriyatthaṃ*)
7. for knowledge and vision (*ñāṇadassanatthaṃ*)
8. for *Nirvāṇa* through not grasping (*anupādāparinibbānatthaṃ*)

When asked further whether there is a way to achieve the stated goal, the answer in each case is yes, the eightfold path. This repetition chapter in fact recalls a *sutta* that occurs earlier in the *Magga-samyutta* in which wanderers of other schools who ask this question are to be told that it is for purpose of fully understanding *dukkha* that the religious life is lived.²¹ In the *aññatitthiya-peyyāla* chapter the repetitions perhaps

²⁰ SN 45.41–48 at SN V 27,15–17, 28,8–9 and 29,2–3: *kimatthiyaṃ āvuso sa-maṇe Gotame brahmacariyaṃ vussatī ti*.

²¹ SN V 6–7.

do serve an exegetical function in usefully pointing out equivalences: all these eight expressions are different ways of talking about the same thing. (This adumbrates the manner in which the *Dhamma-saṅgaṇi* provides identical definitions of terms in order to indicate that they are different terms for essentially the same *dhamma*.)²²

The *aññatitthiya-peyyāla* chapter is immediately followed by the *suriya-peyyāla* chapter. This gives a series of seven items which prelude the arising of the noble eightfold path, just as the dawn prelude the rising of the sun. The seven items are:

1. having good friends (*kalyāṇamittatā*)
2. accomplishment in virtue (*sīla-sampadā*)
3. accomplishment in the desire to act (*chanda-sampadā*)
4. accomplishment in self (*atta-sampadā*)
5. accomplishment in view (*diṭṭhi-sampadā*)
6. accomplishment in diligence (*appamāda-sampadā*)
7. accomplishment in proper attention (*yoniso-manasikāra-sampadā*)

The logic of the progression from the *aññatitthiya-peyyāla* to the *suriya-peyyāla* seems to be as follows. Having affirmed in a series of eight *suttas* that the goal of living the religious life under the Buddha is achieved by the eightfold path, the next sequence of *suttas* seems intended to give some reassurance that developing the eightfold path is something that can be achieved by attention to any one of a variety of simple and basic qualities: the good friendship of others (namely, monks and nuns); by sustaining virtuous conduct; by keeping at it; by accomplishment in self, insight, diligence and careful attention. The point here in part seems to be that any practitioner can feel he or she has a chance with one of these.

²² The *padabhājanīya*, Dhs 9–17 (§§ 2–57).

In each case it is further explained that it is to be expected of a *bhikkhu* who is accomplished in the particular item that he will develop the noble eightfold path. This is followed by a statement of how the *bhikkhu* develops the eightfold path: he develops each constituent of the path with reference to two different formulas: the ‘dependent on seclusion’ (*vivekanissita*) and ‘ending in the removal of desire’ (*rāgavinayapariyosāna*) formulas.

In the *suriya-peyyāla* we have two distinct layers of repetition: (1) the substitution of the seven qualities in turn followed by (2) the application in each case of two distinct formulas. This then gives us a total of fourteen (7×2) abbreviated *suttas*. Significantly these two formulas are reprised and used again in the *peyyālas* that occur later in the *Mahā-vagga*—the repetition chapters common to all seven sets and the *jhānas*—but here two further formulas are added: a monk develops each constituent of the path (1) ‘immersed in the deathless’ (*amatogadha*) and (2) ‘inclining to *Nirvāṇa*’ (*nibbānaninna*). The absence of these two additional formulas in the *suriya-peyyāla* suggests an open-endedness to the text: given the pattern of use of all four formulas later in the *Magga-samyutta*, there would seem to be no reason why we should not generate a further set of fourteen *suttas* in the *suriya-peyyāla* using the *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas. Or perhaps more strictly, we should conclude that the generation of *suttas* restricted to the *vivekanissita* and *rāgavinayapariyosāna* formulas offers us a glimpse of the development of the text: originally perhaps only these two formulas were used throughout, but subsequently, at least in some parts, two further formulas were added.

Two further repetition chapters distinctive to the *Magga-samyutta* follow: the first *ekadhamma-peyyāla* and the second *ekadhamma-peyyāla*. These are both based on the same seven items used in the *suriya-peyyāla* chapter. In the first *ekadhamma-peyyāla* each of these

seven items is stated by the Buddha to be ‘one quality that is very useful for producing the noble eightfold path’ (*ekadhammo bahūpa-kāro ariyassa aṭṭhaṅgikassa maggassa uppādāya*). In the second the Buddha says of each of the seven items, ‘I see no other single quality that produces the noble eightfold path when it has not been produced, or that brings the noble eightfold path when it has been produced to full development’ (*nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekadhammam pi samanupassāmi yena anuppanno vā ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo uppajjati uppanno vā ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo bhāvanāpāripūriṃ gacchati*). The two *ekadhamma-peyyālas* then follow the pattern of the *suriya-peyyāla*, generating in each case two sets of seven *suttas*, giving the constituents of the eightfold path as first developed ‘dependent on seclusion’ and then developed ‘ending in the removal of desire’.

Thus together the *suriya-peyyāla* and two *ekadhamma-peyyālas* give us six sets of seven *suttas* by in effect employing three distinct layers of repetition: across the three repetition chapters—the *suriya-peyyāla* and two *ekadhamma-peyyālas*—we have (1) the basic layer formed by substituting in turn seven qualities; we then have (2) the application of two formulas (*viveka-nissita*, *rāgavinaya-pariyosāna*); finally we have (3) the three statements peculiar to each *peyyāla* ($7 \times 2 \times 3 = 42$). This may be the first occurrence of three distinct layers of repetition in the whole of the *Samyutta-nikāya* (and the *Nikāyas*).

What is this trying to tell us? If we consider the progression of the *Magga-samyutta*, having been told in the *suriya-peyyāla* that any one of seven basic values of the religious life is capable of producing the eightfold path, we are then told that any one of these same seven qualities is not only capable of producing the eightfold path, it can also bring it to full development.

We now come to the five *peyyāla-vaggas* that are common to the *Magga*-, *Bojjhaṅga*-, *Satipatṭhāna*-, *Indriya*-, *Sammappadhāna*-, *Bala*-, *Iddhipāda*- and *Jhāna-samyuttas*:

1. Ganges (Gaṅgā)
2. diligence (*appamāda*)
3. to be done through strength (*balakaraṇīya*)
4. searches (*esana*)
5. floods (*ogha*)

The basic layer of repetition in the *gaṅgā-peyyāla* is based on the five great rivers—the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī. Just as each of these five rivers flows east and, sixthly, just as these rivers collectively flow east, so the monk who develops the eightfold path flows towards *Nirvāṇa*.²³ We thus have a basic layer of six repetitions. A second layer of repetitions is achieved by substituting ocean (*samudda*) for east. A third layer of repetitions is achieved by introducing the four formulas detailing how the monk develops each of the constituents of the path: (1) dependent on seclusion, (2) ending in the removing of desire, (3) ‘immersed in the deathless’ (*amato-gadha*), (4) ‘inclining to *Nirvāṇa*’ (*nibbānaninna*). The pattern of the *gaṅgā-peyyāla* is thus based once more on three layers of repetition: $6 \times 2 \times 4 = 48$.

In terms of the progression of the *Magga-samyutta*, the *gaṅgā-peyyāla* operates almost as an induction (*anumāna*): each individual river flows east; therefore all rivers flow east; this is the law of things. Similarly it is the law of things that a monk who has produced the eightfold path will reach *Nirvāṇa*. The simile resonates with a simile used later in the *Mahā-vagga* (in the *Sacca-samyutta*), and elsewhere in the *Nikāyas*, to describe the inevitable unfolding of the process of *dhamma*:

²³ SN 45.91 at SN V 38,14–20: *seyyathā pi bhikkhave gaṅgā nadī pācīnaninnā pācīnapoṇā pācīnapabbhārā, evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhu ariyaṃ aṭṭhaṅgikaṃ maggaṃ bhāvento ariyaṃ aṭṭhaṅgikaṃ maggaṃ bahulīkaronto nibbānaninno hoti nibbānapoṇo nibbānapabbhāro.*

Just as, *bhikkhus*, when the *deva* rains with huge raindrops upon a mountain top, the water running down with the slope fills up the mountain crevices, clefts and gullies; and when full, the mountain crevices, clefts and gullies fill up the pools; and when full, the pools fill up the lakes; and when full, the lakes fill up the streams; and when full, the streams fill up the rivers; and when full, the rivers fill up the great ocean, the sea.²⁴

The second common repetition chapter is the *Appamāda-vagga*. This is based on a series of ten different similes illustrating the manner in which skilful qualities are rooted in diligence, adding in each case that it can be expected that the monk who is diligent will develop the eightfold path.²⁵ A second layer of repetitions is once more achieved by using the template of (1) dependent on seclusion, (2) ending in the removing of desire, (3) ‘immersed in the deathless’ (*amatogadha*), (4) ‘inclining to *Nirvāṇa*’ (*nibbānaninna*). The pattern of the *appamāda-peyyāla* is thus $10 \times 4 = 40$. In terms of content, it references the sixth of the seven items highlighted in the *suriya-peyyāla* and two *ekadhamma-peyyālas*, namely *Appamāda-sampadā*;

²⁴ SN 55.38 at SN V 396,1–9: *seyyathā pi bhikkhave uparipabbate thullaphusitake deve vassante taṃ udakaṃ yathāninnaṃ pavattamānaṃ pabbata-kandarapadarasākhā paripūreti, pabbatakandarapadarasākhā paripūrā kusobbhe paripūrenti, kusobbhā paripūrā mahāsobbhe paripūrenti, mahāsobbhā paripūrā kunnadiyo paripūrenti, kunnadiyo paripūrā mahānadiyo paripūrenti, mahānadiyo paripūrā mahāsamuddasāgaram paripūrenti*. On the significance of this simile see Gethin 2001: 247–252.

²⁵ SN 45.139 at SN 42,2–8: *evam eva kho bhikkhave ye keci kusalā dhammā sabbe te appamādamūlakā appamādasamosaraṇā, appamādo tesam dhammānaṃ aggaṃ akkhāyati. appamattass’ etaṃ bhikkhave bhikkhuno pāṭi-kaṅkhaṃ: ariyaṃ aṭṭhaṅgikaṃ maggaṃ bhāvēssati ariyaṃ aṭṭhaṅgikaṃ maggaṃ bahulīkarissati*.

this raises the possibility of substituting those other items to generate further repetitions, although this would necessitate more than just mechanical substitution of terms and adaptation of the wording.²⁶

The *Balakaraṇīya-vagga* is less uniform than the previous repetition chapters. It is based on twelve similes, but these similes are not repeatedly applied to the same item or quality which is in turn related to the eightfold path, as in the *Appamāda-vagga*. The first two similes illustrate how *sīla* is the basis of the eightfold path, but the remaining ten similes illustrate distinctive effects of developing the eightfold path. A further layer of repetitions is once more achieved by using the template of (1) dependent on seclusion, (2) ending in the removing of desire, (3) ‘immersed in the deathless’ (*amatogadha*), (4) ‘inclining to *Nirvāṇa*’ (*nibbānaninna*). The pattern of the *Balakaraṇīya-vagga* is thus $12 \times 4 = 48$. In terms of content, a simile in one *sutta* is worth drawing attention to as it reinforces the integrity of all seven sets of qualities: just as various winds blow in the sky, so when a monk develops the eightfold path, he develops the four applications of mindfulness, four right endeavours, four bases of success, five faculties, five powers, seven constituents of awakening.²⁷

The *Esana-vagga* and *Ogha-vagga* are essentially continuous. They are both based on a series of lists of negative qualities; the eightfold path is to be developed for their higher understanding (*abhiññā*), for their full understanding (*pariññā*), for their destruction (*parikkhaya*), for their abandoning (*pahāna*). In each case once again a further layer of repetition is achieved by applying the *vivekanissita*, *rāgavinaya-pariyosāna*, *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas. The *Esana-*

²⁶ That is, if we declared *sabbe te sīlamūlakā*, it is not clear how we should parallel *appamattass’ etaṃ bhikkhuno pāṭikaṅkhaṃ; sīlavato etaṃ bhikkhuno pāṭikaṅkhaṃ?*

²⁷ SN 45.155 at SN V 49–50.

vagga is based on ten or eleven sets of three negative qualities,²⁸ and the *Ogha-vagga* on four sets of four, one set of seven, and five sets of five. The pattern of the *esana-peyyāla* is thus $10 \times 4 = 40$ (or $11 \times 4 = 44$), and the pattern of the *ogha-peyyāla* $10 \times 4 = 40$. In the case of the *esana-vagga* some of the sets of three seem artificial in so far as they are rare elsewhere in the *Nikāyas*. Part of the motivation for including these is perhaps a wish to arrive at ten sets of three items.

Esana-vagga

1. three searches (*esanā*)
2. three discriminations (*vidhā*)
3. three taints (*āsava*)
4. three kinds of existence (*bhava*)
5. three kinds of suffering (*dukkhatā*)
6. three kinds of barrenness (*khila*)
7. three stains (*mala*)
8. three troubles (*nigha*)
9. three feelings (*vedanā*)
10. three cravings (*taṇhā*)
11. [three cravings (*taṣiṇā*)]

Ogha-vagga

1. four floods (*ogha*)
2. four yokes (*yoga*)
3. four grasping (*upādāna*)
4. four knots (*gantha*)
5. seven underlying defilements (*anusaya*)

²⁸ The uncertainty as to whether to count ten or eleven qualities arise from the occurrence of, first, three kinds of *taṇhā* and then three kinds of *taṣiṇā*. See Gethin 2007: 376, note 18.

6. five kinds of sense desire (*kāmaguṇa*)
7. five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*)
8. five bundles of grasping (*upādānakkhandha*)
9. five lower fetters (*orambhāgiya-saṃyojana*)
10. five higher fetters (*uddhambhāgiya-saṃyojana*)

Turning now to the *Bojjihaṅga-samyutta*, seven of its thirteen chapters are of the repetition type. The two repetition chapters that are distinct to the *Bojjihaṅga-samyutta* are the seventh and eighth, the *Ānāpāna-vagga* and the *Nirodha-vagga*. These two chapters form a unity in that in effect each gives a specific set of ten ‘perceptions’ (*saññā*) or topics for meditation that when developed are said in turn (1) to be of great fruit and benefit (*mahāphala-mahānisamsā*), (2) to lead to either knowledge (*aññā*) or once-return (*anāgāmitā*), (3) to be of great good (*mahā-attha*), (4) to lead to final security from the yokes (*mahā-yogakkhema*), (5) to lead to great urgency (*mahā-saṃvega*), (6) to lead to living in great comfort (*mahā-phāsuvihāra*). In each case the manner in which the meditation topic should be developed so as to be of great fruit, etc., is by developing each of the seven constituents of awakening accompanied by the perception of the skeleton and dependent on seclusion (*vivekanissita*).²⁹ The pattern of both the *Ānāpāna-vagga* and *Nirodha-vagga* is thus $10 \times 6 \times 1 = 60$. The ten basic items of the *Ānāpāna-vagga* are:

1. the perception of a skeleton (*aṭṭhika-saññā*)

²⁹ E.g., SN 46.57 at SN V 129,5–13: *aṭṭhikasaññā bhikkhave bhāvitā bahulikatā mahapphalā hoti mahānisamsā. kathaṃ bhāvitā ca bhikkhave aṭṭhikasaññā kathaṃ bahulikatā mahapphalā hoti mahānisamsā? idha, bhikkhave, bhikkhu aṭṭhikasaññāsaṃbhūtaṃ satisambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti vivekanissitaṃ virāganissitaṃ nirodhanissitaṃ vossaggapariṇāmiṃ ... pe ... aṭṭhikasaññāsaṃbhūtaṃ upekkhāsaṃbojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti vivekanissitaṃ virāganissitaṃ nirodhanissitaṃ vossaggapariṇāmiṃ.*

2. the perception of a wormy corpse (*puḷavaka-saññā*)
3. the perception of a livid corpse (*vinīḷaka-saññā*)
4. the perception of a corpse that is falling apart (*vicchiddaka-saññā*)
5. the perception of a bloated corpse (*uddhumātaka-saññā*)
6. kindness (*mettā*)
7. compassion (*karuṇā*)
8. sympathetic joy (*muditā*)
9. equanimity (*upekkhā*)
10. breathing in and out (*ānāpāna*)

Significantly the chapter is named after the last of these, breathing in and out, the subject of its own *saṃyutta* later in the *Mahā-vagga*. The ten basic items of the *Nirodha-vagga* are:

1. the perception of ugliness (*asubha-saññā*)
2. the perception of death (*maraṇa-saññā*)
3. the perception of the repulsiveness of food (*āhāra-paṭikkūla-saññā*)
4. the perception of the unattractiveness of the entire world (*sabba-loka-anabhirati-saññā*)
5. the perception of impermanent (*anicca-saññā*)
6. the perception of unease in the impermanent (*anicca-dukkha-saññā*)
7. the perception of not-self in suffering (*dukkha-anatta-saññā*)
8. the perception of abandoning (*pahāna-saññā*)
9. the perception of dispassion (*virāga-saññā*)
10. the perception of cessation (*nirodha-saññā*)

In these two chapters only the *vivekanissita* formula is applied, leaving it open as to whether the *rāgavinayapariyosāna*, *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas might also be applied. However, we

should note here that the original context for the *vivekanissita* formula in the *Nikāyas* seems to be precisely the explanation of the seven constituents of awakening (Gethin 2001: 162–168). Thus the limiting of the repetition to just the *vivekanissita* formula in this part of the *Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta* may reflect this. On the other hand, later in the *Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta* in the context of the five common repetition chapters it is certain that at least the *rāgavinayapariyosāna* formula is applied and likely, on my reading, that the *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas are also applied (see below). Once again we have a sense of the development of the method of repetition in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, with the gradual addition of formulas.

In terms of basic content, the focus here in the *Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta* is clearly meditation: the nature of the constituents of awakening is that they are developed directly in the context of meditation.³⁰ The reference here is clearly to various of the standard meditation topics found elsewhere in the *Nikāyas*. Conspicuous by their absence, perhaps, are the various ‘spheres of totality’ (*kasīṇāyatana*).

With the ninth chapter of the *Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta*, we are faced with the problem of how the templates of the five common repetition chapters are applied beyond their first application in the *magga-saṃyutta*. I have discussed this in an earlier article (Gethin 2007: 377–381). The issue at stake is whether to apply in every case the full additional layer of repetition by way of the *vivekanissita*, *rāgavinayapariyosāna*, *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas. In my earlier article I argued that the full additional layer of four repetitions should apply in the *Bojjhaṅga*-, *Indriya*- and *Bala-saṃyuttas*, but not the in the *Satipaṭṭhāna*-, *Sammappadhāna*-, *Iddhipāda*- and *Jhāna-saṃyuttas*. The omission from the *Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta* seems certain

³⁰ On the close association of the *bojjhaṅgas* to *jhāna*, see Gethin 2001: 167–172, 178, 180–182 and 186–189.

in so far as it is simply not clear how the formulas could be inserted into the *satipaṭṭhāna* formula.³¹ The omission from the *Iddhipāda-saṃyutta* is uncertain in so far as the formula might be inserted. As I have noted, in the *Nikāyas* outside the *Mahā-vagga*, the *vivekanissita* formula seems primarily associated with the seven constituents of awakening. Yet in Buddhist Sanskrit sources and the *Nettipakaraṇa* it is, at least in some contexts, applied to the four *iddhipādas*/*rddhipādas*.³² So its application in the context of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*'s *Mahā-vagga* is not impossible.

Having considered the distinctive and common repetition chapters in the *saṃyuttas* of the seven sets and *jhānas*, it is worth returning to the final *saṃyutta* of the *Mahā-vagga*, the *Sacca-saṃyutta*, as this also contains several repetition chapters. In fact it concludes with six chapters that are in various ways repetitive. The first of these (the sixth chapter) is the *Abhisamaya-vagga* (*suttas* 51–60) and consists of ten *suttas* based on a series of ten similes each ending with the question, “Which is more, *a* or *b*?” The first is, “Which is more, the

³¹ In the case of the *satipaṭṭhāna* formula it is not clear how syntactically *vivekanissitaṃ virāganissitaṃ nirodhanissitaṃ vossaggapariṇāmiṃ* would be inserted into the formula *bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ*. In the case of both the *sammappadhānas* and *jhānas* it would seem syntactically possible to insert the formula: (1) *bhikkhu anuppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anuppādāya chandaṃ janeti vāyamati vīriyaṃ ārabhati cittaṃ paggaṇhāti padahati vivekanissitaṃ virāganissitaṃ nirodhanissitaṃ vossaggapariṇāmiṃ*; (2) *bhikkhu vivicc' eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ pītisukhaṃ paṭhamāṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati vivekanissitaṃ virāganissitaṃ nirodhanissitaṃ vossaggapariṇāmiṃ*. While C° seems to indicate the formula should be inserted in all cases, it fails to provide an explicit example of how to do this.

³² Gethin 2001: 92 and 162–168.

little bit of soil that I have picked up with my fingernail or the great earth?” The point then made is that the suffering remaining for a noble disciple who has perfected view (*diṭṭhisampanna*) and possesses understanding (*abhisametāvin*) to endure in at most seven lives is trifling in comparison to the suffering destroyed by accomplishing an understanding of the four truths; in fact this template is already used in the last two *suttas* of the previous chapter.³³ The next five chapters take this first simile from the previous chapter and apply it to seventy-one different situations, generating seventy-one *suttas* (nos. 61–131). This apparently again leaves the *samyutta* open-ended: why not take of each of the remaining nine similes from chapter six and generate a further nine series of seventy-one *suttas*?³⁴

To conclude this section, it seems to me that this examination of the methods and patterns of repetition in the *Mahā-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* indicates the following:

- The methods and patterns of repetition lie at the very core of the structure of the *Mahā-vagga*; the character, shape—and meaning—of ‘the Great Book’ would be radically altered if the repetition chapters were removed.
- The patterns of repetition are mostly based on two layers, but in some cases three.
- The method of repetition is used instead of discursive explanation to convey meaning in various ways. At the basic level, patterns of repetition demonstrate that certain elements of the teaching are inter-connected (the seven sets and *jhānas*), and also in what way they are inter-connected (they all contribute directly to awakening).

³³ SN 56.49 at SN V 458,1–9 and SN 56.50 at SN V 458,28–459,3.

³⁴ Note also that *sutta* 32 is classed as a single *sutta*; it repeats the same formula with two separate similes; why not two *suttas*? Presumably because the *uddāna* verse at the end of the *vagga* suggests only a single *sutta*.

- We can see something of the process of the development of patterns of repetition in the application of the *vivekanissita* formula by stages, first to the *bojjhaṅgas*, and then to the other sets (to make clear that they contribute to awakening).
- The patterns of repetition have a certain literary effect, acting as meditative refrains, illustrating the overwhelming inevitability and certainty of the processes of the cultivation and development of the Buddhist religious life.
- We cannot be sure that we know precisely which repetitions apply where; this is perhaps best understood as reflecting an intrinsic open-endedness to the method. (But there are also underlying principles: specific patterns of repetition are not to be applied randomly.)
- The open-endedness of the patterns of repetition itself is a way of conveying meaning, as if to say, ‘What is set out here does not exhaust all possibilities; the ways in which the qualities encompassed by the seven sets inform the unfolding of the Buddhist path might be elaborated further.’
- The patterns of repetition seem essentially oral in nature.
- It is quite possible that the form of the text as we have it now is artificially frozen at a particular phase in its development by the gradual dominance of written manuscripts.

IV. The *Cittuppāda-kaṇḍa* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*

I want to suggest that the initial *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* section on the production of episodes of consciousness (*Cittuppāda-kaṇḍa*) bears particular comparison with the *Mahā-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* in terms of both literary style and content such that we can see it as a continuation of and development of that literary style and content.

To begin with literary style, this is very obvious. As we have seen one of the features of the *Mahā-vagga* is the generation of *suttas* by using different levels or layers of repetition. In the *Samyutta-nikāya* the maximum number of layers of repetition is three; in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* the maximum number of layers is six. How does this work?

The *Cittuppāda-kaṇḍa* essentially indicates how, in answer to the repeated question, ‘What are skilful *dhammas*?’, the same basic account (eighteen pages in the PTS edition) is to be repeated many thousands of times,³⁵ incorporating a whole series of variations. That is, rather than adopting a discursive literary style that describes the possible varieties, it uses the strategy of providing a basic repetition template to which a number of additional variables are then added, giving rise to multiple layers of repetition.

Thus, on the one hand, each of the repetitive *suttas* of the *Mahā-vagga* recounts what the Buddha taught on one occasion: ‘This is what I have heard. At one time the Lord was staying at ...’ (*evam me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ ...*). On the other, each of the repetitive accounts of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*’s *Cittuppāda-kaṇḍa* recounts the skilful *dhammas* that arise on an occasion:

³⁵ The basic account to be repeated is Dhs 9–26 (§§ 1–145).

Which are the *dharmas* that are skilful? At a time when a sense-sphere consciousness has arisen, accompanied by happiness, associated with knowledge, taking some object, whether a visible form, a sound, a smell, a taste, a tangible sensation, or object of thought, then at that time there is contact ... These and also whatever other causally arisen immaterial *dharmas* there are at that time are skilful *dharmas*.³⁶

In the case of skilful *dharmas* the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* divides its repetitions into four basic blocks: sense-sphere consciousness (*kāma-vacara*), form-sphere (*rūpāvacara*), formless-sphere (*arūpāvacara*) and transcendent (*lokuttara*). Each block is essentially a set of repetitions determined by various layers.

The sense-sphere set initially has three levels of repetition, with each layer consisting of just two variations, so the total number of repetitions is only eight: $2 \times 2 \times 2 = 8$:

1. without/with prompting (*saṅkhāra*): Dhs 9–26 (§§ 1–145) / Dhs 26–27 (§ 146)
2. associated with / disassociated from knowledge: Dhs 27–28 (§§ 147–148)
3. accompanied by happiness/equanimity: Dhs 28–9 (§§ 150–155)
- summary: $2 \times 2 \times 2 = 8$ repetitions (Dhs 9–30 = §§ 1–159)

The form-sphere set of repetitions presents all the varieties of *jhāna*-

³⁶ Dhs 9 [§ 1]: *katame dhammā kusalā. yasmim samaye kāmāvacaraṃ kusalam cittam uppannam hoti somanassasahagatam ñāṇasampayuttam rūpārammaṇam vā saddārammaṇam vā gandhārammaṇam vā rasārammaṇam vā phoṭṭhabbārammaṇam vā dhammārammaṇam vā yaṃ yaṃ vā paṇārabbha, tasmim samaye phasso hoti ... ye vā pana tasmim samaye aññe pi atthi paṭiccasamuppannā arūpino dhamma, ime dhammā kusalā.*

citta. It is considerably more complicated than the sense-sphere set. It is subdivided into five sets of repetition:

1. eight totalities (*kaṣiṇa*)
2. eight spheres of mastery (*abhibhāyatana*)
3. three liberations (*vimokkha*)
4. four sublime ways of living (*brahmavihāra*)
5. ten kinds of ugliness (*asubha*)

The ‘totalities’ set of repetitions begins with the earth *kaṣiṇa* and sets out (1) an initial layer of nine repetitions by way of the four *jhānas* by the *Suttanta* count and the five *jhānas* by the *Abhidhamma* count; (2) a second layer is achieved by way of the four ways of progress (*paṭipadā*) and the four kinds of object (*ārammaṇa*);³⁷ (3) these are then combined in a third layer of repetition. This is then repeated for each of the remaining seven *kaṣiṇas* bringing the number of layers of repetition to four and the total number of repetitions for the *kaṣiṇa* section to 1,800:

1. $9 (4 + 5) \text{ } jhānas = 9$: Dhs 31–36 (§§ 160–175)
2. $9 \text{ } jhānas \times 4 \text{ ways} = 36$: Dhs 36–37 (§§ 176–180)
 $9 \text{ } jhānas \times 4 \text{ objects} = 36$: Dhs 37–38 (§§ 181–185)
3. $9 \text{ } jhānas \times (4 \text{ ways} \times 4 \text{ objects}) = 144$: Dhs 38–42 (§§ 186–202)
· total repetitions for the earth *kaṣiṇa*: $9 + 36 + 36 + 144 = 225$ ³⁸
4. $8 \text{ } kaṣiṇas \times 225 = 1,800$ repetitions: Dhs 42 (§ 203)

³⁷ The four modes of progress are (1) *dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiñṇaṃ*, (2) *dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiñṇaṃ*, (3) *sukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiñṇaṃ*, (4) *sukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiñṇaṃ*. The four classes of object are (1) *parittaṃ parittārammaṇaṃ*, (2) *parittaṃ appamāṇārammaṇaṃ*, (3) *appamāṇaṃ parittārammaṇaṃ*, (4) *appamāṇaṃ appamāṇārammaṇaṃ*.

³⁸ As 185–186 confirms this calculation.

Essentially the same pattern of repetition is then applied to the eight spheres of mastery, the three liberations, the four sublime ways of living and the ten uglinesses. However, not all variables apply in every case. For four of the eight spheres of mastery only two of the four types of object are considered relevant; this reduces the numbers as follows:

1. $9 (4+5) jhānas = 9$: Dhs 42–43 (§§ 204–205)
2. $9 jhānas \times 4 \text{ ways} = 36$: Dhs 43–44 (§§ 206–210)
 $9 jhānas \times 2 \text{ objects} = 18$: Dhs 44 (§§ 211–213)
3. $9 jhānas \times (4 \text{ ways} \times 2 \text{ objects}) = 72$: Dhs 44–46 (§§ 214–222)
 · total repetitions for the first sphere of mastery: $9 + 36 + 18 + 72 = 135$
4. $4 \text{ spheres of mastery} \times 135 = \mathbf{540}$ repetitions: Dhs 47–52 (§§ 223–245)

For the other four spheres of mastery all four types of object are relevant, so as with the *kaṣiṇa* section the initial three layers give 225 repetitions; adding the fourth layer we have:

- $4 \text{ spheres of mastery} \times 225 = \mathbf{900}$ repetitions: Dhs 52 (§§ 246–247)

The liberations section again follows the pattern of the *kaṣiṇa* section, giving in total:

- $3 \text{ liberations} \times 225 = \mathbf{675}$ repetitions: Dhs 52–53 (§§ 248–250)³⁹

The *brahmavihāra* section is more complicated since the first three sublime ways of living only produce the first three *jhānas* (of the fourfold system) or first four *jhānas* (of the fivefold system); and equanimity (*upekkhā*), the final *brahmavihāra*, is exclusively associated with the fourth/fifth *jhāna*. So in the case of the first three *brahmavihāras* the pattern appears to be:

³⁹ As 192 confirms this number.

1. $7 (3 + 4) jhānas = 7$
2. $7 jhānas \times 4 \text{ ways} = 28$
 $7 jhānas \times 4 \text{ objects} = 28$
3. $7 jhānas \times (4 \text{ ways} \times 4 \text{ objects}) = 112$
· total repetitions for *mettā*: $7 + 28 + 28 + 112 = 175$: Dhs 53–54 (§§ 251–257)
4. $3 \text{ brahmavihāras} \times 175 = \mathbf{525}$ repetitions: Dhs 54 (§§ 258–261)

In the case of the final *brahmavihāra*, if we take all the repetitions as applying to both the fourth and fifth *jhānas* we would get:

1. $2 jhānas = 2$
2. $2 jhānas \times 4 \text{ ways} = 8$
 $2 jhānas \times 4 \text{ objects} = 8$
3. $2 jhānas \times (4 \text{ ways} \times 4 \text{ objects}) = 32$
· total repetitions for *upekkhā*: $2 + 8 + 8 + 32 = \mathbf{50}$ repetitions:
Dhs 55 (§ 262)

Finally we come to the *asubha* section. Since the ten *asubha* meditations are understood only to support the first *jhāna* the number of repetitions is reduced:

1. $1 jhāna = 1$
2. $1 jhāna \times 4 \text{ ways} = 4$
 $1 jhāna \times 4 \text{ objects} = 4$
3. $1 jhāna \times (4 \text{ ways} \times 4 \text{ objects}) = 16$
· total repetitions for first ugliness: $1 + 4 + 4 + 16 = \mathbf{25}$ repetitions
4. $10 \text{ uglinesses} \times 25 = \mathbf{250}$ repetitions: Dhs 55 (§§ 263–264)

The total number of repetitions for the form-sphere section is thus:

- $1,800 + 540 + 900 + 675 + 525 + 50 + 250 = 4,740$

In the formless sphere section the statement that the formless *jhānas*

occur sixteen times,⁴⁰ indicates that each one should be repeated by way of the four ways of progress and four kinds of object, giving a total of sixty-four repetitions. Following this, instead of moving straight on to transcendent consciousness, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* introduces two additional layers of repetition and applies these in turn to sense, form, and formless sphere consciousness. An episode of consciousness may be:

- weak (*hīna*), (2) medium (*majjhima*), or (3) excellent (*paṇīta*);
- dominated by (1) the desire to act (*chandādhigateyya*), (2) vigour (*viriyādhigateyya*), (3) consciousness (*cittādhigateyya*), or (4) investigation (*vīmaṃsādhigateyya*).

The second layer here consists in the four ‘dominants’ (*adhipatī*), which become one of the twenty-four causal conditions (*paccaya*) of the *Paṭṭhāna* system of causal relations. Significantly in the present context, they correspond precisely to the distinctive parts in the formula of the four bases of success (Gethin 1992: 90–91). These two layers are first applied consecutively in their bare form and then combined. Adding these two layers of repetition to sense-sphere consciousness brings the total to five. Since investigation as a dominant is only relevant to four of the eight sense-sphere types of consciousness—the four associated with knowledge (*ñāṇasampayutta*)—this produces:

$$4. 8 \times 3 = 24$$

$$(4 \times 3 = 12) + (4 \times 4 = 16) = 38$$

$$5. (4 \times 3 \times 4 = 48) + (4 \times 3 \times 3 = 36) = 84$$

- **total:** 24 + 38 + 84 = **146** repetitions: Dhs 56–57 (§§ 269–270)

The same two additional layers of repetition are then applied to form-sphere consciousness taking the total number of layers of repetition

⁴⁰ Dhs 56 (§ 268): *cattāri arūpajjhānāni soḷasakkhattukāni*.

in this case to six. Since all possibilities apply to all varieties of form-sphere consciousness this produces:

5. $4,740 \times 3 = 14,220$

$4,740 \times 4 = 18,960$

6. $4,740 \times (3 \times 4) = 56,880$

· **total:** $14,220 + 18,960 + 56,880 = 90,060$ repetitions: Dhs 57–58 (§§ 271–272)

The effect of applying these two further layers of repetition to formless-sphere consciousness is more modest:

3. $16 \times 3 = 48$

$16 \times 4 = 64$

4. $16 \times (3 \times 4) = 192$

· **total:** $48 + 64 + 192 = 304$ repetitions: Dhs 58–60 (§§ 273–276)

The last section of the *Cittupāda-kaṇḍa* concerned with skilful consciousness answers the question, ‘Which are skilful dhammas?’ with reference to transcendent (*lokuttara*) consciousness. This manifests in the form of transcendent *jhāna*, and like form-sphere consciousness is detailed using both the fourfold and fivefold systems:

1. $9 (4 + 5) jhānas \times 4 \text{ ways} = 36$: Dhs 60–70 (§§ 277–343)

2. $9 (4 + 5) jhānas + \text{emptiness (suññatā)} = 9$: Dhs 70 (§§ 344–345)

3. $9 (4 + 5) jhānas + \text{emptiness} \times 4 \text{ ways} = 36$: Dhs 70–71 (§§ 346–350)

$9 (4 + 5) jhānas + \text{wishless (appaṇihita)} = 9$: Dhs 71–72 (§§ 351–352)

$9 (4 + 5) jhānas + \text{wishless} \times 4 \text{ ways} = 36$: Dhs 72–73 (§§ 353–357)

summary: $36 + 9 + 36 + 9 + 36 = 126$

This presentation involves three basics layers of repetition: (1) nine *jhānas*, (2) four ways of progress (*paṭipadā*) and (3) two ‘gates’ to

liberation.⁴¹ This gives a basic set of 126 repetitions for the path of stream entry. A fourth layer is then added in the form of the twenty ‘great methods’ (*mahānaya*).⁴² I bold those that reflect directly the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the *Mahā-vagga*:

1. **transcendent *jhāna*** (*lokuttaram jhānaṃ*)
2. **transcendent path** (*lokuttaram maggaṃ*)
3. **transcendent application of mindfulness** (*lokuttaram sati-paṭṭhānaṃ*)
4. **transcendent right endeavour** (*lokuttaram sammappadhānaṃ*)
5. **transcendent basis of success** (*lokuttaram iddhipādaṃ*)
6. **transcendent faculty** (*lokuttaram indriyaṃ*)
7. **transcendent power** (*lokuttaram balaṃ*)
8. **transcendent constituent of awakening** (*lokuttaram bojjhaṅgaṃ*)
9. **transcendent truth** (*lokuttaram saccaṃ*)
10. transcendent calm (*lokuttaram samathaṃ*)
11. transcendent dhamma (*lokuttaram dhammaṃ*)
12. **transcendent bundle** (*lokuttaram khandhaṃ*)
13. **transcendent sphere** (*lokuttaram āyatanam*)
14. transcendent element (*lokuttaram dhātuṃ*)
15. transcendent food (*lokuttaram āhāraṃ*)
16. transcendent contact (*lokuttaram phassaṃ*)
17. transcendent feeling (*lokuttaram vedanaṃ*)
18. transcendent recognition (*lokuttaram saññaṃ*)

⁴¹ There are normally said to be three gates to liberation (*vimokkhamukha*); there is no mention of the ‘signless’ (*animitta*) in Dhs. This apparent anomaly is discussed at As 223; see also Vism 657 (XXI.66) and 658 (XXI.72).

⁴² Dhs 73 = § 358.

19. transcendent volition (*lokuttaram cetanaṃ*)

20. transcendent consciousness (*lokuttaram cittaṃ*)

Applying this fourth layer of repetition gives a total of $126 \times 20 = 2,520$ repetitions. But we have not finished. A fifth layer is now added by way of the four dominants. At this point it is not clear whether we should now repeat all 2,520 repetitions adding in the dominants ($2,520 \times 4 = 10,080$), or just apply the dominants to the initial set of thirty-six ($36 \times 4 = 144$). The former gives a grand total for the first path consciousness of 12,600 repetitions, the latter a mere 2,664.

But to complete the set of repetitions for transcendent consciousness we need to add a sixth layer by way of the four paths of the stream-enterer, once-returner, non-returner and arahat.⁴³ Depending on how we decide to apply the dominants, this gives either a total of ($12,600 \times 4 =$) 50,400 or ($2,664 \times 4 =$) 10,656 repetitions for the types of skilful transcendent consciousness.

In sum the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*'s *Cittupāda-kaṇḍa* gives the following totals for skilful consciousness:

- sense-sphere: $8 + 146 = 154$ repetitions
- form sphere: $4,740 + 90,060 = 94,800$ repetitions
- formless: $16 + 304 = 320$ repetitions
- transcendent: 50,400 or 10,656 repetitions

That is a grand total for skilful consciousness of 145,674 or 105,930 repetitions. Here we need to remind ourselves that the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* has at this point only provided an answer to the question asking which *dhammas* belong to the first category of the first of twenty-two sets of three categories. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*'s approach here has not always been appreciated:⁴⁴

⁴³ Called in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* first, second, third, fourth *bhūmi*.

⁴⁴ Frauwallner 1995: 8; translated from the German of Frauwallner 1964: 65–66.

On examining these phenomena individually, the first impression gained is that of tedious prolixity [ermüdende Weitschweifigkeit]. At certain levels of Buddhist literature, such long-winded treatment has occasionally been explained by the fact that it was a matter of religious merit to produce as many of these texts as possible. Here in the early Abhidharma the impression of bombastic pomposity [breitspuriger Wichtigtuerei] preponderates. Typically, when a short, clear basic exposition would have sufficed, each individual case is treated in minute detail according to a stereotype, frequently with very little variation. A typical example of this is the first chapter of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, which treats the question of which mental elements are good, evil, or indeterminate. Here, by enumerating all the elements that could conceivably be considered in each possible case, one author has managed to spin out to 130 pages what Vasubandhu says in under two pages in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

Significantly the Theravāda *Abhidhamma* manuals appear to appreciate the open-endedness of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* method of repetition: they suggest additional layers of repetition arriving at a total of 15,120 variations for skilful sense-sphere consciousness, adding that in fact taking all variables into account the scheme could be expanded infinitely.⁴⁵ The authors of the later manuals in fact do precisely what Erich Frauwallner wishes for: they reduce pages of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* to a few lines giving a bare list of just twenty-one

⁴⁵ Abhidh-av 4 (v. 27) suggests that the basic eight consciousnesses should be multiplied by the ten bases of merit (*puñṇakiriyavatthu*), the six kinds of sense object, the four dominants (*adhipati*), the three types of *kamma* (body, speech and mind), as well as being considered weak, medium or excellent. Cf. Abhidh-av-ṇṭ (B^c) I 206; Abhidh-s-mhṭ 6.

types of skilful consciousness. But in doing so, unlike Frauwallner, they at least retain some appreciation of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*'s method. In his introduction, the author of the *Atthasālinī* explains that when expanded in full (*vitthāriyamāna*, *vitthārato*) the canonical Theravāda *Abhidhamma* works are infinite (*ananta*) and immeasurable (*aparimāṇa*); in fact this even applies to their various sections.⁴⁶

What is lost in reducing the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*'s repetitions to a few lines of discursive explanation? While the few lines clearly make the intellectual point, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*'s convoluted and intricate patterns of repetition confront the reciter, listener and even reader directly with the reality of the complexity and variety of categories of consciousness: while consciousness can be reduced to a simple scheme, such a scheme is always in some sense a matter of convenience; an infinite variety of other schemes are possible.

It seems to me that something of the same considerations already applies to the patterns of repetition in the *Mahā-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*. They are designed to reveal and illustrate the teaching of the Buddha as having a basic clarity and simplicity; but this same clarity and simplicity can be expressed in an infinite variety of ways, for it is based on the Teacher's understanding of the intricate patterns that connect the different elements of his teaching.

I suggested at the beginning of this section that the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* can be viewed as a continuation of the *Mahā-vagga*, not only in terms of literary method but also in terms of content. In what way? The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*'s basic template for the full account of an episode of consciousness concludes with two related sections that review the *dhammas* that constitute that consciousness: 'the section of sets' (*koṭṭhāsavāra*) and 'the section of emptiness' (*suññatavāra*).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Cf. As 6–9 and 15.

⁴⁷ Dhs 17–25 (§§ 58–120) constitutes the *koṭṭhāsavāra*, Dhs 25–26 (§§ 121–

In both these sections the *dhammas* that constitute that consciousness are analysed and grouped by way of sets that reflect those used as the frame of the *Samyutta-nikāya* generally, but also with a particular emphasis on the seven sets of qualities that underlie the *Mahā-vagga*. Again I bold the relevant sets:

At that time there are four **bundles**, two **spheres**, two elements, three foods, eight **faculties**, *jhāna* of five constituents, **path** of five constituents, seven **powers**, three roots, one contact, one feeling, one recognition, one volition, one consciousness, one **feeling bundle**, one **recognition bundle**, one **volition bundle**, one **consciousness bundle**, one **mind sphere**, one **mind faculty**, one *dharma sphere*, one *dharma* element. These and also whatever other **dependently arisen** immaterial *dhammas* that exist at that time are skilful qualities.⁴⁸

145) the *suññatavāra*. The commentary (As 54–55) refers to three ‘rehearsals’ (*vāra*) as making up the analysis of *dhammas* present in each type of arising of consciousness: (1) the ‘determining of qualities’ (*dhamma-vavatthāna*), comprising the bare listing (*uddesa*) and detailed definition (*niddesa*), (2) the rehearsal by sets (*saṅgaha-vāra*), (3) a final rehearsal by emptiness (*suññata-vāra*) where the names of the sets are given without specifying numbers.

⁴⁸ Dhs 17 (§ 58): *tasmim kho pana samaye cattāro khandhā honti dvāyatanāni honti dve dhātuyo honti tayo āhārā honti aṭṭhindriyāni honti pañcaṅgikaṃ jhānaṃ hoti pañcaṅgiko maggo hoti satta balāni honti tayo hetū honti eko phasso hoti ekā vedanā hoti ekā saññā hoti ekā cetanā hoti ekaṃ cittaṃ hoti eko vedanākkhandho hoti eko saññākkhandho hoti eko saṅkhārakkhandho hoti eko viññāṇakkhandho hoti ekaṃ manāyatanaṃ hoti ekaṃ manindriyaṃ hoti ekā manoviññāṇadhātu hoti ekaṃ dhammāyatanaṃ hoti ekā dhammadhātu hoti. ye vā pana tasmim samaye aññe pi*

We can add in this context that when the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* comes to the account of consciousness that constitutes what the later texts call ‘the path’ (the ‘transcendent’ *jhānas*), all eight of the constituents of the path are present together, and the constituents of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*) are also highlighted as being present.⁴⁹ And as already noted, the four ‘dominants’ (*adhipati*) that are used to create a layer of repetition for all skilful classes of consciousness correspond to the four ‘bases of success’ (*iddhipāda*). In this way all seven sets together with the *jhānas* provide the basic framework for the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*’s exposition, just as they do for the *Mahā-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*. Moreover, in the presentation of form-sphere consciousness we see the same concern as found in the *Bojjhaṅga-samyutta*: to relate the repetitions to meditation topics; yet, although there is some overlap, there is also some difference in the meditation topics highlighted.⁵⁰

In relating the ‘dependently arisen’ *dhammas* present in each type of consciousness to the bundles, the faculties, the powers, the constituents of *jhāna*, and the eightfold path, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* neatly provides a map of the mind that orientates each momentary arising of consciousness to the development of the Buddhist path. We are encouraged to see even a fleeting skilful state of mind as a mind where certain faculties, powers, constituents of *jhāna*, and the

atthi paṭiccasamuppannā arūpino dhammā ime dhammā kusalā.

⁴⁹ For the constituents of the path see Dhs 60 (§ 277) and 68 (§ 337). The constituents of awakening are highlighted not in the *koṭṭhāsavāra*, but in the *padabhājanīya*; see Dhs 61–68 (§§ 285, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 320). For further details see Gethin 2001: 157, note 69 and 318–320.

⁵⁰ The *Mahā-vagga* has the *asubhas*, *brahmavihāras* and *ānāpāna*, but no *kasiṇas*; the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* has the *kasiṇas*, *asubhas*, *brahmavihāras*, but no *ānāpāna*.

eightfold path are for a moment at least present. And these very *dhammas* are precisely the mental qualities and capacities that contribute to and constitute *jhāna* and awakening. What is more, it becomes apparent that certain of these qualities are even present in unskilful states of mind. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* thus presents the sphere of mental states as the sphere of the Buddhist path.

In sum, we might say that the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*'s *Mahā-vagga* gives all the varieties of things the Buddha said about the seven sets of qualities on all sorts of occasions, while the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*'s *Cittuppāda-kaṇḍa* gives all the varieties of ways in which the seven sets of qualities are produced on all sorts of occasions.

V. Concluding Remarks

In the foregoing I hope to have demonstrated the literary method of repetition found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*'s *Mahā-vagga* and the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is an intrinsic part of how both texts wish to communicate their messages. Given that the repetitions are central to these texts we need to learn how to read the repetitions if we wish to understand these texts. I thus have tried to offer some suggestions about what the compilers of these texts were trying to say by means of these repetitions. I have also tried to demonstrate how the *Cittuppāda-kaṇḍa* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* should be understood as developing both the method of using repetitions to communicate and the actual content of the *Mahā-vagga*.

In passing I have suggested that the methods of repetition employed by the *Mahā-vagga* and the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* are intrinsically oral in origin: they must have developed in the context of the oral composition and transmission of texts. My suggestion is that they

developed from the more straightforward practice of repetition found throughout the *Nikāyas* which seems clearly mnemonic in function. Yet even here the repetition of passages of particular significance serves more than a merely mnemonic function: it also serves a meditative function. The style of repetition found in both the *Mahā-vagga* and the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* cannot be adequately explained as purely mnemonic in function: it goes far beyond what is necessary to merely remember the text. In fact, it seems to make those texts harder, not easier, to remember: the patterns of repetition lead you into a maze where it is difficult to know precisely where you are.

I have suggested that one of the functions of the repetitions is to communicate a particular understanding of the material. But this seems inadequate as a complete explanation of what is going on.

Despite their intrinsically oral nature, I think it unlikely that either the *Mahā-vagga* or *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* were ever intended to be or could ever have been recited in full with all repetitions expanded in full. In the case of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* this is obvious in that I estimate that reciting an expanded *Cittuppāda-kaṇḍa* would take several years of continuous non-stop recitation. As complete texts the *Mahā-vagga* and *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* must always have been memorized and recited with their repetitions abbreviated. It is possible that this is how the *Mahā-vagga* was conceived and composed, as an abstract template of *suttas* that never actually existed and whose existence remains forever potential, a mere suggestion in the form of a single word buried in the layers of repetition. But it is also possible that such templates are reflections of recitation practice and that particular portions of the repetition series were at different times chanted in full. Indeed we have direct evidence for this kind of recitation practice of abbreviated texts in an aside in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*:

Suppose two *bhikkhus* are reciting a text with many elided repetitions, then the *bhikkhu* with the quicker understanding fills out the elided repetitions once or twice, after which he goes on doing the recital with only the two end parts of the elisions. Here the one of less quick understanding says, ‘What is he reciting? Why, he does not even give one time to move one’s lips! If the recitation is done like this, when shall we ever get familiar with the text?’ and so he does his recitation filling out each elision as it comes. Then the other says, ‘What is he reciting? Why, he never lets one get to the end of it! If the recitation is done like this, when shall we ever get to the end of it?’⁵¹

The repetition chapters of the *Mahā-vagga* as we have them thus might be seen as a kind of oral notation for recitation exercises, in which case the meditative aspect of the repetition once more comes to the fore.

In an article on the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* (Gethin 2006: 94–96) I drew on some observations made by Paul Harrison (2003). Let me refer to those again. Harrison’s observations concerned what to make of the apparently tedious and longwinded description of the trees of Sukhāvatī:

⁵¹ Vism 351 (XI.40): *yathā dvīsu bhikkhūsu bahu-peyyālaṃ tantim sajjhāyantesu, tikkhapañño bhikkhu sakiṃ vā dvakkhattuṃ vā peyyālamukhaṃ vitthāretvā, tato paraṃ ubhato koṭivasen’ eva sajjhāyaṃ karonto gacchati, tatra nātitikkhapañño evaṃ vattā hoti: kiṃ sajjhāyo nāma esa oṭṭha-pariyāhatamattaṃ kātuṃ na deti? evaṃ sajjhāye kariyamāne: kadā tanti paguṇā bhavissatī ti. so āgatāgataṃ peyyālamukhaṃ vitthāretvā va sajjhāyaṃ karoti. tam enaṃ itaro evaṃ āha: kiṃ sajjhāyo nāma’ esa pariyosānaṃ gantuṃ na deti? evaṃ sajjhāye kariyamāne: kadā tanti pariyosānaṃ gamissatī ti* (translation from Ñāṇamoli 1964: 384–385).

There, Ānanda, the trees made of gold have roots, trunks, shoots, branches, flowers, and leaves made of gold, but fruits made of silver. The trees made of silver have flowers, leaves, branches, limbs, trunks, and roots made only of silver, but fruits made of beryl.⁵²

The passage continues going through all the permutations. Harrison points out that in the early Chinese recensions of this text this section is even more long-winded than in the more familiar versions. It is thus potentially even more tedious. He then suggests, however, that its tedium disappears once we understand this is a text not to be read but performed: the listener is being provided with detailed and precise instructions for an elaborate visualization. To quote Harrison (2003: 122) directly:

This gives us a new way of reading the text, as a template for visualisation, the sheer detail of which now begins to make sense. What we are left with on the printed page resembles the wiring diagram for a television set, of interest only to electricians, baffling and tediously complex to anyone else. But when we “do” the text rather than read it, when we perform its operations ourselves, it suddenly becomes a little more interesting.

Clearly in the present context we are not concerned with visualization as a practice. Yet it still seems that in order to understand fully what the repetition chapters of the *Samyutta-nikāya* are about we would do well to think of them as indicative also of recitation exercises to be performed rather than merely read.

⁵² *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, ed. Müller and Nanjio 1883: 34: *tatrānanda sauvarṇanām vṛkṣāṇām suvarṇamayāni mūla-skandha-viṭapa-śākhā-pattra-puṣpāni phalāni raupyamayāni. raupyamayānām vṛkṣāṇām rūpyamayāny eva mūla-skandha-viṭapa-śākhā-pattra-puṣpāni phalāni vaiḷūryamayāni.*

Table 7. The Structure of the *Mahā-vagga*:
Numbers of *Suttas* in 'Repetition Chapters' (*Peyyāla-vaggas*)

| <i>Samyutta</i> | | non-peyyāla | | <i>Aññatitthiya-peyyāla</i> | | <i>Suriya-peyyāla</i> | | <i>Ekadhamma-peyyāla I</i> | | <i>Ekadhamma-peyyāla II</i> | | <i>Ānāpāna-vagga</i> | | <i>Nirodha-vagga</i> | | <i>Cakka-peyyāla</i> | | <i>Appakāvirataṃ</i> | | <i>Āmakadhañña-peyyāla</i> | | <i>Bahutarā sattā</i> | | <i>Gatiyo pañcaka</i> | |
|----------------------|----|-------------|---|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----|----------------------|----|----------------------|----|----------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|--|
| | | | | <i>vivekanissita</i> | <i>rāgavinaya</i> | <i>vivekanissita</i> | <i>rāgavinaya</i> | <i>vivekanissita</i> | <i>rāgavinaya</i> | <i>vivekanissita</i> | <i>rāgavinaya</i> | <i>vivekanissita</i> | <i>vivekanissita</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Magga</i> | 40 | 8 | 7 | 7 | | 7 | 7 | | | 7 | 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Bojjaṅga</i> | 56 | | | | | | | | | | | 60 | 60 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Satipaṭṭhāna</i> | 50 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Indriya</i> | 70 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Sammappadhāna</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Bala</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Iddhipāda</i> | 32 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Anuruddha</i> | 24 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Jhāna</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Ānāpāna</i> | 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Sotāpatti</i> | 74 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Sacca</i> | 60 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 30 | | | | | |

Table 7. (continued)

[illegible]

Table 7. (continued)

| <i>Samyutta</i> | <i>Esana-vagga</i> | | | | <i>Ogha-vagga</i> | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----|
| | <i>vivekanissita</i> | <i>rāgavinaya</i> | <i>amatogadha</i> | <i>nibbānaninna</i> | <i>vivekanissita</i> | <i>rāgavinaya</i> | <i>amatogadha</i> | <i>nibbānaninna</i> | |
| <i>Magga</i> | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 546 |
| <i>Bojjhaṅga</i> | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 632 |
| <i>Satipaṭṭhāna</i> | 4 0 | | | | 4 0 | | | | 164 |
| <i>Indriya</i> | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 526 |
| <i>Sammappadhāna</i> | 4 0 | | | | 4 0 | | | | 114 |
| <i>Bala</i> | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 456 |
| <i>Iddhipāda</i> | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 488 |
| <i>Anuruddha</i> | | | | | | | | | 24 |
| <i>Jhāna</i> | 4 0 | | | | 4 0 | | | | 114 |
| <i>Ānāpāna</i> | | | | | | | | | 20 |
| <i>Sotāpatti</i> | | | | | | | | | 74 |
| <i>Sacca</i> | | | | | | | | | 131 |

Total 3289

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------|---|
| Abhidh-av | <i>Abhidhammāvatāra</i> |
| Abhidh-av-nt | <i>Abhidhammāvatāra-abhinavaṭṭikā</i> (B ^e) |
| Abhidh-s-mhṭ | <i>Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭikā</i> |
| As | <i>Atthasālinī</i> |
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| B ^e | Burmese edition in Burmese script |
| C ^e | Ceylonese edition in Sinhala script |
| DN | <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> |
| Dhs | <i>Dhammasaṅgaṇi</i> |
| E ^e | European edition in Roman script (PTS) |
| MĀ | <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26) |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| PTS | Pali Text Society |
| SĀ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| S ^e | Siamese edition in Thai script |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition |
| Vibh | <i>Vibhaṅga</i> |
| Vism | <i>Visuddhimagga</i> |

Note

All Pali texts are based on Pali Text Society editions, also referred to as E^e, unless otherwise noted.

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II. THE EARLY DISCOURSES: GANDHARAN CIRCULATION

Where are the Gandharan *Sūtras*?
Some Reflections on the Contents of the
Gandhari Manuscript Collections

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Abstract

Early studies of the newly discovered Gandharan manuscripts, beginning in the late 1990's, gave the impression that *Sūtra* texts were prominent among them. However, further research showed this to be an illusion based on the sequence of the discoveries and the priorities of early researchers, and it has become clear that Buddhist discourses (*sūtras*) actually constitute a minority of the Gandharan texts as a whole, especially among the older stratum. Moreover, the discourses which are present tend to represent a limited set of particularly common or popular texts, particularly those belonging to the *Kṣudraka/Khuddaka* category. It is argued here that the prominence of this limited set of discourses reflects the educational curricula followed in Gandharan monasteries, representing something like what has been termed by Anne Blackburn 'practical canon'. This interpretation is supported by comparisons of the contents of the Gandharan manuscripts with the Sanskrit manuscripts discovered in Xinjiang and the curricular prescriptions of the Sri Lankan *katikāvatas*.

Contents

- I. *Āgama-sūtras* and Other *Sūtra* Texts in Gandhari: Something Old,
and a Little that is New
- II. What Else is There?
- III. A Closer Look at the Distribution of the *Sūtras*
- IV. The Logic of the Manuscripts: Canons and Curricula
- V. What about the *Vinaya*?
- VI. And What About the Rest? Some Concluding Thoughts
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I. *Āgama-sūtras* and Other *Sūtra* Texts in Gandhari: Something Old, and a Little that is New

When fragmentary Buddhist manuscripts in Gandhari began to come to light in the 1990's, most of the texts that were first identified were discourses from the five *Nikāyas/Āgamas* (using the structure of the Pali *Tipiṭaka* as a convenient point of reference) (Salomon 1997 and Salomon 1999). In the case of the British Library collection, the first group of Gandhari scrolls to come to scholarly attention, among the first texts to be positively identified was a scroll fragment containing three discourses, two of which corresponded closely to discourses in the *Catukka-nipāta* of the Pali *Anguttara-nikāya*. Several other texts which were identified early on corresponded to discourses of the Pali *Khuddaka-nikāya*, such as a small fragment of the *Dharmapada*¹ and the 'Rhinoceros *Sūtra*', corresponding to the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta*, which is incorporated into the *Uruga-vagga* of the *Sutta-nipāta*. Probably also belonging to this category is the *Anavatapta-gāthā*, which, although not included as such in the Pali canon, was probably part of a *Kṣudraka-āgama* of the Sarvāstivādin tradition (Salomon 2008: 15), and therefore may well have been so categorized by the Gandharan Dharmaguptaka school from which the British Library manuscripts evidently stem (Salomon 1999: 166–175). Finally, *Sūtra* literature was also indirectly represented among the

¹ Of course, even before the British Library collection opened the door to a flood of Gandharan literature, the so-called Khotan manuscript of the *Dharmapada* in Gandhari, corresponding to the Pali *Dhammapada* of the *Khuddaka-nikāya* as well as to the *Udānavarga* of the Sarvāstivādins/Mūlasarvāstivādins, etc., had been known for just over one hundred years (Salomon 1999: 58–59).

British Library scrolls in the form of a commentary on the *Sanḡīti-sūtra* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*/*Dīrgha-āgama*, and of citations of individual verses from several other *Khuddaka*/*Kṣudraka*-type texts such as the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*/*Arthapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, and *Pārāyana* which were quoted in compendia of commentaries on verses from various texts.

The subsequent discovery of the Senior collection² reinforced the impression – which, however, has subsequently turned out to be largely illusory, as will be shown below – that *Āgama-sūtras* were statistically prominent among the remnants of Gandharan Buddhist literature. For this collection of twenty-four scroll fragments proved to be composed almost entirely of discourses; at least thirty-four of the forty-one separate texts recorded in it were clearly discourses, twenty-nine of which corresponded to discourses of the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya*, four to the *Majjhima-nikāya*, and one to the *Dīgha-nikāya*.³ Moreover, two of the scrolls (no. 7 and 8, the so-called index scrolls) contained a list of fifty-five texts, as many as thirty-six of which do not correspond to the texts actually preserved on the accompanying scrolls (Allon 2007: 18–20; Allon 2014: 26–27). Thus these references could be counted as indirect attestation of an even larger group of Gandharan *Āgama-sūtras*.

But the pattern changed, and became more complicated, with the discovery of several other groups of manuscripts in Gandhari. A large collection of mostly small fragments – some 300 in all – of palm-leaf *poṭhīs* believed to have come from the area of Bamiyan has yielded some *Sūtra* texts, but the pattern of their contents is quite different from those of the two prior-mentioned collections. The first

² First introduced in Salomon 2003; described in detail in Allon 2007.

³ The figures are derived from the chart showing the genre-wise distributions of Gandhari manuscripts in Falk and Strauch 2004: 57, based on the information provided in Allon 2007.

text from this group to be identified was the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (Allon and Salomon 2000). Several years later, some twenty-five small fragments were identified as belonging to what was probably originally a complete text of an *Ekottarika-āgama* (Jantrasrisalai, Lenz, Lin and Salomon 2016; Salomon 2017), while several dozen others proved to belong to the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*, a non-*Āgama* Mahāyāna-affiliated discourse (Baums, Glass and Matsuda 2016). Single fragments of two other Mahāyāna discourses, the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* (Baums, Braarvig, Lenz, Liland, Matsuda and Salomon 2016) and the *Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhī-sūtra* (Harrison, Lenz, Lin and Salomon 2016), have also been found. However, analysis to date of the remaining unidentified ‘Bamiyan’ fragments suggests that there are few if any other *Sūtra* texts among them.⁴

The next major discovery of Gandhari manuscripts was the Bajaur collection (Strauch 2008). But this group, comparable in size to the British Library and Senior collections, contained only one *Āgama-sūtra*, namely a version of the *Dakkhīnāvibhaṅga-sutta* of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya*. However, the Bajaur collection also included a very long fragment of an otherwise unknown Mahāyāna discourse.

A few years later the miscellaneous group of manuscripts referred to as the ‘Split’ collection was brought to the attention of the scholarly world (Falk 2011). This included two texts of the *Khuddaka/ Kṣudraka*

⁴ In an as yet unpublished paper, Timothy Lenz has noted that one of the fragments (Schøyen fragment 2176/42) contains an apparent allusion to a passage in the *Bhūmija-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, but the text is clearly not a manuscript of that discourse as such nor, apparently, a direct commentary on it. Similarly, the unpublished University of Washington manuscript of an unidentified scholastic text cites *Sūtra* passages which have been identified by Collett Cox as corresponding to the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-* and *Dīghanakha-suttas* of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya*, but the text itself clearly does not constitute a manuscript of those texts.

class: a fragment of a text parallel to the Pali *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* (Sanskrit *Arthapada*) of the *Suttanipāta* and yet another *Dharmapada* manuscript, as well as a manuscript of a Mahāyāna *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.

The previous information is all well known from prior publications over the past two decades. The new information that I have to offer comes from a preliminary examination of a large and very miscellaneous group of Gandharan scrolls in a private collection, which has recently become partially available for study. This material, as enumerated in a preliminary report by Mark Allon, includes some two dozen birch-bark scrolls which have been unrolled plus thirty-eight scrolls which have not yet been opened. Given this situation, all data and conclusions are very tentative, but the results are nonetheless interesting. There are only three manuscripts which can so far be even tentatively identified as *Āgama*-type discourses. The first consists of two fragments (conserved in frames 10 and 21) of a relatively well preserved scroll containing part of a text corresponding to the Pali *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*. However, these are clearly part of the same scroll as the aforementioned fragment in the ‘Split’ collection,⁵ and this shows that the ‘Split’ and ‘new’ collections were both originally part of the same assemblage of material, to which the two scrolls now in the Library of Congress and the University of Washington apparently also originally belonged. This assemblage is allegedly an ‘old’ collection belonging to an unnamed party in Kabul, but nothing reliable is known about the original provenance of this material. The size and diversity of the group suggests that it is not an integral collection from a single source, but more likely a compilation of material from various sites. But alas, there is no chance of recovering reliable information about the original findspot(s) of these scrolls.

⁵ This two parts of this scroll contain all or portions of at least seven discourses from the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*/*Arthapada* compilation.

A second possible *Āgama-sūtra* in the ‘new’ collection (fragment A in frame 15) is described in Allon’s preliminary catalogue as an “unidentified text, but appears to be a sūtra based on diction, e.g., *yo ha vana* = P[ali] *yo kho pana; kaṣae sadhaṣe(*t)i* = P[ali] *kathāya sandasseti*; and repetition of set phrases [such as] the words *catvari & irdhapaḍihari* ? = P[ali] *cattāri + iddhipāṭihāriya-*.” A third fragment which could also be from an *Āgama-sūtra* (fragment B in frame 5) is an “unidentified text, but appears to be a sūtra as suggested by the words *bhate bhikhusagh-*.” This is unfortunately only a very small remnant with parts of two lines on the recto and one on the verso, with a total of only nineteen legible akṣaras.⁶ Neither of these fragments has yet been identified with a parallel text, and because of their very fragmentary condition it may not prove possible to do so, so that it is not certain whether either or both of them actually record *Āgama-sūtras*. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that some of the thirty-eight scrolls that have not yet been unrolled may contain discourses, but this remains to be seen pending further developments regarding the collection as a whole.

What is clear, however, is that the new collection contains at least four Mahāyāna discourses:

1. two fragments of a manuscript of the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhī-sūtra*;⁷
2. a partial text of the list of *samādhis* in the first *parivarta* of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*;
3. several small fragments of the **Sucintī-sūtra*, previously known only in Chinese translations (Taishō nos. 477–479);⁸

⁶ My provisional reading of the fragment is: r-1) /// ? *sa bhate bhikhusagho* /// r-2) /// ? *[śpa]taṇa kṣ[e]madi* ? /// v-1) /// *a[nu]thavia aṣ. ?* ///.

⁷ The first fragment has been published in Harrison, Lenz and Salomon 2018.

⁸ This manuscript was briefly described in Allon and Salomon 2010: 11;

4. another unidentified Mahāyāna discourse with partial parallels in the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*.

Finally, the Library of Congress scroll, which now also turns out to have been part of the ‘Split + new’ collection, contains the **Bahubuddha-sūtra*, which is not properly speaking an *Āgama-sūtra*, at least not if we use the Pali *Tipiṭaka* as the defining authority. But an approximate parallel to it is attested as an incorporation into the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, and we now have it in the form of an independent discourse, which might have been included in the (lost) *Āgama* collection of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins.

II. What Else is There?

To sum up: we now have direct attestation for at least about fifty *Āgama-sūtras* in Gandhari, out of some 200+ manuscripts and fragments. But the distribution of the discourses is quite uneven. More than half of them are from the anomalous Senior collection, which, unlike all the other groups and collections, consists almost entirely of discourses. The others are scattered across the other major groups – British Library, ‘Bamiyan’, Bajaur, and ‘Split + new’ – and in every one of these groups, the discourses constitute a minority, in some cases a very small minority, of the texts attested. So, what else is there?

A glance at the Harry Falk and Ingo Strauch’s (2014: 57) table summarizing the collection- and genre-wise distribution of Gandhari manuscripts, which is still more or less up to date except for the new materials discussed above, shows that the remainder of the materials,

it is being now prepared for publication by Paul Harrison, Timothy Lenz and myself.

and thus the bulk of the Gandhari manuscripts, are distributed among various genres such as scholastic texts/commentaries (21) and *avadāna/pūrvayoga* (collections) (12). Less well attested are *Vinaya* texts, with a total of 9 (to which may be added at least one more in the new collection), *stotras* (4), and *rakṣā-sūtras/dhāraṇī* (2). Many others, of course, are as yet unidentified or unclassified as to genre.

Thus it is clear that, contrary to what seemed to be the case when only the British Library and Senior collections were known, *Āgama-sūtras* are by no means the predominant genre in Gandhari manuscript collections as we now know them. The miscellaneous body of material which can be grouped together under headings such as ‘scholastic texts/commentaries’ or ‘*Abhidharma*’ are in fact overall more predominant in the collections as a whole, and all of these texts – only a few of which have been fully studied and published to date (Baums 2009; Cox forthcoming) – are without direct parallels, and in some cases even without corresponding genres, in other surviving Buddhist literatures.

III. A Closer Look at the Distribution of the *Sūtras*

The broader implications of these complex and somewhat surprising patterns of distribution of texts and genres will be discussed later in this paper. First, however, we must look a little closer at the distribution of *Sūtra* texts within the Gandhari corpus. What is immediately striking – though not so surprising – is the predominance of texts belonging to the *Khuddaka/Kṣudraka* class. The *Dharmapada*, for example, is the only text which is so far known to be preserved (in somewhat divergent forms) in three different Gandhari manu-

scripts, while the *Anavapta-gāthā*, which as noted above was probably part of the *Kṣudraka-āgama* of the Sarvāstivādins, is represented by two manuscripts.⁹ The ‘Rhinceros *Sūtra*’ and the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga/Arthapada* also belong to this class, as do the several texts from which individual verses are cited in the British Library verse commentary compilations.

I characterize this predominance of *Kṣudraka* texts as unsurprising because it follows a well-known pattern in other Buddhist literatures. Whether by studying the remains of ancient Buddhist manuscripts or by observing the texts that are popular in modern Buddhist communities, it is easy to come to the conclusion that the *Khuddakanikāya/Kṣudraka-āgama* contains many of the texts which were best known to the greatest numbers of Buddhists, both monastics and lay followers, and which constitute the foundation of their education in and understanding of Buddhist concepts and principles. The popularity of the *Dharmapada* and its congeners in antiquity as well as in modernity, for example, is confirmed by the extremely large numbers of manuscripts of the *Udānavarga* (the Sanskrit equivalent of the Pali *Dhammapada* and Gandhari *Dharmapada*) found among the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia, evidently because it was part of the basic monastic curriculum (Hartmann 1999: 115–117 and 121).

When we look at the discourses from the four other *Nikāyas/Āgamas*, we find different but interesting patterns. First, with regard to the *Dīgha/Dīrgha*, a clear pattern emerges. The only members represented in Gandhari to date are the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*- in the Bamiyan group, the *Śrāmaṇyaphala*- in the Senior anthology, and the *Saṅgīti*-, imbedded in a commentary, in the British Library collection. All three of these belong to what might be called the ‘foundational’ dis-

⁹ In the British Library and Senior collections; see Salomon 2008: 23–24.

courses, that is, those which are particularly widely and prominently attested in non-Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions in general. The *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-* and *Saṅgīti-*, for example, are among the six texts that constituted the special group known as *Śaṭsūtraka-nipāta*, the first six discourses of the *Dīrgha-āgama* of the Sarvāstivādins, which is extremely well-represented among Central Asian Buddhist manuscripts (Hartmann 1999: 116, 127–136; Salomon 2011: 184–185). Although not part of the *Śaṭsūtraka* group, the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-* is also widely attested in manuscripts and translations, and it occupies a marked position as the second discourse in the Pali *Dīrgha-nikāya*.

The only *Majjhima-nikāya*/*Madhyama-āgama* discourse which is represented outside of the *Sūtra*-anthology of the Senior collection, namely the *Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* in the Bajaur collection (the only *Sūtra* manuscript in that group; Strauch 2017), is similarly a text which holds a special position of authority and popularity. G.P. Malalasekere (1937: 1051 with note 3), for example, notes that the Pali *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* is “found word for word in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and is often quoted” as well as “included in anthologies”, while Ingo Strauch (2008: 118) notes numerous versions, including Sanskrit fragments from Turfan and Bamiyan. The importance of the Pali discourse is confirmed by its frequent representation among manuscript collections.¹⁰

Thus the data, though still skimpy, clearly indicates that the Gandhari manuscripts of individual discourses from the *Dīrgha* and *Madhyama* categories consistently involve particularly popular or important ones. This, like much of the other data discussed here, presumably reflects something about the monastic curricula of the institutions from which the manuscripts stem; this point will be elaborated on in the following section.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Somadasa 1987: 431.

But the picture becomes more complicated when we look at the other *Nikāyas/Āgamas* which consist of very large compilations of short discourses; that is, the *Āṅguttara-nikāya/Ekottarika-āgama* and *Samyutta-nikāya/Samyukta-āgama*. Here, not surprisingly, there seems to be a tendency, at least in the earlier phases of Gandharan Buddhist literature, to compile mini-anthologies of a few dozen chosen texts, presumably in order to acquaint the less-advanced students with the vast contents of the complete collections. This is a type of anthology which has also been observed among early Chinese Buddhist translations (Harrison 1997 and 2002; Salomon 2011: 185–188) as well as in later Buddhist literatures. For example, two early nineteenth-century Laotian manuscripts contain a Pali anthology entitled *Porāṇasutta-saṅgaha* or *Porāṇasaṅgaha*, comprising twenty-five short discourses, mostly from the *Samyutta-* and *Āṅguttara-nikāyas*, but also including two from the *Majjhima*.¹¹ But in such anthologies it is much harder to discern the logic of the selection of particular discourses from the complete *Āgamas*, first because of the huge numbers – several thousand – of discourses in each of them, and second because it is generally harder to specify which are the most popular or important discourses among them. It is, however, interesting that the equivalent of the Pali *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta*, which is surely one of the most oft-quoted and copied discourses of the *Samyutta-nikāya*,¹² is not included among the twenty-nine *Samyutta*-type discourses anthologized in the Senior collection, nor in An Shigao's 安世高 compilation of twenty-seven Chinese *Samyukta* discourses (Harrison 2002 and 2020).

The situation becomes even more opaque when we turn to the *Ekottarika-āgama*. On the one hand, we have a fragmentary British

¹¹ Described in Cœdès 1966: 23–25.

¹² See, for example, the many entries under this title in the index of Somadāsa 1987: 431.

Library scroll containing the remnants of three numerically-arranged discourses based on the number four, which could be part of a complete *Ekottarika-āgama* or, perhaps more likely, part of an *Ekottarika*-based anthology somewhat similar to An Shigao's text. If there is anything to this, we can further speculate that the British Library fragment may have belonged to a selective anthology of *Ekottarika*-discourses, comparable to the mostly-*Samyukta* anthology represented by the Senior collection.

IV. The Logic of the Manuscripts: Canons and Curricula

To sum up the picture that may be cobbled together from the (admittedly insufficient) data presented above, we get the impression that in the period represented by most Gandharan manuscripts – that is, in and around the first and second centuries AD – only certain types of discourses were being set down in written form, or at least were being written out frequently. The *Dīrgha*- and *Madhyama-āgamas* are represented by a limited set of particularly important discourses; the *Samyukta*- and *Ekottarika-āgamas* are apparently represented by small anthologies of a few dozen selected discourses;¹³ while the

¹³ The apparently originally complete manuscript of the *Ekottarika-āgama* which has been identified among the Bamiyan fragments (Jantrasrisalai, Lenz, Lin and Salomon 2016) belongs to a later historical period, around the third century, when complete *Āgamas* (and eventually complete *Tripiṭakas*) apparently began to be set down in writing. A hypothetical sketch of this developmental process was presented in Salomon 2017, where Gandharan *Āgama* texts were considered from a historical point of view; this in contrast to the current study, in which the same materials are being discussed from a functional, synchronic, and comparative standpoint.

Kṣudraka-āgama is particularly well-attested in the form of complete manuscripts of especially popular texts of that class such as the *Dharmapada*, *Arthapada*, *Khaḍgaviṣāṇa-sūtra* and *Anavatapta-gāthā*.

Our task is now to attempt to understand the motivations for and the function of this apparently selective approach to setting down the discourses in writing.

Here I wish to make it clear from the outset that here I am approaching the question from the opposite direction than that from which Ingo Strauch addressed it in his article published in the proceedings of the previous meeting of this group. There, he explained the rarity of discourses among the Gandhari manuscripts on the grounds that “There was no particular need to put them [the discourses] in writing”, since “[they] were known by heart by a selected number of specialist reciters” (Strauch 2017: 330). I do not disagree with this general statement, but am attempting to address the question from the other side: *if there was “no particular need” to write out the Āgama-sūtras, why were some – but apparently only a few – of them actually written down?* It seems to me reasonable to assume that there were functional or practical reasons and criteria for doing so, and this most likely has to do with the instructional curriculum in Gandharan monasteries. It was already noted in 1999 that the selection of *Kṣudraka* texts represented in the British Library collection corresponded quite closely to a list presented in the *Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya* of texts which were deemed to be particularly appropriate for the instruction of novices (Salomon 1999: 158). This list was shown there to refer to the *Khaḍgaviṣāṇa-sūtra*, the *Anavatapta-gāthā*, the *Aṣṭaka-varga/Arthapada*, and the *Pārāyana-vagga*. All four of these texts were represented among the British Library Gandhari scrolls, directly in the case of the first two and indirectly, in the form of *pratīka* citations in the verse-plus-commentary texts, for the latter two.

Moreover, the *Aṣṭakavarga/Arthapada* has subsequently been found in the form of a separate manuscript divided between the ‘Split + new’ collection, as we have seen above, and this strengthens the impression that the contents of the several groups of Gandhari manuscripts reflect, in part at least, a curriculum for study of the *Sūtra-piṭaka*. This seems to have begun with simple, easy-to-memorize and easy-to-understand metrical texts from the *Kṣudraka*. The *Dīrgha*- and *Madhyama-āgamas* were perhaps introduced at the next level in the form of certain texts that were considered particularly important or foundational, while the massive *Ekottarika*- and *Samyukta-āgamas* were learned in the form of representative anthologies of a few dozen discourses.

At this point we need to consider how canons¹⁴ functioned in pre-modern Buddhism, and how their functions determined their written form. We may begin by considering different types of Buddhist canons in terms of their *functional categories*. These have been described by, among others, Anne Blackburn (1999: 282), who notes that

we have only begun [in 1999] to notice that the assimilation and reflection on Buddhist ideas has in most times and places not occurred through exposure to the Pali *tipiṭaka* in its entirety. Rather, these processes have been characterized by an encounter with *parts of* [my emphasis] the *tipiṭaka*, selected commentarial texts ..., and a rich array of non-*tipiṭaka* texts.

In light of this she proposes “a new distinction between the ‘formal’ and the ‘practical’ canons” (Blackburn 1999: 281 and 283), in which

¹⁴ Here I use the term ‘canon’ in its broader sense, as referring to a recognized set of authoritative texts (‘open canon’), but not necessarily an authoritatively fixed and delimited corpus (‘closed’ canon).

the former represents the complete sanctioned canon, or what is sometimes referred to as a ‘notional’ or ‘ideal’ canon, while the latter

refers to the units of text actually employed in the processes of collecting manuscripts, copying them, reading them, commenting on them, listening to them, and preaching sermons based upon them [her emphasis] (Blackburn 1999: 284).

Steven Collins, as cited by Blackburn (1999: 284), thought in 1998 that

unfortunately, we will almost never have any real knowledge of what such a practical canon might have been in specific locales before modern times.

But this is no longer entirely true, insofar as some idea of the shape of regional practical canons can be deduced from several sources. Among these is the study of the contents of catalogues of Pali and other Buddhist manuscripts,¹⁵ especially those which represent the holdings of individual monasteries (as opposed to collections in modern public collections which typically involve compilations from various sources). Another useful source is the Sri Lankan *Katī-kāvatas*, which are described by Nandasena Ratnapala (1971: 6) as “codes of regulations agreed upon by the Saṃgha ... for the guidance of its members”, and by Anne Blackburn (1999: 286–287) as “agreements on rules of conduct for monks, set forth by the most powerful monastic leader of the time at a convocation of the saṃgha held for the reorganization or ‘cleansing’ ... of the monastic community.” For example, according to the thirteenth-century *Dam̐ba-*

¹⁵ See also the methodologically related comments in Mark Allon’s contribution to this volume (Allon 2020).

deṇi Katikāvata, as summarized by Blackburn (1999: 288), “new-comers to the saṃgha were expected to learn the Sinhala alphabet and to study a brief account of the Buddha’s life. They were also supposed to study the *paritta* corpus and the *Dhammapada*.”¹⁶

It is not likely to be a coincidence that all of these texts, or functionally equivalent ones, have been found among the Gandhari material, as follows:

- Alphabetic instruction: compare the Arapacana acrostic poem in the Bajaur hoard, which would have been used for teaching the Arapacana order of the Kharoṣṭhi script (Melzer 2017).
- Brief account of the Buddha’s life: an extensive fragment of an otherwise unknown biography of the Buddha in verse has been identified among the new group of manuscripts. The ‘Split’ collection also includes fragments of what seems to be another verse biography of the Buddha (Falk 2011: 15–16).
- *Paritta* texts: compare the **Manasvināgarāja-sūtra*, a protective text (*rakṣā*) from the Bajaur collection (Strauch 2014a).
- *Dhammapada*: as discussed above, three Gandhari manuscripts of the *Dharmapada* are now known from three different sources (‘Khotan’, British Library, and ‘Split’ collections).

So here we find an interesting parallel with the case, cited in the previous section of this paper, of the list of texts which were prescribed for the training of novices in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* and which corresponded closely with the contents of the British Library Kharoṣṭhī collection. The correspondence, at least with regard to genre and in some cases with regard to specific texts, between these two lists of texts for novices on the one hand and the contents of the Gandhari manuscript collections on the other can hardly be coinci-

¹⁶ Details in Ratnapala 1971: 48, 140 and 199; compare also Bechert 1963: 10.

dental. Rather, it indicates that – as is hardly surprising – the several groups and collections of Gandhari manuscripts, like the Pali manuscript catalogues and the *Katikāvatas*, give us a partial but revealing insight into the contents of pre-modern ‘practical canons.’

V. What about the *Vinaya*?

The *Katikāvatas* also sometimes recommend particular discourses for attention. For example, the *Mahāparākramabāhu Katikāvata*, dating from the twelfth century, prescribes committing to memory ‘at least’ the *Dasadhamma-sutta* and *Anumāna-sutta* of the *Aṅguttara*- and *Majjhima-nikāyas* respectively (Ratnapala 1971: 38 and 130), while the thirteenth-century *Daṃbadeṇi Katikāvata* requires that all *bhikkhus* contemplate the same two discourses “without distraction at least once a day” (Ratnapala 1971: 52 and 145). Although this *Sūtra* selection does not resemble anything found in the extant Gandhari corpus, it is of interest to the topic at hand on a different level. For, according to Blackburn’s (1999: 289–305) interpretation, these and similar texts actually provided a basis for the study of the *Vinaya* by teaching novices the basic principles of behavior and discipline proper for a monk, whereas direct study of the *Vinaya* texts – with the obvious exception of the *prātimokṣa* – was reserved for later stages of study, and thus they were not part of the ‘practical canon’. Thus, according to Blackburn (1999: 289 and 304), “partial, and often indirect, access to the *Vinaya* was the rule rather than the exception”, and “the *Vinaya* was far less important than we assumed in the Sri Lankan practical canons.”

In this regard, we find a similar situation in the Gandhari materials, among which *Vinaya* texts are still surprisingly rare. According to

Falk and Strauch's summary chart of the contents of the Gandhari collections, only nine *Vinaya* texts have been identified, and these only in the Senior and Bajaur collections. Moreover, the status of the five examples of *Vinaya*-related narrative prose in the Senior collection is questionable, and it is more likely that they were being conceived as *Sūtra* material in that context. That leaves the Bajaur material, plus one other *prātimokṣa* text, not yet published (and not tabulated in Falk and Strauch's chart), from the new collection. The Bajaur material consists of two *karmavācanā* fragments plus one scroll fragment containing a set of rules from the *naiḥsargika-pācittiya* section, which is recorded in two different versions on the two sides of the scroll (Strauch 2014b). The other, unpublished *Vinaya* manuscript from the new collection contains remnants of the thirteen *saṃghāvaśeṣa* rules. But even with the addition of this new material, *Vinaya* material as a whole is still poorly represented among the Gandhari material; and in view of the amount of material now known – several hundred fragments in all – this pattern can definitely be considered as statistically significant, rather than just 'the luck of the draw'.

In an old publication, I noted the complete absence among the British Library manuscripts – at the time the only Gandhari collection known – of *Vinaya* texts, and suggested that the *prātimokṣa* "would have been the least likely to be written down, since their frequent communal recitation would preclude any danger of their being forgotten or corrupted" (Salomon 1999: 163–164). This explanation now needs to be revised in light of subsequent discoveries, especially of two manuscripts containing *prātimokṣa* material. Viewing the matter now in terms of 'practical canons', it makes sense that we have two *prātimokṣa* manuscripts, this being the most basic of *Vinaya* texts and the one most important to the basic curriculum of a Bud-

dhist monastery at any period in history. The absence of other *Vinaya* texts, on the other hand, is consistent with the implications of Blackburn's conception of the 'practical canon'; they were apparently not part of the primary curriculum, but reserved for later levels of study, and hence tend to be less common among the random survivals of the libraries of ancient monasteries.

VI. And What About the Rest? Some Concluding Thoughts

Notwithstanding all that has been said above, a large proportion of the Gandhari manuscripts known to date are *not* of the type which would be expected to belong to a 'practical canon'. I refer to the many examples of texts, found in all of the groups except the anomalous Senior collection, of what may be lumped together under the heading of 'scholastic texts', including commentaries, Abhidharma polemics, and various other similar texts and genres that are not yet well understood. So, it must be conceded that the notion of a 'practical canon' does not by any means completely explain the distribution and frequency of texts in the various Gandhari collections, although it does provide at least a partial explanation of the selection of *Sūtra*, and perhaps of *Vinaya* texts. In this regard, the similarity of the contents of the Gandhari corpus is too consistent with that of other 'practical canons', as deduced from the contents of later manuscript collections and from lists of texts prescribed for basic instruction, to be merely coincidental.

Given that we now have enough Gandharan manuscripts to be at least somewhat statistically significant, we can conclude that non-canonical texts were particularly prominent among written materials.

This seems to stand to reason, since canonical texts of the *Sūtra* and *Vinaya* categories would have primarily transmitted been orally by *bhāṇakas* or equivalent specialist groups; here, the written recording of a limited body of *selected* texts¹⁷ seems to have been motivated primarily by their status as instructional materials, especially at the primary level. On the other hand, it seems only natural that the more technical literature, perhaps including contemporary compositions, would have been set down in writing, probably from the time of their first composition.¹⁸

Although the Gandhari corpus as a whole is at least beginning to take some sort of discernible form and to fall into meaningful patterns, all that has been said here is still based on a limited and more or less random body of material. Much will no doubt have to be adapted, revised, and probably even discarded as the study of the manuscripts goes on in years to come. In particular, the prospect of the detailed study of a large new collection, apparently including many local compositions without parallels in other Buddhist literatures, holds out the promise of further data and, we may hope, deeper insights. All in due course ...

¹⁷ Here again (compare note 13 above) I am referring to the earlier period of the Gandhari manuscript tradition, before entire *Āgama* collections began to be set down in writing, apparently around the late second or the third century AD.

¹⁸ Compare the comments in Strauch 2017: 330, regarding such “new genres that were mainly transmitted in the new mode of presentation” (i.e., in writing).

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A Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama*
Version of the ‘Discourse on Not-self’
(Pali *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*,
Sanskrit **Anātmalakṣaṇa-sūtra*)

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Abstract

The importance of the topic of *anātman* (Sanskrit, Pali *anātman*, Gandhari *aṇatva*), the ‘not-self’ nature of personal existence represented by the five aggregates in the teaching of the Buddha is witnessed by it being the topic of the second discourse that, according to tradition, he gave to the group of five monks in the Deer Park near Benares shortly after his awakening and setting in motion of the Wheel of the Dharma. This article presents a diplomatic edition, reconstruction and translation of the first Gandhari version of this important discourse to have surfaced, which is found in the Robert Senior collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. It also discusses the structure of the Gandhari version and its relationship to the parallels in other languages, the reasons for its popularity, and the likely reasons for its inclusion in the Senior collection.

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I. Introduction

Scroll 22 of the Robert Senior collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts (RS 22) preserves the remnants of six *sūtras* or discourses, the second of which is a Gandhari version of the Buddha's 'Discourse on Not-self' (Pali *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*, Sanskrit **Anātmalakṣaṇa-sūtra*), referred to here as RS 22 no. 2.¹ The importance of the topic of the 'not-self' or 'non-self' (Gandhari *aṇatva*, Pali *anatta*, Sanskrit *anātman*) nature of the five aggregates (Gandhari *kadha*, Pali *khandha*, Sanskrit *skandha*) in the teaching of the Buddha is witnessed by this discourse being the second he gave to the group of five monks in the Deer Park near Benares shortly after his awakening, the topic of the first being the four noble truths, referred to as the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* in Pali and *Dharmacakra-pravartana-sūtra/-dharmaparyāya* in Sanskrit, the 'Discourse on the Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Law'. The importance of the 'Discourse on Not-self' is illustrated by the numerous versions available to us in a variety of languages preserved in the *Sutta-/Sūtra-* and *Vinaya-piṭakas* as well as in other texts (Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and now Gandhari), that belong to a diversity of schools and originate from different times and places. The importance of the topic is further illustrated by components of this discourse being incorporated in many others.

As discussed elsewhere (Allon 2007b and 2014; Allon and Silverlock 2017), the texts of the Senior collection represent an anthology of canonical discourses and biographical accounts of the Buddha's life, with the majority of the discourses being most likely drawn from the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and *Madhyama-āgama* of the

¹ For an initial catalogue of the *sūtras* on this scroll, see Allon 2007b: 15–16.

community that produced this collection and the biographical texts most likely drawn from their *Vinaya*.² This anthology appears to have been produced as a commission in the second century AD for interment in a *stūpa* by members of a Gandharan Dharmaguptaka community.

As indicated by the initial phrase *eva me śūde eka s(*ama)e bhayava* (l. 8), “Thus I heard. At one time the Bhagavat ...”, the equivalent of Pali *evaṃ me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā*, Sanskrit *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān*, the Gandhari text under discussion represents a *sūtra* rather than *Vinaya* version of the discourse where the discourse is imbedded within the long narrative describing the post-awakening events.³ And given that the other *sūtras* on this scroll (RS 22) have their parallels in the *Samyutta-nikāya/Samyukta-āgamas*, as do the great majority of the *sūtras* in the Senior collection as a whole, it is highly likely that we are dealing with the *Samyukta-āgama* version of the text.

In this paper I will present for the first time a diplomatic edition, reconstruction and translation of this Gandhari *sūtra* version. I will also discuss the structure of the Gandhari version of the *sūtra* and its relationship to the parallels in other languages, the reasons for its popularity, and the likely reasons for its inclusion in the Senior

² For the study of the Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* discourses and the possible relationship between this Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* and the Pali and Chinese versions, see Glass 2007: 26–50; for the Gandhari *Madhyama-āgama* discourses, see Allon and Silverlock 2017.

³ For a discussion of Gandhari, Pali and Sanskrit versions of this opening phrase and the full *nidāna* that depicts the Buddha addressing the monks, see Allon 2001: 225–232. Here I intend to make a distinction between a discourse or sermon of the Buddha preserved as a *sūtra* and the same preserved as part of a larger narrative text, e.g. the *Vinaya* or larger *sutta/sūtra*, and so continue to use *sutta* or *sūtra* where appropriate.

collection. Since this is a short article, I will not present editions of the parallel versions (Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan) nor discuss the grammar or palaeography in any detail, as is the norm when publishing these manuscripts in monograph form. These will appear in the volume publishing the complete manuscript in the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series, University of Washington Press. A digital publication including edition, translation, Sanskrit *chāyā*, glossary, and palaeographic report and colour and infrared images of the Gandhāri text are available at <https://doi.org/10.30722/JGBT.2020.001>.

Scroll 22, which is in relatively good condition, is one of the longest in the Senior collection. It is distributed among four glass frames as conserved by the British Library, one of which contained small fragments left over from conserving the scroll. I number these Frames 22.1–4.⁴ The portion of the manuscript preserving the text presented here is found in Frame 22.1 (see Figure 1 below).

The right margin of this manuscript is intact for virtually its entire length, while the left margin is complete in the lower half of the manuscript only. The bottom margin of the manuscript is intact. The top of the manuscript and much of the upper left side when viewed from the recto are missing, while much of the surviving upper section that contains the *sūtra* under discussion has broken up into fragments. It is unclear how much of the top of the manuscript has been lost, but given that it is already an unusually long manuscript, it is unlikely to be much. Unfortunately, the original length of the scroll cannot be determined by the arrangement of the surviving texts. The length of the reconstructed manuscript is approximately 87 cm and the width where both margins are preserved

⁴ The original British Library numbering of frames in the Senior collection is inconsistent. For the numbering system adopted for the Senior frames, see Allon 2007b: 7–18.

is between 13.5 and 13.7 cm. There are 76 lines of writing on the recto and 43 on the verso, making a total of 119 lines. The *sūtra* under discussion occupies lines 8–30 on the recto. Due to loss of the left-hand portion of the manuscript in this section, most lines of text of this *sūtra* are incomplete. The loss is greatest in the first lines of the text and least towards the end, with the final five or possibly six lines of text complete. The number of *akṣaras* per line for this text ranges between 23 and 33, with the exception of lines 13 (10 *akṣaras*) and 30 (11 *akṣaras*) which stop partway across the manuscript. For the most part the missing text can be reconstructed with a high degree of certainty on the basis of internal repetitions, though inconsistent use of vocatives, particles and pronouns in these repetitive passages introduces some uncertainty.

The reconstructed manuscript is based on the infrared images rather than the colour photographs (both taken by the British Library) since the former reveals more details. However, as with Gandhari manuscripts generally, both colour and infrared are utilized for the reading of the text. Figure 1 below is the grey scale image of Frame 22.1 recto containing the unreconstructed upper section of manuscript RS 22 (original in colour). Figure 2 contains the key to the reconstructed manuscript fragments containing lines 8–30. Figure 3 contains lines 8–30 of the reconstructed manuscript based on the infrared image. Figures 4 and 5 contain images of the realignment of the left-hand portion of lines 19–20 and line 27, respectively, which are separated in the reconstructed manuscript (Figure 3) due to distortions in the manuscript.

II. Reference to the *Sūtra* in the List of Texts on Scrolls 7 and 8

As discussed elsewhere (Allon 2007b and 2014; Allon and Silverlock 2017), scrolls 7 and 8 (RS 7 + 8) of the Senior collection contain a list of 55 *sūtras*, referred to as such in the concluding statement to the list itself, a portion of which are found in the surviving manuscripts. Some entries in this list are *uddāna*-like in that they consist of one or two key words found in the *sūtra* being referenced, while other entries consist of longer passage from the *sūtra* being referenced.

Although all that survives of the *nidāna* of the *sūtra* under discussion is *eva [m]e śuḍe eka [s]. + e bhaya[va] ///* (l. 8), which can be reconstructed as *eva me śuḍe eka s(*ama)e bhayava*, convention demands that the location is the Deer Park in Bārāṇasī (Pali *migadāya*/Sanskrit *mṛgadāva*). It is therefore highly likely that it is this *sūtra* which is referenced on line 7 of the list of 55 *sūtras* (RS 7 + 8, entry no. 20) with *bhayava baraṇaṣia viharaḍi hiṣivaḍaṇa rmiadava tatra ho (*bhayava)*, “the Bhagavat dwelt in Baraṇaṣi in the Deer Park at Hiṣivaḍaṇa. There (*the Bhagavat) ...”.

This ascription is reinforced by the fact that the two entries on the previous line (l. 6) of RS 7 + 8 reference the third and first *sūtras* (in that order) on this manuscript (RS 22), while the entry on the next line (l. 8) of RS 7 + 8 references the fourth *sūtra* on RS 22.

III. Identification of the Text and Parallels

Versions of this discourse, preserved either as a *sutta/sūtra* or as part of a larger text, in languages other than Gandhari are particularly numerous.

The Pali parallel is the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*, no. 59 of the *Khandha-samyutta* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* (SN 22.59 at SN III 66,23–68,29;⁵ tr. Bodhi 2000: 901–903), the seventh *sutta* in the *Upaya/Upāya-vagga*, which is the first *vagga* of the *Majjhima-paṇṇāsa* of this *samyutta*. The description of this event and discourse is also found in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (Vin I 13,18–14,37)⁶ in the account of the foundation of the *Sanḅha*, since it is the second discourse given by the Buddha to the group of five monks shortly after his awakening. The *uddāna* entry for the *sutta* is *pañca*, ‘five’, in E^c (SN III 73,14) and B^c (SN II 60,26), but *pañcavaggi*, ‘group of five’, in C^c (SN III 124,17), the Sinhalese manuscripts used for E^c, and S^c Vin IV 90,14, which are references to the five monks to whom the Buddha delivers this discourse. The E^c heads the *sutta* with the *uddāna* entry. The B^c (II 55,1) gives *Anattalakkhaṇasutta* as its title,⁷ while C^c (III 114,28) has *Pañcavaggiyasuttaṃ*.⁸ S^c lacks a title. The *sutta* is referred to as the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta(ṇṭa)* in several Pali commentaries and texts.⁹ The second half of the *Soṇa-sutta*, also found in the *Khandha-samyutta* (SN 22.49 at SN III 48,5–50,10), is identical to the second half of the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta* (SN 22.49 at SN III 49,9–50,10). Elements of the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta* are also found in other Pali discourses.

A Sanskrit parallel forms a section of the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* (CPS § 15 and pp. 448–449),¹⁰ translated by Ria Kloppenborg (1973:

⁵ The Asian editions are B^c SN II 55,1–56,28; C^c SN III 114,27–118,8; S^c SN III 82,9–85,6.

⁶ The Asian editions are B^c Vin III 18,18–20,27; C^c Vin IV 28,1–30,18; S^c Vin IV 24,17–28,16.

⁷ VRI^c has *Anattalakkhaṇasuttaṃ*.

⁸ The Sinhalese manuscripts used for the E^c of SN III give *pañcavaggi* in the *uddāna*.

⁹ E.g., Ps II 114,7, 192,26; Spk II 4,3; Jā I 82,18.

¹⁰ A further fragment was edited by Hartmann 1991: 84–85.

29–31), and is included in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* (SBhV I 138,10–139,17) of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* as part of the larger account of the foundation of the *Saṅgha*.¹¹ The Tibetan translation of the latter is presented in Ernst Waldschmidt's (1952–1962: 163–171) edition of the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*, to which the reader is referred for the full Tibetan references. Léon Feer (1883: 124–126) provides a French translation of the Tibetan text. A Sanskrit version is also found in the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu III 335,10–339,3),¹² which has been much expanded and altered, while the *Avadāna-śataka* (Avś II 168,9–170,7) contains a very similar text that involves a different preacher (Guptika) and audience. It appears that an independent *sūtra* version of the text does not survive in Sanskrit,¹³ while a Sanskrit title for this *sūtra* is not recorded to my knowledge. As in Pali literature, components of the discourse are found in other Sanskrit texts. For example, as is the case with the Pali *Soṇa-sutta* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, the second half of the Sanskrit version of the corresponding *Śroṇa-sūtra* of the *Samyukta-āgama*, beginning with the Buddha's question of whether form, etc. are permanent or impermanent, is similar to the latter half of the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* and *Saṅghabheda-vastu* versions of the discourse under review,¹⁴ though interestingly, parts of it are closer to

¹¹ An English translation of the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* and *Saṅghabheda-vastu* versions of the first part of the Buddha's discourse is given by Eltschinger 2013: 181, a translation of the second part, which has a parallel in the *Bimbāsāra-sūtra*, appears on pp. 176–177 of the same article.

¹² Throughout this article the Senart edition of the *Mahāvastu* will be referenced. The corresponding text in the new edition by Marciniak 2019, which only appeared at an advanced stage of the publication of this article, is pp. 427,16–431,23.

¹³ *Samyukta-āgama* fragments published by de La Vallée Poussin 1913: § 5.1–5 = pp. 573–574 match sections of this *sūtra*.

¹⁴ MSS Bendall recto 1–verso 3, de La Vallée Poussin 1907: 376,14–377,7. The Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99) has three *Śroṇa-sūtras* (SĀ 30–

the Gandhari and Pali (see section IV below).¹⁵

In Chinese there are three *sūtra* versions and at least the same number of *Vinaya* versions. They are:

1. *sūtra* no. 34 of the complete Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T 99) (SĀ 34 at T II 7c13–8a4), which is found in the *Yinxiangying* 陰相應 (Pali *Khandha-saṃyutta*) according to Shi Yinshun 釋印順 (see Choong 2000: 243). The *sūtra* lacks a title, but the *uddāna* entry is 五, ‘five [monks]’ (T II 8b14), the same as some of the Pali sources. In Yinshun’s reordering of the *Samyukta-āgama* it is *sūtra* no. 146 (1983: I 139), while in the Foguang 佛光 edition (I 6) it is no. 80. Bhikkhu Anālayo (2014: 5–8) provides an English translation of this version;

2. the previous *sūtra* in the *Samyukta-āgama*, no. 33 (SĀ 33 at T II 7b22–c12), for which the *uddāna* entry is 非我, ‘not-self’ (T II 8b14), is virtually identical to *sūtra* no. 34. It differs from it in not being set in the Deer Park, in being addressed to the monks (諸比丘) rather than the five monks (五比丘), and in not recording the monks’ spiritual attainment as a consequence of hearing the discourse. According to Yinshun’s reordering of the *Samyukta-āgama* it is *sūtra* no. 145 (Yinshun 1983: I 138–139) and no. 79 according to the Foguang edition (I 6). Bhikkhu Anālayo (2014: 4–5) provides an English translation of this version;

32 at T II 6a24–7b15), the second half of which matches to varying degrees the second half of the *sūtra* under discussion. The Sanskrit fragments edited by de La Vallée Poussin 1907 contain the first *sūtra* and the first half of the second. A revised edition of the Sanskrit fragments appears in Chung 2008: 321–326. Anālayo 2012: 48–57 gives an English translation of the three Chinese *Śroṇa-sūtras*.

¹⁵ The Buddha’s discourse to King Bimbisāra, which results in him becoming a lay follower, also corresponds to the latter half of the *sūtra* under review (SBhV I 159,23–160,18).

3. an independent translation made by Yijing 義淨 in AD 710 (T 102 at T II 499c4–27).¹⁶ It bears the title *Wuyunjiiekong jing* 五蘊皆空經 [**Pañca-skandha-sarva-śūnya-sūtra*], ‘Discourse on the Emptiness of the Five Aggregates’ (*Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v.);

4. the *Vinaya* account occurs twice in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya-vastu*, *Genbenshuoyiqieyoubupinaiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈: once in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* (T 1450 at T XXIV 128b16–c12) and once in the *Kṣudraka-vastu* (T 1451 at T XXIV 407a23–b18).¹⁷ Waldschmidt (1952–1962: 162–171) gives a German translation of the former alongside his edition of the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* (§ 15);

5. Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, *Sifenlü* 四分律 (T 1428 at T XXII 789a12–b4).¹⁸ A French translation is provided by André Bareau (1963: 195–196);

6. Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, *Mishasaibuhexiwufenlü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 (T 1421 at T XXII 105a15–25). This is a rather abbreviated version of the discourse.¹⁹ A French translation appears in Bareau (1963: 194–195);

7. the *Fobenxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 includes the *Vinaya*-like account in this biography of the Buddha (T 190 at T III 813a29–c4). Samuel Beal’s (1875: 255–256) abridged translation of this text only gives a very brief summary of the discourse.

Once again, components of the discourse occur in other Chinese texts.

A comparative study of the Theravāda, Mahīśāsaka and Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* versions was undertaken by Bareau (1963: 191–193 and 194–198), who provides a translation of each of them.

¹⁶ The AD 710 date is given in the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v.

¹⁷ I am indebted to Yao Fumi 八尾 史 for bringing this reference to my attention at the *Samyukta-āgama* seminar.

¹⁸ Waldschmidt 1951: 100 gives a11 as the start of the text.

¹⁹ It lacks sections §§ 1–5 and 8–15 of the section numberings adopted below.

Waldschmidt (1951: 100–101) gives a brief summary of the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* version, references to the parallels,²⁰ and a brief comparative note on this material.

In summary, the available versions of this well-known discourse are:

Sūtra Versions

1. Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* (G-SĀ RS 22 no. 2)
2. Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* (SN 22.59)
3. Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 34)
4. Chinese independent translation (T 102)

Component of larger *sūtra*

5. Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*

Vinaya Versions

6. Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan versions in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* and the Chinese and Tibetan versions in the *Kṣudraka-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* [only the Sanskrit *Saṅghabheda-vastu* will be referred to here]
7. Pali Theravāda *Vinaya*
8. Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*
9. Chinese Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*

Other Non-*sūtra* Versions

10. Sanskrit *Mahāvastu*
11. Sanskrit *Avadānaśataka*
12. Chinese *Fobenxing ji jing*

As previously noted, the large number of surviving versions of this discourse attests its importance and popularity, with its inclusion in both the *Sūtra*- and *Vinaya-piṭakas* of the different schools contributing to the number of versions that have survived.

²⁰ See Waldschmidt 1951: 100 note 2 for several references not listed above.

IV. Summary of Contents and Relationship to Parallels

As noted, the topic of this discourse is the ‘not-self’ or ‘non-self’ (Gandhari *aṇatva*, Pali *anatta*, Sanskrit *anātman*) nature of the five aggregates (Gandhari *kadha*, Pali *khandha*, Sanskrit *skandha*), which the Buddha develops by means of a series of statements and questions.

Apart from the *Mahāvastu* and Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* versions, there is considerable agreement between the surviving versions in the structure and even wording of the text. In the following discussion I therefore adopt the numbering system for the sections or subdivisions of the text (§§ 1–19) employed by Waldschmidt in his edition of the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* (CPS § 15.1–19), with the addition of § 0 for the introductory portion of the *sūtra nidāna* which is missing in the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* and *Vinaya* versions.

The text can be taken to consist of six distinct parts: A, B, C, D, E and F, or with Waldschmidt’s section numbers applied, A (§ [0]), B (§§ 1–5), C (§§ 6–15), D (§§ 16–17), E (§ 18) and F (§ 19). For reasons that are unclear, the Gandhari text omits part D where all other versions include it. The Gandhari text consists of the following (with missing text reconstructed on the basis of the repetitive passages and parallels in parenthesis (*)):

A. (§ 0) (*The Buddha is dwelling in the Deer Park in Benares²¹);

B. (§ 1) he addresses the five monks with the following: (§§ 2–3) (*form) is not-self; (*were form self) it would not lead to affliction and suffering and one would be able to control its character; but since it is (*not-self), it leads to affliction and suffering and one

²¹ The *nidāna* appears as the entry for this *sūtra* on RS 7 + 8 (see above).

cannot control its character; (§§ 4–5) the same applies to feeling, perception, volitional formations and consciousness;

C. (§ 6) the Buddha asks the monks a series of questions: whether form is permanent (*or impermanent)?—impermanent is their response; (§ 7) whether what is impermanent, is suffering or happiness?—suffering; (§§ 8–9) and whether one should regard what is impermanent, suffering and subject to change as “this is mine, I am this, this is my self”?—one should not; (§§ 10–15) the same applies to feeling, etc.;

D. (§§ 16–17) [*missing in the Gandhari; according to the Pali and Sanskrit Saṅghabheda-vastu/Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra, for example,*] *the Buddha states that all form, feeling, etc., past, present, or future, etc., is to be regarded as not mine, I am not this, it is not my self;*

E. (§ 18) (*seeing in this way, a well-taught) noble disciple is disgusted with each of the five aggregates, is dispassionate, and therefore [his mind] is liberated and he knows that he has ended rebirth;

F. (§ 19) while the exposition or discourse is being delivered, the minds of the five monks are freed from the taints and pleased, (*they rejoice at the Buddha’s words).

As noted, the primary difference between the Gandhari and the other versions is its omission of part D. Given that this appears to be such an essential component of the text, which all other versions include, it is tempting to attribute this omission to a scribal error. If this was the cause, then the most likely scenario is that the scribe was writing this text from memory and accidentally omitted this section. It seems unlikely that the scribal omission of a distinct section of text would have occurred in the process of copying from another manuscript since the text in the exemplar, like that in most Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, would have been written as one continuous stream of text with no clear divisions between sections of text that would facilitate the eye jumping lines. However, the omission of

this section does not destroy the integrity of the discourse and it remains possible that this was the version or a version that was circulating in the Gandharan community that produced these manuscripts at this time.

Many of the differences between the surviving versions are relatively minor or, at least of little significance when attempting to establish textual relationships and lineages. Examples are the inclusion or omission of the vocatives, particles, pronouns, and the like, the manner in which the repetitive passages dealing with each of the five aggregates are presented, or differences resulting from the discourse being presented as a *sūtra* or as part of the *Vinaya* narrative. Of course, the Chinese translations present their own set of problems, particularly when attempting to determine the specifics of the wording of the Indian version from which a particular Chinese translation was made (e.g., when two Indian texts use different wording to express the same idea).

Leaving aside the omission of division D, the Gandhari text as we have it is closer on several points of wording to the Pali and Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* versions than, say, the Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda works (*Saṅghabheda-vastu*, Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*, Chinese *Sāmyukta-āgama*). The prime example is the first part of section § 18:

Gandhari G-SĀ RS 22 no. 2

*e ? + ? ? ? ? //*²² *ariaṣavao ruehi ñividaḍi veḍaṇae ñi-
vidaḍi saṇae ñividaḍi (*sakhare)hi ñividaḍi viṇaṇaspi
ñividaḍi. ñiviṇo virajaḍi virage vimucaḍi. vimutaspa vi-
mutam eva ñaṇa bhadi ...* (ll. 24–27)

²² The most likely reconstruction is *e(*va paśa śruḍava)*; see the Text Commentary below (section VII).

(*Seeing thus, the well-taught), [25] noble disciple is disgusted with forms, disgusted with feeling, disgusted with perception, disgusted with (*volitional formations), [26] disgusted with consciousness; being disgusted, he is dispassionate; on account of dispassion, [his mind] is liberated; being liberated, [27] there is the knowledge ‘[my mind] is liberated.’

Pali SN 22.59 and Pali Theravāda *Vinaya*

*evam passam bhikkhave sutavā ariyasāvako rūpasmiṃ pi²³
nibbindati vedanāya pi nibbindati saññāya pi nibbindati
saṅkhāresu pi nibbindati viññāṇasmim pi nibbindati.
nibbindaṃ virajjati virāgā vimuccati vimuttaṃ
iti ñāṇaṃ hoti ...* (SN III 68,20–23; Vin I 14,27–31).

(translation as for the Gandhari.)

Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*

如是比丘。賢聖弟子作是觀已。厭患色已。厭患便
不著。已不著便得解脫。已解脫便得解脫智
受想行識亦復如是。(T XXII 789a26–b1).

Ainsi, ô moines, le saint disciple, ayant fait cette considération, est dégoûté de la matière. Étant dégoûté, il ne s’y attache plus. Ne s’attachant plus, il obtient la délivrance. Étant délivré, il obtient la connaissance de sa délivrance ... De même à propos des sensations, des perceptions, des compositions mentales et de la conscience. (tr. Bareau 1963: 195)

²³ The E° of the *Samyutta-nikāya* occurrence lacks *pi* throughout; *pi* is included in the E° of the *Vinaya* occurrence, in the Sinhalese manuscripts used for the E° of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, and in the B°, C° and S° of the both the *Samyutta-nikāya* and *Vinaya* occurrences. For references, see the Text Commentary below (section VII).

Sanskrit *Saṅghabheda-vastu*

yataś ca bhikṣavaḥ śrutavān āryaśrāvaka imām pañca upādānaskandhān naivātmato nātmīyataḥ samanupaśyati sa evaṃ samanupaśyan na kiñcil loka upādatte anupādadāno na paritasyati aparitasya ātmaiva parinirvāti ... (SBhV I 139,10–13; cf. CPS § 15.18 and p. 449)

When, monks, the well-taught noble disciple sees these five aggregates affected by clinging as not-self and as not pertaining to self, (then) seeing thus, he clings to nothing in the world; not clinging, he is not troubled; not troubled, he himself attains *Nirvāṇa*.

Chinese SĀ 34

比丘。多聞聖弟子於此五受陰見非我・非我所。如是觀察。於諸世間都無所取。無所取故無所著。無所著故自覺涅槃 … (T II 7c27–8a1)

Monks, the well-taught noble disciple sees the five aggregates affected by clinging as not-self, as not pertaining to self. Seeing thus, he does not cling to anything in the world; not clinging, he does not grasp; not grasping, he himself realizes *Nirvāṇa*.²⁴

However, the corresponding passage in the Sanskrit *Śroṇa-sūtra* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and in the discourse to King Bimbisāra found in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* mentioned above matches the Gandhari and Pali.²⁵

²⁴ Cf. the translation by Anālayo 2014: 7–8.

²⁵ de La Vallée Poussin 1907: 376,35–377,3, the reconstruction follows Chung 2008: 326 note 31; the corresponding passage in the discourse to King Bimbisāra (SBhV I 160,10–13) preserves the initial wording: *evaṃdarśī mahārāja śrutavān āryaśrāvako*

*(*evamdarśī Śroṇa śruta)vān āryaśrāvako rūpād api
nirvidyate vedanāyāḥ saṃjñāyāḥ saṃskārebhyo vijñānād
api nirvidyate nirviṇṇo virajyate virakto vimucyate vimuk-
tasya vimuktam iti jñānaṃ bhavati ...*

And, as is typical of this class of literature, wording similar to the version of the Sanskrit *Saṅghabheda-vastu/Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* and the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* is found in the Pali canon:

yato kho ānanda bhikkhu neva vedanaṃ attānaṃ samanupassati, no pi appaṭisaṃvedanaṃ attānaṃ samanupassati, no pi attā me vediyati, vedanādhhammo hi me attā ti sam-anupassati. so evaṃ asamanupassanto na ca kiñci loke upādiyati, anupādiyaṃ na paritassati, aparitassaṃ pacca-ttaṃ yeva parinibbāyati. (DN II 68,4-9)

The latter half (*so evaṃ ... parinibbāyati*) is not uncommon in the Pali canon.²⁶

A further example where the Gandhari parallels the Pali and possibly also the Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* is found in section § 8 (similarly § 14):

Gandhari G-SĀ RS 22 no. 2

*ya puṇa aṇica dukha viparaṇamadhama kala nu eda
samanupaśaḍa²⁷ ... (recto ll. 19–20, 22–23)*

²⁶ The Chinese independent translation (T II 499c22–25) is similar to the Sanskrit *Saṅghabheda-vastu/Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* and Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* versions, while the *Avadānaśataka* (Avs II 170,3–5) and Chinese Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (T XXII 105a23) versions are similar to the Pali, Gandhari and Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* versions. The *Mahāvastu* (Mvu III 338,6–12, 340,4–9) is quite different.

²⁷ The reading is based on the two occurrences; l. 20 reads *viparaṇamadhama kala ṇa samanupaśaḍo*, ll. 22–23 reads *viparaṇamadhame kala ṇu eda samanupaśaḍa*.

Again, what is impermanent, suffering, [and] subject to change, is it suitable to regard this [thus] ...?”

Pali SN 22.59 and Pali Theravāda *Vinaya*

yaṃ paṇāniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vipariṇāmadhammaṃ kallam nu tam samanupassitum ... (SN III 67,27–28; Vin I 14,8–9)
(translation as for the Gandhari.)

Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*

佛言。若色無常苦者。變易法。汝等云何 ... (T XXII 789a20–21)

Le Buddha dit: “Si la matière est impermanente et pénible, elle est soumise à la loi de la transformation. Pensez-vous cesi ... (tr. Bureau 1963: 195)

Sanskrit *Saṅghabheda-vastu*

yaṭ punar anityaṃ duḥkhaṃ vipariṇāmadharmi api nu tac chrutavān āryaśrāvaka ātmata upagacched ... (SBhV I 138,23–25; cf. CPS § 15.8 and p. 449)

Again, what is impermanent, suffering, [and] subject to change, should a well-taught noble disciple regard it as self (thinking) ...?

Chinese SĀ 34

比丘。若無常・苦。是變易法。多聞聖弟子寧於中見 ... (T II 7c21)

Monks, since it is impermanent and suffering, it is subject to change. Should the well-taught noble disciple regard it as self (thinking) ...?²⁸

²⁸ Cf. the translation by Anālayo 2014: 7. The *Avadānaśataka* (Avś II 169,4–5) is similar to the Sanskrit *Saṅghabheda-vastu/Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* and

Finally, differences are encountered between the versions in the wording of section § 19. In the *sūtra* versions § 19 consist of two parts: (1) while the discourse was being spoken, the monks' minds were released from the taints (Gandhari *asrava*, Pali *āsava*, Sanskrit *āsrava*); and (2) the Buddha said this; pleased, the monks rejoiced. The order of these units differs in each. In the *Vinaya* versions unit 2 is replaced by an alternative unit: (3) at that time there were *x* number of *arhats* in the world. The exception is the Pali *Vinaya*, which has all three in the order 2, 1, 3. Differences in wording are discernible between the versions in each unit.²⁹ The *sūtra* versions are:

Gandhari G-SĀ RS 22 no. 2

*imaspi ca vagaraṇo bhaṣīamaṇ(*o) paceṇa bhikkhuṇa
aṇuade asrave cita vimuta. iḍam e(*ya) bhayava. ata-
maṇa pacea bhikhu (*bhayavaḍa bhaṣiḍa aṇiṇadiḍe)* (ll.
28–30)

And while this exposition was being spoken, the minds of the five monks were liberated from the taints through not clinging. The Bhagavat (*said) this. Pleased, the five monks (*delighted at the speech of the Bhagavat).³⁰

Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* versions; the Chinese independent translation (T II 499c15–16) sits within the same camp but differs slightly from them. The *Mahāvastu* lacks this section.

²⁹ The *Avadānaśataka* (Avś II 170,6–7) and *Mahāvastu* (Mvu III 338,19–339,2) are more divergent.

³⁰ As elsewhere in the Senior manuscripts, the concluding formula has been abbreviated, with the words *bhayavaḍa bhaṣiḍa aṇiṇadiḍe* missing. For discussion of this and examples of the full formula which

Pali SN 22.59 and Pali Theravāda *Vinaya*

idam avoca bhagavā. attamanā pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanduṃ. imasmiṃ ca pana veyyākaraṇasmim bhaññamāne pañcavaggiyānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimuccimsu (SN III 68,26–29; Vin I 14,32–36)

The Bhagavat said this. Pleased those monks of the group of five rejoiced at the Bhagavat's words. And while this exposition was being spoken, the minds of the monks of the group of five were released from the taints through not clinging.

Chinese SĀ 34

佛說此經已。餘五比丘不起諸漏。心得解脫。佛說此經已。諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行。(T II 8a2–4)

The Buddha spoke this discourse. The minds of the remaining (four) of the five monks attained release from the taints through not clinging to the defilements. The Buddha spoke this discourse. The monks, hearing what was spoken by the Buddha, rejoiced, accepted it, and put it in practice.³¹

Unit 1 in each of the *Vinaya* versions (the Pali Theravāda *Vinaya* is the same as the Pali *Saṃyutta-nikāya*) is as follows:

form the basis of the reconstruction here, see the Text Commentary below (section VII).

³¹ In his 2011 article, Marcus Bingenheimer (pp. 51–56) argued that the verb 奉行 means ‘to remember/bear in mind’ (p. 56). But in a recent email to me (17.4.2019) he notes that based on his study of a greater corpus of texts, he now prefers ‘to put it into practice’, which I follow. Cf. the translation by Anālayo 2014: 8.

Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*

爾時世尊說此法時。五比丘一切有漏心解脫。得無
礙解脫智生。(T XXII 789b1-2)

Quand le Bienheureux eut prêché cette doctrine, la pensée des cinq moines fut délivrée de toutes les impuretés et ils purent faire naître la connaissance de la délivrance sans obstacles. (tr. Bareau 1963: 196)

Sanskrit *Śaṅghabhedavastu*

*asmin khalu dharmaparyāye bhāṣyamāṇe avaśiṣṭānāṃ
pañcakānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ anupādāyāśravebhyaś cittāni vi-
muktāni.* (SBhV I 139,14-16; cf. CPS § 15.19 and p. 449)

While this Dharma discourse was being spoken, the minds of the remaining (four) of the five monks were released from the taints through not clinging.

Chinese Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*

說是法時。五比丘一切漏盡。得阿羅漢道。(T
XXII105a24-25)

Quand (le Buddha) eut prêché la doctrine, toutes les impuretés des cinq moines furent épuisées et ils obtinrent la voie des Arhant. (tr. Bareau 1963: 195)

The order of units 1 and 2 in the Gandhari and Chinese *Samyukta-āgamas* (and in the Chinese independent translation, not given above) is 1, 2, while in the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* it is 2, 1. In terms of the wording of unit 1 no special relationship is discernible between the Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* and any particular version, in part because it is similar to one version in some aspects, but closer to another in others, but also because of the difficulty in determining the status of the Chinese translations.

However, the Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* clearly agrees with the Pali *Saṃyutta-nikāya/Vinaya*, Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* and Chinese Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* versions in taking it that all five monks became *arhats* at the end of this discourse, where the Sanskrit *Saṅgha-bheda-vastu*, Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* and Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama* have the remaining four of the five monks doing so (see Waldschmidt 1951: 100–101).

In summary, the Gandhari *Saṃyukta-āgama* text is similar to the Pali *Saṃyutta-nikāya/Vinaya* and Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* versions in some of its features, but not identical with either of them. The evidence presented above is not of sufficient quality to confidently establish a textual relationship. Nonetheless, the above findings resulting from this preliminary investigation are not inconsistent with the Dharmaguptaka affiliation established for the Senior collection on the basis of other texts in the collection (see Allon 2014: 22–23 and 2009 [2013]: 11–13).

V. Theme and Notes of Interest

An interesting feature of this short discourse is that it prioritizes not-self, the third of the three characteristics (Pali *tilakkhaṇa*, Sanskrit *trilakṣaṇa*) of the five aggregates, over impermanence (Gandhari *aṇica*, Pali *anicca*, Sanskrit *anitya*) and suffering (Gandhari *dukkha/duha/dua*, Pali *dukkha*, Sanskrit *duḥkha*), the first two. The discourse also articulates the correct attitude to be taken to the aggregates and the liberating result of fully comprehending not-self. Given that the not-self doctrine is central and unique to the Buddha's teaching, it is not surprising that it is presented as the second discourse given by the Buddha after his awakening.

In his similarly brief first discourse to the group of five monks, the Buddha proclaimed his equally unique noble eightfold path, a path he claims avoids the two extremes of sensual indulgence and severe ascetic deprivation and leads to awakening, to *Nirvāṇa*. And he articulates in brief the four noble truths, his realization of which was his awakening and defined him as a Buddha.

It is undoubtedly the case that the Buddha outlined the noble eightfold path and four noble truths to the group of five monks first—or from another perspective, that the early Buddhist community presented him as doing so—because these topics so encapsulated his insights and the path he wished to set forth in the world, which after all was his purpose for travelling to Benares to see these monks, and because they distinguished those insights and his path from all others. Having laid that foundation and having convinced the monks that he had discovered the way to transcend suffering, he was able to present his understanding of the not-self characteristic of personal existence (the aggregates), an understanding that is the logical consequence of seeing impermanence and suffering.³²

Although the topics of both discourses are important, the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*/*Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra*/-*dharmaparyāya* was by far the more popular.³³ For example, it is one of the most commonly found discourses in Sinhalese manuscripts³⁴ and the event

³² Three relatively recent examples of studies of the core ideas of the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta* are Adam 2010 [2011] and Wynne 2009 and 2010 [2011].

³³ On the title of this discourse in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions, see Chung 2006: 75.

³⁴ According to the catalogues of Sinhalese manuscripts, the most popular discourses are the *Dhammacakkappavattana*-, *Brahmajāla*-, *Mahā-*

of the Buddha delivering the first discourse, his ‘setting in motion the wheel of the Law’, is commonly depicted in art, where there are no recognizable artistic representations of the event of the Buddha delivering the second discourse.³⁵ This being the case, one wonders why the first discourse was not included in the Senior anthology instead of or as well as the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*/**Anātmalakṣaṇa-sūtra*.³⁶

As noted in my discussion of the possible themes in the texts of the Senior collection (Allon 2007b: 23–25), there are several *sūtras* in the collection besides that under review (RS 22 no. 2) that deal with the understanding of the five aggregates (RS 5 nos. 2–4; 17 nos. 1–2; 22 nos. 4, 6), this theme being a possible reason for the inclusion of this discourse in the collection. I also noted that the discourse may have been included because of its association with the foundation of the Buddhist community (p. 24). However, the five aggregates are no more important a topic, if we are to judge by frequency, than the others covered by the texts of the collection,

satipaṭṭhāna- and *Satipaṭṭhāna-suttas*, with the *Āṭānāṭṭiya-*, *Āḷavaka-*, *Karaṇīyametta-*, *Paṭiccasamuppāda-*, *Bālapaṇḍita-*, *Maṅgala-*, *Sāleyya-*, *Sattasuriyoggamana-*, *Sigālovāda-*, *Subha-* and *Vammika-suttas* also being frequent (see Bechert and Bidoli 1969 and 1997; Bell 1882; Blackburn 2002; De Silva 1938; Godakumbura 1980; Liyanaratne 1983 and 1993; Somadasa 1987 and 1996; cf. Blackburn 2001: 165).

³⁵ Unless, that is, images which are generally taken to represent him delivering the first discourse are more broadly interpreted to include the series of discourse he delivered to the group of five monks in the Deer Park.

³⁶ Given that it is highly likely that manuscripts were destroyed in the process of the modern discovery of the Senior manuscripts, it remains possible that the first was included, though absence of a reference to it in RS 7 + 8 tends to count against that.

while the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*/*Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra*/-*dharmaparyāya* is surely as equally important to the foundation account. So also, although the first discourse is more popular than the second, the Senior collection is not a collection of ‘best hits’. The reason or reasons for the inclusion of this discourse in the collection therefore remains a matter of speculation and may very well have been nothing more than the personal inclination of the one who determined the contents of the collection.

VI. Transcribed Text, Reconstruction and Translation

The symbols and conventions used to represent the transcribed text and reconstruction are the following:

- [] an unclear or partially preserved *akṣara* (graphic syllable) whose reading is not certain
- (*) a lost or completely illegible *akṣara* that has been conjecturally restored on the basis of the context
- { } a superfluous *akṣara* which should be cancelled
- a missing portion (consonantal or diacritic vowel sign) of a partially legible *akṣara*
- ? a visible or partially visible but illegible *akṣara*
- + a missing *akṣara* that would have appeared on a lost or obscured portion of the manuscript. A series of these signs indicates the number of lost *akṣaras*
- /// beginning or end of an incompletely preserved line
- = a word break within an *akṣara*; e.g., *evam*=*eva* in which the final consonant of the preceding word and the initial vowel of the following word are written together as a single syllabic unit

VI.1 Transcribed Text

8. ^{1A-r}eva [m]e śude eka [s]. + ^{4i-v}e ^{4i-v+4d-r}bha^{4d-r}ya[va] ///
9. ^{1A-r}pacea bhikhu amatre^{1A-r+4i-v}ḍi ^{1A-r+1b-r?} + ^{1b-r+4j-r+4d-r}bhi^{4j-r+1c-}
^{ʋkṣ.v.} aṇa.v. + + + + + + + + + +
10. ṇa iḍa ruo avasae du^{1A-r+1b-r}ha^{1A-r+1b-r+1c-v}e ^{1c-v+1A-r}sabatiye la^{1A-}
^{r[bh].} ? ? + + + + +
11. ruo bhodi eva ruo ma hahuṣi yaspad=ayi ru ? + + + + +
12. ruo avasae duhae sabataḍi ṇo ya labhadi ? + + + + +
13. bhodi eva ruo ma ahu[ṣ]i ³⁷
14. ithu ami vedāṇa saṇa ^{1A-r+1l-r}sakha^{1A-r}ra viṇaṇa bhikṣava
aṇa[tva] ? + + + + + + +
15. atva bhaviṣe ṇa iḍa viṇaṇa avasae duhae sa[b].[tiye l]. ? ? + + + +
16. eva va viṇaṇa bhodi eva [va v]iṇaṇa ma ahuṣi ya[sp]. ? + + + +
+ + + +
17. taspi viṇaṇo avasae duae sabataḍi ṇo ya labhadi viṇa[ṇa] ^{38?} ? ?
18. viṇaṇa bhodi eva va ḍa viṇaṇa ma ahuṣi ta ki maṇaspa ruo
ṇi[c]. ? ? + +
19. va aṇica bhate ya aṇica dukha va suha va dukha ? ḍa bhate ya
pu[ṇo ^{1A-r+4f-v}a^{4f-v}ṇ].ca ³⁹
20. ^{1A-r}dukha viparaṇamadhama ⁴⁰kala ṇa samaṇupaśaḍo eṣe ma-
mo e^{1A-r+1w-r}ṣao [amo] spi ⁴¹

³⁷ The line of writing ends short of the margin at a point where there is a join between two sections of bark. The join seems to have given the scribe an opportunity to correct the downward slant in the line of writing.

³⁸ The number of remnant illegible *akṣaras* is uncertain, though only three are expected here.

³⁹ For the realignment of the left-hand portion of lines 19–20, see Figure 4.

⁴⁰ The *ka* of *kala* is the older form of *ka* (see Glass 2000: 49–53), which is not commonly used by this scribe.

⁴¹ I take this to be the end of the line.

21. ^{1A-r}eḍa me atva ḍi ṇo [i] ? bhate ta ki mañṣa veḍaṇo ṇica ^{1A-r+1w-r+1x-r}va⁴² ^{1A-r+1w-r}a^{1w-r}ṇica va [aṇi] +
22. ^{1A-r}hi bhate ya aṇica dukha va ta suha va dukha ida bhate ya [pu]ṇa ^{1A-r+1x-r}aṇi^{1x-r+1d-r}ca dukha [vi]^{1d-r}paraṇama-
23. ^{1A-r}dhame kala ṇu eḍa samaṇupaśaḍa eṣe mama⁴³ e[ṣa⁴⁴o] ? + ^{1d-r}? eḍa me a[tva]
24. ^{1A-r}ḍi ṇo i bhate ithu ami saṇa sakhara viṇaṇo e ? + ⁴⁵? ? ? ? ///
25. ^{1A-r}ariaṣavao ruehi ṇividaḍi veḍaṇae ṇividaḍi saṇae [ṇividaḍi] ? + +
26. ^{1A-r}[hi] ṇividaḍi viṇaṇaspi ṇividaḍi ṇiviṇo virajaḍi virage vimucaḍi vimuta-
27. [spa] vimutam=eva ñaṇa bhadi⁴⁶ kṣiṇa jaḍi vuṣiḍa bramahio kriḍa me kṛaṇao^{47 48}
28. ? [va]ro ima ? tva ḍi payaṇadi imaspi ca vagaraṇo bhaṣiamaṇ.
29. paceaṇa bhikhuṇa aṇuade⁴⁹ asrave cita⁵⁰ vimuta⁵¹ idam=e ?
30. bhayava ata⁵² maṇa pacea bhikhu

⁴² The scribe first wrote *ya* then corrected it to *va*.

⁴³ The backward stroke of the following *e*, which touches the bottom left of the second *m* of *mama*, makes it unclear if the reading is *mama* or *mamo* (cf. *mamo* in l. 20).

⁴⁴ The reading could be *ṣe*, though a comparison with *ṣe* four *akṣaras* before this suggests that the small stroke above the *ṣ* may only be an overwriting of the vertical stroke.

⁴⁵ Number of missing *akṣaras* uncertain.

⁴⁶ A small loose chip of bark overlays part of *bh*.

⁴⁷ This could also be read as *kṛaṇao*.

⁴⁸ For the realignment of the left-hand portion of line 27, see Figure 5.

⁴⁹ A space of one *akṣara* has been left blank to avoid the vertical line of thread that sewed the two sections of bark together.

⁵⁰ There is a faint trail of ink at the bottom of *ta* which makes it look like *ḍa* that is likely to be ink transfer.

⁵¹ *ḍa* could be read as *ha*.

VI.2 Reconstruction

(reconstructed text in italics is uncertain)

[8] eva me śude eka s(*ama)e bhayava (*baraṇaṣia viharadī hiṣi-
vaḍaṇa rmiadava. tatra ho bhayava)⁵³ [9] pacea bhikhu amatreḍi
(*ruo) bhikṣ(*a)v(*a) aṇa(*t)v(*a ruo *ida bhikṣava* atva bhaviṣe)⁵⁴
[10] ṇa ida ruo avasae duhae sabatiye labh(*eṣa ya ruo eva va)⁵⁵
[11] ruo bhodi eva ruo ma hahuṣi. yaspad ayi ru(*o aṇatva taspi)⁵⁶
[12] ruo avasae duhae sabataḍi ṇo ya labhadi (*ruo eva va ruo)⁵⁷
[13] bhodi eva ruo ma ahuṣi [14] ithu ami veḍaṇa saṇa sakhara.
viṇaṇa bhikṣava aṇatva. (*viṇaṇa *ida bhikṣava*)⁵⁸ [15] atva bhaviṣe
ṇa ida viṇaṇa avasae duhae sab(*a)tiye l(*abheṣa ya viṇaṇa)⁵⁹ [16]
eva va viṇaṇa bhodi eva va viṇaṇa ma ahuṣi. yasp(*ad ayi viṇaṇa
aṇatva)⁶⁰ [17] taspi viṇaṇo avasae duae sabataḍi ṇo ya labhadi viṇaṇa
(*eva va)⁶¹ [18] viṇaṇa bhodi eva va {ḍa} viṇaṇa ma ahuṣi. ta ki
maṇaspa ruo ṇic(*a va aṇica)⁶² [19] va. aṇica bhate. ya aṇica dukha va
suha va. dukha (*i)ḍa bhate. ya puṇo an(*i)ca [20] dukha viparaṇama-
dhama kala ṇa samaṇupaśaḍo eṣe mamo eṣao amo spi [21] eḍa me
atva ḍi. ṇo i(*ḍa) bhate. ta ki maṇaṣa veḍaṇo ṇica va aṇica va.

⁵² A space of one *akṣara* has been left blank between *ta* and *ma* to avoid the vertical line of thread that sewed the two sections of bark together.

⁵³ For reconstruction, see the Text Commentary below (section VII).

⁵⁴ Reconstruction based on the parallel wording for *viṇaṇa* on ll. 14–15.

⁵⁵ Reconstruction based on expected wording and ll. 15–16 passage.

⁵⁶ Reconstruction based on expected wording and l. 17.

⁵⁷ Reconstruction based on expected wording and ll. 17–18 passage.

⁵⁸ Reconstruction based on expected wording.

⁵⁹ Reconstruction based on expected wording and l. 10 passage.

⁶⁰ Reconstruction based on expected wording and l. 11 passage.

⁶¹ Reconstruction based on expected wording.

⁶² Reconstruction based on l. 21 passage.

aṇi(*ca)⁶³ [22] hi bhate. ya aṇica dukha va ta suha va. dukha ida bhate. ya puṇa aṇica dukha viparaṇama[23]dhame kala ṇu eḍa samaṇupaśaḍa eṣe mama eṣao (*amo spi) eḍa me atva [24] di. ṇo i bhate. ithu ami saṇa sakhara viṇaṇo. e ? + ? ? ? ? //⁶⁴ [25] ariasaṇao ruehi ṇividaḍi veḍaṇae ṇividaḍi saṇae ṇividaḍi (*sakhare)[26]hi ṇividaḍi viṇaṇaspi ṇividaḍi. ṇiviṇo virajaḍi virage vimucaḍi. vimuta[27]spa vimutam eva ṇaṇa bhadi. kṣiṇa jaḍi vuṣiḍa bramahio kriḍa me karaṇao [28] (*ṇa)varo ima ? tva di payaṇadi. imaspi ca vagaraṇo bhaṣiamaṇ(*o) [29] paceṇa bhikhuṇa aṇuade asrave cita vimuta. iḍam e(*ya)⁶⁵ [30] bhayava. atamaṇa pacea bhikhu.

VI.3 Translation

(with division numbers)

A. [8] Thus I heard. At one time the Bhagavat (*dwelt in Baraṇasi in the Deer Park at Hiṣivaḍaṇa.)

B. (*There the Bhagavat) [9] addressed the five monks:

“(Form), monks, is not-self. (*If, *monks*, this form were self), [10] this form would not lead to affliction [and] suffering, and it would be possible to obtain (*with regard to form) ‘[Let] form [11] be (*thus); [let] form be not thus.’ [But] since this form (*is not-self, therefore) [12] form leads to affliction [and] suffering and one does not obtain (*with regard to form) ‘[Let] form) [13] be (*thus); let form be not thus.’” [14] So also feeling, perception, volitional formations. “Consciousness, monks, is not-self. (*If, *monks*, this consciousness) [15] were self, this consciousness would not lead to

⁶³ Reconstruction based on l. 19 passage.

⁶⁴ For reconstruction, see the Text Commentary below (section VII).

⁶⁵ For reconstruction, see the Text Commentary below (section VII).

affliction [and] suffering, (*and it would be possible to obtain with regard to consciousness) [16] '[Let] consciousness be thus; [let] consciousness be not thus.' (*But) since (*this consciousness is not-self), [17] therefore consciousness leads to affliction [and] suffering and one does not obtain with regard to consciousness [18] '[Let] consciousness be (*thus); [let] consciousness be not thus.'

C. "What do you think, is form permanent (*or impermanent)?" [19] "Impermanent, venerable sir." "What is impermanent, is [that] suffering or happiness?" "This is suffering, venerable sir." "Again, what is (*impermanent), [20] suffering, [and] subject to change, is it suitable to regard [this thus] 'This is mine; I am this; [21] this is my self?'" "This is not [suitable], venerable sir." "What do you think, is feeling permanent or impermanent?" "Surely impermanent, [22], venerable sir." "What is impermanent, is that suffering or happiness?" "This is suffering, venerable sir." "Again, what is impermanent, suffering, [23] [and] subject to change, is it suitable to regard this [thus] 'This is mine; I (*am) this; this is my self?'" [24] "Surely not, venerable sir." So also perception, volitional formations, consciousness.

D. *[missing]*

E. "(*Seeing thus, the well-taught), [25] noble disciple is disgusted with forms, disgusted with feeling, disgusted with perception, disgusted with (*volitional formations), [26] disgusted with consciousness; being disgusted, he is dispassionate; on account of dispassion, [his mind] is liberated; being liberated, [27] there is the knowledge '[my mind] is liberated.' He understands '[re]birth is destroyed; the holy life has been lived; what is to be done has been done by me; [28] there is (*no) further state than this.'"

F. And while this exposition was being spoken, [29] the minds of the five monks were liberated from the taints through not clinging.

[30] The Bhagavat (*said) this. Pleased, the five monks (*delighted at the speech of the Bhagavat).⁶⁶

VII. Text Commentary

[8] *eva [m]e śūḍe eka [s]. + bhaya[va] ///* [9] *pacea bhikhu amatreḍi* (ll. 8–9). This is the remnant of the common *nidāna* to *sūtras* that depicts the Buddha addressing the monks. As noted in § 2 above, part of the *nidāna* to this *sūtra* is ‘quoted’ on RS 7 + 8, l. 7 as a reference to it: *bhayava barāṇasīa viharāḍi hiṣivadaṇa rmia-ḍava tatra ho (*bhayava)*.

The corresponding phrase in the Pali parallel of the *Samyutta-nikāya* is *ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā bārāṇasiyaṃ viharati isipatane migadāye. tatra kho bhagavā pañcavaggiye bhikkhū āmantesi*, “(Thus have I heard.) At that time the Bhagavat dwelt in Bārāṇasi, in the Deer Park at Isipatana. There the Bhagavat addressed the group of five monks.” This is abbreviated in E^e (SN III 66,24) with *bārāṇasiyaṃ nidānaṃ migadāye* but given in full in B^e (SN II 55,2–3) = VRI^e, C^e (SN III 114,29–30), S^e (SN III 82,9–10) and the Sinhalese manuscripts used for E^e. The Sanskrit parallels lack the *nidāna* since they all form part of larger texts. But the same *nidāna* is found in such texts as the *Mahāvastu*:⁶⁷ *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmiṃ samaye bhagavāṃ vārāṇasyāṃ viharati ṛṣivadane* (v.l. *ṛṣipattane*) *mṛgadāve. tatra bhagavāṃ āyusmantāṃ pañcakā bhadravargīyāṃ āmantresi*.

⁶⁶ For the complete form of this formula, see the Text Commentary below (section VII). I add the translation of the missing wording (*bhayavaḍa bhaṣiḍe aviṇaḍiḍa*) here for completeness.

⁶⁷ Ed. Edgerton 1953b: 18 = Senart 1882–1897: III 330,17–331,1 = Marciniak 2019: 422,5–7. Marciniak reads ... *ṛṣivadane mṛgadāye. tatra bhagavaṃ tāṃ āyusmantāṃ pañcakā bhadravargikāṃ āmantrayesi*.

Gandhari versions of a similar *nidāna*, but with the location being the Jetavana in Śrāvastī, begin the third and fourth *sūtras* on this scroll: [31] *eva me śūde eka samae bhayava śavasti [vihara]di [j].ḍavaṇa ? ? ///* [32] *sapiḍiasa [a]rame tatra hu bhayava bhikhu amatred[i] te bhikhu bhaya ? ? ///* [33] *ca[ṣ].ṣ. bhayava ? eḍa[d=aya]* (RS 22.31–33) and [57] *eva me śūḍa eka samae bhayava śava[st]ia viharadi jeḍa[va]ṇ[o] aṇ[o]sa[p].[di]* [58] *asa arame tatra u bhayava bhikhu amatredī ti bhikhu bhayava pacaśoṣe bha[59]yava[ṣu] eḍaḍ=aya* (RS 22.57–59).

A possible combined reading (among several) is: *eva me śūḍa eka samae bhayava śavastia viharadi jeḍavaṇo aṇasapiḍiasa arame. tatra u bhayava bhikhu amatredī. ti bhikhu bhayava pacaśoṣe. bha-yavaṣu eḍaḍ aya.*

Other occurrences of this and similar *nidānas* in the British Library and Senior collections generally, many of which are abbreviated, have been discussed by Mark Allon (2001: 225–232), and in select texts in the Senior collection by Andrew Glass (2007: 60–61), Lee Mei-huang 李美煌 (2009: 79–84), Blair Silverlock (2015: 396 [§ 9.2.3]) and Joseph Marino (2017: 203).⁶⁸

The reconstruction *eva me śūde eka s(*ama)e bhayava (*bara-ṇasīa viharadi hiṣivaḍaṇa rmiḍava. tatra ho bhayava)* for line 8 gives 37 *akṣaras*, which is too many for the line. The *akṣara* count for most lines in this section of the manuscript is between 28 and 30, including reconstructed text, with the highest count being 31 on line 25. It is therefore likely that some of this wording was abbreviated, parallel to the abbreviation to *nidānas* in other *sūtras* in the Senior collection just mentioned. Given that line 9 begins with *pacea bhikhu amatredī* and that the RS 7 + 8 reference or ‘quote’ ends in

⁶⁸ An earlier reading of our RS 22.57–59 occurrence (presented as RS 22.18–20) was given by Glass 2007: 61.

tatra ho bhayava, it is highly likely that line 8 ended in *tatra ho bhayava*, making the reading of this section of ll. 8–9 (**tatra ho bhayava*) *pacea bhikhu amatreḍi*, “There the Bhagavat addressed the five monks.” The only abbreviation that really works both in terms of meaning and *akṣara* count is *eva me śuḍe eka s(*ama)e bhayava* (**baraṇasīa viharaḍi. tatra ho bhayava*) with 28 *akṣaras* which involves the omission of *hiṣivadaṇa rmiadava*. Although the full wording of the RS 7 + 8 reference was unlikely to have been found on line 8, I present it to facilitate understanding.

There is not enough room on line 9 for both the phrase *ti bhikhu bhayava pacaśoṣe. bhayavaṣu eḍaḍ aya*, “Those monks assented to the Bhagavat. The Bhagavat said this”, and the beginning of the Buddha’s discourse (**ruo bhikṣava aṇatva. ruo atva bhaviṣe*), “Monks, form is not-self. Were form self ...” or possibly (**ruo bhikṣava aṇatva. ruo ida bhikṣava atva bhaviṣe*). Although the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* version included the equivalent phrase *bhikkhavo ti. bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosum. bhagavā etad avoca* (in full in B^e and C^e, abbreviated in E^e and S^e), the *Vinaya* version omits it, reading only *tatra kho bhagavā pañcavaggiye bhikkhū āmantesi*. This actually makes more sense since the community of monks had not yet been formed.

The spelling of the two terms used to refer to the park, Gandhari *hiṣivadaṇa rmiadava*, Pali *isipatana/isipadana migadāya/migadāva*, Sanskrit *rṣivadana/ rṣipattana/etc. mṛgadāva*, etc. have been discussed by several scholars.⁶⁹ Caillat (1968) derives the spellings of the first of these two words from *rśya-vrjāṇa/rśya~*, ‘Clos des antelopes’ (‘field of antelope’, p. 181), which developed to *isi-vajana* > *isi-vayana* with *vayana* then being back-formed into *patana*,

⁶⁹ Caillat 1968; Norman 1989: 375 = 1993: 54; Oberlies 2001: 4, 45, 77 note 6; Waldschmidt 1952–1962: 126 note 2.

padana, *vadana*, *pattana*, etc. The appearance of Gandhari *hiṣi-vadaṇa* in a manuscript dated to the second century AD shows that the process of back-formation from *vayana* is likely to predate this by some centuries.

ṇa ida ruo avasae duhae sabatiye (l. 10), *ruo avasae duhae sabataḍi* (l. 12), *ṇa ida viṇaṇa avasae duhae sa[b].[tiye]* (l. 15), *viṇaṇo avasae duae sabataḍi* (l. 17) “This form would not lead to affliction [and] suffering ... form leads to affliction [and] suffering”, etc.: The Pali parallel has *na yidaṃ rūpaṃ ābādhāya saṃvatteyya ... rūpaṃ ābādhāya saṃvattati*, etc., “this form would not lead to affliction ...”, (e.g., SN III 66,28,31–32) while the Sanskrit examples have *na rūpaṃ ābādhāya duḥkhāya saṃvarteta ... rūpaṃ ābādhāya duḥkhāya saṃvartate*, etc.⁷⁰ The combination *ābādhadukka-* does not appear to occur in Pali texts, though there is at least one instance of their equation as synonyms in a commentarial gloss: *ābādhāyā ti evaṃ dukkhena*.⁷¹ The Gandhari thus parallels these non-Pali sources.⁷²

ithu ami (ll. 14, 24). This indicates abbreviation. It also occurs on line 64 of this manuscript (not presented in this article). In the first occurrence (l. 14), it occurs in *ithu ami vedāṇa saṇa sakhara*, indicating that the preceding wording applied to *ruo*, ‘form’, the first of the five aggregates, should similarly be applied to feeling, perception and volitional formations. The fifth and final aggregate,

⁷⁰ E.g., SBhV I 138,11–12,13–14,16–17; Mvu III 335,14,16–17.

⁷¹ *Vibhaṅga-mūlaṭṭikā* B^e 39 (a late commentarial text, here on the topic of *anattalakkhaṇa*).

⁷² The Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* has 色不增益。而我受苦, “form would not grow and I would not experience suffering” (T XXII 789a13), which does not seem to reflect the Gandhari.

consciousness, is then presented in full parallel to the first. In the case of the second occurrence of *ithu ami* (l. 24), the first two aggregates of form and feeling are presented in full and the remaining three abbreviated: *ithu ami sañña sakhara viñāṇo*. The line 64 occurrence parallels the line 14 occurrence in abbreviating the middle three: *[i]thu ami veḍḍhae saññae sa[kha]raṇa*. This inconsistency in abbreviation is not typical of Pali and Sanskrit manuscripts of *nikāya/āgama* discourse collections, which generally either present the first of a series of parallel descriptions in full and abbreviate the remainder or present the first and last in full and abbreviate the intermediate ones. The non-standardized pattern of this manuscript is no doubt due to the informal nature of the writing of the texts in the Senior collection, which is an anthology produced for interment in a *stūpa* rather than a formal edition of the canonical collection, and the pre-formal edition status of written forms of texts at this period. Gandhari *im̐thu ami*, *im̐thu am̐mi* and *im̐thu* meaning ‘thus’, ‘so’ occur in the Central Asian Niya documents (Boyer, Rapson and Senart 1920–1927). Examples are *yatha iśa rayadvaram̐mi vyo-chim̐nidaga siyati im̐thu ami atra vibhaśidavya* (Niya no. 312 cov. rev. 1), “According to what was decided here at the king’s court so you must make a decision there” (tr. Burrow 1940: 58), and *nammatga ca im̐thu mam̐treti* (Niya no. 90 obv. 4), “Namatga speaks thus” (tr. Burrow 1940: 18). In their edition of the documents, August M. Boyer, Edward J. Rapson and Emile Senart (1920–1927: 334) edit the *im̐thu ami*, *im̐thu am̐mi* examples as *im̐thu ami*, *im̐thu am̐mi*, but present them as *im̐thuami*, *im̐thuam̐mi* in the word index. Thomas Burrow (1937: 41) presents it as Gandhari *im̐thuami* on the grounds that *-mi*, *-emi* are suffixes commonly found in adverbs in the Niya documents. The other examples he cites are *tatre̐mi*, *atre̐mi*, *i̐se̐mi*, *tatiye̐mi* (Burrow 1937: 41) and with genitives of pronouns *tasye̐mi*, *te̐se̐mi* (Burrow 1937: 33).

The expression *ithu ami* also occurs in a Gandhari manuscript in the Bajaur collection currently being edited by Ingo Strauch: *[ith]u ami amamatiasa kaṭavo ithu [ami a] ///* (BC 7r6), while *ithu* occurs in another Bajaur manuscript currently being published by Andrea Schlosser (forthcoming): *sarvatra ithu kaṭave* (BC 4r28), which she translates as “in every case it should be done thus.”⁷³

The first component of the expression *ithu ami* in our text, in another *sūtra* on this manuscript, in the Bajaur manuscripts and in *im̐thu ami*, *im̐thu am̐mi* of the Niya documents clearly represents Pali/Sanskrit *ittham*, ‘thus’, ‘in this way’. An alternative to Burrow’s explanation for the second element *ami* is that it represents Pali/Sanskrit *api*, ‘also’, or Sanskrit *amī*, the nominative singular masculine of the pronoun *asau*. Brough (1962: index s.v. *ami*) takes the two occurrences of *ami* in the Khotan *Dharmapada* (Dhp-G^K 197c, 269c) to represent the latter (Sanskrit *amī*). However, the parallels to these *Dharmapada* verses could be used to support either interpretations (*api* or *amī*). In the first example *kala ami naṇubhavadi* (197c), the Pali parallel has *kalam pi te nānubhavanti* (AN IV 151,9); in the second example *uvhāi ami preca* (269c), the Pali has *ubho pi te pecca* (Dhp 306c), the Prakrit *ubho pi te precca* (PDhp 114c) and the Sanskrit *ubhau hi tau pretya* (Uv 8.1). That Gandhari *ithu ami* represents Sanskrit *ittham api*, meaning ‘so also’, is supported by a Pali passage that lists *evam pi*, *ittham pi* and *iti pi* as synonyms: *evam pi te mano ittham pi te mano iti pi te cittan ti* (DN I 213,27–28). The *Catuspariṣat-sūtra* Sanskrit parallel to the line 24 occurrence of our manuscript uses *evam* to indicate abbreviation: *evam vedanā samjñā saṃskārā vijñānaṃ* as it is in the Sanskrit *Samyukta-āgama* fragments edited by de La Vallée Poussin (CPS § 15.10 and

⁷³ I am indebted to Ingo Strauch and Andrea Schlosser for confirming these readings.

p. 449; de La Vallée Poussin 1913: § 1.2 = p. 569).⁷⁴

The use of the equivalent of Sanskrit *ittham* to indicate abbreviation or the application of what preceded to the elements that follow it, seems to be specific to Gandhari documents, though it does not appear to have been standardized. For example, in another Senior manuscript the full description is given for form (*ruo*) and consciousness (*viññaṇa*) with the middle three aggregates abbreviated without being marked by *ithu ami* or the like: *ruo ṇa tuspahu ta pajaasa ta prahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviṣa (*ḍi) vedāṇe saṇa sakhara viññaṇa ṇa tuspahu ...* (RS 5.16–17,20–21), “Form is not yours; you should abandon that. When abandoned, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. Feeling, perception, conditioned forces, perceptual consciousness are not yours ...” (tr. Glass 2007: 139 and 178).

atva bhaviṣe (l. 15). The Pali has *attā abhavissa*, a conditional future (e.g., SN III 66,34–35; Vin I 13,19–20). Although the Gandhari could rather be transliterated as *atvabhaviṣe*, representing a sandhi form of *atva abhaviṣe*, given that hiatus is commonly tolerated in Gandhari, as in *ma ahuṣi* in this document (ll. 11, 13, 16, etc.), as it is in Pali and other Prakrits, it is more likely that we are dealing with the unaugmented form *bhaviṣe*. For other examples of the conditional in Gandhari, which are also unaugmented forms, see Salomon (2008: 152–153, 163 and 290).

eva va ḍa viññaṇa ma ahuṣi (l. 18). The other examples of this phrase in our Gandhari text are *eva ruo ma hahuṣi* (l. 11), *eva ruo ma ahuṣi* (l. 13), *eva [va v]iññaṇa ma ahuṣi* (l. 16). In light of the reading of

⁷⁴ See Waldschmidt, Bechert and Hartmann et al. 1973–, s.v. *evam* 7 (p. 455) for further examples; see also ss.vv. *itthaṃ-nāma* and *evaṃ-nāma* for a further example of *evam* = *ittham*.

these examples and that of the Pali parallel *evaṃ me viññāṇaṃ mā ahoṣī ti* (SN III 67,17–18; Vin I 14,2), I take the inclusion of *ḍa* to be a scribal error and so mark it in the reconstruction: *eva va {ḍa} viññaṇa ma ahuṣi*.

ta ki mañaspa (l. 18). The spelling on line 21 is *ta ki mañasa*. The Pali parallel has *taṃ kiṃ maññatha* (e.g., SN III 67,22), the Sanskrit parallels *kiṃ manyadhve*⁷⁵ and *sacen manyatha*.⁷⁶ This phrase occurs elsewhere in the Senior manuscripts in both the plural form *ta ki mañasa* (e.g., RS 5.18) and singular *ta ki mañasi* (e.g., RS 17.25). The spelling *mañaspa* for the plural form is unexpected in the light of *mañasa* later in this text (l. 21) and elsewhere in the Senior manuscripts. In the Senior manuscripts, *sp* is the regular reflex of Old Indo-Aryan *sm* in both initial and medial position. Examples in this text are *yaspad* = Sanskrit *yasmād* (l. 11), *taspi* = Sanskrit *tasmin* (for *tasmād*) (l. 17), *spi* = Sanskrit *asmi* (l. 20), *viññaspi* = Pali *viññāsmiṃ* (l. 26).⁷⁷ In the Senior manuscripts *sp* may also be the reflex of Old Indo-Aryan *sv*, alongside *sv > śp*.⁷⁸ Silverlock (2015: 353) took *mañaspa* of our text as the 2nd person ātmanepada form corresponding to Sanskrit *manyadhve*, presumably on the grounds that *s* is a common Gandhari reflex of Old Indo-Aryan *dh* in intervocalic position. However, *sp* as a reflex of Old Indo-Aryan *dhv* is not attested to my knowledge, the cluster being commonly preserved. Examples are *adhvaṇa* = Sanskrit *adhvānam*, ‘time’ (Dhp-G^K 176b), and *saladhvaṇaṃ* = Sanskrit *śālādhvayam*, ‘pair of Sāla-trees’ (SC 108r1 = Allon and Salomon 2000: 245); cf.

⁷⁵ CPS §§ 15.6 and p. 448; SBhV I 138,21,25–26; Avś II 169,2,5–6.

⁷⁶ Mvu III 337,20, 338,5.

⁷⁷ See Glass 2007: 123; Silverlock 2015: 267–269.

⁷⁸ Silverlock 2015: 267–268.

udva = Sanskrit *ūrdhvam* (RS 5.2, 14). It is therefore more likely that this is a scribal error. However, I leave it as is in case a better solution is forthcoming.

This *taṃ kiṃ maññatha* passage also occurs in SN III 49,14, etc.

eṣao [amo] spi (l. 20), *e[ṣao] ? + ?* (l. 23). The two occurrences of the full phrase of which this forms a part are:

eṣe mamo eṣao [amo] spi [21] *eḍa me atva di* (ll. 20–21)

eṣe mama e[ṣao] ? + ? eḍa me a[tva] [24] *di* (ll. 23–24)

The Pali and Sanskrit parallels are:

Pali *etaṃ mama, eso 'ham asmi, eso me attā ti*⁷⁹

Sanskrit *etan mama, eṣo 'ham asmy, eṣa me ātmeti*⁸⁰

“This is mine, I am this, this is my self.”

Gandhari *eṣao* for Pali *eso 'haṃ/esāhaṃ*, Sanskrit *eso 'ham* occurs in RS 20.10 (see Marino 2017: 192) and in the Gandhari *Ekottarika*-type discourses (see Allon 2001: 203–218), and as *eṣau* in RS 18 frag. bv3. Elsewhere in the Senior manuscripts the nominative singular of the first-person pronoun appears as *avu* (19.2,22) and *aḥam* (19.21). The word *[amo]* in the line 21 occurrence is unexpected in the light of the parallels and it is unclear what it represents. Gandhari *amo* = Sanskrit *amum* (acc. sg. m.) occurs in RS 19.4, but it is unlikely that *[amo]* in the phrase under discussion represents this.

aṇica bhate (l. 19), *a(*ṇica) hi bhate*⁸¹ (ll. 21–22), etc. The Buddha asks the monks a series of three questions, to which they in turn reply. The monks’ replies to each are:

⁷⁹ e.g., SN III 68,3–4.

⁸⁰ e.g., SBhV I 138,25,30; CPS p. 449,2–3; Avś II 169,5,8–9.

⁸¹ The reading of the manuscript is *[aṇi] + [22] hi bhate*.

(1) To the Buddha's question as to whether form, feelings, etc. are permanent or impermanent: Gandhari *aṇica bhate* (l. 19), *aṇi(*ca) hi bhate* (ll. 21–22), where the Pali parallel has *aniccam bhante* (e.g., SN III 67,24,33), “impermanent, venerable sir”, and the Sanskrit parallels *anityaṃ bhadanta* (CPS §§ 15.6,11 and pp. 448–449), *anityam idaṃ bhadanta* (SBhV I 138,22,27), *anityam idaṃ āyusman* (Avś II 169,3,6–7), *anityaṃ hi taṃ bhagavaṃ* (Mvu III 337,20, 338,6) and (*rūpaṃ*) *anityaṃ hīdaṃ bhagavan* (Mvu III 339,17, 340,3–4).

(2) To the Buddha's question as to whether what is impermanent is suffering or happiness: Gandhari *dukha (*i)ḍa bhate*⁸² (l. 19), *dukha iḍa bhate* (l. 22), “this is suffering, venerable sir”, where the Pali has *dukkhaṃ bhante* (e.g., SN III 67,26, 68,1), “suffering, venerable sir”, and the Sanskrit parallels *duḥkhaṃ bhadanta* (CPS §§ 15.7,13 and p. 449), *duḥkhaṃ idaṃ bhadanta* (SBhV I 138,23,28), *duḥkhaṃ idaṃ āyusman* (Avś II 169,3–4,7).⁸³

(3) To the Buddha's question as to whether it is suitable to treat such things as oneself, etc.: Gandhari *ṇo i(*ḍa) bhate*⁸⁴ (l. 21), *ṇo i bhate* (l. 24), where the Pali has *no hetam bhante* (e.g., SN III 67,30, 68,5), lit. “surely, this is not [suitable], venerable sir”,⁸⁵ and the Sanskrit parallels *no bhadanta* (CPS §§ 15.9,15 and p. 449; SBhV I 138,25,30–139,1), *no āyusman* (Avś II 169,5,9).⁸⁶

As can be seen, there is some variation in the Indic versions in the inclusion or omission of the particle *hi* and the pronoun *idaṃ*, *etaṃ*, *taṃ*. Not surprisingly, where the Pali and Sanskrit texts tend

⁸² The reading of the manuscript is *dukha ? ḍa bhate*.

⁸³ The *Mahāvastu* lacks this phrase.

⁸⁴ The reading of the manuscript is *ṇo [i] ? bhate*.

⁸⁵ Translated by Bodhi 2000: 902 as “No, venerable sir.”

⁸⁶ The *Mahāvastu* lacks this phrase.

to show consistency within a given answer, the Gandhari does not. I therefore take the *i* of *ṇo i bhate* (l. 24) in the third response as the equivalent of Pali/Sanskrit *hi* (also found in one of the two answers in the first response) rather than as a scribal error for *ida* = Pali/Sanskrit *idaṃ* on the basis of the proceeding *ṇo i(*ḍa) bhate* (l. 21).

e ? + ? ? ? ? /// [25] *ariaṣavao* (ll. 24–25). The Pali parallel has *evaṃ passaṃ bhikkhave sutavā ariyasāvako* (SN III 68,20; Vin I 14,27), “Monks, seeing thus the well-taught noble disciple.” The Sanskrit parallels have similar expressions: *evaṃdarśī āyuṣmantah śrutavān āryaśrāvako* (Avś II 170,3),⁸⁷ *yataś ca bhikṣavaḥ śrutavān āryaśrāvaka(h)* (SBhV I 139,10; CPS § 15.18 and p. 449). The Gandhari most likely paralleled the Pali. I therefore take the most likely reconstruction for the end of l. 24 as *e(*va paśa śruḍava)*, with the vocative *bhikṣava* missing in keeping with the usual tendency in this text.

ruehi ṇividaḍi vedāṇae ṇividaḍi saṇae [ṇividaḍi] ? + + [26][*hi*] *ṇividaḍi viṇaṇaspi ṇividaḍi* (ll. 25–26). The reconstruction is *ruehi ṇividaḍi vedāṇae ṇividaḍi saṇae ṇividaḍi (*sakhare)[26]hi ṇividaḍi viṇaṇaspi ṇividaḍi*, “is disgusted with forms ...” etc. (see translation above). The Gandhari differs from all versions that contain such a passage in having the plural *ruehi* for the first of the five aggregates where the others have the singular:

Pali *rūpasmim pi nibbindati vedanāya pi nibbindati saññāya pi nibbindati saṅkhāresu pi nibbindati viññānasmim pi nibbindati*.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ The same wording occurs in the Buddha’s discourse to King Bimbisāra (SBhV I 160,10–13) mentioned above.

⁸⁸ E^c Vin I 14,27–29; B^c SN II 56,20–22, Vin III 20,19–21; C^c SN III 118,1–3 = Vin IV 30,10–12; S^c SN III 84,18–20 = Vin IV 28,8–10. In contrast, E^c

Sanskrit *rūpād api nirvidyate vedanāyāḥ saṃjñāyāḥ saṃskārebhyo vijñānād api nirvidyate*.⁸⁹

Whereas in the Pali the verb *nibbindati* is construed with the locative (*rūpasmim*, etc.), in the Sanskrit the same verb *nirvidyate* is construed with the ablative (*rūpād*, etc.). The Gandhari parallels the Pali as indicated by *viññāspi*, which is clearly the locative singular. The ending *-ehi* in *ruehi* is an instance of the instrumental plural merged with the locative plural, which is not uncommon in the Senior manuscripts, as elsewhere in Gandhari.⁹⁰

The plural form of our text (*ruehi*) is unique among the parallels but appears to be used in a similar phrase found elsewhere in the Senior manuscripts: *ya ruei ñivriḍa[bahu]la ? ///* (RS 7 + 8.15).⁹¹ This is a quote of the beginning of the third *sūtra* on scroll 5 where the actual text has the locative singular: *[ya] ruo ñivriḍabahulo vihareā* (RS 5.23–24; Glass 2007: 186–188), “That he should live full of disgust with respect to form” (tr. Glass 2007: 188). The Pali parallel to this example is *so rūpe nibbidābahulo viharanto* (SN III 179,16). The RS 7 + 8.15 example suggests that *ruehi* is not a scribal error of the plural written for the singular but that the locative plural was intended here. Further support for this comes from a similar passage that concludes the *Cūlarāhulovāda-sutta* of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya*, a discourse that closely parallels the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*, which has the plural form *rūpesu nibbindati: evaṃ passaṃ, rāhula*,

SN III 68,20–22 reads *rūpasmim nibbindati vedanāya nibbindati saññāya saṅkhāresu viññāṇasmim nibbindati*, omitting *nibbindati* after *saññāya* and *saṅkhāresu* as a form of abbreviation and omitting *pi* after each aggregate.

⁸⁹ de La Vallée Poussin 1907: 376,35–377,2, cf. Chung 2008: 326 note 31; SBhV I 160,10–12; Avś II 170,3–4.

⁹⁰ For the Senior examples, see Silverlock 2015: 314–318 [§ 7.2.14].

⁹¹ Glass 2007: 186 reads *ya rue i ñivriḍa[bahu]la*.

sutavā ariyasāvako cakkhusmiṃ nibbindati, rūpesu nibbindati ... manasmīṃ nibbindati, dhammesu nibbindati ... nibbindaṃ virajjati, virāgā vimuccati. vimuttasmiṃ vimuttam iti ñāṇaṃ hoti ... (MN III 279,24–280,5).

? [va]ro ima ? tva *ḍi* payaṇadi (l. 28). The first word can be reconstructed as (**ṇa*)varo based on the occurrence of the same expression in another text in the Senior collection: *ṇavara tatva [de] payaṇami* (RS 19.31) and the Pali and Sanskrit parallels: *nāparam itthattāyā ti pajānātī ti*⁹² and *nāparam asmād bhāvam prajānāmīti*,⁹³ respectively. I take *ḍi* of our text and *[de]* of the RS 19 occurrence as the quotative particle, Sanskrit *iti*, as found in the Pali expression. Lee (2009: 74, 158) read the RS 19.31 occurrence as *ṇavara ta[sma de] payaṇami*, taking *taśma* as Sanskrit *tasmād* and translating the phrase as “I know: ‘... there is no future state after that’” (p. 158). However, the spelling for the equivalent of Sanskrit *tasmād* in the Senior manuscripts is normally *taspaḍ* or *taspi*,⁹⁴ while a recent reconstruction of the manuscript shows the reading to be *tatva [de]*. At first appearance *tatva* of this RS 19.31 occurrence would seem to be the equivalent of Sanskrit *tattva*-, but this would not suit the context. Equally problematic is *ima ? tva*. The manuscript is split at this point with only the top and bottom of the third *aḥsara* remaining. The reading appears to be either *dha* or *sa*, or less likely *ta*. But it is not clear what *imadhatva* or *imasatva* could represent. The *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (Trenckner et al. 1924–2011, s.v. *itthatta*)

⁹² SN III 68,25; Vin I 14,32.

⁹³ E.g., SBhV I 139,14; Avś II 170,5. The *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* parallel (CPS § 15.19) is reconstructed based on other instances of the formula.

⁹⁴ An example of *taspaḍ* is found in RS 20.28 and examples of *taspi*, which is formally the locative, Sanskrit *tasmin*, used for the ablative, are found in RS 20.16,18,19, 22.17. For *taspi*, see Allon 2001: 199–200.

and the *Dictionary of Pāli* (Cone 2001–, s.v. *itthatta*) take Pali *itthatta* to be *itthaṃ*, ‘thus’, or/and **ittha* = *ettha*, ‘here’, plus abstract suffix, Sanskrit *-tva*,⁹⁵ but neither this nor *asmād bhāvam* found in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, which is reflected in Pali commentarial gloss on *itthattāya* with *ittha-bhāvāya* or *itthaṃ-bhāvāya* (e.g., Sv 226,8), gives assistance.

iḍam=e ? [30] *bhayava atamaṇa pacea bhikhu* (ll. 29–30). This represents an abbreviation of the formula that typically occurs at the end of discourses involving the Buddha addressing his monks. The Pali parallel has *idam avoca bhagavā. attamaṇā pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun (ti)* (SN III 68,26–27; Vin I 14,32–34).

Further examples of both abbreviated and complete forms are found in the Senior manuscripts. Complete examples are:

iḍam eya bhayavaḍa atamaṇa [te bhi]khu bhayava[ḍa] bhaṣiḍa aviṇaḍiḍe (RS 22 v.42–43)

iḍam oyi bhayava atamaṇo so bhamana bhayavaḍa bhaṣiḍe aviṇaḍiḍa | (RS 20.11)

*iḍa<*m eyi> bhayava atamaṇa si bhikhu aiṣpa ye ṇada bhaya-va bh(*aṣ)iḍa aviṇaḍiḍe* (RS 19.32)

Abbreviated examples are:

iḍam eya bhayava atamaṇa te bhikhu (RS 20.30)

iḍam eyi bhayava (RS 5.21)

hiḍam e[yi] bhayava (RS 5.27–27M)

For discussions of the Gandhari examples and their parallels, see Allon (2001: 218–223 and 243), Glass (2007: 184), Lee (2009: 163–165) and Marino (2017: 196–199).

⁹⁵ Edgerton 1953a, s.v. *itthatva* proposes that the spelling *icchatva* found in manuscripts of the *Mahāvastu* is a “mere graphic corruption” and should be read as *itthatva*.

Figure 1. Grey Scale Image of Unreconstructed Manuscript
(Frame 22.1; Original in Colour)

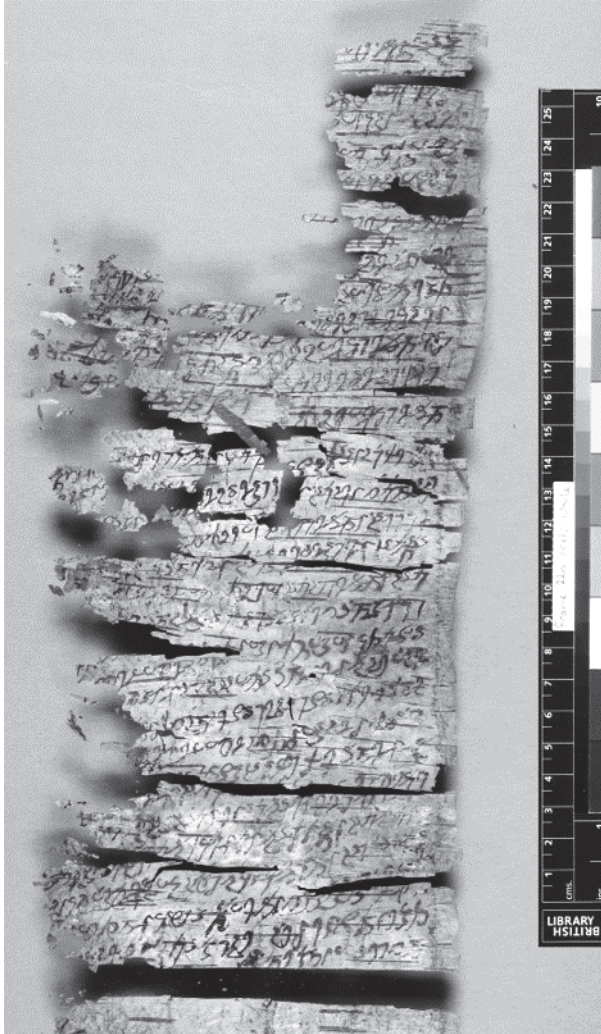


Figure 2. Key to the Reconstructed Manuscript
Containing Lines 8–30



Figure 3. Lines 8–30 of the Reconstructed Manuscript
 Based on the Infrared Image

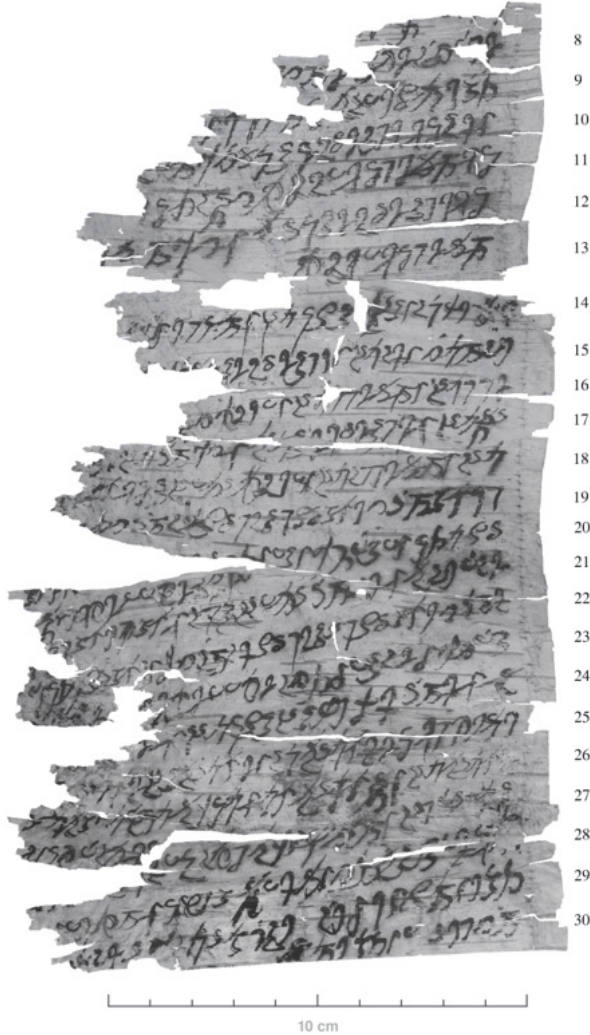
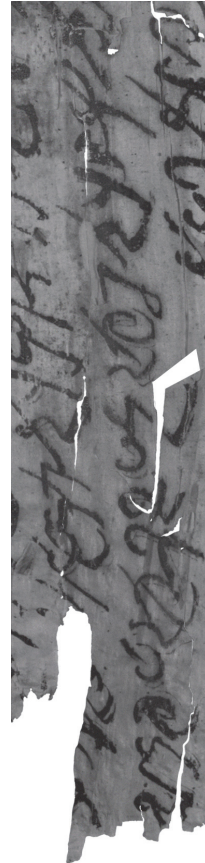


Figure 4.
Detail of Lines 19–20



Figure 5.
Detail of Lines 26–27



Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| Avś | <i>Avadānaśataka</i> (ed. Speyer 1906–1909) |
| BC | Bajaur collection |
| B ^e | Burmese (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) edition |
| C ^e | Ceylonese (Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series) edition |
| CPS | <i>Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra</i> (ed. Waldschmidt 1952–1962) |
| Dhp | <i>Dhammapada</i> |
| Dhp-G ^K | ‘Khotan’ Gandhari <i>Dharmapada</i> (ed. Brough 1962) |
| DN | <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> |
| E ^e | European (Pali Text Society) edition |
| G-SĀ | Gandhari <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> |
| Jā | <i>Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā</i> |
| l/l | line/lines |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| MSS | manuscript |
| Mvu | <i>Mahāvastu-avadāna</i> (ed. Senart 1882–1897) |
| PDhp | Patna <i>Dharmapada</i> (ed. Cone 1989) |
| Ps | <i>Papañcasūdanī</i> |
| RS | Robert Senior (collection) |
| SĀ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SBhV | <i>Saṅghabhedavastu</i> (ed. Gnoli 1977–1978) |
| SC | Schøyen collection |
| S ^e | Siamese (King of Siam) edition |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Spk | <i>Sāratthappakāsinī</i> |
| Sv | <i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition |

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Uv | <i>Udānavarga</i> (ed. Bernhard 1965–1968) |
| Vin | (Theravāda) <i>Vinaya</i> |
| VRI ^e | Vipassana Research Institute edition [= B ^e] |

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**The Gandhari ‘Discourse
on Pleasure and Pain’:
Some Thoughts on Similes and Textual
Variation in the Connected Discourses**

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Abstract

This article presents the Gandhari *Discourse on Pleasure and Pain (**Suhadukha-sutra*), a text from the Robert Senior collection of Gandhari manuscripts with no direct parallels in other languages, but which probably belongs to a Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* collection in a chapter about the six sense bases. The article also investigates variation between several Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* discourses and their parallels in other languages, particularly with respect to their similes, raising questions about the role of similes in the construction of *Samyutta-nikāya* and *Samyukta-āgama* discourses.

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I. Introduction

The Robert Senior collection of Buddhist manuscripts¹ (RS) in the Gandhari language and Kharoṣṭhī script contains what appears to be an anthology of *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourses. Twenty-six of the collection's forty-one texts found across twenty-four birch-bark scrolls have primary parallels in existing *Saṃyutta-nikāya*/*Saṃyukta-āgama* collections (hereafter 'Connected Discourses' when referred to in the abstract).² At least three others lack direct parallels but can be reasonably placed in the context of the Connected Discourses based on the similarity of their contents with other discourses (Allon 2007: 21). Further references to Connected Discourses can be found in the collection's two so-called 'index scrolls', which contain a list of fifty-five titles or references to discourses, many of which correspond to texts in the Senior collection, but some of which do not.³ It is in part on the basis of these texts, particularly those on RS 11 which comprise a group similar to the Pali *Vaṇa-saṃyutta*, that

¹ A brief overview of the collection can be found in the previous volume in this series (Allon and Silverlock 2017, especially pp. 4–11). Other relevant studies include Salomon's preliminary report (2003), Allon's overview of each manuscript's contents (2007) and his recent review of scholarship on the collection (2014), Glass' study of Senior scroll 5 (RS 5), which contains a comparison of the Gandhari *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourses with the Pali *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgamas* (2007), Lee Mei-huang's dissertation on RS 19 (2009), Silverlock's dissertation on RS 12 (2015) and my own dissertation on RS 20 (2017).

² 'Connected Discourses' is the English translation of the Pali title *Saṃyutta-nikāya* used by Bhikkhu Bodhi in Bodhi 2000, and adopted by Glass 2007: 26 note 2 to refer equally to the Pali text and the *Saṃyukta-āgama* collections in Chinese, Sanskrit and Gandhari.

³ A study of the Senior 'index scrolls' is in progress by Mark Allon.

Mark Allon has surmised that a “stable, if not fixed *Samyukta-āgama* was known to the Gandharan community who produced these manuscripts in the first half of the second century A.D.” (Allon 2007: 22).⁴ While the organizing principle of the Senior collection remains somewhat obscure, the efforts of especially Mark Allon and Andrew Glass have shed considerable light on the nature of the collection and the relationship between its discourses and their respective parallels in other languages.

This essay is about Robert Senior scroll 20 (RS 20), which contains two *Samyukta-āgama* discourses. My aim is twofold. First, I present a transliteration and translation of the first discourse on the scroll along with a brief study that attempts to situate it within the context of other Connected Discourses collections. This discourse, which I provisionally call the **Suhadukha-sutra* (Skt. **Sukhaduḥkha-sūtra*), or **‘Discourse on Pleasure and Pain’*,⁵ is among those with no direct parallels, but whose component parts can be found in various other discourses among the Connected Discourses in such a way that suggests a natural context in the ‘Chapter on the Six Sense Bases’ (Pali *Salāyatana-saṃyutta*). Following this preliminary presentation, I will publish a comprehensive comparative and linguistic study of both discourses on RS 20 along with a full glossary and reconstructed images of the manuscript as part of the Gandharan Buddhist

⁴ See also the criticism of this statement by Fussman 2012: 196–199 and the recent response by Allon 2018, especially 231–241.

⁵ This title reflects the main doctrinal content of the discourse. Another possible title is the **Nagarohama-sutra*, or ‘Discourse on the Simile of the City’, in reference to the discourse’s simile. There is an entry on one of the Senior ‘index scrolls’ (entry no. 11, RS 7 recto line 3) that reads *nagaroham[e ·]*, which might refer to the discourse in question, although it is possible that it refers to a different discourse not preserved in the collection.

Texts series.⁶ In conjunction with this, I plan to make available an online edition produced through the Research Environment for Ancient Documents, an open-source web platform for producing scholarly editions and studies of ancient documents.⁷

The second aim of this paper is to examine the use of similes in the *‘Discourse on Pleasure and Pain’ and in other Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* discourses from the Senior collection to contribute towards a better understanding of textual variation within and across early Buddhist textual collections, particularly with respect to similes. Among the thousands of largely aphoristic discourses in the Connected Discourses, many are little more than a setting, single teaching and simile for illustration. In other words, while similes are nearly ubiquitous in early Buddhist discourses, their literary and pedagogical role is somewhat amplified in the shorter discourses characteristic of the Connected Discourses. Therefore, recognizing how parallels differ in terms of similes can help us understand how these texts were composed and redacted. In considering this, I take as a starting point the conversation between Rupert Gethin, Alexander Wynne and others about whether the application of certain literary and mnemonic devices reveals a kind of creative flexibility in the composition of early Buddhist discourses.⁸

⁶ There are currently six published volumes: Salomon 2000, Allon 2001, Lenz 2002, Glass 2007, Salomon 2008 and Lenz 2010.

⁷ READ has been in development since 2013, and has been funded by Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich; the University of Washington, Seattle; Université de Lausanne; the University of Sydney, Sydney; and the Prakaś Foundation, Sydney. See <https://github.com/readsoftware/read> and <https://read.readworkbench.org/>.

⁸ See for example Gethin 1992, Wynne 2004 and Gethin 2007, and broader studies of orality in early Buddhist literature by Allon 1997, 2018 and Anālayo 2007, 2011 (especially 855–891) and 2017 (especially 449–553).

I. The Gandhari *‘Discourse on Pleasure and Pain’

I.1 RS 20, *Sūtra* 1: **Suhadukha-sutra*

The first discourse on RS 20 presents a dialogue between the Buddha and ‘a certain brahmin’. No setting is provided.⁹ The discourse describes the six sense bases as the sites through which pleasure and pain arise internally and then illustrates the teaching with a simile about a gatekeeper in a fortified city. A discussion between the Buddha and ‘a certain brahmin’, the teaching about the six sense bases and the city simile can all be found in more or less the same form in other discourses in Pali, Chinese or Sanskrit. However, those units are here presented with a few idiosyncrasies and are arranged in such a way that in effect constitutes a unique discourse, making this discourse a fruitful case for comparative study.

I.2 Hybrid Transcription¹⁰

1. *a[ñ](*e)[ar]o [brama]ṇo y(*e)ṇa bh(*a)[y](*a)[v](*a)[ḍ](*a)
t(*e)ṇa uasaka[m](*i ua)[s](*a)[k](*a)[mit](*a) [bh](*a)[y](*a)[v](*a)
[ḍ](*a) [s](*adha) [samodā] ṣamo[ḍa]ṇi(*o) [k](*a)[ṣa] sara-*

⁹ There is no *nidāna* or narrative setting in the first line of text, but the top right portion of the manuscript is missing and it is possible that an abbreviated *nidāna* like *śavasti-nidāṇe* or *śavasti viharaḍi* was originally written above the first line of text. Such abbreviated *nidānas* appear elsewhere in Senior manuscripts, apparently as placeholders where texts were to be subsequently written. See especially the top right corner of the verso of RS 5, which reads *śavasti-ṇi* (Glass 2007: 140).

¹⁰ See end of article for transcription conventions.

- yaṇio viviso uḍaṣoraitva*
2. *ekamata aṭa ekamata aṭiḍo so braṃaṇo bhayavata eḍaḍ=aya ko bho godama haḍa ko pacea logo suhadukhasa upaḍae [ṣ](*)a [i](*)ma [b]r(*)a)maṇa*
 3. *haḍa ṣa pacea logo suhadukhasa upaḍae kaḍara ṣa e cakṣusa braṃa[ṇ](*)a [sa]ḍa cakhuṣapha«ṣapa»ceae upacadi acatva suhadukha sotrogaṇo-*
 4. *cibhakayamaṇosa 2 «braṃaṇa saḍo» manos(*)p(*)aṣ(*)a)pacea apacadi a[j](*)a)tva suhadukho sayasavi braṃaṇo raṇa pacatima ṇakar[e] dhriḍada[re]*
 5. *dhriḍapraḱaratoraṇa ṣadvaro tatraspi doario paḍiḍa meṣavi tatro miavimasasamuṇaḱaḍa so imasa ṇakarasa samato aṇupa-(*)rya)-*
 6. *yapaṣo ṇa i paṣea paṣaṇaṣa chidva atamaḍo bilaḍaṇisaga«ṇa» matra va taṣa amasa eḍa ahuṣi ye ke oraḍi praṇa ima [ṇ](*)a)-[k](*)a)-*
 7. *r[o] pravi(*)ṣati ṇa)[kramati s](*)a)v(*)a) [te] i im[e]hi ṣahi dvarehi praviṣati ṇakramati evam=eva braṃaṇa ṣa haḍa ṣa pacea loga suhadukhasa upa[ḍ](*)a)-*
 8. *e cakṣusa braṃaṇa saḍo cakhusapaṣapaceae upacadi ajatva suhadukha sotrogaṇocibhekayamaṇasa braṃaṇa saḍa maṇo-sapaṣapa-*
 9. *cea upajadi ajatva suhadukha ima braṃaṇa ṣa heḍa ṣa pacea loge suhadukhasa upaḍae iḍi vute ṣo braṃaṇo bhayava[ta] eḍaḍ=a«ya»*
 10. *eṣao bha<te> geḍa[m](*)a) [ṣ](*)a)[r](*)a)ṇo gachami dhrarma ja bhikhuṣaga ja uasao me bh[i] godama dhareṇi ajavagreṇa yavajiva p(*)ra)ṇueḍa*
 11. *ṣaraṇa gaḍe iḍam=oyi bhayava atamaṇo so bhamana bhaya-vaḍa bhaṣiḍe avinadida*

I.3 Translation

[*Brahmin's Approach*]¹¹

[1] A certain brahmin approached the Blessed One, and having approached, exchanged courtesies with him. Having exchanged various courteous and polite greetings with him, [2] he stood to one side. Standing to one side, he said this to the Blessed One: "What, sir Gotama, is the cause, what is the condition for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world?"

[*Origin of Pleasure and Pain*]

[The Buddha said:] "Brahmin, there are these six [3] causes and six conditions for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world. What are the six? When there is an eye, brahmin, pleasure and pain arise internally due to contact with the eye. When there is an ear, nose, [4] tongue, body and mind, brahmin, pleasure and pain arise internally due to contact with the [ear, nose, tongue, body and] mind.

[*Simile of the Fortified City*]

"Brahmin, it is just as if there is a king's frontier city with strong ramparts, [5] strong walls and arches and six doors. In it, there is a wise, intelligent gatekeeper, there charged with the investigation of animals.¹² On the path encircling the city on all sides, [6] he would

¹¹ Section headings inserted by the author.

¹² Here and in my 2015 publication related to this phrase, I translate *tatro miavimasasamuṇaḥkaḍa* as the equivalent of a hypothetical Pali **tatra miga-vīmaṃsā-samannāgata*, 'there charged with the investigation of animals'. An alternative reading that I have unfortunately recognized too late to explore thoroughly here is *tatromia-vimasa-samuṇaḥkaḍa*, roughly parallel to Pali *tatrūpāyāya vīmaṃsāya samannāgata* (e.g., Vin IV 211,11–12, where it appears out of compound), which the *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* defines as 'endowed with genius in all kinds of means' (Rhys Davids and Stede 1921: 295, s.v. *tatra*). Pali *tatrūpāya* is a

not see a crack in the stone even large enough for a cat to creep through. Thus it [might have] occurred to him: ‘whatever sizable creatures enter [7] and exit this city will enter and exit through these six doors.’ Just so, brahmin, there are six causes and six conditions for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world. [8] When there is an eye, brahmin, pleasure and pain arise internally due to contact with the eye. When there is an ear, nose, tongue, body and mind, brahmin, [9] pleasure and pain arise internally due to contact with the [ear, nose, tongue, body and] mind. These, brahmin, are the six causes and six conditions for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world.”

[*Brahmin’s Conversion*]

This being said, the brahmin said this to the Blessed One: [10] “I, sir, go to Gotama as a refuge, and the teachings and community of monks. Accept me as a lay follower, sir Gotama, from now on, as long as I live, as long as I breathe, as one [11] gone to the refuge.”

[*Brahmin Rejoices in the Teaching*]

combination of *tatra*, which at the beginning of a compound can mean ‘all kinds of’ or ‘complete’, and *upāya*, ‘means’ or ‘method’. In the Sanskrit *Saṅghabhedavastu* from Gilgit, a slightly different phrase can be found describing a skillful person, *tantrapamikayā mīmāṃsikyā prajñayā samanvāgataḥ* (Gnoli 1977: I 52). Sanskrit *tantrapamikā* appears to be a combination of *tantra* and perhaps a form related to *aupamika*, the meaning of which is obscure to me in this context. The phonetic correspondence between Gandhari *tatromia* and Pali *tatrūpāya* is possible, but not expected, and *tatromia* could only be explained as a reflex of Sanskrit *tantrapamikā* if we accept that the scribe omitted a *p* or *a* after *tro*. More work needs to be done here to better understand the meaning of this passage, including consulting the various Chinese renderings of these phrases. The slight variation across different languages suggests that it has been a problematic passage for a long time.

The Blessed One said this. Pleased, the brahmin rejoiced in the words of the Blessed One.

I.4 A Certain Brahmin

As mentioned above, this discourse has no complete parallels. I will discuss relevant parallels to its component parts in the following sections. The discourse is framed by a dialogue between the Buddha and 'a certain brahmin' (G. *a[ñ](*e)[ar]o [brama]ṇo*, P. *aññatara brāhmaṇo*). Among the relatively few discourses in the Connected Discourses in which an unnamed 'certain brahmin' approaches the Buddha with a question,¹³ none correspond to our text beyond the basic structure in which a brahmin greets the Buddha and poses a question, after which the Buddha gives a teaching and the brahmin converts.¹⁴ There is a text in Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the Connected Discourses called the 'Discourse about a Certain Brahmin' (Pali *Aññatara-sutta*).¹⁵ The commentary to the Pali ex-

¹³ In the *Samyutta-nikāya*, see for example (as named in the PTS edition) the *Aññatara-sutta* (SN 12.46 at SN II 75–6), *Gaṅgā-sutta* (SN 15.8 or SN II 183–184) and *Brāhmaṇa-sutta* (SN 47.5 at V 174). In the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, there are at least seven examples: Book of Twos: AN I 55,22 = SN V 301,17; AN I 62,16; Threes: AN I 156,24; Sixes: AN III 337,20; AN III 357,24; AN III 364,6. Examples in the larger Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99) of interlocutors described as 'a certain brahmin', 異婆羅門 or 有婆羅門, include discourses 54, 96, 97, 100, 300, 459, 561, 783, 886, 887, 888, 946, 1040, 1161 and 1271.

¹⁴ As Bodhi 2000: 36 notes, 'auditor-setting variation', whereby identical discourses are delivered in different contexts or to different interlocutors, is common in the *Samyutta-nikāya*. Here is a case where different teachings are delivered to 'a certain brahmin.'

¹⁵ Pali SN 12.46 at SN II 75 (*aññataram* in the Pali *uddāna* at SN II 80), Chinese SĀ 300, Sanskrit *Nidāna-samyukta* (Tripāṭhī 1962) 18 (*brāh-*

plains that this ‘certain brahmin’ is simply ‘not well-known by name’.¹⁶ This scenario brings to mind what must have been frequent encounters between the Buddha or early Buddhists on the one hand, and numerous random brahmins and other *śramaṇas* on the other. Together with its apparent lack of a setting, such an encounter with an unnamed interlocutor gives the Gandhari **Suhadukha-sutra* a generic quality lacking any specific historical detail.

I.5 Origin of Pleasure and Pain

As in many encounters between the Buddha and brahmins, in the **Suhadukha-sutra* the main concern is epistemology, what we can know and how we can know it. The question “what causes pleasure and pain to arise in the world?” is part of the Buddhist project of breaking down subjective experience into its constituent parts, in this case, from the perspective of the sense bases. To contextualize this doctrinal component of the discourse in the early Buddhist discourse about the sense bases, and to situate it among its closest parallels in the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta*, a good place to start is with the *Sabba-sutta* (SN 35.23 at SN IV 15). There, the six internal and six external sense bases (i.e., eye and forms, ear and sounds, etc.) are described as ‘the all’. In other words, one way of defining what it is possible for a person to know is in terms of the sense faculties and their objects. As the commentary notes, “... if one passes over the twelve sense bases, one cannot point out any real phenomenon [*sa-bhāvadhammo*]” (Bodhi 2000: 1399 note 7).¹⁷ This is important epis-

maṇā in the Sanskrit *uddāna*). Note that titles of Pali discourses are taken from the PTS editions for the sake of convenient reference.

¹⁶ Spk II 75,24–25: *aññataro ti nāmasena apākatō* (B° *apākaṭo*) *aññataro brāhmaṇo*.

¹⁷ Spk II 358,2–4: *imāni pana dvādasāyatanāni atikkamitvā ayaṃ nāma añño*

temologically and soteriologically, as noted by Bhikkhu Bodhi, who highlights the dual role of the sense bases in Buddhist thought. Epistemologically, they are an alternative to the five *khandhas* as a way of classifying phenomena, and soteriologically they also factor in descriptions of the “practical exigencies of the Buddha’s path aimed at liberation from suffering” (Bodhi 2000: 1124). The *Sabbasutta* argues that because the sense bases and their objects condition all human experience, then one must be able to find the origin of *dukkha* (‘unsatisfactoriness’, ‘pain’) there. Therefore, fully understanding and abandoning ‘the all’, that is, the eye and forms, etc., must lead to the end of *dukkha*. Based on this fundamental understanding, discourses can be found throughout the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* connecting *dukkha* and its opposite, *sukha*, with the sense bases.¹⁸

Returning to the **Suhadukha-sutra*, its wording of the brahmin’s question about the origin of pleasure and pain does not precisely match other Indic examples: *ko bho godama haḍa ko pacae logo suhadukhasa upaḍae*, “What, sir Gotama, is the cause, what is the condition for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world?” However, similar questions can be found elsewhere in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, especially in the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta*. For instance, in the *Upādāya-sutta* the Buddha asks: “Bhikkhus, when what exists, by clinging to what, do pleasure and pain arise internally?” (Bodhi 2000:

sabhāvadhammo atthī ti dassetuṃ na sakkuṇeyya.

¹⁸ The ‘Discourse on Suffering’ (*Dukkha-sutta*) summarizes the connection between the sense bases and suffering: *katamo ca bhikkhave dukkhassa samudayo. cakkhuṃ ca paticca rūpe ca uppajjati cakkhuviññāṇaṃ. tiṇṇaṃ saṅgati phasso. phassapaccayā vedanā. vedanāpaccayā taṇhā. ayam kho bhikkhave dukkhassa samudayo* (SN 12.43 at SN II 72,3–7), “And what, bhikkhus, is the origin of suffering? In dependence on the eye and forms, eye-consciousness arises. The meeting of the three is contact. With contact as condition, feeling [comes to be]; with feeling as condition, craving. This is the origin of suffering” (Bodhi 2000: 580).

1184).¹⁹ Other texts state that contact causes pleasure and pain.²⁰

The closest Indic textual parallel to the Buddha's response to the brahmin's question in the **Suhadukha-sutra* ("when there is an eye, pleasure and pain arise internally due to contact with the eye") is found in the two Pali *Hatthapādupama-suttas*, or 'Discourses about Hands and Feet', in the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* (SN 35.195–196 at IV 171–172). Here, the primary teaching about the sense bases is nearly identical, but the Buddha teaches monks, not a brahmin, and the simile is not about a city, but instead about the body. The relevant section from the first 'Discourse about Hands and Feet' is as follows:

Bhikkhus, when there are hands, picking up and putting down are discerned.²¹ When there are feet, coming and going are discerned. When there are limbs, bending and stretching are discerned. When there is the belly, hunger and thirst are discerned. So too, bhikkhus, when there is the eye, pleasure and pain arise internally with eye-contact as condition [...] When there is the mind, pleasure and pain arise internally with mind-contact as condition.²²

¹⁹ SN 35.105 at SN IV 85,16–17: *kismiṃ nu kho bhikkhave sati kiṃ upā-dāya uppajjati ajjhattaṃ sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ ti*.

²⁰ E.g., *Bhūmija-sutta* of the *Nidāna-saṃyutta* (SN 12.25 at SN II 38,21–22): *sukhadukkhaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā ... phassaṃ paṭicca*, "The Blessed One has said that pleasure and pain are ... dependent on contact" (translation Bodhi 2000: 560). The fragmentary Sanskrit *Chachakka-sūtra* also seems to contain a similar discussion, ed. Enomoto 1989: 9: ... *pratīyayam āddhyāt-mam utpadyate vedayitam sukhaṃ ...*, "feeling, [whether] pleasant (*or unpleasant), arises internally due to ..."

²¹ The 'Second Discourse about Hands and Feet' (SN 35.196 at SN IV 172) is identical, but replaces *pāññāyati* ('is discerned, is perceived') with *hoti* ('is').

²² SN 35.195 at SN IV 171,19–27: *hatthesu bhikkhave sati ādānanikkhepa-*

Unlike in the **Suhadukha-sutra*, here the semantic parallelism between the simile and teaching is perfect (i.e., *when there are hands ... when there is the eye ...*). The Chinese parallel from the *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 1166 at T II 311b26–c8) is nearly identical, but has 受 (Pali *vedanā*, 'feeling') where Pali has *sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ* ('pleasure and pain'). The relevant section is as follows:

Because there are hands, one knows taking and putting down. Because there are feet, one knows going and coming. Because there are joints, one knows flexing and extending. Because there is the stomach, one knows hunger and thirst. Like this, monks, because there is the eye, with the cause and condition of contact with the eye there arises feeling experienced within, whether painful or pleasant, or neither painful nor pleasant. The ear, nose, tongue, body and mind are also like this.²³

The shared core doctrinal element is: "when there is an eye (ear, nose, etc.), pleasure and pain (or feeling) arise internally due to contact with the eye (ear, nose, etc.)." The textual relationship between the Gandhari and Pali is obvious even at a glance:

naṃ paññāyati. pādesu sati abhikkamapatikkamo paññāyati. pabbesu sati samīñjanapasāraṇaṃ paññāyati. kucchismiṃ sati jighacchā pipāsā paññāyati. evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave cakkhusmiṃ sati cakkhusamphassa-paccayā uppajjati ajjhataṃ sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ pe ... manasmīṃ sati mano-sāmphassapaccayā uppajjati ajjhataṃ sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ (translation Bodhi 2000: 1236).

²³ SĀ 1166 at T II 311b27–c2: 有手故知有取捨。有足故知有往來。有關節故知有屈伸。有腹故知有飢渴。如是比丘，有眼故眼觸因緣生受內覺，若苦若樂，不苦不樂。耳鼻舌身意亦復如是。I translate 內覺 as 'experienced within', following Bhikkhu Anālayo, for example in his translation of SĀ 219 (Anālayo 2016: 46). Note that I have repunctuated the Taishō-SAT edition text to match my own reading.

Gandhari: *caḥṣusa....saḍo cakkhusapaṣapacea upacadi
ajatva suhadukha.*

Pali: *cakkhusmiṃ sati cakkhusamphassapaccayā uppa-
jjati ajjhataṃ sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ.*

Chinese: 有眼故眼觸因緣生受內覺.

I.6 Simile of the Fortified City

In the **Suhadukha-sutra*, the teaching about the origin of pleasure and pain is illustrated by a simile about a fortified city on the frontier whose gatekeeper patrols its walls checking for weak spots. The simile emphasizes two themes: inferential knowledge and protection of the sense ‘gates’. Neither is made explicit semantically in the discourse, which does not share the semantic parallelism of the Pali ‘Discourse about Hands and Feet’, but must be inferred from the context and from the use of related similes in other texts.²⁴

While several related city similes can be found in different Pali and Chinese Buddhist discourses, the phrasing of the Gandhari simile is closely, but not exactly, mirrored in one formulation that emphasizes the role of the gatekeeper. This is found in four Pali discourses: *Uttiya-sutta* (AN V 194,23–195,8), *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (DN 16 at DN II 83,8–18), *Sampasādanīya-sutta* (DN 28 at DN III 100,25–101,10) and *Nālandā-sutta* (SN 47.12 at SN V 160,18–27).²⁵

²⁴ I have written elsewhere (Marino 2015) about fortified city imagery in early Buddhist literature based on the simile in the **Suhadukha-sutra*. I consider especially the task of the gatekeeper to ‘investigate animals’, which sheds light on an ancient siege tactic involving small animals.

²⁵ The page and line numbers reflect the location of the similes in each *sutta*. The relevant sections in the Chinese parallels to the *Nālandā-sutta* and *Uttiya-sutta* are, respectively, SĀ 498 at T II 131a7–a11 and SĀ 965 at

None of these compare the city gates with sense bases, but instead illustrate the nature of inferential knowledge: just as the gatekeeper of a city with only one gate would infer that anyone entering or exiting the city must use the gate, so too can one infer that all who attain awakening must follow the same path. The latter three of these contain the same narrative between Sāriputta and the Buddha in Nālandā, shortly before the Buddha's death.²⁶ Sāriputta proclaims that he knows there is no one in the past, present, or future who is wiser (*bhiyyobhiññataro*) than the Buddha with respect to perfect awakening because all Buddhas in all times must follow the same path to awakening. He knows this 'in accordance with the *dhamma*', *dhhammanvaya*, that is, by inference from his experience with the Dharma. The simile is used to illustrate inferential knowledge in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*'s *Uttiya-sutta* as well.

There is not a clearly developed philosophy of *pramāṇa*, or means of knowing about the world, in early Buddhist literature, at least not like it is in the later Buddhist philosophical works of Dignāga or Dharmakīrti. But K.N. Jayatilleke (1963: 463) argues that one can posit that "perception (normal and paranormal) and inductive inference are considered the means of knowledge in the Pali Nikāyas." In the commentary to the Sāriputta scene in the *Nālanda-sutta* in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, inferential knowledge (*anumānañāṇaṃ*), or grasping through inference (*nayaggāho*), is said to arise following knowledge from direct perception (*paccakkhato*) of the *dhamma* (Sp III 210,26–28). That is, first there is direct perception, then inference can be applied based on that perception.²⁷ In the comments about

T II 248a3–a9.

²⁶ Interestingly, in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, this exchange happens just before the two go to Pāṭaligāma, where a city (*nagaraṃ*, presumably fortified) is being erected by the Magadhans to keep out the Vajjians.

²⁷ The *ṭīkā* paraphrases: *diṭṭhena adiṭṭhassa anumānaṃ*, "the inference of

Sāriputta's use of the city simile, his inferential knowledge is described as 'without measure' (*appamāṇo*) and 'limitless' (*apariyanto*).²⁸ Thus correctly deduced inferential knowledge is a sign of an advanced practitioner, and the city simile is how Sāriputta conveys his skill in inference. With these parallels in mind, one can clearly see that the Gandhari city simile also illustrates inferential knowledge: Just as a gatekeeper would know any being entering or exiting his city would use the six gates, so too can one infer that all pleasure and pain arise due to contact with the six sense bases.

Another significant feature of the Gandhari city simile is that it drives a teaching about the six sense bases, and so describes a city with six gates, not one. Our text seems to imply: "Just as a city's six gates must be protected, so must a person's six sense bases be protected." Comparing the sense bases to gates that need to be protected is a common trope in Buddhist discourses,²⁹ but comparing a city with six gates to the sense bases is rare, occurring only once in Pali similes related to our Gandhari version, and not at all in the Chinese *Āgamas*, as far as I can tell.

The one Pali example is in the *Kimsuka-sutta* in the *Salāyatana-samyutta* (SN 35.204 at SN IV 194,10–195,13). Although this city simile diverges significantly to fit the discourse, it introduces the city and gatekeeper in the same way as in the other Pali city similes

what is unseen by what is seen" (B^e II 477,7 (= VRI II 179); accessed through the romanized VRI digital Burmese edition).

²⁸ See also DN 33 at DN III 226,33–34 and Sv III 1019,35–1020,17, where four kinds of knowledge are listed: 1) direct knowledge of phenomena (*dhamme ñāṇaṃ*), particularly the four noble truths; 2) inferential knowledge (*anvaye ñāṇaṃ*) based on this direct knowledge; 3) knowledge that penetrates (*paricchede ñāṇaṃ*) the minds of others; 4) and conventional knowledge (*sammutiñāṇaṃ*), which is everything else (*avasesa*).

²⁹ E.g., SN 35.120 at SN IV 104,3 and SN 35.127 at SN IV 112,5.

cited above: "Suppose, bhikkhu, a king had a frontier city with strong ramparts, walls and arches, and with six gates. The gatekeeper posted there would be wise, competent and intelligent; one who keeps out strangers and admits acquaintances."³⁰ It goes on to explain each part of the city as a metaphor for a Buddhist concept. For the six gates, the text says: "'Six gates.' This, monks, is a metaphor for the six internal sense spheres."³¹

I.7 Context in the 'Chapter on Six Sense Bases'

Even though there is no direct parallel to the **Suhadukha-sutra*, after examining the relationship between its component parts and parallel phrases in other collections, there becomes evident a relationship between this discourse and the final two *vaggas* of the Pali *Salāyatana-saṃyutta*, or Chapter on Six Sense Bases, i.e., *Samudda-vagga* and *Āsīvisa-vagga* (SN IV 157–204). These two *vaggas* contain twenty-one texts about the sense bases that are driven by similes. We have already seen that the primary parallels for our text's discussion of the arising of pleasure and pain are the two *Hattha-pādupama-suttas* in the *Samudda-vagga*. And the only discourse with a simile of the fortified city wherein the six gates are parallel to the six sense bases is the *Kiṃsuka-sutta* in the *Āsīvisa-vagga*, only several discourses later in both Pali and Chinese.

³⁰ SN 35.204 at SN IV 194,10–14: *seyyathāpi bhikkhu rañño paccantimaṃ nagaram daḥhuddāpaṃ daḥhapākāratoraṇaṃ chadvāraṃ. tatrassa do-vāriko paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī aññātānaṃ nivaretā ñātānaṃ pavesetā* (translation Bodhi 2000: 1252).

³¹ SN 35.204 at SN IV 194,32–33: *chadvārā ti kho bhikkhu channetam ajjhakkānaṃ āyatanānaṃ adhivacanaṃ*. Note that in the Chinese parallel (SĀ 1175 at T II 315b7–316a8) the city only has four gates, which are not parallel to the sense bases, but instead to the four *satipaṭṭhānas*, 四守門者, 謂四念處; cf. Anālayo 2015b: 321 note 30.

Table 1. Correspondence between Connected Discourses
from the ‘Chapter on the Six Sense Bases’
in Pali, Chinese and the Gandhari Senior Collection

| Pali Title (E ^e) | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> Location (E ^e) | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> Location (T 99) | Gandhari Location |
|---------------------------------|--|--|--|
| <i>Khīrarukkhena-sutta</i> | SN 35.190 at SN IV 159–162 | — | Index Scroll Entry No. 13: <i>kṣīriarukṣa</i> |
| <i>Hatthapādupama-sutta</i> (1) | SN 35.195 at SN IV 171–172 | SĀ 1166 at T II 311b26–c8 | RS 20.1 Teaching |
| <i>Hatthapādupama-sutta</i> (2) | SN 35.196 at SN IV 172 | | RS 20.1 Teaching |
| <i>Āsīviso-sutta</i> | SN 35.197 at SN IV 172–175 | SĀ 1172 at T II 313b14–314a1 | Index Scroll Entry No. 12: <i>aśīviṣāama</i> |
| <i>Dārukkhandha-sutta</i> (1) | SN 35.200 at SN IV 179–181 | SĀ 1174 at T II 314c7–315b6 | RS 19 |
| <i>Dārukkhandha-sutta</i> (2) | SN 35.201 at SN IV 181–182 | | RS 19 |
| <i>Kimsuka-sutta</i> | SN 35.204 at SN IV 191–195 | SĀ 1175 at T II 315b7–316a8 | RS 20.1 Simile |

Furthermore, other texts in the Gandhari Senior collection are also related to this section of the *Salāyatana-samyutta*. RS 19, contains a parallel to the *Dārukkhandhopama-sutta*, or ‘Discourse on the Simile of the Log’, two versions of which (SN 35.200–201 at SN IV 179–182) are found right in between the *Hatthapādupama-suttas* and *Kimsuka-sutta* in both Pali and Chinese. And in the collection’s ‘index scrolls’ there are entries (*aśīviṣāama*, *kṣīriarukṣa*) that reflect the existence of Gandhari discourses corresponding to the *Āsīviso-sutta* (SN 35.197

at SN IV 172–175) and the *Khīrarukkheṇa-sutta* (SN 35.190 at SN IV 159–162), both occurring in the same two *vaggas* as the others in Pali, and the former also in Chinese. In short, as is seen in Table 1 above, this group of discourses reflects a small unit transmitted together in the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya*, Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* and the Gandhari Senior collection.

Thus, it appears that the Senior collection's anthology reflects an underlying Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* that contained a unit whose texts partially correspond to the final two *vaggas* of the Pali *Saḷ-āyatana-samyutta* and their parallels in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*. This is where I suggest we find a helpful literary context for making sense of the **Suḥadukha-sutra*.

II. Problems in the Senior Collection: Evidence from Other Scrolls

The **Suḥadukha-sutra* is not the only discourse among the Senior collection's *Samyukta-āgama* texts in which either a simile occurs in a different context than in its parallels in Pali or Chinese, or in which there is variation in the presentation of the simile itself. Below I highlight several significant examples.

II.1 'Discourse on the Great Conflagration' (RS 20, *Sūtra* 2)

The second discourse on scroll 20, the **Mahaparaḍaha-sutra*, or 'Discourse on the Great Conflagration' (edition in progress by myself), has close parallels in the Connected Discourses in Pali (*Pari-lāho-sutta*; SN 56.43 at SN V 450–452), Sanskrit (SHT II 51 fl + 2

B1. [10]4),³² and Chinese (SĀ 422 at T II 111b10–24).³³ The text is structured by a template in which the Buddha presents something awful, here the ‘Great Conflagration Hell(s)’,³⁴ after which a monk asks: “Is there any conflagration worse than this?” The Buddha explains that ignorance of the four noble truths can lead to birth, old age, death, etc., which are in fact worse conflagrations. The same template, with ‘conflagration’ substituted by ‘darkness’ or ‘fall from a precipice’, is used to drive the same teaching in two other discourses found in close proximity to this one in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*.³⁵

The Gandhari discourse differs from its parallels in the simile it employs to illustrate the Great Conflagration Hell/s. In Pali, this hell is a place where whatever one senses is “undesirable, never desirable; unlovely, never lovely; disagreeable, never agreeable.”³⁶ The Chi-

³² Only part of the Sanskrit text is preserved on a small fragment from the Turfan collection; see Waldschmidt 1968: 4–6.

³³ The Chinese discourse has no title, but Sengyou’s *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 mentions a text called *Dare diyu jing* 大熱地獄經 (T 2145 at T LV 27c24) in the category of ‘new anonymous *samyukta* texts’ (新集續撰失譯雜經), which may refer to SĀ 422.

³⁴ It is unclear whether the Gandhari text refers to one or multiple hells.

³⁵ In Pali, these are the *Papāta-sutta* (‘The Fall’ or ‘Precipice’, SN 56.42 at SN V 448–450) and *Andhakāra-sutta* (‘The Darkness’, SN 56.46 at V 454–455). Together, they are the 42nd (*Papāta*), 43rd (*Parilāho*) and the 46th (*Andhakāra*) *suttas* in the *Sacca-samyutta* (‘Chapter on Truth’). In Chinese, these are SĀ 421 (*Papāta*; T II 111a20–b9), SĀ 422 (*Parilāho*; T II 111b10–b24) and SĀ 423 (*Andhakāra*; T II 111b25–c7), the latter of which also describes the *daan* 大闇 (= *andhakāra*: ‘Great Darkness’) as a separate hell (*daan diyu* 大闇地獄; T II 111b26). The fragmentary Sanskrit parallel to the *Parilāho-sutta* from Turfan is also followed by a parallel to the *Andhakāra-sutta*.

³⁶ SN 51.42 at SN V 450,30–451,2: *tattha yaṃ kiñci cakkhunā rūpam pa-*

nese differs significantly, describing the hell as a place where “if sentient beings are born there, they are constantly blazing” (若眾生生於彼中一向與炯然). Closer to the Chinese than the Pali, the Gandhari is different still, featuring a simile not found in the others:³⁷

There are, [12] monks, hells called ‘Great Conflagration’. Bodies of beings who are born, arise and come into being there are burning, blazing, [13] glowing. Just like iron balls which are heated all day, burning, blazing, glowing, so too are there [14] hells named ‘Great Conflagration’ where the bodies of beings who are born, arise and come into being are burning, [15] blazing, glowing.

Here, the burning bodies are compared to red-hot iron balls. The heated iron ball is a trope used widely elsewhere in early Buddhist literature, together with other blacksmithing imagery, to illustrate notions of discipline and karmic retribution, including specific de-

ssati aniṭṭharūpaṃ yeva passati no iṭṭharūpaṃ. akantarūpaṃ yeva passati no kantarūpaṃ. amanāparūpaṃ passati no manāparūpaṃ (translation Bodhi 2000: 1867). This same description characterizes sensory experience in the *Chaphassāyatanikā* (Six Bases of Contact) hells in the *Saṅgayha-sutta* (SN 35.135 at SN IV 126,4–13) and in the *Bāla-pāṇḍita-sutta*, hell (*niraya*) (MN 129 at MN III 165,16–18) is described in general as ‘undesirable, unlovely, disagreeable’.

³⁷ Transcription of Gandhari Senior scroll 20: *sata* [12] *bhikṣave mahaparaḍa ṇamo ṇirea tatra śatvaṇa jaḍaṇa bhuḍaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya bhoti sapajali*[13]*ḍa sajeḍibhude sayasavi ayaiḍa divasa śatata aḍita bhoti sapacaliḍa sajeḍibhude evam=eva sati* [14] *mahaparaḍaha ṇama ṇirea tatra satvaṇa jaḍaṇa bhuḍaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya bhoti sapaci*[15]*liḍa sajeḍibhude*. For *aḍita...sapacaliḍa sajeḍibhude*, I follow Bhikkhu Bodhi’s translation of the Pali phrase *āditṭa sampajjalita sajotibhūta*, which frequently describes hot iron objects; see for example his translation of the *Āditṭa-sutta* in Bodhi 2000: 1233.

scriptions of hell tortures in which people are made to consume iron balls (Marino 2019). Apparently nowhere in Pali or Chinese is a hell described as here in Gandhari, but there is at least one instance in Sanskrit, in the *Mahāvastu*, in which such a simile is used to describe the hell called *Avīci*.³⁸

*ayoguḍā hi agnismim yathariva saṃtāpitā
evaṃ avīci narako heṣṭā upari pārśvato
jātavedosamā kāyāḥ teṣāṃ narakavāsināṃ
paśyanti karmadṛḍhatām na tasmāt bhoti no gatiḥ.*

Red-hot like iron balls in fire, thus [in] Avīci hell, from below, above and on all sides, bodies of those hell dwellers are like fire. They realize the fixed nature of karma, [thinking:] “There is no way for us [out] from there.”

Thus the ‘Discourse on the Great Conflagration’ is extant in roughly the same form in four different textual traditions, but at least three of those texts (the relevant section of the Sanskrit is lost) diverge significantly in the same place, that is, in the simile. As with the **Suhadukha-sutra*, the Gandhari **Mahaparaḍaha-sutra* features a simile that cannot be found in the same teaching context in Pali, Sanskrit, or Chinese, but which does occur elsewhere as part of a broader trope. Here, the variation is perhaps stylistic, and possibly relevant to questions about cosmography (what actually happens to bodies in this hell?), but the Buddhist doctrine is not meaningfully changed from text to text; in all cases ignorance of the four noble truths leads to suffering.

³⁸ Senart 1882: I 15,15–16,1.

II.2 'Discourse on the River' (RS 17, *Sūtra* 1)

The first text on RS 17, which is a fragment preserving only the bottom right half of a manuscript (Allon 2007: 13), is another example of a discourse in the Senior collection that has a simile with a parallel in one text in the Connected Discourses, but other elements parallel to yet a different text. The discourse contains part of a simile parallel to that in the Pali *Nadī-sutta* (Discourse on the River),³⁹ and also a section matching part of the first *Gaddula-sutta* (Discourse on the Leash).⁴⁰ In both Pali and Chinese, these two texts are in close proximity. The *Nadī-sutta* is driven by a simile about a river, and the *Gaddula-sutta* by one about a leashed dog. Both texts concern the danger of clinging to the aggregates, or imagining that they constitute the self.

The preserved portion of the fragmentary Gandhari discourse begins in the middle of the simile of the river in a structure that closely matches the *Nadī-sutta*. The Buddha asks monks to imagine a mountain river with a swift current, with *kāsa* grass, *kusa* grass, rushes, reeds and trees⁴¹ growing along its banks. If a person was being swept along by the river and tried to grab any of these plants to reach safety, the plants would rip out, and the person would fall to misfortune (*anayavyasanam āpajjeyya*). The Gandhari text and the Pali with parts corresponding to Gandhari in bold are as follows. Note that the symbol /// in the Gandhari reflects the broken edge of the manuscript, and thus missing text.

³⁹ SN 22.93 at SN III 137–8. A Chinese parallel is SĀ 268 at T II 70a12–29.

⁴⁰ SN 22.99 at SN III 149–150. A Chinese parallel is SĀ 266 at T II 69b4–c1.

⁴¹ I follow Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation of *kāsā*, *kusā*, *babbajā*, *bīraṇā* and *rukkhā* (Bodhi 2000: 949).

Transcription of Fragment RS 17⁴²

[2] ? ? ? [j.d. l.b.⁴³ti⁴⁴] ta[sa]⁴⁵ puruṣa aṇ. /// [3] avavaṣaṇa
 vagachea de/tre k.śe [c]e [i] /// [4] ? ? ? + + + +
 +⁴⁶ ? ? ? ? ? /// [5] so taḍo nidaṇo aṇeavavaṣaṇ. ? ///

Pali *Nadī-sutta* (SN 22.93 at SN III 137,15–138,2)

*seyyathāpi bhikkhave nadī pabbateyyā ohāriṇī duraṅgamā
 sīghasotā. tassā ubhosu tīresu kāsā ce pi jātā assu te naṃ
 ajjholambeyyūṃ. kusā ce pi jātā assu te naṃ ajjholam-
 beyyūṃ. babbajā ce pi jātā assu te naṃ ajjholambeyyūṃ.
 bīraṇā ce pi jātā assu te naṃ ajjholambeyyūṃ. rukkhā ce
 pi jātā assu te naṃ ajjholambeyyūṃ. tassā puriso sotenā
 vuyhamāno kase ce pi gaṇheyya te palujjeyyūṃ. so tato
 nidānaṃ anayavyasanam āpajjeyya. kuse ce pi gaṇheyya.
 babbaje ce pi gaṇheyya. bīraṇe ce pi gaṇheyya. rukkhe ce
 pi gaṇheyya. te palujjeyyūṃ so tato nidānaṃ anayavya-
 sanam āpajjeyya.*

Here the Gandhari diverges from the *Nadī-sutta*, which goes on to say that so too would a person who regards the aggregates as self, or in self, fall to misfortune when those aggregates fall apart (*palujjati*). Instead of ‘falls to misfortune’, the very next line of the Gandhari continues with a phrase parallel to one found in the *Gaddula-sutta* that says “he is not freed from form, feeling [...] consciousness, nor from birth, old age, death, [etc.]. I say he is not freed from suffering.”

⁴² The Gandhari text is based on, but slightly modified from, Mark Allon’s initial, unpublished transcription.

⁴³ Possibly *ve*.

⁴⁴ *ti* and *di* are not distinguished graphically by the Senior scribe. The convention is to transcribe according to etymology.

⁴⁵ Possibly *taḍa*.

⁴⁶ The number of akṣaras is uncertain here.

The Gandhari and Pali are as follows:

Transcription of Fragment RS 17

[6] *paramucaḍi viñāṇehi na pa[r.muc.] ///* [7] *na paramucaḍi
dukhaspa vaḍe va*

Pali *Gaddula-sutta* (SN 22.99 at SN III 150,20-23)

... *na parimuccati viññāṇamhā, na parimuccati jātiyā
jarāmarañena sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanassehi
upāyāsehi na parimuccati dukkhasmā ti vadāmi.*

This phrase about being freed from *saṃsāra* and the whole mass of suffering works symbolically in the context of both the river simile and the leashed dog simile. In one, a person stuck in *saṃsāra* grasping at the self is like someone stuck in a river grasping at weak-rooted grasses, rushes and trees. In the other, a person grasping to ideas of self is compared to a dog leashed to a pole, running round and round in circles. Neither is freed from suffering. In other words, although it appears in the received recension of the Pali *Gaddula-sutta* and not the *Nadī-sutta*, it is suited to both, and so it is unsurprising that it is found in what appears to be a Gandhari version of the *Nadī-sutta* but not in the Pali or Chinese versions of that text.

So here is another Gandhari discourse that, like the two on RS 20, uses a simile in a different context than its parallels in other Buddhist texts, but is still doctrinally consistent with those parallels.

II.3 'Discourse on the Simile of the Log' (RS 19)

This scroll, studied at length by Lee Mei-huang 李美煌 (Bhikṣuṇī Tien-chang 釋天常) in her 2009 dissertation, contains a single almost complete discourse, whose primary parallel is the first of two *Dāru-kkhandha-suttas* ('Discourses on the Log') in the Pali *Samyutta-*

nikāya (SN 35.200–201 at SN IV 179–181), with parallels in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 1174 at T II 314c7–315b6), *Ekottarika-āgama* (EĀ 43.3 at T II 758c12–759a28), as well as Sanskrit (Dutt 1947: 48–52), Chinese (T 1448 from T XXIV 48c12) and Tibetan versions from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (sTog Palace, 'dul ba, kha from 192a6 to 196a6). It is framed by a simile that compares a practitioner who must avoid obstacles on the way to *Nirvāṇa* to a log floating down a river that must avoid obstacles to reach the ocean. The discourse presents a technique whereby each obstacle in the river is explained as a metaphor (*adhivacana*) for an obstacle for a practitioner. This technique – mapping multiple Buddhist concepts or lists onto multiple items in extended similes – appears in many discourses, like the *Kimsuka-sutta* mentioned above, and in commentaries explaining extended similes, probably reflecting the way that certain images came to function as mnemonic devices for remembering the Dharma.

Of interest here is variation among the versions' explanations of the whirlpool obstacle (Gandhari *avaṭagraho*, Pali *āvaṭṭaggāha*, Chinese 洄復, 迴轉, 漩渦) and the resolution of this variation in the Gandhari. In Pali, the whirlpool is said to represent the five cords of sensual desire (*pañcann' etaṃ kāmaguṇānaṃ*).⁴⁷ But in the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*, it stands for 'false' (or 'wicked', 'heterodox',⁴⁸ [?]) doubt (邪疑),⁴⁹ whereas in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* it stands for one who rejects the discipline and turns back (一還戒退轉),⁵⁰ as it does in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* in Chinese (捨諸學處),⁵¹ Sanskrit (*śikṣāṃ pratyākhyāya hānāyāvartate*) and Tibetan (*glong*

⁴⁷ SN 35.200 at SN IV 180,27–28.

⁴⁸ See *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. 邪疑.

⁴⁹ EĀ 43.3 at T II 759a21.

⁵⁰ SĀ 1174 at T II 315a4–5.

⁵¹ T 1448 at T XXIV 49a5–6.

du nub pa zhes bya ba ni ji ltar 'di na la la bslab pa phul nas babs pa lta bu yin no).⁵² These represent two groups: the five cords of sense desire and turning back from the teachings. The Gandhari version (RS 19, lines 14–15) includes both:

*ya kho vaṇa bhikhu sikkha pacakhae hiṇae ava[ta]ḍi aya vujāḍi
avaṭagraho avate bhikhu pacañeṣe kamaguṇa aśivayaṇa.*
If, monk, someone, having renounced the training in the precepts, returns to what has been abandoned, this is called 'being caught by a whirlpool.' 'Whirlpool', monk, this is a metaphorical expression for the five sensual pleasures.⁵³

Lee Mei-huang (2009: 11–12) argues that the first explanation is part of the rhetorical structure of the pattern common to the rest of the discourse, but the *adhivacana* phrase in this “two-layer definition ... serves as a further explanation of the topic and appears as a special style of textual exegesis in an *upama*-type of text”. I will return to this observation in the conclusion.

The more surprising peculiarity in the Gandhari simile is its '*adhivacana*'-style gloss of *Nirvāṇa*. It reads: *ta kisa eḍo ṇivaṇo bhikkhu sam(*a)ḍiṭhi aśivayaṇo*, “What is the reason for this? '*Nirvāṇa*', monk, is a metaphorical expression for right view.”⁵⁴ Glossing *Nirvāṇa* as 'right view' is certainly unexpected, and Richard Sa-

⁵² Copied with minor modifications from Lee 2009: 123. Original text at S, *'dul ba, kha* 193b5; cf. P 1030, *'dul ba, ge* 135b2.

⁵³ Text and translation by Lee 2009: 123 with minor modifications by the author. She points out that a related whirlpool simile is also found in the Pali *Cātuma-sutta* (MN 67 at MN I 461,32–35), where it represents both turning back from the teachings (*sikkham paccakkhāya*) and the five sense pleasures (*pañcann' etaṃ kāmaguṇānaṃ adhivacanam*).

⁵⁴ Lee 2009: 133 (translation slightly modified by author).

lomon (2018: 142) suggests it might be shorthand for the whole noble eightfold path. Lee Mei-huang takes this as an erroneous addition of *adhivacana* at the end of the line, possibly in place of *ñivaṇa-parayaṇa*, ‘[right view] has *Nirvāṇa* as its end’, which would more closely match the Pali *nibbānaninnā bhikkhave sammādiṭṭhi nibbānapoṇā nibbānapabbhārāti*, “Because right view slants, slopes and inclines towards *Nirvāṇa*” (SN IV 180,2–3). However, it is possible that the scribe intended the reading we have, especially in a section that lists correspondences between all elements of the simile and elements of Buddhist doctrine. This sort of variation in the explanation of items in extended similes is not uncommon even within Pali discourses alone,⁵⁵ and a closer look at such variation might shed light on the way these extended similes functioned as mnemonic devices differently in different situations, or as exegetical techniques that became absorbed into the discourses themselves.⁵⁶

III. Analysis and Conclusion

In summary, I have shown that some Gandhari *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourses from the Senior collection vary from their parallels in other Connected Discourses, particularly in their similes, in ways that raise

⁵⁵ See, for example, the wide variety of associations between characteristics of a fortified city and Buddhist doctrinal concepts in Marino 2015, especially the tables on pp. 82, 85, 88 and 90.

⁵⁶ Salomon 2018: 142 suggests: “This sentence therefore might have originally been a marginal comment or gloss that came to be incorporated into the text itself at some point in its history. This is a common phenomenon in the history of Buddhist texts, as in manuscript traditions generally, and is one of the common mechanisms by which texts develop and diverge.”

questions about the role of similes in the construction of discourses.

The **Suhadukha-sutra* (RS 20.1) reads like a composite discourse, combining a teaching similar to that in the first *Hatthapādupama-sutta* with a fortified city simile used in other contexts. The formulaic presentation of the city simile in various contexts suggests either that its form was fixed before it was applied whole cloth to different texts, or that the different occurrences of the simile were later leveled by a redactor, but before the presumably Middle Indo-Aryan texts were transmitted and translated into Gandhari and Chinese.

Similarly, the first discourse on RS 17 combines a simile and primary teaching found in the *Nadī-sutta* with a pericope found in the *Gaddula-sutta*. The Gandhari version of the *Dārūkkhanda-sutta* (RS 19), a text entirely based around an extended simile about a river, differs from its many parallels in the one-to-one correspondences of two of its items. And the **Mahaparaḍaha-sutra* (RS 20.2) is nearly identical to its parallels in Pali and Chinese, except that it contains a simile about an iron ball found nowhere else in the *Nikāyas/Āgamas*.

A handful of examples are hardly enough cases from which to draw meaningful conclusions about variation across Buddhist textual traditions, but they might raise meaningful questions about the composition and transmission of Buddhist discourses. In search of such questions, I return to Lee Mei-huang's observation that there appears to be a "special style of textual exegesis" applied to discourses with extended similes, wherein there is a basic parallelism between the image as a whole and some general notion of Buddhist practice, but also a specific breakdown of the one-to-one correspondences of individual characteristics of an image with units of the Dharma (e.g., *saṃsāra* is like a river; the many obstacles to exiting *saṃsāra* are like the many obstructions in a river's course).

This reminds us that similes are not just textual flourishes but are sometimes the 'package' in which Buddhist teachings were deliv-

ered. They were a critical part of Buddhist pedagogical strategy, a mapping of Buddhist notions onto memorable imagery, characteristic of huge numbers of discourses, especially in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*/*Saṃyukta-āgama* and *Āṅguttara-nikāya*/*Ekottarika-āgama*. A search in the digital Chatṭha Saṅgāyana Tipiṭaka for the phrase *seyyathāpi*, ‘it is just as if’, which introduces some but not all similes in Pali discourses, yields 492 instances in just the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. That means there are at least 492 similes among the fully fleshed out discourses in the digital Burmese version, not counting any subsumed in abbreviation formulas. This frequent use and the mapping of lists and other concepts into more complex images like the city⁵⁷ or the river must demonstrate that they were considered by the tradition that composed and compiled the discourses to be one of the most important and indeed effective tools for conveying the doctrine. Surely, there was a conscious strategy for how, why and where to use similes.

Indeed there is evidence that commentators thought about the strategic use of similes in the early discourses. For example, in the commentary to the *Vattha-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, Buddhaghosa discusses at length the different ways similes are structurally included in the Buddha’s teachings:⁵⁸

⁵⁷ See for instance the ‘Discourse on the Fortress’, AN 7.63 at AN IV 106–113, where the seven qualities of a good practitioner are mapped onto the requisites of a fortress and the four *jhānas* are mapped onto the four provisions of a city.

⁵⁸ Ps I 165,29–166,20: *upamaṃ karonto ca bhagavā katthaci upamaṃ paṭhamam yeva dassetvā pacchā atthaṃ dasseti. katthaci paṭhamam atthaṃ dassetvā pacchā upamaṃ. katthaci upamāya atthaṃ parivāretvā dasseti. katthaci atthena upamaṃ ... svāyaṃ idha paṭhamamaṃ upamaṃ dassetvā pacchā atthaṃ dasseti. kasmā pan’ evaṃ bhagavā dassetī ti. puggalajjhāsayena vā desanāvilāsenā vā*; cf. also Mp I 54. This basic analysis of how and why similes are applied in different teaching contexts is referenced at least twice in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* commentary as well,

Sometimes the Blessed One, making a simile, gives the simile first and afterwards gives the meaning. Sometimes he gives the meaning first and afterwards the simile. Sometimes he encircles the meaning with a simile. Sometimes he encircles the simile with the meaning ... Here having taught first the simile, he afterwards teaches the meaning. Why does the Blessed One teach in this way? Either according to the disposition of the individual or for the charm of the sermon.

Here, similes are said to be used to embellish teachings. This is worth emphasizing, as the *Nikāyas/Āgamas* are not often approached by scholars as containing 'good stories'. Buddhaghosa also says that similes facilitate understanding depending on the disposition of the recipient of the teaching. This implies that teachings were flexible and could be changed according to the didactic context. As K.N. Jayatilleke (1963: 424) comments, unlike in some brahminical contexts, in Buddhist texts similes do not appear to have functioned as *pramāṇas*, or formal proofs, but only as a strategy for achieving a clearer understanding of what has not yet been directly experienced. He notes that⁵⁹

It is often said that 'a simile ... is employed in order to make clear the sense' (*upamā ... katā atthassa viññāpanāya*) or that 'some intelligent people understand the meaning of what is said by means of a simile (*upamāya edh'ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa attham ājānanti*).

e.g., Spk II 83,29 and 85,1: *upamaṃ paṭhamam vatvā pacchā attho vutto*.
⁵⁹ See examples of each respectively at SN 35.204 at SN IV 194,26–27 and SN 41.1 at SN IV 282,27–28.

I emphasize the strategy of similes here to suggest that they were among the essential building blocks of many discourses in the Connected Discourses, possible additions to a teaching's "raw materials", as Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000: 37) would put it. Rupert Gethin has suggested that discourse composers used a knowledge of the underlying doctrinal grid of basic teachings, mnemonic lists he calls a "kind of flowchart of the composition of a discourse", to create new texts from raw materials (Gethin 1992, e.g., 156). This doesn't imply radical innovation; the lists themselves restrict innovation to a narrow range of internally consistent teachings. Gethin (1992: 162) notes that the Connected Discourses are particularly dependent on these sorts of lists. He has also more recently shown with respect to repetition that before the *Samyutta-nikāya* discourses became "more or less fixed, they originally seem to have been composed in a manner that invites addition and expansion – within certain parameters" (Gethin 2007: 383).

Building on this, my questions are as follows. Do similes factor into either this flowchart process or strategies of repetition in the Connected Discourses? Did certain similes come to be associated with certain doctrinal elements and thus applied whole cloth to different teachings about a given doctrine (e.g., the city simile and inference)? Were similes considered fixed elements of *buddhavacana* and therefore inflexible, or were they tools for conveying *buddhavacana*, and therefore free to be applied here and there as was expedient? Did text transmitters copy their successful application in one context to new contexts to better illustrate, or add charm (*vilāsa*) to more teachings? Consider, for instance, the first chapter of the *Lābhasakkhāra-samyutta* (SN 17.1–10 at SN II 225–231) in which ten successive discourses use different similes to illustrate the same basic teaching about the dangers of gain, honor and praise (*lābhasakkhāra-siloko*). Or the *Aniccatā-sutta* (SN 22.102 at SN III 155 = SĀ 270 at

T II 70c2), in which a single teaching in a single discourse is illustrated by ten similes (eight in Chinese), many of which repeat the same theme, thus acting like a collection of possible similes rather than a single coherent literary unit. Or consider the extreme example of SĀ 186, which has no Indic parallels, and in which can be found instructions for expanding a brief discourse according to a lengthy list of possible substitutions for the word “impermanent” that includes at least two dozen similes.⁶⁰

The sort of variation in similes found in the Gandhari Senior collection and reflected in comparisons of discourses in other Connected Discourses supports the suggestion by Alexander Wynne (2004: 122) that

as long as the canon was not closed, and as long as oral composition and transmission continued, some degree of variation could not have been prevented, especially when Buddhism was spreading to the far corners of the Indian subcontinent and beyond.

However, I again emphasize that in the Senior collection, the simile variation occurs within fairly strict boundaries, consisting largely in established formulaic units being shifted from one context to another, or innovations (e.g., red-hot iron ball simile) that otherwise do not challenge the basic doctrinal teachings. Even the two definitions of a ‘whirlpool’ in the Gandhari version of the *Dārukkhandha-sutta* are complementary, not contradictory.

⁶⁰ E.g., SĀ 186 at T II 48c11–13: 如毒蛇. 如夢價借. 如樹果. 如屠牛者. 如殺人者. 如觸露. 如淹水. 如駛流. 如織縷. 如輪沙水 [etc.], “Like a poisonous snake, like a dream, like a loan, like fruits on a tree, like a cow butcher, like a killer, like being touched by dew, like stagnant water, like a torrent, like spinning yarn, like a wheel moving in water’ [etc.]” (translation based on Anālayo 2015a: 91).

In summarizing the character of simile variation in the Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* discourses, and considering their complex relationships with related Gandhari, Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese texts, I close with the words of Richard Salomon (2018: 107), who discusses a Gandhari *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse that, much like the Gandhari **Suhadukha-sutra*, has no direct parallel in other collections, but whose wording is “generally familiar” from canonical texts:⁶¹

Indeed, this sort of variability and flexibility seems to have been built into the Buddhist tradition from the very beginning, or at least as far back as we can ever hope to trace it. The value of the newly discovered Gāndhārī manuscripts, as of the other Buddhist manuscript finds of recent and earlier times, thus lies not in bringing back a “true” original version but rather in illuminating the variety, complexity, and richness of the many Buddhist traditions while confirming the essential unity underlying the vast diversity.

The examples of simile variation in the Gandhari *Samyukta-āgama* texts highlight such a “variety, complexity, and richness”, and yet support an underlying “essential unity” across the Connected Discourses of different regional and linguistic traditions.

⁶¹ The *Budhabayaṇa-sutra* was edited and studied by Allon 2001: 224–243.

Transcriptional Conventions

The transcriptional conventions are modeled on those used in the *Gandhāran Buddhist Text Series*.

| | |
|-----|--|
| [] | an unclear or partially preserved akṣara (graphic syllable) whose reading is uncertain |
| (*) | a lost or illegible akṣara that has been conjecturally restored on the basis of context, parallel texts, or other evidence |
| ⟨*⟩ | an akṣara or a component thereof that was omitted by the scribe and has been conjecturally restored |
| «» | an akṣara that was written above or below a line |
| ? | an illegible akṣara that has been crossed out by the scribe |
| = | a word division within an akṣara, used in phrases such as <i>evam</i> = <i>eva</i> , in which the final <i>m</i> of the preceding word and the initial vowel of the following word are written together as a single syllable |

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------|---|
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| B ^e | Burmese edition (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) edition(s) (= VRI) |
| DN | <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> |
| EĀ | <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125) |
| E ^e | European (Pali Text Society) edition(s) |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| Mp | <i>Manorathapūraṇī</i> |
| P | Peking edition (Ötani) |
| Ps | <i>Papañcasūdanī</i> |
| PTS | Pali Text Society edition |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| S | sTog Palace |
| SĀ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SĀ ² | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 100) |
| SĀ ³ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 101) |
| SHT | <i>Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden</i> (= Waldschmidt 1968) |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Spk | <i>Sāratthappakāsinī</i> |
| Sv | <i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition (SAT Daizōkyō Text Database) |
| Vin | <i>Vinaya-piṭaka</i> |
| VRI | Vipassana Research Institute digital Burmese edition (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) |

All Pali texts are based on Pali Text Society editions, also referred to as E^c, unless otherwise noted.

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III. THE EARLY DISCOURSES: TRANSMISSION IN SANSKRIT

**Towards a New Edition
of the First Twenty-five *Sūtras*
of the *Nidāna-saṃyukta*:
Current State and Remaining Difficulties**

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Abstract

In 1962 Chandrabhāl Tripāṭhī published a Sanskrit version of the first twenty-five *sūtras* of the *Nidāna-saṃyukta* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*. His edition is based mainly on the manuscript materials brought from Chinese Turkestan by the third German Turfan expedition led by Albert Grünwedel (December 1905 – April 1907). Tripāṭhī's work received a lot of attention, albeit not without criticism. Despite quite a few shortcomings, his edition still remains a valuable reference work for research into early Buddhism. More than half a century after Tripāṭhī's publication, the circumstances are now substantially improved, and therefore we deem it necessary and feasible to re-edit the text by means of all known Sanskrit materials. In addition, Tripāṭhī's reading of the manuscripts can be revised on the basis of digital images now available. Reconstructions of damaged passages can be adjusted according to the parallels and stock phrases unknown in Tripāṭhī's time, and remaining lacunae can be filled in due to newly identified manuscript fragments. The new edition of the first twenty-five *sūtras* of the *Nidāna-saṃyukta* in progress aims to bring Tripāṭhī's edition up to date as far as possible.

Contents

- I. General Remarks
- II. Purpose and Scope of the New Edition
- III. Future Perspectives
- Abbreviations
- References

I. General Remarks

In 1904 Richard Pischel published the remnant of twenty-three folios of a woodblock printing written in Sanskrit in a Turkestan Brāhmī script (see Pischel 1904; Nordturkistanische Brāhmī, Typ b [Schrifttypus VI], Alphabet u, in Sander 1968: 182–183 with plates 29–41). They were among the manuscript finds brought from Idykuṭṣari/Idikutšähr (also called Xočo/Qočo, Gaochang 高昌) in Chinese Turkestan by the first German Turfan expedition led by Albert Grünwedel (November 1902 – March 1903), and entrusted to Pischel for research purposes (Pischel 1904: 809).

As Richard Pischel (1904: 809–810) correctly supposed, they contain texts from a Sanskrit Buddhist canon, namely seven *sūtras* from the *buddhabhāṣita* section of the *Samyukta-āgama*. It was Sylvain Lévi who was able to identify the corresponding texts in the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T 99) (Lévi 1904), a Chinese translation of the *Samyukta-āgama* carried out by Guṇabhadra (求那跋陀羅) and Baoyun 寶雲 in the fifth century. Since then, the number of Sanskrit fragments identified as belonging to the *Samyukta-āgama* has increased considerably. Many of these fragments were restored by Ernst Waldschmidt in the 1950s and 1960s in Göttingen.¹ Also during this time Chandrabhāl Tripāṭhī published a Sanskrit version of two dozen *sūtras* corresponding to the first twenty-five *sūtras* (*sūtras* 283–303 and 343–346) of the third chapter of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, i.e., the *Nidāna-samyukta* or *Zayin song* 雜因誦, under Waldschmidt's supervision.² *Fünfundzwanzig*

¹ Cf. Waldschmidt's bibliography in Waldschmidt 1989: XV–XLI.

² T 99 at T II 79a–86c and 93b–125a. The thirty-nine *sūtras* of the thirteenth scroll (*sūtras* 304–342) do not belong to the third, but to the second chapter. On the structure and specific features of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, see Chung 2008: 20–25.

Sūtras des Nidānasamṃyukta, Berlin 1962 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfan-funden VIII).³

The Chinese translation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* consists of 50 scrolls (*juan* 卷) in total. The structure of this *Āgama* is not completely clear. We also do not know whether the sections were subdivided into subsections as is found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, namely into five *vaggas* consisting of 56 *saṃyuttas* in total. The received Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama* presumably does not maintain the original form either, with regard to the number and order of the scrolls. We learn from passages in the *Kṣudraka-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* that the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, which was in circulation amongst the Buddhists who passed down the *Vinaya* text, was divided into seven sections (Chung 2008: 10–11, note 11). We can gather comparable information from passages in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. It would appear that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* extant in Chinese translation had a similar structure to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* known in the *Kṣudraka-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, albeit not without differences. The fifth and sixth sections, i.e., the *Mārgavarga* and the *Buddhabhāṣita* sections are placed in the reverse order. Also the running headings *Za ahan jing wu juan* 雜阿含經五卷/五已 and **buddhabhāṣitaḥ* (佛所說) on the left of the front and/or back side of the woodblock printing mentioned above might indicate that the **buddhabhāṣita* section is not the sixth but fifth book/chapter within this woodblock printing.⁴ But

³ Reviewed by B. Pauly (*Journal Asiatique*, 252.1 [1964]: 132–133), P. Horsch (*Asiatische Studien*, 17 [1964]: 158), E. Conze (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 85.3 [1965]: 463–464, Sh. Bando (*Ōtani Gakuhō*, 59.1 [1979]: 50–64) and J.W. de Jong (*Indo-Iranian Journal*, 10.2–3 [1967/1968]: 198–199 and id. 1974: 137–149).

⁴ If that is indeed the case, then the use of the character *juan* 卷 in this woodblock printing would be different from the traditional use for scroll

this by no means diminishes the importance of the extant Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*.

As Tripāṭhī describes in the introduction to his thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Göttingen, he had significantly benefited from two preliminary studies by Waldschmidt. In one of these two articles, published in 1957 in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Waldschmidt 1957a), Waldschmidt located the *sūtras* in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* corresponding to an incomplete, and in parts extremely fragmentary, paper manuscript from Šorčuq in Chinese Turkestan. This paper manuscript was written in Sanskrit in an earlier Turkestan Brāhmī script (Frühe turkistanische Brāhmī [Schrifttypus IV], Alphabet s, in Sander 1968: 181–182 with plates 29–41), with call number S 474 (= SHT 381) preserved at that time in the Seminar für Indologie of the University of Göttingen.⁵ It consists of 17 folios (folios 1, 3–5, 7–19) in total. Folios 2 and 6, containing *sūtra* 4 and a good part of *sūtras* 3, 5 and 9, are missing. Only a tiny piece of folio 3 is preserved.

In that article Waldschmidt also reconstructed the first two *sūtras* and the beginning of the third *sūtra* on the basis of the first folio of the manuscript and an additional fragment of the same provenance written in a later Turkestan Brāhmī script with call number S 401 (= SHT 158),⁶ and he juxtaposed the reconstruction of the first two *sūtras* with a German translation. In addition, he translated the first

or fascicle intended as a counting unit.

⁵ Now preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz – Orientabteilung and the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (Berlin) with catalogue number SHT 381. On the physical appearance of the manuscript, see SHT I, p. 171 and Tripāṭhī 1962: 15.

⁶ On the physical appearance of the fragment, see SHT I, p. 89 and Tripāṭhī 1962: 15.

four *sūtras* of the *Zayin song* 雜因誦 (*sūtras* 283–286) into German. In the same year Waldschmidt (1957b) presented the second article in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* containing the first half of the twenty-fifth *sūtra* of the *Nidāna-saṃyukta* reconstructed on the basis of the last two fragmentary folios of S 474 (= SHT 381) juxtaposed with a Pali parallel from the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (AN 8.76.1–29 at AN V 144,6–147,33). The article in question also includes an English translation of the corresponding portion of the Chinese version of the *sūtra*.

In this sense Tripāṭhī's work, published five years later, in 1962, is in no small part based on the groundwork done by Waldschmidt. Tripāṭhī was indeed entrusted by Waldschmidt himself with the edition of the twenty-five *sūtras* and was able on his part to enlarge the material basis to a considerable extent (Tripāṭhī 1962: 15–19, Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 16). Most of the additional fragments, however, stem from the fifth *sūtra*, i.e., the *Nagaropama-sūtra*, and many of them do not belong to a manuscript of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* or of the *Nidāna-saṃyukta* (Tripāṭhī 1962: 80–82). This *sūtra* seems to have been most popular among Buddhists in Chinese Turkestan (Lévi 1910: 436 and Waldschmidt 1957a: 377). As far as the material basis of the other *sūtras* is concerned, there has been no substantial addition to the principal manuscript SHT 381 studied previously by Waldschmidt in his two articles mentioned above. Apart from two folios containing *sūtras* 1–3 and 25, however, the other folios of the manuscript are far less fragmentary, and so Tripāṭhī could quite safely reconstruct *sūtras* 6–8 and 10–24 according to the Chinese translation and Pali parallels.⁷ The passages for the lacuna between

⁷ Waldschmidt furnished Tripāṭhī with information about the Chinese version, especially where the Pali parallels deviate from the Sanskrit texts; cf. Tripāṭhī 1962: 9, note 1.

Nidāna-samyukta § 9.6 and § 9.W (Tripāṭhī 1962: 122–123), which should be in the missing folio 6, cannot be completed yet because of the lack of new Sanskrit material.

The *Zayin song* 雜因誦 of the *Samyukta-āgama* includes 207 *sūtras* (*sūtras* 283–489) according to the Taishō 大正 edition. Apart from *sūtras* 304–342 (see above note 2), the *sūtras* in this section deal with the topic of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*). This section comprises, in addition to the *Nagaropama-sūtra* (*sūtra* 287), further well-known *sūtras* such as the **Naḍakalāpikā*- (*sūtra* 288), *Kumbhopama*- (*sūtra* 292), *Mahāśūnyatā*- (*sūtra* 297) and *Pratītyasamutpādavibhaṅga-sūtra* (*sūtra* 298). Also the *Acela-kāśyapa*- (*sūtra* 302), **Mahākoṣṭhila*- (*sūtra* 344), **Suśīma*- (*sūtra* 347), *Daśabala*- (*sūtra* 348), *Svāgata*- (*sūtra* 349), *Phalguna*- (*sūtra* 372) and *Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra* (*sūtra* 379) belong to this chapter (Chung 2018: 115–116, 119–120 and 122–123). The first seven of the twelve *sūtras* listed above are contained in Tripāṭhī's work. Against this backdrop Tripāṭhī's work received a lot of attention, albeit not without criticism (Hirano 1964: 159, 161 and Hirano 1973, de Jong 1967/1968: 198–199 and 1974: 137–149, Bando 1979: 50–64, Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 28–30). The main point of criticism concerns the reconstruction and treatment of two well-known *sūtras* which continue to be of significant interest in the field of Buddhist studies, the *Nagaropama*- and the *Pratītyasamutpādavibhaṅga-sūtra*. Despite these and other shortcomings, his edition still remains a valuable reference work for research into early Buddhism.

II. Purpose and Scope of the New Edition

The obvious shortcomings of Tripāṭhī's work with regard to the *Nagaropama-sūtra*, which were pointed out in the reviews mentioned above, have already been remedied through the thorough study of the *sūtra* carried out by Gregory Bongard-Levin, Daniel Boucher, Takamichi Fukita and Klaus Wille and published in 1996 as *The Nagaropamasūtra, An Apotropaic Text from the Saṃyuktāgama* (Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen, 3; Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, 6). This work, however, cannot serve as a prime example of how Tripāṭhī's work might be improved as a whole because it is confined to a few *sūtras* – such as the *Nagaropama-sūtra*, the *Pratītyasamutpādivibhaṅga-sūtra* and several other popular *sūtras* – which are recorded in a considerable number of manuscripts and inscriptions.⁸

As far as the other *sūtras* of the *Nidāna-saṃyukta* published by Tripāṭhī are concerned, the condition of the Sanskrit materials has only marginally changed since then. Consequently, it still remains a difficult task to reach a satisfactory result unless a *sūtra* is fairly well preserved in the principal manuscript. Nonetheless, the current situation is far better than in Tripāṭhī's time. The ongoing projects of cataloguing and digitizing Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Berlin, London, Paris and St. Petersburg since the 1960s have led to a considerable increase in the availability of those materials.⁹ This process has been further enhanced by the emergence and publication of the new *Āgama* manuscripts from Gilgit (Harrison and Hartmann

⁸ For a brief survey, see Chung 2008: 99–101, 107–110 and 122–123.

⁹ For a comprehensive description of recent advances in Buddhist manuscript research, see Harrison and Hartmann 2014: 187–255.

2014: 137–155), and has even been strengthened through the growing number of electronic texts available in repositories such as the *Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages* (GRETIL).¹⁰ All these resources enable us to locate parallels and corresponding phrases with much less effort, as can be seen in the recent attempt to offer a new reconstruction of the introductory portion of the *Sanṅgīti-sūtra* (Chung and Wille 2018).

Under these circumstances we deem it necessary and feasible to re-edit the first twenty-five *sūtras* of the *Nidāna-samyukta* by means of all known Sanskrit materials. Tripāṭhī's reading of the manuscripts can be revised on the basis of digital images now available on websites such as that of the *International Dunhuang Project* (IDP) of the *British Library* (BL),¹¹ the *Digitales Turfan-Archiv* (DTA) of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW)¹² and the *Bibliothèque numérique Gallica* of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (BnF).¹³ In addition, Tripāṭhī's reconstruction of damaged passages can be adjusted according to parallels and stock phrases unknown at that time, and remaining lacunae can be filled in due to newly identified manuscript fragments. All in all, it seems high time to bring Tripāṭhī's edition up to date to the extent that this is possible. Admittedly, the increase in Sanskrit material and the growing knowledge of the phraseology of the *Āgama* texts of the relevant textual tradition and an enhanced possibility to read specific lines of a manuscript more precisely do not necessarily lead to the resolution of a particular problem to a completely satisfactory degree. However, the improved circumstances may at least contribute to illustrating the types of problems which are to be solved.

¹⁰ <http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.htm>.

¹¹ <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

¹² <http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html>.

¹³ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>.

The physical appearance of the manuscript materials used by Tripāṭhī for his edition was described in detail in his work (Tripāṭhī 1962: 15–19). He also outlined the characteristics of the scripts and language of the manuscripts (Tripāṭhī 1962: 20–27). The descriptions of the additional fragments used in the forthcoming volume are to be found in the respective catalogue volumes referred to.¹⁴ The forthcoming volume will include a new transliteration of all these fragments except for most of the *Nagaropama-sūtra*.¹⁵ Following this, a concordance of the old and new catalogue numbers of the fragments used in both works is to be supplied in order to facilitate a comparison of our reading with that of Tripāṭhī.

The passage numbers given by Tripāṭhī are kept in boldface. Where it seems necessary, additional divisions are made and indicated with numbers and/or letters in normal type. The reconstructed Sanskrit passages are juxtaposed with the corresponding Chinese portions in order to illustrate the relationship between the two versions. The beginning of the preserved lines of the Sanskrit fragments are marked with the serial numbers of the folio sides and the line numbers in brackets. Irregular or missing sandhi as well as orthographical or grammatical peculiarities are not pointed out, as a rule (cf. Tripāṭhī 1962: 20–27, Bernhard 1965: I 20–24, Schlingloff 1964: 12–25). No attempt has been made to translate the texts of either the Chinese or the Sanskrit version. Instead a word index on the basis of our new edition is added at the end of the book. This work simply reflects the way things stand at the moment, and we hope that someday we can present a further improved version along with a translation.

¹⁴ Jin-il Chung and Takamichi Fukita, *A New Edition of the First 25 Sūtras of the Nidānasamṃyukta* (in preparation).

¹⁵ Transliterations of Sanskrit fragments of the *Nagaropama-sūtra* are to be found in Tripāṭhī 1962: 64–78, *Nagaropama-sūtra* in Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 38–75, and in the respective catalogue volumes referred to.

As mentioned at the outset, the importance of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* is unquestionable, although the received collection presents several flaws. These include the structural disorder regarding the arrangement of the fascicles and/or chapters, as well as the loss of a certain number of *sūtras*. Also omissions and confusions between characters due to graphic and/or phonetic similarities are not a rare phenomenon. In addition, we have observed a particular problem for which we have sought in vain a reasonable explanation in quite a few cases.

For example, SĀ 293 at T II 83c15–16 reads:

如此二法。謂有為・無為。有為者若生・若住・若異・
若滅。無為者不生・不住・不異・不滅。

whereas in the *Nidāna-samyukta* § 11.5 it reads:

*dvayam idaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cāsaṃskṛ(ta)m (ta)tr(a) saṃ-
skṛtasyotpādo 'pi prajñāyate vyayo 'pi sthityanyathāt-
vam api • asaṃskṛtasya naivotpādaḥ prajñāyate na vyayo na
sthityanyathātvam.*¹⁶

The whole passage is cited in the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 198a10–13, where it reads:

如契經說。佛告苾芻。法有二種。一者有為。二者無
為。有為之起亦可了知。盡及住異亦可了知。無為無
起而可了知。無盡・住異而可了知。

¹⁶ Lamotte 1970: 1163, note 1 just mentions on this: “le Tsa a han ... subdivise le *sthityanyathātvā* de l'original et pose ainsi quatre caractères: *utpāda*, *sthiṭi*, *anyathātvā* et *vyaya*.”

Or in brief, as paraphrased in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, T 1579 at T XXX 795c20–22:

復次法有二種。一者有為。二者無為。此中有為是無常性。三有為相施設可得。一生。二滅。三住異性。

A similar sentence is also known in a *sūtra* in the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 3.15 at T II 607c14–15:

爾時。世尊告諸比丘。此三有為有為相。云何為三。知所從起。知當遷變。知當滅盡。

This reads, according to the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* parallel, AN 3.47 at AN I 152,6–9:

*tīṇ' imāni bhikkhave saṅkhatassa saṅkhatalakḥhaṇāni.
katamāni tīṇi? uppādo paññāyati vayo paññāyati ṭhitassa
aññathattam paññāyati.*

This passage is documented in several Abhidharma texts, for example in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 171,26–28:¹⁷

*sūtre trīṇīmāni bhikṣavaḥ saṃskṛtasya saṃskṛtalakṣaṇāni.
katamāni trīṇi. saṃskṛtasya bhikṣava utpādo 'pi prajñā-
yate. vyayo 'pi prajñāyate. sthityanyathātvam apī ti.*

¹⁷ Translated in Lamotte 1970: 1163, note 1: “Du conditionné il y a, ô moines, trois caractères qui sont eux-mêmes conditionnés. Quel sont ces trois? Du conditionné, la production est objet de connaissance; la disparition aussi est objet de connaissance; la durée-altération égale-ment.”

It is also cited in the *Prasannapadā*¹⁸ and according to the *Jñāna-prasthāna*, T 1544 at T XXVI 926b20–21 and the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 199c25–26, reads as follows:

如世尊說。有三有為之有為相。有為之起亦可了知。
盡及住異亦可了知。

This statement is corroborated by the following sentences in the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 201a19–20:

如世尊說有三有為之有為相。不說有四。

and in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, T 1579 at T XXX 585c29–30:

問若有為法。生老住滅四有為相具足可得。何故世尊
但說三種。一生。二滅。三住異性。

Thus, it is not easily explicable why the sentence in the *Samyukta-āgama* lists four *lakṣaṇas* of the *saṃskṛta*- and/or *asaṃskṛta-dharma*, that is, 生, 住, 異, 滅, instead of three. Étienne Lamotte (1970: 1163, note 1) does not seem to find it problematic, because he apparently understands *sthity-anyathātvā* as a *dvandva* compound,¹⁹ and regards

¹⁸ de La Vallée Poussin 1903–1913: 145,4–5: *uktaṃ hi bhagavatā trīṇī-māni bhikṣavaḥ saṃskṛtasya saṃskṛtalakṣaṇāni | saṃskṛtasya bhikṣava utpādo 'pi prajñāyate | vyayo 'pi sthityanyathātvam api*.

¹⁹ Lamotte 1970: 1163, note 1: “Les sutra des Āgama et des Nikāya posent trois caractères des dharma conditionnés: production ou origine, disparition et durée-modification. ... La leçon pāli *thitassa* (ou *thitā-nam*) *aññathattam* “altération tandis qu’il(s) dure(nt)” s’oppose à la leçon sanskrite *sthityanyathātvam* attestée par les sources précédentes et par un fragment d’Asie Centrale publié par L. de La Vallée Poussin ... JRAS [*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*], 1913, p. 573”. See also his translation of the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1971 [1932–

the Pali version *ṭhitassa/ṭhitānaṃ aññathattam* as wrong: “le troisième caractère *ṭhitassa aññathattam* est corrigé en *sthity-anyathātva* dans l’Āgama sanskrit correspondant” (Lamotte 1949: 36–37, note 3). From that point of view, it is also conceivable that the Chinese translation kept the three *lakṣaṇas* of the Sanskrit original, i.e., 生, 滅, 住異, but later on the Chinese Buddhists became accustomed to the terms 生, 住, 異, 滅 and/or 生, 住, 異, 壞 expressing the four *lakṣaṇas* of the *saṃskṛta-dharmas*²⁰ and interpreted the third *lakṣaṇa* 住異 as a *dvandva* compound. As a side note, the Sanskrit equivalent of the four *lakṣaṇas* of the *saṃskṛta-dharma* (*saṃskṛtasya catvāri lakṣaṇāni* 四有爲相) are *jāti*, *jarā*, *sthiti* and *anityatā* according to the *Abhidharmakośa*²¹ (T 1558, trans. Xuanzang 玄奘: 生, 住, 異, 滅性; T 1559, trans. Paramārtha: 生, 老, 住, 無常; Tibetan in D 4090 and P 5591: *skye ba*, *rga*, *gnas* and *mi rtag*) and/or *jāti*, *jarā*, *sthiti* and *nāśa* according to the *Abhidharmadīpa*.²²

In the *Saṃyukta-āgama* we also come across passages which obviously seem to reflect a different understanding of specific passages. For example, a passage in the *Nidāna-saṃyukta* § 11.7 reads:

*tatra bhikṣavaḥ ka<ḥ> parini(r)vṛtaḥ anyatra²³ du<ḥ>khaṃ
taṃ niruddhaṃ ...*

1936]: 171,26–28 quoted above.

²⁰ Cf. Dharmasreṣṭhin’s **Abhidharmahrdaya*, T 1550 at T XXVIII 811b18–20: 一切有爲法各各有四相。生住異壞。世中起故生。已起自事立故住。已住勢衰故異。已異滅故壞; Miśraka’s **Abhidharmahrdaya*, T 1552 at T 882b26–28: 一切有爲法有四相。生住異滅。世中起故生。已起自事立故住。已住勢衰故異。已異勢壞故滅。

²¹ *Abhidharmakośa* II.45, Pradhan 1967: 75,17: *lakṣaṇāni punar jātir jarā sthitir anityatā*.

²² *Abhidharmadīpa* II.139, Jaini 1959: 104,1: *jātiḥ sthitir jarā nāśaḥ saṃskṛtāṅkacatuṣṭayī* (ed. °*caṣṭatuyī*); cf. Mitomo 2007: 399–400, note 302.

²³ Cf. *Saṅghabheda-vastu*, Gnoli 1977: I 159,19: °*o nānyatra duḥkham* (Tib.

According to Lambert Schmithausen (1987: 152) this is to be understood in the following way:

Wer ist da ins Nirvāṇa eingegangen? [Niemand! Es gibt ja keine Person, die ins Nirvāṇa eingehen könnte!] Es hat vielmehr nur das Leid aufgehört.

The corresponding line in the *Samyukta-āgama*. SĀ 293 at T II 83c19–20, reads:²⁴

彼何所滅。謂有餘苦。彼若滅止 ...

Mun-keat Choong (2004: 15) translates it as follows:

What is it that ceases? It is any remaining suffering. If this ceases ...

For these reasons, a critical comparison of the Sanskrit and Chinese versions forms an indispensable component of the work in progress. And this has already been proven enough times to be seen as an appropriate tool for a safe assessment and improvement of both versions.

gzhan med kyi sdug bsngal). On the meaning of *anyatra* in this context, cf. Edgerton 1953: 41, s.v. (1), de Jong 1976: 326–327 and Schmithausen 1987: 151–152.

²⁴ Presumably read *anyatraduḥkhaṃ* (有餘苦) *taṃ niruddhaṃ* (彼若滅止) ... instead of *anyatra duḥkhaṃ taṃ niruddhaṃ* (v.l. *anyatra yad duḥkhaṃ taṃ niruddhaṃ*) Cf. the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in Schmithausen 1982: 468 [§§ 10c]: *na cātra kaś cit parinirvṛto bhavati ... nānyatra yad duḥkhaṃ taṃ niruddhaṃ* ... and T 1579 at T XXX 477b12–13: 此中都無般涅槃者 ... 唯有眾苦永滅.

III. Future Perspectives

The new edition of the first twenty-five *sūtras* of the *Nidāna-saṃyukta* in progress will certainly not be completely new. We are quite aware of the tremendous work previously done by Waldschmidt and Tripāthī, even though ongoing research has revealed major shortcomings. Many problems will remain unsolved, partly due to lack of material, and partly because of lack of alternative ideas. It is not impossible that an unexpected find of a *Saṃyukta-āgama* manuscript will contribute to the resolution of remaining problems in the near future. On the other hand, we have also learned that the discovery of a new manuscript often poses new problems and the already existing witnesses are in fact useful for the resolution of the new problems posed by the newly surfaced manuscript materials. Thus, once revised and updated on the basis of manuscript materials and parallel texts which were unknown to Tripāthī, the edition in progress might serve as a solid basis for more thorough studies on the development of the whole *Saṃyukta-āgama*, or at least of the whole *Nidāna-saṃyukta*.

It is not uncommon that passages are succinctly formulated and can only be safely understood after an intense search for similar passages and explanations in parallel texts. To give an example, this is the case for the simile of the pot (*kumbhopama*). The comparison of the relationship between body (*kāya*) and relics (*śarīrāṇi*) to that between pot (*kumbha*) and potsherds (*kapālāṇi*) in the *Nidāna-saṃyukta* §§ 10,15–16 and SN 12.51.18 at SN II 83,7–16²⁵ only becomes clear after a thorough comparison of the Sanskrit, Pali and Chinese versions, and the consultation of the following lines in the *Cintāmayī-bhūmi* of the *Yogācāra*-

²⁵ For a recent discussion on this passage, see Radich 2007: 502–507 [§ 4.1.2.2].

bhūmi and the *Abhisamācārika-dharma* of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottara-vāda *Vinaya*:

tadyathā kumbhe bhagne yaḥ kumbha iti vādaḥ so 'vahīyate
| *kapālavādaḥ prādurbhavati*. (Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group
2007: II 328,4-5)

'di lta ste bum pa chag na bum pa zhes brjod pa gang yin
pa de ni med par 'gyur la, gyo mor brjod pa ni 'byung ba
lta bu'o. (D 4036, *sems tsam*, *tshi* 203a5 and P 5537, *sems*
tsam, *dzi* 233b6)

謂瓶等破已。瓶等言捨。瓦等言生。 (T 1579 at T XXX
362b20-21)

apareṇa dāni bhikṣuṇā muṇḍavātapāṇe (ms: *muṇḍe°*)
pātraṃ sthaviṭaṃ ... vātamaṇḍalikāye āgacchiyāṇaṃ
bhūmīyaṃ pātito bhinno kapālānāṃ rāṣiṃ kṛtvā ... so
dāni ... vihāraṃ praviṣṭo paśyati kapālikānāṃ rāṣiṃ.
(Karashima 2012: I 207 [§ 25.1])

爾時比丘舉鉢。著向孔中。旋風來吹墮地即破 ... 欲
取鉢。正見一聚碎瓦。 (Karashima 2012: I 207 [§ 25.1])²⁶

We might intensify our work in this regard too, and hope that someday in the near future more Sanskrit materials will be discovered which can fill in the remaining gaps and answer our remaining questions.

²⁶ Cf. also the *Nyāyabhāṣya*, Śāstri and Śukla 1942: 190 [§ 4.1.16]: *abhūt kumbho bhinnaṃ kumbhaṃ anuśocati bhinnasya kumbhasya kapālāni*.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----|---|
| AN | <i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| D | Derge edition (Tōhoku) |
| EĀ | <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125) |
| P | Peking edition (Ōtani) |
| SĀ | <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SHT | <i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> (Waldschmidt 1965) |
| SN | <i>Saṃyutta-nikāya</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition |

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**‘Discourse on the Relative Value
of the Varieties of Knowledge’
(*Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra*):
A Translation**

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Abstract

This contribution interprets and studies the Sanskrit *Vidyāsthānopama*, a short discourse (*sūtra*) or, as in some versions, a *dharmaparyāya*, in mixed prose and verse. To date there are not any other known versions of the *Vidyāsthānopama* apart from those witnessed by Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts of different provenances. By title and by genre, the *Vidyāsthānopama* might have belonged to one of the *Āgamas*, and it should have the same status as the other texts included in the main scroll to which it belongs. These texts are also featured in a listing of titles probably functioning as a list of contents placed at the end of another scroll. The listing includes short discourses also found in the *Samyukta-āgama* and *Samyutta-nikāya*, along with, in the scroll, *dhāraṇīs*. In Central Asia the *Vidyāsthānopama* is transmitted grouped with *rakṣā* texts in manuscripts that probably functioned as liturgical collections. In style, vocabulary and content, the *Vidyāsthānopama* is congruent with the early discourses. Much of the prose and some of the verse have counterparts elsewhere in the early Buddhist *Āgamas/Nikāyas*. Regardless of its possible inclusion in an *Āgama* as a formal canonical collection, the *Vidyāsthānopama* is ‘canonical’ in its own right as *Buddhavacana*, and could well have been transmitted independently, in a smaller, more portable collection, or in practical canons, liturgical and otherwise. This arouses methodological questions around the feasibility of assumptions about canonicity and scriptural authority being made exclusively based on Pali versions of discourses and the presence or absence of a particular discourse in the received *Āgamas/Nikāyas*.

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*Dedicated to the late Seishi Karashima,
master of many vidyāsthānas,
in fond memory of
his kindness and encouragement,
his infectious enthusiasm,
and our many wide-ranging discussions
centred on sūtras and manuscripts.*

I. Introduction*

I present here a translation of a short discourse (*sūtra*) in mixed prose and verse, based primarily on Ernst Waldschmidt's (1959: 3–8) edition of Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia ("Kleine Brāhmī-Schriftrolle").¹ To date the discourse is not known in any other versions, whether in Pali or other Indic languages or in translations into Tibetan or Chinese, although further manuscript fragments have come to light in Central Asia. That is, the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts are the sole survivors and the sole witnesses of this discourse. In style, vocabulary, and content, the text is congruent with the early discourses attributed to the Buddha, and indeed, much of the prose and a number of lines of verse, including one complete verse, have counterparts elsewhere in Buddhist canons.

* This is a revised version of "A Discourse Comparing Different Types of Knowledge (*Vidyāsthānopamasūtra*)", first published in Banjat Suchiva et al. (ed.), *Visakha Puja – B.E. 2522 (1979)* (Annual Publication of the Buddhist Association of Thailand), Bangkok: The Buddhist Association of Thailand Under Royal Patronage, 64–67. A French version appeared as "Un Discours comparant différentes sortes de connaissance (*Vidyāsthānopamasūtra*)", *Linh-Son Publication d'études bouddhologiques* (Institut de recherche bouddhique Linh-Son, Paris), 7 (mai, 1979): 15–20.

¹ See also SHT I 499, pp. 218–219 (section II below).

Fragments of the discourse have been found at several sites along the Northern Silk Road, an area where the Sarvāstivāda seems to have been the predominant *Vinaya* school (I usually use ‘Sarvāstivāda’ inclusively, in the sense of ‘broader Sarvāstivāda tradition’). All of the manuscripts are written in ink on paper; most were retrieved by the Third Prussian Turfan Expedition in the second half of the first decade of the 1900s.

II. Witnesses

II.1 Manuscripts Consulted by E. Waldschmidt for his Edition of the *Vidyāsthānopama* (“Kleine Brāhmī-Schriftrolle”)

Waldschmidt (1959) consulted the following manuscript fragments for his edition:²

SHT I 499. A narrow scroll, only 6.4 cm wide, lettered on both sides in an elegant Brahmi script. It was torn in two but is complete. Together it contains six texts written in 90 lines on each side. The texts are as follows:³

Front

1. *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra*

² The concordances published by Klaus Wille in *From Birch bark to Digital Data* (Harrison and Hartmann 2014) and elsewhere have been immensely helpful to my understanding of the position of the *Vidyāsthānopama* in the Berlin, Paris, and London collections (Wille 2014 a, 2014b and 2014c). See also Hartmann and Wille 1997.

³ As Waldschmidt 1959: 2, note 1 observes, the designations front and back are arbitrary because in the state of the scroll it is impossible to know which is which.

2. *Dhvajāgra-sūtra*

Back

3. A *dhāraṇī*4. *Mahāmāyuri-hṛdaya*⁴5. *Satya-sūtra*6. Introductory invocations à la *dhāraṇī*

The title *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra* opens a list of *sūtras* in fragment SHT I 364 (491²) (see below), which was found at Šorčuq by the third Turfan expedition. It is probably a list of the contents placed at the end of a scroll giving titles followed by the line numbers.⁵ The preserved titles are:

V

vidyāsthānopamasūtram 2

[ve]macitrabandhanasūtram 31

dhva[j](ā)grasūtram 35

adh[i]muktibalasūtram 38

candrama[ṇ](d)alasūtram

R

[ja]yamṇti[sūtram]

SHT I 364, SHT I 497, SHT I 499 and SHT IX 2210. Paper scrolls.⁶ This format is not generally met with but seems to have been common for apotropaic texts. The narrow format allowed them to be rolled up and put into in a cylindrical container and worn on the body. SHT

⁴ Waldschmidt 1959: 2 note 2 notes that both occurrences of the title have short *u* and *i* in *-māyūrī-*.

⁵ For the lists see Skilling 1997a: II 458–460.

⁶ For a list of scrolls in the Turfan collections see Hartmann and Wille 2010: 382–383.

I 499 is reproduced in Figures 1 and 2 below. The paper scroll is presently broken. The *Vidyāsthānopamā* starts from the right column of the part of the scroll seen in Figure 1 below, and it ends in the right column of the part of the scroll in Figure 2 (which shows the verso side).

SHT I 366. From Kyzil, third Turfan expedition. Written in ink on paper; *pustaka* format, 4 lines on each side. Side A, *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra*; side B, *Nagaropama-sūtra*.

SHT I 160a. From Rotküppelraum at Ming-öi, Third Turfan expedition. Written in ink on paper, *pustaka* format, 6 lines on each side. *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra*; unidentified canonical sutras, probably from *Samyukta-āgama*; *Āṅgulimāla-sūtra*.

SHT I 497. From Šorčuq, Third Turfan expedition. Written in ink on paper; *pustaka* format, 2 lines with final colophon.

II.2 New Fragments of the *Vidyāsthānopama* (post-Waldschmidt’s “Kleine Brāhmī-Schrift-rolle”)

State Library, Berlin

SHT IX 2210. From Šorčuq, third Turfan expedition. Fragment of a paper scroll written in ink, North Turkestan Brāhmī, 8.6 x 6.9 cm. Side A, fragment of final verses which might be from *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra* or another *sūtra* or collection; side B, unidentified *sūtra* that contains the phrase *tathāgatabala* and ends with *rakṣaṃ bhava[tu]*.

British Library, London

Or.15007/336v. Wille 2015: 100–101. From Yalduz Bagh, Jigda-

lik, and Kaya, near Kucha. Written on paper in North Turkestan Brahmi (Wille 2015: 13).

Or.15009/83. Nagashima 2009: 153–154 and plate 95. This fragment on paper in North Turkestan Brahmi has a blank recto with four lines of text beginning on the verso after a blank space of about one half of the folio page. It opens with the full Śrāvastī introduction (*nidāna*), as does the Šorčuq *sūtra*, but it differs in that it continues with a stock opening in which the Fortunate One announces his intention to teach the Dharma, and gives the name of the *dharma-paryāya*. All that is preserved of the discourse proper is the opening line, *utpādād vā tathāgatānāṃ vā*.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Pelliot sanscrit bleu 375 r–v3. In v4 another *sūtra* starts (not published, as far as I know).

Pelliot sanscrit bleu 447A (not published, as far as I know).

Pelliot sanscrit bleu 448A. Belongs to 447 (not published, as far as I know).⁷

The manuscripts in the Pelliot sanscrit collection are paper *pustakas* inscribed in ink in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī from Duldur-āqur, Subaši (both in the Kučā oasis) and Dunhuang.⁸

375 V gives fragments parallel to Waldschmidt 1959: §§ 9–13, R parallel to §§ 14 17. 447A gives fragments of Waldschmidt 1959: § 8. 448A has fragments parallel to Waldschmidt 1959: §§ 6, 7, 8.

⁷ I thank Klaus Wille for sending me his transcriptions (December 21st, 2013).

⁸ Pelliot sanscrit bleu is exclusively from Duldur-āqur (Jens-Uwe Hartmann, email, November 2019).

III. Status of the *Vidyāsthānopama*

The *Vidyāsthānopama* is a *sūtra*, or, as in some versions, a *dharma-paryāya*, and it is composed in the classic *sūtra* style, opening with *evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ* and closing with *āptamanaso te bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandam*.⁹ By title and by genre, the *Vidyāsthānopama* should have the same status as the other texts in the scroll or in the list of titles—which include short *sūtras* also found in the *Samyukta-āgama*/*Samyutta-nikāya* along with, in the scroll, *dhāraṇīs*. The *Vidyāsthānopama* might have belonged to one of the *Āgamas*, but it is not found in either of the logical candidates, the two Chinese *Samyukta-āgamas*.¹⁰ In Central Asia it is grouped with *rakṣā* texts in manuscripts that may well have been liturgical collections. The word *vidyā* means knowledge or science, but it can also mean, or substitute for, terms for incantations and spells (*mantra*, *dhāraṇī*, or *rakṣā*). The *sūtra* itself proclaims that it is the best of all *vidyās* that the Tathāgatas teach:

*yac chreṣṭaṃ sarvavidyānāṃ
tad deśayaṃti tathāgatāḥ.*

That which is the best of all varieties of knowledge
Is what the Tathāgatas teach.

This *vidyā*, the best of all forms of knowledge, is knowledge of the four truths, the signature teaching of all Buddhas and the heart of their teaching. One of the key verses in the *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra*

⁹ The title is given at the conclusion of the scroll as a *sūtra* and in the formulaic opening passage as a *-dharmaparyāya*.

¹⁰ Or, although it seems to me less likely, it could have belonged to the lost *Ekottarika-āgama* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

is the four-line stanza that summarizes the four truths; it is found in Prakrit in India engraved on a stone slab from Guntupalle and in southern Vietnam it was engraved on a gold plate along with mantras. The verse occurs several times in Thai epigraphy. The stanza verse is embedded in a Sogdian text of homage to Avalokiteśvara, an invocation for safety and well-being inscribed on a scroll (2.42 m x 0.29 m, beginning incomplete, extant text 203 lines in length).¹¹ The verse epitomizes the cardinal teaching of not only Śākyamuni but of all Buddhas of the three times, including Maitreya as seen in the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*. The *rakṣā* status of this enduring verse merits further research.

Is there anything unusual about this juxtaposition of canonical *sūtras* with *dhāraṇīs*? I do not think so: I believe that the function of the compilations is not dogmatic or didactic, but rather that they are liturgical and spell collections to be recited for blessing, power, and protection. We see a similar bundling of texts in the Pali tradition of Thailand. Canonical texts, including the verse list of the 24 past Buddhas (which is thoroughly canonical for the Theravāda tradition but thoroughly non-canonical for modern scholarship) are mixed with verses on the ten future Bodhisatta/Buddhas and their Bodhi trees, which are not found in any canon. The invocation of the Bodhisattas, the names of the Buddhas, protect and bring blessing and benefits. Often there is no clear line between canonical and liturgical.

I believe that while the *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra* is canonical in its own right as *Buddhavacana*, this does not mean that it would have to have been included in the formal great canons, the *Āgamas*. In a few cases we meet the term *muktaka*, which seems to refer to texts that were transmitted independently, outside of the *Āgamas*. Texts could also be transmitted in smaller and more portable collections or

¹¹ See Benveniste 1940: 113 (Texte 8, lines 161–165).

in practical canons, liturgical and otherwise. There are several possibilities; this is a field where much painstaking research remains to be done.¹²

IV. The Red Herrings of Authenticity and Canonicity

My aim is to make this short text available and better known in English translation because I find the *Vidyāsthānopama* interesting in its own right as an expression of early Buddhist attitudes towards knowledge and for the manner in which it integrates knowledge into the cosmological process. It contrasts worldly knowledge and the understanding of the four truths of the noble ones. And it adds to the clusters of discourses that have no Pali, or, in this case, other, parallels.¹³ These texts challenge the notions of authenticity and canonicity that were established by (mostly western) scholarship at the end of the nineteenth century and are still widely current. At that time, few Buddhist texts were available, and, by circumstances of history, the Pali canon rose to the fore as the arbiter of authentic Buddhism. The concept of authenticity was grounded on the idea that there were two canons, one in Pali, the other in Sanskrit. This idea was never accurate, and the discovery of increasing numbers of manuscripts in other languages such as Gandhari Prakrit or the Prakrit of the Sāṃmitīya school further exposes the deficiency of this dual-track concept. Each school redacted its own *Tripitaka* in its own preferred language. The Pali redaction was one among equals: among canons in several Prakrits and Hybrid Sanskrits. It was never a question of ‘Pali or ...’.

¹² For a beginning see Skilling 2017.

¹³ For a rather different response to this situation, see Bingenheimer 2013.

The Pali canon is, however, the only complete canon to survive; the other canons are lost or only fragmentary. We do not, and we cannot, know whether a text like the *Vidyāsthānopama* had counterparts in the Sāṃmitīya, Sarvāstivāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṅghika, or Dharmaguptaka, canons, or those of still other schools. Buddhist texts were transmitted in multiple versions and canons, and it seems more sensible to recognize this scriptural pluralism rather than to adhere to a restrictive and ahistorical Palicentrism. The ideal balance would be to know whether or not a text was transmitted in the collections of *all* schools, a situation referred to by Vasubandhu as ‘recited by all the *nikāyas*’, or, if not, to know which schools transmitted it and which schools did not. But this would only be possible if all of the canons were intact and accessible. This may have been the case at the time of the compilation of the *Vibhāṣās* and of Vasubandhu and Bhāvivēka. But today the aggregate of canons does not exist, and one sole collection, the Pali canon, survives. In the absence of the other canons, to question the authenticity of the *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra* simply because it has no Pali counterpart makes no sense. It may have had counterparts in any of the canons that do not survive.

Within each lineage, within each textual environment, the text would have been perfectly at home, perfectly authentic in its own right. The notion that a text must have a Pali counterpart to be authentic, that a text without any Pali counterpart is inauthentic, did not exist in early, or even pre-modern, India. It is a modern idea, developed during the nineteenth-century colonial encounter and elaborated up to the present. It developed by default because the Pali collection was the sole surviving canon, and because, when the British colonized Lanka and Burma, it was this canon that the Orientalists encountered and studied. Over a thousand years before that,

however, Indian Buddhist scholars of the middle period had access to many more canons than we do today, and they compared different recensions and assessed the value of different traditions. There is no evidence that they were especially aware of the Pali collection, or that, if they were, that they accorded it any special status among the many canons. A prime example is the fourth–fifth-century scholar Vasubandhu, but it is evident that he inherited methodologies from the *Vibhāṣās* and other earlier Indian traditions that are no longer available. Another example is the sixth-century Madhyamaka master Bhāviveka, whose commentary on the *Tarkajvālā* is the sole surviving source that cites passages from all eighteen schools to prove a point. The Indian orders and schools had a notion of textual pluralism that is noticeable by its absence in the Lankan Pali tradition. In terms of our present knowledge, we might take the *Dhammapadas* as an example: there are several dozen recensions of *Dhammapadas*, *Dharmapadas* and *Udānavargas* in Indic languages and in translation. They differ in contents and arrangement. To say that among all these, the Pali *Dhammapada* is the sole authentic one is scarcely realistic and is not helpful for the understanding of the development of Buddhist textual and intellectual history.

V. The Gist of the *Vidyāsthānopama*

The gist of the *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra* is that as the world evolves various arts and sciences develop, particularly the sacred lore so highly valued at the time of the Buddha. In a broader context, arts and sciences (*vidyāsthāna*, *karmasthāna*, *śilpasthāna*) encompasses all forms of worldly skill and knowledge. These are important for aspirants on both the *śrāvaka* and *bodhisatva* paths. According to

Mūlasarvāstivāda texts like the ‘*Avadāna* of Supriya and the Chapter on Division in the *Sanḅha*’, proficiency in the *vidyāsthāna* is natural to *bodhisatvas*:¹⁴

It is the nature of things that *bodhisatvas* are proficient in the various arts, sciences, and skills.

These skills include supernormal powers and yogic attainments but these are frequently overrated and taken as ends in themselves, and the *sūtra* stresses that those who possess them are still caught in the round of cyclic existence (*saṃsāra*) and hence they are still subject to suffering (*duḥkha*): the teaching acts as an antidote for those who get bogged down in traditional religious practices or at certain levels of attainment. Such practices and attainments are conditioned, products of the mind, and thus do not partake of the essence of religion; it is through the realization of the unconditioned *Nirvāṇa* as taught by an awakened being, a Buddha, that one is freed from rebirth and suffering. The discourse therefore declares the realization of the four truths of the noble ones and of unconditioned *Nirvāṇa* to be the most excellent of all varieties of knowledge. This has been stated differently in another discourse:¹⁵

¹⁴ *Sanḅhabheda-vastu* in Gnoli 1978: II 30,ult: *kuṣalā bhavanti bodhisattvās teṣu teṣu śīlpasthānakarmasthāneṣu*; cf. the translation in Lenz 2003: 98; *Supriya-avadāna*, *Divyāvadāna* VIII in Cowell and Neil 1886: 109,20: *dharmatā khalu kuṣalā bodhisattvās teṣu teṣu śīlpasthānakarmasthāneṣu*, see translation by Rotman 2008: 203. Cf. also Cowell and Neil 1886: 100,5: *sarvaśīlpajña* (translation in Rotman 2008: 191). See also the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* in Yamada 1968: I 111 with reference to Yamada 1968: II 375,14: *vividhās ca vidyāsthānā loke prakāśitāḥ*.

¹⁵ MN I 197,29: *iti kho, bhikkhave, na yidaṃ brahmacariyaṃ lābhasakkāra-silokānisamsaṃ, na sīlasampadānisamsaṃ, na samādhisampadānisamsaṃ*

This religious life, O monks, is not [to be lived] for sake of material gain, honour, or fame, nor for sake of perfection in conduct or perfection in meditative attainments, nor yet for sake of knowledge and insight. O monks, it is the unshakeable liberation of mind that is the goal, the essence and the culmination of the religious life.

VI. Translation

‘Discourse on the Relative Value of the Varieties of Knowledge’¹⁶

This is what I have heard: once the Fortunate One was staying at Anāthapiṇḍada’s garden in the Jeta Grove of Śrāvastī. There the

saṃ, na ñāṇadassanānisaṃsaṃ. yā ca kho ayaṃ, bhikkhave, akuppā ceto-vimutti – etad attham idaṃ, bhikkhave, brahmacariyaṃ, etaṃ sāraṃ etaṃ pariyosānaṃ ti. Cf. the translation by Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 290.

¹⁶ *Upama* in the title of a Buddhist discourse usually refers to a simile found in the text itself. The present text does not contain any similes; rather, it compares or contrasts various forms of religious or supernormal knowledge with the insight that liberates individuals from *saṃsāra*. I therefore prefer a root meaning of *upa-mā*, ‘to compare’: cf. Monier-Williams 1899: 203, s.v. *upa-mā*. Buddhist tradition mentions five types of knowledge (*vidyāsthāna*): logic (*hetuvidyā*), grammar (*śabdavidyā*), medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*), arts and crafts (*śilpakarmasthānavidyā*), and inner science (*adhyātmavidyā*) (*Mahāvīyutpatti*, ed. Sakaki 1916 [1998]: nos. 1554–1559); see Lessing and Wayman 1968: 72–81. Out of the first four ‘outer sciences’, the discourse mentions medicine and arts and crafts, along with other worldly sciences. These are contrasted with the inner science that leads to liberation from *saṃsāra*. For a study of the five, see Seyfort-Ruegg 1995. For a detailed treatment by Tibetan polymath Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé (1813–1899), see his *Shes bya mtha’ yas pa’i rgya mtsho*, translated by Gyurme Dorje 2012: 73–439 (Part One).

Fortunate One addressed the monks:¹⁷

[“I will teach, O monks, the Dharma: good at the outset, good in the middle, good in the end, good in meaning, good in letter, and I will proclaim the complete, full, and pure holy life: that is, the Dharma-discourse on the Relative Value of the Varieties of Knowledge. Listen: give close and careful attention, and I will speak.” “Well indeed, O Fortunate One”, the monks replied.]

The Fortunate One said:

“O Monks, whether Tathāgatas appear [in the world] or not,¹⁸ the universe [cyclically] devolves and evolves.¹⁹ When the universe is in a state of devolution, sentient beings are, for the most part, reborn into the ‘Radiant’ family of deities.²⁰ There they are visible, produced

¹⁷ Waldschmidt 1959: §§ 1–2 gives the Śrāvastī introduction in full and then goes straight into the discourse, *utpādād vā bhikṣavaḥ tathāgatānāṃ anutpādād vā* The fragmentary Or.15009/83 also gives the Śrāvastī introduction in full; this is followed by the *adau kalyāṇaṃ madhye kalyāṇaṃ* formula in which the Buddha announces the title of the *dharmaparyāya* he is about to speak.

¹⁸ This module is regularly employed to modify a main clause which presents a natural law or truth that is valid independent of the Tathāgatas. For Pali cf. SN II 25,¹⁸ and AN I 286,8: *uppādā vā (bhikkhave) tathāgatānaṃ anuppādā vā tathāgataṇaṃ*. See Lamotte 1949 [1966]: I 157, note 1 and Skilling 2018.

¹⁹ The devolution and evolution of the universe are mentioned in numerous canonical texts: see the Pali *Aggañña-sutta* (DN 27 at DN III 80–98, translation in Gethin 2008: 116–128) and its various parallels in Sanskrit and in Tibetan and Chinese translation. Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* III, *kārikā* 97cd–98. See de La Vallée-Poussin 1926: II 204, note 2 for a ‘bibliographie sommaire’ (English translation in Lodrö Sangpo 2012: II 1267, note 989). The *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra* is very close to the discourse citation in the *Kośabhāṣya* (Pradhan 1967: 186,19), but, although the vocabulary is the same, there are several differences in word order.

²⁰ *Ābhasvara-deva-nikāya*. According to the *Saṅgīti-sutta*, they are the second

by mind; their faculties are unimpaired and free of any defects, and they possess all their bodily parts. They are beautiful and they have lovely complexions. They feed on bliss and they live on bliss; they are self-luminous, and they course in space. They are long-lived, and they live on [like this] for a long stretch of time.²¹ [When the universe evolves, some of those sentient beings, owing to the exhaustion of

of three ‘places of happy birth’ (*sukhupapatti*): DN 33 at DN III 218,19, “There are beings who overflow with happiness, from time to time exclaiming ‘Ah, such happiness! Ah, such joy!’, such as the Radiant Deities” (*santa ... sattā sukhena abhisannā parisannā paripūrā paripphuṭā. te kadāci karahaci udānaṃ udānenti: aho sukhaṃ, aho sukhaṃ ti, seyyathāpi devā ābhassarā*) and *Udānavarga* 30.49 (*Sukha-varga*) “We who cling to naught dwell truly content indeed: we shall live feeding on bliss as do the Radiant Deities” (*susukhaṃ bata jīvāmo, yeṣāṃ no nāsti kiñcanam; prītibhākṣā bhaviṣyāmo, deva hy ābhāsvarā yathā* = Dhṛp 200 (*Sukha-vagga*; cf. also the Gandhari *Dharmapada* in Brough 1962: v 168a–b).

²¹ This is another module, which occurs – with variants – in numerous texts. For Pali cf. DN 1 at DN I 17 and 18, DN 24 at DN III 28, DN 27 at DN III 84 and AN 10.29 at AN V 60; for Sanskrit, *Mahāvastu* in Senart 1882: I 338,13. For Tibetan versions, see Ötani catalogue no. 1021, reprint vol. 40, *mdo, ke, 77a7* (*Tshangs pa’i dra ba’i mdo* = *Brahmajāla-sūtra*); Ötani catalogue no. 5595, reprint vol. 118, *mgnon pa’i bstan bcos, tu 166b1* (= Up 3050) and *tu 116b1* (Up 3007) (citations from the *Brahmajāla*), and *tu 219b4* (Up 3104) (parallel to the *Aggañña-sutta*) in Śamathadeva’s *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*; Ötani catalogue. no. 967, reprint vol. 39, *mdo, shu 112b4* (*Mngon par ’byung ba’i mdo* = *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*). My translation is indebted to Yaśomitra’s commentary (Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 339,9: *drśya-rūpatvād rūpiṇaḥ. upapādukatvān manomayāḥ. hasta-pāda-tad-aṃguly-ādy-upetatvāt sarvāṃga-pratyam-gopetāḥ. samagrendriyatvād avikalāḥ. kāṇa-vibhrānt’ ādy-abhāvād ahīnendriyāḥ. darśanīya-saṃsthānatvat śubhāḥ. ramaṇīya-varṇatvād varṇa-sthāyinaḥ. ādity’ādi-prabhā’napekṣatvāt svayam-prabhāḥ. karma-rddhi-saṃyogen’ ākāśa-caratvād viḥāyasaṃgamāḥ. kavaḍḍikār’ āhārānapekṣatvāt prīti-bhākṣāḥ. prīty-āhārā iti paryāyau).*

their life-span, karma, or merit, pass away from the Radiant Family of Deities and are reborn as humans.²²] As the universe evolves, the arts and sciences²³ variously appear, for example:

[The lore]
Of mantras, incantations, and herbs
Of magical practices and healing medicine,
Of clairvoyance and [other] supernormal powers
Such as are held to be knowledge and insight.

But those [who know them] do not know the path
That leads to the cessation of suffering (*duḥkha*):²⁴
Unperturbed, as if immortal,²⁵ they wander bypaths
Failing to perceive the way out [of *saṃsāra*].²⁶

When, however, the Tathāgatas, the worthy arhats, the truly and fully Awakened Ones appear in the world, having understood the mundane²⁷ arts and sciences in all their variety, having realized the supermundane,

²² Added following the Tibetan counterpart of the *Aggañña-sutta* at Up 3104, *tu* 220a1; compare the Sanskrit at *Mahāvastu* in Senart 1882: I 338,13 and Pali DN 27 at DN III 84,26.

²³ For *sippaṭṭhāna* in Pali *sutta* usage see the *Mahādukkhakkhandha-sutta*, MN 13 at MN I 85,30; for *kammaṭṭhāna* see the *Subha-sutta*, MN 99 at MN II 197,19.

²⁴ Cf. *Udānavarga* 30.34d (*Paśya-varga*): *duḥkhopaśamagāminam*; SN V 433,7: *tañ ca maggaṃ na jānanti, dukkhūpasamagāminam*.

²⁵ Cf. *Udānavarga* 22.2b (*Śruta-varga*): *caranti hy amarā iva*; Th 276b: *iriyanty amarā viyā*.

²⁶ Cf. SN 36.3 at IV 205,21: *anissaraṇadassino*.

²⁷ Cf. Vaidya 1960: 163,11: *yāni ca laukikāni śilpasthāna-karmasthānāni, tāni sarvāṇi prajñāpāramitāṃ āgamyā saṃsyandayati*. ‘Mastery of the arts’, *śilpasthānāni kauśalam*, is one of the twelve acts of the Buddha mentioned in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* II.54 in Johnston 1950: 87,18.

They, the Tathāgatas, proclaim
The best of all varieties of knowledge.

That is, ‘This is the truth of the noble ones regarding suffering, [this is the truth of the noble ones regarding the origin of suffering, this the truth of the noble ones regarding the cessation of suffering.] This is the truth of the noble ones regarding the practice that leads to the cessation of suffering’.

This, the best of all varieties of knowledge,
Is proclaimed by the Tathāgatas.
Some ascetics and some brahmins
May know in all their variety
[The lore] of mantras, incantations, and herbs
Of magical practices and healing medicine,
Of clairvoyance and [other] supernormal powers
Such as are held to be knowledge and insight.
But they do not know the path
That leads to the cessation of suffering:
Knowing not this path, unperturbed, as if immortal, they wander bypaths
Failing to perceive the way out [of *saṃsāra*].

But when the fully awakened Sambuddhas,
The compassionate ones, appear in the world
They proclaim the excellent Saddharma
That dispels all suffering:

[The realities of] suffering, the source of suffering,
Of passing fully beyond suffering
And the noble eightfold path,
Auspicious, that leads to *Nirvāṇa*.²⁸

²⁸ This verse is frequent in Pali texts, for example, SN 15.10 at SN II 185,23,

When this Dharma that dispels
 All suffering is taught,
 Those [who put it into practice]
 End unknowing through true knowledge
 And do not return to further existence.”²⁹

Thus spoke the Fortunate One; the monks were content and they rejoiced in his teaching.³⁰

The ‘Discourse on the Comparative Value of the Varieties of Knowledge’ is completed.

*raḁṣaṃ bhavatu! kutkāttuṃsasya svāhā!*³¹

Dhp 191, Th 1259, Thī 186, 193, 310 and 321, and in sixth-seventh century Pali inscriptions from U Thong and Nakhon Pathom in Thailand. It is found at *Udānavarga* 27.34 (variant in d) (*Paśya-varga*) and in *Mūla-sarvāstivāda* texts (for references see Skilling 1997b: 129–130. It is given in a Prakrit inscription on a slate tablet from Guntupalle, Andhra Pradesh: see Sharma 1988: 81–83 and Photo 30 and in a Prakrit inscription on a gold plate from Go Xoai, southern Vietnam (Skilling 1999 [= 2542]: 171–178 and 2002: 171–172).

²⁹ Cf. *Udānavarga* 30.33d (*Sukha-varga*); *Sutta-nipāta* (*Mahā-vagga*, *Dvayātānupassanā-sutta*) at Sn 733d and 743d: *nāgacchanti punabbhavam*.

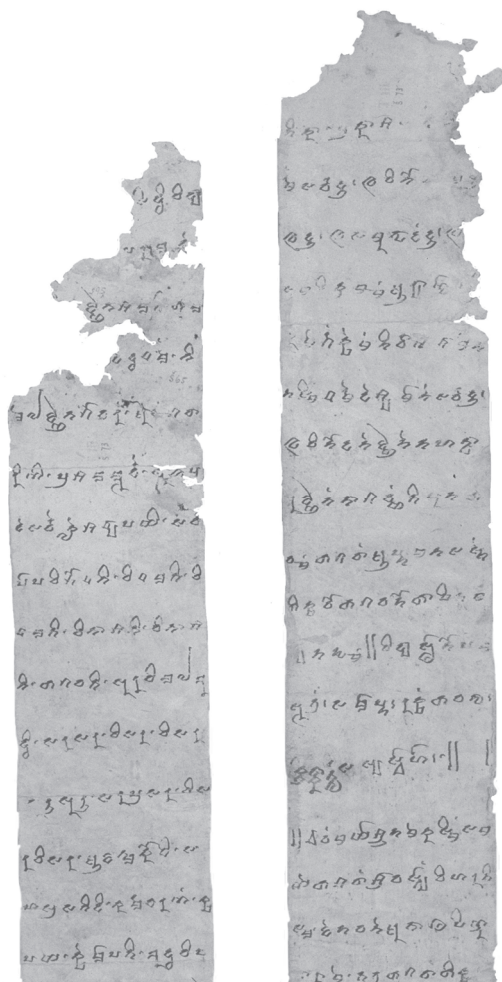
³⁰ Stock ending; for Pali cf., for example, MN 2 at MN I 12,7: *idam avoca bhagavā. attamanā te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti*.

³¹ This invocation of protection and concluding phrase with *svāhā* are also placed at the end of the *Saṭya-sūtra* (Waldschmidt 1959: § 9) and the *Mahāmāyuri-hṛdaya* (Waldschmidt 1959: §§ 63–64). For the protective formulas in the Turfan manuscripts, see Hartmann and Wille 2010: 383–385 (Appendix ii).

Figure 1. Manuscript SHT I 499
(Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der
Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer
Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung)



Figure 2. Manuscript SHT I 499
(Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der
Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer
Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung)



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Abbreviations

| | |
|-----|---|
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| Dhp | <i>Dhammapada</i> |
| DN | <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| SHT | <i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Sn | <i>Sutta-nipāta</i> |
| Th | <i>Theragāthā</i> |
| Thī | <i>Therīgāthā</i> |
| Up | <i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā</i> |

Note

Material in square brackets has been added by the translator. References to Pali texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society. References to the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* are to Bernhard's (1965) edition.

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IV. SCHOOL AFFILIATION: MULTIPLE RECITATIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITIES

Sanskrit Versions of the *Āgamas*: Schools, Regions and Editors

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Abstract

In their quest to study the literary and doctrinal developments of the *Āgamas*, present-day scholars strive to connect the few surviving collections with schools of early Buddhism. Apparently the ancient scholars who produced these collections did not share in this concern since they, although excellent editors with a superb understanding of the collections, deemed it unnecessary to classify them, if we are to judge by the examples that have come down to us. This seeming void stimulates modern academics to fill it in by ingenious hypotheses based on a wide range of suppositions. The literature written on the topic has become voluminous, without, however, reaching definite conclusions for each of the existing versions of the *Sūtra-piṭaka*, except for the canonical scriptures of the Theravādins. Less intense have been attempts at assessing the heuristic value of a school ascription. What is the benefit of ascribing such a school name to a *sūtra* collection, when we neither understand its implications nor the complex processes leading to the formation of the collection? The situation reminds one of a huge puzzle for which only a few pieces are available. The surviving collections are such puzzle pieces, but they do not allow for reconstruction of their editorial history with any certainty. Nor do they tell us the degree to which school identities were involved in shaping them. With the exception of the Central Asian manuscripts, it is difficult to locate collections in time and place, and thus regional developments tend to be neglected. For the various versions of the *Samyukta-āgama* the challenge is even greater, since disregarding the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* it leaves us with the problematic and much-debated Sarvāstivāda versus Mūlasarvāstivāda distinction. Colophons are no help, since those of the *sūtras* do not mention schools, and in the rare cases where school names are mentioned, it is next to impossible to determine their exact meaning and reference.

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I. The Problem

It is no overstatement to say that the editorial history of the canonical collections is still poorly understood. We know nothing of the time and place where such collections were assembled, little about the editorial criteria applied to the selection or their authority, and hardly anything about their further transmission. Nor do we know what it meant when a person or a monastery used a specific edition, i.e. whether a kind of identity was linked to or confirmed by the use of a specific collection. Equally difficult is the notion of Indian Buddhist schools or sects. This does not simplify any attempts at relating schools with collections. Although the collections themselves do not inform us about their relation to a school, a fact that makes it questionable from the outset whether their users considered it relevant, scholars devote time and talent to supplying this information and ascribing the few surviving examples to certain sects or schools. This quest for ‘school affiliation’ concerns also the various versions of the *Samyukta-āgama*; here it is basically a problem of the differentiation between Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda versions. Years ago Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄, in his seminal paper, “‘Mūlasarvāstivādin’ and ‘Sarvāstivādin’” (2000), discussed the problems surrounding these two terms and reached the conclusion that there was considerably less difference between the two groups than previously assumed by scholars, not least by himself. Several times I expressed grave doubts about the heuristic value of terms like Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda with regard to texts from the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, and I repeat such a statement here since it summarizes my concerns (Hartmann 2014: 140–141):¹

¹ Cf. also Chung 2008: 11, note 14, and the very apposite remarks in Skilling 2002: 374–376.

First of all, we do not know the exact reference, the range, and the connotations of the distinction between the terms Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda, and this problem is not remedied by combining the two. Second, even if such a distinction was meaningful with regard to, e.g., *Vinaya* texts, we do not know if it was ever applied to *Āgama* texts, since the two terms never appear in the colophons. What then do they denote in present usage apart from the underlying implication that an *Āgama* text thus referred to is in Sanskrit and follows certain conventions in the diction and the stock phrases?

We do not fully understand what it meant to ‘belong’ to an Indian Buddhist school at a given time, and this impedes our understanding of the functional aspects of the literature created and transmitted by members of such schools. Desperately little of this literature, which once must have been astoundingly voluminous, has survived in its original language or in translations. We are not even in a position to identify all the schools that once had their own literature, much less to guess its extent.² Disregarding the *Samyutta-nikāya* in Pali, the school affiliation of which should be considered as settled since we know the history of its transmission, the other versions of a full-fledged *Samyukta-āgama* seem all to go back to already-Sanskritized versions. Therefore, the following observations will be limited to canonical literature in Sanskrit, which amounts to a reappraisal of the much-debated question of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda distinction.

² There are unexpected discoveries as, for instance, Dragomir Dimitrov’s find of (parts of) a possible Sāṃmitīya *Dīrgha-āgama*, cf. Skilling 2016: 15–16, or the unknown Sanskrit version of a *Daśottara-sūtra*, cf. Hartmann 2018.

II. Search for the Diction

In this context it may be useful to recall a symposium held in Göttingen in 1982, which was devoted to reflections on the school affiliation of texts of what at that time was called the ‘Hīnayāna literature’ – today one would probably prefer the term ‘literature of the early schools’ (Bechert 1985). In order to illustrate certain aspects of, and the reason for the strong interest in, this question, I will briefly explain the background of my own contribution on the *Avadānaśataka* (Hartmann 1985). Heinz Bechert suggested this topic to me as a staff member of the Turfan dictionary, and its purpose was to identify the school affiliation of the *Avadānaśataka*, a collection of a hundred *avadāna* stories in Sanskrit. These stories are not famous for their poetic embellishments; on the contrary, their wording is fairly simple, containing a lot of stock phrases adopted from the canonical texts. What was the reason for the interest in the school affiliation of this collection? Originally the Turfan dictionary had been conceived by Bechert’s predecessor Ernst Waldschmidt as a dictionary only of the canonical *sūtras* edited by him and his disciples. This was a well-defined corpus, but when the dictionary became a full-size Academy project, its scope was extended to include all of the Buddhist texts found in the cave monasteries along the northern route of the Silk Road in Central Asia, which were mostly edited by the Göttingen school of scholars. Soon, however, it became obvious that the inclusion of a single fragment of lengthy poetical works like Aśvaghoṣa’s *Buddhacarita* or of a Mahāyāna *sūtra* like the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* rendered the contents of the dictionary rather disparate. Therefore, such genres were excluded, and in order to deal with a homogeneous and fairly well-attested corpus, the scope was confined to texts that were supposed to belong

to the Sarvāstivāda school. To indicate this, the title ‘Sanskrit Dictionary of the Buddhist Texts from the Turfan Finds’ was supplemented with the subtitle ‘and of the Canonical Literature of the Sarvāstivāda School’ (Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–2017).

One of the main characteristics of the manuscripts from the Silk Road is their extremely fragmented state. This makes it practically impossible to reconstruct complete texts and, as a secondary problem, their specific diction. When scholars considered ways to improve this state of affairs, one possible solution seemed to be the inclusion of closely related texts found outside Central Asia. Waldschmidt’s earlier editions contain many examples of how he filled gaps in his Central Asian texts with corresponding text blocks from other versions, based either on Chinese and Tibetan parallels from the Mūla-sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* or on Sanskrit parallels from the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Avadānaśataka*.³ However, this approach entailed the risk of an unintended conflation with textual traditions that did not belong to the same recension. Measures had to be taken against this danger, and the analysis and comparison of the countless stock phrases contained in the texts seemed a promising approach to isolating different versions.

At that time, scholars had long become aware of certain regular differences between texts found along the Silk Road and those coming from, e.g., the area of Greater Gandhāra, especially from Gilgit. One of the fundamental contributions to the study of such differences was Georg von Simson’s analysis of the diction of some *sūtras* in the Buddhist Sanskrit canon (von Simson 1965). He used the editions of canonical texts from Central Asia as his point of departure, and was able to show that many of the formal differences were regular and therefore characteristic of the region. To give a few examples: Best known, perhaps, is the formula for movement from

³ Cf. Edgerton 1952: 191.

one place to another (von Simson 1977).⁴ In the texts from the Silk Road this is usually expressed with the perfect of the verb *upa-gam* (e.g., *yena bhagavāṃs tenopajagāma*), continued with *upetya*, the absolutive of *upa-i*; in texts from outside Central Asia the perfect participle of the verb *upa-saṃ-kram* is employed (*yena bhagavāṃs tenopasaṃkrāntaḥ*), continued with its absolutive *upasaṃkramya*. In this case, a synonym is combined with a different form of the past tense of the verb. Examples of regional preferences for different forms of the same word would be the adjective *āptamanas/āttamanas* and the noun *pariṣad/parṣad*; while the Central Asian texts prefer *āptamanas* and *pariṣad*, others use exclusively *āttamanas* and *parṣad*. Compounding versus separation is illustrated by *bhagavatpādau* (Central Asian) against *bhagavataḥ pādau*; preference for perfect versus present tense by *gāthā babhāṣe* (Central Asian) against *gāthā bhāṣate*; different case by *kasmād dhetoḥ* (Central Asian) against *kasya hetoḥ*. Names may differ as, e.g., *Śraiṇyo Bimbāsāra* (Central Asian) against *Śreṇyo Bimbisāra*, *Krakasunda* (Central Asian) against *Krakucchanda*, or *Lokecccha* (Central Asian) against *Lohitya*.⁵ All these variations occur with a very high degree of regularity, and they

⁴ However, he already noted irregularities, explaining the formula with *upe* as an innovation of the Sarvāstivādins applied only in *Sūtra* texts, and not adopted by the editors of the *Vinaya*. He drew the conclusion: “Aus diesen Befunden ergibt sich also mit aller Deutlichkeit, dass die Fassung der Phrase für sich genommen noch keine Aussage über die Zugehörigkeit eines Textes zur Sekte der Sarvāstivādin oder Mūlasarvāstivādin erlaubt” (von Simson 1977: 485; “These findings show very clearly that the version of a phrase as such does not allow a statement about the affiliation of a text to the sect of the Sarvāstivādins or the Mūlasarvāstivādins”).

⁵ The study of such differences continues; for a recent observation see von Hinüber 2018: 288 (*kiṃ manyadhve bhikṣavaḥ* in Mūlasarvāstivāda texts against *syāt khalu vo bhikṣavo* in those ascribed to the Sarvāstivāda).

came to be explained as differences between two schools, in this case between Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda.

Such differences were used for assessing the school affiliation of the *Avadānaśataka* in order to answer the question of whether it made sense to include this work among the non-Central-Asian Sarvāstivāda texts to be utilized for the Turfan dictionary. As can be seen from the dictionary, the answer was negative. However, it should be noted here that the manuscripts of the *Avadānaśataka* contain no reference whatsoever to either Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda. The assessment of the school affiliation was based solely on the variations in the wording; in 1982 I did not challenge the meaningfulness of this approach, nor was I able to consider all its implicit presuppositions.

III. School Ascription in Central Asia

What was the reason for confidently ascribing the canonical texts found at the Northern Silk Route in Central Asia to the school of the Sarvāstivādins? Based on a comparison with Chinese translations, scholars observed that the *Vinaya* texts transmitted there, and especially the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, mostly corresponded to those versions that were classified as Sarvāstivāda in the titles of their Chinese translation (but possibly not in the underlying originals). This insight led to the assumption that the monks and their monasteries belonged to the school of the Sarvāstivāda, and based on this hypothesis it became reasonable to extend the findings gained from the *Vinaya* to the other canonical texts preserved and transmitted in the same monasteries.⁶ On the other hand, one could notice that the differences in

⁶ Paul Harrison draws attention to a similar situation in Bamiyan where

the realm of *Vinaya* texts were much more pronounced than those in the *Sūtrapiṭaka* and that they were not confined to the wording, but also involved structural discrepancies. Obviously, this procedure necessitated at least two presuppositions: first, that it was possible to transfer an observation made for one *Āgama* without further corroboration to another, and second, that Sarvāstivādin and Mūla-sarvāstivādin transmitted distinctly different *Sūtrapiṭakas*.

Both assumptions are difficult to establish and need to be questioned. First of all, it is notable that the *bhikṣus* of old were apparently much less obsessed with the question of school affiliation, when they transmitted their *Tripiṭaka(s)*, than we are now. No Central Asian manuscript, and not even one of a *Vinaya* text, preserves a reference to a school.⁷ However, in Central Asia there are manuscripts of *Vinaya* texts of both the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* tradition. This suggests that the monks were aware of the distinction or, at least, of a distinction. Even more irritating, von Simson's studies on the Sarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and those of other scholars on various other *Vinaya* texts revealed that there were manuscripts representing all sorts of intermediary versions, sometimes to the degree that fragments could not be reliably ascribed to one or the other tradition. This is particularly manifest in the strange *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* fragments published separately by von Simson (1997), which seem to follow the order of the Sarvāstivāda version,

the fragments of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins suggest a corresponding environment (communication during the discussion at the conference).

⁷ As far as I can see there is only one case where a school (and a language) is mentioned in the text itself, and this is the transmission of texts of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins in Nepal; cf. Skilling 2010: 9. Interestingly, these are *Vinaya* texts. For school names in colophons see below.

while their language is much closer to that of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins. In other words, the more we see, the more the picture becomes blurred. This indicates two important problems that are generally neglected, namely the processes and numbers, i.e. editorial processes and numbers of manuscripts.

Here it is instructive to take the *Dīrgha-āgama* as an example, since there are sizable Sanskrit remains from two different regions. It was transmitted in Central Asia and in the area of Gilgit. In the case of Gilgit, we are dealing with a single manuscript for reconstructing a version. Therefore this manuscript tends to be essentialized as ‘the’ *Dīrgha-āgama* of the school and the region. While it is possible, even likely, that this holds true for the eighth or ninth centuries when the manuscript was produced, it does not allow us to assume that this version had been transmitted unchanged throughout the earlier centuries. Quite the opposite: the connection between a version of a text or a section found in a Gandhari scroll and its counterpart in a late Sanskrit manuscript must be visualized as an ongoing process of editorial changes, subject to all sorts of modifications and adaptations with regard to language, structure and contents. If we had all the manuscripts between the early versions and the late ones, they would probably fill many libraries – and most likely they would present a rather perplexing picture of all kinds of intermediary stages that defy any attempt at ascribing a definite school affiliation to them.

The *Dīrgha-āgama* transmitted in Central Asia corresponds so closely to the Gilgit version that it is tempting to consider it identical, at least with regard to structure and contents.⁸ The only differences seem to occur on the level of its wording, as already described above. Again, this appeared to represent a clear-cut case of a Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda distinction. The Gilgit manuscript and the Central

⁸ As far as the fragments permit a reconstruction, cf. Hartmann 1991.

Asian fragments are dated to roughly the same time. Judging from their script, some Central Asian *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscripts are slightly older, perhaps dating to the 6th century or even slightly earlier. In a very few cases they overlap with later fragments preserving the same passage, allowing for comparison. There are a few instances where the older manuscripts preserve a wording that appears more Middle Indian than the wording contained in the younger manuscripts.⁹ In a fragment from the *Mahāgovinda-sūtra* the word *modāmaḥ* occurs as 1.pl. of the root *mud*, i.e. in a Parasmaipada form. In a later fragment one finds ///*mahe*, surely to be reconstructed to *(modā)mahe*, in other words to the corresponding Ātmanepada form. One finds in a very similar case the form *lapsyāmi* as 1.sg. of the future of the root *labh* in an older manuscript of the *Daśottara-sūtra* against the Ātmanepada form *lapsye* in the corresponding place in a younger manuscript. The Parasmaipada forms in the earlier manuscripts probably reflect an initial attempt towards Sanskritization of the underlying Prakrit version. If we assume that the younger manuscripts belong to the same transmission, it becomes very likely that editors replaced such forms of the older manuscripts because they were considered incorrect in view of the standard formation of those roots in classical Sanskrit. The *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* reveals another example: In section 4a.1 an earlier manuscript (catalogue no. SHT 652) preserves the ablative construction *tuṣitā devanikāyā cutva*; both ablatives and the form of the absolute are corrected to *tuṣitād devanikāyāc cyavivā* in the younger manuscripts (Fukita 2003: 52). It should be added that all the manuscripts in question are made of paper and definitely written in Central Asia itself.

⁹ For the following three examples cf. Hartmann 1991: 31–32.

IV. Problems of the *Vinaya* Texts

The evidence, though extremely thin, may throw light on the editorial processes. If the interpretation offered above is correct, the process was still ongoing when the texts reached Central Asia. Such a picture, however, suggests a possible alternative understanding of phenomena that we are used to explaining as school-specific distinctions. They may equally well represent regional differences due to local editorial measures,¹⁰ and if so, the endeavor of distinguishing Sarvāstivāda from Mūlasarvāstivāda texts loses its foundation (cf. Skilling 2010: 9). Here I should repeat, as a precaution, that I am speaking solely about texts from the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, not about those from the *Vinaya*, since they may represent a rather different case. However, we should not lose sight of the complex and complicated developments within the *Vinaya* transmission, especially with regard to the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*. It starts already with a riddle, i.e., the singular Gandhari *Vinaya* manuscript from Bajaur with two different versions of the *naiḥsargika-pācittiya* section on each of its sides (Strauch 2014: 817–825). No less puzzling is the situation in Central Asia where so many manuscript fragments are available. I have already mentioned the strange *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* published separately by Georg von Simson (2000: 2–15), but it is even more instructive to read the results of his *magnum opus*, the edition of all the other fragments. According to him the manuscripts constitute two versions, A and B, where A represents an earlier and B a later editorial stage. All the manuscripts are later than the assumed split into two versions, which he tentatively dates in the fifth century. However, von Simson (2000: 3) was very careful:

¹⁰ Cf. also the very apt observations in Skilling 1997a: 597, note 57.

Es lässt sich aber nicht ausschließen, dass es sich bei den beiden Versionen ursprünglich um lokale oder regionale Varianten gehandelt hat, die schon vor dem 5. Jahrhundert entstanden sind. (It cannot be excluded that the two versions originally represented local or regional variants that developed already before the fifth century.)

The relation with the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* is difficult to assess, he said further. Version B accords with the Mūlasarvāstivāda text twice as often as version A, but there are enough correspondences of version A with the Mūlasarvāstivāda that (ibid., p. 14):

die Annahme naheliegt, dass den Redaktoren beider Versionen die Version der Mū. [Mūlasarvāstivādins] bekannt gewesen ist und sie nach Belieben bei ihr Anleihen machten. (the hypothesis suggests itself that the editors of both versions knew the text of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and drew from it *ad libitum*.)

Another case in point is the strange *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* represented in two manuscripts found in Khādaliq at the southern route of the Silk Road. In the words of Klaus Wille (2009: 50):¹¹

As far as the school affiliation of the two manuscripts is concerned it is not certain to which recension they belong. The criteria for the assignment – the use of specific technical terms and the sequence of the rules – do not fit at all. As the word *pātayantikā*, a technical term for a certain group of rules, occurs several times in fragment 1.7 below, I first thought the text might belong to the Sarvāstivādins,

¹¹ Cf. now Ñāṇatusita 2018.

since the term is specific for this school in their standard text. The term *pāyattikā* is attested for the Mūlasarvāstivādins and *pācittikā* for the Dharmaguptakas. For the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins *pācattikā* was known, but in a recently identified new manuscript of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins (from Gilgit?) *pāyantikā* is found as well and also the text differs in the sequence of rules from the manuscript found in Tibet. Surprisingly the sequence of the *pāyantikā* rules of our manuscript A exactly follows the sequence of the Pāli *Pātimokkha*, and almost as close is the sequence of the Dharmaguptakas which differs only in some cases in one or two numbers. The choice of words of the manuscripts closely follows that of the Sarvāstivādins respectively the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

When speaking of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, one should not forget the nuns. In Central Asia very little is preserved of the *Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa-sūtra*, but there is enough to realize that the manuscripts are fraught with the same problems. Instructive are two small fragments of a manuscript preserved in the Pelliot Collection in Paris published by Wille (1997). They contain text from the *pāyantikā* section, and again they present conflicting evidence. Wille found elements pointing in the direction of both the Dharmaguptakas and the Sarvāstivādins. How should we understand all of this? Were the monks and nuns careless? Or were they simply indifferent towards the kind of questions that plague us? If so, what was their view of schools?¹²

¹² For a case in the Theravāda tradition cf. Kieffer-Pülz 2016.

V. The Case of the *Udānavarga*

In order to connect *Vinaya* and Sūtra texts, mention should be made of a collection that draws from both. This is the *Udānavarga*, which is pertinent to the present question due to Schmithausen's (1970) famous distinction of two different recensions. This was a sharp-sighted observation, and Franz Bernhard, the editor of the *Udānavarga*, must have been rather disappointed when he realized what had escaped him during years of intense work on the countless fragments. The two recensions are usually understood as representing those of the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda.¹³ Based on this assumption, scholars tend to use those verses that are characteristic of one of the two recensions as some kind of index fossils in order to assess the school affiliation of other works where the same verses occur. Again, this logic might be questioned. If the recensional differences eventually go back to a regional differentiation, then they too lose any significance for distinguishing schools¹⁴ and such an understanding would much better explain the inhomogeneous transmission of the *Udānavarga* in Central Asia, where exemplars of both recensions existed side by side. Apparently the monks did not see any problem in using one or the other recension, which does not exactly speak in favor of any concern with school affiliation. Is it possible that we are so used to a petrified idea of a school or sect as an entity that must be clearly distinguishable from other schools

¹³ Although Schmithausen generally subscribes to this idea, he is, as usual, very cautious in his conclusions, cf. Schmithausen 1970: 89, 110 and especially 112–113. Actually, as soon as the two recensions are uncoupled from the question of school affiliation, all the conflicts in the evidence regarding the use of recension 2 in Sarvāstivāda texts disappear.

¹⁴ Cf. Skilling 2002: 375, Fukita 2003: xxi, note 2 and Chung 2008: 18.

or sects in every possible regard, and to the notion of text corpora being defined by clear-cut stemmatic relations, that we forget to ask the question whether the authors, editors and transmitters of those texts shared these notions and subscribed to the same concerns? If they did not, quite different scenarios become possible. In fact, we know very little about the actual transmission of texts, about the criteria and interests of those who edited and transmitted them, and about purpose and function of the resulting texts and collections.

VI. School Names in Colophons

One of my earlier statements—that apart from the Mahāsāṅghika texts mentioned above (note 7), manuscripts never specify the school to which they belong or which has produced them—needs a small modification. In fact there are three examples where schools are mentioned, and it is helpful to ask just what the naming of the school means in each case. The first is a rather well-known example, a singular manuscript for various reasons, not least for its findspot. This is the so-called Bairam Ali manuscript that represents, as far as we know, one of the westernmost attestations of Buddhist literary presence. Archaeologists found it around 1966 in the vicinity of the present-day city of Merv in Turkmenistan,¹⁵ which goes back to an ancient settlement on the Silk Road. The manuscript consists of several parts; one section contains *Vinaya* texts and ends with a colophon:

¹⁵ Cf. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1999: 27: “It was indeed a lucky find: while levelling a field by a bulldozer, a small hill was removed and among the lumps of earth a shattered clay pitcher was discovered. Scattered on the earth were old coins, a statuette, and a sheaf of birch bark folios, stuck together and covered with unintelligible signs.”

*likhāvitam mitraśreṣṭhīnā vinayadharena sarvvastivādinā
ātmahita(v3)parahitāya namo sarvvabuddhāna ||.*

This was first published by Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya in 1983 in Russian, then in English in 2000 in *Manuscripta Orientalia* (Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2000: 15, folio 81v2–3). In the same year Karashima Seishi 辛嶋 静志 published a short note on the *Vinaya* section in the *Annual Report for the International Research Institute of Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, where he referred to a parallel in the *Shisonglü* (十誦律), the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins.¹⁶ In 2001 Shayne Clarke (2001: 92) noted some Mūlasarvāstivāda features and reached the conclusion “that this text is very close to the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins”. In 2015 Karashima and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya used it for another brief assessment of the school affiliation of the manuscript, referring to, but not discussing, the conflicting evidence (Karashima and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2015: 146). The last to treat the *Vinaya* section and advance its understanding was Oskar von Hinüber in 2017 (von Hinüber 2017: 50–53);¹⁷ he referred to Karashima and Clarke, but refrained from voicing his own opinion on the matter. In the case of this manuscript the evidence is simply too ambiguous to afford a clear understanding of the term Sarvāstivādin. It is only possible to note that the context strongly suggests a relation with a/the *Vinaya*.

There is a similar case in a much later manuscript, but without such a *Vinaya* connection. In his third report on Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, published in 1938, Rāhula Sāṅkrṭyāyana drew attention to

¹⁶ T 1435 at T XXIII 423b10–11; cf. Karashima 2000.

¹⁷ For a translation of the colophon cf. von Hinüber 2017: 53: “Ordered to be copied (or: copied for his own sake) by the *Vinaya* expert Mitraśreṣṭhīn, a Sarvāstivādin, for the welfare of himself and others. Homage to all Buddhas.”

a work with the title *Tridaṇḍamālā* that he had found in the library of sPos-khang Monastery (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1938: 157–160). He quoted from the beginning and the end of the manuscript including the colophon, and the latter preserved information on the author and his affiliation:

*samāptā ceyam tridaṇḍamālā kṛtir ācāryasthavirāśvaghō-
ṣa(115a4)sya śākyabhikṣoḥ sarvāstivādino < mahā > vādinah.*

Finished is this *Tridaṇḍamālā*, a work of the teacher, the elder member of the order, Aśvaghōṣa, the Śākya monk, follower of the Sarvāstivāda, the eloquent.¹⁸

The only one so far to comment on Sāṅkṛtyāyana's excerpts was Edward H. Johnston, whose interest in the text understandably focused on the question of its authorship. In 1939, only a year after the publication of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's report, he published a short note in which he concluded that Aśvaghōṣa had to be ruled out as the author of the text (Johnston 1939). Particular cause for distrust was yielded by the characterization of Aśvaghōṣa as a *sarvāstivādin*, since Johnston (1939: 13) had suggested in his translation of the *Buddhacarita* "that the evidence, so far as it went, indicated that he was an adherent of one of the Mahāsāṅghika sects." In fact, Aśvaghōṣa's school affiliation continues to be disputed, and Peter Skilling's (1997a: 292–296) and Vincent Eltschinger's (2012, 2013 and 2018) work on the sources of certain passages in the *Buddhacarita* indicates that Aśvaghōṣa based (at least some of) his accounts on the textual transmission generally connected with the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, whatever his dogmatic position may have been (Skilling 1997a: 295–296 and Yamabe

¹⁸ The word *mahā* is inserted below the line; the translation 'eloquent' is borrowed from Johnston's 1928: 117 translation of the *Saundarananda*, but the exact meaning of *mahāvādin* is not clear.

2003). In order to proceed a step further, it pays to take a closer look at the *Tridaṇḍamālā*. For a number of reasons this is an extremely interesting text, but here it must suffice to clarify its structure and contents.

It is clear that Indian Buddhist masters were aware of different versions of the canonical scriptures that were linked to specific schools. When dealing with the question of whether it is appropriate for monks to honor lay *bodhisattvas*, Bhāviveka in his *Tarkajyālā* cites a number of examples from different text collections, usually giving the name of the collection (*Sūtrapiṭaka*, *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, *Vidyādharaṇḍīya*, etc.) or the name of the text (*Mahāprātihārya-sūtra*, **Aṣṭavargīya*, *Dharmapada*, etc.) and, most importantly, the name of the school (Mahāsāṅghika, Bhadrāyānīya, Haimavata, etc.) (Skilling 1997b). Distinguishing the school affiliations here serves the purpose of highlighting doctrinal differences (or similarities). Bhāviveka is not interested in language or dialect or the kind of linguistic variations addressed above in connection with the Turfan dictionary. He is by no means the first to reveal knowledge of the canonical writings of other schools of early Buddhism; long before him, Vasubandhu (probably fourth century) showed a strong awareness of the differences between the *Sūtrapiṭakas* of the various Śrāvaka schools. He knew very well that these schools used different arrangements of their canonical literature and made decisions about the inclusion or exclusion of certain *sūtras* (Skilling 2010: 19; cf. also Skilling 2000: 328). Vasubandhu and Bhāviveka refer to existing schools only in the sense of distinct dogmatic traditions. Both were amazing scholars, and therefore it is all the more regrettable that neither of them has anything to say about differentiating between texts of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins. In his review of the present paper Skilling draws

attention to a possible, and even likely, consequence of their silence, when he says: “If those two masters of the scriptures do not bring up this point, did it have any relevance, and even reality, in the Indic Buddhism of their time?”

It is clearly related to the *Tridaṇḍaka*, a text or, rather, a collection of texts whose recitation the Buddha prescribes for ritual purposes in various places of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, e.g., during the funeral rites for a deceased monk.¹⁹ Various sources describe it as consisting of three parts (the *tri-daṇḍa*): first, a set of stanzas for the veneration of the Three Jewels, second, a *sūtra* spoken by the Buddha, and third, another set of stanzas for the dedication of the merit. Apparently, the *Tridaṇḍamālā* is a collection of representatives of this kind of ritual text. The texts contained within it fulfill the required structural division into three parts with two verse sections that frame a *sūtra* in the middle. Altogether it consists of forty such tripartite text units. As far as we are able to judge at the present moment,²⁰ the *sūtras* are all culled from various parts of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* of either the Sarvāstivādins or the Mūlasarvāstivādins – if this is a valid distinction – among them discourses like the *Anityatā-sūtra*, the *Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra*, the *Paramārthaśūnyatā-sūtra*, the *Pravāraṇa-sūtra* and so on. Authorship by Aśvaghōṣa was too hastily excluded by Johnston who, in any case, had nothing but Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s excerpts at his disposal. A look at the photographs would have electrified him, since the verse sections contain major selections from Aśvaghōṣa’s two epics, among them verses from those

¹⁹ For this text cf. Schopen 1992: 32–34, note 62 = Schopen 1997: 231–233.

²⁰ Recently Matsuda Kazunobu 松田 和信 noticed the enormous importance of the text and kindly invited me to join him in editing it. We were overwhelmed when we realized what it contained.

chapters of the *Buddhacarita* which have been lost in the single Sanskrit manuscript. Obviously, this explains why Aśvaghoṣa's name came to be connected with the *Tridaṇḍamālā*, but it does not explain the attribute *sarvāstivādin* attached to him. It may refer to the source of the *sūtra* quotations or connect somehow with the monks or monasteries who made use of the text, but again it seems impossible to determine whether the attribution is used in a general sense or more specifically, for instance in contradistinction to the term *mūlasarvāstivādin*.

Different from the early Buddhist masters, modern scholars are rather fond of using school ascriptions. This provokes various questions. What exactly do we wish to convey when we use such terms, what precisely are their implications, and what becomes clearer to us when we, for instance, speak of a Mūlasarvāstivāda *Samyukta-āgama*? Do we employ them as nothing more than empty formulas that sound well-informed and allow us to provide texts with labels? Rarely, if ever, is there a doctrinal background against which the term would express a meaningful distinction between different ideas or religious views. Provided that Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins used different *Prātimokṣa-sūtras* and different formulas for their *vinayakarmas*, the respective ordination is never of any discernible relevance in the context of the *Sūtrapiṭaka*. In most cases the two terms appear to be used to express regional differences, e.g., 'Sarvāstivāda *Samyukta-āgama*' in the sense of the *Samyukta-āgama* recension attested in Central Asia. Their combination, (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda, amounts to hardly more than an expression of the fact that the text is in Sanskrit and adopts certain phraseologies and modules in the stock phrases.

Are there better terms? There should be, but I am at a loss to find them. Terms like 'Gilgit *Prātimokṣa*' and 'Central Asian *Prātimokṣa*',

as suggested by Skilling (2002: 375), serve a purpose only as long as we do not discover that there are several versions of, e.g., a Central-Asian *Prātimokṣa* that are related, yet distinct, and therefore have to be differentiated. The problems that would result from the choice of regional designations are perfectly illustrated by the manuscripts of the *Udānavarga* found along the Silk Road, where a number of the ‘Central-Asian *Udānavarga*’ manuscripts would either coincide with the ‘Gilgit *Udānavarga*’ or come to be explained as Central-Asian only in the sense of being produced and found there, but otherwise foreign – a solution hardly more meaningful than the school ascription.

The detailed comments of Bhikkhu Anālayo, Bhikkhunī Dhammānā and Peter Skilling, and the English corrections of Grace Ramswick led to a considerable number of improvements for which I am very grateful.

Abbreviation

T Taishō 大正 edition

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‘Mūlasarvāstivādin and Sarvāstivādin’: Oral Transmission Lineages of *Āgama* Texts

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Abstract

This article argues for the meaningfulness of distinguishing between Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda oral transmission lineages of *Āgama* texts. It begins by taking up relevant observations by Hartmann (2020) and Enomoto (2000). This leads on to exploring the significance of the term *nikāya* and its relation to the recital of the monastic code of rules. Next the relationship in general between *Vinaya* and *Āgama* texts comes into view, followed by an examination of differences between *Madhyama-āgama* discourses and their parallels in quotations in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. A brief consideration of the term Theravāda serves to provide an additional perspective on the question of oral transmission lineages vis-à-vis *nikāyas*, and the apparent provenance of the *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99) from Sri Lanka. The overall conclusions are that differences between the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama* extant in Chinese translation point to distinct transmission lineages. The identification of such distinct transmission lineages makes it reasonable to employ the term Mūlasarvāstivāda to refer to the *Samyukta-āgama* extant in Chinese translation as T 99, as its transmission lineage appears to be close to quotations in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

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I. Introduction

The present paper was stimulated by reflections offered by Jens-Uwe Hartmann (2020) during the *Saṃyukta-āgama* seminar held in Buenos Aires in October 2018, which also led me to reconsider the well-known contribution by Enomoto Fumio 榎本 文雄 (2000) on the topic of “Mūlasarvāstivādin and Sarvāstivādin”. In the course of my exploration, I argue in more detail the position I took during the seminar, which is that the distinction between Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda is meaningful when employed for transmission lineages of *Āgama* texts, in particular in relation to the *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26) and the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99).

II. Problems with the Term ‘Mūlasarvāstivāda’

Hartmann (2020: 362) expresses his “grave doubts about the heuristic value of terms like Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda with regard to texts from the Sūtrapiṭaka”, querying (p. 263):

What then do they denote in present usage apart from the underlying implication that an *Āgama* text thus referred to is in Sanskrit and follows certain conventions in the diction and the stock phrases?

The tendency in previous scholarship to use the two terms to set apart bodies of texts based on formal differences in diction and stock phrases is indeed problematic. Hence Hartmann (2020: 371) is quite right in suggesting

a possible alternative understanding of phenomena that we are used to explaining as school-specific distinctions. They may equally well represent regional differences ...

Directing attention to the impact of regional differences on diction and stock phrases is indeed commendable and meaningful. Yet, in my view it does not follow from this that, in relation to *sūtra* material, “the endeavor of distinguishing Sarvāstivāda from Mūlasarvāstivāda texts loses its foundation” (Hartmann 2020: 371). This would follow only if this distinction were just about conventions in diction and phrasing, which does not appear to be the case.

I also venture to disagree with Hartmann (2020: 380) when he reasons that

provided that Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins used different *Prātimokṣa-sūtras* and different formulas for their *vinayakarmas*, the respective ordination is never of any discernible relevance in the context of the *Sūtrapiṭaka*.

I contend that ordination tradition can be of relevance, since it tends to be related to distinct transmission lineages. Before exploring this in more detail, however, I first need to take up the seminal contribution by Enomoto (2000) on “Mūlasarvāstivādin and Sarvāstivādin”.

III. Yijing 義淨 and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*

Enomoto (2000: 239) prefaces his study with the following queries:

are the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins really different? In other words, do the textual words ‘Sarvāsti-

vādin (Sarvāstivāda)’ and ‘Mūlasarvāstivādin (Mūlasarvāstivāda)’ or their Tibetan and Chinese translations indicate different sects?

Here the employment of the term ‘sect’ as a reference to Buddhist *nikāyas* seems problematic. In a survey of different nuances of the English term ‘sect’, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1971: 361) offers the following definition:

a body of persons who unite in holding certain views differing from those of others who are recounted to be of the same religion; a party or school among the professors of a religion; sometimes applied *spec.* to parties that are regarded as heretical, or as least as deviating from the general tradition.

However, as pointed out by Heinz Bechert (1982: 67–68),¹

the use of a rather inadequate translation for the term *nikāya*, i.e. “sect”, has obscured the facts [just discussed]. A *nikāya* has nothing in common with a “sect” in the accepted understanding of this word, if used in the context of the history of Christianity. A *nikāya* is a group of monks who mutually acknowledge the validity of their *upasampadā*, and consequently, if staying within the same *sīmā*, can commonly perform *vinayakarmas*. The early *nikāyas*, therefore, represent groups of monks who had accepted identical interpretation[s] of the rules of *vinaya*. It was

¹ Bechert 1973 still employed the term “sect”, which goes to show that the clarification he offers in his 1982 contribution required a rethinking of the terminology inherited from his predecessors. See also below note 14 for the need to step out of this long-established type of terminology.

only in the course of subsequent developments that certain dogmatic opinions were associated with particular *nikāyas* ... however, many *nikāyas* of Indian Buddhism remained communities defined on the ground of *vinaya*.

In the same vein, Lambert Schmithausen (1987: 305) clarifies that his employment of the term “school” refers primarily to a monastic unit that recognizes the same canon, in particular the *Vinaya*, and not, or at least not primarily, to a group of followers of the same dogmatic position.² Again, Daniel Boucher (2005: 292 note 10) comments that

the word “sect” is used among sociologists of religion to denote a movement that has broken from its parent body (the “church”) and remains in tension with it, often with overt hostility to existing social institutions with which the church has accommodated itself. Buddhist *nikāyas* are monastic ordination lineages which overlap hardly, if at all, with such a definition.

Keeping in mind the significance of *nikāyas* as *Vinaya* ordination lineages is helpful for assessing a passage from the travel records of Yijing, the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, in which the eventual translator of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* into Chinese offers the following assessment:³

² “Den Begriff ‘Schule’ verstehe ich natürlich hier primär im Sinne einer monastischen Einheit, die ein- und dieselbe Fassung des Kanons, besonders des Vinaya, anerkennt, nicht oder jedenfalls nicht primär als Gruppe von Vertretern gleicher dogmatischer Positionen.”

³ T 2125 at T LIV 206c3.

然十誦律亦不是根本有部也。

However, the ‘*Vinaya* in Ten Recitations’ is also not of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *nikāya*.

Enomoto (2000: 243) considers this statement to imply that “the ‘Mūlasarvāstivāda’ sect does not exist apart from the ‘Sarvāstivāda’ sect.” Now the ‘*Vinaya* in Ten Recitations’ (*Shisong lü* 十誦律, T 1435), is clearly different from Yijing’s translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (or from the version of this *Vinaya* extant in Tibetan translation).⁴ This leaves little ground for Enomoto (2000: 244) to conclude that

the *Vinaya* of the ‘Mūlasarvāstivāda’ sect translated by Yijing is nothing but the *Vinaya* of the ‘Sarvāstivāda’ sect.

As already noted by Alexander Wynne (2008: 246), the formulation in the passage translated above rather shows that Yijing

was aware of a Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* that did not belong to the Mūlasarvāstivādin sect ... [his] statement, properly understood, provides no support for the identification of Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin.⁵

⁴ See the survey in Clarke 2015.

⁵ The observation that the statement by Yijing in T 2125 implies that the ‘*Vinaya* in Ten Recitations’ (T 1435) is *not* Mūlasarvāstivāda has already been made by Yao 2007 (I am indebted to the author for a summary of the article, as my inability to read Japanese prevents me from consulting it myself); see also Skilling 2002: 375, who comments that Enomoto’s position in this respect “seems forced”.

IV. Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda *Nikāyas*

It seems to me that Yijing's statement in the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* can be understood better if we keep in mind that connotations carried by the term "sect" do not necessarily reflect what is implied by the corresponding term *nikāya*. Here the sharing of doctrinal beliefs between Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins needs to be distinguished from ordination lineages.

The same distinction might also provide a solution to the problem identified by Hartmann (2020), in that a doctrinal background (or regional preferences in diction and stock phrases) need not be the sole rationale for distinguishing Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins from each other. The distinction is first of all about *nikāyas* as monastic communities with distinct ordination lineages.

These might at times correspond to doctrinal differences and even to regional conventions in diction and stock phrases. But such differences and conventions are secondary derivatives of the phenomenon in question and not in themselves decisive.⁶ Instead, ordination lineage is decisive. From the normative viewpoint of *Vinaya* law, monastics ordained according to the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* would not perform legal acts together with monastics ordained according to the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (or any other *Vinaya*), however much they might be holding the same doctrinal view.

The situation could perhaps be illustrated with the example of public prosecutors from different countries. Although this example

⁶ The lack of relevance of differences in diction could be illustrated by the examples given by Pāsādika 1994: 129 of quotations in Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda Abhidharma texts that exhibit variations in this respect, which obviously do not reflect doctrinal divergences.

involves secular law and a different time and place, inasmuch as the basic functioning of law is concerned, it might help to illustrate aspects to be born in mind when evaluating the impact of ordination lineages on the oral transmission of texts in ancient India.

Even though public prosecutors from different countries might hold the same political view, they are only able to take action in cases in their own respective country, not elsewhere.

In order to take into account the issue of regional language variations as well, the simile could be applied to prosecutors in different countries in Latin America. A prosecutor from Mexico, for example, will differ from a prosecutor from Argentina in the pronunciation of Spanish and the use of certain indigenous terms. Yet, just as with their respective political opinions, this is only a secondary aspect of the situation. What counts is the legal dimension. If someone born in Mexico should migrate to Argentina and become a prosecutor there, the legal sphere of action would now be within the confines of Argentina, no matter how much this prosecutor still speaks Spanish with a Mexican accent and independent of any political opinion he or she may hold.

Similarly, the question of *nikāya* affiliation is primarily a legal and an institutional one. Doctrinal opinions or the use of certain linguistic features are a result of that. Different *nikāyas* can share doctrinal opinions and linguistic usages; conversely, even within a single *nikāya* these can differ, especially if its members are spread over different regional areas.

V. The Recital of the Code of Rules

One of the legal acts to be undertaken regularly every fortnight is the recital of the code of rules (*prātimokṣa*). The performing of such

recitation by a group of monastics requires having basically the same text as its foundation. Moreover, the concluding sections of the different codes of the monastic rules enjoin that all of the assembled monastics should train in concord in these rules.⁷ This requires having the same rules.

Substantial differences in sequence and formulation of the main rules will conflict with the harmonious carrying out of such recital and impede training in them in concord, thereby jeopardising the perception of intra-group homogeneity that is so crucial to the very continuation of the institution of textual transmission itself.

A central purpose of the recitation of the code of rules is precisely to serve as an affirmation of communal harmony and institutional identity. In the words of Richard Gombrich (1988: 110), “the *pātimokkha* ritual’s *communal* function ... was the one thing which held the Sangha together.” The recital of the code of rules shares this feature with group recitation in general.⁸ For example, the *Saṅgīti-sutta*, in agreement with its Sanskrit fragment and Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* parallels, accompanies a list of doctrinal terms and categories with an emphasis on the function of agreement on such a listing to

⁷ Dharmaguptaka, T 1429 at T XXII 1022b11, Kāśyapīya, T 1460 at T XXIV 665a19, Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda, Tatia 1975: 36,2, Mahīśāsaka, T 1422 at T XXII 199c19, Mūlasarvāstivāda, Schmidt 1989: 92,9 (fol. 37R, this part has been omitted by Banerjee 1977), Sarvāstivāda, von Simson 2000: 258,9, and Theravāda, Pruitt and Norman 2001: 110,9; see also Pachow 1955: 214 and Schmidt 1989: 34–35.

⁸ Allon 2018: 234 reasons that “group recitation requires that the wording of the text and the arrangement of the textual units within a collection be fixed; otherwise you would have complete chaos ... a text — a *sūtra*, verse or textual unit or a collection of them — is fixed as long as it is memorized, repeated and communally recited without being intentionally changed, which of course allows for unintentional change.”

ensure communal harmony.⁹ Asanga Tilakaratne (2000: 175) explains that

the fundamental purpose of ... events described as *saṅgīti* is the assurance of the unity of the Buddhist monastic organization ... the key activity was to recite together the Dhamma and the Vinaya ... [which], first and foremost, was meant to be a public expression of one's allegiance to the organisation which was represented by the Dhamma and the Vinaya.

VI. Different Code of Rules

Actual instances of recital need not always comprise the entire code, but can focus just on the main rules. As a recital of the entire code of rules takes a long time, such time-saving modalities of recital can confidently be assumed to have been resorted to regularly, even though from a normative perspective they are not the ideal way to proceed.

This in turn means that variations among minor rules, especially the *śaikṣa* rules, would have less repercussions on such a recital, simply because they will not invariably be recited.¹⁰ But at least the main rules of the *pārājika* and *saṅghāvaśeṣa/saṅghādisesa* type would

⁹ DN 33 at DN III 211,17: *tattha sabbeḥ' eva saṅgāyitabbaṃ na vivaditabbaṃ*; Stache-Rosen 1968: 45 (I.1): *taṃ v(a)yaṃ saṃhitāḥ samagrāḥ saṃmodamānā bhūtvā saṃśayā(ya na vivadā)m(a)h(e)*; DĀ 9 at T I 49c22: 當共集之, 以防諍訟. The statement quoted occurs after the first item in the list has been mentioned. Another parallel, T 12, does not have a comparable formulation.

¹⁰ For variations among minor rules in the *Prātimokṣa-sūtras* from Gilgit see Emms 2012.

need to be the same in order for a group of monastics, ordained in the same *Vinaya* tradition, to perform the fortnightly recital of the code of rules together.

In fact, had legal acts by those ordained in *Vinaya* traditions with different codes of rules been a regular occurrence, the obsession evident in the different *Vinayas* to regulate the most minor details can safely be expected to have led to providing guidelines for such situations. At the time of the recital of the code of rules, which version should be recited? The one known to the most senior monastic in the assembly? Or rather the one followed by the majority of monastics in the assembly?

Suppose a monastic participates in the recital of a code of rules that contains a regulation this monastic hears now for the first time, because it is not part of the code of rules of the *Vinaya* tradition in which this monastic ordained. What behavior should be adopted if the monastic has not kept this particular rule? Is it appropriate for this monastic to ignore this rule, even though the whole idea of participating in the recital of the code or rules is to express one's maintenance of conduct in accordance with the rules that are being recited? Or should the monastic acknowledge a breach of this rule, even though a breach requires in principle that one has first undertaken to observe the rule in question?

Or else suppose a monastic has broken a rule that is part of the code of rules in this monastic's ordination lineage. Participating in the recital of a different code of rules that does not contain this rule, is the monastic still under an obligation to acknowledge this breach to a fellow monastic? If so, how does the fellow monastic accept the acknowledgement of a breach that, from the viewpoint of the fellow monastic, is not a breach at all?

All such questions would have provided excellent occasions for the promulgation of additional regulations, had it been a regular oc-

currence that legal acts were carried out across different ordination traditions. Yet, to the best of my knowledge, no such regulations are found in Indian texts. Moreover, individual *Vinaya* traditions even do not explicitly recognize the existence of other *Vinaya* traditions with a different set of rules.

The ability to afford such ignoring makes it rather improbable that mixing of different *Vinaya* traditions for legal acts was a common occurrence, otherwise the conceit that one's own *Vinaya* tradition is "the *Vinaya*", in the sense of being the only one to be taken explicitly into account, could hardly have been kept up.

This of course does not mean that cross-tradition legal acts never happened at all. The situation on the ground, especially when different Buddhist traditions spread to new areas, might well have led to all kind of idiosyncrasies. But such exceptions to the norm need to be distinguished from what with reasonable probability can be assumed to have been the regular situation in the ancient Indian setting, as far as the evidence at our disposal allows us to judge.

The need to have basically the same rules in order to be able to function as a legal body is fundamental to *Vinaya* law and practice and therefore relevant to evaluating variations between *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* texts.¹¹ In addition to examining philological and palaeographical features, it can be helpful to keep in mind the function of this type of text as well. An example in case is the Bajaur *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* manuscript studied by Ingo Strauch (2014).

In this case, apparently the same scribe used a piece of birch bark to record one version of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* on the one side and another on the other side. As noted by Strauch (2014: 824), the overall impression is that "the scribe conducted a comparative analysis

¹¹ For examples of such variations see von Simson 2000: 2–15 and Wille 2009: 49–51.

of both versions.” Given that according to Strauch (2014: 821) “both versions follow different orthographical conventions and represent phonologically distinct versions”, it seems fair to assume that dearth of writing material led to reuse and explains the current state of the manuscript.

This is a phenomenon well-known from other Gandhari manuscripts, where at times different texts are written on the same piece of birch bark.¹² Once “manuscripts with blank verso sides were recycled by later scribes who used them to record other texts, unrelated to the original one on the recto”, as observed by Salomon (2018: 81), it would not be surprising if the same procedure was adopted by the scribe of the fragment in question. In other words, finding two different texts on the two sides of a manuscript might only reflect the constraints of the medium, in terms of dearth of writing material, and need not imply that these two texts were actually employed in the same oral performance by the same reciters.¹³

¹² See, for example, the combination of *Dharmapada* verses with *pūrvayoga* texts, written down by different scribes using the same manuscript, studied by Lenz 2003.

¹³ The same holds in my view for an error of omission that apparently occurred during writing, where according to Strauch 2014: 824 “the scribe noticed this blunder. But instead of inserting the missing text where it was missing, he inserted it into the parallel rule on the obverse, probably mainly due to the fact that there was sufficient space on the top of the manuscript.” The procedure adopted by the scribe gives the impression that the manuscript was meant for personal study and not to serve as the basis for the *uposatha* ceremony. Such insertion in the ‘wrong’ place could have been motivated by a lack of writing space and hardly justifies the query by Strauch 2014: 825: “does this also mean that the monastic community had changed its school affiliation?” From a legal viewpoint, this would require a re-ordination of all of its mem-

Whatever may be the last word on the significance of this intriguing manuscript, its textual idiosyncrasies do not imply that it can be suspected that “mainly the writing down of these texts paved the ground for a harmonized and coherent *Prātimokṣasūtra* text tradition within one school”, *pace* Strauch (2014: 820). It seems to me that such a suggestion underestimates the significance of oral tradition and the need for the members of a monastic community to avail themselves of a coherent *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* during the centuries that preceded the writing down of the texts.

VII. *Vinaya* and *Āgama* Texts

The function and purposes of group recitation is one of several features shared by *Vinaya* and *Āgama* texts. These cannot be completely separated from each other, simply because they were transmitted by the same body of monastic reciters.

Monastic ordination lineages, *nikāyas*, naturally stand in a close relationship to oral transmission lineages. In fact, different ordination lineages quite probably came into existence due to the accumulation of regional variations during the oral transmission of the *Vinaya* texts.¹⁴ Once such variations had built up sufficiently to become a critical mass, so to say, in the sense that a few minor ‘corrections’ were no longer sufficient to enable group recitation, differ-

bers, a rather improbable scenario.

¹⁴ Wynne 2008 and Sasaki 2018 discuss the impact of regional differentiation on the formation of Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda *Vinayas*. Both keep speaking of “sects”, however, which leaves me with the impression that the implications of the clarification proposed by Bechert 1982 have not yet been fully taken on board. For a critical reply to Sakaki 2018 in particular see Dhammadinnā 2021.

ent recitation lineages and therewith different ordination lineages would have come into existence.

Needless to say, the manifestation of variations is not a one-time event, but something that must have kept occurring during successive stages of oral transmission. Hence to some degree such variations can be expected to have manifested continuously even within a particular ordination lineage, once this had formed. These would not have conflicted with group recitation as long as they occurred only regionally. This would help to explain differences among *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* fragments apparently pertaining to the same *nikāya*.

Once distinct ordination lineages had come into being, differences between their respective corpus of orally transmitted texts would have tended to increase, due to a substantial diminishing of opportunities for ‘correction’ during group recital. Reciters ordained in a particular *nikāya* will perform the recitation of the *prātimokṣa* with their peers and thereby naturally be prone to do the same also for other texts. In this way, distinct monastic ordination lineages are likely to be related to different oral transmission lineages.

Or course, this does not result in a rigid and impenetrable separation of transmission lineages according to *Vinaya* ordination. Such is hardly possible, given the fluidity of oral transmission. In fact the whole question of distinguishing between Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda is not meant to promote the idea of a watertight distinction between two exclusive entities. It is more about using such terms as orientation points for recognizing different currents of oral transmission.

It also does not mean that monastics of one *Vinaya* tradition might not at times have approached a famous teacher ordained in a different *Vinaya* tradition to receive Dharma teachings. But it does imply general trends of collections of texts to be orally transmitted by groups of reciters who belong to the same ordination tradition.

Understood in this way, the so-called ‘school-affiliation’ of *Āgama* texts, besides not just originating from doctrinal dissents pertaining to ‘sects’, is perhaps best viewed as the somewhat accidental result of transmission lineages forming themselves regionally and along the lines of ordination lineages.

Notably, concern with the ‘school-affiliation’ of *Āgama* texts is, to the best of my knowledge, not attested for the period of their oral transmission.¹⁵ From the viewpoint of oral transmission, it is hardly surprising that *Āgama* texts are not identified by way of the *nikāya* of their reciters. The oral performance of an *Āgama* text will begin with the recitation of the introductory formula ‘thus have I heard’.¹⁶ The implicit claim is that the oral recitation is based on a text that has been passed on ‘thus’, that is, in exactly the way it is presently being recited, by successive generations of reciters. In this way, the oral performance begins with an assurance that what is about to be recited is an accurate reflection of what the Buddha (or his chief disciples) originally said.

In light of this core textual dimension, it would to some degree become self-defeating if the reciters were to acknowledge explicitly that the text is much rather the product of a particular *nikāya* (Dhamma-dinnā 2021). It would run counter to the whole thrust of the oral performance of a text ‘thus heard’ (rather than ‘thus revised’), as the reciters would in this way divest themselves of the advantage derived

¹⁵ The same pattern can also be seen in the case of *Vinaya* manuscripts. As noted by Skilling 2010: 9, “when we describe the Sanskrit *vinaya* recovered from Gilgit as ‘the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinaya*’, or the Turfan manuscripts as ‘Sarvāstivādin’, we should remember that we are voicing hypotheses. The manuscripts do not identify themselves ... only certain translations into Tibetan or Chinese specify the school of the text.”

¹⁶ For a survey of scholarship on the significance of this phrase and its relation to what comes next in the standard formula at the outset of a discourse see Anālayo 2014a: 41–45.

from the strategies of authentication adopted by all of their predecessors.

A tendency not to perceive *Āgamas* in terms of *nikāya* affiliation extends even to the early centuries of translation activities in China. The circumstance that the *Dirgha-āgama* brought by Faxian 法顯 from Sri Lanka was not translated into Chinese is quite probably due to a lack of awareness on the side of the Chinese that this collection differed substantially – precisely because of having been transmitted by reciters of a different *nikāya* – from the Dharmaguptaka *Dirgha-āgama* that had already been translated into Chinese (Anālayo 2010: 69–74).

Although the four *Āgamas* presently included in the Chinese canon stem from distinct lineages of reciters, these *Āgama* translations have generally been considered by Chinese Buddhists to be a homogeneous textual set, an idea already expressed by Dao’an 道安 as early as the fourth century (Zacchetti 2016: 82–83). This demonstrates the traditional perception of the *Āgamas* as a textual corpus independent of ‘school affiliation’, not only in India but also in China.

The significance of a lack of explicit recognition of *nikāya* affiliation of an *Āgama* could be illustrated with the example of a lack of public disclosure of hidden motivations by someone in a political leadership position, which does not imply that such motivations never influence the actual performance. Similarly, due to the nature of oral transmission, it seems reasonable to assume that *nikāya* affiliation had an impact on the oral performance and hence the transmission of *Āgama* texts, even though this is not publicly disclosed.

Closer inspection shows in fact a considerable degree of interrelation between *Vinaya* and *Āgama* texts. This is evident, for example, in the fact that *Āgama* texts regularly contain *Vinaya*-related material (Anālayo 2014b: 27–30), and that some *Vinayas* in turn provide cross-references to *sūtras* (Yao 2020).

VIII. Mūlasarvāstivāda *Āgamas*

In an article dedicated to the *Sūtrapīṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins, Jan Willem de Jong (1968 [1979]) notes a difference between the way *sūtra* quotations are given in the Chinese and Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and how they appear in their Tibetan counterpart. Whereas the Chinese and Sanskrit versions provide cross-references, the Tibetan text incorporates the respective text. This led de Jong to the idea that the reciters of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* drew on the *Āgama* collections of the Sarvāstivādins, since if the Mūlasarvāstivādins had their own collections, there would have been no need for the texts at some time to become absorbed in the *Vinaya*.¹⁷

Yet, the very existence of Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* suggests that the Mūlasarvāstivādins must have had access to their own *Āgama* collections. Whether such access was to their own independent transmission or to collections copied from the Sarvāstivādins, it seems improbable that lack of availability motivated the absorption of *sūtra* material in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. In fact the *Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra* is found more than once in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (Anālayo 2015: 348–349),¹⁸ and that holds for its Chinese as well as its Tibetan versions. This could hardly have been motivated by the lack of availability of the respective *Āgama* collection only.

¹⁷ After surveying such cases, de Jong 1968 [1979]: 235 reasons that “cet exemple suggère que les *Āgama* auxquels le *Vinaya* des Mūlasarvāstivādin renvoie faisaient partie du *Sūtrapīṭaka* des Sarvāstivādin. Probablement ces *Āgama* n'auraient pas été absorbés par le *Vinaya* des Mūlasarvāstivādin si ces derniers avaient possédé leur propre *Sūtrapīṭaka*.”

¹⁸ See also the discussion in Yao 2020: 460–463.

Instead, the absorption of *sūtra* material seems part of a general trend of textual growth of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* by incorporating a range of narrative material, a development probably best considered on a par with the example provided by the *Mahāvastu* as quite definitely a '*Vinaya*' text (Tournier 2012).

Actually, de Jong presents his suggestion only as a supposition that is open to being rejected if there is evidence for a different *Sūtra-piṭaka* among Mūlasarvāstivādins.¹⁹ To such evidence I turn next.

IX. The Parallels to the *Cūḷavedalla-sutta*

Based on a comparative study of the Chinese and Tibetan parallels to the *Cūḷavedalla-sutta* (MN 44) and several other textual comparisons, Schmithausen (1987: 379) concludes that, contrary to the position taken by de Jong (1968 [1979]):

the Mūlasarvāstivādins not only had a Vinayapiṭaka but also a Sūtra- and a Kṣudrakapiṭaka peculiar to them and different not only from those of the Central Asian Sarvāstivādins but also from those of the Indian Vaibhāṣikas.

The existence of a distinctly Mūlasarvāstivāda *Āgama* transmission can be conveniently illustrated by placing side by side the two parallels to the *Cūḷavedalla-sutta*, found in the *Madhyama-āgama* (MĀ 210) and in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* (Up 1005).

¹⁹ de Jong 1968 [1979]: 231: "on peut supposer que les Mūlasarvāstivādin aient adopté le *Sūtrapiṭaka* des Sarvāstivādin tant que l'on ne dispose pas de témoignages qui démontrent l'existence d'un *Sūtrapiṭaka* différent chez les Mūlasarvāstivādin."

Since to do so would go well beyond the confines of the present chapter, I have shifted such detailed comparison to a separately published article, which provides English translations of both parallel versions to enable a direct assessment of the degree of similarity and difference between them (Anālayo 2019). In what follows, I just sum up the main points that emerge from that study.

From a structural viewpoint, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the quotation in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* agree closely, whereas the *Cūḷavedalla-sutta* proceeds quite differently. This points to a close relationship between the former two. Nevertheless, leaving aside a few cases of apparent textual displacement within the respective discourse, several substantial differences can also be identified between the *Madhyama-āgama* version and the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*.

The latter stipulates the need for tranquillity and insight in order to enter cessation attainment and takes up not only the first, but also the second and third absorption in a discussion of pleasant feeling. Both instances stand in contrast to the presentation found in the *Madhyama-āgama* and *Majjhima-nikāya* versions.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version differs from its two parallels on the identity of both protagonists of the discourse, as here the interlocutor has become a female and the respondent has a different name. The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse also stands alone in taking up the four bases of supernormal power in a discussion of aspects of concentration, in discussing the difference between the attainment of cessation and of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, and in turning from the three feeling tones to the topic of contact.

The same version lacks a discussion of the three formations (bodily, verbal, and mental), which the other two versions explain in detail. It also does not investigate how these relate to entry and emergence from cessation attainment, and what type of contact is experienced

on such emergence, topics discussed in the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse and the quotation in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*. Yet another difference is that the *Madhyama-āgama* version attributes emergence from cessation to the existence of the body, the six sense, and the life faculty, whereas according to the two parallels such emergence is due to previous cultivation of the mind.²⁰

In this way, the versions in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and the *Madhyama-āgama* differ substantially from each other, and in a number of such cases the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* is closer to the Pali version. The differences that emerge in this way corroborate the observation by Peter Skilling (2002: 375) that

the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* and the *Madhyamāgama* cited by Śamathadeva in his *Upāyikā-ṭīkā* on the *Abhidharma-kośa* are intimately related but differ, sometimes significantly, in order of texts, in contents, and titles.

X. The *Madhyama-āgama* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*

By way of complementing the above survey of differences between the *Madhyama-āgama* and discourse quotations in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, in what follows I briefly survey a few cases where relevant discourse quotations are instead found in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

²⁰ See Dhammadinnā 2021 for a further discussion of the Sarvāstivāda affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* quotations in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and references to earlier Japanese scholarship reaching the same conclusion.

Differences between *Madhyama-āgama* discourses and their parallels in quotations in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* can take a variety of forms. One possibility manifests in a different title. The *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* gives a reference to the *Velāma-sūtra* found in the *Brāhmaṇa-nipāta*.²¹ The corresponding discourse in the *Madhyama-āgama* extant in Chinese is indeed found in its section on Brahmins, but has instead the title ‘Discourse to Sudatta’.²² Although the relevant Pali parallel occurs rather among the Nines of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, its title is *Velāma-sutta*,²³ corresponding to the title given in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

Another such reference in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* speaks of the *Māndhātṛ-sūtra* in the *Rājasamyuktaka-nipāta*.²⁴ The counterpart in the section of the *Madhyama-āgama* on kings has the title ‘Discourse on the Four Continents’.²⁵ In this case, the Pali parallel occurs in the *Jātaka* collection and is entitled the *Mandhātū-jātaka*.²⁶

Another type of difference concerns narrative details. According to the *Dhammacetiya-sutta* and its parallel in the *Kṣudraka-vastu*, on a certain occasion the two courtiers of King Pasenadi spent part of the night in discussion,²⁷ whereas according to the *Madhyama-*

²¹ Dutt 1984: 98,15: *velāmasūtre madhyamāgame brāhmaṇanipāte*.

²² MĀ 155 at T I 677a8: 梵志品須達哆經 (the correspondence of this and the subsequently mentioned *Madhyama-āgama* discourse to references in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* has already been noted by Waldschmidt 1980: 142).

²³ In the PTS edition, the title of the discourse AN 9.20 is reflected in the *uddāna* at AN IV 396,6; the Burmese and Ceylonese editions have the title as a header for the discourse.

²⁴ Dutt 1984: 93,10: *māndhātṛsūtram madhyamāgame rājasamyuktakani-pāte*.

²⁵ MĀ 60 at T I 494b9: 王相應品四洲經.

²⁶ Jā 258 at Jā II 310,20.

²⁷ MN 89 at MN II 124,5 and T 1451 at T XXIV 238b10, with the Tibetan

āgama version they rather sat in silent meditation.²⁸ The same Pali discourse and its Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* parallel report that on another occasion a disciple was coughing during a talk given by the Buddha,²⁹ whereas in the *Madhyama-āgama* version this disciple had rather fallen asleep and was snoring.³⁰

More substantial differences emerge in the case of the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta*, which in agreement with the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* reports the future Buddha setting out to emulate his two teachers and attain the immaterial spheres that formed the basis of their teaching. According to both versions, he felt confident in doing so since he had the same five spiritual faculties, *indriya*, they also possessed.³¹ The *Madhyama-āgama* version, however, speaks of only three spiritual faculties, leaving out of count the faculties of mindfulness and concentration.³² Although one might be inclined to consider this a simple transmission or even translation error, since mindfulness and concentration are certainly required for achieving such lofty attainments, also the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* mentions only these three spiritual faculties.³³

counterpart in D 6, 'dul ba, tha 85b6 or P 1035, 'dul ba, de 82b2.

²⁸ MĀ 213 at T I 797b5.

²⁹ MN 89 at MN II 122,12 and T 1451 at T XXIV 238a26, with the Tibetan counterpart in D 6, 'dul ba, tha 85a5 or P 1035, 'dul ba, de 82a2 (according to which the disciple also sneezed).

³⁰ MĀ 213 at T I 797a18.

³¹ MN 26 at MN I 164,16 and Gnoli 1977: 97,11.

³² MĀ 204 at T I 776b15; see also Bronkhorst 1993 [2000]: 75.

³³ T 1428 at T XXII 780b11, a reference that involves a translation error, as here the future Buddha reflects that his teachers are *bereft* of the three spiritual faculties. Bareau 1963: 18 reasons that the translator probably misunderstood a reference to 'not only' (*na kho*) the teacher having these qualities as implying that the teacher did not have them, 無有.

A still more substantial difference emerges in relation to the well-known intervention of Brahmā to convince the recently awakened Buddha to teach his discovery of the path to liberation to others. Reported in the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* and the corresponding section of the *Saṅghabheda-vastu*, the entire episode is absent from the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel.³⁴ In this case, too, the presentation in the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse does not appear to be simply the result of a loss of text, as an individual translation parallel to the *Mahāvā-dāna-sutta*, which reports the same intervention in the case of a previous Buddha, also does not have the entire episode.³⁵

The above cases are just a few examples selected somewhat at random, insufficient to draw definite conclusions. Moreover, when evaluating such differences, it needs to be born in mind that at times the *Madhyama-āgama* also disagrees with the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*; in fact even the *Majjhima-nikāya* can disagree with the Theravāda *Vinaya* (Anālayo 2017). Some degree of variation is only natural in view of the oral nature of these texts.

Nevertheless, at some point the amount of variation reaches a critical mass. This does not yet seem to be the case for the *Madhyama-āgama* and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (nor of course for the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the Theravāda *Vinaya*). But the divergences between the *Madhyama-āgama* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda texts surveyed here do appear to reach such a critical mass and it seems fair to conclude that their respective transmission lineages were distinct.

Proposing that there is therefore a heuristic value in making such a distinction is not meant to encourage artificial divisions between

³⁴ MN 26 at MN I 168,13 and Gnoli 1977: 128,30.

³⁵ T 3 at T I 156c14, parallel to DN 14 at DN II 36,22. Notably, in this case the Sanskrit fragment parallel also has not preserved this episode, see Waldschmidt 1956: 148 note 2.

entirely separate entities or to promote obsession with the identification of ‘school affiliations’. In other words, the desirability of avoiding the positing of ‘the Mūlasarvāstivāda school’ (let alone ‘sect’) in total contrast to ‘the Sarvāstivāda school’ need not prevent us from pragmatically distinguishing between ‘a’ Mūlasarvāstivāda lineage of oral transmission and ‘a’ Sarvāstivāda lineage of oral transmission.

XI. Theravāda *Nikāya* and Theravāda Oral Transmission

The lack of total correspondence between the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the Theravāda *Vinaya* leads me to a problem similar to some extent to the topic of ‘Mūlasarvāstivāda’ versus ‘Sarvāstivāda’, namely the academic problematization of the term Theravāda.³⁶ It seems to me that at times such problematization can involve the same conflation of a ‘sect’ as a political or ideological body with the existence of a monastic ordination lineage, *nikāya*, and its relation to an oral transmission lineage.

The discourse collections extant in Pali have been transmitted by Theravāda reciters. Yet, they are not the product of the Theravāda ‘sect’, as there are number of differences, some quite substantial, between Theravāda doctrine and the position taken in the Pali discourses. This does not mean that the term Theravāda can no longer be used to distinguish the discourses found in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, for example, from those found in the *Dīrgha-āgama* extant in Chinese translation (T 1). The former has been transmitted by monastic reciters who were ordained according to Theravāda law and the latter by monastic reciters who were ordained according to Dharmaguptaka law. Hence there is heuristic value in employing these two terms to

³⁶ For my reasons to continue using the term ‘Theravāda’ see Anālayo 2013.

reflect the difference in the corresponding ordination lineages.

In the case of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and *Dīrgha-āgama*, the difference between the two collections extant now also involves languages. Yet, this is only an accidental result of the vagaries of transmission and less apt for drawing clear distinctions. It would hardly be helpful to identify a particular *Āgama* only by reference to the language in which it has been preserved.

The reciters of the *Dīrgha-āgama* extant in Chinese appear to belong to the same transmission lineage, broadly speaking, as the reciters of the ‘*Vinaya* in Four Sections’ (*Sifen lü* 四分律, T 1428), and some of the material extant in Gandhari fragments.³⁷ Here, again, speaking of the “same transmission lineage” does not imply complete correspondence, but only that, alongside minor differences that naturally occur even within a particular lineage of reciters (Anālayo 2017: 58–63), there is in general a fair degree of correspondence.

Given that here we have different languages for what appear to be testimonies of the basically same transmission lineage, and that the Chinese language in which the *Dīrgha-āgama* is now extant is shared with other *Āgamas* which clearly stem from different transmission lineages, it becomes clear that the use of the name of a language does not furnish an appropriate means of identification. Nor would it be possible to refer to these texts always by way of the name of a particular location, something that is more feasible in the case of fragments whose provenance is known. For this reason, it seems to me meaningful to refer to the body of texts that comprises the *Dīrgha-āgama*, the ‘*Vinaya* in Four Sections’, and some Gandhari fragments as Dharmaguptaka, in the sense of an oral transmission lineage.

³⁷ See Salomon 1999: 166–178, Cox 2014: 36–39 and Salomon 2014: 13.

XII. The *Samyukta-āgama* and Sri Lanka

What emerges on considering the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* and the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* can in turn be applied to the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama*. As shown by Bhikkhunī Dhamma-dinnā (2020 and 2021), the *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99) corresponds closely to *sūtra* quotations in Śamathadeva’s *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. Hence it is indeed meaningful to refer to this *Samyukta-āgama* as representative of a Mūlasarvāstivāda transmission lineage in contrast to the *Madhyama-āgama* as representative of a Sarvāstivāda transmission lineage. I contend that the usage of such terminology is justified by the circumstance that the respective monastic reciter lineages can be distinguished based on the *Vinaya* used for their ordination.

In the case of the *Samyukta-āgama*, the employment of the designation Mūlasarvāstivāda might appear questionable since the original used for translation into Chinese seems to have been acquired by Faxian in Sri Lanka.³⁸ Andrew Glass (2010) offers several significant arguments in favour of assuming that his manuscript was indeed the original used for the *Samyukta-āgama* translation now extant as Taishō no. 99.

This translation involved Guṇabhadra in the role of reading out the text and Baoyun 寶雲 as the translator. Glass points out that

³⁸ The *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, T 2034 at XLIX 91a24, reports that the *Samyukta-āgama* translated by Guṇabhadra and Baoyun was the text that had been brought by Faxian. Although this catalogue is known for being in general rather unreliable, according to de Jong 1981: 108 “there is no valid reason to doubt the information” given in the *Lidai sanbao ji* regarding the translation of T 99.

Baoyun was a travel companion of Faxian; the two had experienced much hardship together and must have become close friends. In fact, after Faxian's return to China, the two lived together at the same temple. During this time, Baoyun would have had access to Faxian's manuscripts. Moreover, there was a concerted effort to translate the manuscripts that Faxian had brought back to China. By the time Guṇabhadra arrived in China, only three of these manuscripts had not yet been translated, one of them being the *Samyukta-āgama*. Glass (2010: 197) explains:

When Guṇabhadra arrived in Jiānkāng, the *Samyuktāgama* would have been the most important work in the collection of Fǎxiǎn's manuscripts that had not yet been translated. As shown above, Bǎoyún would have had access to this manuscript, and further, he may well have had an interest in seeing this manuscript translated out of a sense of loyalty to his former travelling companion and colleague. It is easy to imagine that Bǎoyún could have persuaded Guṇabhadra, a man eighteen years his junior, to recite the *Samyuktāgama* for him to translate when the latter had only just arrived from India.

In considering how a *Mūlasarvāstivāda* text could stem from Sri Lanka, it seems that the actual presence of *Mūlasarvāstivāda* monastics in Sri Lanka would not be an indispensable condition for the library of the Abhayagiri monastery to have manuscripts of *Mūlasarvāstivāda Āgamas* (or *Vinaya* for that matter). Due to the good contacts between the Abhayagiri monastery and India, such manuscripts could have been brought from India for the sake of study and consultation and then been kept in the monastic library.

Moreover, there is some evidence, although from later times, for the actual presence of *Mūlasarvāstivāda* monastics in Sri Lanka.

This is the Jetavanārāma inscription, which documents that monastics from four *Nikāyas* had taken up residence in Sri Lanka. Bechert (1998: 3) considers it likely that this inscription refers to

the very four *nikāyas* which prevailed in mainland India at that period, viz. the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Mahāsāṅghikas, the Sammatīyas and the Sthaviras.³⁹

The Jetavanārāma inscription is dated on paleographic grounds to the ninth century (de Zilva Wickremasinghe 1904–1912: 1–2), thus it is later than Faxian’s time. Testifying to an earlier time, however, is an inscription from Bodhgayā, issued by the Sinhalese monk Mahānāman and dated to the second half of the sixth century. According to Vincent Tournier (2014: 24–26), this inscription points to a community of Sinhalese *Samyukta-āgama* transmitters in Bodhgayā who were in contact with Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda communities in their homeland as well as in Magadha. The inscription suggests an active transmission of a Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda *Samyukta-āgama* in Sri Lanka already in the sixth century. This would make it seem less improbable that Faxian could indeed have acquired a Mūlasarvāstivāda *Samyukta-āgama* in Sri Lanka.

Conclusion

The expression ‘Mūlasarvāstivāda sect’ is indeed problematic, but the problem appears to be not just the first, but more particularly the second of the two terms: the idea of a ‘sect’. Hence a solution to the justified misgivings expressed by Hartmann (2020) and others is in my

³⁹ See also Gunawardana 1966 and 1979: 253, Hazra 1982 [1981]: 54 and Gethin 2012: 53–54.

view not achieved by employing expressions like ‘(Mūla-)sarvāstivāda’ (earlier used by myself as well) or by dropping the term completely and replacing it with ‘Sarvāstivāda’. The suggestion of such replacement risks becoming a case of throwing the baby out with the bathwater. As I hope to have shown in the foregoing, the term Mūla-sarvāstivāda can serve a purpose as a designation for a specific, identifiable *Āgama* lineage of textual transmission.

I contend that the solution lies in simply clarifying in what sense the term is used, rather than discarding the term itself. From a doctrinal viewpoint, Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin are indeed closely similar. From a legal viewpoint, however, they differ in much more substantial ways, as they refer to distinct *Vinayas* and hence to different ordination lineages.

Due to the nature of oral tradition, different ordination lineages tend to encourage the formation of separate communities of reciters and thus distinct lineages of textual transmission (which at times might coincide with the regional use of certain conventions in diction and stock phrases). These lineages in turn also impact *Āgama* texts. For this reason, it is meaningful to refer to *Āgama* texts by the name of the *nikāya* in which the respective reciters appear to have been ordained and within whose institutional container the recitation and transmission of the texts would have predominantly, though not exclusively, taken place.

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Abbreviations

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| AN | <i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| CBETA | Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association |
| DĀ | <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (T 1) |
| DN | <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> |
| Jā | <i>Jātaka</i> |
| MĀ | <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26) |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| P | Peking edition |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition (CBETA) |
| Up | <i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā</i> |

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**V. *SŪTRA* QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES:
INTRA-, INTER-, CO- AND CROSS-TEXTUALITY**

Traces of Incorporation:
Some Examples of *Samyukta-āgama Sūtras*
in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*

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Abstract

Although it is well known that the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* includes many parallels to *sūtras*, it is not always clear which canonical corpus, the *Vinaya-piṭaka* or *Sūtra-piṭaka*, borrowed text from the other. This paper examines a few examples in which we find evidence that some *sūtras* were incorporated from the *Samyukta-āgama* into the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. In the first and second examples, parallels to SĀ 807 and SĀ 813, there are abbreviations that are common to the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* and cannot be explained in the *Vinaya* itself. In the third example, a parallel to the *Oṭalāyana-sūtra* which is lost in the extant Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, contextual inconsistency suggests that the *sūtra* was carelessly inserted into the *Vinaya*. In another example, a parallel to SĀ 379, the *sūtra* seems to have been inserted into the context of the *Vinaya* in order to expand a sentence in a story explaining a certain monastic rule. Close inspection of such traces of insertions of *sūtras* reveals significant discrepancies between different extant versions of the *Vinaya*, which is suggestive of the complexity of textual transmission.

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I. Introduction

I.1 Some Preliminary Remarks on Mentions of and Parallels to the *Āgamas* in the *Vinaya* Literature in Previous Studies

Hirakawa Akira's 平川 彰 *Ritsuzō no kenkyū* 律蔵の研究 [A Study of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*]¹—as well as his *Nihyakugojikkai no kenkyū* 二百五十戒の研究 [A Study of the Two-Hundred and Fifty Rules]²—is still of great benefit to present-day scholars, providing a vast amount of information and a clear perspective on the *Vinaya* literature decades after its first publication in 1960. In this book, a 757-page comparative study on the extant *Vinayas* is followed by a supplementary section entitled “The *Sūtras* Quoted in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.”¹ The author begins this section by saying that there are a fair number of quotations from the *Āgamas* in the *Vinaya* and that such quotations may be beneficial to studies on both the history of the formation of the *Āgamas* and that of the *Vinaya*.² He then examines the structure of the Buddhist canon as described in the accounts of the first communal recitation (*saṅgīti*) in the Pali *Vinaya* and the five *Vinayas* translated into Chinese, and lists numerous mentions of *sūtras* in these *Vinayas*. Although it is, as he states, not comprehensive, his survey is probably the first and so far only study that presents an abundance of evidence about *sūtras* mentioned in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* on the basis of many *Vinaya* texts belonging to various schools.

¹ Hirakawa 1999–2000: II 349–382 [1960: 759–791]: 律蔵に引用される経典 (“The *Āgama* *sūtras* that are quoted in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*” in the English table of contents of the first edition, p. 7). Cf. the English summary of the first edition, p. 26.

² Hirakawa 1999–2000: II 349 [1960: 759] also mentions the importance of monastic rules included in *Āgamas*.

Hirakawa's work was a big step toward revealing not only the history of the formation of both the *Sūtra-piṭaka* and the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, but also the relationships between these two *piṭakas*. In this latter regard, however, Hirakawa's study may now require slight modification. He terms his examples in this supplementary section, the nature of which varies from simple mentions of the title of a *sūtra* to a story parallel to a *sūtra* as a whole, "quotations from the *Āgama sūtras*", 阿含経からの引用. However, as regards parallel stories, it is open to question which *piṭaka* borrowed the stories from which.³ Four years prior to Hirakawa's study, Erich Frauwallner (1956: 146) had posed a question with regard to the parallels between the *Sūtra-piṭaka* and the *Vinaya-piṭaka*: "Are the texts of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* drawn from the *Vinaya*, or has the latter taken them from the *Sūtra-piṭaka*?"⁴ Regardless of whether his arguments on particular examples hold or not,⁵ his question is worth examining. Both directions of movement, from the *Vinaya* to the *Āgamas*, and vice versa, may have been possible, and these possibilities should be examined case by case, without seeking any simple solution that might apply in each

³ Hirakawa seems to apply the terms *in'yō* 引|用 and *in'yō sareru* 引|用される (translated as 'quotation' and 'quoted' in his English summary) primarily to mentions of titles, whereas he occasionally uses these terms to refer to a substantial text in the *Vinaya* that is parallel to a *sūtra*, such as the *Śrāmāṇyaphala-sūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (Hirakawa 1999–2000: II 376 [1960: 784]; cf., also, 361 [770]).

⁴ Although Hirakawa refers to this publication by Frauwallner elsewhere in his study, he does not mention the above question by Frauwallner in the supplementary section on *sūtras* in the *Vinaya*.

⁵ For instance, Frauwallner 1956: 146–148 took up the example of a specific *sūtra* and argued that this *sūtra* had originally belonged to the *Vinaya*, but this had itself been a recasting of another *sūtra* in turn borrowed from the *Sūtra-piṭaka*.

and every case.⁶ Other possibilities such as the incorporation of text into both *piṭakas* from some common source should be considered as well.

II. Some Examples of Parallels to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*

So far, at least 69 examples of correspondences between the *Vinaya* and the *Saṃyukta-āgama* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* have been identified by various scholars.⁷ This figure, which is mine and only ten-

⁶ There have been several discussions and general remarks on the supposed incorporation of texts from the *Sūtra-piṭaka* into the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, as well as from the *Vinaya-piṭaka* into the *Sūtra-piṭaka*. For the former, see de Jong 1968: 400, Bechert 1982: 89–90 and von Hinüber 1999: 69–70. For the latter, see Maruyama 1962 and Sasaki 1985. Cf., also, von Hinüber 1996: § 23, Schopen 2000, Anālayo 2015 [2012a]: 347–388 and 2017a [2014a]: 90–94. In Yao forthcoming a, I argue that a part of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* is likely to be a collection of stories and *sūtras* incorporated from outside the text.

⁷ Listed in what follows are the earliest works I could find mentioning the correspondence between each *sūtra* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama/Saṃyuttanikāya* and the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*. It is often difficult to decide who mentioned such correspondence for the first time, especially regarding well-known parallels and complicated parallels such as a *Saṃyukta-āgama sūtra* parallel included in a *Dirgha-āgama sūtra* parallel. SĀ 34 (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1] Allon 2007: 15; [2] Chung 2008, 59–61. SĀ 36: Nishimoto 1933–1935: XXIII 136 note 59. SĀ 197: none? (cf. Honjō 2014: II 830–831). SĀ 252: Panglung 1981: 128. SĀ 254: Frauwallner 1956: 145. SĀ 263: Hosoda 2006: 2, 4. SĀ 274: Yao forthcoming c. SĀ 276: Akanuma 1931: s.v. Nandaka 1 [3]. SĀ 287: Enomoto 1982: 57 note

25a. SĀ 301: Tsultrim Kelsang and Miki 2017: 186 note 3. SĀ 311: Sakaki 1912–1915: vol. 142, p. 62. SĀ 349: Chung 2008: 116. SĀ 370: Chung 2008, 118–119. SĀ 379 (three times in the *Vinaya*): [1] Miyamoto 1934: 11; [2] Teramoto 1925: 18; [3] Hirakawa 1960: 763–764. SĀ 403 (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1] Yao 2010, 258; [2] Chung 2008, 125–126. SĀ 506: Demoto 1998: 35. SĀ 592 (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1][2] Enomoto 1991–1994: 4–7. SĀ 619: Nishimoto 1933–1935: XXIII 118 note 76. SĀ 622 (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1] Chung 2008, 158; [2] Bareau 1970–1971: I 95. SĀ 638: Akanuma 1931: s.v. Sāriputta [142]. SĀ 684: Yao forthcoming d. SĀ 722: Yao 2011, 191–192. SĀ 727: Waldschmidt 1955: 6 note 27. SĀ 807: Hosoda 2006: 2 and 4. SĀ 809: Skilling 2000: 344. SĀ 809: Anālayo 2017a [2014a]: 75–76. SĀ 813 (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1] Nishimoto 1933–1935: XXIII 134 note 52; [2] Hosoda 2006, 6–15. SĀ 854 (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1][2] Waldschmidt 1944–1948: I 69–72. SĀ 911 (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1] Shōno 2018a: 63 note 10 and Shōno 2018b; [2] Nishimoto 1933–1935: XXVI 393 note 82. SĀ 969: Nishimoto 1933–1935: XX 308 note 40. SĀ 971: Hosoda 1991. SĀ 978: Yao 2010: 256–257. SĀ 979: Chung 2008: 201–202. SĀ 981 (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1][2] Skilling 1994–1997: II 9–10, 56, 443. SĀ 1064 (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1] none ?; [2] Enomoto 1991–1994: 14. SĀ 1074: Enomoto 1991–1994: 17–21. SĀ 1075: Bingenheimer 2006: 24. SĀ 1095: Yao 2011: 180–181. SĀ 1096: Enomoto 1991–1994: 26–27. SĀ 1147: Enomoto 1991–1994: 32–33. SĀ 1174: Allon 2007: 14. SĀ 1197: Przyluski 1920: 5–46. SĀ 1226 (nine times in the *Vinaya*): [1] Honjō 1985; Sasaki 1985: 29 note 15; [2][3][4] Hirakawa 1960: 780, 790 note 91; [5] none?; [6][7] Mori 2006: 12; [8] Hirakawa 1960: 780 and 790 note 91; [9] Kishino 2013: 443 note 381. SĀ 1227: Kishino 2016: 242 and 262. SĀ 1238: Chung 2008: 219. SĀ 668: Kishino 2013: 163 note 91. SĀ² 88: Kishino 2013: 395 note 13. Missing in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (twice in the *Vinaya*): [1] Waldschmidt 1944–1948 (cf. Hosoda 2006: 4–6, Yao 2013b); [2] Waldschmidt 1944–1948: I 88–94. Missing in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*: de Jong 1968: 400 (cf. Waldschmidt 1980: 140–141 and Enomoto 1984). For *Samyukta-āgama sūtras* that are found in Sanskrit manuscripts, see Chung 2008

tative, includes examples in which *sūtras* are narrated in full or almost in full and examples of simple mentions of the titles of *sūtras* but excludes correspondences of only verses or stock phrases. Counterparts in the extant versions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* are counted as one. A thorough examination of the entire material of this *Vinaya* might add further examples. In these examples, the text in the *Vinaya* generally corresponds well to that in the most extensive *Saṃyukta-āgama* translated into Chinese, the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T 99),⁸ and the examples range over all divisions of the reconstructed *Saṃyukta-āgama*.⁹

II.1 Problematic Abbreviations (1): SĀ 807

The first example I present here is a brief account of the Buddha's sermon in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, the 'Chapter on Medicines' in the *Vinaya-vastu*. This account, extant only in the Chinese and Tibetan versions, constitutes one of the episodes included in a lengthy frame story about the Buddha's journey from Rājagṛha to the northern region.¹⁰ In the middle and final parts of the sermon in question,

and Shōno 2015, 2018a and 2018b. For details of *Saṃyukta-āgama sūtras* appearing in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, see Yao 2010 and 2011.

⁸ Hereafter, I use the phrase 'Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*' to refer to T 99 at T II 1a1–173b18, since examples dealt with in the present paper do not have any parallels in the other Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgamas*, T 100 at T II 374a1–492a24 and T 101 at T II 493a1–499c1.

⁹ For previous studies on the reconstruction of the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*, see Chung 2008: 11 note 13 and 20–25.

¹⁰ The chapters on medicines in the extant *Vinayas* other than the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* do not include this story of the Buddha's journey to the northern region. The Pali *Vinaya* tells a story of the Buddha's travels that shares many episodes with that of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, but is quite different from it as a whole. The *sūtra* parallels dealt with in this paper

which is on the Buddha's own practice of meditation on breathing,¹¹ there are two indications of the abbreviation of some text. In the Chinese version, the latter of these consists of a reference to the title of a text, 乃至道品集經中說, “up to—as stated in the collected *sūtras* of the division of the path (**mārga-varga*)”, whereas the Tibetan version does not include any such reference. The episode has been identified with *sūtra* 807 of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*¹² (hereafter SĀ 807) and *sutta* 54.11 of the *Samyutta-nikāya* by Hosoda Noriaki 細田 典明 in his article on the relationships between several episodes in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* and *sūtras* in the **Mārga-varga* section of the *Samyukta-āgama*.¹³

When one attempts to read this episode in the Tibetan version, one faces some difficulty in understanding the text. In the middle of the description of meditation on breathing, we encounter the first of the two abbreviations:

I knew that I inhaled and exhaled exactly as I did—[the text is] just as stated before from here up to (*zhes bya banas ... zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o; *pūrvavad yāvat*)—I knew that, observing cessation, I exhaled exactly as I did.

have no counterparts in the other extant *Vinayas*.

¹¹ Tibetan in D 1, 'dul ba, kha 62b1–63b2; Chinese in T 1448 at T XXIV 32c2–33a3; both Sanskrit manuscripts are unavailable for this story due to the physical loss of corresponding folios. I use the Derge edition to refer to the Tibetan text throughout this paper.

¹² SĀ 807 at T II 207a8–b5; Wang and Jin 2014: III 50–52.

¹³ Hosoda 2006: 2 and 4. Cf., also, Anālayo 2015 [2007]: 333–345, which deals with SĀ 810, Chung 2008: 180 and Yao 2011: 183. For a partial English translation of the episode from the Chinese version of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, see Anālayo 2016: 18–19.

What is abbreviated here is, however, not clear from either the preceding part of the episode or even of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*.

The existence of such an ostensibly illogical abbreviation is easily explained when we compare the text with the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*. In SĀ 807, the abbreviation occurs in the same place, and we see the abbreviated passage given in full in a *sūtra* in the earlier part of the same section, SĀ 803.¹⁴ It is thus clear that the redactors of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* at some stage inserted a *sūtra* from the *Samyukta-āgama* available to them, including an abbreviation in the *sūtra* (Table 1 below).¹⁵ Whether this process was conducted using a written text of the *Samyukta-āgama* or the *Āgama* recalled from memory is debatable.¹⁶ It seems certain, however, at least that the *Samyukta-āgama* used by the redactors of the *Vinaya* had already been developed in structure and style to some extent, judging from their phrasing for abbreviations, “just as stated before”, which suggests the order of *sūtras* sorted according to subjects was by then stable.

¹⁴ See note 26 below. For similar types of abbreviation, i.e., abbreviations that do not make sense without reference to a preceding *sūtra* in the *Samyukta-āgama*, see the examples of SĀ 16, SĀ 40 and SĀ 66–68 discussed in Bhikkhu Anālayo’s contribution to this volume (Anālayo 2020).

¹⁵ The problematic abbreviation here reminds us of similar examples in the *Divyāvadāna* examined by Hiraoka Satoshi 平岡 聡 (Hiraoka 1991 and 1998: 426–429). Hiraoka pointed out several problematic abbreviations of stock phrases with the phrase *pūrvavad yāvat*, one of which has no corresponding stock phrase in the *Divyāvadāna*. These examples constitute part of the evidence he uses to demonstrate that the *Divyāvadāna* borrowed some of its stories from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

¹⁶ Although one might assume that such an illogical abbreviation as we have seen above would hardly happen when a *sūtra* is quoted from memory, it is unknown how recitation was actually performed in the past when the *Vinaya* was transmitted. Rupert Gethin has mentioned the possibility that *peyyāla*, the indication of an abbreviated repetition in the Pali canon, was used in oral recitation (Gethin 2007: 384).

Contrary to the Tibetan version, the Chinese version gives the description of meditation in full. Strangely, however, this version has a word indicating abbreviation, 乃至, at the end of the passage in question, even though there is no gap in the corresponding part of SĀ 803.

If the difference between the Tibetan and Chinese versions in this part of the episode originates in the Sanskrit texts they were based on, and it most likely does,¹⁷ the difference can be explained in several ways. One possibility is that the insertion of the *sūtra* with an abbreviated stock phrase (as seen in the Tibetan version) came first, and some later redactor found the passage unintelligible and supplemented the abbreviation. The opposite change, from complete text to abbreviated text, is quite unlikely to have happened, for there would be no reason to make such a change in the *Vinaya*.

Another possibility is that there was only a brief reference to the *Samyukta-āgama* in this part of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* at an earlier stage, and later, when the textual transmission had branched off, redactors belonging to each tradition incorporated the *sūtra* from the *Samyukta-āgama* at their own discretion. In this process, the text of the *Āgama* was simply copied in one tradition (as seen in the Tibetan version) and was carefully adjusted in another (as seen in the Chinese version). The unnecessary 乃至 in the Chinese version and the reference to ‘the division of the path’ at the end of the episode in the same version (Table 2 below) might be remnants of such an editorial process.

¹⁷ Although some of the differences between these two versions regarding abbreviations of *sūtras* and stories were once attributed by scholars to their translators, many of the differences have been proved to have already occurred in Sanskrit traditions; cf. de Jong 1968: 401, Yao 2013b, 2018 and forthcoming b. I will return to this point later in the third section of this paper.

Either way, the following can be safely said: the text of this episode in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* in the Tibetan and Chinese versions is an insertion from the *Saṃyukta-āgama*. In other words, in this case, it is unlikely that a passage that originally existed in the *Vinaya* later became a *sūtra* in the *Āgama*.

There is another trace of the careless insertion of this episode. At the beginning of the episode, the Buddha is said to be staying in a forest named Icchānaṅgalā.¹⁸ The episode is followed by another episode, which corresponds to the *Ambāṣṭha-sūtra* of the *Dīrgha-āgama*.¹⁹ The latter begins with this sentence: “The Blessed One, traveling in the country of Kosala, arrived at Icchānaṅgalā and stayed in the Icchānaṅgalā Forest near Icchānaṅgalā.”²⁰ There would seem to be an inconsistency between this statement and the preceding one in our episode, where the Buddha is already in the Icchānaṅgalā Forest. It is most likely that redactors at some stage in the formation of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* simply inserted these two *sūtras* from the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *Dīrgha-āgama* respectively, not caring about the meaningless repetition they caused.

¹⁸ *bcom ldan 'das 'dod pa mthun pa na 'dod pa mthun pa'i nags khrod na bzugs so* (*kha* 62b1–2); 爾時世尊到一車難伽羅聚落住一林中 (T 1448 at T XXIV 32c2).

¹⁹ For a detailed study of the *sūtra* in the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, including comparisons with the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, see Melzer 2010: 93–241.

²⁰ *bcom ldan 'das ko sa la nas ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs pa na 'dod pa mthun par byon nas | 'dod pa mthun pa na 'dod pa mthun pa'i nags khrod na bzugs so* (*kha* 63b2); 爾時世尊於憍薩羅人間遊行，至增長聚落，住增長林中 (T 1448 at T XXIV 33a8–9). It is worth noting that the Chinese version gives a place name different from that in the preceding episode (see note 18 above).

Table 1. Explanation of Meditation on Breathing
in the Parallel to SĀ 807

| <i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i> (Tibetan) ²¹ | <i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i> (Chinese) ²² | SĀ 807 ²³ |
|---|---|--|
| ... <i>dge slong dag nga ni zla ba gsum po</i> ²⁴ 'di la <i>dbugs rngub pa dang dbugs 'byung ba dran pa'i gnas pas nang du yang dag bzhag ste ngas dran bzhin du dbugs brngubs na</i> (P nas) <i>yang dran bzhin du brngubs so snyam du yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du rab tu shes so dran bzhin du dbugs phyung na yang dran bzhin du dbugs phyung ngo snyam du yang dag pa ji lta</i> | “……我作此觀時，於入息曾無散亂如實了知、於出息亦無散亂如實了知。 | “……我於此二月念安那般那多住思惟，入息時念入息如實知、出息時念出息如實知。 |

²¹ D 1, 'dul ba, kha 62b5–63a4; P 1030, 'dul ba, ge 58a6–b3; S 1, 'dul ba, kha 70a3–b3.

²² T 1448 at T XXIV 32c11–23.

²³ SĀ 807 at T II 207a17–24; Wang and Jin 2014: III 50–51, cf. V 377–378. For a partial translation of this *sūtra*, see Anālayo 2017b: 64–65; see, also, Anālayo 2019: 191–196. Quotations from the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* are based on Wang and Jin 2014 throughout this paper. For SĀ 803, SĀ 807, SĀ 810 and SĀ 813, I checked the Tempyō manuscript belonging to the Shōgozō 聖語藏, N (Nara), and added notes only where the Taishō 大正 canon does not seem to record the manuscript's variant readings correctly or sufficiently.

²⁴ For the duration of the Buddha's practice of meditation, the Tibetan version differs from the Chinese version and SĀ 807: *zla ba gsum po*, 'three months'; 二月, 'two months.' It is unknown to me if this difference is relevant to the process of textual transmission that caused the problematic abbreviation I discussed above.

ba bzhin du rab tu shes so ||
ring po dang | thung ngu dang |
lus thams cad yang dag par
myong nas dbugs brngubs na lus
(S kyi) thams cad yang dag par
myong nas dbugs brngubs so
snyam du yang dag pa ji lta ba
bzhin du rab tu shes so || lus
thams cad yang dag par myong
nas dbugs phyung na yang lus
thams cad yang dag par myong
nas dbugs phyung ngo snyam du
yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin (S
zhin) du rab tu shes so || lus kyi
'du byed shin tu sbyangs nas
dbugs brngubs pa dang | lus kyi
'du byed shin tu sbyangs nas
dbugs phyung na yang dbugs
phyung ngo dbugs brngubs so (S
brngub so) snyam du yang dag pa
ji lta ba bzhin du rab tu shes so
zhes bya ba nas |

“長、短、生、
 滅；遍身所有
 出息皆悉了
 知，遍身所有
 入息亦悉了
 知；輕安行出
 息、輕安行入
 息如實了知。²⁵

“若長、若短；
 一切身覺入息
 念如實知，一
 切身覺出息念
 如實知；身行
 休息入息念如
 實知，乃至

“受了知、心了
知、樂了知行
輕安心行而入
息如實了知，
輕安心行而出
息如實了知。
“心能了知、令

²⁵ Only the Chinese version of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* mentions “exhale—inhale—exhale—inhale” in this order, whereas the Tibetan version and the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* show the reverse order. Bhikkhu Anālayo emends the Chinese version’s reading according to the other two texts (Anālayo 2016: 27 note 12).

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p><i>'gog par rjes su lta zhing dbugs phyung ngo snyam du yang dag pa ji lta ba (P om.) bzhin du rab tu shes so zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o </i></p> | <p>心歡喜、令心 專定、心解脫 而入息如實了 知，心解脫而 出息如實了 知。無常見、 捨離見、厭離 見、滅壞見而 入息如實了 知。乃至滅壞 見出息如實了 知。</p> | <p>滅出息念如實 知。</p> |
| <p><i>dge slong dag de la nga 'di snyam du sems te bdag gis gnas pa rags (P rigs) pa mngon par 'dus byas shing bsams kyis (P kyī) ma la bdag gis gnas pa de nyid las yang dag par 'das te bor nas ches phra ba 'dis lan mang du gnas par bya'o snyam nas ngas gnas pa de nyid las yang dag par 'da' bar bya ba'i phyir bor nas gnas pa ches phra ba 'dis lan mang du gnas so ...</i></p> | <p>“苾芻當知，我 今念知：‘此是 麤行，我今超 過此行，以輕 安行餘極細行 而行。’由我超 過彼麤行，以 輕安數修微細 行故。……</p> | <p>“我悉知己，我 時作是念：‘此 則麤思惟住， 我今於此思惟 止息已，當更 修餘微細修住 而住。’爾時， 我息止麤思惟 已，即更入微 細思惟多住而 住。……</p> |

SĀ 803²⁶

“[The subject is a monk, 比丘.] ……念於內息繫念善學、念於外息繫念善學。

“息長、息短；覺知一切身入息於一切身入息善學，覺知一切身出息於一切身(N om.) 出息善學；覺知一切身行息入息於一切身行息入息善學，覺知一切身行息出息於一切身行息出息善學。

“覺知喜……覺知樂……覺知心行……覺知心行息入息於覺知心行息入息善學，覺知心行息出息於覺知心行息出息善學。

“覺知心……覺知心悅……覺知心定……覺知心解脫入息於覺知心解脫入息善學，覺知心解脫出息於覺知心解脫出息善學。

“觀察無常……觀察斷……觀察無欲……觀察滅入息於觀察滅入息善學，觀察滅出息於觀察滅出息善學。……。”

Table 2. The Last Part of the Parallel to
SĀ 807 in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*²⁷

| <i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i> (Tibetan) ²⁸ | <i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i> (Chinese) ²⁹ | SĀ 807 ³⁰ |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| <i>dge slong dag gang yang dag par smra ba na 'phags pa'i gnas pa dang lha'i gnas pa dang tshangs pa'i gnas pa dang mi slob pa'i gnas pa zhes bya bar</i> (S om. bya | “諸苾芻，我今爲汝如法而說聖者修行、諸天修行、梵天修行、無學修 | 佛告諸比丘： “若有正說聖住、天住、梵住、學住、無學住、如來 |

²⁶ SĀ 803 at T II 206a27–b11 and Wang and Jin 2014: III 44–46. For a translation of this *sūtra*, see Anālayo 2019: 180–185.

²⁷ This part does not have any parallel in SĀ 803.

²⁸ D 1, 'dul ba, kha 63a5–b2; P 1030, 'dul ba, ge 58b5–8; S 1, 'dul ba, kha 70b5–71a3.

²⁹ T 1448 at T XXIV 32c27–33a3.

³⁰ SĀ 807 at T II 207a28–b5.

bar) smra bar 'gyur ba gang yin
 pa de ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i gnas
 pa yin te | slob pa'i gang zag rnams
 ma thob pa thob par bya ba dang |
 ma rtogs pa rtogs par bya ba dang |
 mngon sum du ma byas pa mngon
 sum du bya ba'i phyir zhugs pa
 yin | mi slob pa'i gang zag rnams
 mthong ba'i chos kho na la bde bar
 gnas par bya ba'i phyir zhugs pa
 yin no ||

de yang dag par smra ba na dbugs
 rngub pa dang | dbugs 'byung ba'i
 dran pas gnas pa smra bar 'gyur
 ro || de ci'i phyir zhe na | dge slong
 dag dbugs rngub pa dang | 'byung
 ba dran pas gnas pa ni 'phags pa'i
 gnas pa dang zhes bya ba nas |³¹
 mi slob pa rnams mthong ba'i chos
 la bde bar gnas pa'i phyir zhugs
 pa yin no zhes bya ba'i bar gong
ma bzhin du'o ||

行、有學修行、
 如來修行。凡有
 學者，未得當
 得、未證當證、
 未得見前當得見
 前。凡無學者，
 已得見前、當得
 增長。有學者，
 當得見法安樂而
 住。” 乃至道品
集經中說。

住，學人所不
 得當得、不到
 當到、不證當
 證，無學人現
 法樂住者，

謂安那般那念，
 此則正說。所
 以者何？安那
 般那念者，是
 聖住、天住、
 梵住 乃至無學
 現法樂住。”

佛說此經已，
 諸比丘聞佛所
 說，歡喜奉行。
 [end of SĀ 807]

³¹ This abbreviation obviously indicates a repetition of the phrase from a few lines earlier: 'phags pa'i gnas pa dang | lha'i gnas pa dang | ... mi slob pa'i gang zag rnams mthong ba'i chos kho na la bde bar gnas par bya ba'i phyir zhugs pa yin no ||.

II.2 Problematic Abbreviations (2): SĀ 813

A similar example is seen in a later part of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, still in the middle of the Buddha's journey.³² This time, most of the episode is abbreviated in the Chinese version with the phrase "This *sūtra* is narrated in detail just as in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*", 此經廣說如雜阿笈摩. Nishimoto Ryūzan 西本 龍山 has identified this *sūtra* with SĀ 813.³³

The Buddha's sermon in SĀ 813 is concerned with how to concentrate one's mind on breathing and how to practice the four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*) with one's mind concentrated on breathing.³⁴ At the beginning of the sermon, there are two abbreviations (Table 3 below):

³² Tibetan in *kha* 97a5–98b1; Chinese in T 1448 at T XXIV 37a6–7. Both Sanskrit manuscripts are unavailable due to the physical loss of corresponding folios.

³³ SĀ 813 at T II 208c12–209a22; Wang and Jin 2014: III 59–61; Nishimoto 1933–1935: XXIII 134 note 52; Hosoda 2006; Chung 2008: 180–181; Yao 2011: 187. SĀ 813 has a parallel in SN 54.10 at SN V 322–325. According to Hosoda, the Sanskrit manuscript fragment that was published by Pischel and identified as SĀ 813 by Oka Kyōzui 岡 教遷 seems not to belong to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* but to a different text (Hosoda 1989). For a translation of this *sūtra*, see Anālayo 2019: 211–215.

³⁴ In regard to SĀ 813, another passage in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* should be mentioned. Shortly after the episode corresponding to SĀ 813 that I am examining here, an episode that includes the Buddha's sermon in Ma-thurā follows, with another episode intervening. The discourse given there is a (somewhat confused) combination of the sermon on the self as an island (*ātmadvīpa*), which corresponds to SĀ 36 at T II 8a21–b12, and that on meditation on the four applications of mindfulness, as seen in SĀ 813. The Chinese version abbreviates the entire discourse at the beginning, referring to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 1448 at T XXIV 37b27–28).

Here a monk, in a village or town—just as stated before—when he has mindfully inhaled, he learns that he has inhaled—just as stated before. He learns that he has exhaled, observing cessation.

Although the second abbreviation may be filled with a passage in the parallel to SĀ 807,³⁵ the first abbreviation cannot be explained in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* itself. The answer is again in SĀ 803, where we find the phrase “If this monk is staying in a village or town ...”, 是比丘若依聚落城邑止住……, a few lines before the explanation of meditation on breathing that we have already seen.³⁶

Thus, the abbreviated text in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* is most likely the same explanation of meditation, this time together with the preceding explanation of what a monk living in a village or town should do before practicing meditation.³⁷ As for the explanation of medita-

Hosoda has attributed this episode to a fascicle lost in the extant Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (Hosoda 2006: 6–15). Cf. Chung 2008: 61 note 51 and Yao 2011: 187–188. For the part corresponding to SĀ 36, see Nishimoto 1933–1935: XXIII 136 note 59 and Dhammadinnā 2014 (English translation). For a translation of SĀ 36, see Anālayo 2014b: 9–11.

³⁵ *kha* 62b2–63a2; T 1448 at T XXIV 32c11–21, which corresponds to SĀ 807 at T II 207a17–21. However, since the passage in SĀ 807 itself includes an abbreviation, SĀ 803 is a more likely candidate for filling the abbreviation in SĀ 813.

³⁶ SĀ 803 at T II 206a20–27.

³⁷ This passage beginning with “If this monk is staying in a village or town ...” is repeated in the following few *sūtras*, where it is abbreviated with the phrases “just as stated above, up to ...” (如上廣說乃至), “just as stated before, up to ...” (如前廣說乃至), or “up to ...” (乃至): SĀ 804, 805, 806, 809, 810, 814, 815. For the abbreviation in SĀ 809, see Anālayo 2017a, 74 and note 10. Although SĀ 809 has parallels in the two *Vinayavibhaṅgas* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the parallels do not include the last part

tion on the four applications of mindfulness, the abbreviations there are, though common in SĀ 803 (and incompletely in SĀ 807), best explained with the text of SĀ 810 (Tables 3 and 4 below).³⁸

Table 3. Abbreviations of Stock Phrases
in the Parallel to SĀ 813: Breathing

| <i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i> (Tibetan) ³⁹ | SĀ 813 ⁴⁰ |
|---|--|
| ... <i>kun dga' bo de'i phyir legs par nyon la yid la zung shig dang bshad do 'di la dge slong gang yang grong dang grong rdal <u>zhes bya ba dang</u> (1) dran bzhin du dbugs brngubs na dbugs brngubs so zhes slob (S stob) ste <u>zhes bya ba nas</u> (2) 'gog pa'i rjes su lta zhing dbugs phyung ba slob ste <u>zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o</u> ...</i> | ……佛告阿難：“諦聽，善思，當爲汝說。若比丘入息念時如入息學。” <u>乃至</u> ：“減出息時如減出息學。……” |

of the *sūtra*, which contains the abbreviated instruction on meditation on breathing (for monks, D 3, 'dul ba, ca 133a3–135a; T 1442 at T XXIII 659c21–660a21; for nuns, D 5, ta 51b7–53a4; T 1443 at T XXIII 923b11–19). In contrast, the counterpart of this account in the so-called Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the *Shisonglū* 十誦律, gives the entire parallel to SĀ 809 and, unlike SĀ 809, include the instruction on meditation on breathing unabbreviated (T 1435 at T XXIII 7b18–8b2).

³⁸ SĀ 810 at T II 208a9–c9; Wang and Jin 2014: III 56–59; Anālayo 2015 [2007]: 333–345 (republished in Anālayo 2019: 202–211). The subject of the passage in question is 'phags pa'i nyan thos, 聖弟子, 'a disciple of the noble one', in SĀ 810, SĀ 813 and the corresponding passage in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, whereas it is 'a monk', 比丘, in SĀ 803 and 'I (the Buddha)', 我, in SĀ 807.

³⁹ D 1, 'dul ba, kha 97b2–4; P 1030, 'dul ba, ge 90a5–6; S 1, 'dul ba, kha 119b5–7.

⁴⁰ SĀ 813 at T II 208c22–25.

SĀ 803⁴¹

……是比丘若依聚落城邑止住、(1) 晨朝著衣持鉢、入村乞食、善護其身、守諸根門、善繫心住、乞食已、還住處、舉衣鉢、洗足已、或入林中閑房、樹下或空露地、端身正坐、繫念面前、斷世貪愛、離欲、清淨、瞋恚睡眠掉悔疑斷、度諸疑惑、於諸善法心得決定、遠離五蓋煩惱於心令慧力羸為障礙分不趣涅槃。念於內息繫念善學、(2) 念於外息繫念善學。……(see the quotation attached to Table 1 above)
觀察減入息於觀察減入息善學、觀察減出息於觀察減出息善學。

Table 4. Abbreviations of Stock Phrases in the Parallel to
SĀ 813: The Four Applications of Mindfulness [FAM]

| <i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i> (Tibetan) ⁴² | SĀ 813 ⁴³ |
|---|--|
| [FAM 1.1] <i>gang gi tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos dran bzhin du dbugs brngubs na dran bzhin du dbugs brngubs so zhes slob pa zhes bya ba nas (1) lus kyi 'du byed shin tu sbyangs te lus la lus kyi rjes su lta zhing dbugs (P dbyugs) phyung ngo zhes slob ste (S te) zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o de'i tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos lus la lus kyi rjes su lta zhing gnas so de'i tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos gnas pa na nang gi yid la byed pa yod par shes so </i> | “爾時，聖弟子念入息時如念入息學， <u>乃至身行止息出息</u> 時如身行止息出息學。爾時聖弟子身身觀念住。爾時聖弟子身身觀念住已，如是知善內思惟。” |
| [FAM 1.2] <i>kun dga' bo dper na lam po che'i bzhi mdor rdul gyi mchod rten zhig brtsigs (P rtsigs) par 'gyur (S gyur) (P ba) la de nas shar</i> | 佛告阿難：“譬如有入乘車與從東方顛沛而來，當於爾時 |

⁴¹ SĀ 803 at T II 206a20–b11; Wang and Jin 2014: III 44–46.

⁴² D 1, 'dul ba, kha 97b4–98b1; P 1030, 'dul ba, ge 90a6–91a2; S 1, 'dul ba, kha 119b7–121a1.

⁴³ SĀ 813 at T II 208c23–209a21.

phyogs nas bzhon pa can nam | khyogs sam | shing rtas 'khyam pa zhig 'ongs na | kun dga' bo ji snyam du sems | rdul gyi mchod rten 'jig par 'gyur ram | btsun pa 'gyur lags so || de bzhin du gang gi tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos dran bzhin du dbugs brngubs so || (PS zhes slob pa) zhes bya ba nas⁴⁴ nang gi yid la byed pa yod par shes pa zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o ||

[FAM 2.1] *gang gi tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos dga' ba so sor myong ba (P bar) zhes bya ba nas | (2) sems kyi 'du byed || shin tu sbyangs te tshor ba rnams la tshor ba'i rjes su lta zhing dbugs phyung ngo zhes slob bo zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o || de'i tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos gnas pa na nang gi yid la byed pa yod par shes so ||*

[FAM 2.2] *dper na kun dga' bo lam po che'i bzhi mdor rdul gyi mchod rten zhig brtsigs par gyur la | de nas lho phyogs nas bzhon pa can nam | khyogs sam | shing rtas 'khyam pa zhig 'ongs na (S nas) zhes bya ba nas⁴⁵ | tshor ba rnams la tshor ba'i rjes su lta'o zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma*

踐蹈諸土堆壠不？”阿難白佛：“如是，世尊。”佛告阿難：“如是聖弟子念入息時如入息念學，如是乃至善內思惟。

“若爾時聖弟子覺知喜，乃至覺知意行息學。聖弟子受受觀念住。聖弟子受受觀念住已，如是知善內思惟。

“譬如有人乘車輿從南方顛沛而來，云何，阿難，當踐蹈土堆壠不？”阿難白佛：“如是，世尊。”佛告阿難：“如是聖

⁴⁴ This abbreviation is likely intended to be filled with the phrase in [FAM 1.1]: *gang gi tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos dran bzhin du dbugs brngubs na ... de'i tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos gnas pa na*.

⁴⁵ What is abbreviated here can probably be reconstructed with phrases in [FAM 1.2] and [FAM 2.2] as follows: **kun dga' bo ji snyam du sems | rdul gyi mchod rten 'jig par 'gyur ram | btsun pa 'gyur lags so || de bzhin du gang gi tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos dga' ba so sor myong ba zhes bya ba nas | sems kyi 'du byed || shin tu sbyangs te tshor ba rnams la tshor ba'i rjes su lta zhing dbugs phyung ngo zhes slob bo zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o ||*.

bzhin du'o || de'i tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos gnas pa na nang gi yid la byed pa yod par shes so ||

[FAM 3.1] *gang gi tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos sems so sor myong ba dang | sems rab tu dga' ba dang | sems mnyam par 'jog pa dang sems rnam par grol bar byed cing dbugs brngubs na sems rnam par grol bar byed cing dbugs brngubs so zhes slob bo sems rnam par grol bar byed cing dbugs phyung na sems rnam par grol bar byed cing dbugs phyung ngo zhes slob (P bslob) ste | sems la sems kyi rjes su lta'o (P blta'o) || gang gi tshe⁴⁶ 'phags pa'i nyan thos gnas pa na nang gi yid la byed pa yod par shes te*

[FAM 3.2] *mchod rten de nyid la nub phyogs nas zhes dper bya'o ||*

[FAM 4.1] *de lus de dang tshor ba de dang sems de la brnab sems (PS dang) yid mi bde ba gnyis ka nub pas chos rnam la chos kyi rjes su lta zhing btang snyoms su gnas so ||*

de'i tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos gnas pa na nang gi yid la byed pa yod par shes te |

弟子受受觀念住，知善內思惟。

“若聖弟子覺知心……欣悅心……定心……解脫心入息如解脫心入息學，解脫心出息如解脫心出息學。爾時聖弟子心心觀念住。如是聖弟子心心觀念住已，知善內思惟。

“譬如有人乘車輿從西方來、彼當踐踏土堆墮不？”阿難白佛：“如是、世尊”。佛告阿難：“如是聖弟子覺知心乃至心解脫出息如心解脫出息學。如是聖弟子爾時心心觀念住、知善內思惟。

“善於身、受、心貪憂滅捨，爾時聖弟子法法觀念住。

如是聖弟子法法觀念住已，知善內思惟。

⁴⁶ Read *de'i tshe*?

[FAM 4.2] *dper na lam po che'i bzhi mdor rdul gyi mchod rten brtsigs (P rtsigs) par gyur la | de nas byang phyogs nas bzhon pa can nam khyogs sam | shing rtas 'khyam pa zhig 'ongs na | kun dga' bo ji snyam du sems | rdul gyi mchod rten 'jig par 'gyur ram | btsun pa de ltar 'gyur lags so || zhes bya ba nas de ltar chos la chos kyi rjes su lta ba (PS om.) zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o || de'i tshe 'phags pa'i nyan thos gnas pa na nang gi yid la byed pa yod par shes te |*

[Conclusion] *kun dga' bo de ltar na dran pa nye bar gzahag (P bzhag) pa bzhi'i dbang du byas te | bsgoms pa yin no ||*

“阿難，譬如四衢道有土堆壠，有人乘車輿從北方顛沛而來，當踐踏土堆壠不？”阿難白佛：“如是，世尊。”佛告阿難：“如是，聖弟子法法觀念住，知善內思惟。

“阿難，是名比丘精勤方便修四念處。”

SĀ 810⁴⁷

……阿難，如是聖弟子入息念時如入息念學、(1) 出息念時如出息念學。

“若長、若短；一切身行覺知入息念時如入息念學，出息念時如出息念學；身行休 (N om.) 息入息念時如身行休息入息念學，身行休息出息念時如身行休息出息念學。聖弟子爾時身身觀念住。異於身者，彼亦如是隨身比⁴⁸思惟。

“若有時聖弟子喜覺知…… (2) 樂覺知……心行覺知……心行息覺知入息念時如心行息入息念學，心行息出息念時如心行息出息念學。是聖弟子爾時受受觀念住。若復異受者，彼亦隨受比思惟。

“有時聖弟子心覺知……心悅……心定……心解脫覺知入息念時如入息念學，心解脫出息念時如心解脫出息念學。是聖弟子爾時心觀念住。若有異心者，彼亦隨心比思惟。

⁴⁷ SĀ 810 at T II 208a23–b13; Wang and Jin 2014: III 56–58.

⁴⁸ Footnote 7, p. 208 of the Taishō edition, “(丘)+思(聖)*,” seems problematic (N does not give 丘).

“若聖弟子有時觀無常、斷、無欲、滅如無常、斷、無欲、滅觀住學。是聖弟子爾時法法觀念住。異於法者，亦隨法比思惟。

“是名修安那般那念滿足四念處。”

II.3 A Contradiction between a *Sūtra* and its Context in the *Vinaya*: the *Otalāyana-sūtra*

In the above two examples, some inappropriate abbreviations of stock phrases suggest the *Āgama* origin of two episodes in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. There is another type of example in the same chapter, where some contextual or narrative inconsistency serves as evidence.

Still in the story of the long journey, the Buddha arrives at a place called Otalā and, after having instructed many farmers with their oxen, receives a visit from a local Brahmin named Otalāyana. The Brahmin asks what the basis of the five faculties is, and the Buddha answers that it is the mind. Again, the Brahmin asks what the basis of the mind is, and thus the mind, mindfulness, the four applications of mindfulness, the seven limbs of awakening, knowledge and liberation, and Nirvāṇa are mentioned in this order as the basis of what precedes. However, the Buddha winds up his discourse on the Brahmin's question on what the basis of Nirvāṇa is by saying that such questions are endless. Then, the Brahmin ponders what harm he should inflict on the Buddha and invites him and his disciples to a meal. After the meal, he makes a malicious wish: “May all these *śramaṇas*, followers of the Śākyan, to whom I have offered a meal, become my oxen!”⁴⁹ The Buddha admonishes the Brahmin that his

⁴⁹ *yāvanta ime śramaṇāḥ śākyaputrīyā mayā bhojitāḥ sarva ete mama balīvardāḥ syur iti* (GM I 19,12–13; ms 146r8–9). There are some narrative examples in which wishes are maliciously made and realized in

wish will be in vain and, later, instructs the monks to recite the ‘verses of the *ṛṣi*’ [*ārṣā gāthā*] after a meal so that ill wishes are not accomplished, which, as Gregory Schopen (2014 [2004]: 341) has remarked, appears to be a general rule.⁵⁰

In the above story, Otaḷāyana’s visit to the Buddha and their questions and answers are narrated in both the Tibetan and Chinese versions, whereas the Gilgit Sanskrit manuscript, which is the only available Sanskrit text of this section, abbreviates the Brahmin’s visit and the questions and answers, referring to a *sūtra*: *otalāyana-sūtram vistareṇa saṃyuktāgame mārgavarganipāte*.⁵¹ Although the text in question is not found in the extant Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*, Enomoto Fumio 榎本 文雄 (1984) has convincingly attributed it to a fascicle lost in the extant Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*, which belongs to the **Mārga-varga* section.⁵² A parallel is found in the *Abhidharma-kośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, Up 9005, which enables us to compare the *Vinaya*

the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. *Pravrajyā-vastu*: Sanskrit missing; *ka* 119a; T 1444 at T XXIII 1038b (*Divyāvadāna* XXIV, Cowell and Neil 1987 [1886]: 346,4–7). *Carma-vastu*: GM IV 179,2–4; *ka* 260b; T 1447 at T XXIII 1051b (*Divyāvadāna* I 14,17–19). *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*: Sanskrit missing; *kha* 12b–13a; T 1448 at T XXIV 19a–b. *Kṣudraka-vastu*: *da* 150b–151a; T 1451 at T XXIV 362c–363a. The reason that Otaḷāyana’s wish is not realized is apparently that all of the victims, the monks he has invited, are *arhats* and consequently cannot be reborn anyway: ‘*di ltar dge slong*’ ‘*di thams cad ni yang srid pa zad pa yin gyis*’ (*kha* 131a7); 此諸苾芻已盡後有 (T 1448 at T XXIV 44a23).

⁵⁰ *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*: *kha* 129a7–131b2; GM I 17,13–20,2 (ms 145v10–146v1); T 1448 at T XXIV 43c19–44a28. For the *ārṣā gāthā*, cf. Schopen 2014: 339–344, esp. 341, Nishimoto 1933–1935: XXI 334 note 90 and Yao 2013a: 251 note 1–2.

⁵¹ GM I 19,3; ms 146r6.

⁵² For parallels of the *sūtra* and other previous studies on it, see Chung 2008: 160 and Yao 2011: 190–191.

text with what the corresponding text should have been in the *Samyukta-āgama* (Table 5 below).⁵³

The problem lies in the closing part of the *sūtra*. In the Chinese version, just after the series of questions and answers is brought to a close by the Buddha, the text says: “Then the Brahmin, the great householder Otaḷāyana, having heard the Blessed One’s words, *rejoiced in his mind*, rose from the seat, bade farewell to the Buddha, and left.”⁵⁴ This sentence sounds normal when it is placed at the end of a *sūtra*, for it is quite common in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* that, after a sermon by the Buddha, listeners ‘rejoice’ at his words, suggesting their satisfaction with or devotion to his words.⁵⁵ However, in the context of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, this sentence gives the impression that something is wrong. How could this Brahmin ‘rejoice’ here, while in the next sentence he wonders how to do harm to the Buddha?⁵⁶ The Brahmin’s joy clearly contradicts his malicious thoughts. This problem does not occur in the Tibetan version because there the Buddha’s remarks that close the conversation are simply followed by the sentence “Then the Brahmin Otaḷāyana thought: ‘What harm should I do to him?’”

To some extent, it is not difficult to guess what happened. Most probably, the *Otaḷāyana-sūtra* in the *Samyukta-āgama* ended with the sentence stating that the Brahmin Otaḷāyana rejoiced at the Buddha’s teaching and left—the quotation in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā*—

⁵³ D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 78b2–79a6; Honjō 2014: II 882–884 (Japanese translation).

⁵⁴ T 1448 at T XXIV 44a12–13: 爾時闍陀延婆羅門大長者聞世尊語已，心生歡喜，從坐而起，辭佛而去。

⁵⁵ For a discussion on the closing formula in the *Madhyama-āgama* including references to examples in the *Samyukta-āgama*, see Anālayo 2012b: 521–525.

⁵⁶ T 1448 at T XXIV 44a13–14: 時彼長者作如是念：‘如何於彼而作損害?’.

ṭikā represents just such a *sūtra*. The *sūtra* was inserted into the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* and combined with the instruction on reciting the *ārṣā gāthā*, leaving the *sūtra*'s last sentence as a trace of the insertion, as seen in the Chinese version. The absence of the sentence in question in the Tibetan version may suggest that someone later noticed the inconsistency in the Brahmin Otaḷāyana's attitude toward the Buddha and removed the sentence. The opposite—that is, the insertion of the sentence into this context of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*—is very unlikely.

There is, however, another possibility, which is that the two extant versions represent different textual transmissions in which different redactors inserted the same *sūtra* in slightly different ways, one carefully and the other carelessly.⁵⁷ The complexity of the discrepancies between the three extant versions of this part of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* does not allow us to draw any conclusion about the relationships between these extant versions.

⁵⁷ It would be unfair to say that the redactors belonging to the tradition represented by the Chinese version were completely unconcerned with narrative consistency. They at least seem to have been careful enough to have supplemented the story with the sentence “Having thus considered, [the Brahmin] returned to the Buddha” (作是念已，還來佛所) (9 in Table 5 below). In the Tibetan version, this sentence does not appear and is not needed because there the Brahmin is not said to leave the Buddha after their doctrinal conversation.

Table 5. Storyline of the Episode
Including the Parallel to the *Oṭalāyana-sūtra*

| | <i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i> (Sanskrit) | <i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i> (Chinese) | <i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i> (Tibetan) | Up 9005 |
|---|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | The Buddha (B) stays in the Oṭalīya Forest. | The Buddha (B) stays in the Oṭalīya Forest. | The Buddha (B) stays in the Oṭalīya Forest. | The Buddha (B) stays in the Oṭalīya Forest. |
| 2 | There lives a Brahmin named Oṭalāyana (O). | There lives a Brahmin named Oṭalāyana (O). | There lives a Brahmin named Oṭalāyana (O). | |
| 3 | B gives a sermon to farmers and oxen; farmers and oxen then die and are reborn in heaven. | | B gives a sermon to farmers and oxen; farmers and oxen then die and are reborn in heaven. | |
| 4 | B narrates the story of the previous lives of the farmers and oxen. | | B narrates the story of the previous lives of the farmers and oxen. | |
| 5 | O hears of B's arrival. | O hears of B's arrival. | O hears of B's arrival <u>and his good reputation. O wishes to see him.</u> | O hears of B's arrival. |
| 6 | A reference to <u>the Oṭalāyana-sūtra.</u> | O visits B and asks B what the basis of the five | O visits B and asks B what the basis of the five | O visits B and asks B what the basis of the five |

| | <u>—abbreviation.</u> | faculties, etc., is. Finally, B ends the questions and answers. | faculties, etc., is. Finally, B ends the questions and answers. | faculties, etc., is. Finally, B ends the questions and answers. |
|----|--|--|--|---|
| 7 | | <u>O rejoices at B's words and leaves.</u> | | O rejoices at B's words and leaves. [end of quo- tation] |
| 8 | O considers what harm to do to B and thinks of offering a meal to B and making a wish. | O considers what harm to do to B and thinks of offering a meal to B and making a wish. | O considers what harm to do to B and thinks of offering a meal to B and making a wish. | |
| 9 | | <u>O returns to B.</u> | | |
| 10 | O invites B and the monks for a meal. After the meal, O makes a ma- licious wish. B admon- ishes him and leaves. B instructs the monks to recite the <i>ārṣā gāthā</i> af- ter meals. | O invites B and the monks for a meal. After the meal, O makes a ma- licious wish. B admon- ishes him and leaves. B instructs the monks to recite the <i>ārṣā gāthā</i> af- ter meals. | O invites B and the monks for a meal. After the meal, O makes a ma- licious wish. B admon- ishes him and leaves. B instructs the monks to recite the <i>ārṣā gāthā</i> af- ter meals. | |

II.4 Other Traces

There is another formula to mention here: the famous *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, “thus have I heard”, which constitutes the frame of a *sūtra* together with the formula about listeners’ joy.

This formula scarcely appears in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, where episodes generally begin with the phrase *buddho bhagavān* [place name in the locative] *viharati*, “The Buddha, the Blessed One, was staying at ...” or [place name in the locative] *nidānam*, “The setting was in ...”.⁵⁸ As far as I know, there are only a few examples of *evaṃ mayā śrutam* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, and they are all located in *sūtra* parallels. All these parallels, with one exception, share a characteristic: they are presented as ‘*sūtras*’ by the narrative context of the *Vinaya* itself. Three of them are included in the story of the first *saṅgīti* of the Buddha’s disciples headed by Mahākāśyapa, where Ānanda recites ‘*sūtras*’ and thus all four *Āgamas* are estab-

⁵⁸ Cf. Nattier 2014: esp. 48. The difference between the opening phrase of stories in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and that in the *Sūtra-piṭaka* seems to have attracted some attention among *Vinaya* commentators (the *Vinayavastu-ṭīkā* attributed to Kalyāṇamitra, D 4113, bsTan ’gyur, ’dul ba, tsu 216b5–7, discusses why stories begin “Thus have I heard. The Blessed One ...” in *Sūtra* and *Abhidharma* literature and “The Buddha, the Blessed One ...” in *Vinaya* literature). Although the phrase 如是我聞 (*evaṃ mayā śrutam*) appears to be used at the beginning of every *sūtra* of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, this does not apply to Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Samyukta-āgama*, where the phrase “... *nidānam*” and “*bhagavān* ... *viharati*” and various unfixed sentences are also employed. Cf., for instance, the beginning of each *sūtra* of the *Nidāna-samyukta* edited by Tripāṭhī (1962), with only one example of *evaṃ mayā śrutam* in § 5.1. (I thank Dr. Jin-il Chung for drawing my attention to this point.) It is also worth noting that many of the *sūtras* quoted by Śamathadeva begin with the phrase *gleng gzhi ni* ... (*... *nidānam*). Cf., also, examples in the Pali and Gandhari sources referred to in Nattier 2014: 48–50.

lished.⁵⁹ The other example is in the *Pravrajyā-vastu*, and there the text says that a monk recited the *Nagaropama-sūtra* for *ṛṣis*.⁶⁰ These examples, in which a *sūtra* is spoken by a character in the frame story as a ‘*sūtra*’, are quite different from the majority of *sūtra* parallels in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, which are simply embedded as a part of the narrative context. In the latter, even when the title of a *sūtra* is referred to, the reference functions only to show which *sūtra* should fill the abbreviation, as we have seen in earlier parts of this paper, and no reference is made when a story is narrated in full. Although this difference between the two types of *sūtra* parallels in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* is itself an interesting subject for another paper, what presently matters is that the unusual phrase *evam mayā śrutam* seems to be linked to the special treatment as ‘*sūtras*’ that certain texts receive in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

However, there is an exceptional, or borderline, case. It is a parallel to the famous SĀ 379, which tells the story of the Buddha’s first sermon, the **dharmacakrapravartana*.⁶¹ There are three paral-

⁵⁹ *da* 311a7–314a1; T 1451 at T XXIV 406b29–407b15. The first of the three *sūtras* corresponds to SĀ 379 (see note 61 below); the second *sūtra* has not been identified with any extant *sūtra* in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (Chung 2008: 123); the third *sūtra* corresponds to SĀ 34 at T II 7c13–8a4 (Chung 2008: 59–61 and Anālayo 2014b: 5–8).

⁶⁰ Vogel and Wille 1996: 257,38–261,13; *ka* 109a2–112a3; T 1444 at XXIII 1036c1 (cf. *Divyāvadāna* XXIII, Cowell and Neil 1987 [1886]: 340,2–4). Cf., also, Bongard-Levin et al. 1996.

⁶¹ SĀ 379 at T II 103c13–104a29; Wang and Jin 2014: II 111–116. English translation, Anālayo 2015: 351–355. For comparative texts of the parallels of this *sūtra* belonging to the Sarvāstivādin tradition in a broad sense, see Chung 2006. For extant parallels, cf., also, Chung 2008: 122–123; Anālayo 2015 [2012a]: 347–351. Although it is still unpublished, the corresponding part of the *Catusparīṣat-sūtra* in the *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript should now be added to these parallels (see Hartmann and

rels to this *sūtra* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, one in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* and the other two in the *Kṣudraka-vastu*.⁶² Our example is the first one in the *Kṣudraka-vastu*. Whereas the parallel in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* constitutes a part of the Buddha's biography, the second parallel in the *Kṣudraka-vastu* occurs in the very account of the first *saṅgīti* and consequently is presented as a *sūtra*.⁶³ In our example, the story works as part of an episode explaining how the Buddha established the rules about how monks should address each other after he accepted his first five disciples. Interestingly, the Chinese version includes both the opening and closing formulas, *evaṃ mayā śrutam* and the listeners' rejoicing in the exposition. Immediately after this *sūtra* parallel, the legal part of the episode begins with the statement that the Buddha turned the wheel of the Dharma for

Wille 2014: 140).

⁶² *Saṅghabheda-vastu*: Gnoli 1977–1978: I 135–137; D 1, 'dul ba, nga 42b3–44a5; T 1450 at T XXIV 127c7–128b1 (English translation, Anālayo 2015 [2012a]: 356–363). *Kṣudraka-vastu* 1: D 6, 'dul ba, tha 247b3–249a2; T 1451 at T XXIV 292a29–c15 (English translation, Anālayo 2015 [2012a]: 384–386). *Kṣudraka-vastu* 2: da 311a7–b1; T 1451 at XXIV 406c1–5 (English translation, Anālayo 2015 [2012a]: 387–388). Anālayo has remarked that SĀ 379, as well as the parallels in the *Kṣudraka-vastu*, is an extract from a full version as seen in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* on the basis of a comparison of the doctrinal contents of these discourses (Anālayo 2015 [2012a]: 363–367). My concern here is rather with the function these parallels carry out in the context of the *Vinaya*.

⁶³ Most of the contents of this parallel are abbreviated in different ways in the two translations: 'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na | bcom ldan 'das yul bā rā ṇa sīr drang srong smra ba ri dags kyi tshal na bzhugs so zhes tshig gis rab tu brjod pa de'i tshe ... (da 311a7–b1); 如是我聞：一時，薄伽梵在婆羅痾斯仙人墮處施鹿林中。爾時世尊告五苾芻曰：“此苦聖諦於所聞法如理作意，能生眼智明覺。”——此中廣說如上三轉法輪經—— (T 1451 at T XXIV 406c1–5).

the five ascetics. In this case, it is most likely that a *sūtra* was borrowed from the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and inserted as a whole into the *Vinaya* to expand the above sentence. In the Tibetan version, however, both the opening and closing formulas of the *sūtra* do not exist; hence, the entire episode flows more normally as a *Vinaya* account (Table 6 below).

Table 6. Opening and Closing Parts of the First Parallel
to SĀ 379 in the *Kṣudraka-vastu*

| <i>Kṣudraka-vastu</i> (Tibetan) ⁶⁴ | <i>Kṣudraka-vastu</i> (Chinese) ⁶⁵ | SĀ 379 ⁶⁶ |
|--|--|---|
| <p><i>sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das bā rā ṇa sī</i> (S <i>wā rā ṇā sī</i>) <i>na</i> (S om.) <i>drang srong smra ba ri dags kyi nags na bzhugs so</i> ...</p> <p>(D <i>tha</i> 249a1; P <i>de</i> 235b2; S <i>ta</i> 371a5) <i>bcom ldan 'das kyi s yul bā rā ṇa sī</i> (S <i>wā rā ṇā sī</i>) <i>drang srong smra ba ri dags kyi nags su chos kyi 'khor lo chos dang mthun</i> (P <i>'thun</i>) <i>pa lan gsum gyi bar du bzlas te rnam pa bcu gnyis pa bskor te</i> <i>de 'i phyir chos kyi rnam grangs 'di chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba zhes bya 'o</i> </p> | <p>如是我聞：一時，薄伽梵在婆羅痾斯仙人墮處施鹿林中。……</p> <p>因名此經爲三轉法輪。</p> <p>時五苾芻及人天等聞佛說已，歡喜奉行。</p> | <p>如是我聞：一時，佛住波羅捺鹿野苑中仙人住處。……</p> <p>世尊於波羅捺國仙人住處鹿野苑中轉法輪，是故此經名轉法輪經。</p> <p>佛說此經已，諸比丘聞佛所說，歡喜奉行。 [end of SĀ 379]</p> |

⁶⁴ D 6, *'dul ba, tha* 247b3–249a2; P 1035, *'dul ba, de* 233b6–235b3; S 6, *'dul ba, ta* 369a1–371a7.
⁶⁵ T 1451 at T XXIV 292a29–c15.
⁶⁶ SĀ 379 at T II 103c13–104a29; Wang and Jin 2014: II 111–116.

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| <i>gang gi tshe bcom ldan 'das kyis</i> <i>dge slong lnga po dag gi (P gis)</i> <i>rgyud la chos kyi 'khor lo bskor</i> <i>te ...</i> | 爾時佛爲五人三 轉法輪……° |
|--|-------------------|

III. Disagreements among the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan Versions of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*

Lastly, I would like to mention some textual discrepancies between the extant versions of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*. It has become clearer through recent studies that there once existed multiple textual traditions of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*,⁶⁷ and thus it has become more difficult to attribute the differences between the extant versions to the Chinese or Tibetan translators. At the present stage of *Vinaya* studies, it is fairly safe to treat these translations as representing more or less faithfully the different Sanskrit texts behind them.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ For a list of previous studies on this topic, see Dhammadinnā 2015–2016: 36 note 8; cf., also, Yao forthcoming a, 2018 and forthcoming b.

⁶⁸ Cf. Yao 2013b. Matsumura Hisashi 松村 恒 (1994) has pointed out the tendency of the Tibetan version of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* to narrate stories in full that are abbreviated in the Gilgit manuscript and the Chinese version and discussed the possibility of translators' supplementation of abbreviated stories. Although such possibility cannot be entirely excluded, I think the differences in abbreviation are, generally speaking, rather likely to originate in the stage of redaction in Sanskrit than that of translation. Comparison between the extant versions of the *Vinaya* including the newly identified Sanskrit manuscript of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* suggests that many differences between the extant materials existed already in the transmission in Sanskrit. Cf., also, Yao 2018 and forthcoming b.

The examples I have examined in this paper, as well as other *sūtra* parallels in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, suggest much complexity in the textual transmission of the *Vinaya*. In the parallel to SĀ 807, the Tibetan version and the Chinese version may appear to represent the careless insertion of a *sūtra* and its later emendation, respectively. In contrast, however, in the parallel to the *Otalāyana-sūtra*, it is not the Chinese version but the Tibetan version that provides a more reasonable story, which we might regard as more carefully edited. Furthermore, as I have already mentioned, we might not necessarily assume any correction of one by the other of these two traditions, for they might represent insertions of text done independently of each other.

There are also other types of differences between the versions, such as the difference between a parallel to a whole *sūtra* and a brief reference to its title, as seen in the parallel to SĀ 813 and the *Otalāyana-sūtra*. Moreover, in the parallel to the *Otalāyana-sūtra*, the three extant versions present more differences: the inclusion of the episode of the farmers and oxen in the *sūtra*'s story (3–4 in Table 5 above) and an addition to a stock phrase (5 in Table 5 above).⁶⁹

⁶⁹ The Tibetan version gives a detailed account of the Buddha's reputation as heard by the Brahmin Otalāyana, whereas the Chinese version only states that the Brahmin heard of the Buddha's arrival. Tibetan version: *bram ze shing* (P *ba*) *sā* (P *sa*) *la chen po lta bu o ta la'i bus dge sbyong shākya'i sras shākya'i rigs las skra dang kha spu bregs te dad pa yang dag pa kho nas khyim nas* (S om. *khyim nas*) *khyim med par rab tu byung ba de bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas nas dpa' sde nas ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs pa dang o ta lar byon nas | o ta la na* (S om. *o ta la na*) *o ta la'i nags khrod na bzhugs te | shes ldan dag* (S om. *dag*) *dge sbyong gau* (S *go'u*) *ta ma de'i dge ba dang | grags pa dang | sgra dang | tshigs su bcad pa rgya chen po 'di lta bu 'di dag phyogs dang phyogs mtshams su grags*

*par gyur te | 'di ltar bcom ldan 'das de ni de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom
 pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rig pa dang zhabs su ldan pa |
 bde bar gshegs pa | 'jig rten mkhyen pa | skyes bu 'dul ba'i kha lo sgyur
 ba | bla na med pa | lha dang mi rnams kyi ston pa | sangs rgyas bcom
 ldan 'das de 'jig rten lha dang bcas (S pa |) bdud dang bcas | tshangs
 pa dang bcas pa (S 'di |) skye dgu dge sbyong dang bram zer bcas lha
 dang mi dang lha ma yin du bcas pa rnams la rang gi mngon par shes
 pas mngon sum du byas te rdzogs par byas nas bdag gi zag pa zad do ||
 tshangs par spyod pa bsten to || bya ba byas so || 'di las srid pa gzhan
 mi shes so zhes go bar byed cing | des chos bshad pa ni thog mar dge
 ba | bar du dge ba | tha mar dge ba | don bzang po | tshig 'bru bzang
 po ma 'dres pa | yongs su rdzogs pa | yongs su dag pa rnam par byang
 ba (S byad pa) 'ba' zhig ston to zhes thos nas | dge sbyong dang bram
 ze de lta bu lta ba ni legs pa yin | nye bar 'gro ba ni legs pa yin | bsnyen
 bkur byed pa ni legs pa yin no snyam du bsams nas shing rta rta rgod
 ma dang ldan pa thams cad nas dkar ba'i nang du zhugs te bram ze'i
 khye'u'i tshogs kyis yongs su bskor cing (S zhing |) bram ze'i khye'u'i
 tshogs kyis mdun gyis bltas nas gser gyi khar (S 'khar) ba dang ril ba
 spyi blugs thogs te o ta la nas byung nas | bcom ldan 'das la blta ba
 dang bsnyen bkur bya ba'i phyir bcom ldan 'das kyi spyan sngar song
 ste | ... (D 1, 'dul ba, kha 130a1–b1; P 1030, 'dul ba, ge 119a8–b7; S 1,
 'dul ba, kha 167b3–168a7), “The very wealthy Brahmin Otaḷāyana heard:
 ‘A *śramaṇa*, a son of the Śākyaṇs from the Śākyaṇ clan, one who went
 forth from his home to a homeless life in true faith, having shaved off
 his hair and beard, awakened in complete and supreme awakening, and
 he has arrived at Otaḷā, having traveled in Śūrasena, and is staying in
 the Otaḷā Forest in Otaḷā. Sirs, the great virtue, fame, renown, and praise
 of that *śramaṇa* Gautama are known in all directions. Thus that Blessed
 One is a Tathāgata, Arhat, Perfectly Awakened One, Perfect in Knowledge
 and Conduct, Sugata, World-Knowing, Driver of People to Be Tamed,
 Supreme One, Teacher of Gods and Humans, Buddha, and Blessed One.
 He announced to the world including gods, Māra, Brahmā, people such
 as *śramaṇas* and Brahmins, and living beings such as gods, humans,
 and *asuras*, having realized and accomplished awakening in this life for*

We cannot thus assume a simple course of textual development, such as from a briefer version to an expanded version or from a complete version to an abridged version.

Concluding Remarks

Although this paper has dealt with only a few of the many examples of *sūtra* parallels in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, it can safely be said that at least some *sūtras* were clearly inserted into the *Vinaya*, and that this insertion was not always done very carefully. Of course,

himself by supernormal knowledge: “My defilements have been exhausted. The pure life has been cultivated. What is to be done has been done. I will not know any life other than this life.” He teaches the Dharma that is good in the beginning, good in the middle, good in the end, fair in meaning, fair in wording, special, complete, clean, and pure.’ Thinking that it would be good to see, approach, and serve such a *śramaṇa* or Brahmin, he left Oṭalā, riding an entirely white chariot pulled by mares, surrounded by young Brahmins, and followed by young Brahmins, carrying a golden water jar with a handle, and went to see and serve the Blessed One ...” Chinese version: 時有婆羅門名鄒達羅延，聞世尊在彼林中，遂乘白馬車輅，手持金杖金澡罐，眷屬圍遶，從城而出欲往佛所 (T 1448 at T XXIV 43c20–22), “At that time, there was a Brahmin named Oṭalāyana. Having heard that the Blessed One was in that forest, he left the city, wishing to visit the Buddha, riding a chariot pulled by white horses, holding a golden staff and a golden water jar, and surrounded by his attendants.” Although the Sanskrit text is abbreviated here, the remaining text suggests that it does not expect such an account in the abbreviated part. The *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā* supports the Chinese and Sanskrit versions in this regard. It is possible that the account of the Buddha’s reputation was borrowed from a preceding part of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, *kha* 63b4–64a6, which is a story corresponding to the *Ambāṣṭha-sūtra* of the *Dīrgha-āgama*; see Melzer 2010: 138–147 (35,4–13).

this does not deny the possibility of the opposite also being true for other *sūtra* parallels—that is, movement from other parts of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* to the *Sūtra-piṭaka*.

It can also be said, judging even from the present few examples, that what happened regarding the insertion of *sūtras* in different textual traditions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* is fairly complex. Although we could assume that some problem caused by an insertion was later solved, the possibility of independent insertions is also not to be ruled out.

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- the digital data of the *Vinaya-vastu* in the Gilgit manuscript input by Dr. Klaus Wille at <http://gretel.sub.uni-goettingen.de/>
- the digital data of the bKa' 'gyur input by the Asian Classics Input Project at <http://www.asianclassics.org/>
- the SAT Daizōkyō Text Database at <http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/ddb-bdk-sat2.php>

The Chinese text quoted from the Taishō 大正 canon is re-punctuated at my own discretion.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| GM | Gilgit manuscripts of the <i>Vinaya-vastu</i> (ed. Dutt 1942–1950; facsimile edition in Clarke 2014) |
| D | Derge edition |
| N | Shōgozō kyōkan 聖語藏經卷 |
| P | Peking edition |
| S | sTog Palace manuscript of the bKa' 'gyur |
| SĀ | <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SĀ ² | <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> (T 100) |
| SN | <i>Saṃyutta-nikāya</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition |
| Up | <i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā</i> |

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**Highlights from a Comparative Study
of the *Sam̐yukta-āgama* Quotations
in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā***

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Abstract

This study presents highlights from an investigation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* quotations in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*. These are drawn from collated editions, translations and comparative readings of partial or full discourse (*sūtra*) quotations paralleling discourses found in selected *saṃyuktas* of the Chinese translation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (Taishō no. 99). The examples are grouped together as representative of textual features at both the discourse (*sūtra*) level (setting, proper names, modules, phraseology and internal structure) and at the collection level (titles, *uddānas*, intra-/inter-textual references, abbreviation patterns). The quantity and quality of similarities and discrepancies between the parallel versions show pervasive variance and variability in the patterns of correspondences, at the mini-, micro- and nano-levels. The findings do not however allow for identification according to neatly defined lineages of transmission within the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Greater Sarvāstivāda (inclusive of Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda). They testify to the intricacies of textual transmission within these traditions, showing that the recensions of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* represented by the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and the Sanskrit *Saṃyukta-āgama* underlying the received Chinese translation are quite closely related yet not identical. The study articulates a model of multiplicity of versions for the discourse transmission that is not dissimilar to what is emerging in recent scholarship in the case of the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayas*. This may be read as a reflection of textual transmission among fragmented and spread-out textual communities which nevertheless coalesce under a unifying denominational and ideological umbrella – that of 'Greater Sarvāstivāda'. These textual characteristics would express particularism, but also a degree of constancy in institutional and communal identity.

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I. Introduction

Over the last decade of philological work and comparative studies – built in turn on the foundation of the previous century of editing, publication and study of the Sanskrit manuscripts and manuscript fragments from Gilgit and Central Asia – it has become increasingly clear that the extant textual Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda textual witnesses do not belong to a monolithic and uniform *Sūtra* (or *Āgama*, at the level of the scriptural collections) tradition. Instead, much like the case of the almost fully preserved Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* corpus, the emerging model is one of a multiplicity of lineages and sub-lineages of reciters and scribes, a multitude of communities within a broadly delineated Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda ecumene that is perhaps best designated under the heading of ‘Greater Sarvāstivāda’. This heading encompasses textual, institutional and religio-historical at large phenomena, as I discuss in my conclusion.

Against a broadly understood backdrop of a Greater Sarvāstivāda textual horizon, my presentation in the following pages will work with the hypothesis of a Mūlasarvāstivāda *Sūtra* transmission as distinct from a Sarvāstivāda *Sūtra* transmission, pending the outcome of the controversial identification and definition of these families of textual affiliation.¹ In other words, I regard them as the end products of a textual transmission handed down separately within each of these two traditions (represented by a range of sub-traditions, as I will discuss in more detail) which appear to show sufficiently distinct features to be considered ‘next of kin’ or closest

¹ On this issue, see, e.g., Enomoto 2000, Skilling 2002: 374–376, Yao 2007, Anālayo 2017 and 2019, and now Anālayo 2020b and Hartmann 2020 in this volume.

relative to one another, with sub-groups being even closer relations within such a textual family.

In a nutshell, my main basis for such a working hypothesis are the differences and similarities between the Chinese (Mūlasarvāstivāda) *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99) and the (Sarvāstivāda) *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26) studied in relation to the general patterns, textual modules, phraseology and structural aspects of the arrangement of the collections as evidenced by the *uddānas* in other Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda discourse as well as *Vinaya* material. These indications concord with the hypothesis that these two collections were transmitted within a Mūlasarvāstivāda and a Sarvāstivāda transmission lineage respectively.

My ongoing study of the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* (hereinafter: *Upāyikā*) appears to validate this hypothesis. *Uddāna* references and discourse quotations show that the *Madhyama-āgama* quotations exhibit more significant variations alongside agreements with the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* compared to the case of the *Samyukta-āgama* quotations and the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*. A general pattern emerges wherein a divide is apparent, yet with clear affinities as is only to be expected of a collection transmitted by related families of reciters. At the same time, the recension witnessed by the *Samyukta-āgama* quotations in the *Upāyikā* is closely similar but not identical to that of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, pointing to distinct sub-groups within the greater Mūlasarvāstivāda textual world.

To illustrate this pattern, with the present contribution I present a few highlights on the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Samyukta-āgama* used by Śamathadeva in the compilation of his *Upāyikā*, on the basis of a collated edition,² translation and comparative study of partial or full

² When quoting or referring to the text from the *Upāyikā*, I refer to the

discourse quotations paralleling discourses in the *Skandha-*, *Ṣaḍ-āyātana-* (partial),³ *Dhātu-*, *Vedanā-*, *Aniruddha-*, *Smṛtyupasthāna-* and *Bhikṣuṇī-samyuktas* of the Chinese translation of the *Samyukta-āgama*. This selection hopefully makes it possible to become sufficiently acquainted with the *Samyukta-āgama* housed in the *Upāyikā*, and to reveal key textual characteristics.

With regard to school affiliation, the transmission ‘container’ of the *Samyukta-āgama* quotations represented by the *Upāyikā* as a work dependent on a Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharma* work such as the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the presence in the *Upāyikā* of quotations from other Sarvāstivāda scholastic texts (Honjō 2014: I 37–41), and, at the level of the Tibetan translation, the text-historical environment represented by the Mūlasarvāstivāda scriptural transmission to Tibet, add to the abundant internal evidence that establishes beyond any doubt a Mūlasarvāstivāda – within the Greater Sarvāstivāda – affiliation for the *Āgama* (and *Vinaya*) quotations in the *Upāyikā*.⁴

quotation number as per the system established in Honjō 1984 and provide full references to the page and line numbers in the different editions of the Tanjur (B, C, D, G, N, P).

³ Parallels to the discourses in fascicles 8–9 in T 99; the parallels to fascicles 10–12 have not been translated and studied yet.

⁴ Setting aside the complete absence of internal evidence pointing to a different affiliation, it would be theoretically possible but hardly likely that Śamathadeva made use of Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda *Abhidharma* and *Vinaya* canonical sources but, for whatever reason, e.g., of Mahāsaṅghika or Saṃmitīya *sūtras*. This would not be feasible in the context of memorisation of the discourses, and Śamathadeva himself states in his postface to the *Upāyikā* that he relied on memory for the composition of his work; see Up 9042 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 980,21–981,10; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 97a5–b1; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 95a4–6; G 3598,

II. Comparative Study

The approach I take in this comparative study is to record similarities and dissimilarities in content and format by way of phraseology and textual modules. Such an approach complements and generally concords with the conclusions reached by the pioneering Japanese scholarship of Honjō Yoshifumi 本庄 良文 (esp. 1981, 1985 and 2014), building on earlier papers by Sakurabe Hajime 櫻部 建 (1956) and Mukai Akira 向井 亮 (1985), studies which were conducted with an emphasis on the structural features of the *Āgamas* underlying the *Upāyikā* canonical quotations, that is, mostly titles and summary verses (*uddānas* or *uddāna-gāthās*).⁵

My survey in the following pages groups examples according to their significance as to the following aspects:

mdzod 'grel, thu 173b4–174a2; N, *mngon pa, thu* 145a5–b1; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 144a2–5. In other words, there are neither historical nor textual indicators that the *Upāyikā* could have been composed outside of a Mūlasarvāstivāda environment of transmission and that Śamathadeva would be relying on a recension of the *Āgamas* other than one circulating within a Mūlasarvāstivāda or 'Greater Sarvāstivāda' community. See also the observations in Sakurabe 1956: 160.

⁵ Regarding the at times important contribution offered by the comparative study of the *Upāyikā*'s *Samyukta-āgama* quotations for a more nuanced comprehension of early Buddhist thought, due to space constraints, I refer the interested reader to the annotations to my published and upcoming translations. A particularly fascinating area is possible traces of textual development in relation to a ways in which the wider Abhidharmic textual 'container' of the quotations in the *Upāyikā* appears to have influenced the formulation of a few passages in the quotations themselves, and possible reflections of, or else precursors to, Sarvāstivāda-specific doctrinal developments; see Dhammadinnā 2019b.

1. setting or narrative opening (*nidāna*)
2. proper names
3. titles, *uddānas* and various intra-/inter-textual references
4. modules, phraseology and internal structure
5. abbreviation patterns.

II.1 Setting

As a general observation, it may be noted that the *Upāyikā* equivalent to, for instance, the Sanskrit *śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ* (Pali *sāvatthī-nidānaṃ*), when it is mentioned, occurs as a rule immediately after the canonical quotation (and/or the title of the discourse, when present) extracted from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, in the following standard form:

gleng gzhi ni mnyan du yod pa na 'o.

The opening is ‘at Śrāvastī.’

The purpose of the *Upāyikā* is to supplement the canonical quotations cited in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* with the corresponding discourse passage in full or even with the whole text to which the quotations belong. In my opinion this implies that the *Upāyikā*’s quotation format is not preoccupied with indicating the location where the discourses were collected. In other words, judging from the placement of the narrative introduction (*nidāna*) at the beginning of the discourse quotations, whether it is given in an abbreviated form or in full, I doubt that Śamathadeva and the reciter tradition he relied on should have provided it for any reason other than giving reference to the location where the discourses were originally delivered (regardless, needless to say, of the historical

accuracy of such information). This observation is in line with Bhikkhu Anālayo's (2012b: 6 note 4, 16 note 45, 29 note 88 and 52 note 150) suggestion with regard to the significance of the discourse openings in the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*.

The *Upāyikā* tends to have the *nidāna* headings in the short format quoted above, whereas the corresponding discourses in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* tend to spell out the narrative setting in fuller form. Thus for instance, in parallel to the *śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ* heading in Tibetan, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* tends to give the complete location, that is, Śrāvastī, in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍada's Park.⁶

Regarding the locations of the discourses, there tends to be agreement between the *Upāyikā* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallels, although there are also a few cases of disagreement. For example, out of the nineteen discourse quotations paralleling discourses in the *Skandha-saṃyukta* for which a setting is given, fourteen agree with their Chinese parallels in placing the setting at Śrāvastī (abbreviated in the *Upāyikā*, spelled out in full in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* as Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍada's Park), one in placing the setting at Ayodhyā (by the banks of the River Gaṅgā),⁷ one in placing

⁶ E.g., Up 1010 (*gleng gzhi ni mnyan du yod pa na'o*) and SĀ 231 at T II 56b11–12 (一時，佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園).

⁷ Up 4084: *bcom ldan 'das 'khrug pa can na* (CDG; NP omit: *na*) *chu bo gang gā'i 'gram na bzhugs te*. SĀ 265 at T II 68b29–c1: 一時，佛住阿毘陀處恒河側，“At one time the Buddha was staying at Ayodhyā, by the banks of the River Gaṅgā”. Cf. SN 22.95 at SN III 140,22–23: *ekam samayaṃ bhagavā ayojjhāyaṃ viharati gaṅgāya nadiyā tīre*. For an occurrence in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* see Dutt 1984 [1947]: III.1 48,8: *ayodhyāyāṃ viharati nadyā Gaṅgāyās tīre*; D 3, 'dul ba, *kha* 146b1 and P 1030, 'dul ba, *ge* 134b3: *tshugs dka' chu bo gang gāi 'gram na bzhugs so*; T 1448 at XXIV 48c12: ... 無能敵國，住瑯伽河邊; see also Roth 2004: 125–126.

the setting at the Monastery [located] by the Monkey Pond at Vaiśālī,⁸ one in placing the setting at the Eastern Park (the Hall of Mṛgāra’s Mother), and two disagree with their Chinese parallels in placing the setting at Śrāvastī rather than at Vārāṇasī in the Deer Park (the Dwelling of Seers). In the last two cases, one of the two discourses has a parallel in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, which is located at Sāvattthī, thus matching the *Upāyikā* (the other has no identified Pali parallel).⁹

Out of the seven discourses with parallels in the first two (fasc. 8–9) of the four fascicles of *Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta* for which a setting is given, five agree with their Chinese parallels in placing the setting at Śrāvastī (abbreviated in the *Upāyikā*, spelled out in full in the *Samyukta-āgama* as Jeta’s Grove, Anāthapiṇḍada’s Park), and two disagree with their Chinese parallels in placing the setting at Śrāvastī rather than at at Vaiśālī (in the Hall with the Peaked Roof by the side of the Monkey Pond).

Out of the three quotations paralleling discourses in the *Vedanā-samyukta* for which a setting is given, in all cases the opening does not correspond in that the three quotations place the opening at Śrāvastī whereas the corresponding *Samyukta-āgama* discourses give Rājagṛha (in the Bamboo Grove, the Squirrels’ Feeding Ground).¹⁰

⁸ Up 6016: *bcom ldan ’das yangs pa can na spre’u’i rdzing gi tsug lag khang na zhugs te*, “the Blessed One was staying at the Monastery [located] by the Monkey Pond at Vaiśālī”. On the Monkey Pond, Markaṭa-hradatīra in Sanskrit sources, cf. Edgerton 1953: II 420, *s.v.* This location appears to be unknown in the Pali canon, cf. Skilling 1997: II 406–407 and Anālayo 2013a: 48 note 124 with references.

⁹ Up 1009 versus SĀ 55 at T II 13b13–14 (Vārāṇasī, in the Deer Park, the Dwelling of Seers, 一時，佛住波羅捺國仙人住處鹿野苑中); SN 22.48 at SN III 47,8 is located at Sāvattthī (E^c: Sāvattthi) matching Up 1009. Up 1004 versus SĀ 56 at T II 13b24–25 (without a Pali parallel).

¹⁰ Up 6012 versus SĀ 467 at T II 119a22; Up 6010 versus SĀ 473 at T II

The single discourse quotation with a parallel in the *Aniruddha-samyukta* agrees with the location of its parallel in the *Samyukta-āgama*, Sāketā for Aniruddha and the country of the Bhārgas for Mahāmaudgalyāyana, although with differences in details that I will take up below in the section on proper names.

Both quotations paralleling discourses in the *Smṛtyupasthāna-samyukta* for which a setting is given, have Śrāvastī (abbreviated in the *Upāyikā*, spelled out in full in the *Samyukta-āgama*).

Last, the single available quotation with a parallel in the *Bhikṣuṇī-samyukta* has Śrāvastī as the Buddha's location and the Royal Rains Residence (for nuns) also in Śrāvastī for the *bhikṣuṇī* Śailā, thereby agreeing with its *Samyukta-āgama* parallel (where the location at Śrāvastī is spelled out in full).

The agreements or disagreements in the setting of discourses belonging to these *samyuktas* are summarised in Table 1 below. The textual discrepancies in the narrative setting do not bear any special significance in terms of the historical occasion of delivery of the discourses.¹¹ Nevertheless, taken together with other elements to be surveyed in the next sections of this study, they may be considered as additional pointers to two different lines of transmission. At the same time the discrepancies show that two rather closely related *Āgama* traditions may easily differ in their respective narrative settings.

121a19 and SĀ 474 at T II 121a2; Up 8020 versus SĀ 482 at T II 122c24–25 (strictly speaking, this discourse quotation does not have the *śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ* but it states that “the Blessed One departed to Śrāvastī, the Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍada's Park, for the rains residence”, after which the exchange between the Buddha and the householder Anāthapiṇḍada takes place. Thus the location of the discourse can be safely understood to be the same).

¹¹ On the lack of concern for location accuracy in narrative passages see, e.g., Schopen 2004 [1997]: 395–407 and 2004 [1998]: 283 note 59 and Anālayo 2011a: II 887 note 138.

Table 1. Comparison of Narrative Settings in
the *Upāyikā* and the *Samyukta-āgama*

| Discourse Quotation in the <i>Upāyikā</i> | Discourse Parallel and/or Reference in the <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> | Setting in the <i>Upāyikā</i> / <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> [--- = setting not supplied] |
|--|---|--|
| <i>Skandha-samyukta</i> | | |
| Up 9001 | SĀ 8 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 6005 | SĀ 9 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 2071 | SĀ 11 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 9004 | SĀ 11 & SĀ 12 | --- |
| Up 1021 | SĀ 17 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 2078 | SĀ 28 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 4084 | SĀ 265 | Ayodhyā, Gaṃgānadyās tīra / Ayodhyā, Gaṃgānadyās tīra |
| Up 1016 | SĀ 61 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 2047 | SĀ 61 | --- |
| Up 5006 | SĀ 71 + reference to *[<i>Bhikṣuṇī</i>]- <i>Dharmadinnā-</i> <i>sūtra</i> (also refers to other 4 discourses) | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| Up 9023 | SĀ 73 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 2074 | SĀ 77 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 5016 | SĀ 79 (also refers to other 3 discourses) | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 6016 | SĀ 81 | Vaiśālī, Markaṭahradatīra / Vaiśālī, Markaṭahradatīra |
| Up 1024 | SĀ 39 (cross-reference) | --- |
| Up 3012 | SĀ 39 (cross-reference) | --- |
| Up 6019 | SĀ 39 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 6038 | SĀ 42 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 5006(a) | SĀ 45 | --- |
| Up 1014 | SĀ 46 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 1009 | SĀ 55 | Śrāvastī / Vārāṇasī, Rṣipatana Mṛgadāva |
| Up 1004 | SĀ 56 | Śrāvastī / Vārāṇasī, Rṣipatana Mṛgadāva |
| Up 2042 | SĀ 57 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 7006 | SĀ 58 | Śrāvastī, Purvārāma, Mṛgāramātuḥ prāsāda / Śrāvastī, Purvārāma, Mṛgāramātuḥ prāsāda |
| <i>Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta</i> (partial: parallels to fasc. 8–9 in T 99) | | |
| Up 6061 | SĀ 212 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Up 5017 | SĀ 214 (cross-reference) | --- |
| Up 6057 | SĀ 214 (cross-reference) | --- |
| Up 9002 | SĀ 214 (cross-reference) | --- |
| Up 1018(a) | SĀ 222 + SĀ 223 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 1018(b) | SĀ 224 + SĀ 225 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 9007 | SĀ 225 (cross-reference) | -- |
| Up 1035 | SĀ 229 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 4008 | SĀ 229 (cross-reference) | --- |
| Up 8022 | SĀ 229 (cross-reference) | --- |
| Up 1010 | SĀ 231 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 9003 | SĀ 238 | Śrāvastī / Vaiśālī, Markaṭāhrada, Kūṭāgāraśālā |
| Up 3053 | SĀ 240 | --- |
| Up 5025 | SĀ 240 | Śrāvastī / Vaiśālī, Markaṭāhrada, Kūṭāgāraśālā |
| Up 1047 | SĀ 245 | --- |
| Up 2013 | SĀ 252 | --- |
| Up 1048 | SĀ 255 | --- |
| <i>Dhātu-samyukta</i> | | |
| Up 8011 | SĀ 463 | --- |

| <i>Vedanā-saṃyukta</i> | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Up 6008 (nihil) | SĀ 467 | --- |
| Up 6012 | SĀ 467 | Śrāvastī / Rājagṛha, Veṇuvana, Kalandakanivāpa |
| Up 6010 | SĀ 473 & SĀ 474 | Śrāvastī / Rājagṛha, Veṇuvana, Kalandakanivāpa |
| Up 6013 (nihil) | SĀ 473 | --- |
| Up 8020 | SĀ 482 | [This quotation does not have the <i>śrāvastī</i> <i>nidānaṃ</i> , but it states that “The Blessed One departed to Śrāvastī, the Jeta’s Grove, Anāthapiṇḍada’s Park, for the rains residence”, after which the exchange between the Buddha and the householder Anāthapiṇḍada takes place, thus the location can be safely understood to be the same] / Rājagṛha, Veṇuvana, Kalandakanivāpa |
| Up 6007 | SĀ 485 | --- |
| Up 3070 | SĀ 486–489 (cross-reference) | --- |
| <i>Aniruddha-saṃyukta</i> | | |
| Up 6029 | SĀ 535 | Sāketā (Aniruddha); Bhārga (Mahāmaudgalyāyana) / Sāketā (Aniruddha); Bhārga (Mahāmaudgalyāyana) |
| <i>Smṛtyupasthāna-saṃyukta</i> | | |
| Up 6027 | SĀ 605 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 6028 | SĀ 610 | Śrāvastī / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma |
| Up 6031 | SĀ 609 | --- |

Bhikṣuṇī-samyukta

| | | |
|---------|---------|---|
| Up 9014 | SĀ 1202 | Śrāvastī (Buddha); Śrāvastī, Rājakārāma (Śailā) / Śrāvastī, Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāma (Bud- dha); Śrāvastī, Rājakārāma (Śailā) |
|---------|---------|---|

II.2 Proper Names

A few proper names featured in the *Upāyikā* discourse quotations appear to have been either handed down or rendered differently when compared to the forms attested in the *Samyukta-āgama*.

In a discourse quotation with a parallel in the *Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta* (Up 1010), a monk approaches the Buddha with a question on that which is called ‘the world’. The monk is referred to as *tshe dang ldan pa dran pa*, which literally translates as ‘the venerable *Smṛti’. The monk’s name in the *Samyukta-āgama* parallel is given as *sanmiliti* 三彌離提,¹² which points to an underlying orthography *Saṃm-ṛddhi or *Saṃriddhi (corresponding to regular Sanskrit Saṃrddhi). *Sanmiliti* 三彌離提 is attested as a counterpart to Pali Samiddhi elsewhere in the *Samyukta-āgama*.¹³ It is possible that the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Upāyikā* had a corrupted form similar to *smṛti*, which was then translated literally as *dran pa*, a standard rendering of Sanskrit *smṛti*.¹⁴ The two Pali parallels in the *Samyutta-nikāya* have as their respective protagonists an unnamed monk, *aññataro bhikkhu*, or the venerable Ānanda.¹⁵

The only discourse quotation in the *Upāyikā* that has a parallel

¹² SĀ 231 at T II 56b12.

¹³ E.g., SĀ 230 at T II 56a25, parallel to SN 35.65 at SN IV 52,31.

¹⁴ *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Sakaki 1916: 149 [no. 1930] and Ishihama and Fukuda 1989: 104–105 [no. 1941].

¹⁵ SN 35.82 at SN IV 52,4 and SN 35.84 at SN IV 53,11.

in the *Aniruddha-saṃyukta* (Up 6029) has a few interesting renditions of proper names. This discourse features two locations, one being the place where Aniruddha resides in seclusion and reflects on the four establishments of mindfulness, and the other being the place from where Mahāmaudgalyāyana, knowing Aniruddha's mind, by means of a supernormal psychic attainment departs and reappears standing in front of his monastic companion. The *Upāyikā* describes Aniruddha's place of residence as follows:¹⁶

*tshe dang ldan pa ma 'gags pa gnas bcas na tsher ma
gsum pa can gyi tshal na brten cing gnas so.*

The venerable Aniruddha was staying in Sāketā, based in the Three-Thorn Grove.

The name of this location in the Sāketā area, *tsher ma gsum pa can gyi tshal*, presumably points to a Sanskrit form *Trikaṇṭakavana or *Trikaṇḍakavana. Aniruddha's location in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel is a dwelling in a pine forest, 松林精舍 (a rendition possibly based on understanding the three *kaṇṭakas/kaṇḍakas* as three needles as in the three-needle pine native to China).¹⁷ A partial parallel located in the *Anuruddha-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* instead gives the *sāvatthi-nidānaṃ* as the opening.¹⁸

The Three-Thorn Grove appears to correspond to the Pali Kaṇḍa-kīvana, alternatively spelled Kaṇṭakīvana, a setting that among the Pali discourses occurs in two discourses in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, the second of which is followed by two more discourses which probably stem from the same occasion but abbreviate, and in one

¹⁶ Up 6029 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 775,8–10; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 13a1; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 13a2; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 53b5–6; N, *mngon pa, thu* 46a5–6; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 46a5–6.

¹⁷ SĀ 535 at T II 139a17 (the Song 宋 edition reads 材 for 林).

¹⁸ SN 52.2 at SN V 296,24 (E^c).

discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.¹⁹ The *Samyukta-āgama* parallels to these *Samyutta-nikāya* discourses, however, do not have a comparable place name,²⁰ and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourse has no known parallels.

Up 6029 describes the place where Mahāmaudgalyāyana was staying as follows:²¹

de'i tshe na tshe dang ldan pa ⁱ*mauda gal*^{li} *gyi bu chen*
po brga na ri bong gsod pa zhes bya ba ri dwags kyi
nags 'jigs pa'i ⁱⁱ*dgra*^{liii} *can gyi nags na* ⁱⁱⁱ*rten*^{liiii} *cing nye*
bar gnas so.

ⁱBCDNP; G reads: *maudgala*. ⁱⁱGNP; BCD read *sgra*. ⁱⁱⁱBCD; GNP: *brten*.

At that time the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana was staying in the Bhārga [country], based in the Fearsome
Foe Grove, a deer park called Mount Hare Killer.

The country's name is rendered in Tibetan as *brga*, which points to an Indic form corresponding to Sanskrit *bhārga*-/ *bhārga*- (cf. Pali *bhagga*).²² As an ethnonym in Sanskrit the form *Bhārga* is attested, for instance, in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*,²³ as well as in the Sar-

¹⁹ SN 47.26 at SN V 174,26–27, SN 52.4 at SN V 298,19–20 (the latter is the first in a series of three *Kaṇṭakī-suttas*, SN 52.4–6; the opening of the second and third discourse is abbreviated in Ee, thus without spelling the location out in full) and AN 5.144 at AN III 169,9–170,22.

²⁰ Parallels to SN 47.26, SN 52.4–5 and SN 52.6 being, respectively, SĀ 627 at T II 175a28–19, SĀ 542 at T II 140c25–26 with SĀ 543 at T II 141a15–17 and SĀ 537 at T II 139c16–18 (cf. also another partial parallel to SN 52.6, SĀ 538 at T II 140a7–9).

²¹ Up 6029 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 775,10–12; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 13a1–2; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 13a2–3; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 53b6; N, *mngon pa, thu* 46a6–7; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 46a6.

²² Honjō 2014: II 729, however, understands it as ヴァルガ, i.e., *varga*.

²³ Gnoli 1978: II 73,17–18: ... *bhārgaveṣu viharati śiṣumāragirau bhīṣa-*

vāstivāda *Vinaya*.²⁴ *Brga* corresponds to the town of the *baqi* 跋祇 in the *Samyukta-āgama* parallel.²⁵

The place name I render as the ‘Fearsome Foe Grove’ reads *’jigs pa’i dgra can gyi nags* in Tibetan (GNP; CD: *sgra* for *dgra*).²⁶ Mahāmaudgalyāyana’s location in the Bhārga country is given in the *Samyukta-āgama* as a deer park on the Śiśumāra Mountain (called) the Fearsome Thicket, among wild animals and birds.²⁷ Although the *Samyutta-nikāya* partial parallel to the *Samyukta-āgama* discourse does not specify Mahāmoggallāna’s location, its commentary describes the site as being a grove consisting of large shrubs, *kaṇḍakīvane ti mahākaramandavane*.²⁸ The noun *dgra* means ‘foe’, ‘enemy’, ‘predator’, and the grove is known to Pali sources as the Bhesakaḷāvana or Bhesakaḷāvana. According to the Pali commentaries the Bhesakaḷāvana is so named because of being haunted by the *yakkha* Bhesaka or the *yakkhinī* Bhesakaḷā.²⁹ Such a setting

nikāvane mṛgadāve and D 1, *’dul ba, nga* 161b1–2 and P 1030, *’dul ba, ce* 154b3: ... *ngan spong gi chu sbyin gyis pa gsod kyi ri la ’jigs byed kyi tshal gyi ri dgas kyi nags na ’dug go* (the passage appears to be absent in T 1450).

²⁴ Chung 2017: 32,18 and 41,5–7 [§ 9a]: (*bhagavān bhārgaveṣu vi*)[*hara*]*ti* [ś]*i*(śu)[*m*]āragirau [*bh*]iṣaṇa[kāva]*ne m*[r]*gadāpe*, with its parallel in T 1435 at T XXIII 139a12: 佛在迦毘羅國.

²⁵ SĀ 535 at T II 139a18: 跋祇聚落, on which cf. also Akanuma 1930–1931: 90. Another occurrence of the same is found in SĀ 107 at T II 33a6 (translation in Anālayo 2014: 27).

²⁶ Honjō 2014: II 731 note 2 suggests taking out the word *dgra/sgra*, (i.e., *’jigs pa>’i dgra/sgra< can*), seemingly on account of SĀ 535 at T 139a17 which speaks of a fearsome thicket, 恐怖稠林.

²⁷ SĀ 535 at T II 139a18–19: 失收摩羅山恐怖稠林禽獸之處.

²⁸ Spk III 262,20; on this location see also Malalasekera 1997 [1937–1938]: I 494 and Deeg 2005: 291–292.

²⁹ Th-a I 75,16–18: *bhesakaḷāvane ti bhesakena nāma yakkhena labhitattā*

could explain the idea of a grove (infested) by a fearsome ‘foe’ behind the Tibetan rendition *’jigs pa ’i dgra can gyi nags*.

The name of the mountain reads *bong gsod pa* in Tibetan, where *gsod pa* literally means ‘killer’ (Sanskrit *māra-*) and *ri bong* stands for ‘hare’, ‘rabbit’ (Sanskrit *śaśaka-*), thus pointing to a form *Śaśa-kamāra instead of the expected *Śiśumāra, a ‘killer of children’, that is, a ‘crocodile’, as in the Pali Sumsumāra(giri), the Crocodiles Hill. The *Samyukta-āgama* version features a phonetic rendering, *shishoumohuo (shan)*, 失收摩羅(山), which points to *Śiśumāra(giri).³⁰

Thus here the traditions represented by the *Upāyikā* and the *Samyukta-āgama* respectively are partly congruent and partly incongruent.

From the above examples I would suggest that whereas some instances of disagreement can be explained as transmission or translation errors, others may document an eventual point of divergence from an earlier common Indic tradition of recitation.

II.3 Titles, *Uddānas* and References

In this section I draw attention to inter-textual and meta-textual information supplied by Śamathadeva by way of titles, *uddānas* and cross-references to other discourses in the same *Samyukta-āgama* he quotes from. This type of information pertains to the level of the canonical collections as units or means to organise and accomplish the textual transmission of the discourses. It is for this reason espe-

pariggahitattā, bhesakaḷānaṃ vā kaṭṭhādīnaṃ bahulatāya bhesakaḷāvanan ti laddhanāme araṇṇe; Spk II 249,9–12: bhesakaḷāvane ti bhesakaḷāya nāma yakkhiniyā adhivutthattā evaṃ laddhanāme vane. tad eva migagaṇassa abhayatthāya dinnattā migadāyoti vuccati (on this location see also the gloss in Mp II 65,32–35).

³⁰ SĀ 535 at T II 139a18–19.

cially relevant to the intra-Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda canonical transmission of the *Āgamas*.

For a more systematic treatment of the *uddānas* of the *Samyukta-āgama* and its structural aspects documented by the *Upāyikā* I defer to Honjō Yoshifumi's 本庄 良文 (1981 and 1985) studies I already referenced above. Here I confine myself to a few examples so as to illustrate the format adopted by Śamathadeva in supplying this type of information.

Up 2047 – SĀ 61 (*Skandha-samyukta*)

Up 2047, a discourse quotation parallel to SĀ 61 in the *Skandha-samyukta*, describes the condition of a 'faith-follower' and a 'Dharma-follower', who are assured of being on the right path and have the certainty of not passing away in the interval between death and the following birth without having attained the fruit of stream-entry. Immediately following the canonical citation from the *Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya*, Śamathadeva goes on to provide the title of the discourse as 'Discourse on Analysis', *rnam par 'byed pa'i mdo*, **Vibhāṅga-sūtra* (**Vibhāga-sūtra* according to the reconstruction in Honjō 1984: 21), and its location in the third *uddāna-gāthā* of the *Skandha-samyukta* of the *Samyukta-āgama*.³¹ These references do indeed tally with the reconstructed title of SĀ 61 obtained from the *uddāna* placed in the Taishō 大正 edition after SĀ 64, as well as with the actual location of the Chinese parallel in this *samyukta*.³²

³¹ Up 2047 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 178,9–11; C, *mngon pa, ju* 75a3–4; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 75a3; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 103b3–4; N, *mngon pa, tu* 81a4–5; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 84b4–5: *rnam par 'byed pa* (BCD; alternatively GNP read: *pa'i mdo'i sdom gyi tshigs su bcad pa gsum pa'i phung po las dang po* (BCD; GNP omit: *dang po*) *bslab pa'i sdom rab tu dga'ba'i ched du brjod pa rnam par 'byed pa las ji skad du*.

³² Cf. also Anālayo 2013a: 2 note 1.

An additional reference to the location in the first chapter (*kośa-sthāna*) of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* is supplied for another citation of the same discourse passage,³³ though in that case apparently extracted from the *Ṣaṭ-sūtraka(-nipāta)* of the *Dīrgha-āgama*.³⁴

Up 3053 – SĀ 58 & SĀ 240 (*Skandha-samyukta* & *Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta*)

The next example is from Up 3053. Śamathadeva first traces the source of the discourse citation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* to the *Skandha-samyukta*, and then he further points to a related exposition in the *Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta*.

The discourse citation extracted from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* is reproduced in the *Upāyikā* in a somewhat truncated manner. It is followed by the bibliographic information and by the actual discourse quotation, including the instructions for the actual recitation of the discourse.³⁵

³³ *Abhidharmakośa* I.14, Pradhan 1967: 10,19: *caturbhyo 'nye tu sam-skāraskandhaḥ*.

³⁴ Up 2047 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 178,18–20; C, *mngon pa, ju* 75a6; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 75a5–6; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 104a1–2; N, *mngon pa, tu* 81a6–7; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 84b8–85b1: *mdo 'di yang mdzod kyi gnas dang por 'du byed phung po bzhi las gzhan zhes bya bar bcom ldan 'das kyi* (CD; GNP: *kyi*) *mdo drug pa las ji skad du bshad pa der* (CD; GNP: *par des*) *bris pa bzhin no*. I take the opportunity to correct an error in my statement in Dhammadinnā 2013: 130 note 13 to the effect that “another *uddānagāthā* is provided at the end of the present discourse quotation”: the reference is not an *uddānagāthā* as such.

³⁵ Up 3053 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 376,19–377,6; C, *mngon pa, ju* 156a1–4; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 155b2–4; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 233a2–233a5; N, *mngon pa, tu* 167b5–168a1; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 179b1–5.

bcom ldan 'das kyis thams cad la 'di skad du zhes bya ba la re zhiḡ phung po'i mtha'i sdom las btsun pa ci phung po nye bar len pa lags sam 'onⁱ kyangⁱⁱ te phung po las gzhan zhiḡ nye bar len pa yin. dge slong dag phung po nye bar len pa ma yin zhiḡ phung po las gzhan yang nye bar len pa ma yin gyi. 'on kyang dga' ba la 'dod chags pa 'di ni nye bar len pa zhes bya'o. de bzhin du skye mched drug gi tshogs kyiⁱⁱⁱ drugⁱⁱⁱ po'i sdom las mig dang gzugs nas yid dang chos kyi bar du'o ste 'di ni nye bar blang bar bya ba zhes bya'o. gang dga' ba la 'dod chags pa ni nye bar len pa'i chos^{iv} zhes bya'o^{iv}. mdo 'di gnyis mdzod kyi gnas lnga pa dang bdun^{iv} par^{iv} 'chad par 'gyur ro.

ⁱ G; BCDNP omit: *kyang*. ⁱⁱ I emend *drag po'i sdom* (all editions) to read *drug po'i sdom*; cf. also the Japanese translation in Honjō 2014: I 391: 同様に、六処品の第六摂偈に〔説く〕. ⁱⁱⁱ My reading; BCD read: *zhes bya'o zhes*; GNP read: *zhes*. ^{iv} BCD; GNP read: *pa dang*.

“The Blessed One said thus everywhere.”³⁶ – Indeed, [in a discourse] from the final *uddāna* in [the ‘Chapter on] the Aggregates’, [a monk asked:] “Venerable sir, is it the case that the aggregates are the same as clinging? Or else

³⁶ For the canonical quotation from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, see Pradhan 1967: 140,17–18 on *Abhidharmakośa* III.27: *evaṃ hi bhagavatā sarva-trākyātām: upādānaṃ katamat? yo 'tra cchandarāgaḥ*; D 4090, *mngon pa, ku* 131b1–2 and P 5591, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, gu* 152a7–8: *bcom ldan 'das kyis thams cad las ji skad du: nye bar len pa gang zhe na? 'di la 'dun pa'i 'dod chags gang yin pa'o*; T 1559 at T XXIX 208b13–14: 何以故。此義於一切處，世尊皆作此釋。如經言：何者爲取？於中貪欲；T 1558 at T XXIX 51b19–20: 故薄伽梵諸經中釋云：何爲取？所謂欲貪 (translation in de La Vallée Poussin 1980 [1923–1926]: II 87). Cf. also the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 300,20–22: *chandarāga iti. aprāpteṣu viṣayeṣu prārthanā chandaḥ. prāpteṣu rāgaḥ. teṣu kāmādiṣu yaḥ chandarāgaḥ. tad upādānaṃ*.

is clinging something different from the aggregates?”³⁷
[The Buddha said:] “Monks, the aggregates are not the same as clinging, nor is clinging something different from the aggregates. However, the lust with delight [therein], that is called clinging. In the same way, from the sixth *uddāna* in [the ‘Chapter on] the Six Sense Bases’, from eye and [visual] forms ... *up to* ... mind and mind-objects; these are called [things] that are clung to. Whatever lust with delight [therein], is called things that are clinging.”³⁸
These two discourses are to be explained as in the fifth and seventh chapter of the *Kośa*.

Here Śamathadeva provides two sources for this discourse quotation:³⁹ a discourse in the *Skandha-samyukta* and one in the *Ṣaḍ-āyatana-samyukta*. A discourse taking up among others the question whether the five aggregates are different from the clinging to them can indeed be found in a discourse in the *Skandha-samyukta* of the *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 58).⁴⁰ This has in turn a range of other

³⁷ SĀ 240 does not record the monk’s question that occasions the discourse, but it begins directly with the Buddha’s exposition. The other discourse quotation that parallels SĀ 240, Up 5025 translated in Dhammadinnā 2018a: 94–95, similarly does not record the monk’s question.

³⁸ SĀ 240 at T II 58a5–6 closes with the monks’ delight at the Buddha’s words.

³⁹ As a possible source for the canonical quotation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, de La Vallée Poussin 1980 [1923–1926]: II 87 with note 4 suggests a *Sarva(-varga)*: “Comme Bhagavat l’a dit dans le Sarva : «Qu’est-ce que l’upādāna ? C’est le chandarāga. »” (« Dans le Sarva », j’entends dans le Sarvavarga), on the basis of 一切處 (T 1559), 諸經 (T 1558) and *thams cad las* (Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*). He notes, however, that no parallel is to be found in the *Sabba-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*.

⁴⁰ SĀ 58 at T II 14b22–26, translation following Anālayo 2014: 61–62:

parallels, including one in the same *Upāyikā* (Up 7006) and a Sanskrit fragment.⁴¹ The relevant passage in the *Upāyikā* reads:⁴²

*dge slong de bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa la mngon par
dga' zhing rjes su yi rangs te. slar yang bcom ldan 'das
la yongs su dri ba dris pa: btsun pa phung po gang yin
pa de nyid nye bar 'len pa'i phung po'i yin na 'on te
phung po dag las gzhan zhig nye bar len pa yin zhe na?*

ⁱ BCDG; NP read: *len pa*.

That monk, pleased and satisfied with the Blessed One's words, asked another question of the Blessed One: "Venerable Sir, are the five aggregates the same as the clinging [to them]? Or is the clinging [to them] different from the five aggregates?"⁴³ [The Buddha said:] "Monk, the

時，彼比丘聞佛所說，歡喜隨喜，而白佛言：「世尊！爲說五陰即受，善哉所說！今當更問。世尊！陰即受，爲五陰異受耶？」佛告比丘：「非五陰即受，亦非五陰異受；能於彼有欲貪者，是五受陰。」，"Then that monk, hearing what the Buddha had said, was delighted and rejoiced in it. He said to the Buddha: 'Blessed One, it has been said that the five aggregates are clung to, which is well said. Now I would ask further about it. Blessed One, regarding the aggregates, are the five aggregates different from the clinging to them?' The Buddha said to the monk: 'The five aggregates are not the same as the clinging to them and the five aggregates are not different from the clinging to them. The potential of having desire and lust for them, that is the clinging to the five aggregates.'"

⁴¹ The parallels are listed in Anālayo 2014: 60 note 171

⁴² Up 7006 at B 3323, *mngon pa*, nyu 878,4–8; C, *mngon pa*, nyu 55a4–5; D 4094, *mngon pa*, nyu 54b2–3; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel*, thu 114a4–6; N, *mngon pa*, thu 95b3–5; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, thu 95b7–8.

⁴³ Cf. fragment Kha ii 8c/viii 11n obv.10, de La Vallée Poussin 1913: 579: [. . . *ska]ndhāḥ tāny upādānāni utānyatraiva skandhebyaḥ upādānāni? na bhi tteṣām upādānaṃ*.

five aggregates are not the same as the clinging [to them], nor is the clinging [to them] different from the five aggregates. However, the desire and lust [for them], just that is the clinging.”⁴⁴

As to the second source identified by Śamathadeva, a relevant passage can indeed be found in SĀ 240, a discourse located in the *Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta* with a third parallel in the *Salāyatana-samyutta*.⁴⁵ Yet another related quotation belonging to the same discourse in the *Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta* is found elsewhere in the *Upāyikā* (Up 5025), this time taking up the canonical citation in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* according to which “lustful desire is said to be clinging”. Here Śamathadeva, after giving the discourse in excerpt, notes that the teaching regarding things that are clung to and things that are clinging occurs in many places:⁴⁶

de bzhin du mdo gzhan mang po las bstan to.

It is explained in the same way in many other discourses.

Up 1047 – SĀ 245 (**Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta*)

The next is a case for which a correspondence between the *Upāyikā* (Up 1047) and the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 245) at the level of titles given internally to individual discourses is clearly documented. After taking up the relevant canonical citation in the *Abhi-*

⁴⁴ Cf. fragment Kha ii 8c/viii 11n obv.11, de La Vallée Poussin 1913: 579: *sadhu bhadamte ti*.

⁴⁵ SĀ 240 at T II 58a1–6 with its Pali counterpart SN 35.110 at SN IV 89,12–22; Up 3053 corresponds with T II 58a2–5.

⁴⁶ Up 5025 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 682,2–3; C, *mngon pa, ju* 280b4–5; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 281a2; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 29b2; N, *mngon pa, thu* 26b2; P 5595, *mngon pa 'i bstan bcos, thu* 25b2.

dharmakośabhāṣya, Śamathadeva goes on to clarify:⁴⁷

*'dod pa rnams nyes dmigs mang por 'chad pa'i mdo las 'don
pa dang skye mched drug gi tshogs kyi mdo* ^{1sde} *dang
de las gsungs pa lta bu ste.*

¹GNP; BCD read: *de*.

The excerpt is from the ‘Discourse on an Exposition on the Many Disadvantages of Desires’, and it is as stated in the discourses in the ‘Chapter on the Six Sense Bases’.

The title given for the first discourse source, *'dod pa rnams nyes dmigs mang por 'chad pa'i mdo*, might correspond to a form similar to **Bahukāma-adīnava-deśanā-sūtra*. The title provided for the second discourse source, *skye mched drug gi tshogs kyi mdo sde*, might reflect a Sanskrit form similar to **Ṣaḍāyatana-kāya-varga* or **Ṣaḍāyatana-kāya-sūtranta* or, according to Honjō (2014: I 142), **Ṣaḍāyatana-varga*.

I do not fully understand the meaning of *dang* after *mdo sde* (... *dang de las gsungs pa lta bu ste*), which appears to be intrusive. Nonetheless, the parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* is indeed located in the *Ṣaḍāyatana-saṃyukta*.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Up 1047 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 104,6–7; C, *mngon pa, ju* 44b7; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 44b7–45a1; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 59a1; N, *mngon pa, tu* 49a7–b1; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 48b3–4.

⁴⁸ The *uddāna-gāthās* for this *saṃyukta* are not preserved in the received Chinese collection, which only includes *uddāna-gāthās* corresponding to discourses in the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, covering five fascicles (fasc. 1–5) in total in the Taishō edition (in fact, two *uddānas* are found in fascicle 10 but pertain to discourses that have parallels in the Pali *Khandha-saṃyutta* and in the Chinese *Skandha-saṃyukta*; see in more detail Su 2009). To explain the situation more accurately: when we take into consideration that the division in *saṃyuktas* is not internal to the received

Śamathadeva then moves on to the discourse quotation itself, which begins with the opening in the town of Kalmāṣa[damya], in the Kurus' country – a setting that agrees with that in the *Samyukta-āgama* parallel (SĀ 245) – and with the Buddha announcing that the Dharma teaching he is about to deliver is also expounded elsewhere:⁴⁹

*'di lta ste le'u bzhi pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs
legs par rab tu nyon la yid la zung shig dang bshad par
bya'o.*

... is as [taught] in the Exposition on the Dharma called
'In Four Parts'. Listen carefully and bear in mind what I
will explain. What is the Exposition on the Dharma called
'In Four Parts'? ...

The same caption is repeated at the conclusion of the exposition:⁵⁰

'di ni le'u bzhi pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs te.
This is the Exposition on the Dharma called 'In Four Parts'.

The reference to an exposition or teaching on the Dharma in four parts, which points to **Caturparivarta-nāma-dharmaparyāya*, corresponds with that given in SĀ 245, 四品法經.⁵¹

collection as such but it is based on a reconstruction, the received Chinese collection actually includes *uddāna-gāthās* that correspond to discourses which for the most part – though with a few exceptions – have their parallels in discourses located in the Pali *Khanda-samyutta*.

⁴⁹ Up 1047 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 104,13–14; C, *mngon pa, ju* 45a1; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 45a2; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 59a3–4; N, *mngon pa, tu* 49b2–3; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 48b5–6.

⁵⁰ Up 1047 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 106,16–17; C, *mngon pa, ju* 44b6; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 45b7; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 60a5; N, *mngon pa, tu* 50a7; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 49b4.

⁵¹ SĀ 245 at T II 58c20–59a2 (elision mine). A *Caturparivaṭṭa* is the fourth

... 謂四品法經 ... 何等為四品法經？... 是名比丘四品法經。

... that is, a discourse with a teaching in four parts ...
What is the discourse with a teaching in four parts? ...
Monks, this is reckoned the discourse with a teaching in four parts.

The discourse has a Pali parallel in the *Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta* (SN 35.189). In the PTS edition this discourse starts with a verse that belongs to the previous discourse,⁵² followed by a simile of a fish swallowing a fisherman's hook alluding to the fact that the six senses constitute six hooks for beings in the world.⁵³ After this simile the text of the discourse parallels that of SĀ 245. In the Pali version the Buddha does not give any title to his exposition, thus the reference to an "Exposition on the Dharma called 'In Four Parts'" appears to be a feature of the Mūlasarvāstivāda recitation traditions that handed down Śamathadeva's *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the text underlying the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama* respectively.

in a fivefold list of discourses mentioned in the *Samantapāsādikā* at Sp IV 742,24–26: *tisso saṅgītiyo anāruḷhepi kulumbasuttaṃ rājovādasuttaṃ tikkhindriyaṃ catuparivaṭṭaṃ nandopanandanti īdise āpatti yeva*; Barua 1945: 85 suggests that this can be identified with the *Caturdharmaka-sūtra* quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bendall 1897–1902: 160,4) or else with the 四品學法 (**Caturvargaśikṣadharmā*) extant in Chinese translation as T 771 (cf. also T 772, T 773 and T 774), a work classed as 'Hīnayāna' (小乘) according to the Chinese canonical catalogues (cf. Nanjio 1883: 314–315 [no. 1417]), a suggestion which seems to me unlikely in view of the content and doctrinal outlook of T 771.

⁵² Cf. Bodhi 2000: 1422 note 164.

⁵³ SN 35.189 at SN IV 158,26ult.

Up 6007 – SĀ 485 (*Vedanā-samyukta*)

The next example of bibliographic information supplied by Śamathadeva is of particular interest in that it shows how he made use of the same bibliographic and structural ‘criteria’ used in the *Vastu-saṅgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* – a work in circulation within Yogācāra textual communities of the Greater Sarvāstivāda – the importance of which in the history of the studies on the *Samyukta-āgama* has already been highlighted by other contributions to this volume (Choong 2020, Huimin 2020, Travagnin and Anālayo 2020).⁵⁴ This is a full quotation of the discourse source of the statement in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* to the effect that “All that which is felt is [included in] *duḥkha*.”⁵⁵

The parallel in the *Samyukta-āgama*, SĀ 485, is located in the *Vedanā-samyukta*.⁵⁶ Up 6007 and SĀ 485 have a Pali parallel in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, the *Pañcakaṅga-sutta*,⁵⁷ a discourse which in turn recurs in the *Majjhima-nikāya* under a different title (*Bahuvedanīya-*

⁵⁴ On the position of the *Samyukta-āgama* discourse quoted by Śamathadeva in relation to the structure of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* and its reconstruction on the basis of the *Yogācārabhūmi* see Honjō 1985: 71–79.

⁵⁵ For the canonical quotation from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *gang cung zad tshor ba de thams cad sdug bsngal ba'o zhes bya ba la* in Up 6007, see Pradhan 1967: 330,10–11 on *Abhidharmakośa* VI.3: *yat kiṃcid veditam idam atra duḥkhasyeti*; D 4090, *mngon pa, khu* 4a6 and P 5591, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, ngu* 5a3; *gang ci tshor yang rung de ni 'dir sdug bsngal lo zhes bya ba*; T 1559 at T XXIX 266c6–7: 隨所有受皆是苦別名; T 1558 at T XXIX 114a28–29: 諸所有受無非苦者 (translation in de La Vallée Poussin 1980 [1923–1926]: IV 129 with note 2; see also 131–132 and 131 note 1). Cf. also the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 518,21, 519,18–20, *passim*.

⁵⁶ SĀ 485 at T II 123c21–124b17; Up 6007 corresponds with T II 123c22–124a27 (cf. also Anālayo 2011a: I 336 note 134).

⁵⁷ SN 36.19 at SN IV 223–228.

sutta, MN 59 at MN I 396–400), with the part containing the Buddha’s exposition on feeling tones (*vedanā*) appearing in yet another *Saṃyutta-nikāya* discourse, the *Bhikkhu-sutta*.⁵⁸ A Sanskrit fragment parallel contains part of the Buddha’s criticism of those who get into quarrels about his teachings and of the subsequent exposition on gradually superior types of happiness.⁵⁹ Śamathadeva supplies the source and location of the canonical quotation as follows:⁶⁰

*gleng gzhi yang dag par ldan pa'i sgo gsum pa'i sdom
gyi tshigs su bcad pa lnga par lnga pa dang yan lag
lngar bzhas pa* ¹*zhes bya ba'i* ¹*mdo las.*

¹ BCDPG; N: *zhes bya'i*.

From the ‘Discourse to the master-builder *Pañcakaṅga’,
in the fifth summary stanza (*uddāna-gāthā*) of the third door
(*sgo*) in the ‘Connected [Discourses] on Conditionality’.

Here *gleng gzhi yang dag par ldan pa* refers to one of the seven general structural divisions of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* collection, the division on conditionality, 因緣相応, under which the connected discourses on feeling tones, 受, are placed. Next, *sgo gsum pa'i sdom gyi tshigs su bcad pa* refers to the general *uddāna-gāthā* (*sdom gyi tshigs su bcad pa*) of the third gate (*sgo*; cf. 門 in the *Yogācārabhūmi*), *lnga par* to its fifth section, and *lnga pa dang yan*

⁵⁸ SN 36.20 at SN IV 228–229; cf. Anālayo 2011a: I 335 note 128. For a translation and discussion of the Pali and Chinese versions see Faust-Koschinger 1999; extracts are also translated and compared in Choong 2000: 111–114. For a full translation of Up 6007 see Dhammadinnā 2019a: 173–178.

⁵⁹ SHT II 51a (pp. 9–10); cf. also SHT IX p. 370.

⁶⁰ Up 6007 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 755,1–3; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 4b7–5a1; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 4b7–5a1; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 42a4; N, *mngon pa, thu* 36b7; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 36a7–8.

lag lngar bzhag pa zhes bya ba'i mdo to the title of the discourse, probably representing a form similar to **Pañcakaṅgasthāpati-sūtra* in the Sanskrit original.

Up 3070 – *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta* of the *Ādīrgha-āgama* & SĀ 486–489

The last example is from Up 3070. Śamathadeva sources the canonical citation in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* in the following manner:⁶¹

sems can thams cad ni zas kyis gnas so zhes bya ba ni mdo'i tshig yin no zhes bya ba la. mdo drug pa 'gro ba'i rnam grangs kyi mdo'i tshig go.

‘All beings subsist because of nutriment’: Thus it is stated in the discourse passage.⁶² The discourse passage [belongs] to the **Saṅgītiparyāya-sūtra*, [located] in the ‘Six-*sūtra* Group’ (**Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta*).

Here the diction *mdo drug pa 'gro ba'i rnam grangs* seems to reflect a faulty reading in the Sanskrit manuscript: *Ṣaṭsūtraka(nipāt)e Gati-paryāyasūtra*^o in lieu of **Ṣaṭsūtraka(nipāt)e Saṅgītiparyāyasūtra*^o.⁶³

⁶¹ Up 3070 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 408,8–408,9; C, *mngon pa, ju* 167b4–5; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 167b7–168a1; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 252a2–3; N, *mngon pa, tu* 182a3; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 193b5.

⁶² For the canonical quotation from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *sems can thams cad ni zas kyis gnas so zhes bya ba ni mdo'i tshig yin no zhes bya ba la*, see Pradhan 1967: 152,8–9 on *Abhidharmakośa* III.119: *sarvasattvā āhāraśtithikā iti sūtrapadam*; D 4090, *mngon pa, ku* 140a1 and P 5591, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, gu* 161a4: *sems can thams cad ni zas kyis gnas pa'o zhes bya ba ni mdo'i tshig yin no*; T 1559 at T XXIX 210b17–18: 謂：「一切眾生以食爲住」，經言如此；T 1558 at T XXIX 53b28–29: 謂：「諸有情一切，無非由食而住」 (translation in de La Vallée Poussin 1980 [1923–1926]: III 199 with note 1).

⁶³ Cf. also Honjō 1984: 43

The cited line is indeed found in the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* of the *Dīrgha-āgama*.⁶⁴ In addition, the same also recurs in four consecutive discourses (SĀ 486–489) in the *Vedanā-saṃyukta* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.⁶⁵ Thus although the source of the present quotation given by Śamathadeva is a (Mūlasarvāstivāda) *Dīrgha-āgama*, the citation is nonetheless of interest in the present context as a parallel to occurrences in a (Mūlasarvāstivāda) *Saṃyukta-āgama*.⁶⁶

This last cross-reference concludes my survey of *Saṃyukta-āgama* related inter-textual and meta-textual information supplied by Śamathadeva, a survey which has hopefully allowed the reader to get a feel for the type of structural correspondences existing between the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Saṃyukta-āgama* known to Śamathadeva and the Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda *Saṃyukta-āgama* underlying the Chinese translation.

II.4 Modules, Phraseology and Internal Structure

In this section I inspect variations in textual modules, phraseology and internal structure of the discourse material.

Up 9001 – SĀ 8 (*Skandha-saṃyukta*)

The first discourse quotation I take up for possibly significant differences in phraseology compared to its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel is Up 9001. Here, after instructing on the not-self nature of the aggregates, the Buddha provides contemplative instructions to the practitioner in training, as follows.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ See Stache-Rosen 1968: I 45: (*sarva*)*satvā āhārasth(i)taṃ* [§ I.1, fragment 18.2 to 18.3] and DĀ 9 at T I 49c20: 一切眾生皆仰食.

⁶⁵ SĀ 486 at T II 124b20–21, SĀ 487 at T II 124c1–2, SĀ 488 at T II 124c13 and SĀ 489 at T II 124c25–26: 謂:「一切眾生由食存」.

⁶⁶ For other parallels see Chung 2008: 136–138.

⁶⁷ Up 9001 at B 3323, *mngon pa*, *nyu* 937,5–8; C, *mngon pa*, *nyu* 80a2–3;

*dge slong dag 'di ltar mthong ba'i 'phags pa nyan thos
thos pa dang ldan pa 'das pa'i gzugs la btang snyoms
su 'gyur zhing ma 'ongs pa'i gzugs la mngon 'par mi'ⁱ
dga' la da ltar byung ba'i gzugs la yid 'byung ba dang 'dod
chags dang bral bar 'gyur ro.*

ⁱ BCDG; NP read: *pa*.

Monks, a learned noble disciple who contemplates in this way, will be indifferent⁶⁸ with regard to past [bodily] form, will not take delight in future [bodily] form, will be disenchanted with presently arisen [bodily] form, and will become free from desire.

Here and below in the same quotation the *Upāyikā* does not include the progression towards cessation as is instead found in a Sanskrit fragment parallel and in the *Samyukta-āgama* parallel, where the learned noble disciple “rightly progresses towards cessation”, *nirodhāya pratipanno bhavati* and 正向滅盡 respectively.⁶⁹

D 4094, *mngon pa*, nyu 77b5–6; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 148a5–6; N, *mngon pa, thu* 123b2–3; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 123a4–5.

⁶⁸ Here and below in the same discourse the Chinese parallel SĀ 8 at T II 1c23+27 speaks of being unconcerned or indifferent, 不顧 (as if pointing to Sanskrit *anapekṣa-*, *nirapekṣa-*), with regard to bodily form (and the other clinging aggregates). The same terminology recurs for instance in a passage in Up 5016 vis-à-vis SĀ 79. Quotations of a discourse passage parallel to Up 5016 vis-à-vis SĀ 79 preserved in Sarvāstivāda works in Sanskrit are consistent in this respect; see the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 468,30: *'napekṣo bhavati*, and the *Abhidharmadīpa*, Jaini 1959: 265,2: *'napekṣo bhavaty*; cf. also SN 22.9 at SN III 19,17: *anapekko hoti*. Thus the Tibetan *btang snyoms su 'gyur* in the *Upāyikā* is in all likelihood a rendering of the same expression, although *btang snyoms* is most commonly used to represent *upekṣā*.

⁶⁹ SHT IV 30a R5, p. 78: *ti pratyutpannasya rūpasya nirvide virāgāya nirodhāya [pra]*. for this standard formula in Sanskrit cf. also, e.g., *Nidāna-*

This difference qualifies for a variation in phraseology that might represent a difference in recitation traditions or else it might be imputed to accidental loss of text in the *Upāyikā*.

Up 1021 (A)⁷⁰ – SĀ 17 (*Skandha-saṃyukta*)

The interlocutor of this quotation is the venerable Rgyal ba'i bu (**jinaputra* for **vrjji putra*?) whom the Buddha addresses as 'clansman' (*rigs kyi bu*, Skt. *kulaputra*). Rgyal ba'i bu cannot keep the precepts, and the Buddha advises him that he should train in the threefold training. The discourse is parallel to the *Vajjiputta-sutta*, AN 3.83, where the interlocutor is *aññatara vajjiputto bhikkhu*, whom the Buddha addresses as *bhikkhu* rather than *kulaputta*.

The following passage contains a standard description of a monk going to see the Buddha.⁷¹

*de nas dge slong gzhan zhig nang du yang dag 'jog las
langs te bcom ldan 'das gang na ba der nye bar song ste.
nye bar song nas bcom ldan 'das kyi^[1] zhabs la spyi bos
phyag byas te phyogs gcig tu 'dug go. phyogs gcig tu 'dug*

saṃyukta in Tripāṭhī 1962: 201,5–7: *bhikṣur nirvi(de vir)āgāya nirodhāya pratipanno bhavati*; SĀ 8 at T II 1c26+28–29.

⁷⁰ This discourse quotation is followed by an *uddāna* at D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 22a6–7 and P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 24a7–8. Although Honjō 1984: 6–7 and apparently the editors of the new collated Tanjur edition (*dpe bsdur ma*) consider the text that follows the *uddāna* of Up 1021 (which I propose to distinguish into Up 1021 (A) and 1021 (B)) as belonging to the same discourse. In fact, a quotation from another discourse is clearly introduced as such: '*dir mdor bsdus pa* (GNP; CD read: *par* for *pa*) '*dod pa'i dpe gzhan yang*.

⁷¹ Up 1021 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 49,4–13; C, *mngon pa, ju* 21a4–6; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 21a4–6; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 27a5–b2; N, *mngon pa, tu* 24b1–4; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 23b2–5.

*nas dge slong des bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad ces gsol to.
bcom ldan 'das bdag la legs par mdor bsdus pa de bzhin
du chos bshad du gsol. ji ltar bdag bcom ldan 'das kyi drung
du mdor bsdus pa'i chos thos nas gcig tu dben pa tshad
med pa gdung ba med pa mnyam par<sup>[gzhag]^{lii} pa'i bdag
nyid la gnas par bya'o. gcig tu dben pa tshad med pa
gdung ba med pa mnyam par<sup>[gzhag]^{liii} pa'i bdag nyid la
gnas te.</sup></sup>*

ⁱ BCDNP; G adds: *spyā*. ⁱⁱ BCD; GNP alternatively read: *bzhag*. ⁱⁱⁱ BCDNP;
G alternatively reads: *bzhag*.

Then a certain monk emerged from meditative seclusion and went to the place where the Blessed One [was abiding], arrived at [that] place, paid homage with his head at the feet of the Blessed One and sat to one side. Sitting to one side, that monk asked the Blessed One this question: “It would be good if the Blessed One would teach me the Dharma with a brief discourse in such a way that, having heard the Dharma in the form of a brief discourse in the presence of the Blessed One, I shall go to abide by myself, alone and in solitude, [with an] immeasurable [mind] and free from longing, collected in meditation.”

The part corresponding to the description of the monk going to see the Buddha is briefer in the Chinese parallel.⁷² In addition, the latter only mentions that a certain monk rose up from his seat, bared his right shoulder and addressed the Buddha with palms joined together.⁷³ Moreover, here and in subsequent occurrences, the wish to

⁷² For a Sanskrit parallel (not involving emerging from meditation) see, e.g., *Nidāna-samyukta* 17.1, Tripāṭhī 1962: 44,5–8: *anyataro bhikṣur yena bhagavāṃs tenopajagāma, upetya bhagavatpāḍau śirasā vandi-tvaikānte 'sthāt, ekāntasthitah sa bhikṣur bhagavantam idam avocet.*

⁷³ SĀ 17 at T II 3b29; cf. also, e.g., SĀ 19 at T II 4a29, etc.

retire and the withdrawal to a secluded spot in order to practice in earnest are expressed quite differently. A somewhat important difference is that the Chinese version exhorts to reflect on the teaching, an exhortation absent in the Tibetan text as well as in the Pali parallel.⁷⁴

In the same discourse quotation, the Buddha then enjoins:⁷⁵

*dge slong gang khyod ma yin pa'i chos de khyod kyis
spang bar bya'o. don^[te] khyod kyis spangs^[nas] yun
ring po'i don dang phan pa dang bde bar 'gyur ro.*

ⁱ BCD; GNP read: *de*. ⁱⁱ BCD; GNP read: *na*.

Monk, something that is not you should be relinquished by you. If you relinquish such a condition,⁷⁶ for a long time there will be welfare, benefit and happiness.

Here and in all subsequent occurrences SĀ 17 rather speaks of eradication and relinquishment, 非汝所應之法, 宜速斷除, “whatever things do not belong to you, they should quickly be eradicated and relinquished”.⁷⁷ The *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* only mentions eradi-

⁷⁴ SĀ 17 at T II 4b1–2ult: 我聞法已，當獨一靜處，專精思惟，不放逸住 ……， “On having heard the Dharma, I shall alone and in a quiet place reflect on it with energy. Being established in it without negligence …”; SN 22.69 at SN III 78,19: “I might dwell alone, withdrawn, diligent, intent and resolute”, *eko vūpakatṭho appamatto ātāpi pahitatto vihareyyan ti* (abbreviated at SN III 78,19; text supplied from SN III 73,23–24).

⁷⁵ Up 1021 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 50,12–13; C, *mngon pa, ju* 21b5; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 21b5–6; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 28a3; N, *mngon pa, tu* 25a4–5; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 24a5.

⁷⁶ ‘Thing’ (*chos*) in lieu of ‘condition’ (*don*) would have been expected here, parallel to the same term used in the preceding phrase. Possibly *don* appears in the second part of this sentence in the sense of ‘welfare’.

⁷⁷ SĀ 17 at T II 3c11–12.

cation, *yad bhikṣo na tvaṃ sa te dharmāḥ prahātavya*,⁷⁸ in agreement with Up 1021 as well as the Pali parallel.⁷⁹

All of these differences evaluated together qualify for the presence of an Indic text at the basis of the *Upāyikā* discourse quotation and its counterpart in the Chinese translation of the *Samyukta-āgama* that were characterised by differences in diction at the oral transmission level.

Up 2078 – SĀ 28 (*Skandha-samyukta*)

In the next example, from Up 2078, a monk questions the Buddha on the attainment of *Nirvāṇa* here and now:⁸⁰

btsun pa dge slong mthong ba'i chos ^{[la]^{li}} *mya ngan las* ^{['das}
pa^{lii} *thob pa dge slong mthong ba'i chos* ^{[la]^{liii}} *mya ngan*
las 'das pa thob pa zhes bya ba ^{[la]^{liv}} *btsun pa ji tsam gyis*
na mthong ba'i chos la mya ngan las 'das pa thob pa 'i
dge slong du ^{['gyur^v} *ji tsam gyis na bde bar gshegs pas*
mthong ba'i chos ^{[la]^{vi}} *mya ngan las 'das pa thob pa 'i*
dge slong zhes tha snyad gdags pas btags.

ⁱ BCD read: *la*; GNP read: *las*. ⁱⁱ BCD read: *'das pa*. GNP read: *'da' ba*.

ⁱⁱⁱ BCD read: *la*; GNP read: *las*. ^{iv} BCD read: *la*; GNP omit: *la*. ^v BCD read: *'gyur*;
GNP read: *gyur*. ^{vii} BCD read: *la*; GNP read: *las*.

Venerable sir, it is said “a monk attains *Nirvāṇa* here and

⁷⁸ Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 48,2.

⁷⁹ SN 22.68 at SN III 77,³⁰ (although the Pali version here stands on its own vis-à-vis all the other parallels in that it speaks specifically of desire for what is not-self that should be given up): *yaṃ ... anattaniyaṃ, tatra te chando pahātabbo 'ti*, not followed by the indication that this will result in the monk's peace and happiness, etc.

⁸⁰ Up 2078 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 232,12–16; C, *mngon pa, ju* 97b5–6; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 97b5–6; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 139a2–3; N, *mngon pa, tu* 103b6–7; P 5595, *mngon pa 'i bstan bcos, tu* 111b3–5.

now.” Just in what measure is a monk declared one who attains *Nirvāṇa* here and now? Venerable sir, how is it that a monk attains *Nirvāṇa* here and now? Just in what measure has the Well-gone One made the declaration that a monk is one who attains *Nirvāṇa* here and now?

The monk’s query is articulated more concisely in SĀ 28:⁸¹

如世尊所說，得見法涅槃，云何比丘得見法涅槃？

As the Blessed One has spoken about attaining *Nirvāṇa* here and now – how does a monk attain *Nirvāṇa* here and now?

The same appears to be reflected by the citation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *drṣṭadharmanirvāṇaprāpto bhikṣur ity uktam*,⁸² as well as by the Pali parallel, *kittāvatā diṭṭhadhammanibbānappatto hotī ti*.⁸³ However, when later the Buddha takes up the monk’s query by restating it and asking the monk to reconfirm his earlier question, only the main point is repeated again, that is:⁸⁴

*dge slong khyod ’di lta bu’i dri ba ’dri ba mthong ba’i
chos* ^{[la]ⁱ} *mya ngan las ’das pa thob pa zhes bya ba nas
snga ma bzhin du tha snyad btags* ^{[so]ⁱⁱⁱ} *zhes bya ba’i bar*

⁸¹ SĀ 28 at T II 6a1; cf. Anālayo 2012b: 50 note 127.

⁸² Pradhan 1967: 93,21.

⁸³ SN 22.116 at SN III 164,7 (where the topic of attaining *Nibbāna* here and now is also worded similarly to SĀ 28 and to the quotation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, although it comes as the third of three questions raised by the monk).

⁸⁴ Up 2078 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 232,18–21; C, *mngon pa, ju* 97b6–7; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 97b7; G 3598, *mdzod ’grel, tu* 139a4–5; N, *mngon pa, tu* 104a1–2; P 5595, *mngon pa’i bstan bcos, tu* 111b6–7.

du'o. dge slong khyod 'di lta bu 'dri 'am?

ⁱ BCD read: *la*; GNP omit: *la*. ⁱⁱ BCD read: *so*; GNP omit: *so*.

Monk, you [now] ask a question like this, to what extent the declaration is made earlier of one who is said to attain *Nirvāṇa* here and now. Monk, is this the question you ask?

The type of reiteration of a given sentence by way of a reformulation in slightly different forms – often synonyms and quasi-synonyms obeying the waxing syllable principle, or to a hierarchy of climaxes or anti-climaxes – seen in the *Upāyikā* is quite common in the early Buddhist discourses, serving the purpose of maintaining the texts and preventing loss of content. Given the briefer occurrence in the second passage in the *Upāyikā* as well as the formulation in the Chinese parallel, it is difficult to infer textual addition or else textual loss, or to consider the differences as pointers to distinct traditions of recitation as such. Be that as it may, the lengthier of the two Tibetan passages accords with common practice in oral transmission and it appears to incorporate an explanatory gloss that, to a certain extent, further clarifies the import of the question.

Up 5016 – SĀ 79 (*Skandha-samyukta*)

The next discourse quotation, Up 5016, displays a minor structural divergence in the layout of the exposition between the version transmitted in the *Upāyikā* and that in the *Samyukta-āgama*, SĀ 79. Although minor, when considered from a quantitative point of view, differences of this type, counted together, do carry their weight when one attempts to trace the transmission history of the early Buddhist texts.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ In passing, I take the opportunity to mention that I tend to use the term ‘version’ rather than ‘recension’ with reference to the received Mūla-sarvāstivāda parallels in the *Upāyikā* and the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*

The *Upāyikā* discourse under discussion broaches its main doctrinal topic in the following way:⁸⁶

*dge slong dag 'phags pa nyan thos thos pa dang ldan
pa 'di ltar mthong ba dag 'das pa'i gzugs la btang snyoms
su bya ba thob cing ma 'ongs pa'i gzugs la mngon par mi
dga' zhing da ltar byung ba'i gzugs la skyo ba dang 'dod
chags dang bral ba dang 'gog pa thob par 'gyur ro.*

Monks, a learned noble disciple who examines in this way attains indifference with regard to past [bodily] form, does not relish future [bodily] form,⁸⁷ becomes disenchanted with and free from desire for [bodily] form arisen in the present and attains cessation.⁸⁸

because they are still clearly recognisable as close relatives at the end point of the transmission. I reserve the term 'recension' for witnesses to the early Buddhist discourses that have considerably developed once they started to be transmitted within their respective groups of reciters, for example the Theravāda versus the Sammitīya communities, etc.

⁸⁶ Up 5016 at B 3323, *mngon pa*, ju 665,21–666,3; C, *mngon pa*, ju 273b6–7; D 4094, *mngon pa*, ju 274a1–2; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel*, thu 20b3–4; N, *mngon pa*, thu 185b6–7; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, thu 17b5–6.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan 1967: 295,9–10: *uktaṃ hi bhagavatā 'tīte ced bhikṣave rūpaṃ nābhaviṣyan na śrutavān āryaśrāvako 'tīte rūpe 'napekṣo 'bhaviṣy, yasmāt tarhy asty atītaṃ rūpaṃ tasmāc chratavān āryaśrāvako 'tīte rūpe 'napekṣo bhavati*; *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 468,30–31: *evaṃ darśī śrutavān āryaśrāvakah atīte rūpe 'napekṣo bhavati anāgataṃ rūpaṃ nābhinandati*; *Abhidharmadīpa*, Jaini 1959: 265,2–3: *evaṃ darśī śrutavān āryaśrāvako 'tīte rūpe 'napekṣo bhavaty anāgataṃ rūpaṃ nābhinandati*.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 468,31: *pratyutpannasya rūpasya nirvide virāgāya nirodhāya pratipanno bhavati*, *Abhidharmadīpa*, Jaini 1959: 265,3: *pratyutpannasya rūpasya nirvide*

Here, even though agreeing in content, there is a minor structural divergence between Up 5016 and SĀ 79, in that the first places the (abbreviated) treatment of the other four aggregates after the comprehensive treatment of the aggregate of [bodily] form, whereas the second introduces the (abbreviated) treatment of the other four aggregates already in this part of the discourse, and then again later in the part on the existence in the three times. This difference appears to pertain to the structural level of the exposition as such rather than to the level of abbreviation, although a clear-cut divide between these two levels cannot always be meaningfully drawn. On the other hand, the Pali parallel, SN 22.9, concludes at the point corresponding to the above excerpted passage and does not have a counterpart to the remainder of Up 5016 and SĀ 79,⁸⁹ which obviously reflects the close relationship between the two Mūlasarvāstivāda versions.

Up 6016 – SĀ 81 (*Skandha-samyukta*)

A discourse quotation which has as its protagonist the Licchavī Mahānāma documents a transmission error that can be rectified with the help of a comparative study, and it also displays a substantial amount of other small but textually notable convergences and divergences between the *Upāyikā* quotation (Up 6016) and its counterpart in the *Skandha-samyukta* of the *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 81).

As already mentioned in my survey of discourse openings (section II.1 above), Up 6061 and its *Samyukta-āgama* parallel SĀ 81 share a narrative setting that, as far as I know, is peculiar to the Greater Sarvāstivāda tradition, the Monastery of the Monkey Pond at Vaiśālī. In the discourse Mahānāma first visits and queries Pūrṇa Kāśyapa,

virāgāya nirodhāya pratipanno bhavati and the standard module in SN 22.9 at SN III 19,18: *nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhaya paṭipanno hoti*.

⁸⁹ Cf. Anālayo 2013a: 43 note 105.

leader of five hundred Ājīvikas, who was staying at the Park of the Seven Mango Trees, and then the Buddha.

I first look at the transmission issue in the Tibetan text, which is found in the initial depiction of Pūrṇa Kāśyapa's profile, and then move on to the other variations. Up 6016 portrays him thus:⁹⁰

*de'i tshe na 'tsho ba pa'i a mra bdun pa'i kun dga' ra ba na*¹ *'od srungs*¹¹ *rdzogs byed dge 'dun gyi grangs kyis bgrang zhing 'phags pa ltar bcos pa'i skye bo mang po dang chen por bgrang pa dag gis mdun du byas te, 'tsho ba blng brgya tsam gyis gtso bor byas te.*

¹BCDG; NP alternatively read: *'od srung*.

At that time Pūrṇa Kāśyapa was staying at the Park of the Seven Mango Trees of the Ājīvikas, having a community of followers, possessing a group of followers, being the teacher of a group of followers, regarded by many as having the countenance of a holy man, attended by a large entourage, the leader of five hundred Ājīvikas.

The corresponding passage in the Chinese parallel is worded in a different way in as much as Pūrṇa Kāśyapa, “being the leader of an assembly of heterodox practitioners, was surrounded on all sides by five hundred heterodox practitioners, who were making a loud clamour discussing worldly things.”⁹¹ This part is not preserved in the parallels in SHT I 376 (p. 167) and in the *Dharmaskandha* (Dietz 1984: 50,17ff), a Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharma* text preserved in San-

⁹⁰ B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 762,20–763,2; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 8a1; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 8a1–2; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 46b3–4; N, *mngon pa, thu* 40b2–3; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 40a6–7.

⁹¹ SĀ 81 at T II 20c5–6: 外道眾主，與五百外道前後圍遶，高聲嬉戲，論說俗事 (translation from Anālayo 2013a: 48).

skrit fragments from Gilgit that were edited by Siglinde Dietz (1984).

The Tibetan rendition *dge 'dun gyi grangs kyis bgrang zhing 'phags pa ltar bcos pa'i skye bo mang po dang chen por bgrang ba dag gis mdun du byas te* is partly ungrammatical and incorrect, in that it gives a garbled version of a standard module attached to narratives featuring non-Buddhist teachers.⁹² The Tibetan passage, garbled both in syntax and vocabulary, can be clarified on the basis of the correct module attested elsewhere in parallel passages in Mūlasarvāstivāda texts in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit manuscript available to the Tibetan translators of the *Upāyikā* must have been corrupt at this juncture. My translation above restores the text to the corrected underlying original. This restoration is based on the following two sources:

a) the parallel to the *Śrāmanyaphala-sūtra* included in the *Saṅgha-bheda-vastu*, which has: *saṅghī ca gaṇī ca gaṇācāryaś ca sadhuruṣaṇmāto bahujanasya, mahatā ca gāṇena sampuraskṛtaḥ*,⁹³

b) the Tibetan translation of the *Saṅghabheda-vastu*, which in turn corresponds very closely to the Sanskrit text from Gilgit and reads: *'dus pa can tshogs can tshogs kyi slob dpon skye bo mang pos gzugs bzang por bkur ba tshogs chen po'i mdun gyis bltas pa*.⁹⁴

In the passage as it appears in Up 6016: *dge 'dun gyi grangs kyis* corresponds to *saṅghī ca gaṇī*, *bgrang zhing 'phags pa* corresponds to *gaṇācāryaś ca* (pointing to a corrupted underlying manuscript reading **gaṇārya* (*bgrang* = *gaṇa* + *'phags* = *ārya*), i.e.,

⁹² For an edition and annotated translation of the teachings of the six non-Buddhist teachers in the *Pravrajyā-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and its Chinese counterpart see Vogel 1970.

⁹³ Gnoli 1978: II 217,17–18.

⁹⁴ D 1, *'dul ba gzhi, nga* 259a3 and P 1030, *'dul ba gzhi, ce* 239a1; cf. also DN 2 at DN I 47,15 and Meisig 1987 for a synoptic presentation of the Sanskrit and Pali versions and a translation of the Chinese parallels, DĀ 27 at T I 107b8 and EĀ 43.7 at T II 762a20.

ācārya must have read *ārya* in the Sanskrit manuscript); *ltar bcom pa 'i* should be corrected to *ltar bcos pa 'i*;⁹⁵ *skye bo mang po dang* corresponds to *bahujanasya* with *sādhurūpasammatō bahujanasya* seeming to be only partly represented by *ltar bcos pa 'i skye bo mang po*; *mahatā ca gāṇena* is represented by *chen por bgrang ba dag gis*; *mdun du byas te* represents *sāmpuraskṛtaḥ*; *'tsho ba pa lnga brgya tsam gyis gtso bor byas te* corresponds to *pañcamātrāṇām ājīvikasātānām pramukhaḥ*.

To summarise, there appears to have been a twofold transmission problem: the Sanskrit text before the eyes of the translators was corrupt, and the translators were not familiar with the formulaic module in question, misinterpreting its elements, for example interpreting the noun *gaṇa* as (apparently) verbal forms derived from the root *gaṇ* to get *grangs*, *bgrangs*, *bgrang*, all of which correspond to *gaṇa* in the original module. This situation is a paradigmatic example of the philological problems posed by the *Upāyikā*:

1. correct translation of faulty readings in the Sanskrit manuscript (possibly from philological rigor and loyalty to the transmitted text);
2. wrong translation of correct manuscript readings (due to unfamiliarity with *Āgama* literature, its modules and usages);
3. ambiguities created by the compounding of (1) and (2).

Proceeding to variations in phraseology that do not involve textual errors, I would like to draw attention to the way Pūrṇa Kāśyapa, on seeing Mahānāma approaching from afar, instructs his retinue apropos the Buddha's lay disciples' liking for silence, as underlined in the excerpt below from Up 6016:⁹⁶

⁹⁵ For *ltar bcos pa* as a rendering of *pratirūpaka* cf. Negi 1998: V 1834, s.v.; cf. also Chandra 1959: 663, s.v., for *bcos pa* rendering *pratirūpaka*.

⁹⁶ Up 6016 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 763,5–14; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 8a2–15; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 8a3–5; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 46b5–47a2; N, *mngon pa, thu* 40b4–6; P 5595, *mngon pa 'i bstan bcos, thu* 40a8–b3.

'od srungs rdzogs byed kyisⁱ lits tsha bīⁱⁱ ming chenⁱ 'ongsⁱⁱⁱ par
gyur pa dag thag ring po nas sngar mthong nas rang
gi 'khor rnams la sgra chung dur byed du bcug ste.
khyed cag re zhis sgra chung ngur gyis shig! khyed cag
kha rog 'dug cig! dge sbyong gau ta ma'i nyan thosⁱ lits
tshaⁱⁱⁱ bī ming chen zhes bya ba 'ong zhing 'dug^{iv} gi^{iv}.
dge sbyong gau ta ma'i nyan thos yangs pa can na gnas
pa khyim pa gos dkar po gyon pa de dag lasⁱ lits tsha^{iv} bī
ming chen ni mchog tu gyur pa ste. sgra chung bar 'dod
pa sgra chung baⁱ la^{vi} dga' pa sgra chung bar 'dul ba
sgra chung ba'i bsngags pa brjod pa 'khor sgra chung
bar rig nas 'ong bar bya'o snyam du sems so. de skad ces
smras pa dang 'khor rnams kha rog 'dug par gyur to.

ⁱ BCDG read: *lits tsha bī*; NP read: *li tsa*. ⁱⁱ BCDG read: *'ongs*; NP read: *'ong*.

ⁱⁱⁱ BCDG read: *lits tsha*; NP read: *li tsa*. ^{iv} BCDG read: *gi*; NP read: *gis*.

^v BCDG read: *lits tsha*; NP read: *li tsa*. ^{vi} BCDGP read: *la*; N omits: *la*.

Pūrṇa Kāśyapa saw that the Licchavī Mahānāma was approaching from afar and he turned towards his assembly, urging them to lower [the sound of their] voices: “You there, quieten down a little! [Over there,] you, stop talking! Here a disciple of the recluse Gotama by the name of Licchavī Mahānāma is arriving. Among those who are white-clothed disciples dwelling at home, in Vaiśālī the Licchavī Mahānāma is foremost. They seek silence, delight in silence, are disciplined in silence, commend silence, and whenever they come to know there are silent assemblies, they consider those should be approached. He spoke in this way and the members of his following quietened down.”

⁹⁶ SĀ 81 at T II 20c5-6: 外道眾主，與五百外道前後圍遶。

The characterisation of Mahānāma's propensity for silence in the corresponding module in the Chinese parallel departs from the Tibetan text in as much as it has only two items ("they always delight in silence and commend silence") instead of a sequence comprising of four items ("they seek silence, delight in silence, are disciplined in silence, commend silence"), reading as follows:⁹⁷

時，富蘭那迦葉遙見離車摩訶男來，告其眷屬，令寂靜住：「汝等默然！是離車摩訶男是沙門瞿曇弟子，此是沙門瞿曇白衣弟子，毘耶離中最高上首，常樂靜寂，讚歎寂靜，彼所之詣寂靜之眾，是故汝等應當寂靜。」。

Then Pūrṇa Kāśyapa, on seeing from afar that the Licchavī Mahānāma was coming, told his followers that they should stay quiet: "You be silent! This is the Licchavī Mahānāma, who is a disciple of the recluse Gautama. Among those who are white clothed disciples of the recluse Gautama in Vaiśālī he is foremost. They always delight in silence and commend silence, they approach assemblies which are silent, therefore you should be quiet."

An occurrence of this module in the *Śrāmanyaphala-sūtra* included in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the context here being that of Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha, has the same four items as the *Upāyikā*.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ SĀ 81 at T II 20c6–11; translation with modifications after Anālayo 2013a: 48.

⁹⁸ Gnoli 1978: 218,34–219,1. For the Tibetan see D 1, 'dul ba, nga 260a3–4 and P 1030, 'dul ba, ce 239b4–5: *da ltar bcom ldan 'das de la 'khor de snyed yod na lu ba 'i sgra yang mi grag. sbring pa 'i sgra yang mi grag go. lha bcom ldan 'das de ni sgra chung pa bzhed sgra chung ba la*

yatredānīm iyatparivārasya naivotkāśanaśabdaḥ śrūyate?
alpaśabdakāmo ... alpaśabdanirataḥ alpaśabdasamtustah
alpaśabdatāyās ca sa varnavādī; tasya parṣad alpaśabdaiva.

In addition, the sentence towards the end of the Tibetan passage quoted above to the effect that the members in Pūrṇa's assembly quietened down is not found at all in SĀ 81.

Next, a significant point of agreement between Up 6016 and SĀ 81 is their ascribing the view according to which beings are defiled or purified without a cause and without a condition to Pūrṇa Kāśyapa rather than to Ma(kk)hali Gosala (Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra in Jain texts), as does the parallel to the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* included in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu*.⁹⁹ Yet, the immediately subsequent passage that carries Mahānāma's further questioning of Pūrṇa is developed in a significantly different manner in SĀ 81.

In the *Upāyikā* he is on record as asking:¹⁰⁰

'od srungs gang kha cig 'di skad smra zhing 'di skad du
lung ston na khyed cag 'od^lsrung^l ba dag smod par byed
dam? mi bden par smra ba dang khyed cag 'od^lsrung

dgyes sgra chung bas 'dul sgra chung ba'i bsngags pa mdzad pas 'khor
yang sgra chung ba nyid do. The Chinese proceeds somewhat differently, see T 1450 at T XXIV 205b7–10: 若非汝有異心，既有許多人眾，吾何不聞聲咳之聲？」侍縛迦答曰：「彼佛世尊，三業寂靜心常在定，弟子亦爾，以是義故無喧雜聲」。 Cf. also [*śa*]*bdavinītā* (quite probably **alpaśabdavinītā*) in a Sanskrit parallel most likely from the same formulaic module attached to narratives related to the non-Buddhist teachers, SHT III 886 B5 (p. 136).

⁹⁹ Gnoli 1978: II 221,28; cf. also Anālayo 2013a: 49 note 126.

¹⁰⁰ Up 6016 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 764,2–5; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 8a7–b1; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 8a7–b1; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 47a5–6; N, *mngon pa, thu* 41a2–3; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 40b7–8.

*ba'iⁱⁱⁱ chos smra ba dang chos la chos kyi rjes su mthun
par lung ston pa yin [nam]ⁱ.ⁱⁱⁱ 'ga'zhig 'ongs te 'khor gyi
nang du chos smra ba dang rjes su smra na chos smad
pa'i gnas su mi byed dam?*

ⁱ BCDG; NP read: *srungs*. ⁱⁱ BCD; CDG read: *srungs pa'i*; NP read: *srungs pa'i*. ⁱⁱⁱ NP; BCDG read: *no*.

Pūrṇa, if someone should speak these words and propound such an exposition [attributing it] to you, Pūrṇa, would he be censurable, a speaker of falsehood? Would [such a one] be a propounder of your teaching (*dharma*), Pūrṇa, one who gives an exposition of your teaching in accordance with the Dharma? If someone [like this] were to come and speak such a teaching in accordance with the Dharma in the midst of an assembly, would such a teaching incur blame?"

In SĀ 81 Mahānāma expresses his inquiry thus:¹⁰¹

世有此論，汝為審有此，為是外人相毀之言？世人所撰，為是法、為非法，頗有世人共論、難問、嫌責以不？

In the world, is there such a doctrine? Is this truly yours? Or is this a saying by an outsider to discredit you? Is this composed by people in the world, is this your teaching or is this not your teaching? Are there people in the world who have discussed this with you, closely questioned you about it, and criticised it?

My next example from the same quotation is the exposition on the defilement of beings in the *Upāyikā* in the light of its parallels, an

¹⁰¹ SĀ 81 at T II 20c15–17, translation with modifications after Anālayo 2013a: 49.

example which underscores some of the philological difficulties encountered when dealing with these textual sources in multiple languages and translations. I begin by quoting the relevant part in the *Upāyikā*, underlining the part I am about to discuss:¹⁰²

*ming chen gang gi phyir gzugs gcig tu sdug bsngal ba
ma yin zhing bde ba dang yid bde ba dang rjes su 'brel
pa dang bde ba dang yid bde ba chung ngu las <mī>ⁱ 'das
te. bde bar shes pa de 'i phyir zhes can rnam gzugs la yang
dag par chags shing chags nas yang dag par sbyor ba
dang yang dag par sbyor bas kun nas nyon mongs par 'gyur te.*

ⁱ Cf. Honjō 1989: 15–16 and Honjō 2014: II 719–720 with note 5.

Mahānāma, that being the case, [bodily] form is not entirely *duḥkha*, is not without pleasure or happiness and <not> gone beyond a small measure of pleasure and happiness.¹⁰³ Due to the experience of pleasure, beings develop attachment to [bodily] form. On being attached, they become tied to it. On being completely tied to it, they become defiled.

I would like to draw attention to the last part of the passage excerpted above, wherein beings, experiencing pleasure, are said to develop attachment to (or passion for) bodily form, on being thus

¹⁰² Up 6016 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 765,18–766,2; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 9a3–4; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 9a3–4; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 48a6–b1; N, *mngon pa, thu* 41b7–42a1; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 41b5–7.

¹⁰³ Honjō 2014: II 719: “色は絶対的には苦ではなく、楽であり、楽を伴い、少量の楽と喜とを越え〔ず〕、楽〔の因〕と知られる。” In Dhammadinnā 2013: 142–143 (with note 58) I rendered this passage less literally as “Mahānāma, that being the case, bodily form is not entirely *dukkha*, is devoid neither of pleasure nor happiness, and is in line with some pleasure and happiness.”

attached, they become tied to it, and on being thus tied, they become defiled. The corresponding section in the *Dharmaskandha* similarly states that beings are impassioned with bodily form and become impassioned, they tie themselves up to it and become tied up, and they become defiled.¹⁰⁴

*eva sukhena hetur api, mahānāman, na prajñāyate satvānāṃ
rūpe saṃrāgāya na ceme satvā rūpe saṃrajyeraṇ. yasmāt
tu, mahānāman, rūpaṃ naikāntaduḥkhaṃ sukhaṃ sukhānu-
gataṃ sukhasaumanasyaparītaṃ avakkrāntaṃ eva sukhena
tasmād ime satvā rūpe saṃrajyamte saṃraktāḥ samyuj-
yamte samyuktāḥ samkliṣyamte.*

This phrase is insufficiently preserved in the Sanskrit fragment which only has the two verbal forms (*saṃra*)jyant[*e*] *saṃraktā*,¹⁰⁵ and it is not included in the canonical citation in the *Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya*.¹⁰⁶ The corresponding gloss in the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* does not allow for comparison either.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, the matching passage in the Chinese discourse (SĀ 81) reads as follows:¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Dietz 1984: 50,17–24.

¹⁰⁵ SHT I 376 V2 (p. 167).

¹⁰⁶ Pradhan 1967: 332,11–12: *uktaṃ ca bhagavatā rūpaṃ cen mahānāman ekāntaduḥkhaṃ abhaviṣyan na sukhaṃ na sukhānugataṃ ity evaṃ ādi.*

¹⁰⁷ Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 521,11–14: *rūpaṃ cen mahānāman ekāntaduḥkhaṃ abhaviṣyat na sukhaṃ na sukhānugataṃ na saumanasyaṃ na saumanasyānugataṃ na sukha-veditaṃ hetur api na prajñāyate rūpe saṃrāgāya. yasmāt tarhi asti rūpaṃ sukhaṃ sukhānugataṃ pūrvavad ato rūpe hetuḥ prajñāyate yad uta saṃrāgāyeti.*

¹⁰⁸ SĀ 81 at T II 21a3–5; the translation of 隨樂、樂所長養 as “[bodily form] is followed by pleasure and nourishes pleasure” given in Dhammadinnā 2013: 143 note 58 is not correct.

摩訶男！以色非一向是苦、非樂，隨樂、樂所長養、不離樂，是故眾生於色染著；染著故繫，繫故有惱。

Mahānāma, because [bodily] form is not entirely *duḥkha* and unpleasant, [but] follows pleasure and has pleasure as its sustenance [or: is sustained by pleasure], being not without pleasure, therefore living beings are impassioned with attachment to [bodily] form. Because of being impassioned with attachment, they are tied to it [i.e., to bodily form]. Because of being tied to it, there is affliction.

An identical sequence is found in the Pali parallel (here spoken by Mahānāma to Mahāli), where beings become impassioned with bodily form, being impassioned, they tie themselves to it and, being tied, they become defiled, *tasmā sattā rūpasmiṃ sārājanti; sārāgā saṃyujjanti; saññogā saṅkilissanti*.¹⁰⁹

Thus all available versions use exactly the same terminology and point to an equivalent Indic phraseology.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ SN 22.60 at SN III 69,18–19.

¹¹⁰ Contrary to what I stated in a note to my earlier translation of this passage, to the effect that “[h]ere and in the following paragraph Up 6016 agrees with SN 22.60 at SN III 69,19 and all the parallels in lacking any reference to vexation as a consequence of being tied, against SĀ 81 at T II 21a5: 繫故有惱”. This note was based on taking 有惱 as representing a Sanskrit term different from *kleśa-*, *saṃ-kliś*, etc. The term 惱, ‘annoys’, ‘vexes’, ‘afflicts’ is used in Chinese Buddhist translations to render *saṃ-kliś* (‘to torment’, ‘to afflict’ in proper Sanskrit usage) and *kleśa-* (‘affliction’, ‘pain’ in proper Sanskrit usage), alongside the term 煩惱, literally ‘annoyance’, ‘affliction’, ‘vexation’, which is a common rendering of *kleśa*, but not in the *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99). Thus 惱, ‘to vex’, ‘vexation’, as used in Bhikkhu Anālayo’s 2014: 50 with note 130 translation of the SĀ 81 passage (“Because of being defiled by attachment, they are

In addition, my above rendition of the clause “is in line with some pleasure and happiness” (and its counterpart below in the (abbreviated) treatment of the other aggregates) follows the integration of the negative adverb <mi> in the sentence *bde ba dang yid bde ba chung ngu las* <mi> ‘das *te*.¹¹¹ Literally *las* <mi> ‘das means ‘not removed from’, ‘not parted from’, ‘not apart from’; thus, worded positively, the sentence “not removed from (*las mi* ‘das) [at least] a small degree (*chung ngu*) of pleasure and happiness”, would become “in line with a degree of pleasure and happiness”, “connected to some pleasure and happiness”, as it appears in SĀ 81, 隨樂, 樂所長養, “[bodily form] is followed by pleasure and nourishes pleasure”,¹¹² as well as in a parallel discourse quotation in the *Dharmaskandha*, *na sukhasaumanasyaparītam avakkrāntam*, “not removed from being

tied to it. Because of being tied to it, there is vexation”), agrees well with Sanskrit *kleśa*, *saṃ-kliś*. Therefore, although 惱 cannot be rendered in English as ‘defilement’ for (Buddhist) Sanskrit *kleśa* because it does not have such meaning (other expressions such as 汚 and 染 were used to render this Buddhist meaning of *kleśa*), there is no difference after all between the underlying Indic form(s) used in the Tibetan and the Chinese passages here, nor do we have a different version of the passage in the Chinese as such. The literary propensity for variation in Chinese translations as opposed to the consistent repetitions of the Indian oral and written texts and their Tibetan renderings may perhaps explain why the character 惱 was chosen in lieu, for instance, of the term 染 that, in other contexts, is also used for forms related to *saṃ-kliś* but that in the present case has already been used as a rendering of forms related to *rañj* just a few words earlier. This correction goes to show the linguistic challenges encountered when doing comparative work using translated texts in different languages as witnesses of their presumed underlying Indic original.

¹¹¹ The emendation is suggested by Honjō 1989: 15–16.

¹¹² SĀ 81 at T II 21a6.

surrounded by pleasure and happiness”.¹¹³ The rendition of the same string in a partial quotation of this discourse found in the Sarvāstivāda **Mahāvibhāṣā* appears to reflect a Sanskrit original that must have been quite similar to that of the *Upāyikā*, with 無少樂喜所隨逐 verbatim corresponding to *yid bde ba chung ngu las <mi> 'das te*.¹¹⁴ The corresponding part in the Pali parallel is shorter, in that it only speaks of *sukha, anavakkantam sukhena*.¹¹⁵

Last, a further variation between the Tibetan and the Chinese version is noticeable in the exposition on the final purification of beings, for which the *Upāyikā* states:¹¹⁶

*de'i phyir sems can rnam gzugs la yang dag par chags
pa dang bral zhing 'dod chags dang bral nas rnam par
grol ba dang rnam par grol nas yongs su dag par 'gyur ro.*
... that being the case, beings become free from desire
for [bodily] form. They are liberated [from it]. On being
liberated, they are purified.

Here (and for the other aggregates) SĀ 81 lacks a reference to purification as a by-product of liberation:¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Dietz 1984: 50,18 (10v8).

¹¹⁴ T 1545 at T XXVII 310a4. The entire discourse passage quoted in T 1545 at T XXVII 310a3–8 reads: 如契經說。大名當知。色若一向是苦非樂。非樂所隨無少樂喜所隨逐者應無有情爲求樂故染著於色。大名當知。以色非一向苦亦是樂亦是樂所隨是少樂喜所隨逐故。有諸有情爲求樂故染著於色。

¹¹⁵ SN 22.60 at SN III 69,15.

¹¹⁶ Up 6016 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 767,2–4; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 9b3; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 9b3; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 49a6; N, *mngon pa, thu* 42b1; P 5595, *mngon pa 'i bstan bcos, thu* 42a7–8.

¹¹⁷ SĀ 81 at T II 21a15–16.

... 是故眾生厭離於色；厭故不樂，不樂故解脫。

... therefore living beings give rise to disenchantment towards [bodily] form. Because of being disenchanted, they do not delight in it. Because of not delighting in it, they are liberated from it.

The notion of purification is instead given in the Pali parallel (*visujjhanti*), which, however, does not explicitly bring in liberation.¹¹⁸

In conclusion, the detailed comparative survey of this discourse quotation throws into relief some of the methodological challenges, as well as the somewhat complex situation that emerges when triangulations between different versions all belonging to the same, broadly defined, Greater Sarvāstivāda world.

Up 1024, Up 3012, Up 6019 – SĀ 39 (*Skandha-saṃyukta*)

The *Upāyikā* contains a quotation and two references to a discourse on five types of seeds as a simile for consciousness being conjoined with the aggregates of clinging found in the *Skandha-saṃyukta* (SĀ 39), with an additional Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda parallel among the *Saṃyukta-āgama* Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia published by Louis de La Vallée Poussin in 1913, in addition to quotations in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*,¹¹⁹ the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*¹²⁰ and the *Nibandhana* commentary to the *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra*.¹²¹ The version preserved by the Sanskrit fragments offers a

¹¹⁸ SN 22.60 at SN III 70,21–23: *tasmā sattā rūpasmiṃ nibbindanti, nibbindaṃ virajjanti, virāgā visujjhanti*.

¹¹⁹ Pradhan 1967: 15,16, 118,10, 333,6 (cf. also Pāsādika 1989: 104 [no. 409]) and 434,20. The *Saṃyutta-nikāya* parallel is SN 22.54.

¹²⁰ Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 522,20ult.

¹²¹ Samtani 1971: 164,1ult.

version that is close but not identical to that of the *Upāyikā* discourse quotation. A similar situation recurs in relation to the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* parallel, which is in turn close but not identical to the Sanskrit fragments. This is a case in point that illustrates the difficulty in assigning related yet diverse versions to neatly demarcated groupings.

Up 6038 – SĀ 42 (*Skandha-samyukta*)

The next instance of variation comes from Up 6038, a discourse quotation with a parallel in the *Skandha-samyukta* (SĀ 42). In the *Upāyikā*, the Buddha introduces his explanation like this:¹²²

*dge slong dag gnas bdun la mkhas shing don rnam pa
gsum yongs su rtog pa'i dge slong ni chos^[i] 'dul ba 'di
la myur du zag pa zad pa the tshom thob par 'gyur ro.*

ⁱ BCDNP; G adds: *la*.

Monks, a monk who is skilled in seven cases and contemplates the meaning in three ways quickly attains the destruction of the influxes in this Dharma and Discipline.

At this juncture, after mentioning the destruction of the influxes, SĀ 42 gives the standard module of the attainment of the final goal in full, bringing in the influx-free liberation of the mind up to the knowing for oneself that there will be no continuation of existence.¹²³

¹²² Up 6038 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 790,3–5; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 19a2–3; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 19a2–3; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 62b1–2; N, *mngon pa, thu* 53a7–b1; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 53a3–4.

¹²³ SĀ 42 at T II 10a5–11, translation in Anālayo 2014: 24: 爾時，世尊告諸比丘：「有七處善、三種觀義。盡於此法得漏盡，得無漏，心解脫、慧解脫，現法自知身作證具足住：『我生已盡，梵行已立，所作已作，自知不受後有。』」。

Considering that a module equivalent in wording to that in *SĀ* 42 is attested in numerous discourse quotations in the *Upāyikā*,¹²⁴ the format of the present passage is in all likelihood due to intentional or else accidental abridgment on the part of Śamathadeva (or perhaps to abridgment already in the discourse he had memorised). After all, neither the orally transmitted Sanskrit text nor its written record in the *Upāyikā* – apparently originating from Śamathadeva’s own memory rather than a manuscript – underwent a final editorial consistency-check.¹²⁵ In fact, apart from occasional obvious glitches in the Tibetan translation that are evidently due to faulty passages in the Sanskrit manuscript that was used for translation or to misunderstandings on the part of the translator, virtually all of the other numerous variations and sporadic idiosyncrasies hark back to the orally transmitted text received by Śamathadeva or at times to his defective memory, as his own postface to the *Upāyikā* reveals. I do not see a particular reason to take his quite specific justification as being the result of a mere wish to conform to a literary cliché, although no doubt Indian (and Tibetan) colophons to Buddhist works have formal perfunctory colophons wherein the author denounces his shortcomings and insufficient knowledge, to be attributed to himself alone rather than to the Teacher or to his lineage of teachers, etc.

Coming back to the discourse quotation, Up 6038, this exhibits a micro-level agreement, as it were, against the backdrop of the mini-variation mentioned above. This micro-level agreement aligns the *Upāyikā* and the *Samyukta-āgama* against their farthest kin represented by the Pali parallel: in the latter, in addition to being a con-

¹²⁴ E.g., Up 1016, Up 2071, Up 6005, Up 6019, etc.

¹²⁵ I discuss Śamathadeva’s postface to the *Upāyikā* in relation to (a) the oral transmission of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Āgamas* and (b) the dating of the compilation of the *Upāyikā* and its Tibetan translation in Dhamma-dinnā 2021.

summate one in this Dharma and Discipline, such a person is said to be the highest kind of person,¹²⁶ a specification that is absent in Tibetan and Chinese. Still, a further discrepancy, this time at what may be dubbed as ‘nano-level’, is that the *Samyukta-āgama* has only ‘in this Dharma’,¹²⁷ 於此法, against ‘in this Dharma and Discipline’ of both Up 6038, *chos ’dul ba ’di la*, and SN 22.57, *imasmin dhammavinaye*.¹²⁸ The same variations between the parallel versions recur again at the end of the discourse, when the final goal is eventually attained. From a structural point of view, the Tibetan and the Chinese discourse agree with each other against the Pali, which, after the treatment of bodily form, departs from them.¹²⁹

A discrepancy that might point to slightly different phraseology in the respective underlying Indic texts is also observable in the paragraphs on release from bodily form and the other aggregates:¹³⁰

*ji ltar na gzugs kyi nges par ’byung ba yang dag pa ji lta
ba bzhin* ^[i] *rab tu shes pa yin zhe na? gang zhig gzugs
la ’dun pa ’i ’dod chags ’dul zhing ’dun pa ’i ’dod chags
spangs pa dang ’dun pa ’i ’dod chags las yang dag par ’das
pa ste. gzugs kyi nges par ’byung ba ni ’di ’o. gzugs kyi
nges par ’byung ba ni ’di lta bu ’o zhes yang dag pa ji
lta ba bzhin rab tu shes pa ’o.*

ⁱ BCDGP; N adds: *du*.

¹²⁶ SN 22.57 at SN III 61,32–33: *imasmin dhammavinaye kevalī vusitavā uttama-puriso ti vuccatī*.

¹²⁷ SĀ 42 at T II 10a6.

¹²⁸ SN 22.57 at SN III 61,32.

¹²⁹ SN 22.57 at SN III 62,22 and SĀ 42 at T II 10a23; cf. Anālayo 2014: 25 note 65.

¹³⁰ Up 6038 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 791,19–792,3; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 19b5–6; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 19b5–7; G 3598, *mdzod ’grel, thu* 63b1–3; N, *mngon pa, thu* 53a5–7; P 5595, *mngon pa ’i bstan bcos, thu* 54a1–3.

How does one know the release from [bodily] form as it really is? When one abandons lustful desire for [bodily] form and overcomes lustful desire for [bodily] form – this is the release from [bodily] form. In this way one knows the release from [bodily] form as it really is.

Needless to say, the release from bodily form envisioned here pertains to the ultimate soteriological goal, for other passages in the discourses – including a quotation in the *Upāyikā* with a parallel in the *Dhātu-samyukta* of the *Samyukta-āgama* – define release from bodily form as the experience of the formless, in the same way as the realm of form is a release from that of sensual existence, and with release from any remainder of reflection and intention coming with the experience of cessation, that is, final *Nirvāṇa*.¹³¹

The release from bodily form is worded with a little more detail in SĀ 42 compared to Up 6038, in that it involves disciplining, abandoning and going beyond lustful desire, 伏欲貪, 斷欲貪, 越欲貪,¹³² vis-à-vis their abandoning and overcoming, 'dun pa'i 'dod chags spangs pa dang 'dun pa'i 'dod chags las yang dag par 'das pa. The counterpart in the Pali parallel speaks of their disciplining and abandoning, *chandarāgavinayo chandarāgapahānam*.¹³³ The same difference recurs in relation to the release from the other aggregates.

To draw a generalisation, such a predicament with variations at various levels may be perhaps depicted or measured along a scale that proceeds from the standard, shared format of a textual module affiliated, broadly speaking, with the Mūlasarvāstivāda transmission, to the mini-, micro- and nano-levels of identity or else divergence.

¹³¹ Up 8011 parallel to SĀ 463 at T II 118b6–8; cf. also It 72 at It 61,2–6 and DN 33 at DN III 275,13–18.

¹³² SĀ 42 at T II 10a23.

¹³³ SN 22.57 at SN III 62,20.

Up 5006(a) – SĀ 45 (*Skandha-samyukta*)

A discourse elaborating on the idea that whenever recluses and Brahmins see the existence of a self, it all boils down to seeing the self in the five aggregates of clinging in various ways, offers an example of a specific type of style rather than content variation between the *Upāyikā* and its Chinese counterpart.

The relevant statement reads thus in the *Upāyikā*:¹³⁴

*dge slong dag dge sbyong ngam bram ze gang cung zad
bdag go zhes yang dag par rjes su lta zhing yang dag par
rjes su mthong ba de thams cad ni nye bar len pa'i phung
po lnga rnams la bdag go zhes yang dag par rjes su lta ste.*

Monks, whatever recluses or Brahmins who, conceiving, conceive of a ‘self’, all conceive of a ‘self’ in relation to the five aggregates of clinging.

What is noteworthy in terms of style is that the Mūlasarvāstivāda recension witnessed by Up 5006(a) presents a doubling of cognate verbal forms, *yang dag par rjes su lta ba zhing yang dag par rjes su mthong ba*, which is consistent with the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* citation, *ye kecit bhikṣavaḥ śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā ātmeti samanupaśyantah samanupaśyanti*,¹³⁵ with the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, *ye kecid chramaṇā brāhmaṇā vā ātmeti samanupaśyantah samanupaśyanti*,¹³⁶ and with the *Abhidharmadīpa*, *ye kecid ātmeti samanupaśyantah samanupaśyanti, sarve ta imān eva pañcopadānaskandhān samanupaśyantah samanupaśyanti*.¹³⁷ The parallel in the *Samyutta-*

¹³⁴ Up 5006(a) at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 653,18–21; C, *mngon pa, ju* 268b6; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 268b7–269a1; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 14a4–5; N, *mngon pa, thu* 12b7–13a1; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 12a4–5.

¹³⁵ Pradhan 1967: 282,1–2.

¹³⁶ Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: 300,13–14.

¹³⁷ Jaini 1959: 272,6–7.

nikāya also has two verbal forms, *samanupassamānā samanupassanti*.¹³⁸ On the other hand, the Mūlasarvāstivāda version of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel employs a single verb, 見.¹³⁹

若諸沙門、婆羅門見有我者，一切皆於此五受陰見我。

If recluses and Brahmins see the existence of a self, they all see the self in these five aggregates of clinging.

The same pattern of doubling of verbal forms is found elsewhere in the *Upāyikā*, for instance in a discourse quotation parallel to a discourse included in the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama* in Chinese translation, with the duplication not observable in the latter, nor in the Theravāda counterpart in the *Dīgha-nikāya*.¹⁴⁰

Another example of a doubling of verbal forms in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition in Tibetan translation is observable in the *Pañcatraya-mahāsūtra*: *dge sbyong dang bram ze gang dag ... mngon par brjod par byed pa de dag thams cad ... mngon par brjod par byed do*,¹⁴¹ where *mngon par brjod pa ... mngon par brjod par byed pa* would correspond to Sanskrit *abhivadanto 'bhivadanti* 'asserting, they assert'.¹⁴² There is no Chinese or Sanskrit parallel for this passage, but the

¹³⁸ SN 22.47 at SN III 46,11.

¹³⁹ SĀ 45 at T II 11b3–4.

¹⁴⁰ Up 4068 at B *mngon pa, ju* 564,20–565,3; C, *mngon pa, ju* 231b2–3; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 231b2–3; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 346b1–2; N, *mngon pa, tu* 255a7–b1; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 264b2–3: *kun dga' bo 'di ni tshor ba bdag yin no zhes yang dag par rjes su mthong zhing yang dag par rjes su mthong ngo. kun dga' bo gzhan yang 'di na kha cig tshor ba bdag yin no zhes yang dag par rjes su mi mthong med kyi, 'on kyang bdag ni rig cing tshor ba'i chos can no zhes yang dag par rjes su mthong zhing yang dag par rjes su mthong ngo*; MĀ 97 at T I 580a17ult; DN 15 at DN II 68,4ult.

¹⁴¹ Skilling 1994: I 312,1 [§ 2.1].

¹⁴² Cf. also SWTF: II 125, s.v. *abhi-vad* and SWTF VII: 537, s.v. *abhi-vad* 1.

corresponding Pali discourse in the *Majjhima-nikāya* employs a single verbal form at this juncture, *abhivadanti*.¹⁴³ The presence of this occurrence in Pali advises against explaining the single verbal form observed above in the Chinese version as being merely due to language and translation differences. This could be the case in some instances, but more extensive cross-comparisons of similar cases are needed in order to position these redactional practices.

Such patterns deserve more extensive study not only within the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda sphere, but also in relation to the other early Buddhist *bhāṇaka* traditions so as to record the literary peculiarities that characterised the texts transmitted within groups and then sub-groups of reciters and therein the trajectories of transmission of the texts across and beyond India.

Up 1009 – SĀ 55 (*Skandha-samyukta*)

Another discourse quotation with a parallel in the same *Skandha-samyukta* of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* elaborates on the canonical citation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* to the effect that there are aggregates of clinging subject to the influxes.¹⁴⁴ The *Upāyikā* supplies the following definition of the aggregates of clinging:¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ MN 102 at MN II 228,13–15: *santi bhikkhave eke samaṇabrāhmaṇa aparantakappikā aparantānudiṭṭhino aparantaṃ anekavihitāni adhimutti-padāni* (C^e; E^e: *adhivuttipadāni*) *abhivadanti*.

¹⁴⁴ Pradhan 1967: 5,8: *ye sāsravā upādānaskandhās te*. Also Pradhan 1967: 13,5–6: *yat kiṃcid rūpaṃ atītānāgatapratyutpannam ādhyātmikabāhyam audārikam va sūkṣmam vā hīnam vā prañītaṃ vā yad vā dūre yad vā antike tat sarvaṃ aikādhyam abhisamkṣīpya rūpaskandha iti samkhyāṃ gacchatī ti* (cf. also Pāsādika 1989: 22 [no. 14]).

¹⁴⁵ Up 1009 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 27,17–21; C, *mngon pa, ju* 12a4–5; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 12a4–5; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 15b3–4; N, *mngon pa, tu* 14a2–3; P 5595, *mngon pa 'i bstan bcos, tu* 13b1–2.

phung po ^l*gang zhe na? gzugs*^l *gang cung zad 'das pa dang ma 'ongs pa dang da ltar byung ba dang nang gi dang phyi'i dang rags pa dang phra ba dang dman pa dang gya nom pa dang gang thag nye ba dang thag ring ba dang thams cad gcig tu bsdus nas gzugs kyi phung po zhes bya ba'i grangs su 'gro'o.*

ⁱ BCDNP; G has an intrusive passage: *zhes bya ba'i grangs su 'gro'o. tshor ba gang cung zad dang 'du shes dang 'du byed dang rnam par shes pa for gang zhe na gzugs.*

What is an 'aggregate of clinging'? It is reckoned so when in relation to whatever [bodily] form – be it past, future or presently arisen – there is lustful desire, adherence, delight, fixation, strong adherence.

The Chinese version instead mentions the influxes and the presence of clinging, and the giving rise to lustful desire, anger, delusion and other various types of secondary afflictions that invade the mind.¹⁴⁶ The Pali parallel, on the other hand, only indicates that the aggregates are with influxes and clung to, *sāsavaṃ upādāniyaṃ*.¹⁴⁷ Thus Up 1009 stands alone in not mentioning the influxes and clinging.

Up 2042 – SĀ 57 (*Skandha-saṃyukta*)

In Up 2042, a quotation from a discourse on how one is to understand and see so as to quickly reach the destruction of the influxes, the Buddha sets out wandering towards the countries in the north-

¹⁴⁶ SĀ 55 at T II 13b19–22 (elision in the text is mine); translated in Anālayo 2014: 51–52: 云何爲受陰？若色是有漏、是取，若彼色過去、未來、現在，生貪欲、瞋恚、愚癡及餘種種上煩惱心法 …… 是名受陰。

¹⁴⁷ SN 22.48 at SN III 47,25–27: *katame ca, bhikkhave, pañcupādānakkhandhā? yaṃ kiñci, bhikkhave, rūpaṃ atītānāgatapaccuppannaṃ ... la ... yaṃ dūre santike vā sāsavaṃ upādāniyaṃ. ayaṃ vuccati rūpupādānakkhandho.*

ern direction, approaching Pañcala, and goes to dwell at the root of the Bhadrāśālā Tree.¹⁴⁸ The *Samyukta-āgama* parallel (SĀ 57) as well as its *Samyutta-nikāya* counterpart (SN 22.81) mention the village of Pārileyyaka/Pālilleyaka.¹⁴⁹ SĀ 57 further indicates that this is located in the Vamśa country, and adds that the tree is situated in a grove. It moreover specifies that the grove is guarded by men, a detail that is absent in Up 2042 and in the Pali discourse, but found in the Pali commentary.¹⁵⁰ Thus in this case the Mūlasarvāstivāda lineage of transmission of the *Upāyikā* diverges from that of the *Samyukta-āgama*, which, as already observed by Bhikkhu Anālayo (2014: 54 note 144), in the present as well as in other instances, includes in its discourses information provided in the Pali commentaries but not in the corresponding *Samyutta-nikāya* parallels.

This discourse has a substantial portion of parallel text in the *Dharmaskandha*, which appears to be especially close to the text of the *Upāyikā*.¹⁵¹ These two versions share a typological similarity, in that both were transmitted within the larger textual frame of *Abhidharma* works of the (Greater) Sarvāstivāda masters.

To illustrate the patterns of similarity or variation, I quote from a passage taking up one group of self-views includes the view of

¹⁴⁸ Up 2042 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 169b,3–4; C, *mngon pa, ju* 71a4; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 71a5; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 97b6; N, *mngon pa, tu* 77a5–6; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 80a1: *de nas bcom ldan 'das byang phyogs kyi lnga len du ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs te. shing sa la bzang po gzhan zhig gi drung du brten te bzhugs so.*

¹⁴⁹ SĀ 57 at T II 13c17–18: 爾時，世尊遊行北至半闍國波陀聚落，於人所守護林中，住一跋陀薩羅樹下; SN 22.81 at SN III 94,16ult.

¹⁵⁰ Spk II 305,1.

¹⁵¹ See in more detail Anālayo's 2014: 53–60 and Dhammadinnā's 2014: 104–113 annotation to the translations of the Chinese and Tibetan versions respectively.

annihilationism, the view of sceptical doubt, and the view of appropriating the ‘I’ as a self. In the *Upāyikā* version it reads:¹⁵²

... 'on kyang chad par lta ba dang med par lta bar 'gyur ro.
de chad par lta ba dang med par lta bar mi 'gyur gyi. 'on
kyang ⁱ[dogs]ⁱⁱ pa dang som nyi dang bcas par 'gyur ro.
de ⁱⁱⁱ[dogs]ⁱⁱⁱ pa dang ⁱⁱⁱⁱ[som nyi]ⁱⁱⁱⁱ dang bcas par mi 'gyur gyi. 'on
kyang 'di ni ^v[nga]^v ^{vi}[i]^{vi} bdag yin no zhes 'di ni nga 'i bdag tu
yang dag par rjes su mthong ba dang de 'i bdag tu ^{vii}[rtogs]^{vii} par
gyur te.

ⁱ BCDN; GP read: *dog*. ⁱⁱ BCDN; GP read: *dog*. ⁱⁱⁱ BCD; GNP read: *sum nyi*. ^{iv} BCDGP; N reads: *de 'i*. ^v CD; BGNP read: *rtog*.

... he further holds the view of annihilationism, the view of nihilism. [Or] he does not hold the view of annihilationism, the view of nihilism, but he has sceptical doubt. Or he has no sceptical doubt, but he regards that this ‘I’ is a self in this way: ‘This is my self’, and accordingly has the notion of a self.

The parallel *Samyukta-āgama* passage speaks of holding the view of annihilation, the view that existence or becoming (*bhava*) will be destroyed or, if one does not hold such a view, he is still not free from self-conceit in that he still sees an ‘I’.¹⁵³ The Pali parallel mentions the eternalist view (not taken up by Up 2042 and SĀ 57), the view of annihilation and perplexity about the Dharma.¹⁵⁴ Thus in this instance the discourse recension transmitted as Up 2014 partly

¹⁵² Up 2042 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 174,4–8; C, *mngon pa, ju* 73a6–7; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 73a6–7; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 101a1–3; N, *mngon pa, tu* 79a7–b2; P 5595, *mngon pa 'i bstan bcas, tu* 82b2–4.

¹⁵³ SĀ 57 at T II 14b6–8: 復作斷見、壞有見；不作斷見、壞有見，而不離我慢。不離我慢者，而復見我。

¹⁵⁴ SN 22.81 at SN III 98,ult.

agrees with its expected closest relative (for annihilationism and self-view), the other Mūlasarvāstivāda version (SĀ 57), and partly with its more distant relative, the Theravāda version (for annihilationism and doubt), in so far as the mention of the fetter of doubt is found in Up 2014 and SN 22.81, but is absent in SĀ 57. The same wordings are then repeated in the subsequent sentences dealing with one who may not hold such a view.¹⁵⁵

Up 6061 – SĀ 212 (*Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta*)

Here comes another example of literary peculiarities that might well characterise the way the oral transmission of the discourses developed within proximate yet independent groups of reciters. A passage from a full quotation of a discourse on the theme of cultivating diligence in relation to practitioners at different levels of development on the path, with a parallel in the *Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta* of the *Samyukta-āgama*, enjoins:¹⁵⁶

dge slong dag mig ^{[gi]ⁱ} *nam par shes par bya ba* 'i *gzugs 'dod pa sdug pa dga' ba yid* ^{[du]ⁱⁱⁱ} *'ong ba 'dod pa sdud par byed pa dga' bar byed pa de dag mthong nas* *mngon par mi dga' zhing mngon par mi brjod* ^{[pa]ⁱⁱⁱ} *la mi zhen cing lhag par mi zhen cing gnas te.*

ⁱ BDGNP; C reads: *gis*. ⁱⁱ BCDG; NP read: *la*. ⁱⁱⁱ N; BCDGP omit: *pa*.

¹⁵⁵ Last, the narrative sequence of the Buddha and the monks' wanderings differs between SĀ 57 and Up 2042, with the latter displaying a number of inconsistencies that signal transmission problems that can be resolved with the help of SĀ 57; for a summary of the overall sequence common to both versions and of the main discrepancies see Dhammadinnā 2014: 105–106 note 82.

¹⁵⁶ Up 6061 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 819,14–17; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 31a3–4; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 31a4–5; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 79b6–80a1; N, *mngon pa, thu* 67b4–5; P 5595, *mngon pa 'i bstan bcos, thu* 67b3–4.

Monks, [visual] forms to be cognised by the eye [can] lead to craving conjoined with delight, they [can] be captivating, seductive and pleasurable. Having seen them, [such a monk] does not delight in them, does not praise them, does not adhere to them, does not dwell in attachment to them.

In spite of a slight difference in wording,¹⁵⁷ this module comprises four items in both Up 6061 and SĀ 212: (a) *mngon par mi dga' zhing* (b) *mngon par mi brjod la* (c) *mi zhen cing* (d) *lhag par mi zhen cing gnas te* and (a) 不喜, (b) 不讚歎, (c) 不染, (d) 不繫著住.¹⁵⁸ This is to be expected given that the two versions stem from closely related Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions of reciters. An occurrence in Sanskrit also affiliated with a Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition is documented, for instance, in the *Divyāvadāna*: (a) *abhinandaty*, (b) *abhivadaty*, (c) *adhyavasyaty*, (d) *adhyavasāya tiṣṭhati* (the phrase is positive in this instance, without negative adverbs).¹⁵⁹ On the other hand, the same module has three items in the Theravāda *Samyutta-nikāya*: (a) *nābhinandati*, (b) *nābhivadati*, (c) *nājjhosāya tiṭṭhati*.¹⁶⁰

Up 1018(a) – SĀ 222 + SĀ 223, Up 1018(b) – SĀ 224 + SĀ 225 (*Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta*)

The next case comprises differences in both structural and formal aspects. The discourse quotation listed as Up 1018 in Honjō (1984:

¹⁵⁷ According to SĀ 212 at T II 53c23 one might crave with delight for visual forms cognised by the eye and become defiled by attachment therein, 可愛樂、染著之色。

¹⁵⁸ SĀ 212 at T II 53c24.

¹⁵⁹ Cowell and Neil 1886: 37,22–23.

¹⁶⁰ E.g., SN 35.118 at SN IV 102,21 (this passage is not found in the direct *Samyutta-nikāya* parallel to the present discourse, SN 35.134).

4–5 [no. 18]) is in effect not citing from a single but from two discourses, each of which in turn appears to parallel two discourses in the *Samyukta-āgama*.¹⁶¹ That is, the first part of Up 1018, which I re-name Up 1018(a), is a parallel to SĀ 222, whereas its second part is a parallel to SĀ 223. The same pattern applies to the second part of Up 1018, which I re-name as Up 1018(b), where the first part of the quotation only partially parallels SĀ 224 and the second part parallels SĀ 225. All of these discourses share the same narrative setting.

Up 1018 starts off with the Buddha announcing the topic he is about to give a teaching on:¹⁶²

*dge slong dag thams cad mngon par shes shing yongs
su spang bar bya ba zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs
ngas bstan par bya yis.*

Monks, I shall give an exposition on the Dharma called
'All That is to be Directly Known and Fully Understood.'

This is reflected in the discourse quotation in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, except that the latter speaks only of *sarvābhijñeyam* instead of *thams cad mngon par shes* and *(thams cad) yongs su spang bar bya ba*.¹⁶³ At the outset of the *Samyukta-āgama parallel* (SĀ 222) the Buddha does not introduce the title of the exposition, but says to the monks that they should understand all things that are to be understood and all things that are to be cognised.¹⁶⁴

Another variation that manifests on comparing the diction in

¹⁶¹ Cf. also Honjō 1984: 4–5 [no. 18], who gives SĀ 222–225 as parallels.

¹⁶² Up 1018 at B 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 44,15–16; C, *mngon pa, ju* 19a6; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 19a6; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, tu* 24b7–25a1; N, *mngon pa, tu* 22a6; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 21b1.

¹⁶³ Pradhan 1967: 465,3: *sarvābhijñeyam vo bhikṣavo dharmaparyāyam deśayīṣyāmīty*.

¹⁶⁴ SĀ 222 at T II 55a28–29: 當知一切知法、一切識法。諦聽，善思，當爲汝說。

these discourses is that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* qualifies feeling tones, whether they are pleasant, painful or neither-pleasant-nor-painful, as being experienced ‘within’, 內. This terminology is peculiar to and appears to be a pattern in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.¹⁶⁵

After a first exposition (which is abbreviated in SĀ 222 at T II 55b3 and clearly concludes with the monks delighting in the discourse), the following part of Up 1018(a) parallels the opening statement found in the main body of the subsequent discourse in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (SĀ 223), but without being introduced by a new narrative setting. This indicates that what in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (Tai-shō edition) are presented as two distinct but consecutive discourses (SĀ 222 and SĀ 223), appear to be quoted as part of a single exposition in the *Upāyikā* (Up 1018(a)). The same pattern is found in Up 1018(b) vis-à-vis the two subsequent consecutive discourses in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (SĀ 224 and SĀ 225). The first part of Up 1018(b) is a parallel to SĀ 224, whereas its second part is a parallel to SĀ 225, following the same pattern of the first and second parts of Up 1018(a), which parallel respectively SĀ 222 and SĀ 223.

In SĀ 224 the Buddha does not introduce the exposition by giving its title, but he says to the monks that all the things that are desirable should be abandoned.¹⁶⁶ The qualification of being desirable is repeated in the rest of SĀ 224. The same is not found at all in the *Upāyikā* and is also absent in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* parallel.¹⁶⁷

Another considerable difference between SĀ 224 and Up 1018(b) is that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse as well as its *Saṃyutta-nikāya* parallel speak throughout only of abandoning, whereas the *Upāyikā*

¹⁶⁵ E.g., SĀ 222 at T II 55b2; for other examples see Dhammadinnā 2016: 74 note 32, 77 notes 38 and 38 and Dhammadinnā 2018a: 89–90 note 8.

¹⁶⁶ SĀ 224 at T II 55b16: 一切欲法應當斷.

¹⁶⁷ SN 35.24 at SN IV 15,20ult; cf. also Anālayo 2016a: 50 note 112.

has understanding and abandoning. The qualification of being desirable might simply be an addition to the *Samyukta-āgama* version; and the injunction to directly know before abandoning might likewise be an addition to the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* version.

After SĀ 224 concludes its exposition, with the monks delighting in the discourse spoken by the Buddha,¹⁶⁸ the following part of Up 1018(b) parallels the opening statement found in the main body of the subsequent discourse in the *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 225, which has the same location as SĀ 224). Thus what in the *Samyukta-āgama* are two distinct but consecutive discourses (SĀ 224 and 225) are quoted as part of a single exposition in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* (Up 1018(b)). The same pattern is found in Up 1018 (a) vis-à-vis SĀ 222 and 223.

Up 6012 – SĀ 467 (*Vedanā-samyukta*)

This quotation and its parallel in the Chinese *Vedanā-samyukta* (SĀ 467) have different interlocutors. Rather than the monks, the interlocutor in the Chinese version is Rāhula. He questions the Buddha about which way one should know and see in relation to one's body with its consciousness and external objects and signs, so that there will be no sense of an I, viewing as mine, fetter, attachment and underlying tendency to the I-conceit; such a query on the part of the interlocutor is in fact absent in Up 6012.

The two versions also display a minor stylistic difference in the sequence in which the three basic types of feeling tones are presented: (a) pleasant, (b) painful and (c) neither-pleasant-nor-painful in the Tibetan version (*bde ba'i tshor ba dang sdug bsngal gyi tshor ba dang bde ba yang ma yin sdug bsngal ba yang ma yin pa'i tshor ba*) and (b) painful, (a) pleasant and (c) neither-painful-nor-

¹⁶⁸ SĀ 224 at T II 55b20.

pleasant in Chinese (有三受：苦受、樂受、不苦不樂受).¹⁶⁹ A fragmentary Sanskrit parallel preserves the akṣaras *danā aduḥkhā-su(kha)*, suggesting the regular sequence (a) *sukhā*, (b) *duḥkhā* and (c) *aduḥkhāsukhā vedanā* in Buddhist Sanskrit texts.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, the *Samyutta-nikāya* parallel to SĀ 467 in SN 36.5 at SN IV 207,⁵⁻⁶ has the standard Pali sequence with (a) pleasant, (b) painful and (c) neither-painful-nor-pleasant feeling tones, *sukhā vedanā, dukkhā vedanā, adukkhamasukhā vedanā*.

Thus it seems likely that the wording in SĀ 467 is a literary feature of the Chinese translation and is not to be taken as signalling differences in the originals. This pattern is however not fully consistent throughout the *Samyukta-āgama* (Anālayo 2011a: II 840–841 note 110).

Differences in wording between the Tibetan and Chinese versions surface again in the same discourse with regard to contemplation of feeling tones, where in the *Upāyikā* the Buddha proclaims:¹⁷¹

*dge slong dag de la bde ba'i tshor ba ni sdug bsngal du
blta bar bya'o. sdug bsngal gyi tshor ba ni zug rngur
blta bar bya'o. bde ba yang ma yin sdug bsngal ba yang
ma yin pa'i tshor ba ni mi rtag pa dang yongs su 'gyur
ba'i chos can du blta bar bya'o.*

Monks, pleasant feeling tones are to be seen as unsatisfactory (*duḥkha*), painful feeling tones are to be seen as a dart, neither-pleasant-nor-painful feeling tones are to be seen as impermanent and of a nature to change.

¹⁶⁹ SĀ 467 at T II 119a27.

¹⁷⁰ BL Or.15009/206r1, Enomoto 2004: 42 and 45.

¹⁷¹ Up 6012 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 760,20–761,3; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 7a4–5; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 7a4–5; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 45b3–4; N, *mngon pa, thu* 39b3–4; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 39a7–8.

Here the *Samyukta-āgama* speaks of seeing pleasant feeling tones as unsatisfactory, painful feeling tones as a piercing sword (劍刺; alternatively: ‘a sword [or] a thorn’) and neither-painful-nor-pleasant feeling tones by cultivating the perception of impermanence (無常想), to which subsequent occurrences add ‘perception of cessation’ (滅想), which could thus be restored in the present passage.¹⁷² According to the Pali counterpart pleasant feeling tone should be seen as unsatisfactory (*dukkha*), painful feeling tone as a dart and neither-painful-nor-pleasant feeling tone as impermanent,¹⁷³ which is similar to the *Upāyikā*. The same difference as to the neither-painful-nor-pleasant (feeling tones) recurs in the verse part of the discourse.¹⁷⁴

Up 6010 – SĀ 473 & SĀ 474 (*Vedanā-samyukta*)

The next quotation, Up 6010, provides evidence of both structural and literary discrepancies when studied in relation to its parallel in the *Vedanā-samyukta* (SĀ 474).¹⁷⁵ Up 6010 is a full parallel to SĀ 474. It further includes a set of closing stanzas not found in SĀ 474, which consists only of prose. These stanzas have a close parallel in the preceding discourse of the *Vedanā-samyukta* (SĀ 473),¹⁷⁶ without a counterpart in its Pali parallel (SN 36.11) so that Up 6010 is a parallel to both SĀ 474 (which, like Up 6010, features the venerable Ānanda meditating alone in a quiet place as the Buddha’s interlocutor) for the main body of the discourse and to SĀ 473 (with an

¹⁷² SĀ 467 at T II 119a27–29, 119b2 and 119b5; cf. also Shi Tianxiang 1998: 43.

¹⁷³ SN 36.5 at SN IV 207,6–8: *sukhā ... vedanā dukkhato daṭṭhabbā, dukkhā vedanā sallato daṭṭhabbā, adukkhamasukhā vedanā aniccato daṭṭhabbā*.

¹⁷⁴ SĀ 467 at T II 119b5.

¹⁷⁵ The discourse parallel in the *Samyukta-āgama* is SĀ 474 at T II 121a19–b25 (partial translation and study in Choong 2000: 122–128). Up 6010 is translated with annotation in Dhammadinnā 2019a: 163–169.

¹⁷⁶ SĀ 473 at T 121a11–17.

unnamed monk similarly meditating alone in a quiet place as the interlocutor) for the closing verse section.¹⁷⁷ In addition, as already observed above, the narrative settings do not correspond.

A structural inconsistency between the two versions is apparent in the way the exposition is organised. According to Up 6010, after the Buddha instructs Ānanda that he has spoken of any feeling tone whatsoever as all unsatisfactory intending the impermanence of constructions (*saṃskārāḥ*) and their change, he goes on to explain:¹⁷⁸

*kun dga' bo 'on kyang 'du byed rnams rim pa bzhin du nye
bar zhi bar 'gyur zhing rim pa bzhin du 'du byed rnams
nye bar zhi bar 'gyur te. rim pa bzhin du 'du byed rnams
so sor l'gag¹ par 'gyur zhing rim pa bzhin du 'du byed
rnams so sor rab tu 'gag par 'gyur ro.*

¹ BCD; GNP read: 'gags for 'gag.

However, Ānanda, every (*rnams*) construction gradually subsides; gradually all (*rnams*) constructions subside. Every construction gradually ceases; gradually all constructions cease.

At the corresponding juncture in SĀ 474 it is instead Ānanda who prompts the rest of the presentation by asking why the Buddha had spoken intending the gradual subsiding of feeling tones;¹⁷⁹ such a query is absent in Up 6010, where the Buddha simply carries on with his exposition.

Moreover, as regards the gradual subsiding of feeling tones in

¹⁷⁷ Cf. also Honjō 1984: 84–85 [no. 10].

¹⁷⁸ Up 6010 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 758,18–759,1; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 6a7–b1; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 6a7–6b1; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 44a6–b1; N, *mngon pa, thu* 38b4–5; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 38a6–7.

¹⁷⁹ SĀ 474 at T II 121b1–2.

SĀ 474, it bears noting that at an earlier point in this discourse the Buddha had introduced the gradual appeasing (and ceasing) of constructions (諸行) rather than feeling tones (諸受).¹⁸⁰ The same is found a few lines later in the conclusion of the exposition on the gradual subsiding of constructions.¹⁸¹ The Pali parallels to SĀ 473 and SĀ 474 also speak of the Buddha having declared the gradual cessation of constructions.¹⁸² Based on these occurrences, Wang Jianwei 王建偉 and Jin Hui 金暉 (2014: II 216 and V 359 note 19) emend the passage in SĀ 474 to read 諸行 instead of 諸受.¹⁸³ Up 6010 seems to lend support to this correction.

The phraseology in the excerpt given above (and in its subsequent occurrence) is unique to the Tibetan version in that the verbatim repetition of each of the two statements, joined by the connective particle *zhing*, does not have a counterpart in the Chinese parallel. The formulation appears to convey a sense of progressive and steady process wherein constructions keep subsiding in succession, one after the other, eventually leading up to the ultimate cessation of all of them, which is spoken of as *saṃskṛtātyanta vyupaśama* in Sanskrit texts. My rendition of the Tibetan is an attempt at reflecting this.¹⁸⁴ In the *Samyukta-āgama* parallel the fact that all

¹⁸⁰ SĀ 474 at T II 121a27–28: 又復，阿難！我以諸行漸次寂滅故說，以諸行漸次止息故。

¹⁸¹ SĀ 474 at T II 121b8–9: 是名漸次諸行寂滅。

¹⁸² SN 36.11 (an unnamed monk as the Buddha's interlocutor) at SN IV 217,4–5, SN 36.15 (Ānanda as interlocutor) at SN IV 220,13–14, SN 36.16 (Ānanda as interlocutor) at SN IV 221,19 (abbreviated), SN 36.17 (monks as interlocutors) at SN IV 222,11–12, SN 36.18 (monks as interlocutors) at SN IV 222,33 (abbreviated): *atha kho pana ... mayā anupubbaṃ saṅkhārānaṃ nirodho akkhāto*.

¹⁸³ SĀ 474 at T II 121b1–2.

¹⁸⁴ Honjō 2014: II 713 renders this passage as follows: “またアーナンダ”

feeling tones are *duḥkha* is directly related to the gradual stilling of constructions, that is, to the experience of *Nirvāṇa*.¹⁸⁵ This more clearly correlates the gradual stilling of all experiences qua *duḥkha* to the eradication of *duḥkha* and the stilling of all constructions.¹⁸⁶

Later in the discourse, the Buddha teaches the progression of the gradual subsiding and gradual cessation of all constructions in detail, which I quote in full (leaving out the lengthy Tibetan text) but eliding the parts spoken by Ānanda:¹⁸⁷

Ānanda, upon entering the first absorption, speech subsides; upon entering the second absorption, initial and sustained mental application subsides; upon entering the

よ、諸行は順次寂滅し、順次消滅する” (“Furthermore, Ānanda, constructions are successively disappearing and they successively disappear”).

¹⁸⁵ SĀ 474 at T 121a28–b1: 又復，阿難！我以諸行漸次寂滅故說，以諸行漸次止息故說，一切諸受悉皆是苦，“Moreover, Ānanda, I said that all feeling tones without exception are *duḥkha* on account of the gradual subsiding of constructions, on account of the gradual stilling of constructions.”

¹⁸⁶ See for instance AN 9.34 at AN IV 414–418, in which Sāriputta states at the outset that “this *Nibbāna* is happiness” (*sukham idaṃ ... nibbānaṃ, sukham idaṃ nibbānan ti*). Asked by Udāyin “what, then, is the happiness here where there is nothing that is felt?” (*kiṃ pan’ettha ... sukhaṃ yadettha natthi vedayitan ti?*), he gives an exposition on the progressive overcoming of the four absorptions and four immaterial states leading up to the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling tone, so that on seeing with wisdom, one reaches the destruction of the influxes (*paññāya cassa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti*).

¹⁸⁷ Up 6010 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 759,3–760,10; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 6b1–7a2; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 6b2–7a2; G 3598, *mdzod ’grel, thu* 44b2–45a5; N, *mngon pa, thu* 38b5–39a7; P 5595, *mngon pa’i bstan bcos, thu* 38a8–39a3.

third absorption, happiness subsides; upon entering the fourth absorption, exhalation and inhalation subside. Upon entering the attainment of the cessation of perception and affective knowing (*samjñāvedayitanirodha*), constructions and feeling tone subside.¹⁸⁸ Ānanda, it is like this that every construction gradually subsides, gradually all constructions subside.¹⁸⁹ (...) Ānanda, *from* ... upon entering the first absorption, speech ceases ... *up to* ... upon entering the attainment of cessation of perception and feeling tone, constructions and feeling tone come to cease. Ānanda, it is like this that every construction gradually ceases, gradually all constructions cease.

Ānanda, there also exists a gradual cessation superior to such gradual cessations, an exalted gradual cessation, an unsurpassed gradual cessation, an unexcelled gradual cessation, a gradual cessation apart from any other gradual cessation, an unsurpassed progression, a progression that goes entirely beyond, a sixth sublime progression. Ānanda, what is such ... *from* ... [a gradual cessation superior] to such gradual cessations ... a gradual cessation apart from any other gradual cessation, an unsurpassed progression, a progression that goes entirely beyond, a sixth sublime progression?¹⁹⁰ Ānanda, here the mind of a

¹⁸⁸ Here and in a subsequent occurrence, the translation in Honjō 2014: II 713 (lines 2 and 5) presupposes an emendation of '*du byed dang tshor ba* to read '*du shes dang tshor ba*, so that perception and feeling tone rather than constructions and feeling tone would subside.

¹⁸⁹ The closing statement of this passage is shared by Up 6010 and SĀ 474 at T II 121b8, but it is not found in SN 36.11; the same applies to the closing statement of the passage on the gradual cessation of constructions below in Up 6010 and SĀ 474 at T II 121b1 vis-à-vis SN 36.11.

¹⁹⁰ Adopting the reading *gya nom par 'jug pa drug pa* in P (and in line

monk is detached from passion and becomes liberated; it is detached from aversion and delusion¹⁹¹ and becomes liberated. Ānanda, *from* ... [superior] to such gradual cessations ... a gradual cessation apart from any other gradual cessation, an unsurpassed progression, a progression that goes entirely beyond, a sixth sublime progression.¹⁹²

In this exposition Up 6010 departs from SĀ 474 by explicitly numbering the highest form of cessation as the sixth (the four absorptions and the cessation of perception and feeling tone being the first five).¹⁹³

In its account of the gradual subsiding of constructions, before the cessation of perception and affective knowing (*saṃjñāvedayita-nirodha*), SĀ 474 further includes the four immaterial spheres of (infinite) space, (infinite) consciousness, (infinite) nothingness and neither-perception-nor-non-perception;¹⁹⁴ these four involve the subsiding of the perception of material form, of the perception of the sphere of (infinite) space, of the perception of the sphere of (infinite) consciousness and of the perception of the sphere of nothingness respectively.

As in the case of the gradual subsiding, SĀ 474 also includes the ceasing of the four immaterial spheres prior to the cessation of perception and affective knowing also in the exposition on the

with the subsequent occurrence in all editions); CD read: *gya nom par 'jug pa drug pa de*; GN read: *gya nom par 'jug pa drug*.

¹⁹¹ My translation is based on the expunction of the intrusive *sems* in *zhe sdang dang gti mug las >sems< 'dod chags dang bral zhing*.

¹⁹² SĀ 474 at T II 121b21–24 does not abbreviate.

¹⁹³ In addition, SĀ 474 at T II 121b17–20 does not abbreviate the Buddha's exposition.

¹⁹⁴ SĀ 474 at T II 121b1–8.

gradual cessation of constructions.¹⁹⁵ In addition, unlike Up 6010, SĀ 474 does not abbreviate the Buddha's exposition at this juncture.¹⁹⁶

As already noted by Honjō (2014: II 713–714 note 2), such an absence of the immaterial attainments (that are present in the Chinese and Pali parallels) cannot be ascribed to an error which occurred at the time of or after the translation into Tibetan, as shown by the mention of the sixth (cessation), which refers to the highest form of cessation as the sixth after the four material absorptions and a fifth attainment, namely the cessation of perception and affective knowing. I suggest that such a discrepancy as well as the caption of a 'sixth' cessation must have already been present in the *Samyukta-āgama* discourse memorised by Śamathadeva.

A comparison of the Tibetan and Chinese passages is furthermore interesting in that it shows that side by side with a noteworthy discrepancy, close similarities in phraseology can be observed between the two versions. SĀ 474 introduces the utmost form of cessation in a manner similar to Up 6010, by juxtaposing four near-synonyms and stating that on comparing such cessation to the other (forms of) cessation, there is none which could surpass it.¹⁹⁷ This reference is absent in the Pali parallel, SN 36.11. Only a few lines later the two versions then depart from each other in phraseology, although at the micro-level, in that whereas in Up 6010 the mind of a monk is detached from passion and becomes liberated, and is detached from aversion and delusion and becomes liberated, according to SĀ 474 it is liberated through not delighting in sensual passion, aversion or delusion.¹⁹⁸ Last, SĀ 474 concludes with Ānanda's delight after the

¹⁹⁵ SĀ 474 at T II 121b9–16.

¹⁹⁶ SĀ 474 at T II 121b10–16.

¹⁹⁷ SĀ 474 at T II 121b17–18: 佛告阿難：「復有勝止息、奇特止息、上止息、無上止息。如是止息於餘止息無過上者。」

¹⁹⁸ SĀ 474 at T II 121b22: 於貪欲心不樂，解脫；恚、癡心不樂，解脫。

Buddha's exposition quoted above as per the standard closing of *Samyukta-āgama* discourses, without verse.¹⁹⁹

Nevertheless, the two Mūlasarvāstivāda witnesses remain very close kins once a third relative, the Theravāda, is taken up for comparison. Not only are the recapitulative statements of the Buddha after the expositions of the gradual subsiding and the gradual cessation (“Ānanda, it is like this that ...”) shared by Up 6010 and SĀ 474 and not found in the Pali parallel (SN 36.11);²⁰⁰ but also in the Pali parallel the culmination point of the process of gradual cessation of constructions (*anupubbasaṅkhārānaṃ nirodho*) after a ninefold progression of which *saññāvedayitanirodha* forms the ninth and last stage is worded in terms of the ceasing (*niruddha hoti*), subsiding (*vūpasanta hoti*) and complete tranquilisation (*paṭippassaddha hoti*) of sensual passion, aversion and delusion with the destruction of the influxes.²⁰¹

Up 6029 – SĀ 535 (*Aniruddha-samyukta*)

The penultimate quotation I analyse is Up 6029, a complete parallel to SĀ 535, a discourse located in the *Aniruddha-samyukta*;²⁰² in fact, this is the sole parallel for the *Aniruddha-samyukta* available in the *Upāyikā*.

Particularly interesting for the purposes of my present topic of

¹⁹⁹ SĀ 474 at T II 121b24–25.

²⁰⁰ SĀ 474 at T II 121b8 (gradual subsiding) and SĀ 474 at T II 121b1 (gradual cessation).

²⁰¹ SN 36.11 at SN IV 217,^{16ult}; cf. also SN 36.15 at SN IV 220,^{16ult} and SN 36.16 at SN IV 221,^{19ult}.

²⁰² SĀ 535 at T II 139a16–b24 has a Pali parallel in SN 52.2 at SN V 296,²³–297,²³, the second *Rahogata-sutta* located in the *Rahogata-vagga* of the *Anuruddha-samyutta*. For a full translation of Up 6029 see Dhamma-dinnā 2018b: 25–26.

multiple Sarvāstivāda / Mūlasarvāstivāda affiliations is this declaration made by Aniruddha on the path of practice represented by cultivation of the four establishments of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*):²⁰³

*de nas tshe dang ldan pa ma 'gags pa gcig pu dben par
gyur pa na* ⁱ*nang du yang dag 'jog la gnas pa na* ⁱⁱ*sems
la sems kyi rnam par rtog pa 'di lta bu dag skyes te:
sems can rnams yongs su dag par byed cing mya ngan
dang 'yongs su 'tshe ba* ⁱⁱⁱ*las 'da'zhing sdug bsngal ba
dang yid mi bde ba rnams nub nas rigs pa'i chos rtogs
pa'i theg pa ni gcig kho na ste. 'di lta ste dran pa nye
bar gzhag pa bzhi'o.*

ⁱBCD; GNP read: *nang du yang dag par 'jog pa las gnas pa na.* ⁱⁱGNP;
BD reads: *tshe ba* for *'tsho ba.*

Then when the venerable Aniruddha was dwelling alone in meditative seclusion, in a solitary place, such a thought came to [his] mind: “There is just one path for the purification of beings, for going beyond sorrow and misfortune, for the fading away of *duḥkha* and distress, for attaining the *dharma* of the [right] method.”²⁰⁴ That is, the four establishments of mindfulness.”

Aniruddha’s statement slightly differs in wording from its counterpart in the *Samyukta-āgama*.²⁰⁵

有一乘道，淨眾生，離憂、悲、惱、苦，得真如法，
所謂四念處。

²⁰³ Up 6029 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 775,12–17; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 13a2–3; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 13a3–4; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 53b6–54a2; N, *mngon pa, thu* 46a7–46b1; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 46a6–8.

²⁰⁴ On the phrase *rigs pa'i chos rtogs pa'i*, “for attaining the *dharma* of the [right] method”, see Dhammadinnā 2018: 35, note 39.

²⁰⁵ SĀ 535 at T II 139a20–22.

There is a one-vehicle way²⁰⁶ for the purification of beings, for being separated from sorrow, grief, distress and *duḥkha*, for attaining the *dharma* of reality, namely the four establishments of mindfulness.

A third parallel (only to this specific passage) in the *Madhyama-āgama* reads:²⁰⁷

有一道，淨眾生，度憂畏，滅苦惱，斷啼哭，得正法，謂四念處。

There is one path for the purification of beings, for going beyond sorrow and fear, for eradicating *duḥkha* and distress, for abandoning wailing and tears, for attaining the right *dharma*, namely the four establishments of mindfulness.

As can be seen from the quoted excerpts, this is a case in point of two modules stemming from closely related Mūlasarvāstivāda textual transmissions (Up 6029 and SĀ 535) being closer to each other compared with their Sarvāstivāda parallel (MĀ 98), yet not identical.

Fortunately, a counterpart to this module is contained in a single folio in the Schøyen collection witnessing the Sanskrit version of a discourse parallel to another discourse in the *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 550), with a third parallel in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* (AN 6.26), the context being here the recollection of six qualities of the Dharma rather than the four establishments of mindfulness. The Sanskrit text is reconstructed by Paul Harrison (2007b: 204,5–6) as follows:²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ On the expression 一乘道 in T 99 see Nattier 2007: 185 and Harrison 2007b: 208; on the significance of this term in early Buddhist discourses Anālayo 2003: 27–29 and Anālayo 2013b: 8–12.

²⁰⁷ MĀ 98 at T I 582b9–11, translation with modifications after Anālayo 2013b: 269.

²⁰⁸ Manuscript 2380/1/1+2 v2–3.

*ekāyano mārgaḥ satvānāṃ viśuddhaye śokaparidravāṇāṃ
samatikkramāya duḥkhadaurmanasyānāṃ astagamāya nyā-
yyasya dharmasyādhiḡamāya.*

The Sanskrit wording corresponds verbatim with the text preserved in Tibetan translation in Up 6029:²⁰⁹

*sems can rnamz yongs su dag par byed cing mya ngan
dang yongs su 'tshe ba las 'da' zhing sdug bsngal ba
dang yid mi bde ba rnamz nub nas rigs pa'i chos rtogs
pa'i theg pa ni gcig kho na ste.*

The Sanskrit folio in question is part of a group of fragmentary folios that appear to belong to discourses in the *Ṣaṭka*- and *Saptaka-nipātas* of an *Ekottarika-āgama* collection of as yet undetermined school affiliation (Harrison 2007a). The agreement between the phraseology in Up 6029 and the Sanskrit is interesting in that Up 6029 appears to be even closer to the Sanskrit version than to its established direct Mūlasarvāstivāda parallel (SĀ 550). Furthermore, as Paul Harrison (2007b: 207) remarks:

the fit of the Sanskrit text with the Chinese translation—presumably a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin recension—is somewhat better than with the Pāli *Anguttaranikāya* version (*Theravādin*), but it is far from exact: there are many significant differences.

One of these significant differences is the order of terms in the section on recollection of the Dharma (*dharmānusmṛti*). Whether

²⁰⁹ Up 6029 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 775,14–16; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 13a2–3; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 13a3–4; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 54a1–2; N, *mngon pa, thu* 46a7–b1; P 5595, *mngon pa 'i bstan bcos, thu* 46a7–b8.

this order has any implications in terms of school affiliation is not clear, however, as noted by Harrison (2007b: 207), it matches the one in a fragment from the Turfan finds,²¹⁰ which are part of a Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda corpus. It is noteworthy that a version of this module attested in the extant Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (discourse parallel to MĀ 98 and MN 10) differs significantly in wording from the Sanskrit fragment in question (in addition to bringing in the abandonment of the five hindrances):²¹¹

有一入道，淨眾生行，除去愁憂，無有諸惱，得大智慧，成泥洹證。所謂當滅五蓋，思惟四意止。

There is a one-going path for the purification of the actions of living beings, for removing worry and sorrow, for being without vexations, for attaining great knowledge and wisdom, for accomplishing the realization of *Nirvāṇa*. Namely, the five hindrances should be abandoned and the four establishments of mindfulness should be attended to.

The affiliation of the received Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is still debated, though scholarly consensus leans at present towards the Mahāsāṅghika reciter tradition.²¹² Whatever the final word on the affiliation of this collection, the Sanskrit fragment does not appear to stem from the same or a sufficiently close textual tradition. In addition, a disagreement between the Sanskrit fragment and the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda tradition has also been noted by Harrison (2007b: 207–208) with reference to the discrepancies between the six qualities in the recollection of the Dharma in the Schøyen frag-

²¹⁰ SHT IV 263, also in Schlingloff 2006 [1964]: 179.

²¹¹ EĀ 12.1 at T I 568a2–4; translation with modifications after Anālayo 2013b: 9.

²¹² For an overview of the arguments see, e.g., Anālayo 2016b: 211–214.

ment and the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda *Vinaya*. Thus the closeness of the Sanskrit fragment to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition of reciters responsible for the transmission of the discourses quoted in the *Upāyikā* vis-à-vis the tradition represented by the Chinese translation of the *Samyukta-āgama* might be suggestive of distinct specific local Mūlasarvāstivāda textual sub-communities.

To summarise, with all due caveats due to its isolated occurrence, this finding might offer a pointer to a Mūlasarvāstivāda affiliation of the Sanskrit *Ekottarika-āgama* in the Schøyen collection. It may also be suggestive of a working hypothesis of shared affiliation between the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition responsible for the transmission of the discourses quoted in the *Upāyikā* and responsible for the transmission of this Sanskrit *Ekottarika-āgama*. Such a hypothesis must of course to be verified through close textual triangulations between the *Upāyikā*, the Schøyen *Ekottarika-āgama* fragments and other Mūlasarvāstivāda texts such as the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, provided the available/identified textual material allows for them.

In this regard, Harrison (2007a: 4 note 12) gives the example of Sanskrit fragments of the **Udakopāma-sūtra* (manuscripts 2382/262a and 2381/uf19/3a) possibly stemming from a *Saptaka-nipāta*, which differ in wording both from the version preserved in the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* (EĀ 39.3, to which the version preserved as an independent translation, T 29, is also somewhat related) and the version preserved in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* (MĀ 4, to which a Sanskrit fragment from Turfan, SHT VIII 1701, is very close), yet they also share some features with these two Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda versions. Basically, as Harrison (2007a: 4 note 12) concludes, “[c]loser study is required to sort out the complex pattern of similarities and differences. Similar results may be expected in other cases where parallels are available.”

Up 9014 – SĀ 1202 (*Bhikṣuṇī-saṃyukta*)

My survey draws to a close with a quotation that once again highlights the point of imperfect correspondence between the tradition of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* transmitted in the *Upāyikā* and that underlying the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*. This is the single *Upāyikā* parallel available for the *Bhikṣuṇī-saṃyukta*.

The discourse is spoken by the arhatī *bhikṣuṇī* Śailā,²¹³ a resident of Śrāvastī's Royal Residence for Nuns, the Rājākārāma.²¹⁴ This example is valuable because it allows for a triangulation, although rather limited in terms of quantity of text, between the *Upāyikā*, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the shorter Chinese translation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 100), a collection whose characteristics and school affiliation are touched upon by other contributions to this volume (Bingenheimer 2020, Ken Su 2020, Karashima 2020).

The description of Śailā's entering Śrāvastī for alms and then

²¹³ On the identity of the protagonist in the parallels see the annotation to my translation in preparation.

²¹⁴ The Tibetan reads *rgyal po 'i dge slong ma 'i dbyar khang*, pointing, literally, to **Rājā-bhikṣuṇī-varṣaka*, that is, the Rājākārāma, which according to Jā II 15,1–2 King Pasenadi commissioned to be built in the proximity of Jeta's Grove. The same setting is found in SĀ 1202 at T II 327a20–21, whereas SĀ² 218 at T 454c15 does not specify the nun's place of residence. The Rājākārāma is the nuns' residence in all discourses in the *Bhikṣuṇī-saṃyukta* of T 99, SĀ 1198 to SĀ 1207. Their counterparts in T 100 do not explicitly indicate the nuns' whereabouts except SĀ² 219 at T II 455a9–10, SĀ² 220 at T II 455b3+b6–7, SĀ² 222 at T II 455c24+28 and SĀ² 223 at T 456a23, which refer to the Rājākārāma as 王園精舍. The Rājākārāma also features as a nun residence in the *[*Bhikṣuṇī*]/*Dharmadinnā-sūtra* quotation in Up 1005, parallel to MĀ 210 and MN 44 (translated in Anālayo 2012a [2011b]: 40). On this setting as a venue for teachings given to the nuns by the Buddha or monks see Deeg 2005: 293–294 and Anālayo 2015 [2014]: 205 note 13.

approaching her spot to meditate reads thus in the *Upāyikā*:²¹⁵

*de nas dge slong ma brag snga dro chos gos dang lhung
bzed thogs te mnyan yod du bsod snyoms kyi phyirⁱ 'bzhugsⁱⁱ te.
bsod snyoms spyad nas zas kyi bya ba byas te zos pa'i 'og
tu lhung bzed bkrus te. chos gos dang lhung bzed phyogs
gcig tu bzhag nas 'dug pa'i stan khyer nas long ba can
gyiⁱⁱⁱ 'nagsⁱⁱⁱ tshal gang na ba der nye bar song ste. nye
bar song nas long ba can gyi nags tshal du zhugs te.
shing ljon pa gzhan zhig gi drung du^{iv} 'nyin^{iv} bar gnas pa'i
phyir^{iv} 'rten^{iv} cing 'dug go.*

ⁱ N; BCDGP read: *zhugs*. ⁱⁱ BCDNP; G reads: *nag*. ⁱⁱⁱ GNP; BCD read: *nyan*. ^{iv} GNP; BCD read: *brien*.

Then in the morning, having taken robe and bowl, the nun Śailā went into Śrāvastī for alms.²¹⁶ Having completed the alms round, she partook of her meal. After eating, she washed her bowl.²¹⁷ Having put her robe and bowl to one side, taking a sitting mat, she went to the vicinity of the Blind Men's Grove.²¹⁸ Having reached it, she entered the Blind Men's Grove. She sat at the foot of a tree in order [to spend] the day's abiding based there.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Up 9014 at B 3323, *mngon pa, nyu* 948,4–10; C, *mngon pa, nyu* 84a6–7; D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 82a2–4; G 3598, *mdzod 'grel, thu* 154b1–3; N, *mngon pa, thu* 128b6–129a1; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 128a3–5.

²¹⁶ In passing, SĀ² 218 at T 454c16 simply says that she entered the town to beg for food, 入城乞食, *pace* the translation in Bingenheimer 2008: 17: “[she] entered Sāvattthī”.

²¹⁷ For a different verbal form in the module *lhung bzed phyogs gcig tu bzhag*, expressed as *lhung bzed gyu* in Up 2042 (parallel to SĀ 57), see the discussion in Dhammadinnā 2014: 104–105 note 81.

²¹⁸ Adopting the reading *nags tshal* in CDNP; G reads: *nag* for *nags*.

²¹⁹ For an instance of this module in Sanskrit see, e.g., the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Gnoli 1977: I 149,21–22: *anyatarad vṛkṣamūlaṃ niśritya niṣaṇṇo*

The formulaic differences that are worth noticing are that here and in the repetition of the same passage below (as part of Māra's ruminations), SĀ 1202 explicitly notes that she returned to the monastery,²²⁰ a detail that, even though not mentioned, is implicit in both Up 9014 and SĀ² 218, and that similarly, here and in the below repetition of the same passage (again part of Māra's ruminations), SĀ 1202 mentions that she had placed the sitting mat over her shoulder,²²¹ a detail that is not noted explicitly in Up 9014 and SĀ² 218.

These differences are hardly striking, yet they might be significant to some extent from a quantitative perspective, adding to the extensive inventory of the range of variations from the mini- to the micro- and the nano-levels that I began to compile in the foregoing pages.

II.5 Abbreviation Patterns

A categorisation and comparison of the numerous types and patterns of abbreviation found in the *Samyukta-āgama* discourse quotations in the *Upāyikā* in relation to their counterparts (or lack thereof) in the received *Samyukta-āgama* in Chinese translation would be a topic on its own, as shown by Bhikkhu Anālayo's (2020a) detailed inspection of these practices in the discourses in the *Skandha-samyukta* in light of their parallels included in the present volume.

Just so as to give an impression of the patterns in comparison to the relevant discourses in the *Samyukta-āgama*, in Table 2 below I summarise in the form of a table the overall consistency or lack thereof that appears by juxtaposing all the passages that are abbreviated in either version with their counterpart in the respective parallel. The table is based on a juxtaposition of the discourse quotations

divāvihārāya.

²²⁰ SĀ 1202 at T II 327a22+27 (this detail is not given in SN 5.10).

²²¹ SĀ 1202 at T II 327a22–23 (this detail is not given in SN 5.10).

with parallels in the *Skandha-samyukta*, *Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta*, *Dhātusamyukta*, *Vedanā-samyukta*, *Aniruddha-samyukta*, *Smṛtyupasthāna-samyukta* and *Bhikṣuṇī-samyukta*. On comparing each passage with its counterpart, they may be both abbreviated, in a similar manner or differently, or else one of them may not be abbreviated at all.

A glance at the table indicates that abbreviation practices were applied in different manners not only by different traditions of reciters, but also within the same macro-group, in this case the Mūla-sarvāstivāda. This is not surprising considering that such editorial practices display variations even within one and the same textual tradition, as a comparison of different editions of the Theravāda *Samyutta-nikāya* shows (Anālayo 2020a).

Table 2. Abbreviation Patterns in the *Upāyikā*
vis-à-vis the *Samyukta-āgama*

| <i>Upāyikā</i> Discourse Quotation | Discourse Parallel in the <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> or Reference to <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> Discourse | Abbreviation Pattern(s) [≡ mostly congruent; ≠ different; n.a. not ab- breviated in the <i>Upāyikā</i> / not applicable] |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Skandha-samyukta</i> | | |
| Up 9001 | SĀ 8 | ≠ |
| Up 6005 | SĀ 9 | ≠ |
| Up 2071 | SĀ 11 | ≡ |
| Up 9004 | SĀ 11 & SĀ 12 | n.a. |
| Up 1021 | SĀ 17 | ≡ |
| Up 2078 | SĀ 28 | ≡ |
| Up 4084 | SĀ 265 | n.a. |

| | | |
|--|---|------|
| Up 1016 | SĀ 61 | ≠ |
| Up 2047 | SĀ 61 | ≠ |
| Up 5006 | SĀ 71 + reference to *[<i>Bhikṣuṇī-</i>] <i>Dharma-</i> <i>dinnā-sūtra</i> (SĀ 71 also refers to other four dis- courses) | ≡ |
| Up 9023 | SĀ 73 | n.a. |
| Up 2074 | SĀ 77 | ≡ |
| Up 5016 | SĀ 79 (SĀ 79 refers to other three discourses) | ≠ |
| Up 6016 | SĀ 81 | ≡ |
| Up 1024 | SĀ 39 (cross-reference) | n.a. |
| Up 3012 | SĀ 39 (cross-reference) | n.a. |
| Up 6019 | SĀ 39 | ≡ |
| Up 6038 | SĀ 42 | ≠ |
| Up 5006(a) | SĀ 45 | ≡ |
| Up 1014 | SĀ 46 | ≠ |
| Up 1009 | SĀ 55 | ≡ |
| Up 1004 | SĀ 56 | ≡ |
| Up 2042 | SĀ 57 | ≡ |
| Up 7006 | SĀ 58 | ≠ |
| <i>Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta</i> (partial: parallels to fasc. 8–9 in T 99) | | |
| Up 6061 | SĀ 212 | ≠ |
| Up 5017 | SĀ 214 (cross-reference) | n.a. |
| Up 6057 | SĀ 214 (cross-reference) | n.a. |
| Up 9002 | SĀ 214 (cross-reference) | n.a. |
| Up 1018(a) | SĀ 222 + SĀ 223 | ≡ |
| Up 1018(b) | SĀ 224 + SĀ 225 | ≠ |
| Up 9007 | SĀ 225 (cross-reference) | n.a. |

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| | | |
|---------|--------------------------|------|
| Up 1035 | SĀ 229 | ≡ |
| Up 4008 | SĀ 229 (cross-reference) | n.a. |
| Up 8022 | SĀ 229 (cross-reference) | n.a. |
| Up 1010 | SĀ 231 | ≠ |
| Up 9003 | SĀ 238 | ≠ |
| Up 3053 | SĀ 240 | ≡ |
| Up 5025 | SĀ 240 | ≡ |
| Up 1047 | SĀ 245 | ≠ |
| Up 2013 | SĀ 252 | n.a. |
| Up 1048 | SĀ 255 | ≡ |

Dhātu-samyukta

| | | |
|---------|--------|------|
| Up 8011 | SĀ 463 | n.a. |
|---------|--------|------|

Vedanā-samyukta

| | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|------|
| Up 6008 (nihil) | SĀ 467 | n.a. |
| Up 6012 | SĀ 467 | n.a. |
| Up 6010 | SĀ 473 and SĀ 474 | ≠ |
| Up 6013 (nihil) | SĀ 473 | n.a. |
| Up 8020 | SĀ 482 | ≠ |
| Up 6007 | SĀ 485 | n.a. |
| Up 3070 | SĀ 486–489 (cross-refer.) | n.a. |

Aniruddha-samyukta

| | | |
|---------|--------|---|
| Up 6029 | SĀ 535 | ≠ |
|---------|--------|---|

Smṛtyupasthāna-samyukta

| | | |
|---------|--------|------|
| Up 6027 | SĀ 605 | ≡ |
| Up 6028 | SĀ 610 | ≡ |
| Up 6031 | SĀ 609 | n.a. |

Bhikṣuṇī-samyukta

| | | |
|---------|---------|---|
| Up 9014 | SĀ 1202 | ≠ |
|---------|---------|---|

Conclusion

The examples surveyed in this study show such a copious quantity and quality of variation that these impinge, as it were, on the possibility of drawing neat conclusions in terms of lineages of transmission in light of comparisons and triangulations between different textual witnesses.

To summarise, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse citations in the *Upāyikā* comprise of several textual interrelations:

- the relationship between the discourse quotations in the *Upāyikā* and their Greater Sarvāstivāda (including both Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda) discourse parallels;
- the relationship between the *Vinaya* quotations in the *Upāyikā* and the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayas*;
- the relationship between the *Abhidharma* quotations in the *Upāyikā* and the Greater Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharma*;
- the relationship between the para-canonical narrative materials in the *Upāyikā* and the narrative collections circulating within Greater Sarvāstivāda environments of transmission.

The findings resulting from the textual analysis yield the conclusion that the recensions of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* represented by the *Upāyikā* and the complete Chinese translation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99) respectively are quite closely related yet not identical.

This pattern confirms, based on closer inspection of the content, the earlier structural findings by Japanese scholars at the level of the assemblage of the collections as macro-units of transmission.

In this regard, Sakurabe Hajime's 櫻部 建 (1956: 160) observations made by way of conclusion to his pioneering study of the *Madhyama-āgama* quotations in relation to the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* dis-

courses hold all the more true for the case of the *Samyukta-āgama*. I quote him here:²²²

taking these previously mentioned facts into consideration, it is possible to remark, with considerable certainty, what follows. One can witness a great deal of correspondences between [the Tibetan translation of] the *Madhyama-āgama* quoted by Śamathadeva and the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, even though they are not really to be seen as ‘different translations from the same original text.’ It is a completely different type of relationship from the one between the Chinese *Madhyama-āgamas* and the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* that shows a significant difference. In my opinion, both of these two *Madhyama-āgamas* should be considered, at least, as the outcomes of the different transmissions by the Sarvāstivādins or by an affiliation of the Sarvāstivādins, if not as ‘different versions of the same tradition’.

To my mind, the main research thrust at present is not so much one of remaining in search of an univocally and neatly defined lineage of transmission within the Mūlasarvāstivāda or Greater Sarvāstivāda. Rather, a close comparative reading in light of Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda parallels throws into relief the fluctuating, local-

²²² Sakurabe 1956: 160: すなはち、シャマタデーブ依用の中阿含（のチベツト譯）と漢譯中阿含との間には、「同一原本よりの異譯」と見得る程ではないけれども、かなり大なる一致が見出される。それは、漢譯中阿含とパーリ傳 *Majjhima-nikāya* との間における様な、大きな差違のある関係とは全く異なる。思ふに、これら兩阿含は「同一系統の異本」といった関係にあるものの如く、おそらく共に有部或ひは有部系統の異流の所傳と見るべきであらう (translation following a draft provided by Choi Jin-kyoung).

ised, particularised nature of Greater Sarvāstivāda textuality at large – here illustrated by the case of the *Samyukta-āgama*. In the words of Peter Skilling (2012: 433):

... several recensions of the *Samyuktāgama* may have evolved and may have been transmitted within the broader and far-flung spheres of influence of the Sarvāstivāda – there may have been temporal (older, middle, later), and regional (Central Indian, Northwestern, Central Asian) recensions, rather than one single version.

My survey has provided evidence for a multiplicity of localised *Sūtra* (and thereby *Āgama*) traditions in Mūlasarvāstivāda communities within the Greater Sarvāstivāda textual horizon. In addition, present-day philology's understanding of early Buddhist textuality as being fundamentally oral in nature furnishes a much more appropriate framework to recognise, and comprehend, textual variance and change (see also Anālayo 2020b in this volume).

When taking into account the similarities and discrepancies highlighted by such cross-comparisons, the salient feature that emerges is micro-variance. A 'variance' that is the 'norm'. This is only to be expected given that these traditions are spread over a remarkably broad geographical area.

However, geography alone is perhaps not the only explanation. Perhaps the simultaneous occurrence of both universalising and particularising tendencies in the Buddhist monastic institutions of Greater Sarvāstivāda and in their textual formation is a more organic explanation. That is, possibly a characteristically multiple and varied transmission is the textual reflection of specific features of the institutional and identitarian structure of Greater Sarvāstivāda.

What I have in mind is the historical tide, observable from around the middle of the fourth century AD, of consolidation and spread of Greater Sarvāstivāda monastic institutions, reaching Southern Central Asia from northwest India, Kashmir and Bactria. Textual transmission – as an identity token – serves as a sub-institution within this grand institutional construct. The insightful suggestion of a (Greater) Sarvāstivāda ‘ecclesiastical model’ by Antonello Palumbo (2012) might be able to contribute some historical perspective on the intrinsically multiple and varied textual fabric of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Āgama* transmission studied above (as well as on the similar situation found in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayas*). That is, the numerous sub-lineages of transmission that are evidenced may reflect the structure of fragmented and spread-out textual communities that would nevertheless coalesce under a unifying umbrella, that of Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda qua Greater Sarvāstivāda.

This dual dimension – distinctive localisation and a higher level of shared affiliation – would enable locality-specific identities and at the same time constancy of broader institutional identification (and, crucially, patronage). Such a model could well have been one of the key factors behind the great and lasting success of Greater Sarvāstivāda textual culture and ideology, and it could at the same time account for some of the key traits apparent in the remnants of its version(s) of the early *Sūtras* and *Āgamas*.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| B | Beijing collated Tanjur edition (<i>bstan 'gyur dpe bsdur ma</i>) |
| C | Cone edition |
| C ^e | Ceylonese edition (Buddha Jayanti Tripiṭaka) |
| CBETA | Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會 |
| D | Derge edition (Tōhoku) |
| DĀ | <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (T 1) |
| DN | <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> |
| EĀ | <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125) |
| E ^e | European (Pali Text Society) edition |
| G | Golden Tanjur |
| It | <i>Itivuttaka</i> |
| Jā | <i>Jātaka-aṭṭhavaṇṇanā</i> |
| MĀ | <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26) |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| Mp | <i>Manorathapuraṇī</i> |
| N | Narthing edition |
| P | Peking edition (Ōtani) |
| SĀ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SĀ ² | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 100) |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Sp | <i>Samantapāsādikā</i> |
| SHT | <i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Spk | <i>Sāratthapakāsinī</i> |
| SWTF | <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den</i> |

| | |
|------|----------------------------------|
| | <i>Turfanfunden</i> |
| T | Taishō edition 大正 (CBETA, 2016) |
| Th-a | <i>Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā</i> |
| ult | ulterior/subsequent lines/pages |
| Up | <i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā</i> |
| < > | emendation |
| [] | supplementation |

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***Samyukta-āgama* Quotations in
Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā***

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Abstract

In this survey the *Saṃyukta-āgama* quotations preserved in Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* are examined in relation to those found in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, and in relation to manuscript remains from Central Asia. Whenever a quotation in Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā* is more comprehensive than in Vasubandhu's *Bhāṣya* – and this is the case in many instances – it is cited in full. For quotations in the *Bhāṣya* and *Vyākhyā* that show complete textual agreement, only their places in their respective modern editions are noted. Subsequently, a number of – at times lengthy – *Saṃyukta-āgama* quotations in the *Vyākhyā* which are not found in the *Bhāṣya* are given. In conclusion, the great value of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* quotations in the *Vyākhyā* is underlined as they offer substantial material for further comprehensive study, critical analysis of early Buddhist canonical texts and attempts at recognising textual diachronic stratification.

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I. Introduction

In a contribution to a *Festschrift* I looked at the quotations in Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Pāsādika 1990). Among them, 157 can safely be considered quotations from a corpus of *Samyukta-āgama* texts, whilst in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* the *Samyukta-āgama* is quoted some 160 times. Whereas in my previous contribution I just gave a general description of the *Vyākhyā* sub-commentary quotations – apart from examining some of them regarding hermeneutics and school affiliation – in the present article all of Yaśomitra's *Samyukta-āgama* quotations are considered in relation to their counterparts in Vasubandhu's quotations or presented on their own when they are only found in the *Vyākhyā*.

In what follows, the *Samyukta-āgama* quotations in Yaśomitra's *Vyākhyā* are dealt with in two parts (sections II and III). In section II they are referred to in relation to those in Vasubandhu's *Bhāṣya* as far as they agree with each other. In the case of complete textual agreement only the places in the editions of the *Vyākhyā* by Wogihara Unrai (1971 [1932–1936]) and Dwarikadas Shastri (1970–1973) are noted, as well as in my collection of canonical citations in the *Bhāṣya* (Pāsādika 1989; including the quotation numbers in the latter, enclosed within square brackets), which gives the references to Prahlad Pradhan's edition (1967/1975) of the *Bhāṣya*. Parallels to Vasubandhu's quotations are also noted therein, but for the present paper mostly only those to be found in the *Samyutta-nikāya*. Wherever a *Vyākhyā* citation is longer than in Vasubandhu, the Sanskrit text of the *Vyākhyā* is quoted.

With the occurrence of any *variae lectiones* in the quoted text by Yaśomitra or Vasubandhu, *inter alia* suggestive of hints at school affiliation, a few variants are cited.¹ Moreover, all those *Vyākhyā* quo-

¹ Orthographic variants due to euphonic combination (or its omission) of

tations recorded in Jin-il Chung's (2008) survey of Sanskrit fragments corresponding to the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* that are, partially or fully, equivalent to manuscript remains from Central Asia are given or referred to.² In section III of this article, *Samyukta-āgama* quotations given by Yaśomitra that are not preserved in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* are cited in full.

1.1 Variant Readings and School Affiliation

Although variant readings may hint at school affiliation, drawing conclusions from such hints is rather problematic, as is rightly argued by Chung (2006: 76).³ In his examination of extracts from the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda corpora, he also draws on Yaśomitra's quotation from the *Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra* (see below, section II, no. (107)). He noted numerous variants, some of which are also given below. Examples of linguistic and stylistic differences between Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda preferences are listed, for instance, in a study by Georg von Simson (1985: 89–93). With reference to this list, the *variae lectiones* singled out for the present purpose – readings of Central Asian manuscript remains of the *Samyukta-āgama* vis-à-vis those of Yaśomitra's quotation – could be considered characteristic a) of Sarvāstivāda usage: *āman-trayati (sma)*, *aśītīnāñ ca*, *māriṣā*, and b) of Mūlasarvāstivāda usage:

letters are not given, nor are copyists' mistakes in the manuscripts; variants in Dwarikadas Shastri's edition (abbreviated as AK-vy(D)), too, are not noted.

² References to Waldschmidt et al. 1965–2017 and other relevant publications.

³ Cf. also Anālayo 2015: 347–388, extensively dealing with the various versions of the *Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra* and also textual stratification.

āmantrayate (sma), aśīteś ca, mārṣā. In the Sanskrit text printed in Chung (2008) as well as in Yaśomitra's respective quotation, the reading *tat khalu* nevertheless occurs in the discourse of both schools, whilst in von Simson's (1985: 89–93) survey it is stated (although in other contexts) that the Sarvāstivādins avoid the particle *khalu*.⁴ And, indeed, in the general editor's introduction to the first volume of the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, Heinz Bechert (1973: XXVI) underlines "the fact that some older editions of our texts present a kind of mixed recension."

I.2 'Sources' of the Sanskrit Quotations

When considering Yaśomitra's and Vasubandhu's *Samyukta-āgama* quotations in relation to the relevant occurrences in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* collections, Chung's study (2008) clearly shows that it is difficult to know whether the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* passages referred to as 'sources' of the Sanskrit quotations should be considered as 'parallel', 'corresponding' or 'identical' text. As can be gleaned from Chung's (2008) survey, most of the quotations by Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra are 'corresponding', but not 'identical' textual passages.

For the practical purpose of the present article, the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* places are nevertheless referred to as 'sources' regardless of the fact that they are, in most cases, just 'parallel' or 'corresponding' rather than identical passages.

'Practical purpose' here hints at the fact that an identification of the given quotations – in full or in part – as 'parallel', 'corresponding' or 'identical' would require detailed additional treatment.

⁴ For similar observations on different as well as common usage of both schools cf. Pāsādika 1994: 128–129.

In the introduction to my collection of canonical citations in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, I already mentioned the difficulties of considering passages as ‘quotations’ or ‘quasi-quotations’ (Pāsādika 1989: 16–18).

Separate from the complexities of school affiliation regarding the *Āgama* collections and their translations into Chinese, an additional problem is posed by the possibility that both Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra have, in all likelihood, not quoted canonical passages in a modern sense, but have followed the time-honoured Indian tradition, ancient and modern, of relying on their retentive memories.⁵ Although the results of this achievement are, of course, extraordinary and admirable, there seems to be some overlap in classical Sanskrit between what would nowadays be called ‘quotation’, ‘abstract’ or ‘paraphrase’.

Memorisation of the *Āgamas* is also relied upon in another sub-commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* – Śamathadeva's repertoire of canonical quotations in the *Bhāṣya* known as the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* – as demonstrated in Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā's (2020) contribution to this volume with reference to a selection of *Samyukta-āgama* quotations in that work.⁶

An apposite example of what should be regarded as ‘abstract’ or ‘paraphrase’ in Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra is the text found at the following places:

⁵ Regarding the oral transmission, cf., e.g., Anālayo 2015: 47–48 and 2017.

⁶ On the oral transmission of the Mūlasarvastivāda *Āgamas* in India and Śamathadeva see also Dhammadinnā 2021. In the present contribution references to *Samyukta-āgama* quotations in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* corresponding with those in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* are not provided as these are already supplied in Pāsādika 1989 (with reference to Honjō 1984).

AK-vy 377,7–13; AK-vy(D) 627,17–22; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 79 [292]; AK-bh(VP) III 73 note 2; 75.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 193: SĀ 237b22–24. – (c) parallel: SN V 369f. (*Mahānāma-sutta*), as mentioned in the Taishō 大正 edition of the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* parallel.

The text in question reads:

*kiyatā bhadantopāsaka ekadeśakārī bhavati | yāvat pari-
pūrṇakārīti... iha Mahānāmann upāsakaḥ prāṇātipātāṃ
prahāya prāṇātipātāt prativirato bhavati | iyatā Mahā-
nāmann upāsakaḥ śikṣāyām ekadeśakārī bhavati | ...
dvābhyāṃ śikṣāpadābhyāṃ prativirataḥ pradeśakārī
bhavati | tribhyaḥ prativirataḥ caturbhyo vā yadbhūyas-
kārī bhavati | pañcabhyaḥ prativirataḥ paṇḍitā
bhavatīti |*

The *Samyukta-āgama* source given by Chung (2008: 193) and also by de La Vallée Poussin (*loc. cit.*), generally tallies with the direct *Samyutta-nikāya* discourse parallel.⁷ The above ‘abstracts’ or ‘paraphrases’ in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, however, hint at an *Āgama* text related to another discourse in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the *Anguttara-nikāya*:⁸

*... kittāvatā pana bhante upāsako sīlavā hotīti | yato kho
Mahānāma upāsako pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti...*

⁷ SN V 369f.

⁸ SN 55.37 at SN V 395 (cf. SĀ 1230 at T II 336b22–24) and AN 8.25 at AN IV 220ff.

II. The *Vyākhyā* Quotations from the *Samyukta-āgama* in Relation to those in the *Bhāṣya* and to Manuscript Remains from Central Asia

(1) AK-vy 58,12–20; 66,25–27; AK-vy(D) 79,11–18; 93,13–14; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 20 [3], 24 [23]; AK-bh(VP) I 15, 65.

(a) *sūtra uktam* – (b) source of the quotation and Sanskrit text in SHT, see Chung 91f.

cakṣur bhikṣo ādhyātmikam āyatanam | catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya rūpapasādaḥ rūpyanidarśanam sapratigham | yāvat kāyo bhikṣo ādhyātmikam āyatanam pūrvavat | mano bhikṣo ādhyātmikam āyatanam arūpyanidarśanam apratigham | rūpāṇi bhikṣo bāhyam āyatanam | catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya rūpi sanidarśanam sapratigham | śabdāⁱ hi bhikṣo bāhyam āyatanam | catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya rūpyanidarśanam sapratigham | yāvat spraṣṭavyāni bhikṣo bāhyam āyatanam | catvāri mahābhūtāni catvāri ca mahābhūtāny upādāya rūpyanidarśanam sapratigham | dharmā bhikṣo bāhyam āyatanam | ekādaśabhīr āyatanair asaṃgrhītam arūpyanidarśanam apratigham iti |

ⁱ *śabdo* AK-bh(P), SHT.

(2) AK-vy 34,13–14; AK-vy(D) 44,15; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 21 [9]; AK-bh(VP) I 24.

(a) *rūpyate śabdena* – (b) source: see Chung 63. – (c) parallel: SN III 86.

(3) AK-vy 37,16–17; AK-vy(D) 48,28f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 22 [11]; AK-bh(VP) I 28.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 53. – (c) parallel: SN III 60.

saṃskāraskandhaḥ katamaḥ | śaṭ cetanākāyā iti |

(4) AK-vy 37,24; 282,14; AK-vy(D) 49,14; 430,27; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 22 [12]; AK-bh(VP) I 29; II 55.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 63f. – (c) parallel: SN III 87.

(5) AK-vy 4,16–18; 37,33–38; AK-vy(D) 6,30f–7,3; 49,22f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 22 [13]; AK-bh(VP) I 29.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 75.

(6) AK-vy 42,31f.; 45,28; AK-vy(D) 56,29; 61,6f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 22 [14]; AK-bh(VP) I 35.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 65f.

(7) AK-vy 66,28f.; AK-vy(D) 93,16; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 24 [24]; AK-bh(VP) I 65.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 83.

(8) AK-vy 67,25; AK-vy(D) 94,20f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 25 [26]; AK-bh(VP) I 66.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 148.

(9) AK-vy 70,1f.; AK-vy(D) 97,28f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 25 [27]; AK-bh(VP) I 69.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 105. – (c) parallel: SN II 65; IV 132.

(10) AK-vy 50,28; 248,1f.; 705,9; AK-vy(D) 68,15; 372,6f.; 1204,18; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 26 [31], 40 [104]; AK-bh(VP) I 75; V 252.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 50. – (c) parallel: SN III 132ff.

(11) AK-vy 81,13,17f.; 314,33, 315,2f.; AK-vy(D) 115,20,24; 488,6,8f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 26 [32], [33], 65 [229]; AK-bh(VP) I 83f.; II 114.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 96–97 – (c) parallel: SN IV 120.

(12) AK-vy 81,25; AK-vy(D) 116,10f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 26 [34]; AK-bh(VP) I 84.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 77, 89, 139, 175. – (c) parallel: SN IV 158f.

(13) AK-vy 81,26f.; AK-vy(D) 116,12: cf. AK-bh(Pā) 26 [35]; AK-bh(VP) I 84.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 80.

(14) AK-vy 95,22f.; AK-vy(D) 138,23f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 28 [43]; AK-bh(VP) I 105.

(a) *gāthāyāṃ apy uktam* – (b) source: SĀ 1009 at T II 264a26 (Fuj). – (c) parallel: SN I 39.

cittena nīyate lokaś cittena parikṛṣyate |
ekadharmasya cittasya sarvadharmā vaśānugāḥ ||

(15) AK-vy 96,1; AK-vy(D) 139,13; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 28 [44]; AK-bh(VP) I 106 note 2.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 186f.

(16) AK-vy 102,28–30; 103,1–9; AK-vy(D) 149,24–26; 29f.; 150,7–12; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 29 [47]; AK-bh(VP) I 118f.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 163. – (c) parallel: SN V 204f.

pañcemāni bhikṣava indriyāṇi | katamāni pañca | śraddhendriyaṃ yāvat prajñendriyaṃ | eṣāṃ pañcānām indriyāṇām tīkṣṇatvāt paripūrṇatvād arhan bhavati | tatas tanutarair mṛdutarair anāgāmī bhavati | tatas tanutarair mṛdutaraiḥ sakṛdāgāmī | tatas tanutarair mṛdutaraiḥ srotaāpannaḥ | tato 'pi tanutarair mṛdutarair dharmānusārī | tatas tanutarair mṛdutaraiḥ śraddhānusārī | iti hi bhikṣava indriyapāramitāṃ pratītya phalapāramitā prajñāyate | phalapāramitāṃ pratītya pudgalapāramitā prajñāyate | yasyemāni pañcendriyāṇi sarveṇa sarvāṇi na santi tam ahaṃ bāhyaṃ pṛthagjanapakṣāvasthitam vadāmīti |

(17) AK-vy 104,8–11; AK-vy(D) 151,20–23; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 29 [49]; AK-bh(VP) I 119f.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 162. – (c) parallel: SN V 193ff.

yāvac cāham eṣāṃ pañcānām indriyāṇām samudayaṃ ... yathā-bhūtaṃ nādhyajñāsiṣaṃ na tāvad ahaṃ asmāt sadevakāl lokāt samarakāt sabrahmakāt saśramaṇabrāhmaṇikāyāḥ prajāyāḥ sadeva-mānuṣāyā mukto niḥśṛto viśamyukto viprayukto viparyāsāpagatena cetasā bahulaṃ vyahārṣam iti |

(18) AK-vy 125,9f.; AK-vy(D) 183,10f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 31 [60]; AK-bh(VP) I 147.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 140.

(19) AK-vy 129,8; AK-vy(D) 189,22; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 32 [62]; AK-bh(VP) I 158.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 169. – (c) parallel: SN V 111.

(20) AK-vy 139,10; 361,27f.; AK-vy(D) 205,24; 595,17; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 33 [67]; AK-bh(VP) I 174 note 3.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: SĀ 568 at T II 150a28f (Fuj). – (c) parallel: SN IV 293.

(21) AK-vy 167,24; AK-vy(D) 246,23; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 36 [82]; AK-bh(VP) I 212 note 3.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 84. – (c) parallel: SN II 72.

(22) AK-vy 167,27f., 289,29f., 290,29; AK-vy(D) 246,26f., 446,10, 447,16f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 36 [84], 57 [187]; AK-bh(VP) I 213 note 1.

(a) *sūtrāntare* – (b) source: see Chung 65. – (c) parallel: SN III 96.

(23) AK-vy 668,16f.; AK-vy(D) 1133,23f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 37 [85]; AK-bh(VP) I 215 note 3.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 51, 148. – (c) parallel: SN III 148.

(24) AK-vy 175,7f.; AK-vy(D) 259,18–20; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 39 [96]; AK-bh(VP) I 227 note 1.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 85. – (c) parallel: SN V 180.

*vedanās tasya ... viditā ivotpadyante viditā iva tiṣṭhante viditā astam
parikṣayaṃ paryādānaṃ gacchanti |*

(25) AK-vy 185,20; AK-vy(D) 275,18; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 40 [106]; AK-bh(VP) I 242 note 1.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 234. – (c) parallel: SN I 38.

(26) AK-vy 218,17,19,20f.; AK-vy(D) 320,18,19f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 43 [120], 123 [501]; AK-bh(VP) I 277 note 2; V 241.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 44. – (c) parallel: SN III 23; IV 129f.

(27) AK-vy 219,29f., 220,5; AK-vy(D) 323,11f.,20f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 44 [123]; AK-bh(VP) I 281.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 163. – (c) parallel: SN V 236.

(28) AK-vy 219,33–35; AK-vy(D) 323,15f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 44 [124]; AK-bh(VP) I 281 note 3.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 57. – (c) parallel: SN III 27.

(29) AK-vy 220,31f., 440,24f.; AK-vy(D) 324,27, 755,21f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 44 [125]; AK-bh(VP) I 282 note 1.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 155.

(30) AK-vy 221,12f.; AK-vy(D) 326,18; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 44 [126]; AK-bh(VP) I 284 note 3.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 47, 76, 118. – (c) parallel: SN IV 109.

(31) AK-vy 221,17; AK-vy(D) 326,21f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 44f. [127]; AK-bh(VP) I 284f. note 4.

(a) *āgama* – (b) source: see Chung 88.

(32) AK-vy 221,23; AK-vy(D) 327,21; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 45 [128]; AK-bh(VP) I 286 note 2.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: SĀ 816 at T II 210a20f, SĀ² 110 at T II 414a10f (Fuj). – (c) parallel: SN I 159.

(33) AK-vy 247,6f., 11; AK-vy(D) 370,22f.,26f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 47 [142]; AK-bh(VP) I, 326 note 2.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 173. – (c) parallel: SN V 131f.

(34) AK-vy 257,19,27,33; 258,1f.; AK-vy(D) 386,13,19,20f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 48 [144]; AK-bh(VP) II 7f. note 1.

(a) *Śāriputra, Ājīvaka* – (b) source: see Chung 139, 175, 240. – (c) parallel: SN I 22; AN III 411.

(35) AK-vy 259,14; AK-vy(D) 388,28; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 49 [145]; AK-bh(VP) II 10 note 4.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 196.

(36) AK-vy 264,11; AK-vy(D) 399,23; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 51 [158]; AK-bh(VP) II 24f. note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 120f. – (c) parallel: SN II 101.

(37) AK-vy 272,35; 273,3,7–9; AK-vy(D) 414,23–25f., 27f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 53 [168]; AK-bh(VP) II 40 note 3.

(a) *ud(d)āna-gāthā* – (b) source: see Chung 151, 251.⁹

(38) AK-vy 276,25f.,28,30,32; AK-vy(D) 419,12–15; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 54 [171]; AK-bh(VP) II 42 note 1.

⁹ At AK-bh(Pā) 53 [168], as source of the quotation, a versified summary (*uddāna*) of a *Samyukta-āgama* text is mentioned corresponding to that of a lost Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* fascicle. This text is related to a long passage in Yaśomitra, see III. (9) AK-vy 273,10–275,27 given below. For the identification of II. (37) AK-vy 272f. and concerning the long *Vyākhyā* passage, see Mukai 1985: 1–41. Cf. also Enomoto 1986: 23 and 28 note 37.

(a) *gāthā* – (b) source: see Chung 222.

(39) AK-vy 281, 6–8; AK-vy(D) 428,12–14; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 55 [176]; AK-bh(VP) II 51f.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 212.

valmīka iti bhikṣo asya kāyasyaitad adhivacanam rūpiṇa audārikasya cāturmahābhūtasya odanakulmāṣopacitasya mātāpitrasūci-kalalasambhūtasya ...

(40) AK-vy 281,9f.; AK-vy(D) 428,15; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 55 [177]; AK-bh(VP) II 52 note 1.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 195. – (c) parallel: SN II 178.

(41) AK-vy 281,31; AK-vy(D) 429,26; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 55 [178]; AK-bh(VP) II 53 note 4.

(a) *gāthā* – (b) source: see Chung 205.

(42) AK-vy 707,13–16; AK-vy(D) 1208,17–20; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 56 [179]; AK-bh(VP) V 259f. note 5.

(a) *Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra* – (b) source: see Chung 95.

(43) AK-vy 281,5; 283,16; AK-vy(D) 428,11f.; 433,26; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 56 [180]; AK-bh(VP) II 58 note 1.

(a) *ity āryāḥ* – (b) source: see Chung 242. – (c) parallel: SN I 206.

(44) AK-vy 286,31–287,5; AK-vy(D) 441,16–22; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 57 [183]; AK-bh(VP) II 67f. note 3.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 106. – (c) parallel: SN II 26f.

(45) AK-vy 287,9f.; AK-vy(D) 441,26f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 57 [184]; AK-bh(VP) II 68.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 106. – (c) parallel: SN II 26.

(46) AK-vy 288,15f.,22; AK-vy(D) 444,10f.,15; AK-bh(Pā) 57 [185]; AK-bh(VP) II 70 note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 95, 108.

(47) AK-vy 288,30; 289,26f.; AK-vy(D) 444,23f.; 445,26f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 57 [186]; AK-bh(VP) II 71 note 3.

(a) *sūtrāntare* – (b) source: see Chung 94.

(48) AK-vy 143,29f.; 292,14; AK-vy (D) 211,14; 450,12; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 58 [190]; AK-bh(VP) II 75 note 2; 92 note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 108.

avidyā katamā | yat tat pūrvānte 'jñānam aparānte 'jñānam iti |

(49) AK-vy 293,31; AK-vy(D) 452,24f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 59 [196]; AK-bh(VP) II 77.

(a) *sūtra* – (b) source: see Chung 106.

(50) AK-vy 293,26f.; AK-vy(D) 452,20; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 59 [197]; AK-bh(VP) II 77 note 1; Skilling 2018: 443, 448, 451.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 105, 110, 188. – (c) parallel: SN II 25.

(51) AK-vy 297,1–3f.; AK-vy(D) 456,23–25; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 60 [200]; AK-bh(VP) II 81 note 1.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 55, 74f., 84f., 88f., 145. – (c) parallel: SN II 72; IV 32f.

(52) AK-vy 175,31; 297,9, 12f.,19f.; 298,12f.,27f.,32; AK-vy(D) 260, 16f.; 456,30; 457,12,18; 458,21; 459,15f.,19f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 60 [201]; AK-bh(VP) II 81 note 2; Skilling 2018: 451.

(a) *bhagavān* – (b) source: see Chung 50, 95, 104f., 106, 108, 110f., 112, 116, 118, 186, 188, 197, 236.

(53) AK-vy 297, 10; AK-vy(D) 456,31; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 60 [202]; AK-bh(VP) II 81.

(a) *āha* – (b) source: see Chung 113.

(54) AK-vy 298,7–9; AK-vy(D) 458,16–18; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 61 [204]; AK-bh(VP) II 82.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 50, 95, 104f., 106, 108, 110f., 112, 116, 118, 186, 188, 197, 236. – (c) parallel: SN II 1, 4, 7, 10, 60.

(55) AK-vy 288,20f.; 299,2f.; AK-vy(D) 444,13f.; 459,25f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 61 [206]; AK-bh(VP) II 83 note 5.

(a) *sūtra uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 50, 95, 104f., 106, 108, 110f., 112, 116, 118, 186, 188, 197, 236. – (c) parallel: SN II 1.

avidyāpratyayāḥ saṃskārā yāvaj jātīpratyayā jarāmarāṇaśoka-pari-devaduḥkhadaurmanasyopāyāsāḥ sambhavantīti |

(56) AK-vy 299,24; AK-vy(D) 460,24f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 61 [207]; AK-bh(VP) II 85 note 1.

(a) *vijñānāṅganirdeśe* – (b) source: see Chung 108. – (c) parallel: SN II 4.

(57) AK-vy 300,20–22; AK-vy(D) 462,19f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 62 [211]; AK-bh(VP) II 87 note 5.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 77. – (c) parallel: SN IV 89.

(58) AK-vy 301,24f.; AK-vy(D) 464,21; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 62 [213]; AK-bh(VP) II, 90 note 3.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 169.

(59) AK-vy 302,34; AK-vy(D) 466,26; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 63 [216]; AK-bh(VP) II 93 note 2–4.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 197.

(60) AK-vy 304,12f.; AK-vy(D) 469,13f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 63 [218]; AK-bh(VP) II 97 note 3.

(a) *sūtra* – (b) source: see Chung 87.

(61) AK-vy 307,6f.; AK-vy(D) 474,22f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 64 [220]; AK-bh(VP) II 102.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 131. – (c) parallel: SN II 142f.

(62) AK-vy 309,22; AK-vy(D) 478,22f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 64 [224]; AK-bh(VP) II 106 note 1.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 173. – (c) parallel: SN V 131.

(63) AK-vy 318,18–20; AK-vy(D) 495,20–22; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 66 [231]; AK-bh(VP) II 122 note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: SĀ 371 at T SĀ 101c26 (Fuj). – (c) parallel: SN II 11.

(64) AK-vy 326,14–20; AK-vy(D) 514,25f.; 515,21; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 68 [240]; AK-bh(VP) II 149 note 2.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 205.

(65) AK-vy 329,22; AK-vy(D) 524,23; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 68 [242]; AK-bh(VP) II 163 note 3.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 210.

(66) AK-vy 332,31; AK-vy(D) 535,19f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 69 [245]; AK-bh(VP) II 176.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 240. – (c) parallel: SN I 152.

(67) AK-vy 355,4f.; AK-vy(D) 582,27; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 74 [267]; AK-bh(VP) III 16.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 92; cf. also above (1) AK-vy 58,12–20.

(68) AK-vy 355,9f.; AK-vy(D) 583,16f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 74 [268]; AK-bh(VP) III 17 note 1.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 88.

(69) AK-vy 355,26f.; 675,7–9; AK-vy(D) 584,16f.; 1145,25–27; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 74 [270]; 121 [491]; AK-bh(VP) III 19; V 155.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 75.

(70) AK-vy 355,31f.; AK-vy(D) 584,20–22; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 75 [271]; AK-bh(VP) III 20 note 2.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 94.

(71) AK-vy 364,14f.; 366,21; AK-vy(D) 600,14f.; 603,20f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 76 [280]; AK-bh(VP) III 36.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 174. – (c) parallel: SN V 1.

(72) AK-vy 376,9f.,31f.; 377,15f.; AK-vy(D) 624,27f.; 626,19; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 78 [288]; AK-bh(VP) III 70 note 2.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 193. – (c) parallel: SN V 395.

(73) AK-vy 376,33; AK-vy(D) 626,20f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 78 [290]; AK-bh(VP) III 74 notes 1, 2.

(a) *sūtrāntare* – (b) source: see Chung 47, 68. – (c) parallel: SN IV 113.

(74) AK-vy 392,6–8; AK-vy(D) 656,24f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 82 [308]; AK-bh(VP) III 113.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 134. – (c) parallel: SN V 211.

(75) AK-vy 392,9; AK-vy(D) 656,27; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 82 [309]; AK-bh(VP) III 113 note 2.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 90. – (c) parallel: SN IV 42.

(76) AK-vy 406,28,30, 407,8f.; AK-vy(D) 689,24,26; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 87 [331]; AK-bh(VP) III 160 note 2; 161 note 1.

(a) *sūtram* – (b) source: see Chung 90. – (c) parallel: SN IV 72.

(77) AK-vy 409,8–11; AK-vy(D) 694,17–20; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 88 [334]; AK-bh(VP) III 167 note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 180.

so 'bhidhyāṃ loke prahāya vigatābhidyena cetasā bahulaṃ viharati | vyāpādaṃ styānamiddham auddhatyakaukrītyaṃ vicikitsāṃ loke prahāya tīrṇakāṃkṣo bhavati | tīrṇavicikitsaḥ | akathamkathī kuśaleṣu dharmeṣu | sa pañca nivarāṇāni prahāyety ...

(78) AK-vy 409,19–23; AK-vy(D) 694,26f., 695,9f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 88 [335]; AK-bh(VP) III 168.

(a) *tad-yathā* – (b) source: see Chung 71, 207.

nāsti dattam | nāstīṣṭaṃ nāsti hutam nāsti sucaritam nāsti duścāritam nāsti sucaritaduścāritānāṃ karmaṇāṃ phalavipākāḥ | nāsty ayaṃ lokaḥ | nāsti paralokaḥ | nāsti mātā nāsti pitā | nāsti sattva upapādukaḥ | na santi loke 'rhanta iti |

(79) AK-vy 431,6–10; AK-vy(D) 736,19–23; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 91 [350]; AK-bh(VP) III 225 note 2.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 191. – (c) parallel: SN IV 324.

... ekanavataṃ kalpam upādāya ... kim anarthāyāsi bho Gautama kulānāṃ pratipanno yas tvam īdṛṣe durbhikṣa iyatā bhikṣusaṃghena sārdham aśanivad utsādayan bhikṣāṃ aṭasīti | ... ito 'haṃ grāmaṇin ekanavataṃ kalpam upādāya na samanussarāmi nābhijānāmi yad ekakulam api pakvabhikṣāpradānahetoḥ kṣataṃ vā syād upahataṃ veti |

(80) AK-vy 300,13f.; AK-vy(D) 461,27f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 94 [365]; AK-bh(VP) IV 17 note 2.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 54, 63. – (c) parallel: SN III 46.

(81) AK-vy 455,25f.,28f.; AK-vy(D) 781,13f.,16f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 95

[369]; AK-bh(VP) IV 25 note 6.

(a) *sthavirĀnandena* – (b) source: see Chung 231. – (c) parallel: SN I 188.

*kāmarāgābhibhūtatvāc cittam me paridahyate | aṃga me gautama brūhi
śāmtitvamⁱ anukampayā | viparyāsenā saṃjñānām cittam te pari-
dahyate | nimittam varjyatām tasmāc chubham rāgopasaṃhitam |*

ⁱ VP *loc. cit.*: *śāntim (?) tvam*.

(82) AK-vy 468,29–469,4; AK-vy(D) 804,15–24; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 97 [376]; AK-bh(VP) IV 51 note 1.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 57. – (c) parallel: SN III 19.

*rūpaṃ anityam atītānāgatam | kaḥ punar vādaḥ pratyutpannasya |
evaṃdarśī śrutavān āryaśrāvako 'tīte rūpe 'napekṣo bhavati | anā-
gataṃ rūpaṃ nābhinandati | pratyutpannasya rūpasya nirvide virā-
gāya nirodhāya pratipanno bhavati | atītaṃ ced bhikṣavo rūpaṃ nā-
bhaviṣyan na śrutavān āryaśrāvako 'tīte rūpe 'napekṣo 'bhaviṣyat |
yasmāt tarhy asty atītaṃ rūpaṃ tasmāc chrutavān āryaśrāvako 'tīta-
rūpe 'napekṣo bhavati | anāgataṃ ced rūpaṃ nābhaviṣyan na śruta-
vān āryaśrāvako 'nāgataṃ rūpaṃ nābhyanandiṣyat | yasmāt tarhy
asty anāgataṃ rūpaṃ tasmāc chrutavān āryaśrāvako 'nāgataṃ rūpaṃ
nābhinandati | pratyutpannaṃ ced bhikṣavo rūpaṃ nābhaviṣyan...*

(83) AK-vy 703,5; 705,10; AK-vy(D) 1199,21; 1204,20; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 97 [377]; AK-bh(VP) IV 51 note 2.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 74. – (c) parallel: SN IV 67.

(84) AK-vy 474,32–475,2; AK-vy(D) 814, 23–25; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 98 [382]; AK-bh(VP) IV 59 note 3.

(a) *Paramārthasūnyatāyām* – (b) source: see Chung 95.

(85) AK-vy 476,13; AK-vy(D) 816,28; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 98f. [384]; AK-bh(VP) IV 63 note 1.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 168.

(86) AK-vy 4,2f.; AK-vy(D) 6,17f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 99 [386]; AK-bh(VP) IV 64 note 2.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 91. – (c) parallel: SN IV 15.

(87) AK-vy 488,20f.; AK-vy(D) 835,25f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 99f. [389]; AK-bh(VP) IV 80 note 5.

(a) *sūtravāda* – (b) source: see Chung 140.

(88) AK-vy 497,4; AK-vy(D) 851,26; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 100 [391]; AK-bh(VP) IV 99 note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 139, 156, 168f., 171, 176. – (c) parallel: SN V 145.

(89) AK-vy 497,14; AK-vy(D) 852,24; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 100 [392], AK-bh(VP) IV 99 note 4.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 170. – (c) parallel: SN V 64.

(90) AK-vy 514,27–515,2; AK-vy(D) 873,30; 874,11–17; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 100 [393]; AK-bh(VP) IV 121f. note 4; Anālayo 2015: 28–32.

(a) *Vyādhyādisūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 124.

caturbhir aṃgaiḥ samanvāgato bhiṣak śalyāpahartā rājārhas ca

*bhavati rājayogyaś ca rājāṃgathe ca saṃkhyāṃ gacchati | katamaiś
caturbhiḥ | ābādhakuśalo bhavati | ābādhasamutthānakuśalaḥ |
ābādhaprahāṇakuśalaḥ | prahīṇasya cābādhasyāyatyām anutpāda-
kuśalaḥ | ... evam eva caturbhir aṃgaiḥ samanvāgatas tathāgato
'rhan samyaksambuddho 'nuttaro bhiṣak śalyāpahartety ucyate |
katamaiś caturbhiḥ | iha bhikṣavas tathāgato 'rhan samyaksam-
buddha idaṃ duḥkham āryasatyam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | ayaṃ
duḥkha-samudayaḥ | ayaṃ duḥkhanirodhaḥ | iyaṃ duḥkhanirodha-
gāminī pratipad āryasatyam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānātīti |*

(91) AK-vy 515,10; AK-vy(D) 874,26; cf. AK-bh(P) 328,17; AK-bh(VP) IV 123.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 127.

āryāṇāṃ etāni satyāni tasmād āryasatyānīti |

(92) AK-vy 515,15,17; AK-vy(D) 875,15,17; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 101 [394]; AK-bh(VP) IV 124 note 2.

(a) *gāthā* – (b) source: see Chung 89. – (c) parallel: SN IV 127.

(93) AK-vy 516,11; AK-vy(D) 876,19; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 101 [397]; AK-bh(VP) IV 126.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 43, 59. – (c) parallel: SN III 22, *passim*.

(94) AK-vy 518,21; 519,18–20, *passim*; AK-vy(D) 882,15,19f., *passim*; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 102 [400]; AK-bh(VP) IV 129, 131 note 1.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 134. – (c) parallel: SN IV 216.

(95) AK-vy 518,22; AK-vy(D) 880,17; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 102 [401]; AK-bh(VP) IV 129, 132.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 133. – (c) parallel: SN IV 207.

(96) AK-vy 519,11–13; 15f.; AK-vy(D) 881,27; 882,15,17f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 102 [403]; AK-bh(VP) IV 131.

(a) *āryĀnanda* – (b) source: see Chung 134. – (c) parallel: SN IV 216. See above (93) AK-vy 518f.

(97) AK-vy 521,10–14; 28f.; AK-vy(D) 885,16–19; 886,13; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 103 [406]; AK-bh(VP) IV 134 note 2.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 58. – (c) parallel: SN III 69.

rūpaṃ cen Mahānāmann ekāṃtaduḥkham abhaviṣyan na sukhaṃ na sukhānugataṃ na saumanasyaṃ na saumanasyānugataṃ na sukha-veditam | hetur api na prajñāyetaⁱ rūpe saṃrāgāya | yasmāt tarhy asti rūpaṃ sukhaṃ sukhānugataṃ ... ato rūpe hetuḥ prajñāyate yad uta saṃrāgāyeta |

ⁱ After VP *loc.cit.*; Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]: *prajñāyate*.

(98) AK-vy 522,19; 523,8f.; AK-vy(D) 887,14; 888,10f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 103 [408]; AK-bh(VP) IV 136f. note 4.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 89.

(99) AK-vy 522,20–26; AK-vy(D) 887,15–20; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 104 [409]; AK-bh(VP) IV 136f. note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 61. – (c) parallel: SN III 54.

yataś ca bhikṣavaḥ paṃca bījajātāny akhaṇḍāny acchidrāny apūtīny

avātātapahatāni navāni sārāṇi sukhaśayitāni | pṛthivīdhātuś ca bhavaty abdhātuś ca | evaṃ tāni bījāni vṛddhiṃ virūḍhiṃ vipulatām āpadyamte | iti hi bhikṣava upameyaṃ kṛtā yāvad evāsyārthasya vijñāptaya iti ... pañca bījajātānīti bhikṣavaḥ sopādānasya vijñānasyaitad adhivacanam pṛthivīdhātur iti catasṛṇāṃ vijñānasthitīnām etad adhivacanam iti |

(100) AK-vy 530,5f.; 531,18–23; AK-vy(D) 904, 12f.; 906,12–16; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 104 [413]; AK-bh(VP) IV 160.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 143, 156, 158f., 162, 207. – (c) parallel: SN V 297, *passim*.

adhyātmaṃ kāye kāyānupaśyī viharati | ātāpī saṃprajānan smṛti-mān vinīya loke 'bhidyādaurmanasye | bahirdhā kāye kāyānupaśyī viharati | ātāpī ... | adhyātmabahirdhā kāye kāyānupaśyī viharati ... | adhyātmaṃ vedanāyāṃ vedanānupaśyī viharatīti |

(101) AK-vy 531,9–11; AK-vy(D) 905,25–27; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 105 [416]; AK-bh(VP) IV 161.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 156. – (c) parallel: SN V 184.

(102) AK-vy 543,10,12–14; AK-vy(D) 926, 17, 19; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 105 [418]; AK-bh(VP) IV 187 note 3.

(a) *sūtra* – (b) source: see Chung 178.

(103) AK-vy 543,30–544,12; AK-vy(D) 927, 15–28; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 106 [419]; AK-bh(VP) IV 188f. note 3.

(a) *Samyuktāgame* – (b) source: see Chung 129. – (c) parallel: SN V 452.

*Anāthapiṇḍada āha | kiṃ nu bhadaṃta caturṇām āryasatyānām
 anupūrvābhisamayah | āhosvid ekābhisamaya iti | caturṇām gr̥ha-
 pate āryasatyānām anupūrvābhisamayo na tv ekābhisamayah | yo
 gr̥hapate evaṃ vaded ahaṃ duḥkham āryasatyam anabhisametya
 samudayam āryasatyam abhisameṣyāmīti ... duḥkhanirodhagāminīm
 pratipadam āryasatyam abhisameṣyāmīti | maivaṃ voca iti syād
 vacanīyah | tat kasya hetoḥ | asthānam anavakāśo yad duḥkham
 āryasatyam anabhisametya samudayam āryasatyam abhisameṣyati
 ... nedam sthānam vidyate | sthānam etad iti ... tad-yathā gr̥hapate
 ya evaṃ vaded ahaṃ kūṭāgārasya vā kūṭāgāraśālāyā vā mūlapādam
 apratiṣṭhāpya bhittim pratiṣṭhāpayiṣyāmi | bhittim apratiṣṭhāpya
 talakam | talakam apratiṣṭhāpya cchadanam pratiṣṭhāpayiṣyāmīti |
 maivaṃ voca iti syād vacanīyah | tat kasya hetoḥ | asthānam anava-
 kāśo yat kūṭāgārasyeti ... sthānam etad vidyate | yan mūlapādam
 pratiṣṭhāpya bhittim pratiṣṭhāpayiṣyāmīti ... evam eva gr̥hapate nedam
 sthānam vidyate yad duḥkhasatyam adṛṣṭvā samudayasatyam
 drakṣyatīti ...*

(104) AK-vy 544,29f.; AK-vy(D) 928,22f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 106 [420];
 AK-bh(VP) IV 189 note 1.

(a) *sūtrāt* – (b) source: see Chung 128.

(105) AK-vy 554,5–7; AK-vy(D) 943,9f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 106 [422];
 AK-bh(VP) IV 200 note 2.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 53, 71, 125, 154, 161f., 181f., 183,
 186, 188, 192, 194, 196f., 205, 208.

*srotaāpanno bhavann avinipātakadharmā niyataṃ sambodhi-parā-
 yaṇaḥ saptakṛtvah paramaḥ saptakṛtvo devāṃś ca manuṣyāṃś ca
 saṃdhāvya saṃsṛtya duḥkhasyāṃtaṃ karoīti |*

(106) AK-vy 557,2f.; 578, 9; AK-vy(D) 946,22f.; 981,20f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 108 [433]; AK-bh(VP) IV 244 note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 180.

(107) AK-vy 579,19–580,22; AK-vy(D) 983,20–984,4–25; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 109 [435]; AK-bh(VP) IV 246 note 2.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 123.

bhagavān Bārāṇasīyāṃ viharati sma Rṣipatane Mṛgadāve | tatra bhagavān pañcakān bhikṣūn āmaṃtrayate smai | idaṃ duḥkham āryasatyam iti bhikṣavaḥ pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu yoniśo-manasikurvataś cakṣur udapādi jñānaṃ vidyā buddhir udapādi | ayaṃ duḥkhasamudayaḥ | ayaṃ duḥkhanirodhaḥ | iyaṃ duḥkhanirodhagāminī pratipad āryasatyam iti | pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu ... cakṣur udapādi ... buddhir udapādi | tat khalu duḥkham āryasatyam abhijñayā parijñātavyaṃ mayeti pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu yoniśo-manasikurvataś cakṣur udapādi ... tat khalu duḥkhasamudaya āryasatyam abhijñayā prahātavyaṃ mayeti pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu ... tat khalu duḥkhanirodha āryasatyam abhijñayā sāksātkartavyaṃ mayeti pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu ... tat khalu duḥkhanirodhagāminī pratipad āryasatyam abhijñayā bhāvayitavyaṃ mayeti pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu ... tat khalu duḥkham āryasatyam abhijñayā parijñātaṃ mayeti pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu ... tat khalu duḥkhasamudaya āryasatyam abhijñayā prahīnaṃ mayeti pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu ... tat khalu duḥkhanirodha āryasatyam abhijñayā sāksātkṛtaṃ mayeti pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu ... tat khalu punar duḥkhanirodhagāminī pratipad āryasatyam abhijñayā bhāvitāṃ mayeti pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmeṣu ... yāvac ca mama bhikṣava eṣu caturṣv āryasatyeshv evaṃ triparivartaṃ dvādaśākāraṃ na cakṣur udapādi | na

*jñānaṃ na vidyā na buddhir udapādi | na tāvad aham asmāt
sadevakāl lokāt samārakāt sabrahmakāt saśramaṇabrāhmaṇikāyāḥ
prajāyāḥ sadevamānuṣāsuraṇāṃ mukto niḥsrto viśamyukto vipra-
yukto viparyāsāpagatena cetasā bahulaṃ vyahārṣam | na tāvad
aham anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃboddhim abhisambuddho 'smīty adhya-
jñāsiṣam | yataś ca mama bhikṣava eṣu caturṣv āryasatyēṣv evaṃ
triparivartaṃ dvādaśā-kāraṃ cakṣur udapādi ... buddhir udapādi |
tato 'ham asmāt sadevakād ... viprayukto viparyāsāpagatena cetasā
bahulaṃ vyahārṣam | tato 'ham anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃboddhim
abhisambuddho 'smīti adhyajñāsiṣam | asmin khalu punar dharma-
paryāye bhāṣyamāṇe āyusmataḥ Kauṇḍīnyasya virajo vigatamalam
dharmeṣu dharma-cakṣur utpannam aśīteś caiii devatāsahasrāṇām |
tatra bhagavān āyusmantaṃ Kauṇḍīnyam āmantrayate smaiv |
ājñātas te Kauṇḍīnya dharmah | ājñāto me bhagavan | ājñātas te
Kauṇḍīnya dharmah | ājñāto me sugata | ājñāta āyusmatā Kauṇḍi-
nyena dharma iti bhaumā yakṣāḥ śabdam udīrayamti ghoṣam
anuśrāvayamti | etan mārṣāv bhagavatā Bārāṇasyām Ṛṣipatane
Mṛgadāve triparivartadvādaśākāraṃ dharmacakram pravartitam |
apravartitapūrvam śramaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā devena vā Māreṇa
vā Brahmaṇā vā kenacit punar loka sahadharmeṇa bahujanahitāyeti |*

ⁱ Chung 2006: 86: (āmantra)[ya]ti. ⁱⁱ *ibid.*, p. 87, *passim*: t(a)t kh(a)lu. ⁱⁱⁱ *ibid.*, p. 94: aśītīnāñ ca. ^{iv} *ibid.*, p. 94: āmantrayati. ^v *ibid.*, p. 95: māriṣā.

(108) AK-vy 588,20,22; AK-vy(D) 997,8,10; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 109 [438]; AK-bh(VP) IV 259 note 1.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 74. – (c) parallel: SN IV 125.

(109) AK-vy 591,23; 592,5f.; AK-vy(D) 1001,26; 1002,23f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 110f. [443]; AK-bh(VP) IV 264f. notes 4ff.

(a) *Aṅgārakarśūpama* – (b) source: see Chung 82. – (c) parallel: SN IV 190.

(110) AK-vy 591,25–27,29–33; AK-vy(D) 1002,11–18; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 111 [444]; AK-bh(VP) IV 265 note 1.

(a) *vacanāt* – (b) source: see Chung 82, 167.

kati bhadamtārhatō bhikṣoḥ kṣīṇāsraṇasya balāni | aṣṭau Śāriputrārhatō bhikṣor dīrgharātram vivekanimnam cittam yāvan nirvāṇa-prāgbhāram | aṅgārakarśūpamāś cānena kāmā dṛṣṭā bhavaṃti | yathāsyā kāmān jānataḥ kāmān paśyato yaḥ kāmeṣu kāmaccchandaḥ kāmasnehaḥ ... kāmādhyavasānam | tatrāsyā cittam na paryādāya tiṣṭhatīti |

(111) AK-vy 591,33–592,1,8f.; AK-vy(D) 1002, 18f., 25; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 111 [445]; AK-bh(VP) IV 265.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 82.

(112) AK-vy 593,20; AK-vy(D) 1005,20; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 111f. [447]; AK-bh(VP) IV 269 note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 82. – (c) parallel: SN IV 190.

(113) AK-vy 604,15f.; AK-vy(D) 1022,26f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 113 [453]; AK-bh(VP) IV 289f. note 1.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 88.

(114) AK-vy 604,19–21; AK-vy(D) 1023,17–19; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 113 [454]; AK-bh(VP) IV 290 note 2.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 83.

(115) AK-vy 607,12–16, 20–22; AK-vy(D) 1028,20–23; 1029,16–18; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 113f. [456]; AK-bh(VP) IV 297f. note 4.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 147.

catvārīmāni Vyāghrabodhyāyanāḥ pariśuddhipradhānāni | katamāni catvāri | śīlapariśuddhipradhānam | samādhipariśuddhipradhānam | dṛṣṭipariśuddhipradhānam | vimuktipariśuddhipradhānam ceti | ... katamac ca Vyāghrabodhyāyanā vimuktipariśuddhipradhānam | iha bhikṣo rāgāc cittam viraktam bhavati vimuktam | dveṣāt | mohād viraktam bhavati vimuktam | ity aparipūrṇasya vā vimuktiskandhasya paripūrāye | paripūrṇasya vānugrahāya yaś chando vīryam iti |

(116) AK-vy 622,7–14; AK-vy(D) 1051,19–25; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 115 [463]; AK-bh(VP) V 23 note 2.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 170. – (c) parallel: SN V 112–114.

(117) AK-vy 624,1f.; AK-vy(D) 1054,13; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 115f. [465]; AK-bh(VP) V 26.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 141.

(118) AK-vy 627,11f.; AK-vy(D) 1059,21f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 116 [468]; AK-bh(VP) V 34 note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 66. – (c) parallel: SN III 100.

(119) AK-vy 220,14–20; 628,13–23; AK-vy(D) 324,11–16; 1061,13–22; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 116f. [469]; AK-bh(VP) V 36 note 1.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 204.

(120) AK-vy 640,25; AK-vy(D) 1082,24; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 117 [472]; AK-bh(VP) V 65 note 5.

(a) *āgama* – (b) source: see Chung 86. – (c) parallel: SN IV 70.

(121) AK-vy 657,2f.; 685,19; AK-vy(D) 1112,10; 1169,15f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 118 [477]; AK-bh(VP) V 106 note 3.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 154, 166. – (c) parallel: SN II 214.

(122) AK-vy 668,2–6; AK-vy(D) 1133,7–12; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 119 [481]; AK-bh(VP) V 138 note 5.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 101. – (c) parallel: SN II 114.

tad-yathāyusman Śāriputra dve naḍakalāpyāv ākāśa ucchrite syātām |
te 'nyonyaniśrite | anyonyam niśritya tiṣṭheyātām | tatra kaś cid ekām
apanayet | dvitīyā nipatet | dvitīyām apanayet | ekā nipatet | evam
āyusman Śāriputra nāma ca rūpaṃ cānyonyaniśritam | anyonyam
niśritya tiṣṭhatīti ... | vijñānapratyayaṃ nāmarūpaṃ iti |

(123) AK-vy 670,5f.; AK-vy(D) 1135,29; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 119 [482]; AK-bh(VP) V 140 note 3.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 132.

(124) AK-vy 111,8; 670,6f.; AK-vy(D) 164,17; 1135,29f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 31, 119 [58], [483]; AK-bh(VP) I 132 note 3; V 140 note 4.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 115. – (c) parallel: SN II 123.

(125) AK-vy 674,6–9; AK-vy(D) 1144,15–18; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 121 [490]; AK-bh(VP) V 153 note 2.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 135.

yasmin samaye āryaśrāvakaḥ pravivekajāṃ prītiṃ kāyena sākṣāt-

*kr̥tvopasampādyā viharati | paṃcāsya dharmās tasmin samaye pra-
hīyante | paṃca dharmā bhāvanāparipūrīṃ gacchanti | adhyātma-
sāmprasādaḥ prītiḥ praśrabdhiḥ sukhaṃ samādhiś ceti |*

(126) AK-vy 702,32; AK-vy(D) 1198,24; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 123 [499]; AK-bh(VP) V 241 note 1.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 67. – (c) parallel: SN III, 20.

(127) AK-vy 703,7; AK-vy(D) 1199,23; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 123 [500]; AK-bh(VP) V 241 note 3.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 77.

(128) AK-vy 703,24,26f.; AK-vy(D) 1200,16,18f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 124 [503]; AK-bh(VP) V 243 note 3.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 81. – (c) parallel: SN IV 198.

(129) AK-vy 705,15–17; AK-vy(D) 1205,15f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 127 [514], [515]; AK-bh(VP) V 253 note 4f.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 63. – (c) parallel: SN III 86.

(130) AK-vy 705,32; AK-vy(D) 1205,29; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 127f. [517]; AK-bh(VP) V 255 note 3.

(a) *atītādivacanāt* – (b) source: see Chung 226. – (c) parallel: SN I 140.

(131) AK-vy 706,3–12; AK-vy(D) 1206,10–19; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 128 [518]; AK-bh(VP) V 256 note 1.

(a) *bhagavān* – (b) source: see Chung 55. – (c) parallel: SN III 25.

*bhāraṃ ca vo bhikṣavo deśayiṣyāmi bhārādānaṃ ca bhāranikṣepa-
ṇaṃ ca bhārahāraṃ ca | tac chr̥ṇuta sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasi-
kuruta bhāṣiṣye | bhāraḥ katamaḥ | paṃcopādānaskandhāḥ | bhā-
rādānaṃ katamat | tṛṣṇā paunarbhavikī nandīrāgasahagatā tatra-
tatrābhinandinī | bhāranikṣepaṇaṃ katamat | yad asyā eva tṛṣṇāyāḥ
paunarbhavikyā nandīrāgasahagatāyās tatratastrābhinandinyā aśe-
ṣaprahāṇaṃ pratinihsargo vyantībhāvaḥ kṣayo virāgo nirodho vyu-
paśamo 'staṃgamaḥ | bhārahāraḥ katamaḥ | pudgala iti syād vaca-
nīyam | yo 'śāv āyuṣmān evaṃnāmā evaṃjanya evaṃgotra evamāhāra
evaṃsukhaduḥkhaḥpratisaṃvedī evaṃdīrghāyur evaṃcirasthitika evaṃ-
āyuhparyanta iti |*

(132) AK-vy 707,17f.; AK-vy(D) 1208,22f.; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 128 [521];
AK-bh(VP) V 260 note 3.

(a) *Phālgunasūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 120. – (c) parallel: SN II
14.

*upādatta iti Phālguna na vadāmi | ahaṃ ced evaṃ vadeyam upādatta
iti | atra te kalpaḥ syād vacanāya ko nu bhadanta upādatta iti |*

(133) AK-vy 708,12–14; AK-vy(D) 1210,27–29; cf. AK-bh(Pā) 129
[523]; AK-bh(VP) V 264f. note 2.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 196. – (c) parallel: SN IV
400f.

(134) AK-vy 709,32–34; AK-vy(D) 1212,28; 1213,16–18; cf. AK-
bh(Pā) 130 [525]; AK-bh(VP) V 268 note 2.

(a) *Uktika, Ānanda* – (b) source: see Chung 198.

III. *Samyukta-āgama* Quotations not Included in the *Bhāṣya*

(1) AK-vy 23,6f.; AK-vy(D) 29,16f.; cf. AK-bh(VP) I 14 note 2.

(a) *sūtram* – (b) source: see Chung 242. – (c) parallels: SN I 62, AN II 48.

*asminn eva Rohitāśva vyāmamātre kalevare lokam prajñāpayāmi
lokasamudayaṃ ceti |*

(2) AK-vy 48,2–5; AK-vy(D) 63,22–24; cf. AK-bh(VP) I 40 note 2.

(a) *uktam* – (b) source: see Chung 46.

*yad bhikṣo na tvam sa te dharmah prahātavya iti | ājñātaṃ bhaga-
vann ity āha | yathā katham asya bhikṣo saṃkṣiptenoktasyārtham
ājānāsi | rūpaṃ bhadanta nāham | sa me dharmah prahātavya iti |*

(3) AK-vy 67,8f.; AK-vy(D) 93,28f.; cf. AK-bh(VP) I 66.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 63, 74, 104f.

*ṣaṭ sparśāyatanānīti | cakṣuḥsparśāyatanam yāvan manaḥsparśāya-
tanam iti |*

(4) AK-vy 100,28f.; 274,24–27; 666,2f.; 673,15–17; AK-vy(D) 146,22–
24; 416,17–19; 1129,27f.; 1143,15–17.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 141, 150.

*sa prītivirāgād upekṣako viharati | smṛtaḥ saṃprajānan sukham ca
kāyena pratisaṃvedayate | yat tad āryā ācakṣate upekṣakaḥ smṛti-
mān sukhavihārī tṛtīyaṃ dhyānam upasaṃpadya viharati |*

(5) AK-vy 128,29–129,1; AK-vy(D) 189,11–13; cf. AK-bh(VP) I 157 note 6.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 169. – (c) parallel: SN V 111.

asti kāyaprasrabdhir asti cittaprasrabdhiḥ | tatra yāpi kāyaprasrabdhis tad api prasrabdhisambodhyaṃgam abhijñāyai sambodhaye nirvāṇāya saṃvartate | yāpi cittaprasrabdhis tad api prasabdhisaṃbodhyaṃgam abhijñāyai sambodhaye nirvāṇāya saṃvartata iti |

(6) AK-vy 129,9–16; AK-vy(D) 189,22–29; cf. AK-bh(VP) I 158 note 1.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 169. (c) parallel: SN V 108ff.

tīrthikāḥ kila bhagavacchrāvakān evam āhuḥ | śramaṇo bhavanto Gautama evam āha | evaṃ yūyaṃ bhikṣavaḥ pañca nivaraṇāni prahāya cetasa upakleśakarāṇi prajñādaurbalyakarāṇi sapta bodhyaṃgāni bhāvayateti | vāyam apy evaṃ brūmaḥ | tatrāsmākaṃ śramaṇasya ca Gautamasya ko viśeṣo dharmadeśanāyāḥ | tebhyo bhagavatā etad upadiṣṭam | pañca santi daśa bhavanti | daśa santi pañca vyavasthāpyante | ... tathā sapta santi caturdaśa bhavanti | caturdaśa santi sapta vyavasthāpyante |

(7) AK-vy 140,21–23; 240,16–18; 273, 11f.; AK-vy(D) 207,16–18; 357,15f.; 415,4f.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 125, 148f., 181.

sa viviktaṃ kāmair viviktaṃ pāpakair akuśalair dharmair savitarkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ prītisukhaṃ prathamam dhyānam upasaṃpādy viharatīti |

(8) AK-vy 179,27–29; AK-vy(D) 267, 11f.; cf. AK-bh(VP) I 235 note 2.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 66.

*yaḥ kaś cid vedanāskandhaḥ saṃjñāskandhaḥ saṃskāraskandhaḥ |
sarvas sa sparśaṃ pratīyeti ... |*

(9) AK-vy 273,10–275,27; AK-vy(D) 415,4–417,20.¹⁰

(a) *sūtram* – (b) source: see Chung 148–151, 251. – (c) parallel: AN IV 422ff.

*iha bhikṣur yair ākārair yair liṅgair yair nimittair viviktaṃ kāmair
viviktaṃ pāpakair akuśalair dharmair ... (see above (7) AK-vy 140,21–
23) ... sa na haiva tān ākārān tāni liṅgāni tāni nimittāni manasikaroti |
api tu yat tatropalabhate rūpagataṃ vā vedanāgataṃ vā ... vijñāna-
gataṃ vā | sa tān dharmān rogato manasikaroti | gaṇḍataḥ śalyato
'ghato 'nityato duḥkhataḥ śūnyato 'nātmato manasikaroti | sa tān
dharmān rogato manasikṛtya ... anātmato manasikṛtya tebhyo dharme-
bhyaś cittam udvejyati uttrāsayati prativārayati | sa tebhyo dharme-
bhyaś cittam udvejyottrāsyā prativārya amṛte dhātāv upasaṃharati |
etac chāṃtam etat praṇītam | yad uta sarvopadhipratinisargas tṛṣṇā-
kṣayo virāgo nirodho nirvāṇam iti | ... tasyaivaṃ jānata evaṃ paśya-
taḥ kāmāsravāc cittam vimucyate bhavāsravād avidyāsravāc cittam
vimucyate | vimuktasya vimukto 'smīti jñānadarśanam bhavati kṣiṇā
me jātir uṣitaṃ brahmacaryaṃ kṛtaṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparam asmād
bhavaṃ prajānāmīti | ... no tu vimucyate | api tu tenaiva dharma-
cchandena tenaiva dharmaśnehena tenaiva dharmapremnā tayaiva
dharmābhīratyā antarāparinirvāyī bhavati | na haivāntarāparinir-*

¹⁰ Owing to its sheer length, the said passage in the *Īykyā* is given below in abridged form.

vāyī bhavati | api tūpapadyaparinirvāyī bhavati ... api tūrdhvaṃ-
srotā bhavati | na haivordhvaṃ-srotā bhavati | api tu tenaiva dharmā-
cchandena ... dharmābhiratyā Mahābrahmanāṃ devānāṃ ... dharmā-
bhiratyā Brahmapurohitānāṃ ... Brahmakāyikānāṃ devānāṃ sabhā-
gatāyāṃ upapadyate | iha bhikṣur yair ākārair ... vitarkavicārāṇāṃ
vyupaśamād adhyātmasamprasādāc cetasa ekotībhāvād avitarkam
avicāraṃ samādhijaṃ prītisukhaṃ dvitīyaṃ dhyānaṃ upasaṃpadya
viharati | sa na haiva tān ākāraṇ ... api tu tatropalabhate ... virāgo
nirodho nirvāṇam | ... tasyaivaṃ jānata evaṃ paśyataḥ ... kṛtaṃ kara-
ṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ asmād bhavaṃ prajānāmīti | ... no tu vimucyate | api
tu tenaiva dharmacchandena ... Ābhāsvarāṇāṃ devānāṃ ... Apra-
māṇābhānāṃ ... Parītābhānāṃ ... sabhāgatāyāṃ upapadyate | iha
bhikṣur yair ākārair ... prītivirāgād ... (see above (4) AK-vy 100,28f.)
... sa na haiva tān ākāraṇ tāni liṃgāni ... api tu tenaiva dharmā-
cchandena ... Śubhakṛtsnānāṃ ... Apramāṇasubhānāṃ ... Parīta-
śubhānāṃ ... sabhāgatāyāṃ upapadyate | iha bhikṣur yair ākārair ...
sukhasya ca prahāṇād duḥkhasya ca prahāṇāt pūrvam eva
saumanasyadaurmanasyayor astaṃgamāt | aduḥkhasukham upekṣā-
smṛtipariśuddhaṃ caturthaṃ dhyānaṃ upasaṃpadya viharati | sa na
haiva ... tayaiva dharmābhiratyā Bṛhatphalānāṃ ... Puṇyaprasavā-
nāṃ ... Anabhrakāṇāṃ ... sabhāgatāyāṃ upapadyate | iha bhikṣur ...
sarvaśo rūpasamjñānāṃ samatikramāt pratighasamjñānāṃ astaṃ-
gamāt nānātvasamjñānāṃ amanasikārād anantam ākāśam ity ākāśān-
antyāyatanam upasaṃpadya viharati | sa na haiva ... nirodho nir-
vāṇam iti | ... no vimucyate | api tu tenaiva dharmacchandena ...
ākāśānantyāyatanopagānāṃ devānāṃ sabhāgatāyāṃ upapadyate |
iha bhikṣur ... sarvaśa ākāśānantyāyatanam samatikramyānantam
vijñānam iti ... vijñānānantyāyatanopagānāṃ devānāṃ sabhāgatā-
yāṃ upapadyata iti ... punar aparaṃ iha bhikṣur ... nāsti kiṃ cid ity
ākīṃcanyāyatanam upasaṃpadya viharati | sa na haiva ... punar

*aparam iha bhikṣur ... sarvaśa ākiṃcanyāyatanam samatikramya
naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatanam upasaṃpadya viharati |*

(10) AK-vy 288,26–28; 289,24f.; 523,10–20; AK-vy(D) 444,19–21; 445,24f.; 888,13–22; cf. AK-bh(VP) II 70 note 3.

(a) *Sahetusapratyayasānidānasūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 94 note 58.

*cakṣur bhikṣavaḥ sahetu sapratyayaṃ sanidānam | kaś ca bhikṣavaś
cakṣuṣo hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayaḥ kiṃ nidānam | cakṣuṣo bhikṣavaḥ
karma hetuḥ karma pratyayaḥ karma nidānam | karmāpi bhikṣavaḥ
sahetu sapratyayaṃ sanidānam | kaś ca bhikṣavaḥ karmaṇo hetuḥ
kaḥ pratyayaḥ kiṃ nidānam | karmaṇo ... tṛṣṇā hetuḥ tṛṣṇā pratyayaḥ
... nidānam | tṛṣṇā ... sahetukā sapratyayā sanidānā | kaś ca ...
tṛṣṇāyā hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayaḥ kiṃ nidānam | tṛṣṇāyā bhikṣavo 'vidyā
hetuḥ | avidyā pratyayaḥ | avidyā nidānam | avidyāpi bhikṣavaḥ
sahetukā ... sanidānā | kaś ca ... 'vidyāyā hetuḥ ... kiṃ nidānam |
avidyāyā bhikṣavo 'yonīśo-manaskāro hetuḥ | ayonīśo-manaskāraḥ
pratyayaḥ | ayonīśo-manaskāro nidānam iti |*

(11) AK-vy 299,2f.; AK-vy(D) 459,25f.; cf. AK-bh(VP) II 83f. note 5.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 120. – (c) parallels: e.g., SN II 1ff.

*jātipratyayā jarāmarāṇaśokaparidevaduḥkhadaurmanasyopāyāsāḥ
saṃbhavantīti |*

(12) AK-vy 299,33–300,1; AK-vy(D) 461,14–16; cf. AK-bh(VP) II 85 note 2.

(a) *Pratītyasamutpādasūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 107.

*nāma katamat | catvāro 'rūpiṇaḥ skandhā iti | rūpaṃ katamat | yat
kiṃ cid rūpaṃ iti ... yac cedaṃ rūpaṃ ca nāma | tad ubhayaṃ nāma-
rūpaṃ ity ucyata iti |*

(13) AK-vy 300,28–30; AK-vy(D) 462,25–27; cf. AK-bh(VP) II 88 note 2.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 109.

*jarā katamā | yat tat khāliyaṃ pālityam iti ... maraṇaṃ katamat |
yā teṣāṃ teṣāṃ sattvānāṃ tasmāt tasmāc cyutiś cyavanam iti ... |*

(14) AK-vy 396,3–31; AK-vy(D) 666,9–667,18; cf. AK-bh(VP) III 126 note 3.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: see Chung 225.

*bhagavān Mithilikāyāmi viharati sma Mithilāmravaṇe | tena khalu
punaḥ samayena Vasiṣṭhasagotrāyā brāhmaṇyāḥ ṣaṭ putraḥ kāla-
gatāḥ | sā teṣāṃ kālakriyayā nagnonmattā kṣiptacittā tenatenānu-
hīṇdānti yena Mithilāmravaṇaṃ tenopasaṃkrāntā | tena khalu punaḥ
samayena bhagavān anekaśatāyā bhikṣuparśadaḥ purastān niṣaṇṇo
dharmam deśayati sma | adrākṣīd Vasiṣṭhasagotrā brāhmaṇī bhaga-
vantaṃ dūrād eva | drṣṭvā ca punar jehrīyamāṇarūpā utkuṭakā 'sthāt |
smṛtiṃ ca labdhavati | adrākṣīt bhagavān Vasiṣṭhasagotrāṃ brāh-
maṇīṃ dūrād eva | drṣṭvā ca punar āyusmantam Ānandam āman-
trayate sma | anuprayacchĀnanda Vasiṣṭhasagotrāyai brāhmaṇyai
uttarāsaṃgam | dharmam asyai deśayiṣyāmi | āyusmān Ānando Vā-
siṣṭhasagotrāyai brāhmaṇyai uttarāsaṃgam adāt | atha Vasiṣṭha-
sagotrā brāhmaṇī uttarāsaṃgaṃ prāvṛtya yena bhagavāṃs tenopa-
saṃkrāntā | upasaṃkramya bhagavataḥ pādaḥ śīrasā vanditvai-
kāṃte niṣaṇṇā | ekāmtaniṣaṇṇāṃ ... brāhmaṇīṃ dharmayā kathayā
saṃdarśayati samādāpayati samuttejayati saṃpraharṣayati ... cat-
vāry āryasatyāni deśitavān ... tayā srotaāpattiḥ phalam adhigatam |
adhigamya ca bhagavato 'ntikāt prakrāntā | tasyā apareṇa samayena
saptamaḥ putraḥ kālagataḥ | sā tat kālakriyayā na śocati | tām
aśocaṃtiṃ svabhartā 'bravīt | tvaṃ pūrvaṃ putramaraṇena pari-*

*taptāsi | idānīm nāsi paritaptā | nūnaṃ te putrās tvayā bhakṣitāḥ |
yato na paritapyasa iti | sā taṃ pratyuvā ca |*

*putrapautrasahasrāṇi jñātisaṃghaśatāni ca |
dīrgha 'dhvani mayā brahman khāditāni tathā tvayā ||
putrapautrasahasrāṇāṃ parimāṇaṃ na vidyate |
anyonyaṃ khādyamānānāṃ tāsū tāsūpapattiṣu ||
kaḥ śocet paritapyeta parideveta vā punaḥ |
jñātvā niḥsaraṇaṃ loke jāteś ca maraṇasya ca ||
sāhaṃ niḥsaraṇaṃ jñātvā jāteś ca maraṇasya ca |
na śocāmi na tapyāmi kṛte buddhasya śāsane ||*

ⁱ *Mithilāyām (?)*

(15) AK-vy 465,14f.; AK-vy(D) 798,10f.

(a) *bhagavatā* – (b) source: see Chung 213.

*alpakaṃ bhikṣavo manuṣyānāṃ jīvitam | gamanīyaḥ samparāyaḥ |
caritavyaṃ kuśalam | nāsti jātasyāmarāṇam iti |*

(16) AK-vy 544,12–22; AK-vy(D) 928,7–15; cf. AK-bh(VP) IV 188f. note 3.

(a) *athānyataro bhikṣur āha* – (b) source: see Chung 129.

*kiṃ nu bhadaṃta caturṇām āryasatyānām anupūrvābhisamayaḥ |
āhosvid ekābhisamaya iti | bhagavān āha | caturṇām bhikṣo satya-
nām iti ... tad-yathā bhikṣo ya evaṃ vaded ahaṃ catuṣkaḍavarasya
sopānasya prathamānopānakaḍevaram anabhiruhya dvitīyam abhi-
roḁsyāmīti | dvitīyam anabhiruhya tṛtīyam | tṛtīyam anabhiruhya
caturtham abhiroḁsyāmīti | maivaṃ voca iti syād vacanīyaḥ | tat
kasya hetoḥ | asthānam anavakāśo yac catuṣkaḍavarasya sopānasya
prathamānopānakaḍevaram anabhiruhya dvitīyakaḍevaram abhi-*

*roḁṣyati | evaṃ yāvat tṛtīyaṃ anabhīruhya caturtham abhīroḁṣyati |
evaṃ ihāpi nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate yad duḥkhasatyam adṛṣṭvā samu-
dayasatyam draḁṣyatiṭyādi |*

(17) AK-vy 544,22–28; AK-vy(D) 928,16–21; cf. AK-bh(VP) IV 188f.
note 3.

(a) *tathāryĀnanda āha* – (b) source: see Chung 129.

*kiṃ nu bhadaṃta caturṇāṃ āryasatyānāṃ anupūrvābhisamayaḥ |
utāho ekābhisamaya iti | ... tad-yathĀnanda ya evaṃ vaded ahaṃ
catuṣpadikāyā niḥśreṇyāḥⁱ prathamam niḥśreṇīpadam anabhīruhya
prāsādam abhīroḁṣyāmīti | maivaṃ voca iti syād vacanīyaḥ | ... evaṃ
evĀnanda ya evaṃ vaded ahaṃ duḥkham āryasatyam anabhisam-
etya samudayasatyam abhisameṣyāmīti ... nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyata
iti |*

ⁱ Like the above *kaḁḁvara* (AK-vy 544,16,19f.) (cf. PED 200: *kaḁḁbara* – ‘corpse; step in a flight of stairs’), *niḥśreṇī* (Pāli: *nisseṇi*, ‘ladder, flight of stairs’; cf. SWTF XVI, 49, s.v. *niśrayaṇī*) clearly represents instances of occasional Sanskritization of Middle Indian words in *Samyukta-āgama* texts.

(18) AK-vy 552,6–10; AK-vy(D) 940,18–22; cf. AK-bh(VP) IV 202
note 1.

(a) *sūtre* – (b) source: see Chung 62. – (c) parallel: SN III 160f.

*katham ca bhikṣavo bhikṣuḥ saptasthānakuśalo bhavati | rūpaṃ yathā-
bhūtaṃ prajānāti | rūpasamudayaṃ rūpanirodham rūpanirodha-
gāminīṃ pratipadaṃ rūpasyāsvādam ādīnavam niḥsaraṇam yathā-
bhūtaṃ prajānāti | evaṃ vedanāṃ saṃjñāṃ saṃskārān vijñānam
yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | vijñānasamudayaṃ ... niḥsaraṇam yathā-
bhūtaṃ prajānātīti |*

(19) AK-vy 581,14–16; AK-vy(D) 985,22f.; cf. AK-bh(VP) IV 247 note 2.

(a) no reference to the quotation – (b) source: SĀ 212 at T II 54a2–4. – (c) parallel: SN IV 67.

tena hi bhikṣo dvayaṃ te deśayīṣyāmi tac chr̥ṇu sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasikuru bhāṣiṣye | dvayaṃ katamat | cakṣūrūpāṇi ... manodharmāś ceti |

(20) AK-vy 641,15–642,26; AK-vy(D) 1083,23–1085,7; cf. AK-bh(VP) V 68f. note 1.

(a) *sūtram* – (b) source: see Chung 165.

daśāyusmantas tathāgatabalāni | katamāni daśa | ihāyusmantas tathāgataḥ sthānaṃ ca sthānato yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | asthānaṃ cāsthānataḥ | idaṃ prathamam tathāgatabalaṃ yena balena samanvāgatas tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddha udāram āṛṣabhaṣṭhānaṃ pratijānāti brāhmaṃ cakram pravartayati | paṛsadi samyaksimhanādaṃ nadati | punar aparam āyusmantas tathāgato 'ītānāgatapratyutpannāni karmadharmasamādānāni sthānato hetuto vastuto vipākataś ca yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | yad ... prajānāti | idaṃ dvitīyaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ yena balena ... | punar aparam ... tathāgato dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpattināṃ saṃkleśavyavadānavyavasthānaviśuddhiṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | ... yad ... punar aparam ... tathāgataḥ parasattvānāṃ parapudgalānāṃ indriyaparāparatāṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | yad ... idaṃ caturthaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ yena baleneti ... | punar aparam ... tathāgato nānāvimuktikaṃ¹ lokam anekavimuktikaṃ iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | yad ... idaṃ pañcamaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ yena ... | punar aparam ... tathāgato nāndhātukaṃ lokam anekadhātukaṃ iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | yad ... idaṃ ṣaṣṭhaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ yena ... | ... tathāgataḥ sarvatra-

gāminīm pratipadam yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | yad ... tathāgataḥ ... idam saptamaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ yena ... | ... tathāgato 'nekavidhaṃ pūrvanivāsaṃ anusmarati | tad-yathaikāṃ api jātiṃ ... daśa viṃśatiṃ yāvad anekān api saṃvartavivartakalpān anusmarati | amī nāma te bhavantaḥ sattvāḥ | yatrāham āsam evaṃnāmā evaṃjātya evaṃgotra evaṃāhāra evaṃsukhaduḥkhaḥpratisaṃvedī evaṃdūṛghāyur evaṃcirasthitika evaṃāyuspariyantaḥ so 'haṃ tasmāt sthānāc cyuto 'mutropapannaḥ tasmād api cyuta ihopapannaḥ | iti sākāraṃ sanidānaṃ soddeśaṃ anekavidhaṃ pūrvanivāsaṃ anusmarati | yad ... | idam aṣṭamaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ yena ... | ... tathāgato divyena cakṣuṣā viśuddhenātikrāntamānuśyakeṇa sattvān paśyati cyavanān apy upapadyamānān api suvarṇān durvarṇān durbalān hīnān prañītān sugatim api gacchato durgatim api yathākarmopagān sattvān yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | amī bhavantaḥ sattvāḥ kāyaduṣcaritena samanvāgatā vānmanoduṣcaritena samanvāgatā āryāṇāṃ apavādakā mithyādrṣṭayo mithyādrṣṭikarmadharmasamādānahetos tad-dhetuṃ tat-pratyayaṃ kāyasya bhedaṭ paraṃ maraṇād apāyadurgativinipāte narakeṣūpapadyante | amī punar bhavantaḥ sattvāḥ kāyasucaritena samanvāgatāḥ ... āryāṇāṃ anapavādakāḥ samyagdrṣṭayaḥ ... tad-dhetuṃ tat-pratyayaṃ kāyasya bhedaṭ sugatau svargaloke deveṣūpapadyante | yad ... | idam navamaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ yena ... | ... tathāgata āsravāṇāṃ kṣayād anāsravāṃ cetovimuktiṃ prajñāvimuktiṃ drṣṭa eva dharme svayam abhijñāya sākṣātkṛtvopasaṃpadya prati-vedayate | kṣīṇā me jātir ... nāparam asmād bhavaṃ prajānāmīti | yad ... | idam daśamaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ yena baleneti ... |

ⁱ VP loc. cit.: ⁰adhimuktikam.

(21) AK-vy 652,15–17; AK-vy(D) 1102,21–23; cf. AK-bh(VP) V 91 note 1.

(a) *deśanādharmah* – (b) source: see Chung 87, 106. – (c) parallel: SN I 105; IV 315.

*dharmam vo bhikṣavo deśayiṣyāmi | ādau kalyāṇam madhye kalyāṇam
paryavasāne kalyāṇam svartham suvyañjanam kevalam paripūrṇam
parisuddham paryavadātam brahmacaryam samprakāśayiṣyāmīti |*

(22) AK-vy 654,20–26; AK-vy(D) 1107,21–27; cf. AK-bh(VP) V 100
note 2; cf. also AK-vy 574,2–4; AK-vy(D) 972,26f.

(a) *sūtram* – (b) source: see Chung 153, 182f., 185.

*iha bhikṣur idaṃ duḥkham āryasatyam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti |
ayaṃ duḥkhasamudayaḥ | ayaṃ duḥkhanirodhaḥ | iyaṃ duḥkhani-
rodhagāminī pratipad āryasatyam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | tasyai-
vaṃ jānata ... (see above (9) AK-vy 273,10) nāparam asmād bha-
vaṃ prajānāmīti | iyaṃ ucyate āsravakṣayaññānasākṣātkriyābhijñā |*

(23) AK-vy 669,23–25; AK-vy(D) 1135,14–16; cf. above II. (63) AK-
vy 318,18–20; Anālayo 2015: 14.

(a) *sūtra* – (b) source: see Chung 114, 120ff., 185.

*catvāra āhārā bhūtānāṃ sattvānāṃ sthitaye sambhavaīṣiṇāṃ cānu-
grahāya | katame catvāraḥ | kavaḍḍikārāhāra audārikaḥ | sūkṣmaḥ
sparśo dvitīyaḥ | manaḥsaṃcetanā tṛtīyaḥ | vijñānam āhārāś catur-
tha iti |*

Conclusion

As mentioned in the introduction, further enquiries certainly are a *desideratum*, that is, a detailed comparative study of Vasubandhu's and Yaśomitra's *Samyukta-āgama* quotations vis-à-vis their parallels, including those in the Pali canon. Such a comparison would bear out the great value of the *Samyukta-āgama* quotations. They would prove very useful for additional critical analysis of early Buddhist canonical texts along with an attempt at their diachronic stratification, an example of which has been set by G.C. Pande (1974 [1957]) in his much appreciated treatment of the topic.¹¹ In this context, mention should also be made of the insightful observations by Bhikkhu Anālayo (2015: 441–462 and 488–489) on the influence of commentarial notions on the wording of some passages in the early Buddhist discourses and on the later incorporation of textual material in the Pali *Udāna* collection.

In this place I would like to express my gratitude to Bhikkhunī Dhamma-dinnā for kindly having made Jin-il Chung's (2008) survey accessible to me – a comprehensive and for the present task extremely useful study. I am also much beholden for Bhikkhu Anālayo's very welcome Samyukta-āgama Studies as well as other publications of Āgama studies published by the Āgama Research Group at the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts

¹¹ A particularly apt quotation – together with its parallels – lending itself to attempting diachronic stratification would be, e.g., II. (34) AK-vy 257/AK-bh(Pā) 48 [144] regarding which the *Āgama* and respective Nikāya versions all occur in different contexts. One more special quotation should be mentioned in relation to this, which in a way resembles the verses of Vāsiṭṭhī in the *Therīgāthā* and the commentary on them; see III. (14) AK-vy 396,3–31.

(Taiwan). I would like to thank again Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā for her meticulous editorial assistance and Wu Wan-chen 吳宛真 for preparing the Appendix. In spite of all attempts at being conscientious, in case of errors and omissions in this contribution on the part of the author, the readers' indulgence is begged.

Appendix*

List of *Samyukta-āgama* Discourses and their Quotations
in the *Vyākhyā* (Also Included in the *Bhāṣya*)

| <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> Discourse | Reference in Chung (2008) | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> Discourse Quotation in the <i>Vyākhyā</i> (cf. section II above) |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| — | — | (32) |
| 9 | 43 | (93) |
| 10 | 43 | (93) |
| 11 | 44 | (26) |
| 12 | 44 | (26) |
| 28 | 47 | (30) |
| 30 | 47 | (73) |
| 39 | 61 | (99) |
| 45 | 63 | (80) |
| 46 | 63 | (2) |
| 46 | 63–64 | (4) |
| 46 | 63 | (129) |
| 55 | 65 | (6) |
| 57 | 65, 330 | (22) |
| 58 | 66 | (6) |
| 58 | 66 | (118) |
| 61 | 53 | (3) |
| 61 | 53 | (105) |
| 63 | 54 | (80) |
| 64 | 55 | (51) |
| 73 | 55 | (131) |

* Compiled by Wu Wan-chen 吳宛真.

| | | |
|-----|----|-------|
| 77 | 57 | (28) |
| 81 | 58 | (97) |
| 84 | 59 | (93) |
| 103 | 67 | (126) |
| 107 | 68 | (73) |
| 131 | 71 | (105) |
| 136 | 71 | (105) |
| 139 | 71 | (105) |
| 154 | 71 | (78) |
| 212 | 74 | (108) |
| 213 | 74 | (51) |
| 214 | 74 | (83) |
| 218 | 74 | (51) |
| 221 | 74 | (51) |
| 223 | 75 | (5) |
| 228 | 75 | (51) |
| 229 | 75 | (69) |
| 237 | 76 | (30) |
| 238 | 77 | (127) |
| 240 | 77 | (57) |
| 245 | 77 | (12) |
| 255 | 80 | (13) |
| 262 | 50 | (10) |
| 262 | 50 | (52) |
| 262 | 50 | (54) |
| 262 | 50 | (55) |
| 265 | 51 | (23) |
| 273 | 83 | (7) |
| 273 | 84 | (21) |
| 273 | 84 | (51) |
| 275 | 85 | (24) |
| 276 | 85 | (51) |

| | | |
|-----|---------|-------|
| 279 | 86 | (120) |
| 288 | 101 | (122) |
| 293 | 104 | (52) |
| 293 | 104 | (54) |
| 293 | 104 | (55) |
| 295 | 105 | (9) |
| 296 | 106 | (44) |
| 296 | 106 | (45) |
| 296 | 106 | (49) |
| 296 | 105 | (50) |
| 296 | 105 | (52) |
| 296 | 105 | (54) |
| 296 | 105 | (55) |
| 297 | 106 | (52) |
| 297 | 106 | (54) |
| 297 | 106 | (55) |
| 298 | 108 | (46) |
| 298 | 108 | (48) |
| 298 | 108 | (52) |
| 298 | 108 | (54) |
| 298 | 108 | (55) |
| 298 | 108 | (56) |
| 299 | 110 | (50) |
| 299 | 110 | (52) |
| 299 | 110 | (54) |
| 299 | 110 | (55) |
| 300 | 110–111 | (52) |
| 300 | 110–111 | (54) |
| 300 | 110–111 | (55) |
| 301 | 111 | (52) |
| 301 | 111 | (54) |
| 301 | 111 | (55) |

| | | |
|-----|-------|-------|
| 302 | 112 | (52) |
| 302 | 112 | (54) |
| 302 | 112 | (55) |
| 304 | 87 | (60) |
| 305 | 88 | (68) |
| 305 | 88 | (113) |
| 306 | 88 | (31) |
| 306 | 88 | (51) |
| 307 | 89 | (98) |
| 308 | 89 | (51) |
| 308 | 89 | (92) |
| 309 | 89 | (12) |
| 312 | 90 | (76) |
| 313 | 90 | (75) |
| 319 | 91 | (86) |
| 322 | 91–92 | (1) |
| 322 | 92 | (67) |
| 332 | 94 | (70) |
| 334 | 94 | (47) |
| 335 | 95 | (42) |
| 335 | 95 | (46) |
| 335 | 95 | (52) |
| 335 | 95 | (54) |
| 335 | 95 | (55) |
| 335 | 95 | (84) |
| 336 | 96 | (11) |
| 337 | 96 | (11) |
| 338 | 96 | (11) |
| 339 | 96 | (11) |
| 340 | 97 | (11) |
| 341 | 97 | (11) |
| 342 | 97 | (11) |

| | | |
|-----|---------|-------|
| 343 | 113 | (53) |
| 347 | 115 | (124) |
| 348 | 116 | (52) |
| 348 | 116 | (54) |
| 348 | 116 | (55) |
| 349 | 116 | (52) |
| 349 | 116 | (54) |
| 349 | 116 | (55) |
| 350 | 116 | (52) |
| 350 | 116 | (54) |
| 350 | 116 | (55) |
| 358 | 118 | (52) |
| 358 | 118 | (54) |
| 358 | 118 | (55) |
| 365 | 118 | (30) |
| 369 | 118 | (52) |
| 369 | 118 | (54) |
| 369 | 118 | (55) |
| 371 | – | (63) |
| 372 | 120 | (132) |
| 374 | 120–121 | (36) |
| 376 | 57 | (82) |
| 379 | 123 | (107) |
| 389 | 124 | (90) |
| 396 | 125 | (105) |
| 417 | 127 | (91) |
| 420 | 128 | (104) |
| 435 | 129 | (103) |
| 453 | 131 | (61) |
| 463 | 132 | (123) |
| 467 | 133 | (95) |
| 470 | 134 | (74) |

| | | |
|-----|-----|-------|
| 474 | 134 | (94) |
| 474 | 134 | (96) |
| 482 | 135 | (125) |
| 490 | 139 | (12) |
| 490 | 139 | (34) |
| 490 | 139 | (88) |
| 493 | 140 | (87) |
| 494 | 140 | (18) |
| 499 | 141 | (117) |
| 537 | 143 | (100) |
| 539 | 143 | (100) |
| 551 | 145 | (51) |
| 565 | 147 | (115) |
| 568 | 148 | (8) |
| 568 | – | (20) |
| 568 | 148 | (23) |
| 590 | 236 | (52) |
| 590 | 236 | (54) |
| 590 | 236 | (55) |
| 609 | 156 | (101) |
| 610 | 156 | (100) |
| 611 | 156 | (88) |
| 622 | 158 | (100) |
| 624 | 159 | (100) |
| 644 | 161 | (105) |
| 647 | 162 | (100) |
| 648 | 162 | (105) |
| 651 | 162 | (17) |
| 652 | 163 | (16) |
| 660 | 163 | (27) |
| 684 | 166 | (121) |
| 694 | 167 | (110) |

| | | |
|-----|---------|-------|
| 703 | 168 | (85) |
| 705 | 168 | (88) |
| 706 | 168 | (88) |
| 707 | 169 | (88) |
| 710 | 169 | (58) |
| 713 | 169 | (19) |
| 714 | 170 | (116) |
| 715 | 170 | (89) |
| 725 | 171 | (88) |
| 741 | 173 | (33) |
| 744 | 173 | (62) |
| 749 | 174 | (71) |
| 752 | 175 | (12) |
| 752 | 175 | (34) |
| 767 | 176 | (88) |
| 785 | 178 | (102) |
| 797 | 180 | (106) |
| 803 | 180 | (77) |
| 815 | 181 | (105) |
| 820 | 182 | (105) |
| 822 | 183 | (105) |
| 844 | 186 | (105) |
| 845 | 186 | (105) |
| 846 | 186 | (52) |
| 846 | 186 | (54) |
| 846 | 186 | (55) |
| 848 | 186 | (15) |
| 849 | 186–187 | (15) |
| 850 | 187 | (15) |
| 854 | 188 | (50) |
| 854 | 188 | (52) |
| 854 | 188 | (54) |

| | | |
|------|----------|-------|
| 854 | 188 | (55) |
| 854 | 188 | (105) |
| 870 | 151, 251 | (37) |
| 885 | 154 | (121) |
| 892 | 154 | (105) |
| 903 | 155 | (29) |
| 914 | 191 | (79) |
| 917 | 192 | (105) |
| 927 | 193 | (72) |
| 928 | 193 | (72) |
| 929 | 193 | (72) |
| 936 | 194 | (105) |
| 937 | 195 | (40) |
| 938 | 195 | (40) |
| 939 | 195 | (40) |
| 947 | 196 | (105) |
| 954 | 196 | (35) |
| 961 | 197 | (52) |
| 961 | 197 | (54) |
| 961 | 197 | (55) |
| 961 | 196 | (133) |
| 962 | 197 | (59) |
| 964 | 197 | (105) |
| 965 | 198 | (134) |
| 984 | 204 | (119) |
| 1009 | – | (14) |
| 1021 | 234 | (25) |
| 1028 | 207 | (100) |
| 1038 | 207 | (100) |
| 1039 | 207 | (78) |
| 1044 | 208 | (105) |
| 1073 | 210 | (65) |

| | | |
|------|-----|-------|
| 1079 | 212 | (39) |
| 1163 | 222 | (38) |
| 1171 | 81 | (128) |
| 1173 | 82 | (109) |
| 1173 | 82 | (110) |
| 1173 | 82 | (111) |
| 1173 | 82 | (112) |
| 1175 | 83 | (114) |
| 1188 | 226 | (130) |
| 1214 | 231 | (81) |
| 1244 | 205 | (41) |
| 1244 | 205 | (64) |
| 1248 | 205 | (105) |
| 1278 | 240 | (66) |
| 1286 | 240 | (34) |
| 1300 | 242 | (43) |

List of *Samyukta-āgama* Discourses with Quotations
in the *Vyākhyā* (Not Included in the *Bhāṣya*)

| <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> Discourse | Reference in Chung (2008) | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> Discourse Quotation in the <i>Vyākhyā</i> (cf. section III above) |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| — | 185 | (23) |
| 17 | 46 | (2) |
| 42 | 62 | (18) |
| 45 | 63 | (3) |
| 58 | 66 | (8) |
| 209 | 74 | (3) |
| 212 | — | (19) |

| | | |
|------|--------------|------|
| 294 | 104 | (3) |
| 295 | 105 | (3) |
| 297 | 106 | (21) |
| 298 | 107 | (12) |
| 298 | 109 | (13) |
| 304 | 87 | (21) |
| 334 | 94 | (10) |
| 344 | 114 | (23) |
| 372 | 120 | (11) |
| 374 | 120 | (23) |
| 375 | 121 | (23) |
| 376 | 121 | (23) |
| 377 | 121 | (23) |
| 378 | 122 | (23) |
| 396 | 125 | (7) |
| 436 | 129 | (16) |
| 437 | 129 | (17) |
| 501 | 141 | (4) |
| 684 | 165 | (20) |
| 713 | 169 | (5) |
| 713 | 169 | (6) |
| 814 | 181 | (7) |
| 820 | 182–183 | (22) |
| 822 | 183 | (22) |
| 823 | – | (22) |
| 864 | 148 | (7) |
| 864 | 148–151, 251 | (9) |
| 869 | 150 | (4) |
| 885 | 153 | (22) |
| 1084 | 213 | (15) |
| 1178 | 225 | (14) |
| 1307 | 242 | (1) |

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| AK-bh(D) | <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> and <i>Vyākhyā</i> (Shastri 1970–1973) |
| AK-bh(P) | <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> (Pradhan 1967; rev. Haldar 1975) |
| AK-bh(Pā) | <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> (Pāsādika 1989) |
| AK-bh(VP) | <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> (de La Vallée Poussin 1971 [1923–1931]) |
| AK-vy | <i>Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā</i> (Wogihara 1971 [1932–1936]) |
| AN | <i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| Chung | Chung 2008 |
| Fuj | Fujita 1984 |
| PED | <i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> (Rhys Davids and Stede 1921) |
| SĀ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SĀ ² | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 100) |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| SHT | <i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> |
| SWTF | <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i> (Bechert et al. 1973–2015) |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition |

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**Cross-references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*
in the *Samyukta-āgama's Mātrkā*
Transmitted in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*
of the *Yogācārabhūmi***

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Abstract

This article studies the textual relationship between the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99) and the *Sūtra-vastu*, the first division of the *Vastusamgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The latter was identified by Master Yinshun 印順 (1983) as representing a *māṭṛkā* or textual ‘matrix’ of the former. Compared to a relatively equal quantity of text measured between the first three chapters of the *Samyukta-āgama* (5 fascicles) and the *māṭṛkā* of the *Samyukta-āgama* as per the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusamgrahaṇī* (4 fascicles), the ratio between the last chapter of the *Samyukta-āgama* (7 fascicles) and the corresponding *Samyukta-āgama*’s *māṭṛkā* in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusamgrahaṇī* (2 fascicles) appears disproportionate. An analysis of the distribution of 25 occurrences (43,083 words in total) of the phrase 如聲聞地, “as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*”, in the *māṭṛkā* shows that the quantity of text for these occurrences in each fascicle increases chapter by chapter (1 occurrence out of 4 fascicles = 0.25, 2 out of 4 = 0.5, 7 out of 4 = 1.75, and 15 out of 2 = 7.5), with a particularly high number in the last chapter (an average of 7.5 occurrences per fascicle). Yinshun (1983) located in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* itself 22 out of the 25 cross-references. This paper locates the remaining 3 occurrences and corrects one occurrence that was misidentified by Yinshun (1983). In some cases, a process of extension through association appears to be one of the modes of the formation of the *māṭṛkā* of the *Samyukta-āgama*. A total of 70 occurrences in the whole of the *Yogācārabhūmi* of the phrase 如聲聞地 may be pointers to the role played by the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Alternatively, these occurrences may be explained as references supplied for the sake of providing an authoritative explanation of the presentation in the *Yogācārabhūmi* by tracing it back to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

Contents

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I. The *Samyukta-āgama's mātṛkā* Transmitted in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Yogācārabhūmi's Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*

The *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (Chinese *She shi fen* 攝事分; Tibetan *gzhi bsdu ba*) or ‘Compendium of Topics’ is the last division of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (T 1579 in 100 fascicles, 第; below: YBh), ranging from fascicles 85 to 100 in the Taishō 大正 edition, comprising 16 fascicles in total. It consists of two parts: (1) the *Sūtra-vastu* (*Qi jing shi* 契經事, fascicles 85–98, 14 fascicles in total) and (2) the *Vinaya-vastu* (*Tiao fushi* 調伏事, fascicles 99–100, 2 fascicles in total).

The correspondence between the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Samyukta-āgama* collection extant in Chinese translation (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, T 99, in 50 fascicles) and the first part (*Sūtra-vastu*) of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* has already been studied by Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1924), Master Yinshun 印順 (1971 and 1983) and Mukai Akira 向井 亮 (1985). Yinshun (1983) argued that the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* constitutes the *mātṛkā* (摩呬理迦 或 本母) of the *Samyukta-āgama* and tried to reconstruct the order of the discourses in the *Samyukta-āgama* on its basis.¹

¹ T 1579 at T XXX 773a6–11 (YBh fasc. 85): 從是已後，依此所說四種契經，當說契經摩呬理迦，爲欲決擇如來所說、如來所稱、所讚、所美先聖契經。譬如無本母字義不明了，如是本母所不攝經。其義隱昧義不明了，與此相違義即明了，是故說名摩呬理迦。For a comprehensive list of modern scholars discussing the connection between the Abhidharma and the *mātṛkā*s see Anālayo 2014: 22, note 26. Westerhoff 2018: 37–38 states: “The term *mātṛkā* (etymologically related both to the term ‘matrix’ and the term ‘mother’) denotes lists of terms and topics found in the sūtras ... Their function as mnemonic devices (also as maps of meditative

The Chinese translation of the *Samyukta-āgama* is attributed to Baoyun 寶雲, based on a manuscript read out by Guṇabhadra (求那跋陀羅), and it is dated to the fifth century, between AD 435 and 436 (Glass 2008; see also Yinshun 1983: 1a6–7). Two of its 50 fascicles (nos. 23 and 25) were lost in transmission and replaced by some parts of the *Aśoka-avadāna*; of the surviving 48 fascicles, 13 were accidentally misplaced within the rest of the collection, with the result that the Taishō edition of the *Samyukta-āgama* is in partial disarray. For this reason, the restored fascicle numbering as per Yinshun's (1971 and 1983) work shows an irregular numerical sequence (for example, fascicle 1, 10, 3, 2, 5), as seen in Table 1 below.

According to the work of Yinshun (1983: 12a5–14), the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* records the content of the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā* as comprising four parts, which correspond to the four 'recitations' (誦), i.e., chapters, of the collection, further subdivided into sixteen 'connections' or *saṃyuktas* (相應), as shown in Table 1 below.

states, and a characteristic feature of an oral culture) was obvious. The formation of such lists helped to keep distinct parts of a discourse in memory as a single unity. In their further elaboration, these lists became extremely complex and comprehensive, and they are frequently regarded as the nucleus of the Abhidharma, which is in fact sometimes referred to as the *māṭṛkāpiṭaka*, the basket of matrices.”

Table 1. Correspondences between the *Samyukta-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *Mātrkā* in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusamgrahaṇī*

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| First Recitation: 'The Five Aggregates' (五陰誦第一) | | |
| <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> | Fasc. 1, 10, 3, 2, 5 (= 5 Fasc.) | (1) <i>Skandha-samyukta</i> (陰相應): 178 Discourses |
| <i>Mātrkā</i> | Fasc. 85–88 (= 4 Fasc.) | First Part of the <i>Mātrkā</i> of the Aggregates (行擇攝第一) |
| Second Recitation: 'The Six Sense Bases' (六入處誦第二) | | |
| <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> | Fasc. 8, 9, 43, 11, 13 (= 5 Fasc.) | (2) <i>Āyatana-samyukta</i> (入處相應經): 285 Discourses |
| <i>Mātrkā</i> | Fasc. 89–92 (= 4 Fasc.) | Second Part of the <i>Mātrkā</i> of the Six Sense Bases (處擇攝第二) |
| Third Recitation: 'Origination' (雜因誦第三) | | |
| <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> | Fasc. 12, 14, 15, 16, 17 (= 5 Fasc.) | (3) <i>Nidāna-samyukta</i> (因緣相應): 78 Discourses (4) <i>Satya-samyukta</i> (諦相應): 150 Discourses (5) <i>Dhātu-samyukta</i> (界相應): 37 Discourses (6) <i>Vedanā-samyukta</i> (受相應): 31 Discourses |
| <i>Mātrkā</i> | Fasc. 93–96 (= 4 Fasc.) | Third Part of the <i>Mātrkā</i> of Dependent Origination, the Nutriment, the Truths, the Elements (緣起, 食, 諦, 界擇攝第三) |

| Fourth Recitation (Chapter): 'Qualities Conducive to Awakening' (道品誦第四) | | |
|---|--|---|
| <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> | Fasc. 24, [25 Lost], 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 (= 7 Fasc.) | (7) <i>Smṛtyupasthāna-samyukta</i> (念處相應): 54 Discourses [Lost (8) <i>Samyakprahāṇa-samyukta</i> (正斷相應)] [Lost (9) <i>Ṛddhipāda-samyukta</i> (如意足相應)] (10) <i>Indriya-samyukta</i> (根相應): 27 Discourses (11) <i>Bala-samyukta</i> (力相應): 60 Discourses (12) <i>Bodhyaṅga-samyukta</i> (覺支相應): 67 Discourses (13) <i>Āryamārga-samyukta</i> (聖道分相應): 114 Discourses (14) <i>Ānāpānasmṛti-samyukta</i> (安那般那念相應): 22 Disc. (15) <i>Śikṣā-samyukta</i> (學相應): 32 Discourses (16) <i>Avetyaprasāda-samyukta</i> (不壞淨相應): 29 Discourses |
| <i>Māṭṛkā</i> | Fasc. 97–98 (= 2 Fasc.) | Fourth Part of the <i>Māṭṛkā</i> of the Qualities Conducive to Awakening (菩提分法擇攝第四) |

A calculation of the number of fascicles in each chapter of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *Saṃyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā* as per the *Sūtravastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (below also: *Saṃyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā* or *māṭṛkā*) is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Quantitative Comparison of Fascicles
between the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *Māṭṛkā*

| <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> Chapters | <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> Fascicles | <i>Māṭṛkā</i> (<i>Vastusaṃgrahaṇī</i>) Fascicles |
|--|--|---|
| Chapter 1 (‘Aggregates’) | 1, 10, 3, 2, 5 (= 5 in total) | 85–88 (= 4 in total) |
| Chapter 2 (‘Sense Bases’) | 8, 9, 43, 11, 13 (= 5 in total) | 89–92 (= 4 in total) |
| Chapter 3 (‘Origination’) | 12, 14, 15, 16, 17 (= 5 in total) | 93–96 (= 4 in total) |
| Chapter 4 (‘Qualities Conducive to Awakening’) | 24, [25 lost], 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 (= 7 in total) | 97–98 (= 2 fasc. in total) |
| Total | 22 | 14 |

The respective number of fascicles in the first three chapters of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *māṭṛkā* is almost equal: 5 fascicles (*Saṃyukta-āgama*) and 4 fascicles (*māṭṛkā*); but the respective number of fascicles found in the fourth and final chapter (‘Qualities Conducive to Awakening’) is 7 fascicles (*Saṃyukta-āgama*) and 2 fascicles (*māṭṛkā*), which clearly is disproportionate.

Yinshun (1983: 63–64) offered two main hypotheses to explain this situation:

1. some content of the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *mātrkā* about the qualities conducive to awakening was contained in the previous three chapters of the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*, or else

2. the content of the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *mātrkā* transmitted in the last chapter is abbreviated by referring to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (*Sheng-wendi* 聲聞地; *nyan thos kyi sa*; the thirteenth stage in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, fasc. 21–34), using the phrase 如聲聞地應知其相, “should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*” (corresponding to Tibetan *'di lta ste nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin no*). To give an example of the type of cross-referencing in question:¹

此中，安立四念住 (*dran pa nye bar gzhag pa*) 為初，道支 (*lam gyi yan lag*) 為最後三十七種 (*sum cu rtsa bdun*) 菩提分法 (*byang chub kyi phyogs dang mthun pa'i chos*)，若略 (*mdo*) 若廣 (*rgyas pa*)，如聲聞地 (*nyan thos kyi sa*) 應知其相。

Here, the undertaking of the four establishments of mindfulness ... the factors of the [noble] path and the outline and the detail of thirty-seven qualities conducive to awakening should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

In order to investigate the kind of disproportionate presentation mentioned above, I used the phrase 如聲聞地, “as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*”,

¹ T 1579 at T XXX 859a26–28 (YBh fasc. 97). For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1514,21–1515,3, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 315b6; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 360b4–5: *de la rnam par gzhag pa ni dran pa nye bar gzhag pa la sogs pa nas lam gyi yan lag la thug pa'i byang chub kyi phyogs dang mthun pa'i chos sum cu rtsa bdun gyi mdo dang rgyas pa yin par rig par bya ste. 'di lta ste nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin no*.

as a keyword to search the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (which contains the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā*) with the help of the concordances search function of CBETA,² and I then analyzed the 25 occurrences in the four parts of the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*. The distribution of these occurrences is shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Distribution of the 25 Occurrences of
the Phrase 如聲聞地 in the *Sūtra-vastu* (*māṭṛkā*)

| <i>Māṭṛkā</i> (Part, Fascicle Number, Fascicle Count) | 25 Occurrences and Ratio per Fascicle of the Phrase 如聲聞地 | |
|---|--|---|
| First Part of the <i>Māṭṛkā</i> of the Aggregates (行擇攝第一) Fasc. 85–88 (= 4 in total) | 1 | 1 Occurrence in 4 Fascicles or $1/4 = 0.25$ |
| Second Part of the <i>Māṭṛkā</i> of the Six Sense Bases (處擇攝第二) Fasc. 89–92 (= 4 in total) | 2 | $2/4 = 0.50$ |
| Third Part of the <i>Māṭṛkā</i> of Dependent Origination, the Nutriments, the Truths, the Elements (緣起、食、諦、界擇攝第三) Fasc. 93–96 (= 4 in total) | 7 | $7/4 = 1.75$ |
| Fourth Part of the <i>Māṭṛkā</i> of the Qualities Conduc- ive to Awakening (菩提分法擇攝第四) Fasc. 97–98 (= 2 in total) | 15 | $15/2 = 7.50$ |
| Total Count | 25 | 10.00 |

² <http://cbetaconcordance.dila.edu.tw>.

The number of occurrences per fascicle of the phrase 如聲聞地 is found to increase ($0.25 > 0.5 > 1.75 > 7.5$) chapter by chapter, with a particularly high occurrence rate (7.5) in the last chapter (the *māṭrkā* of the qualities conducive to awakening). This might be preliminary evidence for the above-mentioned hypothesis that the seventy occurrences in the *Yogācārabhūmi* of the phrase 如聲聞地 are provided for the sake of supplying the authoritative explanation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* to the presentation in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. If this is the case, it is easier to understand why there is a disproportionate ratio of fascicles for the last chapter between the *Samyukta-āgama* (7 fascicles) and the *māṭrkā* in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (2 fascicles) compared to the more equal ratios in the first three chapters (5 fascicles to 4 fascicles respectively).

II. Overview of Cross-references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the *Samyukta-āgama's māṭrkā*

Yinshun (1983) originally identified 22 occurrences of references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the *Samyukta-āgama's māṭrkā* transmitted in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*. My research has found an additional 3 occurrences. These additional occurrences are marked by a hash symbol (#) after the relevant entry numbers ([1], [2], [6]) in the following list of references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the *Samyukta-āgama's māṭrkā* transmitted in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

I was able to correct one occurrence wrongly identified by Yinshun (1983), indicated by the at symbol (@) after the number [16]. In addition,

I was able to supply more precise or comprehensive information for a few other occurrences, indicated by the % symbol after the numbers [8], [9], [13], etc. Entry nos. [1], [2] and [6] preceded by the hash symbol (#) (= new finding), and number [16] preceded by the ‘at’ symbol (@) (= correction), will be discussed in the next section of my paper as particularly noteworthy cases.

The total 25 cross-references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*’s *māṭṛkā* are listed below here in accordance with Yinshun’s (1983) order of the recitation or chapters (誦) and *saṃyukta* (相應, literally ‘connection’ or unit). I then give the number of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse according to the Taishō edition (= SĀ), followed by the corresponding number according to Yinshun (1983) (= SĀ-Y), and the relevant reference to the Pali parallel(s) in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (= SN).

I found that four *saṃyuktas* do not refer to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. These are the (6) *Vedanā-saṃyukta* in chapter 3, the (10) *Indriya-saṃyukta*, (11) *Bala-saṃyukta* and (16) *Avetyaprasāda-saṃyukta* in chapter 4. They are marked with the symbol ‘X’.³

Chapter 1 (Aggregates) / (1) *Skandha-saṃyukta* SĀ 103 (= SĀ-Y 171); cf. SN 22.89

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[1] # YBh fasc. 88. ‘Greetings’:⁴ The distinguishing of the synonyms, as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, is explained in relation to the teaching on moderation in food:⁵

³ The numbers (1), (2), etc., for the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, (2) *Āyatana-saṃyukta* etc., given within round parentheses, refer to the *saṃyukta* number.

⁴ ‘Greetings’ and the other titles given below within quotes refers to the keyword included in the summary verse (*uddāna*) of the *māṭṛkā*.

⁵ The related texts are discussed in detail in section III below (case 1). Here

「慰問」：如是等類差別言詞 (*rnam grangs rnams kyi dbye ba*)，如聲聞地{410c5-12 + 410a18-23 = 104+37= 141 words}，於所飲食知量中釋。

Chapter 2 (Sense Bases) / (2) *Āyatana-saṃyukta* SĀ 200 (= SĀ-235); cf. SN 35.121

Here the *māṭrkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[2] # YBh fasc. 89. ‘Liberation’: The constituent part of calming the mind is just as “someone is dwelling with ethical discipline ... thus is to be said at great length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Thus, as long as [someone is] dwelling with ethical discipline then he will attain non-regret, as long as there is non-regret there is a great joy, in detail up to as long as there is pleasure it brings the establishment of even-mindedness.⁶

「解脫」：奢摩他支者，謂如有一具尸羅住，廣說應知如聲聞地{405c13-22 = 166 words}。如是尸羅具足住已，便無有悔；無悔、故歡。廣說乃至樂故心定。

Chapter 2 (Sense Bases) / (2) *Āyatana-saṃyukta* SĀ 1165 (= SĀ-Y 383); cf. SN 35.127

Here *māṭrkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[3] YBh fasc. 91. ‘The Sign of Higher Joy’: The restraint of the senses should be understood in short and at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

and below the reference given within curly brackets, for example {410c5-12 + 410a18-23}, indicates the location(s) suggested by my paper. The word count is calculated without punctuation marks.

⁶ The related texts are discussed in detail in section III below (case 2).

「愛相」：⁷…密護一切根門，略廣應知如聲聞地。⁸
(406b20–408a14 = 2246 words)

Chapter 3 (Origination) / (3) *Nidāna-saṃyukta* SĀ 369 (= SĀ-Y 527); cf. SN 12.4

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* 2 times:

[4] YBh fasc. 94. ‘The Buddha [Declares the Sequence of Conditions] by way of Origination and Cessation’:⁹ How is it to be established purely and gradually? When a monk is dwelling with ethical discipline, restrained in the vows of individual liberation (**prātimokṣa-saṃvara*) ... thus is to be said at great length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「佛順逆」：云何名為如是清淨漸次修集 (*yang dag par 'grub pa*)？謂有苾芻，安住具足尸羅，守護別解脫律儀 (*so sor thar pa 'i sdom pas bsdams pa*)，廣說應知

⁷ T 1579 at T XXX 815a5–7 (YBh fasc. 91): 別唄陀南曰：因同分思縛，解脫相觸遍，勝解護根門，教、愛相 (*mngon par dga'ba yi rtags*) 爲後。For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1286,7–10, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 219b6–7; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 253b6–7.

⁸ T 1579 at T XXX 816c12–13. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1294,20–21, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 223b2–3; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 258a3–4: *de la dbang po 'i sgo bsdams pa 'i mdor bsdus pa dang rgyas pa ni 'di lta ste. nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin du rig par bya'o*.

⁹ Bodhi 2005: 313 explains: “A Buddha discovers this chain of conditions; after his enlightenment, his mission is to explain it to the world. [SN 22.82 and MN 109 declare] the sequence of conditions to be a fixed principle, a stable law, the nature of things. The series is expounded in two ways: by way of origination (called *anuloma* or forward order), and by way of cessation (called *paṭiloma* or reverse order).”

如聲聞地。¹⁰ (402a24–403a22 = 1402 words)

[5] YBh fasc. 94. ‘The Buddha [Declares the Sequence of Conditions] by way of Origination and Cessation’: ... Such a path of training should be understood at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「佛順逆」：又於隨道 (*lam gyi rjes su 'gro ba*) 四種行迹 (*lam bzhi, catasrah pratipadāḥ*) 如實了知。何等為四？
一、苦遲通，二、苦速通，三、樂遲通，四、樂速通。
如是行迹，廣辯應知如聲聞地。¹¹ (426c2–13 = 180 words)

Chapter 3 (Origination) / Introduction to (4) *Saṃyukta*

Here the *māṭrkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[6] # YBh fasc. 95. ‘In the Right Way’: Well protecting the body is to dwell keeping away from vicious elephants, and in detail as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. As long as there is keeping away, there is the

¹⁰ T 1579 at T XXX 838a28–b1. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1405,4–8, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 270a4–5; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 310a4–5: *rnam par dag pa 'di rnams ji ltar rim gyis yang dag par 'grub par 'gyur zhe na? 'di na dge slong tshul khrims dang ldan par gnas shing so sor thar pa 'i sdom pas bsdams pa zhes bya ba nas rgyas par 'di lta ste nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin du rig par bya 'o*.

¹¹ T 1579 at T XXX 838b12–15. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1406,4–8, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 270b3–4; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 310b3–4: *lam gyi rjes su 'gro ba 'i lam bzhi ste. mngon par shes pa bul ba dang mngon par shes pa myur ba dka' ba dang dang mngon par shes pa bul ba dang mngon par shes pa myur ba sla ba yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du rab tu shes rab tu shes so. lam rnams kyi rnam par dbye ba ni 'di lta ste nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin du rig par bya 'o*.

extinction of the defilements without impediment:

「如理」：善護身者，謂正安住，遠避惡象，乃至廣說，如聲聞地。{462b11–19 = 122 words} 由遠避故，於盡諸漏，無有障礙。¹²

Chapter 3 (Origination) / (4) *Satya-saṃyukta* SĀ 379 (= SĀ-Y 542); cf. SN 56.11

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[7] YBh fasc. 95. ‘The Attaining [of the Object (*ālambana*)]’: The establishment of the fourfold truth should be understood in short as previously, or at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「得{所緣境}」：當知此中所緣境 (*dmigs pa*)¹³ 者：謂四聖諦 (*'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi*)。此四聖諦安立體相，如前應知。若略、若廣，如聲聞地。¹⁴ (434c9–435b21 = 1165 words)

¹² The related texts are discussed in detail in section III below (case 3).

¹³ This is a reference to the meditative object of the supramundane path to the purification of defilements, see T 1579 at T XXX 434c9–435b21: 出世間道淨惑所緣, and the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in *Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group 2007*: II 458,5–468,1: *lokottareṇa vā punar mārgaṇa kleśaviśodhanam ālambanam caturvidham*.

¹⁴ T 1579 at T XXX 843b7–8. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1431,11–14, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 281a4–5; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 322a3–4: *de la dmigs pa ni 'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi yin te 'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi po rnam ni snga ma bzhi du 'di lta ste nyan thos kyi sa las mdo dang rgyas par rnam par rnam par gzhas pa bzhi du rig par bya 'o*.

Chapter 3 (Origination) / (5) *Dhātu-saṃyukta* SĀ 450 (= SĀ-Y 699–709); cf. SN 14.17–22

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* 2 times:

[8] % YBh fasc. 96. 'Three Requests':¹⁵ The difference in the meaning of the words 'easy to nourish' and so on has been said as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「三求」：如是三學勝資糧道，謂世正見、好行慧捨、易養易滿、少欲喜足，及四攝事。其易養等(易滿、少欲、喜足)句義¹⁶差別，如聲聞地已說其相 (421c–422a; esp. 易養 (*supoṣa*) and 易滿 (*subhara*) at 422a5–9 = 73 words and 少欲 (*alpeccha*) and 喜足 (*saṃtuṣṭa*) at 421c26–422a4 = 120 words)

[9] % YBh fascicle 96. 'View': The contemplation of impermanence has been said as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「見」：當知此中貪、恚、癡等，令當來世生等諸苦，和合繫縛，亦令現法起業雜染，亦令欣求未來染事，

¹⁵ T 1579 at T XXX 846c16–17 (YBh fasc. 96): 別傭挖南曰：總義、自類別，似轉、後三求 (*chol ba gsum*). For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1448, 18–19, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 288a7–b1; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 330a3: *sdom ni bsdu pa yi ni don rnams dang rang gi rigs kyi dbye ba dang 'dra ba'i rjes su 'jug pa dang chol ba gsum ni tha ma yin*.

¹⁶ T 1579 at T XXX 421b25–c5 (YBh fasc. 25): 云何名為沙門莊嚴 (*śra-maṇālamkāra*)? ... 謂如有一、具足正信、無有諂曲、少諸疾病、性勤精進、成就妙慧、少欲 (*alpeccha*)、喜足 (*saṃtuṣṭa*)、易養 (*supoṣa*)、易滿 (*subhara*)、具足成就杜多功德、端嚴、知量、具足成就賢善士法、具足成就聰慧者相、堪忍、柔和、為性賢善; *Śrāvakabhūmi* in *Śrāvakabhūmi* Study Group 1998: I 268, 2–6.

執取過去已所捨事，耽著現在正現前事。意假名違；言假名諍；由三損惱，說名為害。觀無常等，如聲聞地 (471a–474a; esp. 470c28–474a13 = 4538 words) 已說其相。¹⁷

Chapter 3 (Origination) / (5) *Dhātu-saṃyukta* SĀ 465 (= SĀ-Y 728); cf. SN 22.91

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[10] YBh fascicle 96. ‘Foolish Ones’: [Meditative objects for] proficiency regarding the sense bases, dependent origination, abode and no abode has been explained as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

「愚夫」：(*byis pa*, **bāla*)¹⁸ 復次，世間愚夫略有二種愚夫之相：一、樂習行能引自他無義利行。二、於四處不得善巧。... 云何四處不得善巧？謂於諸界、諸處、緣起、處非處中，皆不了達。與上相違，當知即是聰慧二相。... 諸處，緣起，及處非處所有善巧，¹⁹ 如聲

¹⁷ T 1579 at T XXX 848c26–849a2 (YBh fasc. 96).

¹⁸ T 1579 at T XXX 847b6–8 (YBh fasc. 96): 嚧陀南曰：... 寂靜、愚夫後。For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1451, 12–14, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 289b2–3; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 331a7: *sdom ni ... nang du yang dag 'jog pa dang byis pa rnam ni tha ma yin*.

¹⁹ On the five meditative objects for (attaining) mastery (善巧所緣) see T 1579 at T XXX 428a17–a23 (YBh fasc. 26): 頡隸伐多！... 若愚其緣，應於處善巧安住其心；若愚無常、苦、空無我、應於緣起、處非處善巧安住其心。For the Sanskrit see the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, ed. Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group 2007: II 362, 6–11: *saced sa revata bhikṣuḥsaṃskārāṇāṃ svalakṣaṇe saṃmūḍha (... ātmasattvajīvajantupoṣa-pudgalavastusaṃmūḍhaḥ ...) skandhakaūśālye cittam upanibadhnāti | hetusaṃmūḍho dhātukaūśālye, pratyayasaṃmūḍha āyatanakaūśālye | (... anityaduḥkhānātmasaṃmūḍhaḥ pratīyadamutpādashānāsthānakaūśālye ...)*.

聞地已辯其相.²⁰ (434a11–b14 = 519 words)

X Chapter 3 (Origination) / (6) *Vedanā-saṃyukta*

Here the *māṭṛkā* does not refer to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

Chapter 4 (Introduction to Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / (7)–(16) *Saṃyuktas*²¹

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* 4 times:

[11] YBh fascicle 97. ‘Ascetics’: The four kinds of ascetics have been explained in short or at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「沙門」：云何名為內法沙門？謂諸沙門，略有四種：
一者、勝道沙門，二者、論道沙門，三者、命道沙
門，四者、污道沙門。是四沙門，若略、若廣，如
聲聞地已辯其相。²² (446c8–447a3 = 392 words)

[12] YBh fascicle 97. ‘Joy and Pleasure’: To meditate on the signs

²⁰ T 1579 at T XXX 850a1–b28. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1468,21–1469,2, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 296b6–7; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 339b3–4: ... *skye mched dang rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba dang gnas dang gnas ma yin pa la mkhas pa ni 'di lta ste. nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin no.*

²¹ That is, the counterpart to the Pali *Mahā-vagga*.

²² T 1579 at T XXX 853c22–25. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1485,20–1486,2, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 303b6–7; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 347b3–4: '*di pa 'i dge sbyong zhes bya ba la dge sbyong gang zhe na? dge sbyong bzhi ste. lam gyis rgyal ba dang lam ston pa dang lam gyi phyir 'tsho ba dang lam sun 'byin pa ste. mdo dang rgyas par ni 'di lta ste nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin no.*

of serenity, seizing and equanimity from time to time has been explained as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Samāhitābhūmi*:

「喜樂」：復次，依修所有菩提分法圓滿增上，由七因緣，當知建立七種正法。何等為七？一、聞所成作意所緣故。二、思所成及修所成作意所緣故。三、即此三種作意加行時差別故 ... 止、舉、捨相，修習知時，如聲聞地 (456a9–b14 = 559 words; 應時加行, *prayogaṭā kālenakālaṃ*) 及三摩呬多地²³ (*Samāhitābhūmi*, 344a13–24) 已辯其相。... 修七善法，得二勝利，謂現法中得輕安樂，覺境實性，發生勝喜，由是因緣，多住喜樂 (*bde dang yid bde*)。安住是已，能如理思，速疾證得諸漏永盡。²⁴

[13] % YBh fascicle 97. ‘Joy and Pleasure’: The meaning of eating and drinking should also be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「喜樂」：食飲等義，如聲聞地應知差別。²⁵ (more comprehensive + {397b1–7 = 112 words},²⁶ 408a14–411b22 = 4804 words)

²³ The sixth ground (*bhūmi*) of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

²⁴ T 1579 at T XXX 855b18–856a7.

²⁵ T 1579 at T XXX 855b26–27. For the Tibetan, see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1495,12–14, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 307b5–6; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 351b8–352a1.

²⁶ T 1579 at T XXX 397b1–7 (YBh fasc. 21): 云何於食知量？謂彼如是守諸根已；以正思擇、食於所食。不為倡蕩、不為憍逸、不為飾好、不為端嚴、食於所食。然食所食、為身安住，為暫支持，為除飢渴，為攝梵行，為斷故受，為令新受當不更生，為當存養力樂無罪安隱而住。如是名為於食知量。For the Sanskrit see the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, ed. Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group 1998: I 18,8–13: *bhojane mātrajñatā katamā | sa tathā saṃvṛten-driyaḥ pratisaṃkhyā-yāhāram āharati, na darpārthaṃ na madārthaṃ na maṇḍanārthaṃ na vibhūṣaṇārthaṃ, yāvad evāsya kāyasya sthitaye-yāpanāyai jighatsopa-rataye brahmacaryānugrahāya | itī | paurāṇām*

[14] YBh fascicle 97. 'Establishment': The thirty-seven qualities conducive to awakening should be understood in short or at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「安立」：此中，安立四念住 (*dran pa nye bar gzhaḡ pa*) 為初，道支 (*lam gyi yan lag*) 為最後三十七種 (*sum cu rtsa bdun*) 菩提分法 (*byang chub kyi phyogs dang mthun pa'i chos*)，若略 (*mdo*) 若廣 (*rgyas pa*)，如聲聞地 (439c18–445b28 = 7989 words) 應知其相。²⁷

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / (7) *Smṛtyupasthāna-samyukta* SĀ 610–611 (= SĀ-Y 765(6)–768(9)); cf. SN 47.2 and SN 47.5

Here the *māṭrkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[15] YBh fascicle 97. 'Cultivation': To cultivate the establishments of mindfulness should be understood in short or at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「修 (*bsgom*)」：修諸念住，若略、若廣，如聲聞地應知其相. (440a13–442a17 = 2886 words)

*ca vedanāṃ prahāsyāmi, navāṃ ca notpādayiṣyāmi | yātrā ca me bha-
viṣyati balaṃ ca sukhaṃ cānavadyatā ca sparśavihārātā ca ... | iyaṃ
ucyate bhojane mātrajñātā.*

²⁷ T 1579 at T XXX 859a26–28. For the Tibetan, see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1514,21–1515,3, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 315b6; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 360b4–5.

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / (7) *Smṛtyupasthāna-saṃyukta* SĀ 623 (= SĀ-Y 785(26)); cf. SN 47.20

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[16] @ YBh fascicle 98. ‘Diligence’ (Yinshun (1983: 265a3–4): ‘Bound by’): To diligently cultivate the establishments of mindfulness should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「勸勉 (*br̥tun*)」:《會編》「繫屬」(*gnas*) 於四念住殷重
(*gus pa*, **satkr̥tya*) 修習 (*bsgom pa*, *bhāvayanti*)，如聲
聞地應知其相。²⁸

This occurrence is not found in YBh fasc. 28, 440a13–442a17, as in Yinshun 1983: 265a3–4; but in {YBh fasc. 32, 460c21–461a29 = 590 words}; see in more detail the discussion in section III below (case 4).

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / Intro- duction to (8) *Samyakprahāṇa-saṃyukta* [lost; cf. SN 49, *Sammappadhāna-saṃyutta*]

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[17] YBh fascicle 98. The four abandonings have been explained at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

應知建立四種正斷，如聲聞地 (442a26–443b17 = 1738
words) 已廣分別。²⁹

²⁸ The keyword 繫屬 refers to SĀ 625, in the sense of not being tied up and overcome by Māra (‘escape from Māra’, 超越諸魔, in SĀ 625 at T II 175a22+23). I discuss the related texts in section III below (case 4).

²⁹ T 1579 at T XXX 862a8–9. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, *zi*

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / (9) *Rddhipāda-samyukta* [lost; cf. SN 51, *Iddhipāda-samyutta*]

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* 3 times:

[18] YBh fascicle 98. Introduction to the four bases of spiritual power, which were explained at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

應知建立四種神足，如聲聞地已廣分別。³⁰ (443b17–444b8 = 1259 words)

[19] YBh fascicle 98. ‘Cultivation’: The meditative object of the insight part is to differentiate between the perceptions “as before, so after”. It should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「修」：毘鉢舍那品所緣境者，謂前後想 (*phyi ma dang snga mar 'du shes*)。此想分別，如聲聞地 (439b27–c18 = 346 words) 應知其相。³¹

1528,17–18, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 321b2; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 366b7: *yang dag pa 'i spong ba bzhi rnam par gzhang pa ni 'di lta ste. nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin no.*

³⁰ T 1579 at T XXX 862a13–14. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1529,2–3, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 321b3–4; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 367a1–2: *rdzu 'phrul gyi rkang pa bzhi rnam par gzhang pa ni rgyas par 'di lta ste nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin du rig par bya 'o.*

³¹ T 1579 at T XXX 862b15–16. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1530,20–1531,1, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 322a7–b1; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 367b6–7: *de la lhag mthong gi phyogs dang mthun pa la dmigs pa ni phyi ma dang snga mar 'du shes te. de yang snga ma*

[20] YBh fascicle 98. ‘Synonym’: The difference between the rest and the application of abandoning should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「異門」：所餘分別義，分別斷行，如聲聞地應知其相。³²
(444a21–29 = 132 words)

X Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / (10) *Indriya-saṃyukta*

Here the *māṭṛkā* does not refer to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

X Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / (11) *Bala-saṃyukta*

Here, too, the *māṭṛkā* does not refer to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / Introduction to (12) *Bodhyaṅga-saṃyukta*

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[21] YBh fascicle 98. ‘Establishment’: To establish the factors of awakening by distinguishing between serenity, insight and both ways should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「立」：由奢摩他、毘鉢舍那、俱品 (*gnyis ka'i phyogs*)

bzhin du 'di lta ste. nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin du rig par bya'o.
³² T 1579 at T XXX 862c20–22. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1532, 15–17, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 323a4; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 368b3–4: *lhag ma dang spong ba'i 'du shes rnam kyi rnam par dbye ba ni 'di lta ste. nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin no.*

dang mthun pa) 差別，建立覺支，如聲聞地 (444c29–445a9 = 164 words) 應知其相。³³

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / Introduction to (13) *Āryamārga-saṃyukta*

Here the *māṭrkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[22] YBh fascicle 98. The analysis of those factors of right view, etc. (noble eightfold path) should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Paryāyasamgrahaṇī* (*She yimen fen* 攝異門分):³⁴

又正見等八聖道支廣分別義，如聲聞地 (445a7–b26 = 793 words) 及攝異門分 {762c15–763a19} 應知其相。³⁵

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / Introduction to (14) *Ānāpānasmṛti-saṃyukta*

Here the *māṭrkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

³³ T 1579 at T XXX 864b26–27. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1541, 12–14, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 326b6–7; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 372b2–3: *zhi gnas dang lhag mthong dang gnyis ka'i phyogs 'dang mthun pa'i bye brag gis byang chub kyi yan lag rnams rnam par gzhas par rig par bya ste. 'di lta ste nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin no.*

³⁴ The *Paryāyasamgrahaṇī*, the fourth division of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, occupying fasc. 83–84, deals with canonical sets of synonyms (*paryāya*); see T 1579 at T XXX 762c15–763a19.

³⁵ T 1579 at T XXX 865c8–11. For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1547, 13–15, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 329a6–7; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 375a5–6: *yang dag pa'i lta ba la sogs pa'i yan lag de rnams kyi rgyas par rab tu dbye ba ni 'di lta ste nyan thos kyi sa dang rnam grangs bsdu ba las 'byung ba bzhin du rig par bya 'o.*

[23] YBh fascicle 98. There are sixteen distinct ways to cultivate mindfulness of breathing, their differentiated meaning should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

入出息念修習差別有十六行，廣分別義，如聲聞地應知其相 (430c5–433b29 = 4198 words).

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / Introduction to (15) *Śikṣā-saṃyukta*

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[24] YBh fascicle 98. To establish such differences in the three trainings should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

學有三種，謂增上戒學、增上心學、增上慧學。建立如是三學差別，如聲聞地 (435c26–436b14 = 744 words) 應知其相。³⁶

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / (15) *Śikṣā-saṃyukta* SĀ 832 (= SĀ-Y 1123); cf. AN 3.88

Here the *māṭṛkā* refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* once:

[25] YBh fascicle 98. ‘Differences in the Training’: Dwelling with ethical discipline, and so on, have been explained at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*:

「學差別」：住具戒等，如聲聞地應知已辯 (402a25–406b10 = 5817 words).

³⁶ T 1579 at T XXX 867a3–5.

X Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / (16) *Avetyaprasāda-samyukta*

Here the *māṭṛkā* does not refer to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

III. Noteworthy Examples of Cross-references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā*

In this section I investigate in more detail a selection of particularly noteworthy cases among the 25 occurrences of references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* featured in the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā* transmitted in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*.

The noteworthy occurrences I look closely at in what follows are nos. [1], [2] and [6] listed in the previous section, which have been marked above with the hash symbol (#), signifying a new finding, and no. [16], which above has been marked with the 'at' symbol (@), signifying a correction.

Chapter 1 (Aggregates) / *Skandha-samyukta* SĀ 103 (= SĀ-Y 171)

[1] # YBh fascicle 88. 'Greetings': The distinguishing of the synonyms, as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* [410c5–12 + 410a18–23], is explained in the teaching on moderation in food.³⁷

SĀ 103 (= SĀ-Y 171) is the *Samyukta-āgama* discourse corresponding to the reference given in the *māṭṛkā*. This discourse begins with

³⁷ References in the relevant entry of section II above.

the illness of the venerable Khemaka. Some senior monastics ask Dāsaka to convey their concern to him. Accordingly, the *māṭrkā* in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* begins by mentioning two kinds of ‘greetings’ (慰問, *kun tu dga’ba*, **saṃmodana*): the greetings of illness that relate to the Khemaka discourse, and the greetings of happiness:

復次，同梵行者，於餘同梵行所，略有二種慰問 (*kun tu dga’ba*, **saṃmodana*)。³⁸ 一問病苦 (*nad pa*)，二問安樂 (*bde ba*)。³⁹

There are four types of greetings of happiness (denoted below with the letters A–D) with five meanings (denoted below with the numbers 1–5) in the paragraph of the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (*Samyukta-āgama*’s *māṭrkā*) (YBh fasc. 88). They are as follows:

What are the greetings of happiness? Such as when a person greets someone in the following ways: [A] “Do you have little disease?”; this polite inquiry means [1] “Have you been disturbed by illness?” [Or,] [B] “Do you have little

³⁸ B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1201,8–10, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 184a5; P 5540, *sems tsam*, ’i 210b6–7: *tshangs pa mtshungs par spyod pa rnams kyi tshangs pa mtshungs par spyod pa rnams la kun tu dga’ bar bya ba’i dri ba ni rnam pa gnyis te. nad pa dri ba dang bde ba dri ba’o*.

³⁹ T 1579 at T XXX 798a6–7 (fasc. 88), being the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (*Samyukta-āgama*’s *māṭrkā*). For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1201,8–10, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 184a5; P 5540, *sems tsam*, ’i 210b6–7: *tshangs pa mtshungs par spyod pa rnams kyi tshangs pa mtshungs par spyod pa rnams la kun tu dga’ bar bya ba’i dri ba ni rnam pa gnyis te. nad pa dri ba dang bde ba dri ba’o*.

trouble?"; this polite inquiry means [2] "Have you been afflicted by an accident from the outside?" [Or,] [C] "Are you dwelling at ease and in peace?"; this polite inquiry means [3] "Did you sleep well?" as well as [4] "Has the food you ate been easily digested?" [Or,] [D] "Are you happy?"; this polite inquiry means "Are you dwelling blamelessly?", and such differences between the synonyms are as explained in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in relation to the teaching on moderation in food. These polite inquiries should be understood to refer to four situations: [A] the internal harm, [B] the external harm, [C] at night and [D] in the daytime.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ T 1579 at T XXX 798a11–20: 問『安樂』(*bde ba*) 者，謂如有一隨所問言：[A] 少病不者，此問 [1] 不爲嬰疹惱耶？[B] 少惱不 (*nyam nga ba nyung ba*) 者，此問 [2] 不爲外諸災橫 (*phyi rol gyi gnod pa med pa dang yang yams kyi nad, *upadrava*) 所侵逼耶？[C] 起居輕利不者：此問 [3] 夜寐、得安善耶？[4] 所進飲食、易消化耶？[D] 有歡樂不者？此問 [5] 得住無罪觸 (*bde ba la reg par gnas par gnas pa, *sparśa-vihāratā*) 耶？如是等類差別言詞 (*'tsho ba dang stobs dang bde ba dang kha na ma tho ba med pa dang bde ba la reg par gnas par gnas pa*)、如《聲聞地》，於『所飲食知量』中釋。當知此問在四位中：一、內逼惱分。二、外逼惱分。三、住於夜分。四、住於晝分。For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1201,15–1202,1, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 184a6–b1; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 211a1–3: *de la bde ba dri ba ni 'di ltar 'di na kha cig kha cig la* [1] *nad nyon mongs pa ma gur pa phyir* [A] *gnod pa chung ngam zhes dri ba'o*. [2] *phyi rol gyi gnod pa med pa dang yang yams kyi nad las gyur pa med pa'i phyir* [B] *nyam nga ba nyung ba'o*. [3] *mtshan mo bde bar gnyid kyis log pa dang* [4] *kha zas bde bar zhu bar gyur pa'i phyir* [C] *bskyod pa yang ba'o*. [5] (1) *'tsho ba dang* (2) *stobs dang* (3) *bde ba dang* (4) *kha na ma tho ba med pa dang* (5) *bde ba la reg par gnas par gnas pa'i rnam grangs rnam kyi dbye ba ni 'di lta ste. nyan thos kyi sa las zas kyi tshod rig kyi tshod rig par bya ba las brtsams brtsams pa bzhin no*.

The Chinese rendition 如是等類差別言詞 (“such differences between the synonyms”), are as explained in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in relation to the teaching on moderation in food” of the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastu-saṃgrahaṇī* (*Saṃyukta-āgama*’s *mātrkā*) is so brief that one cannot easily identify its location in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. Thus, further inquiry is required.

Comparing the Chinese and Tibetan translations, it appears that the part “(1) *’tsho ba* (healthy, **yātrā*), (2) *stobs* (strong, **bala*), (3) *bde ba* (happy, **sukha*), (4) *kha na ma tho ba med pa* (blameless, **anavadyatā*), (5) *bde ba la reg par gnas par gnas pa* (dwelling at ease, **sparśa-vihāratā*)” is omitted in Chinese translation (fasc. 88). However, a closely similar expression, as signaled by the phrase “... as explained in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in relation to the teaching on moderation in food”, is found in the *Paryāyasamgrahaṇī* (*She yimen fen* 攝異門分), the fourth division of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (fasc. 83–84):

[A] “Little disease and little trouble”, because the elements are not unequal. [B] “Little striving for livelihood”, because the applied livelihoods are not unequal. [C] “Are you dwelling at ease and in peace?”, because the food that you need and have taken has been easily digested. [D] (1) “Healthy (*’tosh ba*, 務, **yātrā*), (2) strong (*stobs*, 力, **bala*), (3) happy (*bde ba*, 樂, **sukha*), (4) blameless (*kha na ma tho ba med pa*, 無罪, **anavadyatā*), etc.”, as explained in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in relation to the teaching on moderation in food.⁴¹

⁴¹ T 1579 at T XXX 772a22–26 (YBh fasc. 88). For the Tibetan see B 3270, *sems tsam*, ’i 121,14–19, apparatus vol. 147 p. 605; D 4041, *sems tsam*, ’i 47b2–3; P 5542, *sems tsam*, yi 56a2–4: [A] *gnod pa chung ngam zhes dri*

This passage confirms that the Chinese translation 如是等類差別言詞 (“such differences between the synonyms”) of the *māṭṛkā* of the fifth inquiry (“Are you dwelling blamelessly?”) does indeed refer to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (“the teaching on moderation in food”) of the *Sūtravastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (*Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā*). The *Śrāvakabhūmi* explains that food should contribute to (1) being healthy (*'tsho ba*, 務, **yātrā*), (2) being strong (*stobs*, 力, **bala*), (3) being happy (*bde ba*, 樂, **sukha*), (4) being blameless (*kha na ma tho ba med pa*, 無罪, **anavadyatā*) and (5) dwelling at ease (*bde ba la reg par gnas par gnas pa*, 安隱而住, **sparśa-vihāratā*). The location in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* is as follows:

Śrāvakabhūmi (YBh fasc. 23, 410c5–12 + 410a18–23): The Explanation of Five Terms in the Tenth Sentence out of Ten Sentences on the Teaching on ‘Moderation in Food’.

Śrāvakabhūmi (YBh fasc. 23, 410c5–12): What is “Thus I shall be (1) healthy (存養, *yātrā*),⁴² (2) strong (力, *bala*), (3) happy (樂, *sukha*), (4) blameless (無罪, *anavadyatā*) and (5) dwelling at ease (安隱而住, *sparśa-vihāratā*) [when a monk] consumes food?” (1) As long as he consumes food,

ba ni khams ma snyoms pa la brten nas so. [B] nyam nga ba chung ngam zhes bya ba ni las kyi mtha'i sbyor ba mi mnyam pa med pa la brten nas so. [C] bskyod pa yang ngam zhes bya ba ni zas yi gar 'ong ba dang zos pa bde blag tu 'ju ba la brten nas so. [D] [1] 'tsho ba dang [2] stobs dang [3] bde ba dang [4] kha na ma tho ba med pa rnam ni 'di ltar nyan thos kyi sa'i nang du kha zas kyi tshod kyi tshod rig pa las shes par bya'o.

⁴² The word *yātrā* is rendered in different ways by Xuanzang 玄奘: as 務 and 存養 in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (fasc. 84 and fasc. 23 respectively) and as 存濟 in the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 373a4–9 and 394c12–27.

he lives, thus he is healthy. (2) He avoids the desire of eating and weakness, thus he is strong (力, *bala*). (3) He terminates old feelings and does not arouse a new feeling, thus he is happy (樂, *sukha*). (4) If he pursues food rightly, is not affected by passion, does not cling to it, up to the detail as mentioned before [+ 410a18–20],⁴³ thus he is blameless (無罪, *anavadyatā*). (5) After consuming food, the body is not heavy, is suitable for a religious practice and for abandoning, up to in detail as mentioned before [+ 410a20–23],⁴⁴ thus he dwells at ease (安隱而住, *sparsā-vihāratā*).⁴⁵

⁴³ *Śrāvakabhūmi* in T 1579 at T XXX 410a18–20 (YBh fasc. 23): 云何名爲無艱難存養？.... (4) 或以正法追求飲食、不以非法；既獲得已，不染不愛、亦不耽嗜、饕餮、迷悶、堅執、滯著、而受用之。.... For the Sanskrit see ed. *Śrāvakabhūmi* Study Group 1998: I 136,14–16: *akṛcchreṇa yātrā katamā*? ... (4) *dharmēṇa vā piṇḍapātaṃ paryeṣate, na vādharmēṇa araktovā paribhūṅkte 'saktō 'gr̥dhro 'grathito 'mūrchito 'nadhyavasito 'nadhyavasāyam āpannaḥ*

⁴⁴ *Śrāvakabhūmi* in T 1579 at T XXX 410a20–23 (YBh fasc. 23): 云何名爲無艱難存養？... (5) 如是受用、身無沈重有所堪能、堪任修斷；令心速疾得三摩地；令入出息無有艱難；令心不爲昏沈睡眠之所纏擾。 For the Sanskrit see ed. *Śrāvakabhūmi* Study Group 1998: I 136,17–19: *na cāśya kāyo guruko bhavati karmaṇyo bhavati prahāṇakṣamaḥ | yenāśya tva-ritaṃ cittaṃ samādhīyate | alpakṛcchreṇāśvasaprasvāsāḥ pravartante | styānamiddhaṃ cittaṃ na paryavanahati*.

⁴⁵ *Śrāvakabhūmi* in T 1579 at T XXX 410c5–12 (YBh fasc. 23): 云何名爲當存養、力、樂、無罪、安隱而住受諸飲食？謂飲食已、壽命得存，是名 (1) 存養 (*yātrā*)。若除飢羸；是名爲 (2) 力 (*bala*)。若斷故受、新受不生；是名爲 (3) 樂 (*sukha*)。若以正法追求飲食、不染不愛，乃至廣說而受用之；是名 (4) 無罪 (*anavadyatā*)。若受食已、身無沈重，有所堪能、堪任修斷，如前廣說；如是名爲 (5) 安隱而住 (*sparsā-vihāratā*)。 For the Sanskrit see ed. *Śrāvakabhūmi* Study Group 1998: I 140,17–142,2: *kathaṃ yātrā me bhaviṣyati balaṃ ca sukhaṃ cānavadyatā ca sparsā-*

Chapter 2 (Sense Bases) / *Āyatana-samyukta* SĀ 200 (= SĀ-Y 235)

[2] # YBh fascicle 89. ‘Liberation’: The constituent part of calming the mind is just as “someone is dwelling with ethical discipline ... thus is to be said at great length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* ...”.⁴⁶

SĀ 200 (= SĀ-Y 235) is the *Samyukta-āgama* discourse corresponding to the reference given in the *mātrkā*. This discourse relates the exhortation to Venerable Rāhula where the Blessed One observed that Rāhula’s liberation of the mind and his wisdom were not yet mature and that he was not yet ready to receive the higher Dharma. The Blessed One asked Rāhula: “Have you taught the five aggregates of clinging [and the six sense bases and the principle of causality] to people?” ... “You should in a quiet and secluded place engage in meditative contemplation and examine the meaning of those teachings you earlier taught.” ... Then the Blessed One, observing that Rāhula’s liberation of the mind and his wisdom were mature, and that he was ready to receive the higher Dharma, told Rāhula: “Rāhula, everything is impermanent. What kind of things are impermanent? That is, the eye is impermanent, forms, eye-consciousness, eye-contact ...” as spoken above in detail on impermanence.⁴⁷

viḥaratā ce ty āharati | (1) *yat tāvad bhuktṛvā jīvātīty evaṃ yātrā bhavati* |
(2) *yat punar jighatsā daurbalyam apanayati evaṃ asya balaṃ bhavati* |
(3) *yat punaḥ pauraṇām vedanām prajahāti* | *navām notpādayaty evaṃ*
asya sukhaṃ bhavati | (4) *yat punar dharmena piṇḍapātaṃ paryeṣṭyā-*
raktaḥ paribhunkte ‘*sakta iti vistareṇa pūrvavad evaṃ asyānavadyatā*
bhavati | (5) *yat punar bhuktavato na gurukaḥ kāyo bhavati, karmanyaś*
ca bhavati, prahāṇakṣamo vistareṇa pūrvavad evaṃ asya sparśa-viḥaratā
bhavati.

⁴⁶ References in the relevant entry of section II above.

⁴⁷ The abridged translation follows Anālayo 2015: 274–275.

Because these two sections relate to ‘liberation’, the *Saṃyukta-āgama*’s *māṭrkā* transmitted in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* begins with the title ‘Liberation’ (解脫) included in the *uddāna*.⁴⁸ There are two relevant parts in this section: firstly, distinguishing the relationship between different kinds of wisdom (from hearing, reflection, etc.) and the two kinds of liberation (learners and non-learner).⁴⁹ This can be considered to be connected with SĀ 200 (SN 35.121; SĀ-Y 235), the discourse which relates to the exhortation to the venerable Rāhula mentioned above. Secondly, ‘Liberation’ relates to the “constituent part of calming the mind”, which refers to the five topics for a monk to be free of thought: (1) the correct instruction, (2) the constituent part of calming the mind and (3) of insight, (4) permanent and diligent cultivation, and (5) supramundane wisdom.⁵⁰ This second part will be considered first below, followed by a short examination related to distinguishing between wisdom and liberation.

The second part of the *māṭrkā*’s title ‘Liberation’ relates to a monk freeing himself of thought: the constituent part of calming the mind is just as when:

⁴⁸ T 1579 at T XXX 800c10–12 (YBh fasc. 89): 別唄陀南曰：安立與差別，愚、不愚、教授，解脫、煩惱、業，皆廣說應知。For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1215,3–5, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 189b6; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 217b5–6: *sdom ni: rnam par gzhas dang rnam dbye dang rmongs pa dang ni rmongs pa med gdams ngag dang ni rnam par grol nyon mongs las rnams rgyas pa yin*.

⁴⁹ T 1579 at T XXX 801b2–9 (YBh fasc. 89): 復次，由二種相，應求能成就解脫妙慧：一者、如理聞、思久遠相續慧，能成就有學解脫。二者、有學久遠相續慧，能成就無學解脫。復次，略有二種解脫成就：一者、有學，二者、無學。有學者，謂金剛喻三摩地俱；無學者，謂彼已上。

⁵⁰ T 1579 at T XXX 801b9–11 (YBh fasc. 89): 復次心清淨行苾芻、有五種法、多有所作。何等爲五？一、正教授，二、奢摩他支 (*zhi gnas kyi yan lag*, **śamathāṅga*)，三、毘鉢舍那支，四、無間殷重加行，五、出世間慧。

someone is dwelling with ethical discipline ... thus is to be said at great length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* {405c13–22}. Thus, as long as [someone is] dwelling with ethical discipline, then he will attain non-regret, as long as there is non-regret there is a great joy, in detail up to as long as there is pleasure it brings the establishment of even-mindedness.⁵¹

The content in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* corresponding with the reference given in the *māṭṛkā* is the following:

One who dwells with ethical discipline, examining his pure ethical discipline, he will then attain non-regret. As long as there is non-regret there is a great joy, the joyful mind (*pramuditacitta*) produces rapture (*prīti*), the cheerful mind (*prīṭamanas*) tranquillizes the body; the tranquil body feels pleasure, the pleasant mind brings the establishment of even-mindedness, the concentration produces knowledge and vision of things as they really are, knowledge and vision of things as they really are produces disenchantment and dispassion, the desirelessness brings liberation, liberation produces the knowledge and vision of 'I

⁵¹ T 1579 at T XXX 801b15–18 (YBh fasc. 89): 「解脫」：奢摩他支者，謂如有一具尸羅住，廣說應知如聲聞地。如是尸羅具足住已，便無有悔；無悔、故歡。廣說乃至樂故心定。For the Tibetan see B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1218,15–19, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 191a6–7; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 219b1–3: *de la zhi gnas kyi yan lag ni ji ltar 'di na kha cig tshul khrims dang ldan par gnas pa zhes bya ba nas rgyas par nyan thos kyi sa las 'byung ba bzhin te. de de ltar tshul khrims dang ldan na 'gyod pa med do. 'gyod pa med na mchog tu dga' ba nas rgyas par bde ba dang ldan na sems mnyam par 'jog nus so zhes bya ba'i bar du sbyar ro.*

have liberation’, up to ... I can become extinct in the field of Nirvāṇa without any remainder. In this way, one who dwells with ethical discipline, through the power of the purification of the ethical discipline, attains non-regret, in due course up to Nirvāṇa, this is the first benefit [of ten benefits] of the purification of ethical discipline.⁵²

As mentioned above, SĀ 200 (= SĀ-Y 235), the parallel to the Pali *Rāhula-sutta* (SN 35.121) distinguishes between the different kinds of wisdom (from hearing, reflection, etc.) and the two kinds of liberation (learners and non-learners). However, another Pali discourse, the *Ambalaṭṭhika-Rāhulovāda-sutta* (MN 61), is closer to what the *māṭrkā*’s title “Liberation” in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* {405c13–22} refers to: that is, the first benefit (out of ten benefits in total) of ethical

⁵² *Śrāvakabhūmi* in T 1579 at T XXX 405c13–22 (YBh fasc. 22): 謂諸所有具戒 (*śīlavān*) 士夫補特伽羅、自觀戒淨，便得無悔；無悔故歡 (*avipratīṣārīṇaḥ prāmodyam*)；歡故生喜；由心喜故、身得輕安；身輕安故、便受勝樂；樂故心定；心得定故、能如實知，能如實見。實知見故、便能起厭；能起厭故、便得離染；由離染故、證得解脫；得解脫故、便自知見我已解脫，乃至我能於無餘依般涅槃界、當般涅槃。如是所有具戒士夫補特伽羅、尸羅清淨增上力故獲得無悔、漸次乃至能到涅槃、是名第一尸羅律儀功德勝利。 For the Sanskrit see ed. *Śrāvakabhūmi* Study Group 1998: I 92,16–24: ... *iha śīlavān puruṣapudgalaḥ śīlaviśuddhim ātmanaḥ pratyavekṣamāṇo* ‘*vipratīṣāraṃ pratilabhate | avipratīṣārīṇaḥ prāmodyaṃ pramuditacittasya prītir jāyate | prīṭamanasaḥ kāyaḥ praśrabhyate | sa praśrabdhakāyaḥ sukhaṃ vedayate | sukhitasya cittaṃ samādhīyate samāhitacitto yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti | yathābhūtaṃ paśyati | yathābhūtaṃ jñānaṃ paśyan nirvidyate nirviṇṇo virajyate, virakto vimucyate, vimuktasya vimukto* ‘*smī ti jñāna darśanaṃ bhavati | yāvan nirupadhiśeṣe nirvāṇadhātau parinirvāti | yac chīlavān puruṣapudgalaḥ śīlaviśuddhyadhipateyam avipratīṣāraṃ pratilabhate | anupūrveṇa yāvan nirvāṇagamanāyāyaṃ prathamāḥ śīlānuśaṃsaḥ*.

conduct. The *Śrāvakabhūmi*'s explanation of the ten benefits of ethical conduct begins with the following, which is directly connected to the content of the *Ambalaṭṭhika-Rāhulovāda-sutta* (MN 61):⁵³

The Blessed One addressed the venerable Rāhula thus:
“Rāhula, bodily actions, verbal actions and mental actions are to be done with repeated examination, and with the recollection of the teaching of the Buddha. Rāhula, this is the practice of the ascetics that you should learn. ... It should be understood that there are ten benefits in such purification of ethical discipline.”

⁵³ *Śrāvakabhūmi* in T 1579 at T XXX 405c1–13 (YBh fasc. 22): 如佛世尊、曾爲長老羅怱羅說：『汝今羅怱羅！於身語意業 (*kāyakarmātha vākkarma manaskarma*)，應數正觀察；念諸佛聖教。羅怱羅！汝應學是沙門業 (*śrāmaṇakaṃ karma*)。若能於此學；唯勝善 (*śreya eva*)，無惡 (*na pāpakam*)。』若於如是身語意業審正思擇：諸此諸業、爲能自損 (*kiṃ vyābādhikaṃ me*)，廣說如前；是名觀察。若於一分（惡）、攝斂不作，亦不與便；廣說乃至發露悔除。復於一分（善）、而不斂攝，造作與便；廣說乃至便生歡喜、晝夜安住、多隨修學。是名清淨。如是清淨尸羅律儀、應知有十功德勝利 (*pariśuddhasya śīlasaṃvarasya daśānuśamsā*)。For the Sanskrit see ed. *Śrāvakabhūmi* Study Group 1998: I 92,3–14: *yathoktaṃ bhagavatāyushmantaṃ Rāhulam ārabhya | kāyakarmātha vākkarma, manaskarma ca Rāhula | abhikṣaṇaṃ pratyavekṣasva, smaran buddhānuśāsanam || etac chrāmaṇakaṃ karma, atra śikṣasva Rāhula | atra te śikṣamāṇasya, śreya eva na pāpakam || tatra yad evaṃ vicinoti tat kāyakarma, vākkarma, manaskarma kiṃ vyābādhikaṃ me iti vistareṇa pūrvavad, iyaṃ pratyavekṣaṇā, yat punar ekatyaṃ pratisaṃharati pratideśayaty ekatyaṃ anuprayacchati | tenaiva prīti-prāmodyenāhorātrānuśikṣī bahulaṃ viharatīyaṃ ucyate pariśodhanā || tatraivaṃ pariśuddhasya śīlasaṃvarasya daśānuśamsā veditavyāḥ*.

Chapter 3 (Origination) / Introduction to (4) *Satya-saṃyukta*

[6] # YBh fascicle 95. ‘In the Right Way’: Protecting the body well is to dwell keeping away from vicious elephants, and in detail as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. As long as one is keeping away there is the extinction of the contaminations without impediment.⁵⁴

The *uddāna* of the introduction to the *satya-saṃyukta* begins with the title ‘In the Right Way’ (如理, *tshul bzhin du*, **yonisās*).⁵⁵ The content of the ‘In the right way’ section of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*’s *mātrkā* transmitted in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* is extensive (840b26–841c2). In the later part (841b7–20), the text compares the realization of the noble truths (於聖諦入現觀, *bden pa mngon par rtogs pa*, **satyābhisamaya*), in order to abandon the defilements to be abandoned through cultivation (修道所斷諸漏, *bsgom pas spang bar bya ba’i zag pa rnams*). There are four kinds of causes that should be cultivated: (1) well protecting the body, (2) well protecting the sense bases, (3) well establishing mindfulness, and (4) as in the previously attained supramundane path, often practicing the mundane wisdom for entering and exiting.⁵⁶ Well protecting the body is to dwell staying away from vicious elephants, up to in detail as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. As long as one is keeping away there is the extinction of the contaminations without impediment.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ References in the relevant entry of section II above.

⁵⁵ T 1579 at T XXX 840b23–25 (YBh fasc. 95): 復次，嚧陀南曰：如理 (*tshul bzhin du*, **yonisās*)、攝、集諦，得相處業障，過黑異熟等，大義後難得。

⁵⁶ T 1579 at T XXX 833a9–11 (YBh fasc. 93): 又有學慧，名入世間出沒妙慧。此無漏故，聖相續中而可得故，名為聖慧。

⁵⁷ T 1579 at T XXX 841b7–20 (YBh fasc. 95): 與此相違，聽聞正法、起正勝解。於其如理 (*tshul bzhin du*)，無不如理顛倒妄想；於其如理，如實了

The detailed content of the *Śrāvakahūmi* (462b11–19, YBh fasc. 32) referred to by the *māṭṛkā's* title 'In the Right Way' given in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* is related to the proper way for protecting the body and mind in the application of mindfulness when a monk goes to the village for alms. This is shown as follows:

You should keep away from vicious elephants, horses, cows, dogs, snakes, animals, ravines, chasms, a tree without a branch, thorny bushes, muddy water, and fecal matter; and you should also avoid unsuitable deportment, dirty seats or bedding. (1) You should well protect the body in such a way. ... (2) You should well protect the sense bases ... (3) You should well establish mindfulness ... (4) You should fully attain mundane and supramundane greatness.⁵⁸

知是其如理；廣說乃至於應思惟無顛倒法，能正思惟。由此因緣，於三世行、并其所取及以能取，如實隨觀無我我所。當於聖諦入現觀 (*bden pa mngon par rtogs pa*, **satyābhisamaya*) 時，於見所斷所有諸漏、皆得解脫。得此事已，於上修道所斷 (*bsgom pas spang bar bya ba*) 諸漏 (*zag pa rnams*)，爲令無餘 (*ma lus par*) 永斷滅 (*spang bar bya ba*) 故，精勤修習四種因緣。何等爲四？一、善護身 (*lus legs par bsrungs pa*, **surakṣitena kāyena*) 故，二、善守根 (*dbang po legs par bsdams pa*, **susamvṛtair indriyaiḥ*) 故，三、善住念 (*dran pa legs par gnas pa*, **sūpasthitayā smṛtyā*) 故，四、如先所得出世間道，以達世間出沒妙慧 (*'byung ba dang med par 'gyur ba'i shes rab*) 多修習故。善護身者：謂正安住 (*gnas pa*) 遠避惡象，乃至廣說，如聲聞地。由遠避故，於盡諸漏 (*zag pa zad pa*, **kṣīṇāsrava*) 無有障礙。

⁵⁸ *Śrāvakahūmi* in T 1579 at T XXX 462b11–462c17 (YBh fasc. 32): 又汝應於念住加行、時時修習勝奢摩他、毘鉢舍那。汝於如是四念住中、安住正念，隨依彼彼村邑聚落邊際而住。於心隨順趣向臨入所緣境界、汝應捨此所緣境相，入彼村邑聚落乞食。應當善避惡象、惡馬、惡牛、惡狗、惡蛇、惡獸、坑澗濠塹、株杌毒刺、泥水糞穢；及應遠離諸惡威儀、穢坐臥

The same four topics are shared between the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and a part of the *māṭṛkā*'s title 'In the Right Way' given in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*.

Chapter 4 (Qualities Conducive to Awakening) / *Smṛtyupasthāna-saṃyukta* SĀ 623 (= SĀ-Y 785(26)) in the *māṭṛkā*

[16] @ YBh fascicle 98. 'Diligence': To diligently cultivate the establishments of mindfulness should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.⁵⁹

SĀ 623 (= SĀ-Y 785(26)) is the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse corresponding to the reference given in the *māṭṛkā*. This discourse has a simile for mindfulness directed to the body describing a man ordered to carry a bowl of oil filled to the brim between the crowd and the most beautiful girl of the land. He is followed by another man with

具。汝應如是善護己身。若於如是諸境界相、不應策發諸根；汝應於彼不作功用、善守諸根。若於如是諸境界相、應當策發諸根；汝應於彼正作功用、善住正念、令諸煩惱不起現行。汝應如是[1]善護己身 (*surakṣitena kāyena*)、[2] 善守諸根 (*susamvṛtair indriyaiḥ*)、[3] 善住正念 (*sūpa-sṭhitayā smṛtyā*)；於彼作意、善知其量、受用飲食..... 如是汝應隨所教誨恒常修作畢竟修作。[4] 若爲此義、受習於斷 (*prahāṇa*)；汝於此義、必當獲得。汝當最初證得下劣身心經安、心一境性；後當證得世、出世間廣大圓滿。For the Sanskrit see Shukla 1973: 424,15–426,13: *te kālena kālām śamatha-vipaśyanāyāṃ prayoktavyaṃ | satvam evam upasthitayāsmṛtyā caturṣu smṛtyupasthāneṣu yaṃ yameva grāmaṃ vā ... caṇḍasya hastinaś caṇḍasyāśvasya, caṇḍasya goś caṇḍasya kurarasya, ahiśvabhraṣṭhāṇu-kañjika-palvala-prapāta-syandika-gūthakaṭhalla-pāpika yā caryā śayanā-sanaparivarjanā [] arakṣitaste ātmā bhavati | ... tataś cottari vipulā[']-laukikalokottarāṃ sampadam ārāgaviṣyati(sī).*

⁵⁹ References in the relevant entry of section II above.

a drawn sword right behind him who will cut his head off if he should spill even a single drop of oil. According to Yinshun (1983: 265a3–4) the location in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* of the *māṭṛkā* reference no. 16 above (‘Diligence’: To diligently cultivate the establishments of mindfulness should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*) is the same as that of the *māṭṛkā* reference no. 15 above (‘Cultivation’: To cultivate the establishments of mindfulness should be understood in short or at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*”) in fascicle 28 of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (440a13–442a17).

However, using the term ‘diligently’, 殷重/*gus pa* (**satkṛtya*), as in the passage quoted above, as a keyword for a digital search in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* leads us to fascicle 32 of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (460c21–461a29). This passage in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* quotes the *Janapada-kalyāṇī-sūtra* or the ‘Discourse on the [Most] Beautiful Girl of the Land’,⁶⁰ and it then goes on to explain the meaning of the simile:

⁶⁰ *Śrāvakabhūmi* in T 1579 at T XXX 460c21–461a12 (YBh fasc. 32): 世尊依此所緣境相、密意說言：汝等苾芻、當知眾善。言眾善者：謂於大眾共集會中、盛壯美色。即此眾善最殊勝者：謂於多眾大集會中、歌舞倡伎。假使有一智慧丈夫、從外而來，告一人曰：咄哉男子！汝於今者、可持如是平滿鉢油、勿令灑溢；經歷如是大眾中過，當避其間所有眾善、及諸最勝歌舞倡伎、大等生等。今有魁膾、露拔利劍、隨逐汝行。苦汝鉢油一滴墮地；此之魁膾、即以利劍當斬汝首、斷汝命根。苾芻！汝等於意云何？是持鉢人、頗不作意專心油鉢、拔劍魁膾、不平地等，而能作意觀視眾善、及諸最勝歌舞倡伎大等生耶？不也，世尊！何以故？是持鉢人、既見魁膾露拔利劍隨逐而行、極大怖畏；專作是念：我所持鉢、油既彌滿；經是眾中、極難將度。脫有一滴當墮地者；定為如是拔劍魁膾、當斬我首斷我命根。是人爾時、於彼眾善及諸最勝歌舞倡伎大等生等、都不作意思念觀視；唯於油鉢，專心作意而正護持。 For the Sanskrit see Shukla 1973: 417,12–418,16: *idaṃ cālambanam sandhāyoktam bhagavatā* (1) | *janapada-kalyāṇī janapadakalyāṇī bhikṣavo* (2) *mahājanakāyaḥsannipateta* | *atha puruṣa āgacchedabālajātīyaḥ* | *taṃ kaścideva[m]vadedidaṃ te bhoḥ*,

Thus, monks, in the same way, my disciples respectfully and diligently cultivate the establishments of mindfulness. The meaning of the simile on the most beautiful girl of the land is the state being possessed by passion and associated afflictions, covetousness and so on.⁶¹

purūṣa, tailapātrapurṇṇaṃsamattittikamanabhiṣekyamantarā ca janakāyāḥ sannī-pateta. | sā khalu janapadakalyāṇīma (a)ntarā ca mahāsamājam | parihartavyamayam ca te utkṣiptāsikobadhakapurūṣaḥ prṣṭhataḥ prṣṭhataḥ samanubaddhaḥ | sacet tvamasmātailapātrādekabindumapi prthivyāṃ cipātayiṣyasitataste utkṣapta [ā] siko badhakapurūṣa ucchinnamūlaṃ śiraḥ || prapātayiṣyati | kiṃ manyadhve bhikṣavaḥ || [] api nusa purūṣaḥ amanasikṛtvā tailapātramamanasikṛtvo taila-pātramamanasikṛtvā utkṣiptāsikim badhakapurūṣam janapadakalyāṇī[m] manasi kuryānmahājanasamājamno, no, bhadanta, tatkaśya hetostathāhi tena puruṣeṇo[tkṣi]ptāsikobadhakapurūṣaḥ prṣṭhataḥ prṣṭhataḥ samanubaddho dṛṣṭaḥ tasyaivaṃsyāt [] sa cedahamasmātailapātrādekabindumapi prthivyāṃpatayiṣyāmi | ato me utkṣiptāsiko badhaka-purūṣaḥ ucehinnamūlaṃ śiraḥ prapātayiṣyati | nānyatrasa purūṣaḥ amanasikṛtya(tvā) janapadakalyāṇī[m]mahāsamājamvā | tadeva tailapātram sarvvacetasā samanvāhrītya samyargeva pariharedevemeva bhikṣavaḥ.

⁶¹ For the entire passage see the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in T 1579 at T XXX 461a12–25 (YBh fasc. 32): 如是，苾芻！我諸弟子、恭敬殷重、專心憶念、修四念住、當知亦爾。言眾善者：喻能隨順貪欲纏等隨煩惱法。於中最勝歌舞倡伎、喻能隨順尋思戲論躁擾處法。大等生等：喻色相等十種相法。智慧丈夫。喻瑜伽師。平滿油鉢。喻奢摩他所安住心。能令身心輕安潤澤、是奢摩他義。露拔利劍隨行魍魎、喻先所取諸相尋思隨煩惱中諸過患相。專心將護不令鉢油一滴墮地、喻能審諦周遍了知亂不亂相之所攝受奢摩他道。由是能令諸心相續諸心流注。由精進力、無間策發。前後一味、無相無分別、寂靜而轉。不起一心、復緣諸相、或緣尋思、及隨煩惱。For the Sanskrit, cf. the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in Shukla 1973: 418,16–419,12: *ye keci catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni satkṛtya bhāvayanti | gurū-kṛtya sarvvacetasā samanvāhrīyate me (ta ime) śrāvakāṇi [] tatra janapada-kalyāṇī kāya [c]chandādyupakleśa-paryavasthānīyānān dharmānām etad adhivacanam | parama-*

This explanation throws into relief the close connection between the wording of the passage in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (YBh fasc. 32, 460c21–461a29) and the last part of the *māṭṛkā*'s heading, 'Diligence', 勸勉/*brtun*.⁶² The passage located by Yinshun (1983: 265a3–4) in fascicle 28 of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (YBh fasc. 28, 440a13–442a17) only covers the first part of the *māṭṛkā* (the statement that 'cultivation' in relation to cultivating the establishments of mindfulness should be understood in short or at length as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*), but it does not cover the *Janapada-kalyāṇī-sūtra* passage.

In summary, the meaning of the statement "to diligently cultivate the establishments of mindfulness should be understood as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*" found in the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā* transmitted in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is fully understood when it is recognised as belonging to the *māṭṛkā* heading 'Diligence', 勸勉/*brtun*, rather than 'Bound by', 繫屬/*gnas*, as originally suggested by Yinshun (1983: 265a3–4).

*pradhānā nṛtagītavādita iti vitarkaprapañcasamkṣobhashānīyānām
dharmāṇām etad adhivacanam | mahāsamājaiti | rūpanimittādīnām daśā-
nām nimittānām etad adhi-vacanam | abālabhāgīyaḥ puruṣa iti | yogā-
cāra-syādhivacanam | tailapātramiti | śamathopani-baddhasya cittasya
etad adhivacanam | kāyacittapraśrabdhi-snehanārthena utkṣiptāsiko badha-
kapuruṣa itinimitta-vitarkopakleśaṣu pūrvodgrhītasya dīnasyaitad adhi-
vacanam [[]] satkṛtya viharati | na caikabindumapi prthivyām pā tayatīti
vikṣepāvikṣepaparijñānāvadhānapariḡhītasya-samathamārgasyaitad adhi-
vacanam | yenāyam sarvvo(sarvām) citta-santatiṃ cittadhārām nirnimi-
ttām nirvikalpāmupaśāntām vīryabalena nirantarām pauraṃvāpayeṇa
pravarttayati | nacaikacittamutpādayati | nimittālambanamvā vitarko-
pakleśālambanamvā.*

⁶² B 3269, *sems tsam*, zi 1524,3–5, apparatus vol. 146 p. 1592; D 4039, *sems tsam*, zi 319b3; P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 364b6: *sdom ni slob dpon gangs ri 'dzud pa dang brtun dang gnas dang rnam par dag rim pa tshul khrims phun sum tshogsgra ma ldan pa tha ma yin*.

Conclusion

The survey of the 25 cross-references (43,083 words in total, shown in Table 4 below) to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā* transmitted in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, and closer inspection of a few notable examples among them, has thrown into relief the following three main points:

1. The first important point is that a number of references to the *Śrāvakabhūmi* might be a reason for the disproportionate ratio of the last chapter between the *Samyukta-āgama* (7 fascicles) and the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (*Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā*) (2 fascicles).

According to Table 3 above, the distribution of the 25 occurrences of the phrase 如聲聞地, “as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*”, in the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā* transmitted in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* increases from chapter to chapter, and with the ratio in the last chapter (*māṭṛkā* of the Qualities Conducive to Awakening) being particularly high (7.5).

This might be preliminary evidence for the hypothesis that some of the contents of the *Samyukta-āgama*'s *māṭṛkā* were transmitted in the last chapter of the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* and referenced to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

The disproportionate ratio in the last chapter between the *Samyukta-āgama* (7 fascicles) and the *māṭṛkā* in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (2 fascicles) would then be more understandable when compared to the more equal ratio between the first three chapters, that is, *Samyukta-āgama*: 5 fascicles versus *māṭṛkā*: 4 fascicles.

Table 4. Total Word Count of the 25 Occurrences of Cross-references by the Phrase 如聲聞地 in the *Samyukta-āgama's māṭṛkā*

| <i>Māṭṛkā</i> (Four Parts, Fascicle Numbers, Fascicles in Total) | 25 Cross-references by the Phrase 如聲聞地 | |
|---|---|------------|
| | Occurrences | Word Count |
| The First Part of <i>Māṭṛkā</i> of the Aggregates (行擇攝第一) Fasc. 85–88 (4 Fasc. in Total) | 1 | 104 |
| The Second Part of the <i>Māṭṛkā</i> of the Six Sense Bases (處擇攝第二) Fasc. 89–92 (4 Fasc. in Total) | 2 | 2,412 |
| The Third Part of the <i>Māṭṛkā</i> of Dependent Origination, Nutriments, Truths, Elements (緣起、食、諦、界擇攝第三) Fasc. 93–96 (4 Fasc. in Total) | 7 | 8,119 |
| The Fourth Part of the <i>Māṭṛkā</i> of the Qualities Conducive to Awakening (菩提分法擇攝第四) Fasc. 97–98 (2 Fasc. in Total) | 15 | 32,411 |
| Total Count | 25 | 43,083 |

2. The second salient point is that a process of textual expansion by way of association might be one of the models for the formation of the *māṭṛkā* of the *Samyukta-āgama*.

In occurrence no. [1] above, the *māṭṛkā*-related discourse (SĀ 103, SN 22.89) begins with the illness of the venerable Khemaka, and some senior monastics asking Dāsaka to convey their concern to him. But the content of the *māṭṛkā* in the *Sūtra-vastu* of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* is not restricted to the greetings related to illness; it has been

extended to greetings related to happiness. In fact, it has even been associated with five terms (healthy, strong, happy, blameless, and dwelling at ease) in the tenth sentence of ten sentences on the teaching on ‘Moderation in Food’.

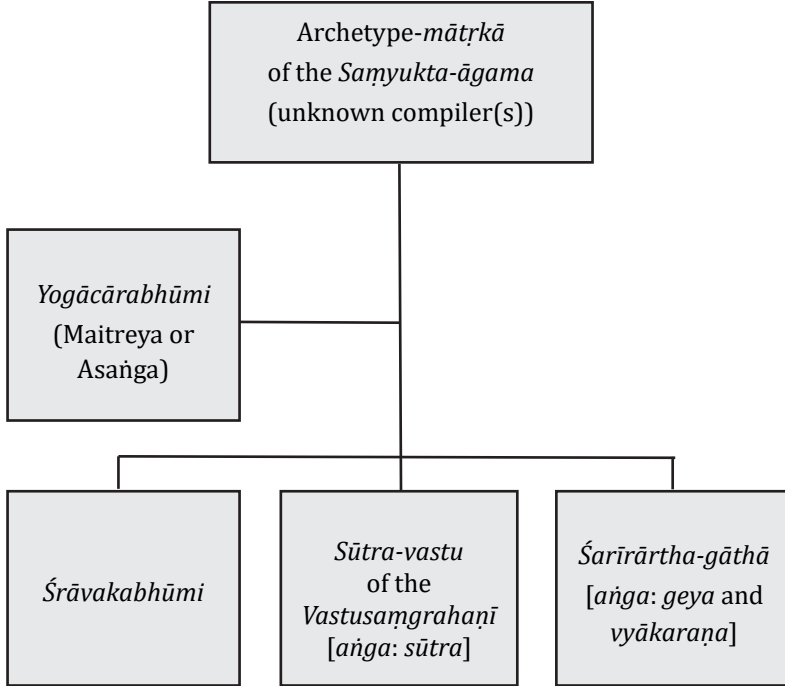
In occurrence no. [2], the *māṭṛkā*-related discourse (SĀ 200, SN 35.121 *Rāhula-sutta*) can be understood as connected with different kinds of wisdom and liberation. But the *Ambalaṭṭhika-Rāhulovāda-sutta* (MN 61) is closer to the *māṭṛkā*’s title ‘Liberation’ which refers to the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. This is because the *Śrāvakabhūmi*’s explanation of the ten benefits of ethical discipline begins with the *Ambalaṭṭhika-Rāhulovāda-sutta* (MN 61), not the *Rāhula-sutta* (SĀ 200; SN 35.121).

These kinds of extensions through association might be a model for the formation of the *māṭṛkā* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*. As the functions of matrices are as mnemonic devices, maps of meditative states, and a characteristic feature of an oral culture (cf. note 1 above), it is natural that the *māṭṛkā*s will be extended through association during the process of their formation.

3. The third and last point that emerges is that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* appears to have played a part in the textual formation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*’s *māṭṛkā* in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*.

In view of the disproportionate number of fascicles relating to the last chapter, the possible relationship between the *Saṃyukta-āgama*’s *māṭṛkā* as per the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and the *Śarīrārthagāthā* (verses on the meaning of ‘relics’, ‘corpus’ or ‘collection’) verses of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (located in the *Cintāmayībhūmi*, the eleventh division of the *Yogācārabhūmi*) (Lee 2017) could be visualized as in the following Figure 1.

Figure 1. The Role of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the Formation of,
or as Authoritative Scriptural Reference for the *Yogācārabhūmi*



In order to investigate the other divisions of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, I searched the whole *Yogācārabhūmi* for the phrase 如聲聞地, “as in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*”, and analyzed the resulting 70 occurrences in the five main divisions and the seventeen *bhūmis*, i.e., the subdivisions of the Chinese version of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The distribution is shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Distribution of the 70 Occurrences of the Phrase 如聲聞地 in the *Yogācārabhūmi*

| The 5 Main Divisions of the Chinese Translation of the <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> | The 17 <i>Bhūmis</i> (with Subdivisions), Fascicles, Fascicles in Total | Occurrences and Ratios (per fascicle) of the Phrase 如聲聞地 | |
|---|--|--|-------------|
| | | | |
| <i>Mauhyo bhūmayah</i> (本地分) Fasc. 1–50 (Comprise Seventeen <i>bhūmis</i>) | (10) <i>Śrutamayābhūmi</i> (聞所成地) Fasc. 13–15 (3 Fasc. in total) | 3 | 3/3 = 1 |
| | (12) <i>Bhāvanāmayābhūmi</i> (修所成地) Fasc. 20 | 1 | 1/1 = 1 |
| | (14) <i>Bodhisattvabhūmi</i> (菩薩地) Fasc. 35–50 (16 Fasc. in Total) | 5 | 5/16 = 0.3 |
| <i>Viniśayasamgrahaṇī</i> (攝決擇分) | Fasc. 51–80 (30 Fasc. in Total) | 14 | 14/30 = 0.4 |
| <i>Īśākyāsamgrahaṇī</i> (攝釋分) | Fasc. 81–82 (2 Fasc. in Total) | 1 | 1/2 = 0.5 |
| <i>Paryāyasamgrahaṇī</i> (攝異門分) | fascicle 83–84 (2 Fasc. in Total) | 8 | 8/2 = 4 |
| <i>Vastusamgrahaṇī</i> (攝事分) Fasc. 85–100 (16 Fasc. in Total) | <i>Sūtra-vastu</i> (契經事) Fasc. 85–98 (14 Fasc. in Total) | 25 | 25/14 = 1.8 |
| | <i>Vinaya-vastu</i> (調伏事) Fasc. 99–100 (2 Fasc. in Total) | 15 | 15/2 = 7.5 |

The progression of the ratio for the number of occurrences of the phrase 如聲聞地 per fascicle in each division of the *Yogācārabhūmi* is as follows: *Vinaya-vastu* ($15/2 \text{ fasc.} = 7.5$) > *Paryāyasamgrahaṇī* ($8/2 = 4$) > *Sūtra-vastu* ($25/14 = 1.8$) > *Śrutamayībhūmi* ($3/3 = 1$) = *Bhāvanāmayībhūmi* ($1/1 = 1$) > *Vyākhyāsamgrahaṇī* ($1/2 = 0.5$) > *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* ($14/30 = 0.4$) > *Bodhisattvabhūmi* ($5/16 = 0.3$).

A detailed investigation of this distribution of the 70 occurrences might be useful for the understanding of the formation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Suguro 1976), or for the role of the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, to which the *Yogācārabhūmi* (or the Yogācāra school more generally) can refer for authoritative explanations.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|--|
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| B | Beijing collated edition of the Tanjur (<i>dpe bsdur ma</i>) |
| CBETA | Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會 |
| D | Derge edition (Tōhoku) |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| P | Peking edition (Ōtani) |
| SĀ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition (CBETA, 2018) |
| SĀ-Y | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (ed. Yinshun 1983) |
| YBh | <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> |

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VI. *ĀGAMAS* IN CHINESE: TRANSLATION PROCESSES

**The Underlying Languages
of the Three Chinese Translations
of the *Samyukta-āgamas*
(Taishō nos. 99, 100 and 101)
and their School Affiliations**

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Abstract

This contribution presents linguistic-historical data and theories on the original texts underlying each of the three *Samyukta-āgama* translations presently found in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* (Taishō nos. 99, 100 and 101). The data are mostly based on analyses of the Chinese renditions of Indic proper names. Sanskritisms, prakritisms and irregular developments observable in Taishō no. 99 indicate that its Indic original might have been significantly sanskritised, though containing sporadic instances of Middle-Indic developments. This collection was far more sanskritised than the *Madhyama-āgama* now extant in Chinese translation as Taishō no. 26. The evidence from Taishō no. 100 shows that where there are discrepancies between readings in the Pali versions and their Sanskrit parallels, the Chinese is mainly in agreement with the Sanskrit (although there are cases where it concurs with the Pali and differs from the Sanskrit), and that the Indic original might have been sanskritised yet retaining various features of Middle Indic. Compared with Taishō no. 99, Taishō no. 100 preserves more Middle Indic elements, with its original text being on the whole less sanskritised. The only sporadic and dubious features that are characteristic of Gandhari rule out that the original was transmitted in this Prakrit. Instead, Taishō no. 101 contains eight unique transliterations, two of which document that the original text could have contained Middle-Indic elements, particularly Gandhari. The interpretation of the linguistic-historical data does not call into question the established Mūlasarvāstivāda ascription of Taishō no. 99. However, it leads to revisiting previously proposed ascriptions of Taishō no. 100 and to a proposal to affiliate this it with the Mahīśāsaka tradition. Such a proposal is also based on

instances of nomenclature employed in this collection, on an analysis of relevant transliterations found in the Chinese Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (Taishō no. 1421), and on a reinterpretation of key passages in Faxian's 法顯 (AD 337–422) travelogue bearing on the identification of the manuscript used for, and the circumstances, of the translation.

Editor's Note

This contribution was finalised by myself alone after Karashima Seishi's 辛嶋 静志 passing on July 23rd, 2019, as we were right in the process of exchanging on his findings, following up the somewhat critical feedback his conclusions had elicited in the course of and after the seminar, some of which is voiced in the papers by Marcus Bingenheimer (2020) and Ken Su [Su Jinkun 蘇錦坤] (2020) in this volume. I confined myself to polishing and minimally supplementing the previously submitted version based on our interrupted exchanges. Although I have done my best, I may have introduced unwarranted errors, for which I am solely, and regrettably, responsible.

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I. Preliminaries

This contribution presents linguistic-historical data on the original Indic texts underlying each of the three *Samyukta-āgamas* presently included in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. These are, respectively:

- the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T 99), a complete *Samyukta-āgama* collection recited by Guṇabhadra (AD 394–468) from Central India (that is, Mathurā and its neighbouring regions) and translated by Baoyun 寶雲 (AD 376–449) and Fayong 法勇 (AD 385–433)¹
- the *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 (T 100), a partial *Samyukta-āgama* collection of controversial dating translated anonymously
- a second *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T 101), an early, second-century compilation of *samyukta*-type discourses attributed to An Shigao 安世高 (fl. ca. AD 148–170), probably with later revisions

My data are derived from an analysis of all the Chinese transliterations of proper names found in these three *Samyukta-āgamas*. Primarily based on this data, I will reassess the linguistic history and school affiliation of their respective Indic originals.

¹ See the record in the oldest existing catalogue of Buddhist scriptures, namely Sengyou's 僧祐 (AD 445–518) *Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 (composed between AD 510–518), T 2145 at T LV 12c19–13a8: 《雜(=[v.l.]←新)阿含經》五十卷 ... 右十三部。凡七十三卷。宋文帝時，天竺摩訶乘法師求那跋陀羅，以元嘉中及孝武時宣出諸經。沙門釋寶雲及弟子菩提法勇傳譯; also, in the same text, T LV 105b18ff: 求那跋陀羅..... (105c6) 元嘉十二年至廣州。... (105c13) 於祇洹寺集義學諸僧，譯出《雜阿含經》。東安寺出《法鼓經》。後於丹陽郡譯出《勝鬘》、《楞伽經》。徒衆七百餘人。寶雲傳譯，慧觀執筆。 As Enomoto 2001: 31 made clear, the translation probably took place in the year AD 435/436, just after Guṇabhadra's arrival in China in AD 435.

Before I proceed to surveying a selection of such transliterations, I must make a couple of methodological remarks on their heuristic value for the purpose of drawing textual and historical conclusions.

Firstly, foreign proper names and key Buddhist technical terminology – possibly more than any other lexical domain – tend to follow their own at times idiosyncratic pathways of phonetic history, as the treatment of this specific type of loanwords shows in the linguistic history not only of Chinese but also of other spoken and literary languages. Ideally, a similar type of analysis should be applied to a more comprehensive data set. This is not feasible in the present case because outside proper names and, to an extent, other technical lexicon, the use of transliterations or of hybrid forms of transliterations-cum-translations – as opposed to translation as such – is fairly rare in Chinese Buddhist translations.

Secondly, a few transliterations are admittedly bizarre and inexplicable. However, such cases are rather limited. Most proper names are well retained. Except for a few irregular forms which I do not treat in my present analysis and thus have no impact on my conclusions, most of the transliterations of popular proper names follow or reflect the phonetic rules of Middle Indic or Sanskrit. For example, as it will be shown, the instances of transliterations of T 99 clearly indicate that the Chinese translators transliterated proper names properly in accordance with sanskritised forms. On the other hand, T 100 unmistakably retains non-Sanskrit and non-Sanskritised forms.

Thus, quantitative and qualitative limitations notwithstanding, I believe that the Chinese transliterations are a reliable data set for linguistic surveys, as the pioneering work of Paul Demieville (1951) on the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (*Mishasai buhexi wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律, T 1421), that of John Brough (1962) on the Gandhari *Dharma-pada*, or that of Jan Willem de Jong (1981) bearing in particular on

the Indic text underlying the complete translation of the *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99), as well as my own contributions to the Indic originals of the *Dīrgha-āgama* (*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經, T 1) and the *Madhyama-āgama* (*Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經, T 26) have shown (Karashima 1994 and 2017).

II. Survey of Transliterations Found in T 99

II.1 Sanskritisms

In the complete translation of the *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99), most transliterations show that the underlying Indian text was greatly Sanskritised.

Where there are discrepancies between the readings in the Pali and Sanskrit texts, T 99 reads principally along the same line as the corresponding Sanskrit form. For example:

伊尼耶 (161a7; *eṇeya* [= BHS]); ≠ BHS = Pa. *eṇī* ('black antelope')

罽賓那 (206c18; *Kasphīṇa* [= BHS]); ≠ BHS *Kapphīṇa*, *Kapphina*;
Pa. (*Mahā*)*kappina*

崩伽闍 (213a3f; *Paṅkajā* [= SWTF]); ≠ Pa. *Paṅkadhā*

迦多梨沙婆 (217b18; **Kātarṣabha*) / SWTF *Kātyarṣabha*; ≠ Pa. *Kaṭissaha* (v.l. °*ssabha*)

婆耆舍 (259a10f, 329a25; *Vāgīśa* [= BHS = SWTF]); ≠ Pa. *Vaṅgīsa*

瞿低迦 (286a3; **Gotika*, *Gautika*) / BS *Gautika* (Abhidh-k-bh 376,5); ≠ Pa. *Godhika*

婆𑖂私 (291a6; *vāsāṃsi* [= Skt. 'clothes', nom-acc. pl. of Skt. *vāsa*]); ≠ SN I 229,11: *āvasatham* ('abode')

舍脂鉢低 (291a12; Śacīpati [= Skt.]); ≠ Pa. *Sujampati*

俱尸那竭 (325b2; Kuśinagar-) / BHS = SWTF *Kuśinagarī*; ≠ Pa. *Kusinārā*

毘瘦紐 (358b15; Viṣṇu [= Skt.]); ≠ Pa. *Veṇṇu*, *Veṇhu*

娑多耆利 (365c7; Sātāgiri [= BHS = SWTF]); ≠ Pa. *Sātāgira*

鞞提醯 (371c7; *Vedehi-); BHS = SWTF *Vaidehaka*; ≠ Pa. *Vediyaka*²

頻陀 (372a1; Vindhya [= Skt.]); ≠ Pa. *Viñjha*

The transliterations in the following excerpt, which correspond to the snake charm found in the *Upasena-sūtra* of T 99, demonstrate how well the Chinese transliterations agree with the extant Sanskritised version of the text:³

塢(EH ʔa > MC ʔuo; o) 𪛗(EH təm > MC tām) 婆隸(**tumbale*)
𪛗婆隸 𪛗(←𪛗)⁴陸(←陸)(*tumbe*) 波⁵{婆}𪛗陸(←陸)(*p(r)atumbe*)
捺滸(*naṭṭe*) 肅捺滸(*sunatṭe*) 𪛗⁶跋滸(*kevaṭṭe*) 文那移(*munaye*) 三
摩移(*samaye*) 檀諦(*dante*) 尼羅枳施(*nīlakeṣe*) 婆羅拘閼
(*vālakupe*) 塢隸(*ole*) 塢娛(EH ŋya > MC ŋju) 隸(*oṅkole*) 悉波
呵⁷(**spāha* or *svāhā*)

o tumbile | *o dumbile* | *tumbile* | *tumbe* | *pratumbe* | *naṭṭe* | *sunatṭe* |
kevaṭṭe | *munaye* | *samaye* | *dante* | *nīlakeṣe* | *vālakupe* | *ole* |
oṅkole || *svāhā* ||

² Cf. Karashima 1994: 183.

³ T 99 at T II 61b19–22; Sanskrit text from Waldschmidt 1967: 343 and Chung in preparation.

⁴ S, Y, M: 𪛗.

⁵ S, Y, M: 波.

⁶ S, Y, M: 枳.

⁷ S, Y, M: 訶.

There are numerous instances which show sanskritisation of the underlying text of T 99:

r (< MI *i*, *u*)

三蜜(v.l. 密)離提 (6a13; *Samṛddhi* [= BHS]), 三彌離提 (56a5, 56b12, etc.; 三彌離提) / Pa. *Samiddhi*⁸

梨犀達多 (150c21, 151a5, 151a18, etc.; *Ṛṣidatta* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Isidatta*

毘梨訶波低 (181b15; *Brha(s)pati*) / BHS *Brhaspati* (Divy 433,23; *Vṛhaspati*), Pa. *Vihappati*⁹

毘梨訶西那 (181b16; *Brha(t)sena*) / Skt. *Brhatsena*, BHS *Vṛṣa-sena* (Divy 433,23)

秩栗帝羅色吒羅 (220b26; *Dhṛtirāṣṭra*) / SWTF *Dhṛtirāṣṭra*, BHS *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, Pa. *Dhātaraṭṭha*

彌離頭捷提 (317a8f; *mṛdugandhi-*) / BHS *mṛdugandhika*, Pa. **mudu-gandhika*

吉離舍 (73c14,¹⁰ 326b16; *kṛśā*) / Skt. *kṛśā* (*Gautamī*), Pa. *kisā* (*Gotamī*)

-k- is retained

焰摩迦 (30c13; 259c27; *Yamaka*) / Skt. = Pa. *Yamaka*

遮羅迦 (31c18; *caraka*) / Skt. = Pa. *caraka*

摩樓迦 (107a20; *mālukā*) / Skt. Lex. *mālu*, BHS *mālutā*, BHS = Pa. *māluvā*, Pkt. *māluyā* (< *mālukā*)

-j- is retained

迦闍尸利沙 (50b14; *Gajaśīrṣa*) / BHS *Gajaśīrṣa*, Pa. *Gayāsīsa*

-ṭ- is retained

闍知羅 (146a15, 146a29; *jaṭila*) / Skt. = Pa. *jaṭila*

⁸ Cf. also the occurrence in Up 1010, discussed in Dhammadinnā 2020: 497.

⁹ Cf. von Hinüber 2009: I 392, note 10.

¹⁰ 告難舍 is a scribal error for 吉離舍.

闍祇羅 (305c23; *jaṭila*) / Skt. = Pa. *jaṭila*

尼迦吒 (217b18; *Nikaṭa*) / BHS = SWTF = Pa. *Nikaṭa*, Pa. v.l. *Nikata*

阿俱吒 (359b25; *Ākoṭa-*) / Pa. *Ākoṭaka*

波吒利 (371b27, 371b29; *pāṭali*) / Skt. = Pa. *pāṭali*

-t- is retained

瞿低迦 (286a3; *Gautika* [= BS])¹¹ / Pa. *Godhika*

阿耆多枳舍欽婆羅 (253b16, 317b11f, 334c28; *Ajita Keśakambala* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Ajita Kesakambala*

-p- is retained

優(←億)波提 (82b11f; *upadhi*) / Skt. = Pa. *upadhi*

檣補(EH pa: > MC puo:) (248b12; *Tapo-*), 搨¹²補 (281c4, 281c7, 282a23; *Tapo-*) / BHS = Pa. *Tapodā*

-ś-, -ṣ- and -s- (the three Sanskrit sibilants) are distinguished

-ś-

身恕 (148c12, 173b6, 273a29, EH śin śa- > MC śjen śjwo-; *Śimśa-*) / Skt. *Śimśapā*, Pa. *Siṃsapā*

申恕 (12c9, 108a28, EH śin śa- > MC śjen śjwo-; *Śimśa-*) / Skt. *Śimśapā*, Pa. *Siṃsapā*

迦闍尸利沙 (50b14; *Gajaśīrṣa*) / BHS *Gajaśīrṣa*, Pa. *Gayāsīsa*

毘舍脂 (156a15; *piśācī*) / Skt. *piśācī*, Pa. *piśācī*

耶舍鬱多羅 (217b20; *Yaśottara*) *Yaśottara* (cf. MPS § 9.6), Pa. *Yasottara*

只尸 (234b22; *Keśī*) / Skt. *Keśī* (nom. sg. of *Keśin*), Pa. *Kesī*

枳舍欽婆羅 (253b16, 317b12f, 334c28; *Keśakambala* [= BHS]) /

¹¹ *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* at Abhidh-k-bh 376,5, note 4; cf. Honjō 2014: II 767.

¹² S, Shg: 檣; M: 楊.

Pa. *Kesakambala*

尸婆迦 (212a21; *Śivaka*) / BS *Śivaka* (Abhidh-k-bh 365,20), Pa. *Sivaka*

緊獸 (315b29; *kiṃśu*) / Skt. *kiṃśu*, *kiṃśuka*, Pa. *kiṃsuka*

尸路 (362c12, EH śjiəi la- > MC śi luə-; *Śaila*) / BHS *Śaila*-
(*gāthā*), Pa. *Sela*-(*sutta*)

尸羅 (327a20; *Śailā*) / BS *Śailā* (Abhidh-k-bh 465,1), Pa. *Selā*

怛剎尸羅 (254c4; *Takṣasīlā* [= Skt.]) / Pa *Takkhasīlā*

吉離舍 (73c14,¹³ 326b16; *kṛśā*) / Skt. *kṛśā* (*Gautamī*), Pa. *kisā*
(*Gotamī*)

陀舍羅訶 (345b3; *Daśārha* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *Dasāraha*

叔迦羅 (365a25; *Śuklā* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *Sukkā*

-ṣ-

拘留搜 (58c17, 85a11, 92c12; *Kuruṣu*) *Kuruṣu*, Pa. *Kurūsu*

茂師(EH srijəi > MC ši)羅 (98c1f; *Mūṣila*) / BS *Mūṣila*,¹⁴ Pa.
Musīla

cf. 低沙 (277b7): name of a monk: BHS =SWTF *Tiṣya*, Pa. *Tissa*

-s-

須深 (EH. śim > MC śjəm) (358c10; *Suśīm(a)* [= Skt.]¹⁵) /BHS =
Pa. *Susīma* (v.l. *Susīma*); SWTF *Suṣīma*

consonant + consonant

-kt- (< MI -tt-)

阿提目多 (193b29; *Atimukta* [= BHS]) / *Atimutta*¹⁶

¹³ 告難舍 is a scribal error for 吉離舍.

¹⁴ SHT II, p. 38, 680a r2.

¹⁵ Cf. Monier-Williams 1899, s.v. *suśīma*.

¹⁶ SN V 76,10: *Sāriputta*; v.l. *Atimutta*.

consonant + *r*

kr- (< MI *k-*)

迦羅迦孫提 (101b5, c18f, 121c10f, 243b20; **Krakasundi*, **nde*) /
SWTF *Krakasunda*, BHS *Krakuchanda*, Pa *Kakusandha*

-gr- (< MI *-gg-*)

郁瞿婁 (57b29; *Ugro* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Uggo*

尼拘留他 (190a21; *nigrodha*), 尼拘婁陀 (315c14, 316a10, *nigrodha*) /
Skt. = Pa. *nigrodha*

僧迦藍 (278b12, 278c6; *Samgrāma-*) / Skt. *Samgrāma(jit)*, Pa.
Sanḡāma(ji)

-tr- (< MI *-tt-*)

波吒利弗多羅 (59b17; *Pāṭaliputra*), 波羅利弗妬路 (146b24; **Pāla-*
liputra)¹⁷ / Skt. *Pāṭaliputra*, Pa. *Pāṭaliputta*

波梨耶多羅 (134a8; *pāriyātra* [= BHS]) / Skt. = Pa. *pārijāta*, Pa.
pāricchattaka

低舍彌德勒 (310b8f, 310c16; *Tiṣya Maitraka*) / BHS = SWTF
Tiṣya, BHS *Maitraka*, Pa. *Tissa Metteyyo*

dr- (< MI *d-*)

獨籠那 (351c24f; *droṇa* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *doṇa*

pr- (< MI *p-*)

畢陵伽(read 迦?) (362c9; *Priyaṃka-*) / BHS = SWTF *Priyaṃkara*,
Pa. *Piyaṃkara*

mr- (< MI *-mb-*)

阿摩勒迦 (114a19; *āmraka* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *ambaka*

¹⁷ 波羅利 is from a pre-existing transliteration of 波羅利弗 (*Pālāliput(ra)*
< *Pāṭaliputra*).

śr- (< MI s-)

輸屢那 (6a26–7b14, 67a20; *Śroṇa* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Soṇa*

r + consonant

-rṇ- (< MI -ṇṇ-)

富留那 (54b3, 66a6f, 259a9; *Pūrṇa* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Puṇṇa*

富隣尼迦 (255c10; *Pūrṇika* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Puṇṇaka*

富隣尼 (248a16, 259c8, 267b7, 346b9; *Pūrṇi(ka)?*) / BHS *Pūr-
ṇika?*, Pa. *Puṇṇiya*

-rm- (< MI -mm-)

達磨提難(←離) (270a7; **Dharmadinna*), 達摩提那 (270b17,
270c14; **Dharmadinna*) / Pa. *Dhammadinna*

-rś- (< MI -ss-)

宿波羅首 (243c9f, 244a2; *Supārśv-*) / Skt. *Supārśva*; Pa. *Supassa*

-rṣ- (< MI -s(s)-)

迦闍尸利沙 (50b14; *Gajaśīrṣa* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Gayāsīsa*

consonant + l

-kl- (< MI -kk-)

叔迦羅 (365a25; *Śuklā* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *Sukkā* (SN I 212,22)

consonant + v

-dv- (< MI -dd-)

婆羅豆婆遮 (27a13, 28b21, 307b12, 307b25, etc. *Bhāradvāja* [= BHS
= SWTF, Pa. *Bhāradvāja*])

consonant + sibilants

-kṣ- (< MI -kkh-)

勒叉那 (135a9; *Lakṣaṇa* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *Lakkhaṇa*

毘樓匍叉 (220b29; *Virūpākṣa* [BHS = SWTF]) / Pa. *Virūpakkha*

但剎尸羅 (254c4; *Takṣaśilā* [= Skt.]) / Pa *Takkhasilā*

差摩迦 (267c17f, 270b25; *Kṣemaka* [= SWTF]) / Pa. *Khemaka*

叉摩 (269b22, 269c14, 270a23; *Kṣema-*) / SWTF *Kṣemaka* / Pa. *Khema(ka)*

sibilants + consonant

-ṣk- (< MI -kk(h)-)

弗迦羅娑梨 (159b14; *Puṣkarasārī* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Pukkusāti* (SN I 35,10)

-sk- (< MI -kkh-)

摩頭息撻大摩那婆 (158a16: *Madhuskandha (nāma) māṇava-* [SBV I 169,1f])

-ṣṭ- (< MI -tṭh-)

阿梨瑟吒 (199a14, 206b27f; *Ariṣṭa* [= BHS]), 阿梨色吒 (217b19; *Ariṣṭa* [= BHS, MPS § 9.6]), 梨色吒 (217b19; (A)*riṣṭa*) / Pa. *Ariṭṭha*

-st- (< MI -tth-)

毘悉多 (8c14; *vista* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *vittha*

-ṣṇ- (< MI -ṇṇ-, -ṇh-)

毘瘦紐 (358b15; *Viṣṇu* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *Veṇṇu*, *Veṇhu* (SN I 52,10. *Veṇḍu*)

sv- (< MI s(s)-) (for -sv- > -sp-? see section III.5 below)

悉鞞梨 (261c6, 261c24, 262b1; *Svairī* [= Skt.; cf. *svairin* ‘self-willed, independent’]) / Pa. *Serī* (SN I 57,8)

-ṣṭr- (< MI -tṭh-)

祇栗帝羅色吒羅 (220b26; *Dhṛtirāṣṭra* [= SWTF]) / BHS *Dhṛta-rāṣṭra*, Pa. *Dhataratṭha*

賴吒羅 (61a27; (*Dhṛti*)*rāṣṭra* [= SWTF], (*Dhṛta*)*rāṣṭra* [= BHS]) / Pa. (*Dhata*)*ratṭha*

II.2 Prakritisms

There are some instances which show that the original text of T 99 contained Prakritisms. For example:

-ḷ- or -l- (< OIA -ṭ-)

遮羅周羅 (227a3; **Cālacūḷa*? or **Cālacūla*?) / cf. T 100 at T II 420a8: 動髮[**Cāla-cūḍa*]; SN IV 306,13: *Talapuṭa*, v.l. *Tālap*^o

那羅 (227a3; **naḷa* or **nala*) / Skt. = Pa. *naṭa* (‘dancer’; SN IV 306,13: *naṭa*-)

阿(←陀)¹⁸羅毘迦 (73c13; *Ālavikā* [= Pa.] or **Āla*^o); ≠ BHS = SWTF *Ātavikā*

阿臈(EH lap > MC lâp)毘 (325c14; *Ālavi*- or *Ālavi*-) / Pa. *Ālavikā*; ≠ BHS = SWTF *Ātavikā*

阿臈 (364b22; *Āḷa*- or *Āḷa*-) / Pa. *Ālavaka*; ≠ BHS = SWTF *Ātavaka*; T 100 at T II 482c9: 曠野¹⁹

毘藍²⁰婆 (359b24f; **Veḷamba*- or **Vela*^o?) / Pa. *Veṭambarī*; cf. T 100 at T II 477c26: 決勝

-ḷ- or -l- (< OIA -ḍ-)

鞞跋楞伽 (159c2; *Vebhaliṅga* [= Pa.]) / BHS *Vebhaḍṅga*; SBV II 22,1: *Vaibhiḍṅgī*; SN I 35,26: *Vehaliṅga* (v.l. *Vebhaliṅga*); cf. T 100 at T II 442c25: 毘婆陵伽 (*Vebhaliṅga*)

佉楞迦羅 (217b18; **Kaḷaṅgara* or **Kala*^o) / BHS = SWTF *Kaḍaṅgara* (MPS § 9.6), Pa. *Kāḷiṅga* (SN V 358,20), *Kal*^o

朱盧²¹陀 (350a27, 350b21, 350b24; *Cūḷa*-(*Kokana*)*dā*?) / Skt. *cūḍa*-, Pa. *Cūḷa-Kokanadā* (e.g. SN I 30,18); cf. T 100 at T II 469a18: 拙羅(天女)

¹⁸ S, Y, M: 陀.

¹⁹ Cf. Bingenheimer 2020: 807, note 73.

²⁰ Shg: 濫.

²¹ S: 虐, Y, M, Shg: 盧.

朱盧²² (350b3; *Cūḷa*- [= Pa.]) / Skt. *cūḍa*-, Pa. *Cūḷa*-(*Kokanadā*)
-*lh*- (< OIA -*dh*-)

阿羅 (351c23; *ālha*- [= Pa.]) / ≠ Skt. *āḍhaka*; = Pa. *ālha*ka (a
measure of capacity)

-*l*- (< OIA -*d*-)

那梨迦 (217b14; **Nālikā* or **Nāḷikā*) / BHS = SWTF = Pa. *Nādikā*,
Pa. *Ñātikā* (SN V 356,20)

那利伽 (245b2; **Nālikā* or **Nāḷikā*) BHS = SWTF = Pa. *Nādikā*,
Pa. *Ñātikā* (SN V 356,20)

那梨 (85c17, 235c27, 270c12; **Nāli*- or **Nāḷi*-) BHS = SWTF =
Pa. *Nādikā*, Pa. *Ñātikā* (SN V 356,20)

-*v*- (< OIA -*p*-)?

難提婆 (s.e. for 波?) 羅 (159c3; **Nandīvā*- or *Nandīpa* [波]) /
SBV II 22,14: *Nandīpāla*; cf. T 100 at T II 442c26: 難提婆

-*v*- (< OIA -*m*-)

耶符那 (113c28), 耶菩那 (215a18), 耶扶那 (224b23f), 耶蒲那 (262a26)
(**Yavunā*)²³ / Skt. = Pa. *Yamunā*; Pkt. *Jauṇā*

低彌羅 (243b18, 243c29; **Timirā*) / Pa. *Tivarā*, v.l. *Tīvarā* (SN II
191,1, 193,9); cf. T 100 at T II 488c12, 489a28: 帝彌羅 (**Timirā*)

Gandhari -*śp*- (< OIA -*śv*-)? or Skt. -*śv*- (波 is s.e. for 婆 or confused with 婆)

毘濕波 (120b17; *viśpa* [= Ga.] or *viśva*) / *viśva* (Śbh II 76,18); not
in SN IV 218,9

毘濕波 (271b5; *Viśpa* [= Ga.] or *Viśva*) / Skt. *Viśva*(*deva*), ≠ AN
V 263,9: *aggi*-

²² S: 虐; Y, M, Shg: 盧.

²³ Cf. the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* in Karashima 2012: § 26.1 [T 1425
at T XXII 506b13: 遙浮那(河)] and Karashima 1994: 222 [Z. 310]: 耶婆
那; compare also the form *Jawn*, which Al-Bīrūnī heard and wrote down
in ca. AD 1000 (Chatterji 1936: 460).

毘濕波浮 (101b5, 101c18, 121c10; **Viśpabhū* or *Viśvabhū* [= BHS = SWTF]) / Pa. *Vessabhu*
阿濕波他 (190a21; **aśpattha* or *aśvattha* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *assattha*
伊濕波羅 (236a16; *Īspara* [Ga.] or *Īśvara* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *Issara*
Gandhari *sp-* (< OIA *sv-*)? or Skt. *sv-* (波 is s.e. for or confused with 婆)
悉波呵 (61b22; **spāha* or *svāhā* [= Skt.])

II.3 Irregular Developments

-n- < -d-

僇牟尼 (369c4; **kaumunī*, **kom°*) / Skt. *kaumudī*, BHS *kaumu-dika*, *kaumodī*, Pa. *komudī*, cf. T 100 at T II 491b11: 拘蜜提

m- < b- or v-

摩鳩羅 (362a29, 362b9, 362b15, 362b25; **Makkula*) / BHS = Pa. *Bakkula*, *Vakkula*; cf. T 100 at T II 480b23, 480c18: 薄俱羅 (*Bakkula*, *Vakkula*)

**saryathāṭaka* < *saryathā* ?

薩羅多吒迦 (113c27), 薩羅多吒伽 (224b23) (**saryathāṭaka*??) / Pa. *seyyathīdam* / BHS *saryathāpi*, *seyyathāpi* / BS *saryathīdam*, *saryyathīdam*²⁴

II.4 Underlying Language(s) of T 99

It may be preliminarily concluded that the Indic original of T 99, recited by Guṇabhadra and translated by Baoyun and Fayong around AD 435/436, might have been greatly sanskritised, though containing sporadic instances of Middle-Indic developments, such as -l- or -l- < OIA -ṭ-, -ḍ-, -d-.

²⁴ Cf. Skilling 1992: 152, von Simson 1997: 593 and Karashima 2001: 208–209.

According to my previous research, the Indic original of the *Madhyama-āgama* (now T 26, which was translated in AD 397/398) seems to have been also highly Sanskritised, though containing elements of Gandhari and other Prakrits (Karashima 2017).

Thus, these two Chinese translations of collections transmitted by the same (broadly intended) Sarvāstivāda tradition were greatly sanskritised. However, the *Samyukta-āgama* was apparently far more sanskritised than the *Madhyama-āgama*.

III. Survey of Transliterations Found in T 100

III.1 Readings of T 100 vis-à-vis Sanskrit and Pali Texts

Where there are discrepancies between readings in the Pali texts and Sanskrit ones, T 100 reads principally along the same lines as the Sanskrit one. For example:

求惠(EH tək > MC tək) (382c10, 382c16; **Gotik-*, *Gautik-*); = BS *Gautika* (Abhidh-k-bh 376,5); ≠ Pa. *Godhika*

舍脂 (384c27, 389b21; *Śaci[pati]* [= Skt.]); ≠ Pa. *Sujam(pati)*

公(MC kuŋ)(←瓮)²⁵寔(MC źjək)迦 (430c10; *Kuñjika* [= SWTF]); ≠ SWTF *Guñjaka*, ≠ Pa. *Giñjaka*

群(EH gun > MC gjwən)寔(MC źjək)迦 (444a5f, b24; *Guñjaka* [= SWTF]); ≠ Pa. *Giñjaka*

舍羅 (434c25; *Śara-*); = BS **Śarapāṇi*;²⁶ ≠ Pa. *Saraṇā* (SN V 390,5), *Sarakāṇi*, *Saraṇāṇi* (SN V 375,1, 378,1)

²⁵ S, Y: 瓮; M: 甕.

²⁶ Cf. Honjō 2014: II 751, note 2, *mda' lag* = *Śarapāṇi*. Cf. T 100 at T II 434a12: 龜手(?-*pāṇi*); T 99 at T II 239c23f: 百手 (**Śatapāṇi*).

跋直 (442c7; *Bhadrik-*) = BHS *Bhadrika*; ≠ Pa. *Bhaddiya* (SN I 35,11, v.l. *Bhaddika-*)

婆耆奢 (463b19, 456b26; *Vāgīśa* [= BHS = SWTF]); ≠ Pa. *Vaṅṅīsa*

摩樓多 (479b28, 482a9; *mālutā* [= BHS]); ≠ BHS = Pa. *māluvā* (SN I 207,1);²⁷ Skt. = BHS *mālu*

However, there are cases where readings of T 100 agree with the Pali texts, while differing from Sanskrit ones. For example:

薄(EH bak > MC bâk)迦梨 (431a7; *Vakkali* [= Pa.]); ≠ BHS = SWTF *Vālkali*; cf. T 99 at T II 267b8, 346b8: 跋迦梨 (*Vālkali*)

羅吒 (439b16, 443a3; *raṭṭha* [= Pa.]); ≠ Skt. *rāṣṭra*-(vant) = Pa. *raṭṭha*-(vant) (SN I 15,20); cf. T 99 at T II 156b18: 賴吒槃提(*rāṣṭravant*)

毘陀羅 (464a3; *vedalla* [Pa.]); ≠ Skt. *vedāṅga*

III.2 Sanskritisms

There are numerous instances which show sanskritisation of the underlying text of T 100. For example:

-k- is retained

瞿迦梨 (411b28, 411c1, 470a15, etc.; *Kokāli-*) / BHS = SWTF = Pa. *Kokālika*

婆迦 (412a5 *Baka* [= BHS = Skt. = Pa.])

那提迦 (430c10 *Nādikā* [= BHS = SWTF = Pa.])

公(←瓮)寔迦 (430c10; *Kuñjika* [= SWTF])

群寔迦 (444a5f, 444b24; *Guñjaka* [= SWTF])

具迦那提 (448a25; *Kokanad-*), 俱迦那 (448b12f, 453b19; *Kokana-*) / BHS = SWTF *Kokanada*, Pa. *Kokanuda*, v.l. °*nada*

²⁷ Cf. Lüders 1954: § 91.

-c- is retained

毘婁支 (390a25, 390b9; *Viroci-*) / Skt. *Virocana*, BHS = SWTF *Vai-rocana*, Pa. *Verocana*

蒲(EH ba > MC buo)盧旃 (436a21, 436a28; *Vairocan-*) / BHS = SWTF *Vairocana*, Pa. *Veroca*²⁸

優²⁹波折羅 (455c24, 456a9; *Upacālā* [= SWTF = Pa.], 憂³⁰波折羅 (456b22; *Upacālā*)

-j- is retained

婆羅婆寔(EH džik > MC źjək) (390c1; **Bhāra(d)vājak-*), 婆羅突邏闍 (400c12f, 401b13, 402b8, etc.; **Bhāradrāja?*), 婆羅闍 (406a23f; **Bhāra(dvā)ja?*), 豆羅闍 (466b19; **(Bhāra)drāja?*) / BHS = SWTF *Bhāradvāja*, Pa. *Bhāra*^o

毘禪延 (386c13, 387a6; *Vejayan-*, *Vaij*^o) / BHS = SWTF *Vaijayanta*; Pa. *Vejayanta*

毘闍耶 (455b3, 455b7; *Vijayā* [= SWTF = Pa.])

-ṭ- is retained

波吒羅 (396c10; *pāṭala* [= Skt. = Pa.]), 芭吒羅 (396c10; *pāṭala*)

阿(←呵)吒吒 (470b15; *Aṭaṭa* [= BHS = SWTF = Pa.])

-t- is retained

求惠 (EH tək > MC tək) (382c10, 382c16; *Gautika* [= BS])³¹ / Pa. *Godhika*

阿闍多 (391c14f, 413b29; *Ajita* [= Skt. = Pa.])

²⁸ DN II 259,11; Akanuma 1967 [1931]: 75a, s.v. *Bali*; Malalasekera 1960 [1937–1938], s.v. *Veroca*.

²⁹ S, Y, M: 憂.

³⁰ S, Y, M, Shg: 優.

³¹ *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* at Abhidh-k-bh 376,5, note 4; cf. Honjō 2014: II 767.

摩樓多 (479b28, 482a9; *mālutā* [= BHS]) / BHS = Pa. *māhuvā* (SN I 207,1)³²

-*th-* is retained

彌絺(EH ʈʰi > MC ʈʰi)羅 (405b3; *Mithilā* [= Skt. = Pa.])

-*d-* is retained

鋸無提 (400b14; *kaumudī*, *kom°*), 俱蜜³³頭 (483b6, 483b28; **kau-*
muḍo, *kom°*), 拘蜜³⁴提 (491b11; **kaumīdī*, *kom°*) / Skt. *kaumudī*,
BHS *kaumudika*, *kaumodī*, Pa. *komudī*

比提鹽牟尼 (418a17, 418a21; **Videhi/e muni*) / Skt. **Videha-muni*
(epithet of Ānanda)

那提迦 (430c10; *Nādikā* [= BHS = SWTF = Pa.] cf. T 99 at T II
217b14: 那梨迦 (**Nālikā*)

那提 (444a5, 444b24; *Nādi-*) [= BHS = SWTF = Pa.): cf. T 99 at
T II 244c24: 那梨 (**Nāli-*), 245b2: 那利伽 (**Nālikā*)

-*p-* is retained

高波那寫³⁵ (396c4; *gopānasī* [= BHS = SWTF = Pa.])

優³⁶北(EH pək > MC pək)伽 (404a28; *Upaga* [= BHS = SWTF]) /
BHS = Pa. *Upaka*

優波摩那 (407b15; *Upamāna* [= BHS = SWTF] / Pa. *Upavāna*, °*āṇa*)

-ś-, -ṣ- and -s- are distinguished

-ś-

舍脂 (384c27, 389b21; *Śacī[pati]* [= Skt.]) / ≠ Pa. *Sujam(pati)*

末伽梨俱睺梨 (391c13f, 413b28; *Maskarī Gośālī-* [= BHS]) / Pa.
Makkhali Gosāla

³² Cf. Lüders 1954: § 91.

³³ S, Y, M: 密.

³⁴ S, Y, M: 密.

³⁵ Y, M, Shg.: 羅.

³⁶ S, Y, M: 憂.

儻³⁷(EH śaṃ > śjaṃ)那 (418c10; *śāṇa* [= Skt.]) / Pa. *sāṇa* (SN II 221,15)
 舍羅 (434c25; *Śāra-*); = BS **Śarapāṇi*;³⁸ ≠ Pa. *Saraṇā* (SN V 390,5),
Sarakāṇi, *Saraṇāṇi*
 輸波羅 (440a3, 443a4; **Śūpāra-*) / Skt. *Śūrpāraka*, BHS *Supāraka*,
Sopāraka, Pa. *Suppāraka*
 翅舍 (454a19, 454a23; **kiśā*) / ≠ Skt. *kṛśā* (Gautamī), ≠ Pa. *kisā*
 (Gotamī); cf. T 99 at T II 73c14,³⁹ 326b16: 吉離舍 (*kṛśā*)

-s-

須尸摩 (477b5, 477b15; *Susīma* [= Skt.]⁴⁰), 須深⁴¹摩 (478c5; *Su-*
śīma) / BHS = Pa. *Susīma* (v.l. *Susima*); SWTF. *Suśīma*

consonant + r

-tr- (< MI -tt-)

闍提弗多羅 (391c15f; *J(ñ)ātīputra*) / BHS *Jñātīputra*, Pa. *Nāta-*
putta or *Nātha*^o; cf. T 99 at T II 317b13: 闍提弗多羅

-dr- (< MI -dd-)

須跋陀羅 (413b6f, 453b18+21; *Subhadra* [= BHS = SWTF] / Pa.
Subhadda

r + sibilant

-rṣ- (< MI -ss-)?

拔⁴²師 (377a4; *vārṣi-* or **vaṣṣa-*) / BHS = SWTF *vārṣikā*, Pa. *vassika*

consonant + nasal

jñ- (< MI *ñ-*)?

³⁷ S, Y, M: 儻.

³⁸ Cf. Honjō 2014: II 751, note 2, *mda' lag* = *Śarapāṇi*. Cf. T 100 at T II 434a12: 龜手 (?-*pāṇi*); T 99 at T II 239c23f: 百手 (**Śatapāṇi*).

³⁹ 告難舍 is a scribal error for 吉離舍.

⁴⁰ Cf. Monier-Williams 1899, s.v. *susīma*.

⁴¹ M: 尸.

⁴² Y, M: 跋.

闍提弗多羅 (391c15f; 413c1; **J(ñ)ātiputra*), 闍提 (413c1; **J(ñ)āti-*) /
BHS *Jñātiputra*, Pa. *Nātaputta*, *Nātha*^o

-*l-* + nasal

-*lm-* (< MI -*mm-*)

拔彌 (381a18; *valmī-*) / Skt. *valmīka*, ≠ Pa. *vammīka*

nasal + consonant

-*ṅk-* is retained

朋迦 (488c23; *Vanka* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Vankaka*

sibilant + *y*

-*ṣy-* (< MI -*ss-*)?

室師 (EH ṣi > MC ṣi) (375b22, 375b26, etc.; **Tiṣṣa* or *Tiṣya* [= BHS = SWTF]) / Pa. *Tissa*

III.3 Prakritisms

There are quite a few instances which show that the original text of T 100 contained Prakritisms. For example:

i (< OIA *ṛ*)

翹舍 (454a19, 454a23; **kiśā*) / ≠ Skt. *krśā* (Gautamī), ≠ Pa. *kisā* (Gotamī); cf. T 99 at T II 73c14,⁴³ 326b16: 吉離舍(*krśā*)

-*g-* (< OIA -*k-*)?

舍樓伽 (452b21; **śālūga*) / Skt. *śālūka*, BHS = SWTF *śāluka*, Pa. *sālūka*

-*j-* (< OIA -*c-*)?

婆耆半闍 (488c12, 488c18, 489a28; **Pājī-vaṃja*?) / Skt. *Prācīna-vaṃśa*; Pa. *Pācīnavamśa*

⁴³ 告難舍 is a scribal error for 吉離舍.

-ḷ- or -l- (< OIA -ḍ-)

拔⁴⁴利 (390a26; *Bali* [= Skt., Pa.]), 婆梨 (391b29; *Bali*), 跋羅 (436a21, 436a28; **Bala*) / BHS = SWTF *Baḍi*; cf. T 99 at T II 155a22, 296b27: 婆稚 (*Baḍi*)

毘婆陵伽 (442c25; *Vebhaliṅga* [= Pa.]) / BHS *Vebhaḍiṅga*; SBV II 22,1: *Vaibhiḍiṅgī*, SN I 35,26. *Vehaliṅga* (v.l. *Vebhaliṅga*)

拙羅 (469a18, 469a24, etc.; *Cūla*, *Cūla*) / ≠ Skt. *cūḍa-*, = Pa. *Cūla-* (*Kokanadā*)

-ḷh- (< OIA -ḍh-)?

波利蛇(MC jie)迦 (485c6; **Pālhey yakā*?) / ≠ SN II 187,8, *Paveyyakā* (read *Pāve*^o) ≡ v.l. *Pāḷhey yakā*;⁴⁵ cf. T 99 at T II 240b13: 波梨耶

-v- (< OIA -p-)?

難提婆(s.e. for 波?) (442c26; **Nandīvā-* or *Nandīpa* [波]) / SBV II 22,14. *Nandīpāla*; cf. T 99 at T II 159c3: 難提婆(s.e. for 波?)羅 (**Nandīvā-* or *Nandīpa* [波])

多跋(bat > MC bwât) (448a23; **Tavad-*?) / BHS = Pa. *Tapodā*; cf. T 99 at T II 248b12: 楡補 (*Tapo-*), 281c4: 搗補 (*Tapo-*)

-j- (< OIA -y-)

竭闍 (408c4, 408c14; **Gajā*) / Skt. = Pa. *Gayā*; cf. T 99 at T II 321b5: 伽耶 (*Gayā*)

-m- (< OIA -v-)

帝彌羅 (488c12, 489a28; **Timirā*) / Pa. *Tivarā*, v.l. *Tīvarā* (SN II 191,1, 193,9); cf. T 99 at T II 243b18, 243c29: 低彌羅 (**Timirā*)

-gg- (< OIA -gr-)

僧鉗 (376b22; *Samgām-*) / Skt. *Samgrāmajit*, Pa. *Samgāma(ji)*; cf. T 99 at T II 278b12: 僧迦藍 (*Samgrāma*)

⁴⁴ Y, M: 跋.

⁴⁵ Cf. Akanuma 1967 [1931]: 499ab and Santuṭṭho 2013: 628–629.

尼瞿陀劫波 (463a25, 463a27; **Niggodhakappa*, *°*kalpa*), 尼瞿
陀劫賓 (463b8, 463c24f; **Niggodhakappa*, *°*kalpa*) / Skt. **Nya-*
grodhakalpa,⁴⁶ Pa. *Nigrodhakappa*; cf. T 99 at T II 333a4, 333a16:
尼拘律想 (**Nigrodh(a)-kalpa*)

p- (< OIA *pr-*)

鉢健提 (408c6; *pakkhandī* [= Pa.]) / Skt. *praskandin*, Pa. *pakkhandin*

-ṅ- (< OIA *-ṅk-*)?

朋伽迦 (489a28; **Vanṅaka*) / BHS *Vanṅa*, Pa. *Vanṅaka*

-ñj- (< OIA *-ñc-*)

般闍羅 (477a21, 478c4; **Pañjāla*) / Skt. = Pa. *Pañcāla*

-ndh- (< OIA *-nth-*)

乾陀 (390c2; *-gandha*) / BHS = SWTF *Nirgrantha*, Pa. *Nigaṇṭha*

-mm- (< OIA *-mb-*) (= Dhp-G^K, Niya documents)

閻無 (422c19; **jammu*) / Skt. = Pa. *jambu*; cf. T 99 at T II 229c4:

閻浮 (*jambu*)

劍摩耆 (440c17; **Kammoji-*) / BS *Kāambojikā* (SBV I 168,20 =
Śay-v 16,11); cf. T 99 at T II 158a10: 金菩闍 (*Kamboja*)

-ṇṇ- (< OIA *-rṇ-*)

富(EH *pu-* > MC *pjəu*)那 (447c18; *Puṇṇa-*), 富匿 (463b29; *Puṇṇak-*),

分匿 (453b19; *Puṇṇak-*) / BHS *Pūrṇaka*, Pa. *Puṇṇaka*

-ry- is retained? or *-riy-* (< OIA *-ry-*)

阿梨耶 (454a2f; *ariye* [= Pa.] or *ārye* [= Skt.]), 阿利耶 (455c6,
456a4; *ariye* [= Pa.] or *ārye* [= Skt.])

-vv- (< OIA *-dv-*)?

婆羅婆寔(EH *džik* > MC *žjək*) (390c1; **Bhāra(v)vājak(a)*) / BHS
= SWTF *Bhāradvāja*, Pa. *Bhāra*^o

⁴⁶ Cf. SHT VII 59 and 60 note 6.

-kk- (< OIA -lk-)

薄(EH bak > MC bâk)迦梨 (431a7; *Vakkali* [= Pa.]); ≠ BHS = SWTF *Vālkali*; cf. T 99 at T II 267b8, 346b8: 跋迦梨 (*Vālkali*)

-ll- (< OIA -lv-)

優樓頻螺 (377a26, 410a3, 422c19; *Uruvellā* [= Merv-av]), 優⁴⁷樓比螺 (383a19; *Uruvellā* or *Uruvelā* [= Pa.]) / Pa. *Uruvelā*, BHS *Uruvilvā*, SWTF *Urubilvā*

毘梨 (470a24; *bill-*) / ≠ Skt. *bilva*, = Pa. *billa* (SN I 150,3)

-śp- (< OIA -śv-) (Gandhari)?

頗(EH phai > phwâ; probably s.e. for 阿)⁴⁸發(EH puat > pjwet)耆 (463b12; **Āspaji*) / BHS = SWTF *Āśvajit*, Pa. *Assaji*

-sp- (< OIA -sv-) (Gandhari)?

娑([= v.l.]←婆)鉢提 (408c4; *-*spatī*?) / Skt. *Sarasvatī*, Pa. *Sara-ssatī*, cf. T 99 at T II 321b5: 薩羅 (*Sara[svatī]*)

-ṇṇ- (< OIA -ṣṇ-)

毘紐(v.l. 紐) (477a11, 478c4; *Veṇṇu* [= Pa.] or *Veṇhu* [= Pa.]) / ≠ Skt. *Viṣṇu*; cf. T 99 at T II 358b15: 毘瘦紐 (*Viṣṇu*)

-tṭh- (< OIA -ṣṭr-)

羅吒 (439b16, 443a3; *raṭṭha*) / ≠ Skt. *rāṣṭravant* = Pa. *raṭṭhavant* (SN I 15,20); cf. T 99 at T II 156b18: 賴吒槃提 (*rāṣṭravant*)

III.4 Irregular Developments

A noteworthy example of irregular phonetic development found in T 100 is:

⁴⁷ S, Y: 憂; Shg.: 優樓.

⁴⁸ 阿 might have been miswritten as 𑖦, which could, then, have been replaced by its homophone 頗; cf. Karashima 1994: 175–176: 阿(←頗)濕波 (**Āspa*- < *Āśvaka* < *Āśmaka*).

-ṃś- > -ṃj-?

婆耆半闍 (488c12, 488c18, 489a28; **Pājī-vaṃja*?) / Skt. *Prācīna-vaṃśa*; Pa. *Pācīnavamsa*

In addition, there are many cases which show that the translator(s) of T 100 rendered -r- and -l- with Chinese -n-. These confusions might have resulted from the translator(s) speaking Chinese dialects which do not distinguish these sounds. For example:

-r / -n-

富蘭但那 (384c18f; **purandana*) / Skt. *puramdara*, Pa. *purin-dada*; cf. T 99 at T II 290c28: 富蘭陀羅

耆尼 (468b3, 468c28, 469a3; **Gini*) / Skt. *Giri*, Pa. (*Isi*)*gili*; cf. T 99 at T II 348c25: 山谷

-l- / -ṇ-, -n-

伊犁延 (439a2, 484b23; **eleyam*) / BHS *eneya*, BHS = Pa. *eṇī* (‘black antelope’); cf. T 99 at T II 366b27, 366c4: 伊尼延 (*eneyam*)

羅羅健⁴⁹陀 (418b9f; **Lālakanda*? [**Nālakanda* < *Nālandā* × *Nālaka*])⁵⁰ / BHS = Pa. *Nālandā*, Pa. *Nālaka*; cf. T 99 at T II 130c7f: 那羅撻陀

娑羅(s.e. for 尼?)乾陀 (464a2; **sa-laghaṇḍa*-) / BHS = SWTF *sa-nighaṇṭa*-(*kaiṭabha*-), *sa-nirgh*^o (BHSD, s.vv. *kaiṭabha*, *nighaṇṭa*), SWTF *sa-nighaṇṭu*-(*k*^o), SWTF *sa-nighaṇḍu-sa*-(*k*^o), Pa. *sa-nighaṇḍu*-(*ketubha*-) (e.g. Sn 1020, AN I 163,12) ‘together with lexicology (and the ritual science)’; cf. T 99 at T II 23c22: 悉了萬名曇摩尼(←尸) (479a1; **Dāmani*) / Pa. *Dāmali* (SN I 47,25, v.l.

⁴⁹ S, Y, M: 乾.

⁵⁰ Cf. 那羅健陀 (423b17, 424c14, 452c17; **Nālakanda*?) and 那羅乾陀 (424a5; **Nālakanda*?); BHS = Pa. *Nālandā*; cf. T 99 at T II 230b6, 230c16, 253a26: 那羅.

Dāmala); cf. T 99 at T II 360c4: 陀摩尼

優樓頻螺 (377a26, 410a3, 422c19; **Uruvenlā*) / *Uruvellā* (= Merv-av), Pa. *Uruvelā*, BHS *Uruvilvā*, SWTF *Urubilvā*

III.5 Underlying Language(s) of T 100

With a thorough analysis of the transliterations found in T 100 – of which I have surveyed selected examples in what precedes – it becomes apparent that the Indic original, which was probably translated by an unknown translator between AD 420 and 450, might have been sanskritised, though containing various features of Middle Indic (the date of the translation is discussed in section VI.4.2 below).

As already mentioned above, compared with T 99, T 100 retains more Middle Indic elements; in other words, its original text was less sanskritised. Although a few instances of features characteristic of Gandhari, such as *-mb-* > *-mm-* (this particular development being common only in Gandhari languages of the Gandhari *Dharmapada* from Khotan and Niya documents), *-śv-* > *-śp-* and *-sv-* > *-sp-*, are found in the Chinese translation, they are rather rare, sporadic and moreover dubious, and I do not think that the Indic original of this partial *Samyukta-āgama* was transmitted in Gandhari.

In short, the original text of T 100 seems to have been sanskritised to a certain degree, while retaining many Middle Indic forms other than Gandhari.

IV. Survey of Transliterations Found in T 101

The following eight transliterations are those which occur only in T 101 or presumably for the first time in the history of Chinese translations:

隴陽闍(s.e. for 羅?) (T 101 at T II 493c17, 494a15): ?, name of a brahmin youth; cf. T 100 at T II 465b7: 僧伽羅; T 99 at T II 25c3: 僧迦羅

優墮⁵¹羅 (494a18; *Uruvelā*) / BHS *Uruvilvā*, Pa *Uruvelā*, BS *Uruvellā* (Merv-av 35r3); cf. T 99 at T II 322a28: 鬱毘羅

尼(←屈)⁵²然 (494a18f; *Nairañ-*, *Nerañ-*) / BHS = SWTF *Nairañ-janā*, BHS *Nirañjanā*, Pa. *Nerañjarā*; cf. T 99 at T II 322a28: 尼連禪

尼拘類 (EH luis > MC ljwi-) (494a19; *nigrodh-* or **nigros-* [= Ga.]) / Skt. = Pa. *nigrodha*; cf. T 99 at T II 322a29: 菩提樹

俱披(s.e. for 波)犁 (494b23; **Kovāli-*⁵³ < *Kokāli-*) / BHS = SWTF = Pa. *Kokālika*; cf. T 100 at T II 411b28, 411c1, 470a15, etc.: 瞿迦梨; T 99 at T II 323b13, 351b13: 瞿迦梨

調達 (494b24; *Dev(a)datt(a)*) / BHS = SWTF = Pa. *Devadatta*; cf. T 100 at T II 411b28: 提婆達多; T 99 at T II 323b13: 提婆達多

俱譚 (EH dām > MC dām) (495a4; *Godam-* [= *Dhp-G^k*]) / BHS = SWTF = Pa. *Gotama*, Skt. *Gautama*; cf. T 100 at T II 401a15: 瞿曇; T 99 at T II 307c11: 瞿曇

阿遯輪 (498b26; *Asuren-*) / SWTF *Asurendra*, Pa. *Asurinda*, *Asurindaka*; cf. T 100 at T II 400a24: 阿脩羅鹽; T 99 at T II 306c27: 阿修羅

Among the form listed here, the transliterations 尼拘類 (**nigros-* < *nigrodha*), 俱波(←披)犁 (**Kovāli-* < *Kokāli-*) and 俱譚 (*Godam-* < *Gotama*) show that the original text of this Chinese translation could have contained Middle-Indic (especially Gandhari) elements.

⁵¹ S, Y, M: 隨.

⁵² S: 屋; Y, M: 尼.

⁵³ Cf. T 125 at T II 603b3f: 瞿波離 (*Kovāli-*); T 212 at T IV 664b6f, 665c4: 瞿波利 (*Kovāli-*); T 1464 at T XXIV 868b4: 瞿婆離 (*Kovāli-*).

V. Conclusion on the Underlying Languages of T 99, T 100 and T 101

From the above surveys of the transliterations found in the three Chinese translations of the *Saṃyukta-āgamas*, we may draw the following conclusions:

- The original Indic text of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, recited by Guṇabhadra and translated by Baoyun and Fayong, namely the *Za ahan jing* (T 99), could have been highly sanskritised, though retaining limited Middle Indic forms.
- The original Indic text of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* by an unknown translator, namely the *Bieyi za ahan jing* (T 100), must have been also sanskritised, but it might have retained more Middle Indic (Prakrit) forms than the previous one.
- The original Indic text of the partial Chinese translation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, probably by An Shigao with later revisions, namely the *Za ahan jing* (T 101), contained Middle Indic (especially Gandhari) elements.

VI. School Affiliations of the three *Saṃyukta-āgamas*

VI.1 T 99 and T 100 Belong to the Sarvāstivādins

Having investigated the records found in the *Chusanjangji ji* and other works, Enomoto Fumio 榎本 文雄 (2001) clarified that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* was recited by Guṇabhadra – who came from Central India (中天竺, Mathurā and its surrounding districts) and was ordained as a Sarvāstivāda monk – and translated by Baoyun and

Fayong around AD 435/436. Enomoto (2001) further argued that its original belonged to the Sarvāstivādins (or, more precisely, to the Mūlasarvāstivādins).

According to Theo Damsteegt's (1978: 207–208 and 265–266) analysis of the inscriptions from Mathurā, the Buddhist communities in that region introduced sanskritised linguistic features into their texts in the second century AD, which was connected with the arrival of the Kṣatrapas as well as the geographical position of Mathurā as the classical culture centre of the Āryāvarta. As a result, the language of the Buddhists in the Mathurā area also became gradually similar to classical Sanskrit.

The fact that the underlying language of the T 99 was apparently highly sanskritised lends support to Enomoto's (2001) Mūlsarvāstivāda ascription of T 99.

T 101, which was translated by An Shigao (a translator of many Sarvāstivāda texts among others) and underwent later revisions, might also belong to the Sarvāstivādins, as tentatively suggested by Paul Harrison (2002), who however cautions that it could also belong to an as yet unidentified school.

VI.2 Does T 100 Belong to the Sarvāstivādins?

Whereas the affiliations of T 99 and, to an extent, T 101 are not especially controversial, there are arguments concerning the school affiliation of the incomplete *Samyukta-āgama* translation that is now T 100. Based on its structure and underlying Indian language, Mizuno Kōgen 水野 弘元 (1970 [= 1996: 341–356]) suggested that T 100 might belong to the Dharmaguptakas or the Mahīśāsakas.

Enomoto (1980: 931) demonstrated that this *Āgama* cannot belong to the Dharmaguptakas, based on the fact that parallel verses

respectively found in T 100 and in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* (*Sifen lü* 四分律, T 1428) differ greatly, while he did not rule out the possibility of it belonging to the Mahīśāsakas.

In addition, Enomoto (1984: 101–102) assumed that this *Āgama* does not belong to the Mahīśāsakas, showing that the parallel verses found in T 100 and the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (T 1421) respectively, differ from one another. Marcus Bingenheimer (2011: 41–43) shares Enomoto’s 1984: 101–102 opinion. However, the difference is very minor, especially when we consider the fact that the Chinese translators of the *Vinaya* had to condense two *śloka pādas* into five Chinese characters, while the translators of T 100 used ten characters.⁵⁴ This example is, thus, not convincing.

Hiraoka Satoshi 平岡 聡 (2000 and 2003) then compared four stock phrases found in T 99, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and T 100, and pointed out that T 99 is closer to the Mūlasarvāstivāda than to the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. Although T 100 lacks parallels in two of the four cases he studied, Hiraoka (2000 and 2003) assumed that T 100 belongs to the Sarvāstivādins, which is difficult to understand. Here Bingenheimer (2011: 43–44) shares Hiraoka’s (2000 and 2003) opinion.

From the point of view of methodology, I find it is not adequate to compare stock phrases between T 100 and the Mūlasarvāstivāda and Sarvāstivāda *Vinayas* so as to then conclude that T 100 belongs to the Sarvāstivādins. There are hundreds such phrases which Bud-

⁵⁴ Enomoto 1984: 101–102 compared the following underlined passages, *Saṅghabhedā-vastu* at SBV II 29,17–19: *nakṣatrāṇām mukhaṃ candra ādityas tapatām mukham | ūrdhvaṃ tiryag adhaś cāpi yāvatī jagato gatiḥ | sadevakesu lokesu sambuddho hījyatām varaḥ*; T 100 at T II 391b21–24: 星辰諸宿中 月光名爲最 於衆明之中 日光最爲最 上下及四方 世間及天人 諸賢聖衆中 佛最第一尊; Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* at T 1421 at T XXII 2b10–11: 一切照明中 日月光爲最 天上天下中 佛福田爲最。

dhist texts mutually share, at times regardless of their affiliation. While the literature of the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins is relatively well handed down and better studied, that of other schools is rarer or less well studied. It is therefore only natural that many parallel phrases are to be found in the texts stemming from the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins. However, this does not mean that a certain text specifically belongs to these traditions.

VI.3 T 100 Cannot Belong to the Sarvāstivādins

As it is well known, while other schools transmitted a collection of verses known as *Dharmapada* (Pali *Dhammapada*), its counterpart compiled by the Sarvāstivādins is known as *Udāna* or *Udānavarga*, one of the most important and widely circulated scriptures among Buddhist monastics as well as lay followers.

According to a statement that recurs in a number of different texts of established Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda affiliation, monks recited passages from the *Udāna*, *Pārāyaṇa*, and *Satyadrś* as well as the *Śaila-gāthā*, *Muni-gāthā*, *Sthavira-gāthā*, *Sthavirī-gāthā* and the *Arthavargya-sūtras*.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ *Divyāvadāna* at Divy 20,23–24: *Udānāt Pārāyaṇāt Satyadr̥ṣṭaḥ Śailagāthā Munigāthā Arthavargyāṇi ca sūtrāṇi vistareṇa svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ karoti*; *Divyāvadāna* at Divy 34,29–35,1: *Udānāt Pārāyaṇāt Satyadr̥ṣṭaḥ Sthaviragāthāḥ Śailagāthā Munigāthā Arthavargyāṇi ca sūtrāṇi vistareṇa svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ kurvanti*; *Carma-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* at MSV IV 188,8–10: *Udānāt Pārāyaṇāt Satyadr̥ṣṭaḥ Śailagāthā-Munigāthā-Sthaviragāthā-Sthavirīgāthā Arthavargyāṇi ca sūtrāṇi vistareṇa svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ karoti* (reconstruction based on the Tibetan translation; cf. Clarke 2014: 41, 86v10 and Yao 2013: 53, note 1); *Adhikaraṇa-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* at Adhik-v 64,16–18: *Udānān Pārāyaṇān Satyadr̥ṣṭaḥ Sthaviragāthāḥ Sthavirīgāthāḥ Śaila-*

Accordingly, in T 99, which belongs to the Sarvāstivādins, we find a description that Anuruddha recited the *Udāna*, *Pārāyaṇa*, *Satyadrś*, *Sthavira-gāthā*, *Sthavirī-gāthā*, *Śaila-gāthā*, *Muni-gāthā* and the *Arthavargīya-sūtras* in the early morning.⁵⁷

In the parallel passage in the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya*, Anuruddha instead recited *dharmapadāni*.⁵⁸ Here it remains open to question whether here the *Dhammapada* as a collection is intended or else words, or verses, on the *Dhamma*.⁵⁹

In the T 100 parallel for the passage in question, Anuruddha recited the *Dharmapada*, *Pārāyaṇa* and *Sthavira-gāthā*.⁶⁰

Similarly, in T 100, we find a description of a Buddhist follower in a caravan who in the early morning recited the *Dharmapada*, *Pārāyaṇa* and other verses from various scriptures.⁶¹

Thus T 100 stands quite apart from the tradition represented by texts transmitted by the Sarvāstivādins. If the underlying Indic text

gāthā Munigāthā Arthavargīyāṇi vistareṇa svādhyāyitum ārabdhāḥ; Bhaiṣajya-vastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* in T 1448 at T XXIV 11b5–7: 彼諸商人晝夜常誦《唵陀南頌》、《諸上座頌》、《世羅尼頌》、《牟尼之頌》、《衆義經》等 (cf. Yao 2013: 53, note 1).

⁵⁷ T 99 at T II 362c9–12: 時尊者阿那律陀夜後分時，端身正坐，誦《憂陀那》、《波羅延那》、《見眞諦》、《諸上座所說偈》、《比丘尼所說偈》、《尸路偈》、《義品》、《牟尼偈》、修多羅 (read: 《牟尼偈》、《義品修多羅》)，悉皆廣誦。

⁵⁸ SN I 209,20: *Dhammapadāni bhāsati*.

⁵⁹ Cf. also Baba 2017: 160 [317] note 15.

⁶⁰ T 100 at T II 480c21–23: 時阿那律中夜早起，正身端坐，誦《法句偈》及《波羅延》、《大德之偈》。又復高聲誦習其義及修多羅等。

⁶¹ T 100 at T II 439c11–15: 時商估中，有優婆塞，……晨朝早起，正身端坐，繫念在前，高聲誦經，誦《法句偈》，及《波羅緣(v.l. 經)》，種種經偈; cf. the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* in T 1448 at T XXIV 11b5–7. The list of the recited scriptures is not found in the T 99 parallel at T II 156c, and this discourse has no parallel in the *Samyutta-nikāya*.

indeed featured a *Dharmapada* rather than an *Udāna*(*varga*), this represents an argument against the hypothesis of Sarvāstivāda affiliation of T 100. On the basis of the evidence presently available, there seems to be no indication that at any point in time the collection in question was known as *Dharmapada* also among the Sarvāstivādins, prior to being identified as *Udāna*(*varga*), thus I conclude that this occurrence can be taken as a mark of school affiliation.

VI.4 T 100 Belongs to the Mahīśāsakas

An often-quoted passage in Faxian's 法顯 (AD 337–422) travelogue, the *Gaoseng faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (T 2085) contains a reference to a *Samyukta-āgama* manuscript.⁶²

法顯住此國二年。更求得彌沙塞律藏本。得《長阿含》、《雜阿含》。復得一部《雜藏》。此悉漢土所無者。得此梵本已，即載商人大船上可有二百餘人。

Faxian stayed in this country (i.e., Sri Lanka) for two years. He further sought to obtain a text of the *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas. He obtained the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama*. He also obtained one set of the **Kṣudraka-piṭaka*.⁶³ None of these existed in China. Having obtained

⁶² T 2085 at T LI 865c24–27.

⁶³ Cf. T 1421 at T XXII 191a23–29: 此是長經，今集爲一部，名《長阿含》。此是不長不短，今集爲一部，名爲《中阿含》。此是雜說爲比丘、比丘尼、優婆塞、優婆夷、天子、天女說，今集爲一部名《雜阿含》。此是從一法增至十一法，今集爲一部名《增一阿含》。自餘雜說今集爲一部，名爲《雜藏》。合名爲修多羅藏。The *Chusanjangji ji* states that Faxian translated “the **Kṣudraka-piṭaka-sūtra*, one fascicle” (T 2145 at T LV 12a2: 雜藏經一卷). This text exists as T 745 and consists of seventeen stories about *pretas*; other stories about a female god; a god who was reborn in heaven through the merit of washing the robes of Śāriputra; a god from whose fingers

these Brāhmī texts, he then boarded a big merchant ship with about more than two hundred people on it.

While the *Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 of Sengyou 僧祐, composed between AD 510–518, remains silent about what happened to the *Samyukta-āgama* manuscript, Fei Changfang's 費長房 *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (T 2034), composed in AD 597/598, states that the *Za ahan jing* translated by Guṇabhadra and Baoyun (now T 99) was made from the *Samyukta-āgama* manuscript which Faxian had brought back.⁶⁴ The information provided by the *Lidai sanbao ji* is often groundless. For example, whereas the *Chusanzangji ji* attributes thirty-four texts to An Shigao, the *Lidai sanbao ji* increases the number to 176 by adding translations by anonymous translators as if An Shigao's works. The passage in question is as follows:

《雜阿含經》五十卷 於瓦官寺譯。法顯齋來。見道慧《宋齊錄》。

Samyukta-āgama – fifty fascicles, translated at the Wagan temple. Faxian brought back (the original manuscript). Seen in Daohui's 道慧 Song-Qi 宋齊 Catalogue.

Later catalogues simply followed the description in the *Lidai sanbao ji*. However, as Enomoto (2001: 32–34) pointed out, the existence of Daohui's 道慧 Song-Qi Catalogue (宋齊錄), on which the above-quoted information is based, is dubious and hence, this piece of information itself is doubtful.

poured ambrosia; and a story of King Udrāyaṇa which ends abruptly. Presumably, the original manuscript was a mixture of short scriptures, such as the *Preta-vastu* (Pa. *Peta-vatthu*), *Vimāna-vastu* (Pa. *Vimāna-vatthu*) and the **Udrāyaṇa-avadāna*.

⁶⁴ T 2034 at T XLIX 91a24.

I shall now return to the *Samyukta-āgama* manuscript that Faxian obtained in Sri Lanka. When Faxian wrote about the manuscripts of different provenances which he had obtained in India, he also described their affiliations as follows:⁶⁵

從彼波羅捺國東行還到巴連弗邑。法顯本求戒律。而北天竺諸國皆師師口傳無本可寫。是以遠涉乃至中天竺。於此摩訶衍僧伽藍得一部律。是摩訶僧祇衆律。佛在世時最初大衆所行也。於祇洹精舍傳其本。自餘十八部各有師資。大歸不異。然小小不同。或用開塞。但此最是廣說備悉者。復得一部抄律可七千偈。是薩婆多衆律。即此秦地衆僧所行者也。亦皆師師口相傳授，不書之於文字。復於此衆中得《雜阿毘曇心》可六千偈。又得一部經二千五百偈。又得一卷《方等般泥洹經》可五千偈。又得摩訶僧祇阿毘曇。故法顯住此三年，學梵書、梵語，寫律。

From that country of Vārāṇasī, he went east back to Pāṭali-putra. Faxian 法顯 originally sought the *Vinaya* (texts), but, in the countries of North India, they had been transmitted orally from master to master and (therefore) there was no text to be copied. That is why he went so far, until he came to Central India (*Madhyadeśa*), where he obtained a *Vinaya* text in a Mahāyāna *saṅghārāma* (i.e., monastery). That was the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṅghikas, which the whole Community had followed, from the beginning (of its history), when the Buddha was still alive in the world. Its original text had been handed down in the Jetavana Monastery. The other eighteen schools have their own traditions, which are essentially the same and do not differ from one another. There are, however, minor differences, some of which re-

⁶⁵ T 2085 at T LI 864b16–29.

sulted from adopting and rejecting (aspects of the *Vinaya*). However, this (i.e., the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṅghikas) is the most detailed and complete. He also acquired an excerpt of a *Vinaya*, comprising of (a number of characters corresponding to) about seven thousand (*śloka*-) verses (i.e., $32 \text{ characters} \times 7,000 = 224,000 \text{ characters}$); this is the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāsti-(vādins), which monks in China are following. (This text) has been handed down also from master to master orally, (and) had never been written down in letters. Furthermore, he obtained the **Samyukta-abhidharma-hṛdaya*[-*śāstra*] 雜阿毘曇心[論], comprising about six thousand verses (i.e., $32 \text{ characters} \times 6,000 = 192,000 \text{ characters}$) in the same community; he acquired one scripture, comprising two thousand five hundred verses (i.e., $32 \text{ characters} \times 2,500 = 80,000 \text{ characters}$) too; he acquired also the *Vaitulya-Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* (i.e., the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*), comprising about five thousand verses (i.e., $32 \text{ characters} \times 5,000 = 160,000 \text{ characters}$); he obtained the *Abhidharma*(*piṭaka*?) of the Mahāsāṅghikas as well. Hence, Faxian remained there for three years (and) learnt the *Brahma* script, the *Brahma* language and copied the *Vinaya* (texts).

A key consideration here is that if the *Samyukta-āgama*, which Faxian had obtained in Sri Lanka, actually belonged to the Sarvāstivādins, it is somewhat surprising that he did not refer to this school's name in the above-quoted description of how he acquired the manuscripts in Sri Lanka. However, if we carefully read the passage in question, we find that Faxian may have implicitly referred to the school affiliation of this text, along the following lines:

Faxian ... further (i.e., except for the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṅghikas which he had already acquired in Pāṭaliputra)

sought to obtain a text of the *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas (and obtained it). He obtained the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama*, and also obtained one set of the **Kṣudraka-piṭaka* (of the same school).

That is, at this point Faxian has already obtained the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṅghikas, acquired in Pāṭaliputra. He was also able to acquire the *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas he had sought to obtain. Thus, it is quite probable that the *Samyukta-āgama* manuscript he obtained in Sri Lanka also belonged to the Mahīśāsakas. Although the text does not spell it out clearly, the context suggests that the set of the **Kṣudraka-piṭaka* belonged to the same school, namely the Mahīśāsaka. The Mahīśāsakas are in fact known to be among the schools that transmitted a *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* or a *Kṣudraka-āgama* (Lamotte 1957).

The Sarvāstivādins were at the time flourishing throughout the Northern and North-western regions of India as well as Central Asia, but their presence is not epigraphically attested in Sri Lanka (Bechert 1976: 35) and South India. Instead, a Mahīśāsaka presence is attested. At the beginning of the Pali *Jātaka* commentary, the *Jātaka-nidāna*,⁶⁶ the author states that he compiled this work at the request of the three eminent monks Atthadassin, Buddhamitta and Buddhadeva, the last of whom was a member of the Mahīśāsaka / Mahīśāsaka school. The doctrine of this school is also referred to in the fifth-century Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* commentary by Buddhaghosa.⁶⁷

It is therefore probable and somewhat natural that the *Āgama* texts that Faxian acquired in Sri Lanka at the beginning of the fifth century (AD 409–411) all belonged to the Mahīśāsaka school.

⁶⁶ Traditionally this text is ascribed to Buddhaghosa, which is doubted on stylistic and other grounds; cf. Gaffney 2018: xxix–xxx.

⁶⁷ For further information, see Bechert 1955–1957: 343, 1976: 35, 1982: 75–76 and 2005: 45; von Hinüber 1985: 60; Silk 2002: 148.

According to the *Chusanzangji ji*, among the four manuscripts acquired in Sri Lanka, he himself translated the **Kṣudraka-piṭaka* into Chinese as the *Zazang* [jing] 雜藏[經] (T 745), while he did not translate the other three, namely the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama*.⁶⁸ The *Vinaya* was translated by Buddhajīva from Kashmir and Zhisheng 智勝 from Khotan in AD 424, soon after Faxian's death (ca. AD 422).⁶⁹

The *Dīrgha-āgama* seems not to have been translated probably because by that time a *Dīrgha-āgama* had already been translated into Chinese (now T 1), which was translated in AD 413 by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念, on the basis of a Prakrit original of Dharmaguptaka affiliation recited by Buddhayaśas.

There is no reliable information about what happened to the *Samyukta-āgama* manuscript. As seen above, this manuscript most probably belonged to the Mahīśāsaka school, judging from the description given by Faxian himself.

Mizuno (1970 [= 1996: 341–356]) assumed that T 100 belonged to the Mahīśāsaka school, based on its structure and the underlying Indic language;⁷⁰ he also pointed out agreements of content between T 100 and the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, among which the fact that the order of the listing of the twelve *aṅgas* of the teachings in T 100 almost agrees with that in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, while differing considerably from that of the Sarvāstivādins.

My analysis of the transliterations found in T 100 shows that its original text was much less sanskritised than T 99, while retaining Middle Indic forms other than the dialect of North-Western India, namely Gandhari.

⁶⁸ T 2145 at T LV 12a4–14.

⁶⁹ T 1422 at T XXII 194b22–28 = T 2145 at T LV 21a25–b1.

⁷⁰ Mizuno's (1970 [= 1996: 341–356]) arguments are summarised well in Bingenheimer 2011: 32–40.

All these elements seem to indicate that T 100 may well have been translated from the manuscript which Faxian brought back from Sri Lanka, and that it belonged to the Mahīśāsaka school.

This intriguing hypothesis cannot be proven. In particular, if T 100 is the text brought by Faxian, it remains to be explained why only the first part was translated or the rest of the translation was lost (as presently extant in the received collection, T 100).

In conclusion, irrespective of the identification of Faxian's manuscript, the Mahīśāsaka affiliation of T 100 I propose here rests on the ground of internal evidence, namely, linguistic features and school-specific nomenclature.

As regards the significance of sanskritisation – or lack thereof – it needs to be taken into account that, generally speaking, sanskritization is in some contexts a relatively gradual process, whereas in other contexts it can take place in a shorter span of time. Thus, the fact that T 100 is not Sanskritised to the same degree observed in T 99 is not in and of itself a decisive argument for school affiliation.

The argument becomes decisive only if one hypothesizes that T 99 and T 100 stem from distinct lineages of transmission that had already separated early on. My present understanding concurs with this hypothesis, namely that T 99 and T 100 became separated early on during the stage of oral transmission in India.

The Mahīśāsaka school is considered to have originated from the Sarvāstivādins or vice versa (e.g., Tsukamoto 1980: 496). These two schools were thus closely related, so it is unsurprising that the two *Samyukta-āgamas* that are now the *Za ahan jing* (T 99) and the *Bieyi za ahan jing* (T 100) have many aspects in common, though still differing considerably. The history and doctrines of the Mahīśāsakas are not well studied because of the lack of texts identified as belonging to this school.

Close comparison of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* of the Sarvāstivādins (T 99) and the partial *Saṃyukta-āgama* of the Mahīśāsakas (T 100) is a necessary and especially important task. Most of the past research on this topic has been focused on the similarities between these two collections. However, differences between them are potentially much more significant, because they might reflect less obvious discrepancies between the textual transmissions of two closely related schools.

VI.4.1 Survey of Transliterations Found in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*

If T 100, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* and the *Zazang jing* all belong to the Mahīśāsaka school and were translated from the manuscripts which Faxian acquired in Sri Lanka at the beginning of the fifth century, their underlying language(s) are expected to present similar features. As the *Zazang jing* is relatively short (only three pages in the Taishō 大正 edition), I could not find any transliteration useful for the present research task. Fortunately, in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* we find a considerable number of transliterations useful for phonetical analysis.

According to my analysis of all the transliterations found in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, the underlying text was also much sanskritised, although it also contains quite a few Prakritisms, similar to the case of T 100. (The transliterations borrowed from pre-existing translations are excluded from this type of investigation.)

Among the numerous instances which show sanskritisation of the underlying text:

句樓除 (123c25; *krośa*); 拘樓舍 (141a10; *krośa*); 拘蘆除 (v.l. 舍; 176c12; *krośa*)

闍陀 (14b28, 154a2; *Chanda* [= BHS = SWTF]) / Pa. *Channa*

達尼迦 (5b1; *Dhanika* [= SWTF]) / Pa. *Dhaniya*

僑賒耶 (34c15; *kauśeya* [= Skt.] / Pa. *koseyya*

首樓那 (145a16; *Śroṇa* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Soṇa*

Among the numerous instances showing the presence of Prakritisms:
i (< OIA *ṛ*)

乙師 (EH 𑖦𑖩𑖫𑖪 > MC 𑖦𑖩𑖫𑖪) 達多 (33c2, 56b5; *Iṣidatta* [= BHS]) /
BHS *Rṣidatta*, Pa. *Isidatta*

乙師羅 (121c27, 5b2[v.l.]; **Iṣi(gi)r(i)*) / Skt. *Rṣigiri*, Pa. *Isigili*

-*g*- (< OIA -*k*-)

娑竭 (EH g𑖩𑖫𑖪 > MC g𑖩𑖫𑖪)³ 陀 (153a24; **Sāgeda*) / Skt. = Pa. *Sāketa*,
Pkt. *Sāgeya*

-*ḍ*- (< OIA -*ṭ*-)

阿荼脾 (13a12, 34c15; *Aḍavī* [= Pkt.]) / Skt. = Pa. *Aṭavī*

-*ḷ*- or -*l*- (< OIA -*ṭ*-)

阿臘脾 (193a18; **Ālāvī* or *Ālavi-* or *Ālavi-*) / Skt. = Pa. *Aṭavī*, BHS
= SWTF *Āṭavikā*, Pa. *Āṭavikā*

吉羅 (21c11; **Kilā-* or *Kilā-*), 訖羅訖列 (168c9; **Kilāgiri* or *Kilāg°*) /
BHS = Pa. *Kiṭāgiri*

-*lh*-? (< OIA -*ḍh*-)

波利 (193a5; **Pālhe-*?) / ≠ *Paveyyakā* (read *Pāve°*), 𑖦𑖫𑖪𑖫𑖪𑖫𑖪𑖪𑖪 *Pāṭhe-*
yyakā (SN II 187,8);⁷¹ cf. T 99 at T II 240b13: 波梨耶, T 100 at T II
485c6: 波利蛇迦

-*v*- (< OIA -*p*-)

尸尸婆 (176c5; **śiśivā*) / Skt. *śiṃśapā*, Pa. *siṃsapā*

-*m*- (< OIA -*v*-)

伊羅漫 (171a20; **Erāmaṇ(a)*) / Skt. *Airāvaṇa*, Pa. *Erāvaṇa*

⁷¹ Cf. Akanuma 1967 [1931]: 499ab and Santuṭṭho 2013: 628–629.

-ññ- (< OIA -jñ-)

毘蘭若 (1a9; **Veraññā*) / BHS *Vairaṇyā*, Pa. *Verañjā*

-gg- (< OIA -lg-)

婆求末 (7b7; *Vaggumud-*), 婆求摩 (191a10; **Vagguma-*) / SWTF *Valgumudā*, Pa. *Vaggumudā*

-bb- (< OIA -lv-)

婆婆 (121c11, 146c1; *babba-*) / Skt. *balbaja*, Pa. *babbaja*

s- (< OIA sv-)

娑竭(EH gīat > MC gjāt)³陀 (35b25; **Sāgada*) / BHS = SWTF *Svāgata*, Pa. *Sāgata*

-ṭṭh- (< OIA -ṣṭr-)

羅吒波羅 (14a4f; *Raṭṭhapāla* [= Pa.]) / BHS = SWTF *Raṣṭrapāla*

There are also a few instances which show features characteristic of Gandhari. For example:

-' (< OIA -h-)

彌沙塞 (1a4; **Ma'īṣāsak-*) / BHS *Mahīśāsaka*, Pa. *Mahimsāsaka*

-ṇṇ- (< OIA -ṇḍ-)

盤那 (163a3; **Paṇṇa*), 般那 (164a23; *Paṇṇa*) / BHS *Paṇḍu*, BHS = Pa. *Paṇḍuka*

-ndh- (< OIA -nth-)

般陀 (45c10; **Pandha-*) / BHS = SWTF = Pa. *Panthaka*

-nn- (< OIA -ndh-)

安那頻頭 (54c7; **Annavindo*) / Pa. *Andhakavinda*

-mm- (< OIA -mb-)

甘摩羅 (171a20f; **Kammala*) / Skt. = Pa *Kambala*

-śp- (< OIA -śv-)

阿濕波羅(s.e.?)呵(s.e.?) (171a21; **Aśpa-raho*) / SWTF *Aśvatara*,
Pa. *Assatara*

These Gandhari features resulted probably from regional or dialectal pronunciation on the part of the reciter of the text as Buddhajīva was from Kashmir, where Gandhari was in use.

In conclusion, the manuscript of the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* used for translation must have contained many Prakrit forms, while being, at the same time, sanskritised to a certain degree, the same as in the case of T 100. The linguistic situation that emerges is therefore a complex one.

On the whole, the results of my analysis of the transliterations found in the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* may support the earlier argued possibility that T 100 was translated from the manuscript which Faxian brought back from Sri Lanka.

VI.4.2 When Was T 100 Translated?

Then, when was T 100 translated? T 100 contains common vocabulary as found in other Buddhist translations made by (or attributed to) Saṅghadeva (fl. ca. AD 365–384), Kumārajīva (AD 350–409 or 344–413) and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (fl. AD 383–416).

Close literary comparison of T 99 and T 100 makes it apparent that the translators of these collections did not consult one another and that the two collections were translated independently.⁷²

⁷² A glance at a discourse in the *Brāhmaṇa-samyukta* of T 99 placed side-by-side with its counterpart in T 100 may suffice to illustrate the situa-

To clarify when and by whom T 100 was translated, it is necessary to investigate individual linguistic features that are characteristic of T 100. For example, in T 100, 恒, ‘constantly’ (41 occurrences) and 已訖, ‘after having [done]’ (35 occurrences), which correspond to Sanskrit gerunds, occur very frequently.

Among other Buddhist scriptures, the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 or ‘Scripture of the Wise and the Fool’ (T 202), translated in AD 445 by Huijue 慧覺 and others shares the same specific features, with 恒 and 已訖 occurring 76 times and 49 times respectively. Whereas T 100 consists of 118 pages, the *Xianyu jing* has 97. The frequency of these expressions in the *Xianyu jing* is thus remarkably high. In other Buddhist texts of the fourth and fifth centuries, these expressions do not occur so frequently as in T 100 and the *Xianyu jing*.

It can be then suggested that T 100 was probably translated between ca. AD 420–450. Careful future research on the vocabulary and language of this collection – both qualitative and quantitative – remains necessary to be able to date its translation.

Abbreviations and Symbols

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Abhidh-k-bh | <i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> (Pradhan 1967) |
| Adhik-v | <i>Adhikaraṇa-vastu</i> (Gnoli 1978) |
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| BHS | a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit word, listed in BHSD |
| BHSD | <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (Edgerton 1953) |
| BS | a Buddhist Sanskrit word, not listed in BHSD |

tion and the difficulties involved in assessing which of the two collections was translated earlier; see SĀ 1157 in T 99 at T II 308a3 and SĀ² 80 in T 100 at T II 401b11 (Pali parallel: SN 7.2.2 at SN I 173,25).

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Dhp-G ^K | Gandhari <i>Dharmapada</i> (Brough 1962) |
| Divy | <i>Divyāvadāna</i> (Cowell and Neil 1886) |
| EH | Eastern Han 東漢 |
| Ga. | Gandhari |
| M | Ming 明 edition |
| MC | Middle Chinese |
| Merv-av | Merv <i>Avadāna</i> (Karashima and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2015) |
| MI | Middle Indic |
| MPS | <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra</i> (Waldschmidt 1950–1951) |
| MSV | <i>Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya-vastu</i> (Dutt 1984 [1950]) |
| OIA | Old Indo-Aryan |
| Pa. | Pali |
| Pkt. | Prakrit |
| Śay-v | <i>Śayanāśana-vastu</i> (Gnoli 1978) |
| SBV | <i>Sanḥabhedha-vastu</i> (Gnoli 1977–1978) |
| S | Song 宋 edition |
| SĀ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SĀ ² | partial <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 100) |
| ŚBh | <i>Śrāvakabhūmi</i> (Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group 2007) |
| s.e. | scribal error |
| Sh | Shōgozō 聖語藏 edition |
| SHT | <i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> (Waldschmidt et al. 1965–2017) |
| Skt. | Sanskrit |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Sn | <i>Sutta-nipāta</i> |
| SWTF | <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i> (Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–) |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition |

| | |
|------|----------------------------------|
| Up | <i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā</i> |
| v.l. | <i>vide licet</i> |
| Y | Yuan 明 edition |
| ≐ | approximately equal |
| ≠ | not equal, different |
| * | reconstructed or unattested form |

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**A Study and Translation of
the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta*
in the Shorter Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama***

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Abstract

The chapter presents an annotated translation of the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta* as contained in an incomplete Chinese version of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (*Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經, T 100), ranging from discourses SĀ² 318 to SĀ² 329. A number of philological and textual issues in the twelve discourses are resolved, by comparing the texts to their parallels in Chinese, Pali and Sanskrit. Corroborating previous studies of discourses belonging to T 100, there is new evidence for a common Indian ancestor of this collection and the complete *Saṃyukta-āgama* also extant in Chinese translation (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, T 99). Notable evidence includes the displacement of the two consecutive discourses SĀ² 298 and SĀ² 299 (on Sakka and Indaka), the structure of the verse in SĀ² 318; the notes on *juemo* 崛默 (SĀ² 318), *bakkula* (SĀ² 319), *khara* and *kara* (SĀ² 323); the discussion of *dhātrī* vs. *dhaṅka* (SĀ² 323). Again, differences between the two *Saṃyukta-āgama* collections point to a period of independent transmission at least for T 100 (e.g., the beginning of SĀ² 318, the end of SĀ² 323, the mention of the *ṣaṇṇavatiyo pāsaṇḍāḥ* in SĀ² 325). In the final section it is argued that the *yakṣas* appearing in the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta* seem less ‘supernatural’ than the *yakṣas* in *Jātakas* and later literature, and that the discourses might have been occasioned by encounters of members of the early Buddhist *Saṅgha* with tribal communities outside of their ‘mainstream’ agricultural, *śramaṇa/brāhmaṇa*-society audience. An appendix revisits the discussion around the school attribution of T 100.

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SĀ² 325 [‘Ālavaka Challenges the Buddha’]

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SĀ² 327 [‘A *Yakṣa* Praises the Nun Sukkā’]

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SĀ² 329 [‘A *Yakṣa* Hits Sāriputta’]

Conclusion: The *Yakṣas* in the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgamas*

Appendix: Again on the School Affiliation of T 100

Abbreviations

References

I. Introduction

The *Yakṣa-saṃyukta* that is part of the *Sagātha-varga* in the shorter, incomplete Chinese translation of a *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 100, *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經) contains twelve discourses (SĀ² 318 to 329).¹ However, the summary verse (*uddāna-gāthā*) to this *saṃyukta* lists fourteen discourses, the first two of which are missing.² A remark at the end of the preceding *saṃyukta*, the *Devaputra-saṃyukta*, explains the discrepancy:³

¹ Below I list and discuss variant readings only where they have an impact on the translation, i.e., where the variant suggests a better reading. Otherwise, Chinese and Pali texts are taken from the main text respectively of the Taishō 大正 or the PTS editions respectively, i.e., without including the apparatus. The Chinese text is taken from the *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 project, online edition. For the PTS edition of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, I quote and reference Feer's edition (1884–1898). (The newer edition by Somaratne 1998 was not continued beyond the first volume. I compare Somaratne's text for difficult passages and reference it only where it provides new information.) For the *Sutta-nipāta*, I reference Anderson and Smith 1913, which has superseded Fausbøll 1885. For the sake of consistency, I generally use Pali terms and names, even where speaking about Chinese texts. Exceptions are *yakṣa* for *yakkha*, and work and chapter titles, where Sanskrit is used for the *saṃyukta* chapters of the two Chinese *saṃyukta* collections (e.g., *Yakṣa-saṃyukta*) in order to disambiguate them from *saṃyutta* chapters in Pali. The texts have been made available in a Chinese-Pali aligned version at <http://buddhistinformatics.dila.edu.tw/BZA/>.

² The *uddāna* in T 100 at T II 485b23–25 reads: 因陀羅、釋迦、崛默白山、賓迦羅、富那婆修、曼遮尼羅、箭毛、受齋、曠野及雄、淨、七岳并雪山。害及於無害。是名第十四。

³ T 100 at T II 480a27–29: 此中章次因陀羅夜叉與上因陀羅天子所說不異，以其繁重故闕而不傳，次章釋迦夜叉與上釋迦天子不別，亦闕不書。 Accord-

In this [i.e., the following] chapter, the next [‘Discourse on the] *Yakṣa* Yintuoluo 因陀羅’ [*Indra; cf. *Saṃyutta-nikāya* Indaka], is not different from [the ‘Discourse with] the *Devaputra* Yintuoluo’ [in the *Devaputra-saṃyukta* (= SĀ² 298)]. Because of this overlap, it is not transmitted here. [Similarly,] the following text about the *yakṣa* Sakka 釋迦 [*Saṃyutta-nikāya* = Sakkanāma] is not different from what above has been said about the *devaputra* Sakka [earlier (= SĀ² 299)] and is also omitted.

It thus appears that in the northern tradition the two discourses were at one point included in both the *Yakṣa*- and the *Devaputra-saṃyuktas*, and one might then ask whether Indra/Indaka and Śakra had first been *yakṣas* or *devaputras*? The two discourses that now remain only in the *Devaputra-saṃyuktas* of both T 100 and the complete Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama* (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, T 99), correspond in the Pali to the first two discourses of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*’s *Yakkha-saṃyutta*, as is obvious from the names of the protagonists as well as regarding the content of the verse.⁴ While they are called *devaputras*, Chinese 天子, in T 100 and T 99, they are identified as *yakṣas* in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. The Pali tradition often, but not always, tends to preserve the earlier version. There is indeed evidence that Indra/Indaka and Sakka started out as *yakṣas* and only

ing to the Taishō apparatus the characters 而不傳次章釋迦夜叉與上釋迦 天子不別亦闕 are not part of the Chinese stemma. In his edition of T 99 Yinshun 1983: 346 and 348 erroneously emends 十四 in the *uddāna* of T 100 to 十二. He does not seem to have noticed this editorial note in T 100 nor counted the names.

⁴ SĀ² 298: 因陀羅, pointing to an equivalent of Indaka/Indra, and SN 10.1: Indaka; SĀ² 299: 釋迦, pointing to an equivalent of Sakka, and SN 10.2: Sakkanāma.

subsequently became *devaputras* (and not vice versa). The verse section of SĀ² 299 still addresses the *devaputra* Sakka with “Know, *yakṣa* ...”. This suggests that he was first a *yakṣa* before becoming a *devaputra*.⁵

Thus in the northern tradition the two discourses, in effect, moved from the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta* to the *Devaputra-saṃyukta* in two steps:

1. The two discourses on Indra/Indaka and Sakka were first reduplicated into the *devaputra saṃyukta*, perhaps because their names did sound rather like names of *devas*, not *yakṣas*, or perhaps in an attempt to produce two clean decades of discourses in the *Devaputra-saṃyukta*.

2. As the remark in T 100 translated above attests, they were then omitted from the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta*.⁶ In view of their absence in both T 100 and T 99 this did not occur as part of the translation process, but must have happened before the T 100/T 99 split occurred. It is possible that the note following the *uddāna* to the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta*

⁵ In the verse Sakka is directly addressed thus: “Know, *yakṣa*, ...”, 夜叉應當知 (SĀ² 299 at T II 476c3); cf. SĀ² 162, which belongs to the same cluster as SĀ² 299, and which too preserves the address in its verse.

⁶ What happened to the discourses on Indra/Indaka and Śakra in T 99 is a difficult question as the structure of this collection was jumbled at one point in the early stage of transmission in China and the original order of fascicles was only restored by modern scholarship. The discourse on Indra/Indaka (SĀ² 1300) is in the *Devatā-saṃyukta* of T 99 at the position it would be expected (relative to the position of the discourse in T 100). The discourse on Sakka on the other hand seems to have been lost (SĀ 577, that is given in the catalogues as a parallel to SĀ² 1300, is rather a parallel to SĀ² 162). In the received text of the T 99, fascicles 22 (SĀ 576–603) and 48 (SĀ² 1267–1293) contain discourses featuring *devaputras*, whereas fascicle 49 contains twenty discourses to *devaputras* (SĀ 1294–1318) and five with *yakṣas* (SĀ 1319–1323), i.e., the beginning of the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta*.

of T 100 was indeed part of the Indian original, from which T 100 was translated. Alternatively, the note was added as explanation during the translation process, or soon after.⁷ Besides the drift of the first two discourses from the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta* into the *Devaputra-saṃyukta*, there are other overlaps between these two *saṃyuktas*.

A similar apotheosis from *yakṣa* to *devaputra*, can be found in the cluster containing the discourse titled *Sudatta-sutta* (SN 10.8 at SN I 210,28), in which a *yakkha* assists Anāthapiṇḍika in his first encounter with the Buddha. In the northern tradition the protagonist in this role is described as a *devatā* (天神), a generic term for different types of divinities, but there are reasons to believe that earlier version of the story the protagonist was more narrowly understood as a *yakṣa*.⁸

Another *Saṃyutta-nikāya* discourse in the *Yakkha-saṃyutta* (Sūci-loma), has remained in the Chinese *Yakṣa-saṃyuktas* (SĀ² 323, SĀ 1324) but its verse was also used in *Devaputra-saṃyukta* discourses (SĀ² 313 and SĀ 1314).

Thus, the dividing line between *yakṣas*, and *devas*, *devaputras*,

⁷ The wording of the remark, 不傳, 不書, also implies that the two discourses were not elided by the translators or else one would expect 不譯 or such. T 100 was probably translated under the Western Qin 西秦 (AD 385–431), if one accepts the dating of the translation by Mizuno 1970.

⁸ The *devatā* stays unnamed in T 99 (天神 in SĀ 592 at T II 157c22) but is said to “have lived near the city gate.” *Yakṣas* are known to have served as local deities associated with cities. In T 100 he is named in an *hapax legomenon*, surprisingly, as 尸婆天神 (SĀ² 186 at T II 440c2), pointing to ‘*Deva Śiva’, and identifies himself as son of Vaiśravaṇa. Vaiśravaṇa is of course Kubera, the king of *yakṣas*, and thus, by stating his pedigree the *deva* shows his *yakṣa* roots. Again, as with the discourses on Indaka and Sakka, it seems that figures that were first identified as *yakṣa* later were remembered as more generic *devas* or *devaputtas*.

or other types of supernatural beings is thin.⁹ They were all considered *devatās*, and indeed when Alexander Cunningham discovered the ancient Parkham *yakṣa* statue in 1882/1883 it was called ‘*Devatā*’ by the villagers.¹⁰

This accords with the fluid identity of the *yakṣas* in early India, where, in and between the texts, they often morph into other classes of beings such as *piśācas*, *devaputras*, or humans. Étienne Lamotte (1961: 113) already remarked on the *yakṣa* as a ‘terme élastique’ that denotes all kinds of non-human beings. Gail H. Sutherland (1991: 49) pointed out “precise discrepancies between *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *piśācas*, and others seem permanently obscured and fluid ...”.¹¹ J.F. Marc DesJardins (2002: 92) even claims that the word *yakṣa* was used for different types of divine beings, because the *yakṣa* was the “proto-type ancestral de tous les dieux.”

In general, secondary scholarship emphasizes the divine, supernatural aspects when trying to trace the semantic range of what *yakṣa* came to mean in early India. Ram Nath Misra (1981: 2), for instance, says:

Yakshas have been variously designated either in terms of broad groups or specifically, for instance, *puṇyajana*, *vaiśravanakāyika deva*, *amanussā*, *vāṇamantara*, *deva*, *bhummadeva* or *rukkhadeva*. This group of words indicates that they formed a kindred group—a *devajāti* (*Amarakośa*, 1.1.6) —along with several other demi-gods such as *Deva*, *Gandharva*, *Apsaras*, *Kinnara*, *Guhyaka* etc.

⁹ Examples outside T 100 of the *yakṣa*–*deva*(*putra*) ambiguity are, e.g., Māgadha as a *yakṣa* in the *Mahāmāyūri vidyā-rājñī*, Lévi 1915: 47 and as a *devaputta* in SN 2.4 at SN I 47,14.

¹⁰ Cunningham 1885 [2000]: 40. For the history of research and authoritative reading of the inscription see Lüders 1961: 175–179.

¹¹ On terminology regarding supernatural beings in early India with special regard to *yakṣas* see DeCaroli 2004: 10–15 and DesJardins 2002: 70–114.

As I will argue in my conclusion, the divine, supernatural aspects of the *yakṣa* are not dominant in the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgamas*; quite the contrary, the *yakṣas* in our text appear but all too human.

In the following section I attempt a first translation of the twelve discourses that currently constitute the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta* of T 100, SĀ² 318 to SĀ² 329 at T II 480b1 to 485b22. The references to the translated discourses and their Chinese and Pali parallels are given in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The *Yakṣa-saṃyukta* Discourses and their Parallels

| Other Chinese Parallels | <i>Yakṣa-saṃyuktas</i> (T 100 / T 99) | <i>Yakkha-saṃyutta</i> (<i>Saṃyutta-nikāya</i>) | Other Pali Parallels |
|--|---|--|---|
| SĀ ² 298 at T II 476b5 / SĀ 1300 at T II 357c15 | | SN 10.1 at SN I 206,2 (<i>Indaka-sutta</i>) | |
| SĀ ² 299 at T II 476b25 / SĀ 577 at T II 153c20 SĀ ² 162 at T II 435a22 | | SN 10.2 at SN I 206,16 (<i>Sakkanāma-sutta</i>) | |
| | SĀ ² 318 at T II 480b1 / SĀ 1319 at T II 362a5 | SN 10.3 at SN I 208,5 (<i>Maṇibhadda-sutta</i>) | |
| T 1428 at T XXII 673b19 T 1435 at T XXIII | SĀ ² 319 at T II 480b18 / SĀ 1320 at T II 362a29 | | Ud 1.7 at Ud 4,29 (<i>Ajakalāpaka-sutta</i>) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| 113b22 T 1464 at T XXIV 890b2 | | | |
| | SĀ ² 320 at T II 480c20 / SĀ 1321 at T II 362c7 | SN 10.6 at SN I 209, ¹⁶ (<i>Piyaṅkara-sutta</i>) | |
| | SĀ ² 321 at T II 481a4 / SĀ 1322 at T II 362c22 | SN 10.7 at SN I 209, ³¹ (<i>Punabbasu-sutta</i>) | |
| | SĀ ² 322 at T II 481b1 / SĀ 1323 at T II 363a22 | | |
| SĀ ² 313 at T II 479b18 / SĀ 1314 at T II 361a23 | SĀ ² 323 at T II 481c15 / SĀ 1324 at T II 363b29 | SN 10.3 at SN I 207, ¹ (<i>Sūciloma-sutta</i>) | Sn 2.5 at Sn 47, ²³ (vv. 273– 276) (<i>Sūciloma-sutta</i>) |
| | SĀ ² 324 at T II 482a16 / SĀ 1325 at T II 364a8 | SN 10.5 at SN I 208, ¹⁷ (<i>Sānu-sutta</i>) | |
| SĀ 603 at T II 161a22 | SĀ ² 325 at T II 482c8 / SĀ 1326 at T II 364b21 | SN 10.12 at SN I 213, ²² (<i>Ālavaka-sutta</i>) | Sn 10 at Sn 31– 33 (vv. 181–206) (<i>Ālavaka-sutta</i>) |
| | SĀ ² 326 at T II 483b4 / SĀ 1328 at T II 365b15 | SN 10.11 at SN I 213, ¹⁰ (<i>Cīrā-sutta</i>) | |
| | SĀ ² 327 at T II 483b26 / SĀ 1327 at T II 365a24 | SN 10.9 at SN I 212, ¹⁹ (<i>Paṭhamasukkā-</i> | |

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| | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| | | <i>sutta</i>); SN 10.10 at SN I 212,32 (<i>Dutiyasukkā-</i> <i>sutta</i>) | |
| SĀ ² 315 at T II 479c17 | SĀ ² 328 at T II 483c17 / SĀ 1329 at T II 365c6 | | Sn 9 at Sn 27–31 (vv.153–189) (<i>Hemavata-</i> <i>sutta</i>) Sn 10 at Sn 31–33 (vv.183–190) (<i>Āḷavaka-sutta</i>) |
| | SĀ ² 329 at T II 85a24 / SĀ 1330 at T II 367b5 | | Ud 4.4 at Ud 39,17 (<i>Yakkhapahāra-</i> <i>sutta</i>) |
| SĀ ² 186 at T II 440b2 / SĀ 592 at T II 157b18 ¹² | | SN 10.8 at SN I 210,28 (<i>Sudatta-sutta</i>) | |

¹² Here the protagonist, who helps Anāthapiṇḍika, is a *deva* (天神), not a *yakkha*, as in SN 10.8.

II. Translations

SĀ² 318 [‘Māñibhadra Hosts the Buddha’]

The cluster that constitutes this discourse is complex, although there are only four witnesses: the partial *Samyukta-āgama* translation (SĀ² 318), the complete *Samyukta-āgama* translation (SĀ 1319), the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* (SN 10.4), and a Sanskrit fragment published by Sergey Oldenburg in “Kashgar manuscripts of N.F. Petrovsky” (1892).¹³ Both Chinese versions seem in bad shape and do not preserve the dialogic nature of the verse. Only some 30–40% of the Sanskrit text remains, and it seems to have included later elements, such as a *dhāraṇī*.

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha was traveling in Magadha, when he intended to go to the abode¹⁴ of the *yakṣa* Juemo.¹⁵ At that

¹³ The article is reprinted in Minayeff and Oldenburg 1983: 173; unfortunately it is in Russian and, due to my ignorance of this language, I am only able to make use of the transliteration of the manuscript, not of the main text of the article. I was not able to discover the current location of the manuscript, which might be lost by now

¹⁴ SĀ² 318: 宮. Both the Sanskrit and Pali have *bhavana*, which also accords with 住處 in SĀ 1319. By itself the character 宮 also allows for ‘palace’ or ‘shrine.’

¹⁵ The origin of the unique Chinese renditions *juémò* 崛默 (SĀ² 318), *juémó* 崛摩 (*uddāna* for SĀ² 318) or *qūmó* 屈摩 (SĀ 1319) is not clear to me. The word transcribed could be **Kumār(a)*, which was (in later times) an epithet (‘everlasting youth’) of Skanda(*graha*) (cf. Kālidāsa’s *Kumārasambhavam*). Skanda – in later Indian myth the son of Śiva (or Rudra, or Agni) and associated with war and conflict – started out as the chief of demons that cause illnesses in children. “Kinder-befallenden

time the *yakṣa* Juemo approached him, paid obeisance to the Buddha's feet, sat to one side and said to the Buddha: "World-honored One, I wish the Tathāgata and the monks would stay at my dwelling tonight."

At that time the World-honored One accepted the invitation by remaining silent. Thereupon, in order to accommodate the Buddha and his retinue, *yakṣa* Juemo quickly conjured up five hundred palatial halls with seats and bedding in each, all fully furnished. He also added five hundred fireplaces, where fires burned without smoke. He then invited the Buddha to his palace and offered him the best hall. The five hundred monks in his retinue received rooms according to their seniority.

At that time, when the Buddha had entered his room and taken his seat, the *yakṣa* Juemo stood to one side and spoke a verse:

"Who has correct mindfulness has good fortune (**bhadra*), //

krankheitsdämonen" (Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875, s.v. *Skanda*). Another connection is a *Maṇi* appearing as an associate of Skanda (Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875, s.v. *Maṇi*). However, in SĀ² 318, for a transliteration of **Kumār(a)* we would expect 摩 (Coblin 1994, s.v. *ma/mā*) rather than 默 (Coblin 1994, s.v. **mək/bug*). In the discussion of SĀ² 319 below we find that 摩 was the preferred transcription for Indic *-ma-* in SĀ² 318. There is also an off-chance that 崛默/屈摩 represents *Kube(ra)*. Note that regarding this name both Chinese versions agree against the Pali and the Sanskrit fragment. This implies that SĀ 1319 and SĀ² 318 have a common Indian ancestor, which is not identical with the Kashgar Sanskrit fragment edited by Oldenburg. However, the two *Saṃyukta-āgama* versions also must have undergone a period of independent development. In the discourse opening formula already SĀ 1319 speaks of five hundred monks, which are not mentioned in SĀ² 318. There are more indicators that point to a common origin for a northern line, as well as a period of independent development after a split between the two lines of transmission (Bingenheimer 2011: 45–50).

when mindfulness is correct one indeed is fortunate.¹⁶

With constant attention // and right mindfulness, one sleeps peacefully.”¹⁷

[The Buddha replied:]

“With right mindfulness one has good fortune // [but one also does] not harm or strike others,

neither defeating nor being defeated¹⁸ // by any being.¹⁹

Giving rise to loving kindness towards all, // giving up all hatred: only that (斯乃)²⁰ is great good fortune (**mahābhadra*), // [and]

¹⁶ I read 憶念/正念 (SĀ² 318) = 正念 (SĀ 1319) = *satīmā* (*satimant*) (SN 10.4) = ‘mindful’, ‘thoughtful’, and (賢)樂 (SĀ² 318) = 賢德 (SĀ 1319) = *bhaddam* (SN 10.4) = ‘good fortune’, ‘prosperity’, but in a double entendre also referring to Mañibhadra’s name.

¹⁷ It is clear that SĀ² 318 and SĀ 1319 ascribe the whole verse to Mañibhadra. It seems to me, however, that the Chinese versions reflect an early mistake in the common Indic ancestor of T 100 and T 99, which turned the simple exchange between Mañibhadra and the Buddha to a monologue by Mañibhadra, perhaps by the loss of an *iti* marker. The following lines should be attributed to the Buddha.

¹⁸ Anālayo 2018: 1168 chooses to read the variant 貪 found in the Taishō apparatus over the 負 in the Taishō main text. I am not sure why, as the *pāda* here obviously contrasts 勝 and 負. The 貪 should be considered a scribal error. The passage corresponds roughly to the SĀ 1319 parallel 不殺不教殺, 不伏不教伏 “neither kill nor cause to be killed // neither subjugate nor cause to be subjugated” (教 here probably rendering a causative).

¹⁹ SĀ² 318: 眾生, here representing *bhūta*, which includes all kinds of supernatural beings, including *yakṣas*.

²⁰ Anālayo 2018: 1968 suggests ‘therefore’ for 乃, but there seems to be no argument to conclude with ‘therefore’ here. If, however, one assumes a dialogic structure in line with the Pali, 斯乃 should be read as ‘only that’: the Buddha suggests that Māñibhadra needs *also* to follow a non-violent lifestyle in addition to being a considerate host, if he desires to be fortunate. This reading is strengthened by the comparative 更 ‘all the

is all the more free of fault.”²¹

When the *yakṣa* Juemo had spoken this verse, he felt happy, paid obeisance and returned [to his home].²²

Discussion

Considering the wordplay on *bhaddha/bhadra* in the verse, and the fact that a Māñibhadra is attested both for the Pali and the Sanskrit fragment of the discourse, Māñibhadda/Māñibhadra must be assumed as the name in the earliest versions, although neither SĀ² 318’s 崛默 nor SĀ 1319’s 屈摩 can be a transcription of both Mañibhadra and Māñibhadra.

Māñibhadra is a well-known *yakṣa*-lord, and his name appears on several large *yakṣa* statues, dating at least to the first century BC.²³ Gritli von Mitterwallner (1989: 370) interprets the colossal images of Māñibhadra found at Parkham and in Gwalior as belonging to a long-lived cult among traders and merchants that is attested at several locations in north India. In spite of the subsequent decline of his cult in later centuries, the *yakṣa* Māñibhadra was still remembered in later Indian Buddhism, and *dhāraṇī* texts in which he promises to bestow wealth on the reciters can be found in the Tibetan and Chinese canon.²⁴ Māñibhadra is also prominent in Jainism, where he

more’ in the following half-line.

²¹ For an alternative rendition of this line see note 29 below.

²² For the apparent incongruity of the closing (Māñibhadra being delighted by his own words) see the discussion below.

²³ Māñibhadra is even mentioned a few times in the *Mahābharatā* (II 397, III 2529 and XIV 1918), and later works such as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (e.g., Bhatta, Tawney and Penzer 1924–1928: I 169). Misra 1981: 80–85 provides a comprehensive description of sources. For the statues and inscriptions see among others Lüders 1961: 175–179, Mitterwallner 1989 and Nagata 2003 for more recent discoveries.

²⁴ There are two *dhāraṇī* texts in the Tangyur (‘*phags pa nor bu bzang po*’i

still has temples dedicated to him today.²⁵ In other sources Māñibhadra appears as brother or as general of Kubera, the king of *yakṣas* and lord of wealth and riches.²⁶

The name ‘Māñibhadra’ alludes to his function as the bestower of wealth and guardian of hidden treasure, jewels (*mañi*) etc. In the *Samyutta-nikāya*, Māñibhadda dwells at a *caitya* called *Mañimālaka*, ‘jewel-garland’, again hinting at a pre-existent cult. The transcription from the Sanskrit manuscript has his name consistently as Māñibhadra, which might have implied connotations of pride (*māna*). This too would fit the story, as Māñibhadra proudly praises himself for being diligent in hosting the Buddha.

By the time the early Buddhist canon was formed, at least some *yakṣas* were already established as dwelling at specific sites. The *locus classicus* for this is the *Mahāmāyūri vidyā-rājñī*, which contains a long list pairing *yakṣas* with their dwelling places. The *Mahāmāyūri* has a *yakṣa* Māñibhadra living in Brahmavatī (Lévi 1915: 38), which according to Sylvain Lévi (1915: 74) is “unknown, but should be placed somewhere close to Varṇu and Gāndhāra”, because Brahmavatī appears between these two location in the list, and the list in general constitutes an ordered geographic progression.²⁷ In our case, however, a location in the Northwest is unlikely and all versions agree that the story takes place in Magadha. The *Divyāvadāna* mentions a lotus-pond called Brahmāvatī near Varanasi,²⁸

gzungs, D 764, and *gnod sbyin nor bu bzang po'i rtog pa*, D 765), the former with a Chinese parallel (*Baoxian tuoluoni jing* 寶賢陀羅尼經, T 1285). Here too Māñibhadra's function as a god of wealth is clearly attested.

²⁵ For *yakṣas* in Jainism see Sutherland 1991: 127–136 and Misra 1981: 45–50. For an example for the inclusion of the *yakṣa* cult in Shaivite worship see Agrawala and Chandra 1959.

²⁶ Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875, s.v. *Mañibhadra* and *Māñibhadra*.

²⁷ On the different versions of the list see DesJardins 2002.

²⁸ Cowell 1886: 514, 11.

and it may well be that this was an early site for the Māṇibhadra cult.

The core line of the verse seems to be a wordplay on Māṇibhadra's name. It has fortunately been preserved in the Sanskrit fragment as well.

The verse records an exchange, which Māṇibhadra begins with a pun on his name, complimenting himself on the careful hosting of the Buddha and his retinue. The Chinese versions highlight his function as a host, and show him preparing fire and rooms not only for the Buddha, but all monks in his retinue. The Pali starts with *satīmato sadā bhaddam*, “the mindful are always fortunate.” The Sanskrit fragment in Oldenburg's (1983: 173) transcription seems to double this: *smṛtīmatā bhadram astu bhadram astu smṛtīmatā*. Although grammatically problematic, perhaps due to a mistake in the transcription or a faulty manuscript, this is close to what we find translated in SĀ² 318 and SĀ 1319 (with the chiasm replaced by parallelism according to Chinese preferences).

As a whole the verse hinges on a *double entendre*. The first line should be understood as playful self-praise: “[Māṇi]bhadra is always mindful, mindful is [Māṇi]bhadra.” The Buddha then subverts that by pointing out to Maṇibhadra that, although mindfulness is indeed good, those with kindness (*mettā*) and nonviolence (*ahiṃsa*) are “all the more free of fault (SĀ² 318: 更無有過者).”²⁹ In the Sanskrit fragment this admonishment becomes all the more pertinent as Maṇibhadra is addressed throughout the surviving passages as ‘Great *Yakṣa* General’ (*mahāyakṣasenapati*).

In the Pali the verse is clearly an exchange between the Buddha and the *yakṣa*. The Sanskrit text is too fragmented to allow a final verdict on the matter. To me, the most likely course of events seems

²⁹ An alternative interpretation of the line 斯乃爲大樂更無有過者 would be, as suggested by Paul Harrison: “This is, to be sure (or: indeed), great (or: the greater?) happiness, // Which nothing else can surpass.”]

to be that the dialogic structure was lost in the stemma on which the Chinese translations are based. Perhaps at some point one or more *iti* markers were dropped, which resulted in the whole verse being spoken by Mañibadhra, as it appears now in both SĀ² 318 and SĀ 1319. Or perhaps the crucial *na* was replaced by a second *-ca* in the verse, which would have caused it to lose the sense that the second part of the verse qualifies the first. Crucially, in the Indian original of the Chinese the *yakṣa* had taken on a different name (rendered as 崛默 in SĀ² 318 and 屈摩 in SĀ 1319), thus the wordplay on *bhadra* was lost, and with it the whole point of the exchange, that is the subtle admonishment that the Buddha gives the self-satisfied *yakṣa*.

The change of speakers is also evident from the closing formulas, which became incongruent as the dialogic markers were lost in the verse. If one assumes the dialogic structure is original in the less well edited SĀ² 318, the *yakṣa* ends up being delighted by his own words, which would be highly unusual for early discourse literature. In the more streamlined SĀ 1319 this was solved by inserting a remark by the Buddha confirming Mañibhadra, which would give Mañibhadra a reason to be delighted.

Content-wise, the change of speakers makes good sense in the overall context of the *samyukta*. As in other discourses below (e.g., SĀ² 320 and SĀ² 325) exhorting *yakṣas* to nonviolence is a recurring motif.

SĀ² 319 [‘Nāgapāla as ‘Bakkula’ Demon’]

This cluster consists of SĀ² 319, SĀ² 1320, text in the Pali *Udāna* (Ud 1.10 at Ud 4,29), text in the *Udānavarga* (verses 33.68–70, Bernhard 1965: 498–500), and passages in the Chinese translations of *Vinaya* texts,³⁰ where the story is used to establish the rule against

³⁰ T 1428 at T XXII 673b19–c16, T 1435 at T XXIII 113b22–c22 and T 1464

scaring one's fellow monks. In a penetrating article Lamotte (1968) has remarked on the unusually large disparities between the texts in this cluster. There are significant differences both between the Pali tradition and the Sanskrit/Chinese versions, as well as between the *Sūtra* and *Vinaya* versions.

Note that in the Chinese versions no *yakṣa* actually appears, but the (older) verse part in both SĀ² 319 and SĀ² 1320, refers to a *pisāca* demon Bakkula. Lamotte (1968: 465–467) has shown that the name Bakkula was mistaken for *pākula* ‘chaos, confusion’ in the Pali, a misreading that has indeed caused considerable confusion among commentators and translators.

Translation³¹

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha stayed at Mount Pāṭālī.³² At

at T XXIV 890b2–7.

³¹ For a French translation of this discourse see Lamotte 1968: 456–459.

³² SĀ² 319: *bai shan* 白山, SĀ 1320: *mojiuluo shan* 摩鳩羅山, Ud: *pāṭali* (-putra?) (v.l. *pāvaya* < *pāvā*?). For Pāvā see Akanuma 1931, s.v. and Lamotte 1968: 450. Regarding 白山, Lamotte 1968: 456 note 3 suggests that it might render the toponym Pāṭālī which appears in the *Udāna* and the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* version (T 1428), and is derived from Sanskrit *pāṭala* ‘pale’, ‘reddish white’. A *śvetagiri* (= 白山), however, appears in the *Mahābhārata* as the abode of the *yakṣa* Māṇibhadra (Misra 1981: 80). In SĀ 1320 the toponym 摩鳩羅 is also used as the name for the *pisāca* demon, which is evoked to scare children. It is not unusual for *yakṣa* names to be toponymical. As Bodhi 2000: 474 note 558 has observed “Sometimes a peak is named after a *yakkha*, sometimes a *yakkha* after a peak.” I suggest that 摩鳩羅 transcribes something like **makkula*, which in the Pali version is *bakkula* (also *pakkula*, *vakkula*). This is the cry uttered by the *yakkha* Ajakalāpaka in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. Phonetically, the nasalization of *ba-/va-* to *ma-* 摩 is uncommon, but 摩俱羅 is used at least once for the name of the Thera Bak(k)ula (in the *Ratnakūṭa*

that time the venerable Nāgapāla³³ was attending the Buddha. One night the World-honored One was [outside] walking [meditatively] when a light rain fell and lighting flashed. At that time Indra magically conjured a precious hall made of beryl, covering the Buddha. Having done so, he went up to the Buddha and paid obeisance to the Buddha's feet. The Tathāgatha continued walking as he was not yet ready to retire for the night.³⁴

collection, T 310 at T XI 91c13) (on Bakkula as ideal arhat see Anālayo 2007 and 2010). Also, the Bakula tree seems to have been called *makula* or *bakula* (Apte 1957–1959, s.v. *makulaḥ*; Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875, s.v. *makula*), so the nasalization *ba-* to *ma-* is well attested in this case. The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* parallel of the story has 婆俱羅 for the name of the *yakṣa*, but 摩俱羅山 for his mountain, implying that a distinction between *bakkula* for the *yakṣa* and **makkula* for the place was maintained at one point. Interestingly, the sixth-century glossary *Fanfangyu* 翻梵語 (T 2130 at T LIV 1043b3) glosses this occurrence of 摩俱羅山 with 天冠 (*maḥṭa* or *mukṭa*), which sounds like a good name for a mountain. The *Fanfangyu* is probably mistaken, however, and 摩俱羅山 does in fact regularly transcribe *mak(k)ula*. According to Lamotte 1968: 453 the northern version, witnessed by both SĀ² 319 and SĀ 1320, the name *Bakkula* was preserved, while the Pali tradition misread *Bakkula* for *pākula* and had to improvise a name for the *yakṣa* protagonist, settling on *Ajakālāpaka* who seems to have had his own cult and might be the *Ajakālako yakho* that is depicted on a balustrade in Bhārhut (Lüders 1963: 74 and Lamotte 1968: 451). Possible origins of Pali *bakkula* are also discussed in Morris 1886: 94 and Woodward 1926: 66–68.

³³ SĀ² 319 translates: 像護; SĀ 1320 transliterates: *naqieboluo* 那伽波羅; the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (T 1435) also translates: 像守. According to Akanuma 1931, s.v. Nāgasamala, Nāgapāla is Nāgasamala, who is known to have served as the Buddha's attendant. Interestingly, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* mentions a *yakṣa* called Nāgapālaka, Bagchi 1967: 9, 13. It is almost as if the tradition had turned Nāgapāla into a *yakṣa* king after his charade in this discourse.

³⁴ SĀ² 319: 猶未休止. Lamotte 1968: 456 has “seul et sans arrêt”, perhaps

At that time the people in this region, whenever their children did not stop crying, they scared them with [stories of] a *bakkula* demon.³⁵

Now, it has always been the rule with Buddhas, that as long as the teacher has not entered his room, the disciples must not enter their rooms and go to sleep before him. On that occasion Nāgapāla thought: “It is already late at night, but the World-honored One does not sleep. I will pretend to be the Bakkula Demon and scare him to [go inside] and sleep!”

Having thought so, he quickly wrapped himself in a blanket³⁶ [wearing it inside out], went to the path where the Buddha was walking and said to him: “Renunciant! Renunciant! The Bakkula Demon has come!” Thereupon the Buddha said to Nāgapāla: “You really are idiotic! Trying to scare me with *bakkula*! Don’t you know that the Tathāgata has long ago ended [being subject to] fear, the bristling of hair and all terror?”³⁷

Indra having seen and heard [this exchange] said to the Buddha: “World-honored One, among those who live by the teachings of the Buddha, are there more [idiots] like this, who have gone forth?” The Buddha said to Indra: “Kosiyā, Gotama’s tribe is vast and great, it includes all kinds of people. Even those such as him [Nāgapāla] can

reading 獨未休止.

³⁵ *baojuluo* 薄俱羅 (SĀ² 319) = *mojiuluo* 摩鳩羅 (SĀ 1320), here the name of the demon (鬼), derived from the cry he utters (see note 33 above). Not to be confused with the Thera Bakkula.

³⁶ SĀ² 319: 返 (or 反) 被 (or 披) 俱執. SĀ 1320 adds 長毛在外 (“[in such a way] that the long hair was on the outside”), which seems to imply that furs were used as blankets. 俱執 seems to be from *kuśa* (Lamotte 1968: 457) a grass that was woven into mats, but it was also used to denote bedding in general (Nakamura 1975: 269b, s.v.). 被 might be a *lectio facilior* for 披, ‘to wear.’

³⁷ Lamotte 1968: 456 identified this as the stock phrase *bhayaṃ chambhittattam lomahaṃso*.

attain pure qualities before long.” Then the World-honored One spoke a verse:

“When with respect to his own duties³⁸ // a Brahmin is fully cultivated,

and has crossed over to the other shore, // he has put an end to all fetters of existence.

When with respect to his own duties // a Brahmin is fully cultivated,

and considered someone who has crossed over to the other shore, // he has seen all [his] feelings³⁹ destroyed.

When with respect to his own duties // a Brahmin is fully cultivated.

and has crossed over to the other shore, // he has seen all his karmic causes⁴⁰ ended.

When with respect to his own duties // a Brahmin is fully cultivated,

and was able to cross over to the other shore, // he has seen his fetters quietly destroyed.

When with respect to his own duties // a Brahmin is fully cultivated,

and has crossed over to the other shore, // he has seen birth, old age, sickness and death.⁴¹

³⁸ SĀ² 319: 於自己法, corresponding to *sakesu dhammesu* (Pali) / *sveṣu dharmeṣu* (Sanskrit), an allusion to the Brahmanical concept of *svadharma* = [doing] one’s duty. Lamotte 1968: 458 prefers ‘qualités’. In Brahmanism *svadharma*s are relative to caste, age, and gender. In Buddhism this is recast as transcending those categories. Both the Pali and the Sanskrit have the plural, thus the translation “with respect to his own duties”, although neither SĀ² 319 nor SĀ 1320 have plural markers.

³⁹ 受 (SĀ² 319) = *vedanāḥ* (*Udānavarga*).

⁴⁰ 因 (SĀ² 319) = *pratīyā(h)* (*Udānavarga*).

⁴¹ 觀生老病死 (SĀ² 319) = *atha jātījarām c(ai)va // maraṇaṃ cātīvartate*

When with respect to his own duties // a Brahmin is fully cultivated,

and has crossed over to the other shore, // he can even help the *pisāca* demon Bakkula to cross over.”

At that time Indra heard what the Buddha said, rejoiced, prostrated himself, and returned to his heavenly palace.

SĀ² 320 [‘The Mother of Piṅgala’]

This discourse might be the earliest mention of the ‘mother of Piṅgala’, the famous Hārītī.⁴² The mother *yakṣiṇī*, who stays unnamed, was to become a widely depicted legendary figure and goddess. She even entered the pantheons of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, where she is called Guizimushen / Kishimojin 鬼子母神.

Translation

At that time the venerable Anuruddha, following the Buddha in his travels, came to the abode of a demon mother in Magadha.⁴³ Then Anuruddha rose early in the middle of the night, sat straight in meditation, and recited verses from the *Dhammapada* and the verses of the great seers from the *Pārāyana*.⁴⁴ He also with a strong voice re-

“Has fully escaped birth, old age, sickness and death” (*Udānavarga*).

⁴² Waddell 1912: 144–145 would disagree with this as he sees the origin of Hārītī in the figure of the *kinnara* Chandā found in the *Jātakas*. On translations of the Hārītī-related discourses in the Chinese canon see Peri 1917. For her iconography see Foucher 1909 and Lesbre 2000.

⁴³ The unusual beginning might point to a corruption of the text here. SĀ 1321 has the conventional opening 如是我聞：一時佛住王舍城迦蘭陀竹園 (T II 362c7–8). Such a reference to Rājagaha would also make sense for SĀ² 320, which is set in Magadha.

⁴⁴ 波羅延 (SĀ² 320) = 波羅延那 (SĀ 1321) = *Pārāyana* (Sn verses 976–

cited the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*⁴⁵ and [other] discourses. At that time, *Piṅgala,⁴⁶ the dear little child of a mother demoness was crying and sniffing. At that time the mother demoness comforted the child saying: “Hush, don’t cry. The man of the Way⁴⁷ is reciting discourses.” Then she spoke in verse:

“Hush, Piṅgala, // listen to the man of the Way recite the *Dhammapada*.

Hearing these verses all transgressions are ended, // one can keep the precepts perfectly.

Hush, Piṅgala, // listen to the man of the Way recite the *Dhammapada*.

Hearing these verses one can end the [habit of] killing. // Hush, Piṅgala,

listen to the man of the Way recite the *Dhammapada*. // Hearing these verses one’s speech becomes truthful.

1149). 其義 (SĀ² 320) = 義品 (SĀ 1321) = *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* (Sn verses 766–975). Lévi 1915 remarked on evidence that the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* and the *Pārāyana* were part of the earliest known recitation by Buddhist lay-people and monastics. In T 100 a recitation of the *Dhammapada* and the *Pārāyana* is also mentioned in SĀ² 184 at T II 439c14–15, translated in Bingenheimer 2013: 207. 大德 here is more likely to translate *mahā-rddhika* (or *ārya*) than the more frequent *bhadanta*, ‘reverend’ (Hirakawa 1997: 331). It is referring to the Brahmanical students that question the Buddha in the *Pārāyana*. In the Pali version only the last of them, Piṅgiya, is called a *mahā isi* (Sn 194).

⁴⁵ SĀ² 320: 其義; SĀ 1321: 義品.

⁴⁶ 賓伽羅 (SĀ² 320); against this 畢陵伽 (SĀ 1321) = *Pilinda. In SN 10.6 the child of the *yakkhīnī* is called Piyaṅkara. According to the *Samyutta-nikāya* commentary at Spk I 309,4 the pair was out foraging, *gocaram pariyesanti*.

⁴⁷ SĀ² 320: 道人, an early term for a religious practitioner. SN 10.6 has *bhikkhu*.

Hush, Piṅgala, // listen to the man of the Way recite the *Dhamma-pada*.

Hearing these verses we will not be reborn as demons again, // hush, Piṅgala.”

SĀ² 321 [The Mother of Punabbasu]

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha was in Magadha at the abode of the mother of the *yakṣa* Punabbasu.⁴⁸ As he stayed the night in their abode, the son, the *yakṣa* [Puna]bbasu, and his sister Uttarā⁴⁹ cried at night. Their mother consoled her son and daughter, and to stop them from crying she spoke a verse:

“Punabbasu // and Uttarā,

You better now // stop crying.

The Buddha, the Hero of the World, // teaches the principles of Dharma.

Let me listen, // as neither father nor mother

can make us escape from suffering. // Only the World-honored One, and his well-spoken Dharma // can forever release its listeners from suffering. // All sentient beings

following the flow of desire, // drown in the sea of birth and death.

I wish to hear the Dharma, // to end the flow of desire.

Punabbasu and Uttarā,

you therefore should be quiet.”

Then Punabbasu spoke this verse:

⁴⁸ SĀ² 321: Funapoxiu 富那婆修; SĀ 1322: Funaposhu 富那婆藪; SN 10.7: Punabbasu.

⁴⁹ SN 10.7 has Uttarikā, but both Youdaluo 優怛羅 (SĀ² 321) and Youduo-luo 鬱多羅 (SĀ 1322) point to Uttarā for the northern tradition.

“I follow my mother’s instruction // and will not utter one more sound,
my little sister Uttarā // too will be silent now.

I wish to hear the renunciant // proclaim this marvelous Dharma.
In Magadha the Buddha // is the best among men,
widely, for the sake of all beings, // he proclaims the Dharma that
ends suffering.

He speaks of suffering and its origin // its end and the way to end it.
He speaks of the eight-fold path of the nobles // and the peace of
Nirvāṇa.

Excellent it is to listen to the renunciant // proclaiming the
principles of his Dharma.”

[His] mother answered in verse:

“You are wise // and your words accord with my wishes.

You have well praised // the teacher of this world.

By staying silent // you let me understand the four truths.

Uttarā will later // too understand the four truths.”

SĀ² 322 [‘At the Abode of Māṇicara’]

This is the only discourse in the *Yakṣa-samyuktas* of T 100 and T 99 for which we have no Pali parallel. Incongruencies between the prose frame and the verse part, as well as the absence of a Pali version, indicate that this discourse might be a later addition to the northern transmission line.

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha was traveling in Magadha when he came to the abode of the *yakṣa* Māṇicara.⁵⁰ At that time the

⁵⁰ SĀ² 322: 宮; SĀ 1323: 住處. I keep the translation ‘abode’, which is supported by T 99, for consistency here, although ‘shrine’ might perhaps be

yakṣa Māṇicara and the other *yakṣas* were not at home, but had gathered in some other place.

A woman came to the abode of the *yakṣa*, bringing good incense, flower garlands, and good wine as offering. The World-honored One was sitting in that abode, all faculties stilled. The woman saw the Tathāgata sitting in the abode, on his face a happy expression, his thoughts calmed, his faculties stilled, having achieved the supreme training of the mind, he was like a golden spire.⁵¹

preferable in this case. Monixing 摩尼行 (SĀ² 322) or Monozheluo 摩尼遮羅 (SĀ 1323) can only be the *yakṣa* Māṇicara, who is attested variously in Buddhist and non-Buddhist Sanskrit literature, sometimes identified with Māṇibhadra (Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875, *s.v.* *Māṇicāra*). Transliteration–translation compounds such as 摩尼 + 行 are characteristic for T 100.

⁵¹ The term *jīnlou* 金樓, which in this cluster (SĀ² 322 / SĀ 1323) has no counterpart in the SĀ 1323 version. It has not been well defined in Buddhist lexicography so far, in spite of being part of a pericope, perhaps because the more usual meaning ‘golden roof’ is unproblematic. Only Hirakawa 1997: 1187 gives *suvarṇa-kūṭāgāra*. *Kūṭāgāra* (variously spelled) is widely attested at least in the Pali corpus (cf. “a building with a peaked roof or pinnacles, possibly gabled” (Rhys Davids and Stede 1921, *s.v.* *Kūṭa*)). The dictionary definitions for Sanskrit *kūṭāgāra* as ‘Dachzimmer, Belvedere’ (Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875, *s.v.*), ‘upper room, pleasure-house’ (Cappeller 1891, *s.v.*), do not quite work here, and these definitions have been found deficient (de Vreese 1947, Bollée 1986), although they might underlie the use of the Chinese 金樓 in other occurrences; e.g., 王入寶殿, 登金樓 in T 1509 at T XXV 152b19 and 金樓設銀御座 in MĀ 68 at T I 516b4–5, or 入金樓觀 in DĀ 2 at T I 23c18. Coomaraswamy 1928: 262–263 concludes his entry on the term surmising “that *kūṭāgāra* generally means simply ‘a house with a finial (or finials).’” In T 100 the term 金樓 appears five times (SĀ² 93, SĀ² 97, SĀ² 119, SĀ² 267 and SĀ² 322), always, like here in SĀ² 322, in descriptions of the Buddha in meditation; e.g., SĀ² 93 at T II 406b2–4: 來

Seeing this she thought: “The *yakṣa* Māṇicara is appearing right before me!” She then paid obeisance to the Buddha’s feet [thinking he was Māṇicara] and said in verse:

“You who verily repays offerings // please grant me my request.
Considering you wise and benign // the people of Magadha
all ask of you to fulfill their wishes. // And always, according to
their desire,
you give them wealth and blessings. // Now accord to my request
let me enjoy happiness in this life // and a heavenly rebirth in the
next.”

Thereupon the World-honored One replied with a verse:

“Carefully avoid indolence // and the arising of pride.
Always delight in faith and precepts⁵² // [thus] you should change
and save yourself.

在樹下坐，容貌殊特，諸根寂定，心意恬靜，獲於最上調伏之意，如似金樓，威光赫然。T 99 does not use this term. On the four occasions where the passage in SĀ² 322 has a parallel in T 99, three liken the seated Buddha to a golden mountain, 金山, instead of a spire (SĀ 1144 for verse of SĀ² 119, SĀ 1183 for verse of SĀ² 97 and SĀ 101 for verse of SĀ² 267); one speaks merely of the golden radiance of the Buddha’s body, without employing a metaphor (SĀ 1179 for verse of SĀ² 93: 其身金色，光明焰照). Both 金樓 and 金山 might have been *suvarṇa-kūṭa* here, as *kūṭa* alone can mean ‘top of a house, roof, pinnacle’ (Rhys Davids and Stede 1921, s.v.), or the ‘peak of a roof’ (Cone 2001, s.v.), as well as ‘peak’ or ‘summit’. However, as Bollée 1983: 192 has shown, the compound *kūṭa-gāra* can mean simply the top ornament of a house. As the SĀ² 322 passage shows, these vase-shaped finials were used at one point as a metaphor for the Buddha seated in meditation. I am grateful to Oskar von Hinüber for alerting me to Bollée’s article.

⁵² SĀ² 322: 常當樂信戒. Alternatively, reading *āyati-sukha* for 當樂 (Hirakawa 1997: 852), would result in “Always, for your future happiness, put your faith in the precepts.”

Beseeching Māṇicara – // what more could he do
that would be better than you, by your own practice, // [creating]
the karma to be reborn in heaven?”

Having heard this verse the woman thought: “This certainly is not
the *yakṣa* Māṇicara, but the renunciant Gotama.”

The women then quickly cleared away the incense, flowers, and
the wine bottles, paid obeisance to the Buddha’s feet and with palms
together said this verse:

“How does one obtain // happiness in this life and heavenly rebirth
in the next?

Moving toward what thing // can one obtain happiness?

How should one act? // I ask, oh Gotama,

how to obtain present happiness // and heavenly rebirth at the end
of life?”

[The Buddha said in verse:]

“By generosity and taming one’s faculties // can one give rise to
happiness.

The wise and good, with correct views // befriend renunciants.

Those who live independently by right livelihood // what use do
they have to be reborn in that

Heaven of the Thirty-Three // that is still in the web of suffering?

End your desires // and listen carefully to my explanation.

I will explain to you // the Dharma without impurities.

You, of the *yakṣa* race, // listen well to the deathless [Dharma].”⁵³

At that time the World-honored One explained the Dharma, ex-
horting, instructing, benefiting, and delighting her with the teachings
of the Buddhas, such as regarding generosity, regarding the precepts,
regarding rebirth in heaven, regarding the impurity of desire, and the

⁵³ For this half-line we have a Sanskrit fragment /// ++ (deśayi)ṣy(ā)my
amṛtaṃ vai śṛṇu .. /// (SHT V, no. 1138).

importance of going beyond. The Buddha then understood that her mind and thoughts had been made pliant, and explained to her the four truths: of suffering, its arising, its ending, and the way [towards that end].

The woman was intelligent, on hearing the Dharma she believed and understood, like a new and clean cloth, which is easily dyed. Right on her seat she realized the teaching (*dharma*) regarding the four truths of the nobles, understood the teaching, took hold of the teaching, fathomed the teaching fully, broke through the net of doubt, traversing [through] her doubts to the other shore, not following any other [teachings].

She rose, paid obeisance to the Buddha, and with palms together said: “World-honored One! I have already attained release, I have already attained release. I take refuge in the triple gem for the rest of my life, and will refrain from killing.”⁵⁴

And the woman, having heard the Dharma, was delighted, paid homage and left.

⁵⁴ SĀ² 322: 成就殺, a somewhat surprising ending, which is not found in the more streamlined SĀ 1323. I translate according to an earlier similar passage in SĀ² 92 at T II 405b20–22: 盡我形壽歸依三寶爲優婆夷, 盡壽不殺, 清淨信向, 不盜、不邪淫、不妄語、不飲酒, 亦復如是. The text is problematic in that in SĀ² 322 the final verse line clearly addresses a *yakṣiṇī*, 汝諸夜叉眾 (諸 here not marking the plural, but accentuating the vocative). This seems to contradict the framing story where the interlocutor seems to be a human woman. I suggest that in the verse we are seeing an older, partially overwritten, version of the framing story in which the Buddha addresses a *yakṣiṇī*, for whom emphasizing to abstain from killing makes sense (like in the verse spoken to the *yakṣiṇī* Piṅgala’s mother in SĀ² 320 translated above).

SĀ² 323 [‘Sūciloma Challenges the Buddha’]

The texts forming a cluster with SĀ² 323 are found in T 99 (SĀ 1324), the *Samyutta-nikāya* (SN 10.3) and the *Sutta-nipāta* (Sn 5 at Sn 47–49 (vv. 270–273)). Moreover, Enomoto Fumio 榎本 文雄 (1994, no. 1324) has identified two Sanskrit fragments corresponding with the *Śarīrārtha-gāthā* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (SHT V, no. 1138; Enomoto 1989: 27–28, no. 11).

During the translation process I noticed that the verse part of SĀ² 323 / SĀ 1324 also appears in SĀ² 313 / SĀ 1314, i.e., in the *Devaputra-saṃyukta*, which, as mentioned in the introduction, had other instances of overlap with the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta*. Moreover, the framing story of SĀ² 323, is a parallel to SĀ² 325 (Āḷavaka).

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, when the Buddha was wandering in Magadha, he came to the abode of the *yakṣa* Sūciloma to spend the night. At that time the *yakṣa* Sūciloma was elsewhere in a gathering with other *yakṣas* and not at home.⁵⁵ Then a friend of Sūciloma, named *Kara⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Both SĀ² 323 and SĀ 1324 here and below are closely related to the fragmentary Sanskrit parallel. Here: (*sūci*)*lomo yakṣo yakṣāṇāṃ samitiṃ gato* (SHT V, no. 1138; Enomoto 1989: 61, no. 1324).

⁵⁶ SN 10.3 has Khara ‘hard, sharp, shaggy’, which, like Sūciloma, describes the hair of the *yakṣa*, and includes connotations of animal fur (*khara* also “donkey, mule”). In SĀ² 323 the *yakṣa*’s name is Zhi 炙 (‘burning, roasting, exposing to sunshine’), in SĀ 1324 Yan 炎 (‘blazing, burning’). Perhaps in the northern tradition *khara* weakened into **kara* (‘ray of light’). A weakening of the distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated stops has been attested for Gandhari (Brough 1962: 100, Salomon 1999: 127–128), but mainly for voiced aspirates. *khara* > *kara* is perhaps a simple mistake in the phase of oral tradition rather than indicative of language change. Again, this mistake proves that the

saw that the Buddha was staying at Sūciloma's abode, went to Sūciloma and told him: "You are very fortunate!⁵⁷ A Tathāgata, an Arhat, a Fully Awakened One is now in your abode to spend the night there."

The *yakṣa* Sūciloma said: "What is that man doing in my abode?"

The *yakṣa* [Kara] responded: "Although he is a human, he is in fact a Tathāgata, an Arhat, a Fully Awakened One."

Sūciloma said: "I will return to my abode right away to figure out for myself whether or not he is a Tathāgata, an Arhat, a Fully Awakened One!"

When his meeting was over, the *yakṣa* Sūciloma quickly returned to his abode. He wanted to touch the Buddha, but the Buddha drew back. He asked the Buddha: "Renunciant, are you afraid?"

The Buddha said: "I have no fear, but your touch is evil."

Sūciloma said again: "Renunciant, I will ask you a riddle. If you can explain it, your blessings will be great; if you cannot answer me I will break your mind, cause your blood to boil and spout forth from your face. I will grasp you by your arms and toss you to the shore of the Ganges."⁵⁸

The Buddha said: "I do not see in this world a *deva*, *māra*, *brahma*,

Indian original of T 100 and T 99 must have at one stage been the same text after the separation from the southern stemma and before the separation of the immediate predecessors of the two collections.

⁵⁷ In other versions Sūciloma is addressed as 聚落主 (SĀ 1324), or *grāmaṇi* (SHT V, no. 1138), i.e., 'chieftain.'

⁵⁸ SĀ² 323's *póqí* [hé] 婆耆 [河] must be an attempt to transliterate *bhāgī[ratha]*, a name for the Ganges, which is attested in the Sanskrit fragment (*bhāgīrathyās tīre* SHT V, no. 1138). SĀ 1324 (恒水) and SN 10.3 (*gaṅgāya*) have 'Ganges'. This transliteration of the name of the river seems unique in the canon and it is not clear whether the translator of T 100 understood that *bhāgī[ratha]* stands for Ganges.

renunciant, or brahmin, who could confuse my mind, break my mind, and cause boiling blood to spout forth from my face, who could grasp me by my arms and toss me to the other side of the Ganges River.” Then Sūciloma said in verse:

“Desire and Hatred // what is their cause?
Joy, unhappiness // and hair-raising terror:
why do they exist? // Those thoughts,
where do they dwell? // How does the babe
just born // know to reach for [his mother’s] milk?”

At that time the World-honored One spoke in a verse:

“Desire is born from oneself // like the [stems of the] Nigrodha Tree.⁵⁹

Desire follows that which it clings to // like many Māluvā creepers entangling the Nigrodha. // This, *yakṣa*, you should know.

If you know its root cause // one can surely get rid of it

Thus those who have broken with the root cause (?)⁶⁰ // can cross the ocean of *samsāra*,

and having crossed over the stream of becoming // there will not be further becoming.”

Having heard what the Buddha said, the *yakṣa* Sūciloma was glad at heart and understood, he leaped up with happiness, and right away took the three refuges.

Discussion

The verse “How does the babe just born // know to reach for [his mother’s] milk?” is one of the more intriguing differences between

⁵⁹ The Nigrodha, the Indian Fig tree, grows new stems by filaments that descent to earth from the branches and take root there.

⁶⁰ The reading 如彼 makes no sense. It is probably a scribal mistake for either *rupo* 如破 (~ “Those who have destroyed the root cause //...””) or *zhibi* 知彼 (~ “Those who know this root cause // ...”).

the southern and northern tradition in this *samyukta*. Its text as per the six available versions is reproduced in Table 2 below.

The Pali (in both the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the *Sutta-nipāta* versions) here has an unusual simile: *kuto samuṭṭhāya manovitakkā, kumārakā dhaṅkamivossajanti*.⁶¹ According to the commentaries, *dhaṅkamivossajanti* is to be resolved as *dhaṅkam iv' ossajanti* with *ossajati* further glossed as *kipati*, 'to throw', 'to cast forth'. The commentary to the *Sutta-nipāta* explains the idea thus: "village children in play catch a crow and, having tied a string around its feet, toss it about, just so having originated from what do unwholesome thoughts toss about a wholesome mind."⁶² Thus Bhikkhu Bodhi's (2000: 307) translation of the verse: "Having arisen from what, do the mind's thoughts // [Toss one around] as boys toss up a crow."⁶³

For the northern tradition Enomoto (1994, no. 1314) has identified a parallel verse passage in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Enomoto 1989: 27, no.

⁶¹ As Norman 1992: 200–201 and Bodhi 2017: 1351 note 100 and 1446 note 1107 mention, some manuscripts have *vaṅkam* instead of *dhaṅkam*, which, however, does not make much sense here, and seems to be a mistake.

⁶² Pj II 303,22–25: *kumārakā dhaṅkamivossajanti ti yathā gāmadārakā kīḷantā kākaṃ suttana pāde bandhitvā ossajanti kipanti, evaṃ kusalamanaṃ akusalavitakkā kuto samuṭṭhāya ossajanti ti pucchati* (for the *Samyutta-nikāya* commentary see note 65 below).

⁶³ This was solved and translated by C.A. Rhys Davids (Rhys Davids and Woodward 1917: I 265) as "And whence spring thoughts in our minds down sinking // Like tethered crow pulled by boy-captors earthward." In German, Geiger et al. 1997 [1930]: 325, have: "Woher sind die Herzensgedanken aufgetaucht, (Die da sind), wie (wenn) Knaben eine Krähe freilassen", and note, following Rhys Davids: "Das Original ist dunkel, die Ausdrucksweise äußerst knapp. Nach dem Komm. (I. 355–6 [sic]) wäre das Bild von einem Kinderspiel hergenommen. Knaben haben eine Krähe gefangen, binden ihr eine lange Schnur an das Bein, lassen sie fliegen und ziehen sie an der Schnur wieder zu sich zurück."

11). Here the last verse reads *kumārakā dhātrīm ivāśrayante*, and something similar must have been the source for the Chinese versions. In fact, SĀ 1314 appears to be a literal rendering of this Sanskrit version: *kumārakā* 鳩摩羅 *dhātrīm* 乳母 *eva* 猶如 *āśrayante* 依倚於.

Table 2. Versions of the Riddle Verse in SĀ² 323 and its Parallels

| SN 10.3 = Sn 2.5 | <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i> Frag. | SĀ ² 313 | SĀ ² 323 |
|--|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>kuto samuṭṭhāya manovitakkā / kumārakā dhaṅka- mivossajanti</i> | <i>kutaḥsamutthās ca mano vitarkāḥ / kumārakā dhātrīm ivāśrayante</i> | 樂不樂恐怖 為是而誰耶 櫻孩捉母乳 意覺從何生 | 彼意覺者 住在何處 櫻孩小兒 云何生便 知捉於乳 |
| | | SĀ ² 1314 | SĀ 1324 |
| | | 恐怖從何起 覺想由何生 猶如鳩摩羅 依倚於乳母 | 意念諸覺想 為從何所起 猶如新生兒 依倚於乳母 |

Soon after the separation of the northern and southern line in the transmission of the *Saṃyukta* collections, and probably still in the oral phase of transmission, the unusual *dhaṅkamivossajanti* was misremembered as *dhātrīmivāśrayante*, at a time before the T 100 and T 99 versions separated. After the change from *dhaṅkamivossajanti* to *dhātrīmivāśrayante*, but still before the T 100/T 99 split, the verse part was reused in the *Devaputra-saṃyukta*, when the short discourse SĀ² 313 / SĀ 1314 was created. SĀ² 313 / SĀ 1314 has no direct Pali parallel and we can assume it to be a later variation on the discourse version represented by SĀ² 323 / SĀ 1324. As we saw above there were other *yakṣa* discourses that migrated into the *Devaputra-saṃyukta* in the northern tradition.

This divergence between *dhanka* and *dhātrī* was first discussed by Alex Wayman (1982), who, however, arrived at doubtful conclusions. Wayman noticed the passage by reading the Chinese and the Tibetan versions of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, but did not seem to have had access to the Sanskrit. Without availing himself of the Pali commentaries directly, Wayman sets out on a wild goose chase to get rid of the crow. First he cites C.A. Rhys Davids' paraphrase of Buddhaghosa's explanation and asserts that this "explanation certainly does not accord with the current dictionary entries for the verb form *ussajjati*."⁶⁴ Then he surmises that "Buddhaghosa took *ussajjati* tantamount to a theoretical S[anskrit] *utsañjati*." Theoretical indeed, as both commentaries speak of *ossajati* 'let us go, throws', which is in itself quite understandable, even without referring to the gloss *khipati*. Wayman then lets it go further and flies from *utsañjati* to *utsaṅga* ("a common word for 'lap'") deciding to "render the verb *ussajanti* [*sic*] 'are hoist to the lap'," and thus with him the cruel children eventually end up hoisted onto the lap of their wet nurse. The Sanskrit parallel, however, does not have *utsañjati*, but *āśrayante*, and neither 'lap' nor 'hip' appear in any of the versions. Wayman manages to convince himself that his brainchild makes good sense and even that it is the earlier version. He concludes that the case "supports a conclusion of modern Buddhologists that the Pali canon by itself does not present a complete picture of early Buddhism, but that one should add a component from the northern Bud-

⁶⁴ Wayman was looking at Smith's 2001 [1954]: 1281 tables to the *Saddanīti* (Sadd V 1281, s.v.) at the definition of *ussajjati* (which he insists on reading in spite of the commentaries' *ossajati*). There he finds Sanskrit *utsṛjati*, which he (correctly) rejects. Had he followed the commentaries and checked for *ossajati* → *osajjati* (Sadd V 1295, s.v.) he would have been led to the 'approximate' (so marked by Smith) Sanskrit *avasṛjati*, which would have been altogether more wholesome.

dhist canon (Tibetan and Chinese) to get early Buddhism in better focus.” In this at least, we can concur.

Comparing the Pali, Chinese, and Sanskrit passages, Buddhaghosa’s explanation of *dhāṅkamivossajanti* makes good sense. His explanation of the metaphor in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* commentary is lucid: “This asks from where the evil thoughts arise that toss the mind about like boys toss and fling about a crow they caught.”⁶⁵ The Sanskrit/Chinese version that has the thoughts arising “like children depending on their nurse” seems less intuitive and the odds are that we are dealing in the northern tradition with an early corruption of an original *dhāṅkamivossajanti*. It was probably occasioned by the Sanskritization of Pali *osajj-* to Sanskrit *avasṛj-*, which is suggested in Helmer Smith’s (2001 [1954]: V 1295) tables to the *Saddanīti*.⁶⁶

SĀ² 324 [‘Possession by a *Yakṣa*’]

In this discourse the dialogue between the *yakṣa* and the mother of a possessed young man, as well as the allusions to the proper behavior for a renunciant, become fully intelligible only in light of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* commentary, which gives the following background story: the son was a novice who had decided to disrobe and went home to tell his mother. A female *yakṣa*, who had been his mother in a former life, took possession of him, in order to prevent him from leaving the monastic life.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Spk I 304,6–9: *kumārakā dhāṅkam iv’ossanjanī ti, yathā kumārakā kākaṃ gahetvā ossajanti khipanti, evaṃ pāpa-vitakkā kuto samuṭṭhāya cittaṃ ossajanti? ti pucchati.*

⁶⁶ See note 64 above.

⁶⁷ As Bodhi 2000: 479 note 572 noted, Buddhaghosa gave the same background story not only in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* commentary but also in

It is possible that the second half of SĀ² 324 was originally part of a commentary. The lack of a closing passage and the unusual break in narrative time seems to suggest that the text was significantly altered in transmission. In its current form the SĀ² version of the text is hardly intelligible on its own.

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattihī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. At that time there was a laywoman who had a son, who having taken the eight precepts was failing to keep them. Because he broke the precepts a spirit possessed him and he went mad.⁶⁸ Then the laywoman spoke this verse:

“On the fourteenth and fifteenth // as well as on the eighth of each half-month,⁶⁹

as well as during the special half-month of the Tathāgata’s supernatural powers⁷⁰ // one is to keep the eight precepts strictly.

the *Dhammapada* commentary at Dhpa IV 18–25.

⁶⁸ For possession by *yakṣa* see DeCaroli 2004: 25–26 and Chandra 1954: 47–48 and 51. DeCaroli asserts, based on a remark by Agrawala, that the motif already appears in the *Vedas*. This is not born out by the referenced passage, however. A Jain tale of possession by a *yakṣa* can be found in the *Antagaḍa-dasāo* (Barnett 1907: 86–96).

⁶⁹ SĀ² 324: 月, as elsewhere in T 100 (e.g., SĀ² 46 at T II 389a10), here ‘half-month’ (*paḥṣa/ pakḥa*).

⁷⁰ Rhys Davids 1880: 141 remarked that the Pali *pāṭihāriyapakkha* was used to denote three periods: the three months of the summer retreat, or the following ‘robe month’ (*cīvara māsa*), or, mainly, the first fortnight/half-month of the robe month. This was forgotten by at least some later translators, who seem to imply the term denotes an extra day; e.g., Norman 1992: 43 and 222: “a special day of the fortnight.” Chinese readers might have understood terms such as 神足月 as pointing to a period in January–February, rather than August–September (Bingen-

If one practices without fail [during those periods] // spirits will not disturb one.

This is what I have heard // from the Arhat.”

The *yakṣa* then spoke this verse:

“At the fourteenth and fifteenth // as well as on the eighth of each half-month,

as well as during the fasting days of the special half-month // one is to keep the precepts without fail.

Keeping all eight precepts fastidiously // spirits will not disturb one.

What you have heard from the Arhat // is all true. I must now release [him].”

The *yakṣa* [also] said:

“Break the precepts and the spirits will disturb you // Breaking them in this life you will be bothered by spirits. // In the next you will receive the fruit of your bad action [i.e., a rebirth in a bad place]. Taking the precepts is like handling a knife. // Handled hastily one always gets hurt.

Wise people need to grasp it well⁷¹ // in just the right way and thus avoid harm.

A renunciant who does not keep the precepts // will later suffer the pains of hell,

like someone who clumsily uses a knife // will surely cut his hand.

Those who grasp it well, remain unharmed // [like those] who can keep the rules of the renunciants are bound to attain *Nirvāṇa* in the end.”

The *yakṣa* finally relinquished the son and released him suddenly.

heimer 2009: 227). The difficulty of pinning down the term was also noticed by Forte and May 1979: 397.

⁷¹ Reading with the Chinese stemma of the Song 宋, Yuan 元 and Ming 明 editions 善捉, instead of 菩提 in the Taishō edition.

The laywoman quickly told her son⁷²:

“You must listen to what I // and the *yakṣa* tell you:

‘All entangling karma // is due to imperfect *brahmacariya*.

Leading a skewed, crooked life // one cannot attain the great fruit
[of arhatship].

Like wielding a knife clumsily // one will surely cut one’s own hand.’

Keeping the rules of the renunciants well // one will in the end
surely make progress towards *Nirvāṇa*,

like someone who, wielding his knife skillfully, // will not hurt
his hand’.”

Earlier, one time, the laywoman had explained the Dharma in various ways to her son, and the son had quickly engendered dispassion [with the world].

Having [engendered] dispassion, he strove to leave home, shaved off his hair, and donned the Dharma robe. Because of his young age he did not find deep happiness in the rules of the homeless. Because he was not happy, he returned home.

When the laywoman saw her son coming from afar, she raised her hands and loudly declaimed in verse:

“The house is aflame // in a blazing fire bright,

those having well escaped, // why would they return?

Why would they enter the fire, // the house aflame

in a blazing fire bright, // why would they return?

Do they wish to be burned?”

At that time her son replied with a verse:

⁷² It is possible that this and the preceding sentence were also part of the verse, but it is just as likely that the translators of T 100 carried on the rhythm of the preceding verse. This phenomenon appears elsewhere in this collection, where verse lines vary between 4, 5 or 7 characters to the *pāda*, sometimes even in the same discourse.

“All humans must die, // a sure cause of grief and lament,
but if I were not to see you now // this too would make me weep.
Mother, why are you // crying like a *preta*?”

His mother responded with a verse:

“Already you went forth // leaving the house to become a renunciant.

Now you return home, // ensnared by Māra, I fear.

That is why I // cry for you.”

The laywoman scolded her son thus in various ways, and he engendered dispassion. Her son then went into the forest, practiced the way diligently, without pause day and night, and attained arhatship.

SĀ² 325 [‘Ālavaka Challenges the Buddha’]

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha was traveling in Magadha. He came to the abode of the *yakṣa* Ālavaka⁷³ and spent the night there.⁷⁴ At that time the *yakṣa* was elsewhere in a gathering with other *yakṣas* and not at home. A *yakṣa* with the name of Gardabha⁷⁵ saw

⁷³ SĀ 1326: *ālāguī* 阿闍鬼, SN 10.12 and Sn 10: *ālāvaka*, from the toponym Ālavī, a town between Sāvatti and Rājagaha. *Kuāngyě yèchà* 曠野夜叉 in SĀ² 325 seems to translate Sanskrit **āṭavika* ‘forest-dweller’ (from *aṭavi*, ‘forest’), perhaps in ignorance of the place name Sanskrit (Āṭavī = Pali Ālavī (Trenckner et al. 1968, s.v. Ālavī)); cf. also Karashima 2020: 749.

⁷⁴ The framing story has obvious parallels to SĀ² 323 (Sūciloma).

⁷⁵ Like with Ālavaka, SĀ² 325 translates (*lǐjū* 驢駒, ‘young donkey’), whereas SĀ 1326 transliterates (*jiétán* 竭曇). This *yakṣa* does not appear in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and *Sutta-nipāta* versions of the story. The Indian might have been *khara*, ‘donkey’, the name that appears in the discourse on Sūciloma (cf. SĀ² 323 translated above), which has an

that the Buddha made his stay in the abode of Ālavaka. He went to Ālavaka and told him: “You are very fortunate! A Tathāgata, an Arhat, a Fully Awakened One is in your abode to spend the night there.”

The *yakṣa* Ālavaka said: “What is that man doing in my abode?”

The *yakṣa* Gardabha responded: “Although he is a human, he is in fact a Tathāgata, an Arhat, a Fully Awakened One.”

Ālavaka said: “Have you investigated whether or not he is truly a Tathāgata, an Arhat, a Fully Awakened One.”

Ālavaka having finished his meeting, returned to his palace. On seeing the Buddha he said: “Get out, renunciant!” The Tathāgata then left his [Ālavaka’s] dwelling as bidden. Again he said to the Buddha: “Renunciant! Come back in!” The Buddha, having cut off all pride, again entered as bidden. A second, and a third time, he told the Buddha to get out and enter again and the Buddha always did as bidden. The fourth time Ālavaka said: “Renunciant! Get out!”. The Buddha said: “You have already asked me three times. I will not get out for you anymore now.”

Ālavaka then said: “I will ask you a riddle, if you can answer it, I will grant you your seat. If you cannot answer me I will confuse your mind, break it, and cause blood to spout forth from your face. I will grasp you by your arms and toss you to the shore of the Ganges.”⁷⁶

The Buddha said: “I do not see in this world a *deva*, *māra*, *brahma*,

identical frame stories, however, that does not fit well with the transcription *jiētán*. More likely seems **garda[bha]*, ‘donkey’. At one passage in T 99 the transcription *jiētán* 竭曇 is used to transliterate the name Gandha[gata] (SĀ 913 at T II 229c4–5). A *yakṣa* named Gardabha is converted in a story in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (DeCaroli 2004: 38–39) and mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (DesJardins 2002: 401), where he is associated with Mathurā. (The *Mahāmāyūrī*, however, also knows of a *yakṣa* Kharaposta (DesJardins 2002: 400).)

⁷⁶ See note 58 above on *póqí* [hé] 婆耆 [河].

renunciant, or brahmin, who is able to do such things to me. Ask if you like, I will answer accordingly.” Then the *yakṣa* Ālavaka spoke in verse:

“Among all the treasures // what is the best?

By what practice, practiced well // does one gain happiness and merit?

Among the tastes // what is the best?

Among lives // what is the best lived?”

At that time the World-honored One answered:

“Among the possessions of man // faith is the best.

Practicing Dharma // one can attain happiness.

The truth tastes best, // and one does live best wisely.”

There the *yakṣa* Ālavaka again spoke a verse:

“Who can cross the current, // who the great ocean?

Who can rid oneself of suffering // who can attain purity?”

At that time the World-honored One answered:

“By faith one crosses the current, // by perseverance the ocean.

By effort one can rid oneself of suffering, // by wisdom one can attain purity.”

There the *yakṣa* Ālavaka again spoke a verse:

“How does one attain faith? // How does one obtain wealth?

How does one attain fame? // How does one obtain good friends?”

At that time the World-honored One answered:⁷⁷

“[By trusting the] Arhats one attains faith,⁷⁸ // by practicing the Dharma one attains *Nirvāṇa*.

Carefully⁷⁹ doing what should be done // with diligence one gathers wealth.

⁷⁷ Reading, with the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the canon, 答 instead of 言.

⁷⁸ For this interpretation I am relying on *saddahāno arahataṃ* in SN 10.12.

⁷⁹ Reading, with the Chinese stemma, 慎 instead of 順.

By truthful speech one gains fame, // by generosity one obtains close friends.

You can ask widely, // [other] renunciants and brahmins:

‘Who else speaks truthfully // apart from me? Who [else] has [realized this] Dharma?’

Among the ninety-six [non-Buddhist] schools,⁸⁰ // you can investigate and listen carefully to them;

but he, whose teaching is nonviolent, // overcomes them all.”

There the *yakṣa* Ālavaka again spoke a verse:

“Why would I need to ask another, // whether renunciant or brahmin, [now that you have] with great dedication revealed, // and with well-made distinctions expounded the Dharma?

I will remember the grace // by which you taught me thus, allowing me to behold // the unsurpassed caravan leader.

From today on I will, // wherever I go, in town or village, // forever find refuge in the Buddha and reveal the correct Dharma.”

Then the *yakṣa* Ālavaka, having heard what the Buddha said, was delighted and leaped up. He took refuge in the triple gem, accepted the precepts, and became a disciple of the Buddha.

SĀ² 326 [‘A *Yakṣa* Praises the Nun *Vīrā*’]

Above we have seen how some *yakṣa* discourses of the northern tradition were moved into the *Devaputra-samyukta*.⁸¹ In the following

⁸⁰ On the designation 九十六種道 (corresponding to Sanskrit *ṣaṇ-ṇavatiyo pāṣaṇḍāḥ*) in T 100 see Bingenheimer 2011: 48.

⁸¹ See the above discussion on SĀ² 323 concerning SĀ² 323 and SĀ² 313, and the remarks in the introduction (section I above) on the missing discourses in the northern *Yakṣa-samyukta*.

we find an early pair of discourses that was probably formed by reduplication, but stably survived as an almost identical pair the separation of the northern and southern lines of transmission as well as the split between T 100 and T 99. $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 326 and $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 327 are two very similar discourses in which a *yakṣa* praises the nuns $\text{V}\bar{\text{ī}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ā}}$ ⁸² and *Sukkā*, respectively, and exhorts laypeople to make offerings to them. The two discourses correspond closely in structure and content to each other and the names equal those found in their Pali parallels (similar to $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 320 and 321 on mothering *yakṣiṇīs*). We can assume they formed early on through reduplication, before the northern tradition separated from the southern line.

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Kalanda bamboo grove.⁸³ At that time there was a nun in the Royal

⁸² In the Pali tradition one often reads *Cīra* for $\text{V}\bar{\text{ī}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ā}}$, both of which appear in the manuscript record. SN 10.11 (Feer's 1884–1898 edition, p. 213) titles the discourse “*Cīrā* (or *Virā*).” Somaratne 1998: 460 has “*Cīrā*”, as do Geiger et al. 1998 [1930]: 335 and Bodhi 2000: 314 in their translations; this against Rhys Davids' 1917: 275 expressed preference for “*Vīrā*”. The defenders of *Cīrā* can point to the alliteration in which the name is used in the Pali verse (SN I 213). The proponents of $\text{V}\bar{\text{ī}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ā}}$ are supported by the semantics of $\text{V}\bar{\text{ī}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ā}}$ in the Chinese verse and the rare gloss in the Chinese text. On the various Chinese transliterations of her name see Bingenheimer 2011: 156–159. Everything considered, an original of $\text{V}\bar{\text{ī}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ā}}$ seems more likely.

⁸³ The Indian name for this place, in Pali *kalandakanivāsa veḷuvana*, is sometimes rendered ‘Squirrels’ (*kalandaka*) feeding ground’, but this is just one of several interpretations of the name. In any case, the meaning would not have been clear to a Chinese reader, who would have understood *jīalantuo* 迦蘭陀 simply as a transcribed name. The *kalandakanivāsa* was located in the *Veḷuvana* (bamboo grove) park that was gifted

Monastery, with the name of Vīrā (which means “mighty” in the language of the Qin).⁸⁴ When the people of that country were all celebrating the *komudī* festival [at the end of the rainy season],⁸⁵ they held revelries for seven days and seven nights, but no one invited the nun.

At that time there was a *yakṣa* who had great faith in and respect for the nun Vīrā. Learning that none of the people in that country had invited her, he spoke this verse in the streets [of Rājagaha]:

“The people of Rājagaha // are all drunk and asleep,
while the nun Vīrā // has quietly entered skillful concentration.

to the community by King Bimbisāra.

⁸⁴ This exceptional gloss explaining Vīrā’s name has been used by Mizuno 1970 as the main evidence for dating T 100 between 385 and 431.

⁸⁵ The name of this festival appears three times in T 100: SĀ² 326 and SĀ² 327 have the transliteration *jumitou* 俱蜜頭(星會), whereas SĀ² 360 at T II 491b11 has the transliteration *jumiti* 拘蜜提(大會), none of which appear elsewhere in the Chinese canon. T 99 speaks of a “(festival) on the day of the auspicious star”, for the first two instances (吉星日集聚(大會) / 吉星日歡集(大會) in SĀ 1328 and SĀ 1327, parallels to SĀ² 326 and SĀ² 327 respectively), but it uses the transliteration *qiamoni* 憍牟尼(大會) in the parallel to SĀ² 360, SĀ 1340 at T II 369c4-5, and it moreover indicates that the festival took place in the fourth month of the summer (i.e., the last month of the rainy season). Thus, though different in detail, all transliterations converge on a similar Indian original, namely Sanskrit *kaumudī*. Monier Williams 1899, s.v. *kaumuda*: “the day of full moon in the month Kārttika (sacred to Kārttikeya), festival in honour of Kārttikeya held on that day” and “a festival in general.” The Prakritic forms *kaumodī* and *kaumudī* are attested according to Edgerton 1953, s.v. *kaumodī*. The Pali *komudī* is also known as *kattikā-chaṇa* the festival on the full moon of the month of Kattikā, the last month of the rainy season. This coincides with the *pavāraṇā*, the ritual at the end of the rain retreats, but the text here describes a festival before the *pavāraṇā* was established.

As a practitioner she is indeed mighty [i.e., *vīra*], // is accomplished in the mighty Dharma.

This nun, // accomplished in training the faculties,
has forever escaped from the world of dust, // entered extinction
and attained *Nirvāṇa*.

Reverend Ones (Pali *bhadanta*) such as her // should be diligently supported with offerings.

How come that none of you // have invited her?”

When the laypeople of the town heard this verse, they all took⁸⁶
clothes and delicacies and donated them to the nun. The *yakṣa*, seeing how they all made their offerings, again said in verse:

“The nun *Vīrā* // has broken all fetters.

The lay followers are wise // to offer⁸⁷ this food,
by offering this food, // they will attain great merit and increase.⁸⁸

The nun *Vīrā* // has broken all fetters.

The lay followers are wise // to offer these clothes,
by offering these clothes, // they will attain great merit and increase.”

⁸⁶ I am unsure whether to take 各持 A&B as ‘all brought A & B’ or ‘some brought A and some B’. The Pali *aññatāro upāsako* does not help.

⁸⁷ *neng* 能 here as a filling word, akin to 而 or 乃 (Yu 1986, s.v.). It appears to function in this way quite often in the verses in T 100 (see, e.g., above in SĀ² 321: 說苦能生苦 or below at SĀ² 328: 若能真實語).

⁸⁸ This version, though the passages are in different order and have been padded, is quite close to the Pali of the *Cirā-sutta* at SN I 213,18–21: *puññaṃ vata pasavi bahum, sappañño vatāyaṃ upāsako; yo cīrāya adāsi cīvaraṃ, sabbayogehi vippamuttiya*. (Lost, however, is the alliterative play between *puñña* and *pañña*, and *Cirā* and *civara*.)

SĀ² 327 [‘A *Yakṣa* Praises the Nun Suktā’]

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Kalanda bamboo grove. At that time there was a nun in the royal monastery, with the name of Suktā.⁸⁹ When the people of that country were all celebrating the *komudī* festival [at the end of the rainy season], they held revelries for seven days and seven nights, but no one invited the nun.

At that time there was a *yakṣa* who had great faith in and respect for the nun Suktā. Learning that none of the people in that country had invited her, he spoke this verse in the streets [of Rājagaha]:

“The people of Rājagaha // are all drunk and asleep,
have not invited the nun // who has trained her faculties.

“Pure” [=Suktā] by pure Dharma,⁹⁰ // the nun is skilled in
concentration,
has forever escaped from the world of dust // and in silent ex-
tinction attained *Nirvāṇa*.

Reverend Ones such as her // should be diligently supported with
offerings.

How come that none of you // have invited her?”

⁸⁹ In contrast to the previous discourse, where the translators transcribed the name *Vīrā*, in SĀ² 327 the nun’s name, Suktā [Sanskrit **Śuklā*], is translated 白淨, not transcribed. SĀ 1329 transcribes *shujialuo* 叔迦羅, from something like *śukla*. The *Fanfan yu* 翻梵語 glossary wants to correct 叔迦羅 to 叔歌羅 (probably deriving from *su-kāla*) and glosses it as meaning ‘good time’ (譯曰好時) (T 2130 at T LIV 1002b2). As so often, the *Fanfan yu* is wrong.

⁹⁰ This pun is constructed in the same way and same location (third line) as the one in the previous discourse (where *Vīrā* is ‘powerful’ as the Dharma is powerful), here Suktā (‘Pure One’) is ‘pure’ as the Dharma.

When the laypeople in the town heard this verse, they all took clothes and food and donated them to the nun. The *yakṣa* seeing how they all made their offerings, again said in verse:

“The nun Sukkā // has broken all fetters of desire.
The lay followers are wise // to offer this food,
by offering this food, // they will attain immeasurable merit.
The nun Sukkā // has done away with all covetousness.
The lay followers are wise // to offer these clothes,
by offering these clothes, // they will attain immeasurable merit.”

SĀ² 328 [‘Sātāgira and Hemavata Question the Buddha’]

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Kalanda bamboo grove. At that time there were two *yakṣas* one was called Sāptagiri, the other Hemavata.⁹¹ The two were friends and had made a vow to each other saying: “Whenever there is a wonderful treasure in your abode, you tell me, and whenever there is a wonderful treasure in my abode I will tell you.”

One time Hemavata had in his abode a lotus blossom with a thousand petals, large like a cart wheel, with a light purple stalk, and ada-

⁹¹ SĀ² 328: 七岳, probably *Sāptagira; Sn 9: Sātāgira and Hemavata. But cf. SĀ 1329: 娑多耆利 and 醯魔波低, which point to Sātāgiri and Hemavati for the northern tradition. Sāptagiri, was probably a mistake for Sātāgiri, that occurred during the process of oral translation, when the reciter misremembered this rare name. As with some other *yakṣas* mentioned in the *Āgama/Nikāya* layer, legends grew around Sātāgiri and he was incorporated into the Hārītī story (e.g., appearing as Hārītī’s brother 娑多山 in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (T 1451 at T XXIV 361b9; for a free translation of the passage see Peri 1917).

mantine tendrils. The *yakṣa* Hemavata on seeing this immediately sent a messenger to tell Sāptagiri: “I have something extraordinary in my abode, please come and take a look!”

On hearing this, the *yakṣa* Sāptagiri thought: “The Tathāgata, the World-honored One is staying not far from here. I could send a messenger to Hemavata telling him: ‘Why on earth⁹² should I go there to see a precious flower?’” Having thought that he sent a messenger saying: “A Tathāgata, an Arhat, a Fully Awakened One has appeared at my place. What good is there in a precious flower at your place?”

When the *yakṣa* Hemavata heard this, he, with a retinue of five hundred *yakṣas*, went to the abode where the *yakṣa* Sāptagiri was staying, and said to him in verse⁹³:

“[Today] on the night of the fifteenth // with the full [moon] pure and bright,

I have received your message, gathered my retinue, // and thus have come to meet,

But whom is it I should get to know? // Who is that Arhat of yours?”

The *yakṣa* Sāptagiri replied in verse:

“The Tathāgata, the World-honored One // is the best of Rājagaha
He explains the four truths // to end all suffering.

[That is] he explains how suffering arises from causes, // what brings forth suffering is called the ‘arising’,⁹⁴

⁹² Reading 當 as marking an emphatic question (Karashima 1998, s.v.; Kroll 2015, s.v.).

⁹³ The relationship of the verses in SĀ² 328 with their parallels in SĀ 1329, SĀ² 315, and the *Sutta-nipāta* is quite complex. In his contribution to this volume Ken Su 2020: 862–870 has suggested that the verse part of SĀ² 328 is in disarray.

⁹⁴ SĀ² 328: 習, here as in 苦習, corresponding to Pali *dukkha-samudaya* / Sanskrit *duḥkha-samudaya*. This looks like a gloss, and the text might indeed be faulty here, as a reference to the third truth of the noble ones

the eight-fold right path of the nobles // that leads toward silent extinction.⁹⁵

That is my Arhat, // whom you should get to know.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata again said in verse:

“Is he towards all types of beings // disposed with *mettā* and the other [divine abodes]?

Is he with regard to feelings of like and dislike // entirely master of his mind?”

The *yakṣa* Sāptagiri replied in verse:

“His mind is gently disposed // towards all kinds of beings.⁹⁶

Having fully understood all phenomena // he became the guiding teacher for this world.

With regard to feelings of like and dislike // his mind has entirely attained mastery.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata again said in verse:

“Does he always say the truth // and never lie?

Is he always compassionate to all beings // and never kills living beings?

Has he abandoned indolence // and is not vacuous in his meditation?”

(苦盡 or 苦滅) is missing.

⁹⁵ This and the next line is an elaboration of the Pali *dukkha-samudaya-nirodha-magga* / Sanskrit *duḥkha-samudaya-nirodha-mārga* formula. It is much clearer in SĀ 1329. This first part of the exchange concerning the four truths of the noble ones, is contained only in the northern tradition, not in the Pali.

⁹⁶ SĀ² 328: 群萌類. This interesting variant at first seems like a mistake, but does appear in fact once more in the canon (T 200 at T IV 205a29) where the apparatus records the *lectio facilior* 生 for the Chinese stemma. 萌 is probably correct, simply as variant of 萌 in the frequent phrase 群萌類. 群萌類, also appearing as 群萌 or 萌類, probably from *bahu-jana*. 萌/萌 here meaning 氓/民 (HDC, s.v. 萌) ‘people, living beings’ rather than the usual ‘sprout, bud’.

The *yakṣa* Sāptagiri replied in verse:

“He never lies // has abandoned all violence,
and has forever done away with indolence. // The Buddha is always
concentrated.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata again said in verse:

“Is he without attachments to sensual desires, // his mind undis-
turbed?⁹⁷

Does he have the eye to see phenomena [clearly]⁹⁸ // and has he
ended delusion?

Has he cast off all troubles // and attained liberation?”

The *yakṣa* Sāptagiri replied in verse:

“He has gone beyond the mire of sensual desire // his mind calm
and undisturbed.

He sees phenomena clearly and penetratingly // he has ended delusion.

Forever having abandoned the various fetters // he has attained
liberation.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata again said in verse:

“Who is not troubled on being separated [from things one likes]? //

Who does not chat idly [now and then]?

Who on seeing [desirable] things does not crave for them? // Who
does not give rise to views and ideas?”

The *yakṣa* Sāptagiri replied in verse:

“[The Buddha] has long since abandoned suffering from separation
from the liked. // He never engages in meaningless talk.

[He] has cast off greed and desire in the mind. // He is forever
without wrong views and ideas.”

⁹⁷ Here and below I resolve ambivalent passages in the Chinese according to Norman’s translation of the Pali *Sutta-nipāta* (Norman 1984: 26–27).

⁹⁸ SĀ² 328 and SĀ 1329: 法眼; Sn 9: *dharmesu cakkhumā* (Bodhi 2017: 181; translates “vision of phenomena”; Norman 1984: 26 “vision in respect [of mental phenomena]”).

The *yakṣa* Hemavata again said in verse:

“Is he fully endowed with the various fields of knowledge,⁹⁹ // is his conduct pure?

Has he stopped the outflows // [so as] not to be reborn again?”

The *yakṣa* Sāptagiri replied in verse:

“[He] is fully endowed with knowledge and conduct // his conduct is pure.

[He] has since destroyed the outflows, // will never be reborn again.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata again said in verse:

“The Tathāgata in the three forms of action [i.e., mental, verbal, physical] // is fully accomplished in good conduct.

Do you venerate him // and praise his true Dharma?”

The *yakṣa* Sāptagiri replied in verse:

“The Tathāgata is in body, speech, and mind // fully accomplished in good conduct.

His understanding is perfect. // I do praise his true Dharma.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata again said in verse:

“A sage, a hero among gods, // with legs like an antelope,
eating little food, not covetous of taste, // a sage meditating in the forest.

Let us go together // to pay our respects to Gotama.”

At that time the *yakṣa* Sāptagiri and the *yakṣa* Hemavata, together leading a host of one thousand *yakṣas*, went to where the Buddha was. They arranged their clothes properly, and with palms together paid their respects and said in verse:

“The World-honored One’s, the world’s hero’s // the Buddha’s feet we venerate!

What the gods do not know, // you have seen and understood!”

⁹⁹ SĀ² 328: 明, corresponding to Pali *viññā* / Sanskrit *vidyā*, a broad term that encompasses different forms of secular and spiritual knowledge.

Having spoken this verse Hemavata and Sāptagiri sat to one side.
The *yakṣa* Hemavata then asked the Buddha in verse:

“How does one exit suffering? // How can suffering end?
May the World-honored One explain to me! // Where does suffering
end?”

Then the World-honored One replied in verse saying:

“[There are] five [types of] sensual pleasure, the mind is the sixth //
in regard to these desire is to be discarded.
That is liberation from suffering // that is the exit from suffering.
Liberation from suffering // is to extinguish the sphere of suf-
fering.

What you have asked, // I explain to you as it is.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata then again asked in verse:

“Where does the flood churn? // Where is there no safe haven?
Where are suffering and delight // extinguished without re-
mainder?”

Then the World-honored One replied in verse saying:

“Eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, // and the mind as the sixth of
sense faculties:

In them churns the flood, // this is where there is no safe haven.

Where name and form turn no more, // there they attain extinction.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata then again asked in verse:

“By what has the world arisen? // By which does it gather?
How many [types of] grasping are there in the world? // How
many objects are sought in suffering?”

Then the World-honored One replied in verse saying:

“The world is arisen from six, // because of six it gathers.
From six [types of feelings] grasping arises, // six [types of] sense
objects are always sought in suffering.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata then again asked in verse:

“How to practice the good Dharma, // day and night without slackening?

How to cross this flood, // where there is no firm ground to stand, and no support to hold onto. // How not to sink into this depth?”

Then the World-honored One replied in verse saying:

“By never breaking the precepts, // with wisdom and well concentrated,

paying attention to one’s faults, // endowed with mindfulness, one crosses the flood which is hard to cross. // Abstaining from fulfilling one’s desires,

discarding all fetters, // ending the delight in becoming, thus a person can be said // to not sink into this depth.”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata then again asked in verse:

“Who crosses the flood, // who the ocean?

Who can cast off suffering? // How to attain purity?”

Then the World-honored One replied in verse saying:

“Faith crosses the flood, // perseverance crosses the ocean.

Diligent effort can cast off suffering // wisdom can bring purity.

Go visit other renunciants // and brahmins;

ask them one by one. // Who knows this teaching?

Who can explain the true casting off [of suffering] // apart from me, who can?”

The *yakṣa* Hemavata then again asked [*sic*] in verse:

“On hearing the Buddha’s teaching // the net of doubt has been dispelled.

What need is there to ask another // renunciant or brahmin¹⁰⁰

[about that which] the world hero¹⁰¹ has [already] well revealed //

¹⁰⁰ Same line appears in SĀ² 325 (Ālavaka), which is in other ways related to the ‘Discourse to Hemavata’.

¹⁰¹ SĀ² 328: 世雄. Hirakawa 1997: 12 suggests *mahā-vīra* or *śāstr*, both common epithets of the Buddha.

and with true distinctions taught?

Sāptagiri has been truly gracious // and allowed me to meet
the unsurpassed guiding teacher. // From now on, wherever I go
in town or village, // in every place,
day and night, I will always find refuge // in the Tathāgata, the
truly Awakened One,
and in the correct teaching among the teachings.”

There each of the one thousand *yakṣas* were greatly moved and
delighted in their minds. They put their palms together saluting the
Buddha and all became disciples, taking refuge in the Buddha, the
World-honored One.

SĀ² 329 [‘A *Yakṣa* Hits Sāriputta’]

This cluster consists of SĀ² 329, SĀ 1330, Ud 4.4 at Ud 39 (*Yakkha-pahāra-sutta*) and a Sanskrit passage from the *Udānavarga*, identified by Enomoto (1994, no. 1330).¹⁰²

Translation

Thus have I heard. Once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the
Kalanda bamboo grove. At that time the venerable Sāriputta and the
venerable Mahā-Moggallāna dwelt at Vulture Peak. One morning
Sāriputta, having freshly shaved his head, got up early and sat in
meditation, his head covered with his robe.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Migot 1953: 511, in his exhaustive study of the figure of Sāriputra, considers the elements of this story as one of the oldest in the textual layers concerning this disciple: “... cette histoire de *yakkha* nous ramène au vieux fonds légendaire de l’Inde, non seulement prébouddhique mais pré-aryen, et il s’agit vraisemblablement d’une légende très ancienne recueillie et adaptée par les compilateurs de l’*Udāna*.”

¹⁰³ SĀ² 329: 以衣覆頭 “covering the head with one’s robe (or a cloth)” (after

It so happened at that time that there were two *yakṣas* one called Ghāta, the other Upaghāta.¹⁰⁴ When Upaghāta saw Sāriputta he said to Ghāta: “I want to hit that bald recluse with my fist.” Ghāta replied: “This monk is possessed of great spiritual power; don’t do it! You will come to suffer for a long time!” A second, and a third time he warned him thus. But Upaghāta desired to hit Sāriputta with his fist, and did not heed [Ghāta’s] warnings.

It came so far that [Ghāta tried to] physically restrain and grasp him. But then Upaghāta’s evil mind flared up, and in spite of the other’s warnings and his attempts to restrain him, did not desist, and hit Sāriputta’s head with his fist. Having hit him, the *yakṣa* Upaghāta said to Ghāta: “Now that I have hit the monk, I feel as if I am on fire – save me!” As he said this, the earth split open, and his body plunged into the Avīcī Hell.

At that time the venerable Mahā-Mogallāna was sitting under a tree, not far from where Sāriputta was sitting. When he suddenly heard the sound of Sāriputta being hit he went over and said: “[Surely] one cannot tolerate such pain, are you not afraid you might die?” Sāriputta said: “My body can tolerate it, there is no pain, and I won’t die.” The venerable [Mahā-Mogallāna] then said in praise:

having freshly shaved one’s head, perhaps to protect it from the morning cool), appears several times as a pericope in the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgamas*. This is the only instance, however, where it describes Sāriputta, and the detail is missing in the SĀ 1330 and Ud 4.4 parallels.

¹⁰⁴ The word *ghāta-* in the proper names Ghāta and Upaghāta means ‘blow’ (Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–1875, s.v. ‘Schlag’, ‘Tödtung’). SĀ² 329 translates the names as 爲害 and 復害, which does not allow an exact reconstruction. Only SĀ 1330 preserves the names they were given in the northern tradition as 伽吒 and 優波伽吒. The effect might have been slightly comical (or perhaps scary), as if in English the rouges had been called Slap and Punch. In the *Udānavarga* the two *yakṣas* are not named.

“This is true spiritual power! If Upaghāta had struck Vulture Peak with his hand it would have broken up, but Sāriputta is unchanged.”¹⁰⁵

As the two venerable ones spoke, the Buddha was sitting in his room, meditating in the morning, and with his divine ear heard their words. He spoke this verse:¹⁰⁶

“With an upright mind, like a mountain, // in peace one dwells unperturbed

by things to which one might become attached. // Thus by the teaching of non-attachment¹⁰⁷

one leaves far behind all worldly delights. // What are called worldly delights

are essentially just base desires. // When something brings agitation he who does not respond with agitation // is called not agitated.

Having trained one’s mind thus // one will not feel suffering again.”
At that time the monks heard what the Buddha said, were delighted and remembered it well.

¹⁰⁵ The SĀ 1330 version is closer to the *Udāna* here in that Sāriputta admits some pain.

¹⁰⁶ SĀ 1330 closely follows what we find in the *Udāna* verse. While the wording of SĀ² 329 differs somewhat from SĀ 1330 / Ud 4.4, it is still a variation on the same text; see Ud 4.4 at Ud 41,1–3: *yassa selūpamaṃ cittaṃ, ṭhitaṃ n’ānupakampati; virattaṃ rajanīyesu, kopaneyye na kuppati; yass’evaṃ bhāvitaṃ cittaṃ, kuto taṃ dukkhaṃ essa ti*; SĀ 1330 at T II 367b26–28: 其心如剛石，堅住不傾動；染著心已離，瞋者不反報；若如此修心，何有苦痛憂？

¹⁰⁷ SĀ² 329: 不染著法。I am reading the first 染 as 然. Otherwise, the sentence might mean ‘colored/suffused by the teaching of non-attachment’ but this seems less likely. 不染著法 as ‘teaching of non-attachment’ is attested in the *Ekottarika-āgama* (EĀ 25.3 at T II 631b22).

Conclusion: The *Yakṣas* in the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgamas*

Although the *yakṣas* in modern scholarship are usually grouped with other types of supernatural beings, their earliest appearance in the Buddhist canon, both in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *Sutta-nipāta*, is surprisingly human-like.

Only in SĀ² 318 and 324 *yakṣas* act in a supernatural way, while in two other discourses *yakṣas* are mentioned as supernatural beings to be feared (SĀ² 319) or worshiped (SĀ² 322). These are in line with the presence of a cult of local *yakṣa* deities, which is attested in text and art for the centuries that follow.

The other eight discourses, however, might as well depict encounters of the early Buddhist *Saṅgha* with tribal, non-urban communities, which were not part of the usual *śramaṇa/brāhmaṇa*-society audience of the early discourses. These foraging, wandering figures, both threatening and pathetic, have abodes (*bhavana*), but no settlements. They behave in an uncivilized way, because they were not part of the burgeoning Gangetic civilization, where agriculture was becoming predominant, where *nāstikas* debated with *vaidikas*, and larger towns had started to grow into cities and kingdoms. The teachings that are given to these *yakṣas* often exhort them to nonviolence, which seems to have been a concern for the *Saṅgha* in its dealings with them. Table 3 below summarizes the presence and presentation of such supernatural aspects in each discourse of the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta*.

Thus, in contrast to the *yakṣa* episodes featured in the *Jātakas* and later Indian literature, the *yakṣa* discourses of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* might well have been occasioned by encounters not with a supernatural, but a social ‘other’.

Table 3. The Supernatural in the *Yakṣa-saṃyukta* Discourses

| T 100 Discourse | Topic | Supernatural Element |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| SĀ ² 318 | Māñibhadra hosts the Buddha | Māñibhadra magically creates accommodation for the <i>Saṅgha</i> . |
| SĀ ² 319 | Nāgapāla as Bakkula demon | <i>Yakṣa</i> mentioned as frightening demon, but does not appear in the discourse. |
| SĀ ² 320 | The mother of Piṅgala | ‘Doubled’ discourse – <i>Yakṣa</i> acts as human, no supernatural element. |
| SĀ ² 321 | The mother of Puna-bbasu | |
| SĀ ² 322 | At the abode of Māñicara | <i>Yakṣa</i> is worshiped, but does not appear in the discourse. Text retains traces of the verse spoken to a <i>yakṣiṇī</i> . The frame story is perhaps a later addition. There is no Pali version. |
| SĀ ² 323 | Sūciloma challenges the Buddha | <i>Brahmodya</i> challenge and threat of violence. |
| SĀ ² 324 | Possession by <i>yakṣa</i> | <i>Yakṣa</i> as spirit that can possess humans. |
| SĀ ² 325 | Ālavaka challenges the Buddha | <i>Brahmodya</i> challenge and threat of violence. |
| SĀ ² 326 | A <i>yakṣa</i> praises the nun Vīrā | ‘Doubled’ discourse – <i>Yakṣa</i> acts as human, no supernatural element. |

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| | | |
|---------------------|--|--|
| SĀ ² 327 | A <i>yakṣa</i> praises the nun Sukkā | |
| SĀ ² 328 | Sāptagiri and Hemavata question the Buddha | <i>Brahmodya</i> challenge. |
| SĀ ² 329 | A <i>yakṣa</i> hits Sāri- putta | <i>Yakṣa</i> as violent and threatening, but not in a supernatural way. |

Appendix: Again on the School Affiliation of T 100

In his contribution to this volume, the late Karashima Seishi 辛嶋 静志 (1957–2019) touches on the question of the school affiliation of T 100 (Karashima 2020).

Personally, I am skeptical that *Āgama* collections were generally understood as belonging to a certain *Nikāya*, and find that most attempts to decide on affiliation disregard the null hypothesis, that is, the possibility that a text was never considered – by audience, transmitters, or translators – as belonging to a particular school. Nevertheless, questions surrounding the school affiliation of *Āgama* texts have been eagerly discussed in the past and we do indeed have collections of *Āgama* texts which seem to have been used in certain communities. Overall, in *Āgama* literature the textual differences between versions in general do not amount to indicators of doctrinal divisions and often allow for different conclusions as to how they came about. In any case, the editor has asked me to comment again on this issue in the light of the points raised by my esteemed late colleague.

Karashima's strongest argument is that T 100 cannot belong to the Sarvāstivāda corpus because of a difference in nomenclature: while the text references a *Dharmapada* (Chinese 法句偈), the Sarvāstivāda version of this verse collection has been named *Udāna* (transliterated in Chinese as 優陀那). This is a good point, which, however, can be explained, as with many eccentric transliteration/translation choices in T 100, by the fact that it was translated from an oral text. The translators settled on the title 法句偈, because that was the name known to them for the collection. T 100 often prefers

translated terms over transliteration (when compared with T 99), but here did not choose, for instance, the terms 無問自說 or 讚嘆經, which are attested for *udāna*, but rather the term 法句偈, which of course is a literal rendition of *dharmapada*. In oral transmission we may assume that what the oral presenter says, what gets translated, and what gets written on the page are often different things, and one cannot put too much weight on one single, if recurrent, term.

Indeed T 99 too uses the title 法句偈 in a verse passage instead of the form 優陀那.¹⁰⁸ Does that mean it cannot be a Sarvāstivāda collection?

When Enomoto Fumio 榎本 文雄 (1980 and again 1984a) compared both T 99 and T 100 with *Udānavarga* verses, he found both in agreement with a later (in his terminology) ‘(Mūla)-Sarvāstivāda’ *Udāna* stemma that is also found in Tibetan and the extant Sanskrit parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. He did not remark that the *Udāna* verse parallels in T 100 are somehow different from the ones in T 99 or from the Indian parallels in the Sarvāstivāda stemma.

Finally, the use of the term 法句(經) for *udāna* is attested in *Āgama* literature in a *dvaḍāśa-aṅga* list contained in the *Dīrgha-āgama*.¹⁰⁹ Although not denoting the verse collection, it is clearly a case where the term *udāna* has been translated with its better known cognate *dharmapāda* as 法句(經); translated, not transliterated, in line with the eleven other *aṅgas* in this passage.¹¹⁰

Although it is of course generally true that the Sarvāstivāda were strongly partial to the title *Udāna(varga)* for their version of the famous verse collection, the Chinese amanuensis who wrote down the

¹⁰⁸ SĀ 1321 at T II 362c16.

¹⁰⁹ DĀ 2 at T I 16c15–17.

¹¹⁰ On the significance of the *aṅga* lists in the *Āgamas* see Bhikkhu Anālayo’s part in Travagnin and Anālayo 2020 in this volume.

oral translation of T 100 might not have been that firmly committed to terminological consistency.

I also find it difficult to agree with Karashima's thesis that T 100 was translated from a particular manuscript that Faxian 法顯 brought to China from Sri Lanka, and that what is now received as T 99 was translated from an orally recited text. I think the opposite is more likely.

Karashima (2020) follows Enomoto (1980 and 1984a) in asserting that T 99 was orally recited by Guṇabhadra. Against this, Andrew Glass (2008 [2010]) has, to my mind convincingly, argued that Guṇabhadra and Baoyun translated T 99 from the manuscript that Faxian acquired in Sri Lanka. (Bhikkhu Anālayo (2015: 55) seems to accept Glass' (2008 [2010]) conclusions.)

I am not interested here in whether the Faxian manuscript was really used to translate T 99, although apart from the historical arguments forwarded by Glass, I find the language of T 99 much more consistent and streamlined, and I am therefore inclined to believe that the longer text was translated from a manuscript. The incomplete, perhaps unfinished, T 100, on the other hand, consists largely of the *Sagāthā-varga* portion of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and seems a more plausible candidate for oral translation. This also seems likely in light of several inconsistencies in transliteration/translation, and the traces of Prakrit in the transliteration of names, which Karashima has so helpfully resolved in his contribution to this volume, and some which were noted already by Mizuno Kōgen 水野 弘元 (1970). The case for an oral transmission of T 100 has been argued, to my mind convincingly, by Ken Su [= Su Jinkun 蘇錦坤] (2008) and again in his contribution in this volume (Su 2020). The argument mainly revolves around the relationship between the *uddānas* and the actual text of T 100. The differences between the mnemonic matrix and the actual translation is best explained by assuming an oral translation process.

Karashima (2020: 744) states:

A key consideration here is that if the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, which Faxian had obtained in Sri Lanka, actually belonged to the Sarvāstivādins, it is somewhat surprising that he did not refer to this school's name in the above-quoted description of how he acquired the manuscripts in Sri Lanka.

I do not think this strange at all. Faxian simply noted a school affiliation only where he thought it made sense: with *Vinaya* and with Abhidharma texts, not with *Āgamas*.

Again, Karashima (2020: 745) reasons:

The Sarvāstivādins were at the time flourishing throughout the Northern and North-western regions of India as well as Central Asia, but their presence is not epigraphically attested in Sri Lanka ... and South India.

This is of course correct, although basically no other early mainland Indian schools are mentioned in the extant epigraphic corpus of Sri Lanka either. Sri Lankan Buddhism in the first millennium evolved its own three (perhaps four) communities, which seemed to have inhibited the import of Indian *Nikāya* schools.¹¹¹ Even the Mahīśāsakas are mentioned only in commentaries and we have no evidence that members of the sect had an institutional presence there. Heinz Bechert (2005: 89), who has returned to the question of early Bud-

¹¹¹ In part this seems to have been a consequence of the persistence of Pali (and Sinhalese) which during the Anuradhapura period remained the main literary languages (Bechert 2005: 35). Sanskritization did not occur in Sri Lankan Buddhism as it did in the early Buddhist schools. New doctrinal movements were often known under local names.

dhist sects in Sri Lanka again and again in his research, discovered little trace of any institutional presence of Indian *Nikāyas*.¹¹² Sri Lankan communities, such as the Abhayagirivāsins and the Mahāvihāravāsins, defined the landscape of Buddhist school affiliation on the island, without, however, producing different canonical collections.¹¹³ Bechert (2005: 45–50) also mentions the possible presence of the Dharmaguptakas (a school closely related to the Sarvāstivāda) in the fifth century, and a distinct (in his terminology) (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda literary influence in early Sri Lanka. Thus, although there is no trace of any institutional Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda presence in Sri Lanka, that does not mean there were no Sarvāstivāda texts in the libraries and it was not at all impossible for Faxian to have come across Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda literature there.

When it comes to the circulation of manuscripts in South Asia, it seems better not to exclude anything *ex silentio*, considering how fragmentary our evidence is.

Karashima (2020: 744–745) reads the relevant passage thus:¹¹⁴

Faxian ... further (i.e., except for the *Vinaya* of the Mahā-sāṅghikas which he had already acquired in Pāṭaliputra)

¹¹² With the possible exception of a passage in the ninth century Jetavanārāma Sanskrit Inscription (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. 1 (1912), p. 9), which perhaps alludes to four main *Nikāyas* of contemporary Indian Buddhism.

¹¹³ Bechert 1992: 96: “We have ample evidence for the fact that the Abhayagirivāsins used the same collection of sacred scriptures in Pali which has been handed down to us by the orthodox Theravāda tradition of the Mahāvihāravāsins.”

¹¹⁴ T 2085 at T LI 865c24–27: 法顯住此國二年更求得彌沙塞律藏本得長阿含雜阿含復得一部雜藏此悉漢土所無者得此梵本已即載商人上船可有二百餘人。

sought to obtain a text of the *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas (and obtained it). He obtained the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, and also obtained one set of the **Kṣudraka-piṭaka* (of the same school).

I see no compelling need for adding “(of the same school).” There is nothing that connects the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (雜阿含) in this passage to the Mahīśāsakas, nor has anybody else ever read the passage in that sense.¹¹⁵ The obvious reading is that only the *Vinaya* merits mentioning school affiliation, while discourse texts are considered common to all *Nikāyas*.

Faxian might have brought a *Saṃyukta-āgama* from Sri Lanka, but its fate is largely conjecture. There is some circumstantial evidence for the manuscript being used to translate T 99 (Glass 2008 [2010]), but there is really no evidence at all linking it to T 100. Closer to Faxian’s time, in his *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) explicitly says that neither the *Dīrgha-* nor the *Saṃyukta-āgama* that Faxian brought back were ever translated from Sanskrit.¹¹⁶

Somewhat surprisingly, Karashima criticizes Hiraoka Satoshi’s 平岡 聡史 (2000) research on T 99 and T 100, which is quite in line with what others have suggested as the best way to distinguish school affiliation (von Hinüber and von Simson in Bechert 1985, Enomoto 1980 and 1984b). Differences, both in stock phrases as well as in exceptional passages – such as the Buddha’s name causing ‘goose bumps’ in the hearer, which was traced by Hiraoka (2000: 503) – should be considered valid pieces of evidence, if indeed not entirely

¹¹⁵ See, e.g., the translation by Deeg 2005: 171–172 and, from Faxian’s biography, Shih 1968: 112–113.

¹¹⁶ T 2145 at T LV 11c25–12a14.

conclusive. Karashima moreover argues that the evidence given by Enomoto (1984) for a Mūlasarvāstivāda affiliation (‘(Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda’ in Enomoto’s (1984) terminology) is thin. I would agree that more evidence is required, nevertheless a single passage where T 100 agrees with the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and differs from the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (still our only ‘true’ Mahīśāsaka text, T 1421) is still better than no evidence at all. Obviously, a closer comparison between content lines and similar phrases between the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* and T 100 would be useful. Karashima’s survey of transliterations in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* goes in that direction, but it contains no ‘smoking gun’, that is, a passage or even only a transcription that shows clearly that T 100 parallels the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, but not the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. The fact that the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* is also partly Prakritized is not surprising given its date.

As to the use of Prakrit forms in T 100, these can be found in Mūlasarvāstivāda texts as well.¹¹⁷ Moreover, traces of Prakrit (especially in names) would have been a natural result of the kind of oral transmission that we assume for T 100.

The only internal clue to the provenance of T 100 is in SĀ² 326 (translated above) where the characters 秦言 (‘in the language of the Qin’) gloss the transliteration of the name Virā. Karashima does not discuss this, but the gloss has been used by Mizuno (1970) not only to date the text, but also to place it. Mizuno (1970) identifies the name 秦 here with the Western Qin 西秦 that ruled in Northwest China in the Gansu 甘肅 corridor around Lanzhou 蘭州.

¹¹⁷ von Simson 1985: 83 believes that the Sarvāstivādins were even more resolved than the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins to distance themselves from the medieval [Prakritic] originals. (“Auf der anderen Seite scheint bei den Sarvāstivādin der Wille zur Abkehr und Entfernung von der mittelalterlichen Vorlage stärker ausgeprägt zu sein als bei den Mūla-Sarvāstivādin.”)

Faxian, after his return, is not known to have left East China again and there is absolutely no evidence to place him or the manuscripts he brought back in Northwest China. The Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* was translated in Yangzhou after Faxian's death. We have no reason to think that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (雜阿含) manuscript that he brought made it to Northwest China and resulted in T 100. More likely, the manuscript that Faxian brought back remained in Yangzhou as well, with the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (雜阿含) perhaps translated as T 99 (as Glass 2008 [2010] argues), or perhaps not (as Enomoto 2001 argues and Sengyou says in the passage in the *Chu sanzang jiji* referenced above). Nobody seems to think that Faxian's manuscript of the *Dīrgha-āgama* (長阿含) was ever translated and, if Sengyou and Enomoto (2001) are correct, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (雜阿含) might have shared this fate.

Karashima (2020) thus seems to agree with Mizuno's (1970) attribution of T 100 to the Mahīśāsaka (which I have tried to refute at one point (Bingenheimer 2011)). However, he does not seem to agree with Mizuno's (1970) placement of the translation to the small kingdom of the Western Qin (which I find convincing).

Although I much appreciate rethinking the issue I have not been swayed by any new evidence. What could convince me are two lines of evidence:

1. Historical: Placing some of the Faxian manuscripts in Northwest China *or* disproving Mizuno's (1970) point about the Western Qin and showing conclusively that T 100 was translated in Eastern China.

2. Textual: Finding more evidence in the line of Enomoto (1984a) and Hiraoka (2000) which compares T 100 with the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayas* on the one hand and the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* on the other. This, however, would have to show the opposite

of Enomoto's (1984) and Hiraoka's (2000) examples, that is, passages where T 100 agrees with the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* against the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

Until such evidence is brought forward I believe it is best to regard T 100 as part of the Mūlasarvāstivāda or Greater Sarvāstivāda corpus, orally transmitted to China, and translated (somewhat roughly without much post-translation editing) in the Lanzhou region under the rule of the Qifu 乞伏 family some time around AD 400.

I deeply regret that Karashima *sensei* is not here anymore to respond to the above remarks. His exacting standards and vast erudition have always been a source of inspiration; his rejoinder is unfortunately not going to appear.

I am very grateful for the comments made by the other participants to the seminar on the Samyukta-āgama, organized by Bhikkhū Dhammadinnā in Buenos Aires in October 2018. Especially Paul Harrison's close reading of the draft translation resulted in numerous improvements.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| D | Derge edition |
| DĀ | <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (T 1) |
| Dhp-a | <i>Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā</i> |
| EĀ | <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125) |
| HDC | <i>Hanyu da cidian</i> 漢語大詞典 |
| SĀ | <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SĀ ² | ‘shorter’ <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> (T 100) |
| CBETA | Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會 |
| CBETA/T | CBETA edition of the Taishō 大正 canon (CD version, 2011) |
| MĀ | <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26) |
| Pj | <i>Paramatthajotikā</i> |
| PTS | Pali Text Society |
| Sadd | <i>Saddanīti</i> |
| SHT | <i>Sanskrit Handschriften aus den Turfan-funden</i> |
| SN | <i>Saṃyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Sn | <i>Sutta-nipāta</i> |
| Spk | <i>Sāratthappakāsinī</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition |
| Ud | <i>Udāna</i> |

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**Notes on the Translation
and the Translator of
the Shorter Chinese *Samyukta-āgama***

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Abstract

This article takes up two aspects of the transmission of the so-called ‘shorter’ *Saṃyukta-āgama* collection extant in Chinese translation (T 100). The first aspect concerns its underlying Indic text, which appears to have been transmitted in parallel to the other *Saṃyukta-āgama* collection (T 99), rather than having evolved from it. The second aspect concerns the way the collection was translated, likely based on an orally performed translation of the Indic original, rather than on the basis of a written manuscript. On the basis of the findings related to these two aspects, the proposals by Karashima Seishi 辛嶋 静志 (2020) about the Indic sources and the translator(s) of these two *Saṃyukta-āgama* collections are then reviewed.

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I. Introduction

In his volume of studies devoted to the so-called ‘shorter’ *Samyukta-āgama* (T 100), Marcus Bingenheimer (2011: 20) suggests that this collection might have been translated on the basis of oral recitation. Here he is in agreement with the position I had taken in a previous publication (2008).¹

Bingenheimer (2011: 20) further highlights that the *uddānas* of T 100 were translated somewhat roughly prior to the translation of the collection itself. For some reason the translator(s) did not return to correct these draft *uddānas* after completing the translation of the collection. This is probably the reason for the apparent discrepancies between the *uddānas* and the received translation of T 100.

Additional elements lead me to propose that T 100 was translated on the basis of an oral recitation, instead of a written manuscript.

In this article I first explore the relationship between T 100 and T 99 (section II), and then present reasons why the translation of T 100 was based on an oral recitation (section III). Lastly, I examine the proposals by Karashima Seishi 辛嶋 静志 (2020) regarding the translators and Indic sources of both T 99 and T 100 (section IV).

II. Relationship between T 100 and T 99

Bingenheimer (2011: 49) concludes that the two *Samyukta-āgama* collections now found as T 99 and T 100 in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*

¹ Bingenheimer 2011: 20 writes: “Su [2008: 61] believes that the discrepancies between *uddānas* and text ... are a result of the translation being done not from a written manuscript but from an oral recitation. I generally agree with this hypothesis.”

shared a common Indic ancestor, from which they developed independently, rather than one collection (T 100) having evolved from the other (T 99). He further concludes that whereas T 99 received an earlier canonical closure, T 100 continued to accommodate later and *Abhidharma*-related doctrinal and textual developments before its final closure. Bingenheimer (2011: 49) sums up his position as follows:

[Su 2010b] shows that the Indian originals of BZA [*Bieyi za ahan*, T 100] and ZA [*Za ahan*, T 99] once had a common ancestor, which was different from the SN [*Samyutta-nikāya*] and later forked into two different lines of transmission that eventually led to the ZA and BZA. Various examples show that the Indian ZA, which was transmitted to China from Sri Lanka, found closure earlier, while the Indian BZA, which presumably came to China via Central Asia, had continued to absorb elements from the Abhidharma and underwent changes after it had split from the ZA branch.

Here Bingenheimer (2011: 49) refers to a finding in an unpublished draft of mine in support of the conclusion of later additions to T 100 (Su 2010b; see now Su 2014: 90–91 and 98–99). As my original article is in Chinese, for convenience I give an extract of Bingenheimer's own English summary of the relevant point:

... [a] piece of evidence for an independent development of the BZA [*Bieyi za ahan*, T 100] has been discovered by Su (2010b), who has been able to show that the *gāthās* in BZA 140, 141 and 311 resolve what in their SN [*Samyutta-nikāya*] and ZA [*Za ahan*, T 99] parallels are presented as riddles. It does not seem that the answers were inserted into the text during or after the translation, but rather that

the *gāthās* themselves had been changed from their early form as riddle and came to incorporate their solutions. This is again evidence for a later development that took place in the BZA, but not in the ZA.

The relationship between T 99 and T 100 is quite complex, in that these two collections do not consistently show the same differences when compared with the *Samyutta-nikāya*. For instance, there are cases of parallel passages in discourses in T 100 and T 99 which differ with regards to whether they are in prose or verse. Table 1 clarifies this. In the table, ‘v’ stands for verse and ‘p’ for prose.

Table 1. Prose vis-à-vis Verse Passages in T 100 and T 99

| T 100 (SĀ ²) | T 99 (SĀ) | Pali Parallel |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| 32 (p) | 1093 (v) | SN 4.3 (v) |
| 35 (p) | 1106 (v) | SN 11.12 (v) |
| 128 (p) | 913 (v) | SN 42.11 (–) |
| 151 (v) | 926 (p) | AN 11.10 (p) |
| 212 (p) | 978 (v) | — |
| 287 (p) | 1289 (v) | SN 1.38 (p) |
| 324 (v) | 1325 (p) | SN 10.5 (–) |
| 350 (p) | 956 (v) | SN 15.20 (v) |
| 351 (v) | 1331 (p) | SN 9.4 (v) |
| 358 (v) | 1338 (p) | SN 9.14 (v) |
| 364 (v) | 1344 (p) | SN 9.8 (v) |

In other cases, when comparing passages in T 100 with their direct parallels in T 99 and in the *Samyutta-nikāya* respectively, the text of T 100 appears to be closer to that of its Pali counterpart than to T 99. This is shown in Table 2, in which ‘A’ stands for cases in which T

100 and its Pali parallel are more closely similar to each other compared to what is observed for T 100 in relation to T 99, ‘B’ stands for cases in which T 100 and T 99 are closer to one another vis-à-vis their Pali counterpart, and ‘C’ for cases in which T 99 is closer to the Pali than to T 100. Interestingly, there does appear to be a pattern, as shown by the tables in the following pages, according to which T 99 is more frequently closer to the Pali than T 100 is.

Table 2. Examples of the Relationship between
T 100, T 99 and the *Samyutta-nikāya*

| Pali Parallel | Discourse in T 100 | Discourse in T 99 | Relationship |
|---------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| SN 1.5 | SĀ ² 140 | SĀ 1002 | C |
| SN 1.5 | SĀ ² 311 | SĀ 1312 | C |
| SN 1.6 | SĀ ² 141 | SĀ 1003 | C |
| SN 1.12 | SĀ ² 142 | SĀ 1004 | C |
| SN 1.22 | SĀ ² 232 | SĀ 1006 | A |
| SN 1.31 | SĀ ² 285 | SĀ 1287 | A |
| SN 1.31 | SĀ ² 301 | SĀ 1302 | B |
| Sn 1.9 | SĀ ² 328 | SĀ 1329 | B |

An additional example of cases in which the mutual relationships between T 100, T 99 and the *Samyutta-nikāya* version of a discourse are not entirely clear is SĀ² 307 with its parallels SĀ 1308 and SN 2.30. All versions of this discourse describe six *devaputtas/devaputras*, each reciting a verse in front of the Buddha on one of six non-Buddhist teachers. As shown in Tables 3 and 4 below, in spite of this similar background, there are significant differences between the parallel versions. It is therefore quite difficult to tell which two are more closely similar to one another. This is shown in Table 3, in which ‘A’

stands for cases in which T 100 and its Pali parallel are more closely similar than T 100 in relation to T 99, ‘B’ indicates cases in which T 100 and T 99 are closer, ‘C’ for cases in which T 99 is closer to the Pali, and ‘D’ for cases in which none of them are closely similar.

Table 3. *Devaputras/Devaputtas* Names in SĀ² 307 and its Parallels

| SĀ ² 307 | SĀ 1308 | SN 2.30 | Relationship |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| (Asama?) | (cf. Pali Abhibhū*) | Asama (1) | A |
| | | Sahali (2) | D |
| | (3? Niñku*) | Nīka or Niñka (3) | C |
| | (5?) | Ākoṭaka (4) | C |
| | (4?) | Vegabbhari or Veṭambari (5) | C |
| (Young Lover?) | | Māṇavagāmiya (6) | A |

Table 4. *Devaputtas/Devaputras* with their Respective Verses

| SĀ ² 307 | SĀ 1308 | SN 2.30 |
|---|---|--------------------------|
| Verse 1 by the first <i>devaputra</i> | Verse 1 by the first <i>devaputra</i> | |
| Verse 3 by the third <i>devaputra</i> | Verse 3 by the third <i>devaputra</i> | Verse 1 by Asama |
| Verse 2 by the second <i>devaputra</i> | Verse 2 by the second <i>devaputra</i> | Verse 2 by Sahali |
| Verse 4 by the fourth <i>devaputra</i> | Verse 4 by the fourth <i>devaputra</i> | Verse 3 by Nīka |
| – | – | Verse 4 by Ākoṭaka |
| Verse 5 by the Buddha | Verse 5 by the Buddha | Verse 5 by Vegabbhari |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Verse 6 by an unknown <i>devaputra</i> | Verse 6 by the fifth <i>devaputra</i> (cf. Pali <i>Ākoṭaka</i> ?) pos- sessed by Māra | Verse 6 by Vegabbhari (possessed by Māra) |
| Verse 7–8 by the Buddha | Verse 7–8 by the Buddha | Verse 7 by the Buddha |
| Verses 9–15 by unknown <i>devaputras</i> (unclear whether from the group of six <i>deva- putras</i> or different ones) | | |

This discussion has shown the rather complex correlation between the Indic texts underlying T 100 and T 99. As pointed out by Bingenheimer (2014: 49), the Indic text underlying T 100 further absorbed elements from the *Abhidharma* at a later stage.

Thus, the transmission history of T 100 in relation to T 99 appears to me to be more complex than portrayed by Bingenheimer (2011: 49), and it deserves closer study. Systematic comparative investigation is required in order to come to a better understanding of the transmission of these collections, a crucial aspect of which is of course the school affiliation of their transmission lineages.

III. T 100 Translated from Oral Recitation

This section reviews key textual elements that suggest that the translation of T 100 was carried out on the basis of an oral text. These are: (1) discrepancies between text and *uddānas*; (2) apparently missing verses in three discourses of the collection; (3) specific lines of

several verses seemingly scattered and then inserted into other verses of the same discourse.

III.1 Discrepancies between Text and *uddānas* of T 100

Three main types of inconsistencies between the translated text and its relevant *uddāna* are apparent in T 100: (1) apparently redundant keywords in the *uddānas*, (2) reverse sequence in the *uddāna* verses and the relevant keyword belonging to two successive discourses, and (3) discourses without counterpart keywords in the relevant *uddāna*.

III.1.1 Extra Keywords in the *Uddānas* and Missing Discourses in T 100

A number of *uddānas* in T 100 include phrases that lack an identifiable counterpart in the relevant discourse found in the same collection.

The first example involving such apparently redundant keywords is an *uddāna* located in the eighth fascicle of T 100, which reads:²

惡馬調順馬[= SĀ² 143–144], 賢乘[= SĀ² 145]三[= SĀ² 146]及四[= SĀ² 147], 鞭影[= SĀ² 148]并調乘[*], 有過[= SĀ² 149]八種惡[= SĀ² 150], 迦旃延離垢[= SĀ² 151], 十事悉皆竟.

References to the corresponding discourses in T 100 are given within square brackets. The asterisk marks words in the *uddāna* for which no matching discourse is found, neither in the relevant chapter of T 100 nor elsewhere in the same collection. That is, based on the *uddāna*, a discourse represented by the characters 調乘 is to be ex-

² T 100 at T II 431b2–4.

pected between SĀ² 148 and SĀ² 149, but it is not found.³ A discourse matching the characters 調乘 is however found in SĀ 923 of T 99. Table 5 recapitulates the situation (including indication of the relevant Pali parallels).

Table 5. Keywords in the *Uddāna* between SĀ² 148 and SĀ² 150

| Keywords in the <i>Uddāna</i> | Discourse in T 100 | Discourse in T 99 | Discourse in the <i>Āṅuttara-nikāya</i> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 鞭影 | SĀ ² 148 | SĀ 922 | AN 4.113 |
| 調乘 | — | SĀ 923 | AN 4.111 |
| 有過 | SĀ ² 149 | SĀ 924 | AN 8.14 |
| 八種惡 | SĀ ² 150 | SĀ 925 | AN 8.13 |

The next example is an *uddāna* from the same fascicle of T 100:⁴

云何優婆塞[SĀ² 152], 得果[SĀ² 153]一切行[SĀ² 154], 自
輕[SĀ² 155]及住處[SĀ² 156], 十一[SĀ² 157]與十二[*],
解脫[SĀ² 158]并舍羅[SĀ² 176], 麁手[SĀ² 160]為第十。

Here too, there appears to be a missing discourse between SĀ² 157 and SĀ² 158, as signaled by the asterisk. The missing discourse, represented by the characters 十二,⁵ has a parallel in SĀ 933 of T 99,⁶ as shown in Table 6.

³ Cf. Su 2008: 26, 41 and 60. Note that the character 并 is a coordinative conjunction used for metrical reasons so as to arrive at a five-character line.

⁴ T 100 at T II 434c23–25.

⁵ Similar to the case mentioned in note 3 above, here, too, the character 與 is a coordinative conjunction used for metrical reasons.

⁶ Cf. Su 2008: 27, 42 and 60.

Table 6. Keywords in the *Uddāna* between SĀ² 157 and SĀ² 158

| Keywords in the <i>Uddāna</i> | Discourse in T 100 | Discourse in T 99 | Discourse in the <i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---|
| 住處 | SĀ ² 156 | SĀ 931 | AN 6.10 |
| 十一 | SĀ ² 157 | SĀ 932 | AN 11.11 |
| 十二 | – | SĀ 933 | AN 11.13 |
| 解脫 | SĀ ² 158 | SĀ 934 | AN 3.73 |

The next case is an *uddāna* in the thirteenth fascicle of T 100:

本如酒醉[SĀ² 252]四句讚[SĀ² 253], 龍脇[*]拔毒箭
[SĀ² 254], 尼瞿陀劫賓入涅槃[SĀ² 255], 讚大聲聞[SĀ²
256]婆耆奢減盡[SĀ² 257].⁷

Once again, we have here an instance of a missing discourse, in this case between SĀ² 253 and SĀ² 254.⁸ This discourse is represented by the characters 龍脇 and has a counterpart in a discourse found in T 99,⁹ as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Keywords in the *Uddāna* between SĀ² 253 and SĀ² 254

| Keywords in the <i>Uddāna</i> | Discourse in T 100 | Discourse in T 100 | Discourse in the <i>Saṃyutta-nikāya</i> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| 本如酒醉 | SĀ ² 252 | SĀ 1217 | SN 8.12 |
| 四句讚 | SĀ ² 253 | SĀ 1218 | SN 8.5 |

⁷ SĀ², fascicle 13, in T 100 at T II 463c24–26.

⁸ As already observed by Anālayo 2011: 38 note 11, “SĀ 389 and SĀ² 254 show such substantial differences as to make it probable that they stem from quite separate lines of transmission.”

⁹ Cf. Su 2008: 29, 49–50 and 60.

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|---------|--------|
| 龍脇 | — | SĀ 1219 | SN 8.8 |
| 拔毒箭 | SĀ ² 254 | SĀ 1220 | — |
| 尼瞿陀劫賓 入涅槃 | SĀ ² 255 | SĀ 1221 | — |

For each of the three examples presented above, the missing discourse appears to have already been absent at the time of the oral recitation of the collection, in spite of being represented in the relevant *uddāna* (unless, for unknown reasons, it was left out at the time of translation).

III.1.2 Discrepancies in Sequence between *Uddāna* Keywords and the Position of Two Successive Discourses

There are cases in which the sequence of two keywords in an *uddāna* is given in reverse order vis-à-vis that of the respective discourses in T 100. Here are a few examples:

一法[SĀ² 66]福田[SĀ² 68]可厭患[SĀ² 67].¹⁰

髻髮[SĀ² 173]睡厭[SĀ² 175]極難盡[SĀ² 174].¹¹

不樂[SĀ² 229]及欲結[SĀ² 230], 出離[SĀ² 250]及憍慢[SĀ² 251].¹²

尸毘問共住[SĀ² 301], 速疾問邊際[SĀ² 306], 婆睺諮大喜[SĀ² 303], 大喜毘毘問[SĀ² 303], 般闍羅捷持[SĀ² 304].¹³

¹⁰ T 100 at T II 400a21.

¹¹ T 100 at T II 439a1–2.

¹² T 100 at T II 462a28.

¹³ T 100 at T II 478c2–5; here two different *uddāna* references appear to be given for the same discourse, SĀ² 303; see in more detail Su 2008.

These instances could be the result of faulty memory either upon reciting the *uddānas* or at the time of the actual recitation (and trans-lation) of the discourse collection.

Similar examples can be found in the *uddānas* of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which was translated on the basis of an oral recitation. For example, in the following *uddāna* located in the sixth fascicle of this collection, the keywords 善業 for EĀ 13.7 and 釋提桓 for EĀ 13.6 are in reverse order:¹⁴

調達及二經[EĀ 12.7, 12.8], 皮[EĀ 12.9] 及利師羅[EĀ 12.10], 竹膊[EĀ 13.3]孫陀利[EĀ 13.5], 善業[EĀ 13.7] 釋提桓[EĀ 13.6].

As far as T 99 is concerned, cases of two keywords in an *uddāna* given in reverse sequence vis-à-vis the order of the actual discourses in the collection can be shown to be due to the disarray of the fascicles of the Chinese translation of this collection.¹⁵

III.1.3 Discourses without Counterpart Keyword in the Relevant *Uddāna*

Here I give two examples of a T 100 discourse without a corresponding keyword in the relevant *uddāna*. The first example is an *uddāna* found in the thirteenth fascicle of the collection, which reads:¹⁶

慢[SĀ² 258]優竭提[SĀ² 259], 生聽[SĀ² 261]極老[SĀ² 262], 比丘[SĀ² 263]種作[SĀ² 264], 及梵天[SĀ² 265], 佛陀[SĀ² 266]輪相[SĀ² 267]為第十。

¹⁴ T 125 at T II 576a5–6; see in more detail and Su 2010: 68–93.

¹⁵ Cf. Su 2009a: 104–122.

¹⁶ T 100 at T II 467b25–26.

This *uddāna* lacks a keyword for SĀ² 260, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Missing Keyword for SĀ² 260 in the Related *Uddāna*

| Keywords in the <i>Uddāna</i> | Discourse in T 100 | Discourse in T 100 | Discourse in the <i>Samyutta-</i> or <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| 慢 | SĀ ² 258 | SĀ 92 | SN 7.15 |
| 優竭提 | SĀ ² 259 | SĀ 93 | AN 7.47 |
| — | SĀ ² 260 | SĀ 94 | AN 5.31 |
| 生聽 | SĀ ² 261 | SĀ 95 | AN 3.57 |
| 極老 | SĀ ² 262 | SĀ 96 | SN 7.14 |

The second example is an *uddāna* found in the fifteenth fascicle of the collection, which reads:

因陀羅問壽[SĀ² 298], 斷於一切結[SĀ² 299], 說善稱長者[SĀ² 300], 尸毘問共住[SĀ² 301], 速疾問邊際[SĀ² 306], 婆睺詔大喜, 大喜毘呬問[SĀ² 303], 般闍羅捷持[SĀ² 304], 須深摩問第一[SĀ² 305], 有外道問諸見[SĀ² 307].¹⁷

This *uddāna* lacks a keyword for SĀ² 302, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9. Missing Keyword for SĀ² 302 in the Related *Uddāna*

| Keywords in the <i>Uddānas</i> | Discourse in T 100 | Discourse in T 99 | Discourse in the <i>Samyutta-</i> or <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 說善稱長者 | SĀ ² 300 | SĀ 1301 | n.a. |
| 尸毘問共住 | SĀ ² 301 | SĀ 1302 | SN 2.21 |

¹⁷ T 100 at T II 478c1–5.

| | | | |
|--------|---------------------|---------|---------|
| — | SĀ ² 302 | SĀ 1303 | SN 2.11 |
| 速疾問邊際 | SĀ ² 306 | SĀ 1307 | SN 2.26 |
| 婆睺諮大喜 | SĀ ² 303 | SĀ 1304 | SN 2.12 |
| 般闍羅捷持 | SĀ ² 304 | SĀ 1305 | SN 2.7 |
| 須深摩問第一 | SĀ ² 305 | SĀ 1306 | SN 2.29 |

A comparable instance can also be detected in T 99. This is the case of SĀ 75, which is not represented in the relevant *uddāna*:

知法[SĀ 72]及重擔[SĀ 73], 往詣[SĀ 74]觀[SĀ 76]欲
貪[SĀ 77], 生[SĀ 78]及與略說[SĀ 79], 法印[SĀ 80]富
蘭那[SĀ 81].¹⁸

An *uddāna* in the sixth fascicle of the *Ekottarika-āgama* similarly lacks keywords for a number of discourses, namely EĀ 13.1, EĀ 13.2 and EĀ 13.4:

調達及二經[EĀ 12.7, 12.8], 皮[EĀ 12.9]及利師羅[EĀ
12.10], 竹膊[EĀ 13.3]孫陀利[EĀ 13.5], 善業[EĀ 13.7]
釋提桓[EĀ 13.6].¹⁹

III.2 Missing Verses in T 100

In this section I take up the second factor that I see as pointing to a translation process that relied on an oral recitation, by exploring the implications of apparently missing verses in three discourses of T 100, namely SĀ² 32, SĀ² 35 and SĀ² 257.

Starting with SĀ² 32, this is the last in the range of discourses that goes from SĀ² 23 to SĀ² 32, as shown by the relevant *uddāna*:

¹⁸ T 99 at T II 21a23–24.

¹⁹ T 125 at T II 576a5–6.

長壽[SĀ² 23]何帝[SĀ² 24]及羈攢[SĀ² 25], 睡眠[SĀ² 26]
經行[SĀ² 27]大毒蛇[SĀ² 28], 無所為[SĀ² 29]求惠[SĀ² 30]
魔女[SĀ² 31], 壞亂變形及好惡[SĀ² 32].²⁰

Each of these discourses has parallels in T 99, ranging from SĀ 1084 to SĀ 1093, and in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, ranging from SN 4.3 to SN 4.25, as shown in Table 10.²¹

Table 10. SĀ² 23 to SĀ² 32 and their Parallels

| T 100 | T 99 | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
|--------------------|---------|------------------------|
| SĀ ² 23 | SĀ 1084 | SN 4.9 |
| SĀ ² 24 | SĀ 1085 | SN 4.10 |
| SĀ ² 25 | SĀ 1086 | SN 4.15 |
| SĀ ² 26 | SĀ 1087 | SN 4.7 |
| SĀ ² 27 | SĀ 1088 | SN 4.11 |
| SĀ ² 28 | SĀ 1089 | SN 4.6 |
| SĀ ² 29 | SĀ 1090 | SN 4.13 |
| SĀ ² 30 | SĀ 1091 | SN 4.23 |
| SĀ ² 31 | SĀ 1092 | SN 4.25 |
| SĀ ² 32 | SĀ 1093 | SN 4.3 |

Since all of these discourses in T 99 and the *Samyutta-nikāya* have at least one verse, it is natural to assume that SĀ² 32 in T 100 should have likewise had at least one verse. This verse must have been dropped in the course of the recitation, but can be recovered with the help of SĀ 1093 and SN 4.3.²²

²⁰ T 100 at T II 384b10–11.

²¹ For this and the next two examples see in more detail Su 2014.

²² SĀ 1093 at T II 287c14–18: 長夜生死中, 作淨不淨色, 汝何爲作此, 不度

A similar situation recurs with $S\bar{A}^2$ 35, located in a group of discourses that goes from $S\bar{A}^2$ 33 to $S\bar{A}^2$ 42, as indicated by the related *uddāna*.²³ As in the previous case, this group of discourses in T 100 is paralleled in T 99 (by $S\bar{A}$ 1104 to $S\bar{A}$ 1113) and in the *Samyutta-nikāya* (by SN 11.11 to SN 11.20), as shown in Table 11.

Table 11. $S\bar{A}^2$ 33 to $S\bar{A}^2$ 42 and their Parallels

| T 100 | T 99 | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 33 | $S\bar{A}$ 1104 | SN 11.11 |
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 34 | $S\bar{A}$ 1105 | SN 11.13 |
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 35 | $S\bar{A}$ 1106 | SN 11.12 |
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 36 | $S\bar{A}$ 1107 | SN 11.22 |
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 37 | $S\bar{A}$ 1108 | SN 11.24 |
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 38 | $S\bar{A}$ 1109 | SN 11.5 |
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 39 | $S\bar{A}$ 1110 | SN 11.4 |
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 40 | $S\bar{A}$ 1111 | SN 11.19 |
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 41 | $S\bar{A}$ 1112 | SN 11.18 |
| $S\bar{A}^2$ 42 | $S\bar{A}$ 1113 | SN 11.20 |

苦彼岸? 若諸身口意, 不作留難者, 魔所不能教, 不隨魔自在。如是知惡魔, 於是自滅去; SN 4.3 at SN I 104,26–32: *saṃsaraṃ dīgham addhānaṃ, va-ṇṇaṃ katvā subhāsuhama; alan-te tena pāpima, nihato tvam asi antaka. ye ca kāyena vācāya, manasā ca susaṃvutā; na te māravasānugā, na te māraṣṣa paccagū ti* (translated in Bodhi 2000: 197).

²³ T II 387c11–13: 帝釋[$S\bar{A}$ 33]摩訶離[$S\bar{A}$ 34], 以何因[$S\bar{A}$ 35]夜叉[$S\bar{A}$ 36], 得眼[$S\bar{A}$ 37]得善勝[$S\bar{A}$ 38], 縛繫[$S\bar{A}$ 39]及敬佛[$S\bar{A}$ 40], 敬法[$S\bar{A}$ 41], 禮僧[$S\bar{A}$ 42]十。

Here too, whereas T 100 and T 99 have the same sequence of discourses, the *Samyutta-nikāya* differs. And again, all of the discourses in T 99 and in the *Samyutta-nikāya* have at least one verse. Thus it is to be expected that also $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 35 originally contained at least one verse. Now, the parallel to $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 35, $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}$ 1106, indicates that the same verse given in the previous discourse ($\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}$ 1105), is to be repeated for this discourse.²⁴ In view of this situation in its parallel, it could be expected that $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 35 should have the same verse as its preceding discourse ($\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 34).

My last example is $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 257, which is located in a group of discourses that goes from $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 252 to $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 257, as indicated by the related *uddāna*.²⁵ This group of discourses in T 100 is paralleled in T 99 (by $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}$ 1217 to $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}$ 1221 and $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}$ 993 to $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}$ 994) and in the *Samyutta-nikāya* (by SN 8.12, SN 8.5 and SN 8.8), as shown in Table 12 below.

In this case the sequences in the respective collections do not follow each other closely. Moreover, $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 256 and $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 257 do not have identifiable parallels in the *Samyutta-nikāya*. These discourses belong to the chapter with the ‘Connected Discourses of Vaṅgīsa’ (*Vaṅgīsa-samyutta* in Pali). Although the prose part of $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 257 announces that Vaṅgīsa is going to recite a verse in praise of the Buddha, all that remains is a remark that “at the beginning [of the recitation, the reciter] said that the verse was lost”.²⁶ Fortunately, the

²⁴ $\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}$ 1106 at T II 291a24–25: 爾時世尊即說偈言 ... 如上廣說, “then the Blessed One spoke a verse ... as said in a previous discourse”. Instead, SN 11.13 simply repeats the same verse as found in SN 11.12.

²⁵ T II 463c24–26: 本如酒醉[$\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 252]四句讚[$\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 253], 龍脇[–]拔毒箭[$\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 254], 尼瞿陀劫賓入涅槃[$\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 255], 讚大聲聞[$\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 256], 婆耆奢滅盡[$\text{S}\bar{\text{A}}^2$ 257].

²⁶ T 100, fascicle 13 at T II 463c23: 即說偈言本無少偈 (I disregard the variant 云 for 無 in the Yuan 元 and Ming 明 editions).

missing lines can be recovered with the help of the parallel discourse in T 99, SĀ 994.²⁷

Table 12. SĀ² 252 to SĀ² 257 and their Parallels

| Discourse in T 100 with <i>Uddāna</i> Keywords | Discourse in T 99 | Discourse in the <i>Samyutta-</i> <i>nikāya</i> |
|---|----------------------|---|
| SĀ ² 252 (本如酒醉) | SĀ 1217 | SN 8.12 |
| SĀ ² 253 (四句讚) | SĀ 1218 | SN 8.5 |
| — (龍脇) | SĀ 1219 | SN 8.8 |
| SĀ ² 254 (拔毒箭) | SĀ 1220 | — |
| SĀ ² 255 (尼瞿陀劫賓入涅槃) | SĀ 1221 | — |
| SĀ ² 256 (讚大聲聞) | SĀ 993 | — |
| SĀ ² 257 (婆耆奢減盡) | SĀ 994 | — |

In conclusion, the patterns of missing verses observed in the three discourses examined above are, in my opinion, best explained in light of accidental losses that took place in the course of a translation conducted on the basis of an oral rather than a written original.

III.3 Stanzas in Disarray in SĀ² 328

In this section I take up the third and final feature of T 100 that I see as pointing to a translation process carried out on the basis of oral recitation. This concerns specific lines of several verses that appear scattered, and inserted into other verses of the same discourse, SĀ² 328.

²⁷ SĀ 994, fascicle 36 at T II 260a17–c23: 我今住佛前, 稽首恭敬禮, 於一切諸法, 悉皆得解脫 ... 然後般涅槃, 一切當敬禮。

A comparative study of this discourse in light of its parallels in T 99 (SĀ 1329) and in the Pali *Sutta-nipāta* (Sn 1.9, *Hemavata-sutta*, shows that lines of several of its verses appear to have been dismembered and repositioned in other verses of the same discourse.²⁸ This might have been due to the reciter's poor memory when SĀ² 328 was being recited and translated.

Table 13 below shows where lines in SĀ² 328 would have been re-located and explains the changes of position involved (insertion or removal of lines). This misplacement must have taken place at the time of the translation of T 100.

Table 13. Dismembered and Repositioned Lines in SĀ² 328²⁹

| Verse in Sn 1.9 | Original Verse in SĀ ² 328 | Corresponding Verse in SĀ 1329 | Re-arranged Verse in SĀ ² 328 | Remarks '+' = Line Inserted '-' = Line Removed |
|-----------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| 154 | 普於群生類， 若有慈等心？ 於愛不愛覺， 為得自在不？ | 彼有心願樂， 慈濟眾生不？ 彼於受不受， 心想平等不？ | | |
| 155 | 心意極調柔， 於諸群萌類； 了知一切法， 為世大導師； 於愛不愛覺， 心皆得自在。 | 彼妙願慈心， 度一切眾生； 於諸受不受， 心想常平等。 | 心意極調柔， 慈愍眾生類； 於愛不愛覺， 心皆得自在。 | + 慈愍眾生類 (cf. v. 156) - 於諸群萌類； 了知一切法， 為世大導師； |

²⁸ SĀ² 328 at T II 483c17–485a23, SĀ 1329 at T II 365c6–367b4 and Sn 1.9 at Sn 27,1–31,12; see in more detail Su 2009c. Bodhi 2017: 109 gives T 198 at T IV 183b16–184b2 as a further parallel.

²⁹ This table has already been published in Su 2009c: 79–84.

| Verse in Sn 1.9 | Original Verse in SĀ ² 328 | Corresponding Verse in SĀ 1329 | Re-arranged Verse in SĀ ² 328 | Remarks '+' = Line Inserted '-' = Line Removed |
|-----------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| 156 | 若能真實語， 終不虛妄言； 慈愍眾生類， 除斷於殺生； 遠離於放逸， 於禪而不空？ | 遠離於害生？ 不與不取不？ 為遠於放蕩？ 不離禪思不？ | 除斷於殺生？ 誰見物不貪？ 遠離於放逸？ 於禪而不空？ | + 誰見物不貪？ (cf. v. 158) - 若能真實語， 終不虛妄言； 慈愍眾生類， |
| 157 | 終不虛妄語， 遠離於殺害； 常捨諸放逸， 佛無不定時。 | 常不害眾生， 不與不妄取； 遠離於放蕩， 日夜常思禪。 | 遠離於殺害， 除捨貪欲心， 常捨諸放逸， 佛無不定時。 | + 除捨貪欲心， (cf. v. 159) - 終不虛妄語， |
| 158 | 誰無別離惱？ 誰能不綺語？ 誰見物不貪？ 誰不生想見？ | 至誠不妄語？ 麤澀言無有？ 得無別離說？ 無不誠說不？ | 若能真實語？ 終不虛妄言？ 誰無別離惱？ 誰能不綺語？ | + 若能真實語？ (cf. v. 156) 終不虛妄言？ (cf. v. 156) - 誰見物不貪？ 誰不生想見？ |
| 159 | 久斷愛別苦， 未曾無義言； 除捨貪欲心， 永無邪見想。 | 至誠不妄語， 亦無麤澀言； 不離他親厚， 常說如法言。 | 終不虛妄語， 未曾無義言； | + 終不虛妄語， (cf. v. 157) - 久斷愛別苦， 除捨貪欲心， 永無邪見想。 |
| 160 | 若不著於欲， 心無諸擾亂； 為有法眼耶？ 盡於愚癡不？ 能捨諸煩惱， 得於解脫不？ | 為不樂五欲？ 心不濁亂不？ 有清淨法眼？ 滅盡愚癡不？ | 若不著於欲？ 心無諸擾亂？ 為有法眼耶？ 盡於愚癡不？ | - 能捨諸煩惱， 得於解脫不？ |

| Verse in Sn 1.9 | Original Verse in SĀ ² 328 | Corresponding Verse in SĀ 1329 | Re-arranged Verse in SĀ ² 328 | Remarks '+' = Line Inserted '-' = Line Removed |
|-----------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| 161 | 超出欲淤泥， 心淨無擾亂； 法眼甚清徹， 得盡於愚癡， 永離眾結使， 獲得於解脫。 | 心常不樂欲， 亦無濁亂心； 佛法眼清淨， 愚癡盡無餘。 | 超出欲淤泥， 心淨無擾亂； 法眼甚清徹， 得盡於愚癡。 | — 永離眾結使， 獲得於解脫。 |

By way of example, a closer look at four verses of SĀ² 328 demonstrates how their lines were separated and then inserted into other verses of the same discourse. The verses in question are parallels to verses 154, 155, 156 and 158 of Sn 1.9.

The first example is the parallel to verse 154 of Sn 1.9.³⁰ As seen in Table 13 above, this matches the corresponding verses in SĀ 1329 and Sn 1.9.

More complex is the case of the parallel to verse 155 of Sn 1.9 (containing a reply to the question asked in verse 154).³¹ The Pali verse reads as follows, in Bhikkhu Bodhi's (2017: 180) translation:

The mind of the impartial one,
Is well disposed toward all beings.
He has mastered his intentions
Toward the desirable and undesirable.

³⁰ Verse 154 at Sn 27,7–10: *kacci mano supaṇihito, [iti hemavato yakkho] sabbabhūtesu tādino; kacci iṭṭhe anīṭṭhe ca, saṅkapp'assa vasīkatā*; translated in Bodhi 2017: 180 (verse 154).

³¹ Verse 155 at Sn 27,11–14: *mano c'assa supaṇihito, [iti sātāgiro yakkho] sabbabhūtesu tādino; atho iṭṭhe anīṭṭhe ca, saṅkapp'assa vasīkatā*; the translation is quoted from Bodhi 2017: 180 (verse 155).

The corresponding verse in SĀ 1329 reads:

The sublime aspiration of his mind of *maitrī*,
Is to cross over all beings.
Toward the desirable and the undesirable,
His mind always has the perception of equanimity.³²

The verse in question in SĀ² 328 has six lines instead of four (here marked [a] to [f] for convenience):³³

His mind is very gentle and retrained, [a]
Towards every category of beings. [b]
He comprehends all *dharmas*, [c]
Being the Great Teacher of the world. [d]
Towards the desirable and undesirable, [e]
His mind always gains self-possession. [f]

It is probable that this verse of SĀ² 328 would accord with the parallel four-line verses found in SĀ 1329 and Sn 1.9, with the sequence [a], [i], [e], [f] (where line [i] belongs to the same SĀ² 328;³⁴ see below). That is to say, lines [b], [c] and [d] are to be taken out, and a line equivalent to one found in SĀ 1329³⁵ and in verse 156 of Sn 1.9 is to be inserted.³⁶ In this way a verse in accordance with the parallels could be ‘reconstructed’.

³² SĀ 1329 at T II 366a5–6: 彼妙願慈心, 度一切眾生, 於諸受不受, 心想常平等。

³³ SĀ² 328 at T II 484a15–17: 心意極調柔, 於諸群萌類, 了知一切法, 爲世大導師, 於愛不愛覺, 心皆得自在。

³⁴ SĀ² 328 at T II 484a20: 慈愍眾生類。

³⁵ SĀ 1329 at T II 366a5: 度一切眾生; cf. note 32 above.

³⁶ Verse 155 at Sn 27,13: *sabbabhūtesu tādino*; cf. note 31 above.

The third example is the parallel to verse 156 of Sn 1.9,³⁷ here quoted in Bhikkhu Bodhi's (2017: 181) translation:

Does he avoid taking what has not been given?
Is he self-controlled in regard to living beings?
Does he keep far from heedlessness?
Is he not devoid of *jhāna*?

Here is the corresponding verse in SĀ 1329:

Does he keep far from killing?
Does he avoid taking what has not been given?
Does he keep far from heedlessness?
Does he not stay apart from *dhyāna*?³⁸

Their counterpart in SĀ² 328 has again six lines instead of four (here marked [g] to [l]). It reads:³⁹

Is he able to speak the truth? [g]
Does he never speak falsely, [h]
With *maitrī* to all kind of living beings? [i]
Does he abandon [all forms of] killing? [j]
Does he keep far from heedlessness? [k]
Is he not devoid of *dhyāna*? [l]

It is probable that the original sequence of the lines in this verse would have been [j], [o], [k], [l] (where line [o] belongs to the following

³⁷ Verse 156 at Sn 27,15–18: *kacci adinnaṃ nādiyati, [iti hemavato yakkho] kacci pāṇesu saññato; kacci ārā pamādamhā, kacci jhānaṃ na riñcati.*

³⁸ SĀ 1329 at T II 366a20–21: 遠離於害生, 不與不取不? 爲遠於放蕩, 不離禪思不?

³⁹ SĀ² 328 at T II 484a19–21: 若能真實語, 終不虛妄言, 慈愍眾生類, 除斷於殺生, 遠離於放逸, 於禪而不空.

verse in the same $S\bar{A}^2$ 328). That is to say, line [g] is to be taken out, line [h] is out of place, line [i] is to be moved to the previous verse of $S\bar{A}^2$ 328, and line [o] from the following verse is to be added. In this way a verse in accordance with the parallels is ‘recovered’.

The fourth example is the parallel to verse 158 of Sn 1.9,⁴⁰ rendered by Bhikkhu Bodhi (2017: 181) thus:

Does he avoid speaking falsely?
Is his way of speaking not rough?
Does he not say anything destructive?
Does he not speak idle chatter?’

The corresponding verse in $S\bar{A}$ 1329 reads:

Is he honest and does not speak falsely?
Is his way of speaking not rough?
Has he achieved speaking without creating divisions?
Does he speak honestly?⁴¹

In this case, the corresponding verse in $S\bar{A}^2$ 328 has four lines, similar to its parallels (here marked [m] to [p]), but their order does not match that of the parallels. The verse reads:⁴²

Who is free of creating divisions and annoyance? [m]
Who is able not to speak meaningless prattle [n]

⁴⁰ Sn 158 at Sn 27,24–28,3: *kacci musā na bhaṇati, [iti hemavato yakkho] kacci na khīnavyappatho; kacci vebhūtiyaṃ nāha, kacci samphaṃ na bhāsatī*. English translation quoted from Bodhi 2017: 181 (verse 158).

⁴¹ $S\bar{A}$ 1329 at T II 366b3–4: 至誠不妄語, 麁澁言無有, 得無別離說, 無不誠說不?

⁴² $S\bar{A}^2$ 328 at T II 484b5–6: 誰無別離惱? 誰能不綺語? 誰見物不貪? 誰不生想見?

Who is without greed on seeing possessions, [o]
Who does not give rise to perceptions and views? [p]

It is highly probable that the lines in this verse of SĀ² 328 would have followed the sequence [g], [h], [m], [n] (where lines [g] and [h] belong to the preceding verse in the same SĀ² 328). That is to say, lines [g] and [h] are to be restored, the out-of-place line [p] is to be removed, and line [o] is to be similarly taken out and transferred to the previous verse. In this way a verse in accordance with the parallels can be ‘reconstructed’.

This phenomenon of floating verses across stanzas belonging to a single discourse or across stanzas belonging to different but, broadly speaking, related discourses, is of course open to different explanations, and the causes and the direction of textual movements need to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

With reference to the *Sutta-nipāta* version of the stanzas discussed above, Bhikkhu Bodhi (2017: 108–109) has pointed out that several verses of this text are spread across the *Devatā-saṃyutta* and the *Devaputta-saṃyutta* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, commenting that:

[w]hile it is possible that the verses in the *Samyutta Nikāya* result from the dismemberment of an existent poem, it seems more likely that the *Hemavata Sutta* was composed by joining together scattered verses and providing them with a narrative setting. The verses themselves may have been drawn from the floating pool of Buddhist verse rather than directly from the *Samyutta*.

An alternative hypothesis on the transmission of the verses in this discourse had already been suggested by N.A. Jayawickrama (1977: 146), who observed that:⁴³

⁴³ Reference from Bodhi 2017: 1348 note 49.

[t]he occurrence of these stanzas in the *Samyutta*, independently of the rest of the respective poems, suggests the existence of a set of riddles dealing with Buddhist topics prior to their being incorporated in longer poems.

Thus it remains open to question whether the line arrangement of the verses in *SĀ*² 328 under discussion is to be explained as the result of movement, or whether the misplacement of lines occurred at the time when T 100 was recited and thereupon translated into Chinese, or whether it occurred prior to that, when the verses were still fluctuating, in line with the observations by Bhikkhu Bodhi (2017: 108–109) quoted above.

In a previous publication (Su 2009a: 116–117), I discussed this phenomenon from the perspective of the practical context of oral recitation and teaching, suggesting three possible situations:

1. similar to Bhikkhu Bodhi's proposal, individual verses were inserted into what later became a 'compiled' discourse;
2. an individual verse that was already part of a discourse was used on a different teaching occasion, thus individual verses rather than sets of verses were quoted from a given discourse;
3. there are simply different delivery occasions – a set of verses is used on one occasion, and on some other occasion an individual verse or line was taught.

In summary, the present arrangement of the verses in these discourses need not be seen as the result of later editorial interventions but is best understood in light of the flexible oral transmission and performance of the early Buddhist textual material.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ On verse in the *Samyutta-nikāya* in relation to the early formation of this canonical collection see von Hinüber 2020 in this volume.

IV. Karashima Seishi's 辛嶋 靜志 (2020) Proposal about the Indic Sources of T 100 and T 99 and their Translators

In his contribution to this volume, the late Karashima Seishi 辛嶋 靜志 (2020: 746–747) proposes that the translation of what is now the Chinese collection T 100 was based on a manuscript brought back from Sri Lanka by Faxian 法顯:

this manuscript most probably belonged to the Mahīśāsaka school, judging from the description given by Faxian himself. Mizuno (1970 [= 1996: 341–356]) assumed that T 100 belonged to the Mahīśāsaka school, based on its structure and the underlying Indic language; he also pointed out agreements of content between T 100 and the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, among which the fact that the order of the listing of the twelve *aṅgas* of the teachings in T 100 almost agrees with that in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, while differing considerably from that of the Sarvāstivādins. My analysis of the transliterations found in T 100 shows that its original text was much less sanskritised than T 99, while retaining Middle Indic forms other than the dialect of North-Western India, namely Gandhari. All these elements seem to indicate that T 100 may well have been translated from the manuscript which Faxian brought back from Sri Lanka, and that it belonged to the Mahīśāsaka school.

Karashima's position stands in contrast to the conclusion proposed in the previous section of this article, which is based on three factors that indicate that T 100 was based on an orally recited text: inconsistencies between text and *uddānas*, missing verses and disarranged

stanzas. Karashima (2020: 752) also assumes that T 100 was translated between AD 420–450:

It can be then suggested that T 100 was probably translated between ca. AD 420–450. Careful future research on the vocabulary and language of this collection – both qualitative and quantitative – remains necessary to be able to date its translation.

According to Sengyou 僧祐's *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (T 2145), the manuscript of what appears to be T 100 was still in Sanskrit as late as ca. AD 516, and had not been translated yet.⁴⁵ Sengyou 僧祐 also notes that after returning to China Faxian 法顯 stayed at the Daochang 道場 monastery of the capital city (then Jiankang 建康, now Nanjing 南京). Here is a translation of the relevant passage:

晉安帝時，沙門釋法顯以隆安三年遊西域，於中天竺師子國得胡本，歸京都住道場寺，就天竺禪師佛馱跋陀共譯出。其長雜二阿毘，經，彌沙塞律，薩婆多律抄猶是梵文，未得譯出。

In the era of Jin Andi, the monk Shi Faxian 釋法顯 traveled to the Western Regions in the third year of the Long'an 隆安 [Era (= AD 399)]. He collected Hu 胡 manuscripts in Central India and in Laṅkā.⁴⁶ He came

⁴⁵ T 2145 at T LV 12a5: 雜阿毘經(梵文未譯), “The *Saṃyukta-āgama* (in Sanskrit, not translated yet)”.

⁴⁶ Here, variant readings in the Song 宋, Yuan 元 and Ming 明 editions indicate that these were *fan* 梵 (probably Sanskrit) manuscripts. As Boucher 2000 has shown, *hu* 胡 and *fan* 梵 do not always have stable referents, and it is a little unsafe to assume that there is always a one-to-one correlation between *fan* 梵 and ‘Sanskrit’, though in this case it is probably safe to understand that the manuscripts were indeed in Sanskrit.

back to the Capital, stayed at the Daochang 道場 monastery and translated them together with the Indian **dhyāna* master Fotuobatuo 佛駄跋陀 (*Buddhabhadra). Among them, the manuscripts of the two *Āgamas*, *Dīrgha-* and *Samyukta-āgama*, the *Yan jing* 經,⁴⁷ the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* are still in Sanskrit, and not yet translated.⁴⁸

During his stay at the Daochang 道場 monastery, Faxian 法顯 translated the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* and other texts.⁴⁹ Sengyou 僧祐 was able to indicate that there were manuscripts which remained still untranslated at that time, namely manuscripts of a *Dīrgha-āgama*, a *Samyukta-āgama*, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.⁵⁰ From this it can be surmised that such untranslated manuscripts were with high probability kept at Jiankang 建康, most likely at the Daochang 道場 monastery itself.

⁴⁷ On the *Yan jing* 經 see Glass 2010 [2008]: 195 and note 34.

⁴⁸ T 2145 at T LV 12a9–14. On this passage see also Glass 2010 [2008]: 195.

⁴⁹ As recorded in T 2145 at T LV 60b2–11: 法顯 ... 於 ... 道場寺, 出此方等大般泥洹經, 禪師佛大跋陀手執胡本, 寶雲傳譯, “Faxian 法顯 issued this **Vaipulya-mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* [= *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra*] at the Daochang monastery, [At that time,] the Chan monk Fodabatou 佛大跋陀 (*Buddhabhadra) held the *hu* 胡 manuscript in hand [and read it out], and Baoyun 寶雲 performed the oral translation.” On the problem of the various titles that the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* gives itself, see Radich 2015: 40–50.

⁵⁰ T 2145 at T LV 12a12–14: 其長雜二阿含經, 彌沙塞律, 薩婆多律抄猶是梵文, 未得譯出. The Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* was subsequently translated by Fodashi 佛大什 (*Buddhajīva) at the Longguang 龍光 monastery, also located in the capital Nanjing; see T 2145 at T LV a26–28: 有罽賓律師佛大什. 來至京都. 其年冬十一月. 瑯琊王練比丘釋慧嚴竺道生於龍光寺. 請外國沙門佛大什出之.

Thus, what is now T 100 is most likely not a translation based on the *Saṃyukta-āgama* manuscript that was brought back from Sri Lanka by Faxian 法顯, because that manuscript was seemingly being kept in Jiankang 建康, and Sengyou 僧祐, who was quite well acquainted with the translation activities that were going on in the capital, states that this *Saṃyukta-āgama* was still untranslated.

Furthermore, the wording of the passage translated above – where Sengyou 僧祐 speaks first of manuscripts of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, and then of the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* – clearly shows that he did not consider the manuscript brought back by Faxian to have been a Mahīśāsaka *Saṃyukta-āgama*, contrary to Karashima's (2020: 741–751) proposal. Since the relevant passage in the *Gaoseng faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 does not unequivocally convey that sense,⁵¹ and to the best of my knowledge in the time period under question there is no evidence for a qualification of an *Āgama* according to its school affiliation, the suggestion by Karashima (2020: 741–751) that the passage should be understood to imply that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* is explicitly qualified as a Mahīśāsaka text remains unconvincing.

Karashima (2020: 711) also indicates that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* that is now T 99 was translated from oral recitation. This is probably based on the following passage in the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集:

右十三部，凡七十三卷。宋文帝時天竺摩訶乘法師求那跋陀羅 ... 宣出諸經，沙門釋寶雲及弟子菩提法勇傳譯。

The aforementioned thirteen *sūtras*, seventy-three fascicles in total — In the Era of Song Wendi (the Emperor [Wen of the Song dynasty]), the Indian Mahāyāna Dharma-master Guṇabhadra promulgated and issued the *sūtras*,

⁵¹ T 2085 at T LI 865c24–25: 更求得彌沙塞律藏本，得長阿含雜阿含。

and the monk Shi Baoyun 釋寶雲 and the disciple(s?) Puti (*Bodhi) 菩提 [and?] Fayong 法勇 (*Dharmodgata? or a single disciple named *Bodhidharmodgata?)⁵² carried out the oral translation.⁵³

The phrase 宣出諸經, which I rendered as ‘promulgated and issued the *sūtras*’, can be understood in two different ways: one is to take it as reciting a text from memory without a written manuscript; another is to take it as reading out a written original for translation.

Now, the first three texts in this list are the *Samyukta-āgama*, the *Da fagu jing* 大法鼓經 (**Mahābherihāraka-parivarta*) and the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 (**Śrīmālādevī-siṃhanāda-sūtra*), their translation being ascribed to Guṇabhadra.⁵⁴ According to the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, Guṇabhadra brought the manuscript of the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 with him to China.⁵⁵ He ‘held the manuscript’ (in hand) and read it out during the translation process. This conforms to a general pattern in translation, where an Indian monk reads out a manuscript to a person referred to with the phrase *duyu* 度語, who is responsible for translating the passage into Chinese.⁵⁶ Consequently, it would

⁵² All other references to Fayong 法勇 give his name as Fayong 法勇 only. It is difficult to be certain whether the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 is here giving a variant form of his name or mentioning a second disciple who is otherwise unknown.

⁵³ T 2145 at T LV 13a5–8.

⁵⁴ T 2145 at T LV 12c19–22.

⁵⁵ T 2145 at T LV 67b11–14: 有天竺沙門名功德賢 ... 遠載胡本來遊上京, “There is an Indian monk, Guṇabhadra, who brought the Hu manuscripts with him to the capital” (here, variant readings in the Song 宋, Yuan 元 and Ming 明 editions gloss *hu ben* 胡本, Hu manuscripts, with *fan ben* 梵本, Sanskrit manuscripts).

⁵⁶ T 2145 at T LV 67b2–3: 請外國沙門求那跋陀羅手執正本口宣梵音, “They requested the foreign monk Guṇabhadra to hold the authentic manuscript

not be possible to conclude that the expression 口宣胡言 employed here must imply a recitation without a written original. The wording used in the *Chu sanzang jiji* for such an oral recitation is either 口誦, ‘oral recitation’, or 闇誦, ‘recitation from memory’.⁵⁷

In conclusion, more evidence seems to be required in order to conclude that the translation of the *Samyukta-āgama* by Guṇabhadra was based on a recitation without a written manuscript.⁵⁸

With respectful recollection, I wish to dedicate my contribution to the memory of the late Professor Karashima Seishi 辛嶋 静志, who kindly shared an unpublished draft of the Chinese version of his study back in November 2018. I would also like to express my appreciation to the venerable Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā for her suggestions and patient editorial work on my text, and to the venerable Bhikkhu Anālayo for further comments.

in his hands and read out the Sanskrit words [i.e., the text] aloud.”

⁵⁷ T 2145 at T LV 71b25–c2 for 口誦; T 2145 at T LV 99a20, 99b12 and 108a7 for 闇誦.

⁵⁸ For another examination of several points of Karashima’s 2020 proposals see the Appendix to Bingenheimer’s 2020 contribution to this volume.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| AN | <i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i> |
| CBETA | Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會 |
| DĀ | <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (T 1) |
| DN | <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> |
| EĀ | <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125) |
| MĀ | <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26) |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| SĀ | <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SĀ ² | ‘Shorter’ <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 100) |
| SN | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Sn | <i>Sutta-nipāta</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition (CBETA, 2016) |

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**VII. CANON FORMATION AND
TEXTUAL SCHOLARSHIP:
PHILOGIES BETWEEN
TRADITION AND MODERNITY**

Ācāriya Buddhaghosa and Master
Yinshun 印順 on the Three-*aṅga*
Structure of Early Buddhist Texts

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Abstract

This paper discusses the different explanations offered by the fifth-century Indian commentator Ācāriya Buddhaghosa and the contemporary Chinese scholar-monk Master Yinshun 印順 (1906–2005) regarding the three *aṅgas* (i.e., Sanskrit/Pali *sūtra/sutta*, *geya/geyya*, *vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa*) of early Buddhist texts. Essentially it argues that the three-*aṅga* structure of the *Saṃyukta-āgama/Saṃyutta-nikāya* proposed by Master Yinshun should be regarded as more logical and acceptable (or perhaps historically more accurate) than Ācāriya Buddhaghosa's traditional interpretation of the *aṅgas*.

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Appendix 1. Table of the Distribution of *Samyuktas/Samyuttas* within each *Aṅga* in the *Samyukta-āgama* and the *Samyutta-nikāya*

Appendix 2. Tables of the Distribution of the Three *Aṅgas* in the *Samyukta-āgama* and the *Samyutta-nikāya*

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Abbreviations

References

I. Introduction

The structure and content of the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama* (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, T 99) proposed by Master Yinshun 印順 (1906–2005) entails two main issues.¹ One is the reconstruction of the sequence of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*; the other is the three-*aṅga* structure of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (Yinshun 1971: 630–634 and 1983: I 6–11; Choong 2010: 55). His studies on these two main issues are presented in two books: *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng* 原始佛教聖典之集成 [The Formation of Early Buddhist Texts] (1971) and *Za ahan jing-lun huibian* 雜阿含經論會編 [Combined Edition of *Sūtra* and *Śāstra* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*] (1983).

The reconstruction of the original sequence underlying the extant *Saṃyukta-āgama* in the Taishō 大正 edition of the Chinese *Tripitaka* is now completed (Glass 2007: 40, Nagasaki 2004: 60, Choong 2000: 16–23, Mizuno 1988: 45, Mukai 1985: 22 and introduction to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* in the Foguang 佛光 edition, I 11–12). This paper will not discuss Master Yinshun’s contribution to it.

The other structure of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* suggested by Master Yinshun is the three-*aṅga* structure based on data from the Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra traditions. This is a division of the whole collection into three categories of classification (*aṅga*): Sanskrit *sūtra* (Pali *sutta*) ‘discourse’ (short, simple prose), *geya* (Pali *geyya*) ‘stanza’ (verse mixed with prose) and *vyākaraṇa* (Pali *veyyākaraṇa*) ‘exposition’. The three-*aṅga* structure of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* has so far been accepted openly by just a few scholars, among whom

¹ In the present volume the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourses are referenced as ‘SĀ’ followed by the discourse number; in my other publications I use ‘SA’ as an abbreviated form for the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*.

Mizuno Kōgen 水野 弘元 (1988: 23), Nagasaki Hōjun 長崎 法潤 (2004: 51) and myself (Choong 1999: 5 and 2017b: 69, note 7).

However, the fifth-century Indian commentator Ācāriya Buddhaghosa, who considers the Pali language of the canon to be the Magadhi language spoken by the Buddha (Mayeda 1964: 112–113 and Norman 1983: 2), has his own interpretation of the three *aṅgas* for the Pali tradition. His interpretation of the *aṅgas* is not completely accepted by certain scholars, among whom K.R. Norman (1983: 15–16), Mayeda Egaku 前田 惠學 (1964: 232–236), Master Yinshun (1971: 505–506) and Lance S. Cousins (2013: 105–106).

The structure of the *Samyukta-āgama* suggested by Master Yinshun is to date also not discussed openly in the West. Thus, the three-*aṅga* structure of the *Samyukta-āgama* and its Pali counterpart, the *Samyutta-nikāya*, are substantial issues needing further discussion in the study of early Buddhist texts.

It should be noted that both scholar-monks, Master Yinshun and Ācāriya Buddhaghosa, interpret all nine, not just the three *aṅgas*, attested in Buddhist texts. Here I discuss only the first three *aṅgas* presented by these two scholars.

I first examine Ācāriya Buddhaghosa's interpretations of the three *aṅgas*. Then I investigate the three-*aṅga* structure of the *Samyukta-āgama*/*Samyutta-nikāya* envisaged by Master Yinshun. Essentially, I argue that the three-*aṅga* structure of the *Samyukta-āgama*/*Samyutta-nikāya* proposed by him should be regarded as more logical and acceptable than Ācāriya Buddhaghosa's traditional interpretation. In order to present the entire structure and content of the Sarvāstivāda tradition of the *Samyukta-āgama* preserved in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yujia shi de* [論] 瑜伽師地[論]), I first discuss the *vyākaraṇa*/*veyyākaraṇa-aṅga*, and then the *geya/geyya-aṅga* and *sūtra/sutta-aṅga*.

II. The Vyākaraṇa/Veyyākaraṇa-aṅga

Ācāriya Buddhaghosa explains the *veyyākaraṇa-aṅga* thus:²

sakalam pi Abhidhammapiṭakam, niggāthakam suttañ ca, yañ ca aññam pi aṭṭhahi aṅgehi asaṅgahitaṃ buddhava-canaṃ, taṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ ti veditabbaṃ.

The whole of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, *suttas* which contain no verses and any other word of the Buddha not included in the other eight *aṅgas* should be known as *veyyākaraṇa*.

As a result, the entire *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* is regarded by him as *veyyākaraṇa-aṅga*. However, according to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the nine-fold *aṅga*, including the *veyyākaraṇa-aṅga*, made up the entire *Āgama-piṭaka*, that is, the *Nikāyas* of the *Sutta-piṭaka* (cf. Mayeda 1964: 190, Yinshun 1971: 477 and Norman 1983: 16).³

[14] *Sattapaṇṇaguhe ramme therā pañcasatā gaṇī nisinnā pavibhajjimsu navaṅgaṃ satthusāsaṇaṃ.* [15] *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ gāthudānītivuttakaṃ jātakabbhutavedallaṃ navaṅgaṃ satthusāsaṇaṃ.* [16] *pavibhattā imaṃ therā saddhammaṃ avināsaṇaṃ vaggapaññāsakan nāma saṃ-yuttañ ca nipātakaṃ āgamapiṭakaṃ nāma akaṃsu sutta-sammataṃ.*

[14] Assembled in the beautiful Sattapaṇṇa Cave, the five

² In the *Papañcasūdanī* (Commentary on the *Majjhima-nikāya*) at Ps II 106,8–28, *Samantapāsādikā* (Commentary on the *Vinaya*) at Sp I 28,8–29,3, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya*) at Sv I 23,34–24,17, *Atthasālinī* (Commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*) at As 26,11–35; cf. Mayeda 1964: 225, 231, 269 and 294.

³ *Dīp* IV 14–16 at *Dīp* 31,20–26.

hundred *theras*, arranged (*pavibhajati*) the ninefold teaching of the Teacher (*navanṅgaṃ satthusāsaṇaṃ*). [15] The ninefold teaching of the Teacher are: *sutta*, *geyya*, *veyyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *udāna*, *itivuttaka*, *jātaka*, *abbhuta*, *vedalla*. [16] The *theras* who arranged this true imperishable teaching according to chapter (*vagga*), collection of fifty (*paññāsaka*), connected collection (*saṃyutta*) and section (*nipātaka*), composed the Basket of *Āgamas* (*Āgama-piṭaka*) which is known by name of *Sutta* (*suttasammata*).

The *Āgama-piṭaka* is thus different from the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. Hence, it is open to question whether the *veyyākaraṇa-aṅga* should include the style of the *Abhidhamma* texts.

Next, the discourses (*suttas*) that contain no verses, and the Buddha word not included in the other eight *aṅgas*, are also considered to be *veyyākaraṇa-aṅga* by Ācāriya Buddhaghosa. This description is definitely too blurred, being unclear as to just which texts it is referring to.

Accordingly, the explanations and examples of the *veyyākaraṇa-aṅga* provided by Ācāriya Buddhaghosa are, with good reason, rejected by certain scholars, such as Mayeda Egaku (1964: 294–295), Master Yinshun (1971: 533) and Norman (1983: 16, note 6).

According to Master Yinshun (1983: I, 3, 8–9 and 24–29), the collections representing *vyākaraṇa-aṅga* are two sections in the *Samyukta-āgama*: the ‘Section Spoken by *Śrāvakas*’ (*Dizi suoshuo song* 弟子所說誦, Sanskrit *Śrāvaka-bhāṣita*) and the ‘Section Spoken by the Tathāgata/Buddha’ (*Fo/Rulai suoshuo song* 佛/如來所說誦, Sanskrit *Buddha-bhāṣita*).⁴ His reasons are mainly the following:

(a) The *Bahubhūmika* (*Ben difen* 本分地) of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (in its explanation of the twelve *aṅgas*) clarifies that *vyākaraṇa* has

⁴ About the Sanskrit term *bhāṣita*, see Hosoda 1989: 542, Choong 2000: 17, note 5 and 2008: 139 and 190; cf. Mukai 1985: 13, notes 29 and 30.

two meanings: 1. exposition of unclear teachings, and 2. declaration about rebirth, the future destination after death of a disciple⁵ (Yinshun 1971: 520 and 1983: I 26, and Nakasaki 2004: 53).

(b) In the Taishō edition of the Chinese *Tripitaka* the *vyākaraṇa* portion of the *Samyukta-āgama* is marked off by the editors with the heading *Dizi suoshuo song* 弟子所說誦 (‘Section Spoken by *Śrāvakas*’).⁶

(c) The extant *Samyukta-āgama* belongs to the Sarvāstivāda tradition, so the treatment of the *Samyukta-āgama* should also closely follow that tradition. The names of these two collections, i.e., ‘Section Spoken by *Śrāvakas*’ and ‘Section Spoken by the Buddha’, are relevant to the Sarvāstivāda tradition of the *Samyukta-āgama* preserved in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Yinshun 1983: I 3 and 9),⁷ as the texts discussed below show.

(d) The topics (事, *vastu*) grouped together into *saṃyuktas*, the connected units for the content of the *Samyukta-āgama*, indicated in the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* (*She shifen* 攝事分) of the *Yogācārabhūmi* are shown in sequence thus:⁸

1. Spoken by the Tathāgata (如來所說, *tathāgata-bhāṣita*)

2. Spoken by *Śrāvakas* (諸弟子所說, *śrāvaka-bhāṣita*)

3. Aggregates (蘊, *skandha*)

4. Elements (界, *dhātu*)

5. Sense Spheres (處, *āyatana*)

6. Causal Condition (緣起, *pratītya-samutpāda*)

⁵ T 1579 at T XXX 418c7–9.

⁶ T 99 at T II 126a3.

⁷ The *Samyukta-āgama* version belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school. I consider that the Sarvāstivāda is not a different school from the Mūlasarvāstivāda (Nagasaki 2004: 16–17 and 30–48; cf. Yinshun 1971: 3, Choong 2000: 6, note 18 and Schmithausen 1987: 306; also, Fukita 2017: 169–171).

⁸ T 1579 at T XXX 772c11–15.

7. Nutriment (食, *āhāra*)
8. Truths (諦, *satya*)
9. Stations of Mindfulness (念住, *smṛtyupasthāna*), Right Effort (正斷, *saṃyak-prahāṇa*), Bases of Supernormal Power (神足, *ṛddhipada*), Faculties (根, *indriya*), Powers (力, *bala*), Enlightenment Factors (覺支, *bodhyaṅga*), Path Factors (道支, *mārga*), Mindfulness of Breathing (入出息念, *ānāpānasmṛti*), Training (學, *śikṣā*), Definite Purity/Faith (證淨等, *avetyaprasāda*).
10. Eight Assemblies (八眾, *aṣṭau pariśadaḥ*)

A list similar to the above is found in the *Bahubhūmika* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. It sets out the nine topics (九事, *navavastuka*) that the teachings of the Buddha or of Buddhas (諸佛語言, *buddhavacana*) should contain.⁹ The Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* contains a similar list regarding the content of the *Samyukta-āgama*.¹⁰ These three listings correspond as in Table 1 below.

The sequence differs in the three lists. This suggests that it changed over time, though the reason why it changed differently in the different lists is not clearly known. Overall, however, the topics are similar in the three lists, and correspond to the entire structure and content of the *Samyukta-āgama*. Here, ‘stations of mindfulness’, etc. refers to the ‘Discourses Connected with the Path’. ‘Eight assemblies’ refers to ‘Discourses Connected with Verses’. The contents ‘Spoken by the Tathāgata’ and ‘Spoken by Śrāvakas’ are clearly indicated as being part of the *Samyukta-āgama*.

⁹ T 1579 at T XXX 294a21.

¹⁰ T 1451 at T XXIV 407b20–27.

Table 1. Lists of Contents of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*

| <i>Bahubhūmika</i> (<i>Navavastuka</i>) | <i>Vastusaṅgrahaṇī</i> | Mūlasarvāstivāda <i>Vinaya</i> |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Five Aggregates | 3. Aggregates | 1. Five Aggregates |
| 2. Twelve Sense Spheres | 5. Sense Spheres | 2. Six Sense Spheres |
| 3. Twelve Causal Conditions | 6. Causal Condition | 4. Causal Condition |
| 4. Four Nutriments | 7. Nutriments | |
| 5. Four Truths | 8. Truths | 5. Noble Truths |
| 6. Innumerable Elements | 4. Elements | 3. Eighteen Elements |
| 7. Buddha and Śrāvakas | 1. Spoken by the Tathāgata 2. Spoken by Śrāvakas | 7. Spoken by the Tathāgata 6. Spoken by Śrāvakas |
| 8. Four Stations of Mindfulness, etc., of the Enlightenment Factors | 9. Stations of Mindfulness, etc. | 8. Stations of Mindfulness, etc. in the ‘Noble Path Section’ |
| 9. Eight Assemblies | 10. Eight Assemblies | 9. Discourses Connected with Verses |

(e) These topics of the *saṃyuktas*, the connected units of the entire *Saṃyukta-āgama*, are also grouped into three categories, according to the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.¹¹ The three categories are (I) ‘Who Speaks’ (能說), (II) ‘What is Spoken’ (所說), and (III) ‘To Whom it is Spoken’ (所爲說); and these three are explained thus:

I. ‘Who Speaks’: ‘Sections (分, *nipāta*) Spoken by Śrāvakas (弟子所說) and Spoken by the Buddha/Tathāgata (佛/如來所說)’.

¹¹ T 1579 at T XXX 772c16–18.

II. ‘What is Spoken’: ‘Sections Connected with (相應分) the Five Aggregates of Attachment (五取蘊, *pañca-upādāna-skandha*), the Six Sense spheres (六處, *ṣaḍāyatana*), Causal Condition (因緣, *nidāna*)’, and the ‘Section Connected with the Elements of the Path (道品分, *mārga*)’.

III. ‘To Whom it is Spoken’: To the Assemblies of Monks, *Devas*, *Māras*, etc., as in the ‘Chanted Section’ (結集品, *saṅgīta*).

Here the third category, the ‘Chanted Section’, refers to the eight assemblies, discourses connected with verses (*gāthās*). It is identified as the *geya-aṅga* portion of the *Samyukta-āgama* (discussed below). The second category, the ‘Sections Connected with the Five Aggregates, Six Sense Spheres, Causal Condition, and the Path’, is identified as the *sūtra-aṅga* portion of the *Samyukta-āgama* (discussed below). The first category, the ‘Sections Spoken by Śrāvakas and by the Buddha/Tathāgata’, is identified as the *vyākaraṇa-aṅga* portion of the *Samyukta-āgama*.

(f) The texts of these two collections, the ‘Sections Spoken by Śrāvakas and by the Buddha’, are found in the extant *Samyukta-āgama*. The Tibetan version of the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* confirms the two collections identified by Mukai Akira 向井亮 (1985: 20–22) (cf. also Yinshun 1983: I 28–9, and Nagasaki 2004: 53, 56–58 and 60).¹² The *Samyutta-nikāya* counterparts of the *vyākaraṇa-aṅga* portion in the *Samyukta-āgama* are also found (Yinshun 1971: 684–694 and 697–701, and 1983: I 32, 43 and 56–57, and Choong 2000: 21–23, note 22 and 248–250) (see Appendices 1 and 2 below).

¹² A table giving full details of the two collections is also provided in Choong 2000: 243–247.

For the *vyākaraṇa-aṅga* texts (i.e., ‘Sections spoken by *Śrāvakas* and by the Buddha’), there are substantial differences between the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (Choong 2000: 21–22). The *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version is not marked off with a heading corresponding to *Dizi suoshuo song* 弟子所說誦 (‘Section Spoken by *Śrāvakas*’).¹³ Master Yinshun (1971: 700–701 and 1983: I 32, 43, 56–57) suggested that historically the *vyākaraṇa-aṅga* discourses were at first attached to, or subordinated to, the relevant *sūtra-aṅga* sections, and that later editors decided to group them into *saṃyuktas*/*saṃyuttas* collected in a single section (Choong 2000: 23, note 22; also Nagasaki 2004: 52).¹⁴ That is, the two sections were new creations within the *Saṃyukta-āgama* transmission.

III. The *Geya/Geyya-aṅga*

Ācāriya Buddhaghosa explains this *aṅga* thus:¹⁵

sabbam pi sagāthakaṃ suttaṃ geyyaṃ ti veditabbaṃ, vise-sena Saṃyuttake sakalo pi Sagāthā-vaggo.

All the *suttas* containing verses should be known as *geyya*, particularly the entire *Sagāthā-vagga* in the *Saṃyutta*.

In view of that, the explanation “all the *suttas* containing verses should be known as *geyya*” given by Ācāriya Buddhaghosa seems just too broad, being unclear as to which texts it refers to.

¹³ T 99 at T II 126a3.

¹⁴ Cf. also my series of articles for a comparison of the Pali and Chinese versions of individual *saṃyutta/saṃyukta* topics selected from the two collections (Choong 2014b, 2016, 2017a, 2017b and 2018).

¹⁵ Ps II 106,11–13, Sp I 28,11–12, Sv I 23,40–24,2 and As 26,14–16.

However, the next statement, “particularly the entire *Sagātha-vagga* in the *Samyutta*”, gives a concrete example of a textual collection representing *geyya-aṅga*, i.e., the *Sagātha-vagga* section of the *Samyutta-nikāya* (SN 1). This is supported by the findings of Master Yinshun (1971: 517 and 1983: I 23).¹⁶

There is, however, one exception to it, in that the extant *Bhikkhu-samyutta* (SN 21) is located apart in the second section of the *Samyutta-nikāya*, the *Nidāna-vagga* (SN 2). Ten of the twelve *suttas* comprised in the *Bhikkhu-samyutta* actually contain verses. This suggests that this *samyutta* properly belongs to the *Sagātha-vagga* (Yinshun 1971: 701 and 1983: I 56, and Bodhi 2000: 532). It is likely, therefore, that the *Bhikkhu-samyutta* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* was at some time accidentally displaced from its original location (Bucknell 2007: 14–18) (see Appendices 1 and 2 below).

Also, one may consider the issue why the *Sagātha-vagga* is at the beginning of the *Samyutta-nikāya* but at the end of the *Samyukta-āgama*. Elsewhere the sequence of the first two *aṅgas* is always *sūtra* followed by *geya*, not only in the Pali and Sarvāstivāda traditions but also in other early Buddhist traditions (Mayeda 1964: 188 [a section of his additional table of the nine and twelve *aṅgas*] and Yinshun 1971: 494–497; cf. also Nattier 2004). It is possible, therefore, that the location of *Sagātha-vagga* (or the *geya-aṅga* collection) at the

¹⁶ This *geya-aṅga* collection has close connection with the ‘shorter’ *Samyukta-āgama* (*Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經, T 100). Cf. Bucknell 2011 for a discussion of the historical relationship between T 99 and T 100 and Bingenheimer 2011 for relevant textual studies of T 100. Cf. also my series of articles for a comparison of the Pali and Chinese versions of individual *Samyutta/Samyukta* topics (i.e., *Kosala-*, *Bhikkhu-*, *Vaṅgīsa-thera-*, *Brāhmaṇa-*, *Māra-*, *Devatā-*, *Devaputta-*, *Sakka-* and *Brahmā-*) in the collection (Choong 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2012 and 2014a).

end of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* preserves the earlier textual structure (Yinshun 1983: I 39 and 53–54). The reason that the *Sagātha-vagga* is instead at the beginning of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* is not apparent.

IV. The *Sūtra/Sutta-aṅga*

Ācāriya Buddhaghosa explains this *aṅga* thus:¹⁷

suttan ti ādisu ubhato-Vibhaṅga-Niddesa Khandhaka Parivāra Sutta-nipāte Maṅgala-sutta Ratana-sutta Nālaka-sutta Tuvaṭṭaka-suttāni; aññam pi ca suttanāmakaṃ Tathāgatavacanaṃ suttan ti veditabbaṃ.

Herein, the *Niddesas* of the twofold *Vibhaṅga*, the *Khandhaka*, the *Parivāra*, the *Maṅgala-sutta*, *Ratana-sutta*, *Nālaka-sutta* and *Tuvaṭṭaka-suttas* of the *Sutta-nipāta*, and other sayings of the Tathāgata bearing the name *sutta* should be known as *sutta*.

Accordingly, the *Niddesas* (‘Explanations’) of the twofold *Vibhaṅga* (i.e., the *Mahā-vibhaṅga* and *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga*), *Khandhaka* (the *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*), and the *Parivāra* are entirely components of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. These textual examples given by Ācāriya Buddhaghosa seem irrelevant to the *Dhammas* (‘Teachings’) of the *Sutta-piṭaka*.

Next, the *Maṅgala-sutta*, *Ratana-sutta*, *Nālaka-sutta* and *Tuvaṭṭaka-suttas* are located in the *Sutta-nipāta*, one of the fifteen collections of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*. These *suttas* are all in verse, hence are inappropriate to the style of *sutta-aṅga* (i.e., short, simple prose).

Finally, regarding the idea that other discourses of the Buddha

¹⁷ Ps II 106,8–11, Sp I 28,8–11, Sv I 23,37–24,1 and As 26,11–14.

bearing the name *sutta* should be known as *sutta-aṅga*, this view seems just too general, it being unclear just what texts it refers to.

Here, Ācāriya Buddhaghosa, who is looking for the *sūtra-aṅga* in the entire *Vinaya-piṭaka* and *Sutta-piṭaka*, naturally finds a much larger and more varied set of discourses that match his unclear criteria.

Thus, it is understandable and logical that the explanation of the *aṅgas* provided by Ācāriya Buddhaghosa is not fully recognized by some scholars, such as Norman (1983: 15–16), Mayeda Egaku (1964: 232–236), Master Yinshun (1971: 505–506) and Cousins (2013: 105–106).

According to Master Yinshun (1983: I 3 and 9), as mentioned above, the structure of the *Samyukta-āgama* consists of three *aṅgas*, according to the Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra traditions. It should be noted that the extant *Samyukta-āgama* belongs to the Sarvāstivāda tradition, so the treatment of the *Samyukta-āgama* should also follow closely that tradition.

Here, as observed by Master Yinshun (1971: 507–508 and 1983: I 10–12), regarding the first, the *sūtra-aṅga*, the *Bahubhūmika* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in its exposition on the twelve *aṅgas* (十二分教) explains it (契經) thus:¹⁸

1. ‘Discourses Connected with the Aggregates’ (無量蘊相應語)
2. ‘Discourses Connected with the Sense Spheres’ (處相應語)
3. ‘Discourses Connected with Causal Condition’ (緣起相應語)
4. ‘Discourses Connected with the Nutriments’ (食相應語)
5. ‘Discourses Connected with the Truths’ (諦相應語)
6. ‘Discourses Connected with the Elements’ (界相應語)
7. ‘Discourses Connected with the *Śrāvakayāna*, the *Pratyekabuddhayāna*, and the *Tathāgatayāna*’ (聲聞乘相應語, 獨覺乘相應語, 如來乘相應語) (i.e., the ‘Sections Spoken by *Śrāvakas* and the *Tathāgata*’)
8. ‘Discourses Connected with the Stations of Mindfulness, Right

¹⁸ T 1579 at T XXX 418b22–c1.

Efforts, Bases of Supernormal Power, Faculties, Powers, Enlightenment Factors, Path Factors, etc.’; ‘Discourses Connected with Impurity, Mindfulness of Breathing, Trainings, and Definite Purity/Faith’ (念住, 正斷, 神足, 根, 力, 覺支, 道支等相應語; 不淨, 息念, 諸學, 證淨等相應語)

This explanation identifies eight topics. A similar content for the *sūtra-aṅga* is also found in the **Prakaraṇāryavāca* (*Xianyang sheng-jiao* [lun] 顯揚聖教[論]).¹⁹

Nevertheless, the *sūtra-mātrkā* (*sūtra* matrix, 契經, 摩呬理迦 or 本母), essentially a commentary on a portion of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, in the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*,²⁰ follows the sequence of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, as was first noted by Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1896–1989) (Yinshun 1971: 630–631 and 1983: I 2–3). This discovery also confirms that the Sarvāstivāda tradition regarding the *Saṃyukta-āgama* is attested to in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. The *sūtra-mātrkā* contains only these seven topics:

1. ‘Discourses Connected with the Aggregates’
2. ‘Discourses Connected with the Sense Spheres’
3. ‘Discourses Connected with Causal Condition’
4. ‘Discourses Connected with the Nutriments’
5. ‘Discourses Connected with the Truths’
6. ‘Discourses Connected with the Elements’
7. ‘Discourses Connected with the Path: the Stations of Mindfulness, etc., of the Enlightenment Factors’

¹⁹ T 1602 at T XXXI 508c15–23: 聞十二分教者。謂聞契經 應頌 記別 … 。契經者。謂諸經中 … 或說蘊所攝法。界所攝法。處所攝法。或說緣起所攝法。或說食所攝法。諦所攝法。或說聲聞獨覺如來所攝法。或說念住正斷神足根力覺支道支所攝法。或說不淨息念學證淨等所攝法。

²⁰ T 1579 at T XXX 772c9–868b22.

These seven topics (without the sections spoken by *Śrāvakas* and the Tathāgata) are considered by Master Yinshun to be the most fundamental and earliest portion of the ‘Connected Discourses’ (相應教, **saṃyukta-kathā*) of the *Samyukta-āgama*.²¹ They are found in the five major sections (*varga*) on aggregates, sense spheres, causal condition (including nutriment, truths and the elements) and path of the extant *Samyukta-āgama/Samyutta-nikāya*.²² These sections of the ‘Connected Discourses’ are identified by Master Yinshun (1983: I 6–12) as the *sūtra-aṅga* portion of the *Samyukta-āgama/Samyutta-nikāya* (cf. Mizuno 1988: 25–26, Nagasaki 2004: 52 and Choong 2000: 243–251; cf. also Choong 2012a: 86, note 5) (see Appendices 1 and 2 below).

²¹ As noted in Choong 2010: 57, note 7, the Sanskrit term **saṃyukta-kathā* is inferred from the corresponding Tibetan term, *ldan pa'i gtam* (*ldan pa'i*, ‘connected’; *gtam* ‘talk, discourse, report’): 即彼一切事相應教間廁鳩集。是故說名雜阿笈摩 (T 1579 at T XXX 772c23) = *gzhi thams cad dang ldan pa'i gtam de yang dag par ldan pa las 'byung bas na de'i phyir yang dag par ldan pa zhes bya'o* (P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 144a1). Also, according to the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the *Samyukta-āgama* is the foundation of all four *Āgamas* (cf. Yinshun 1971: 507–508 and 1983: 7–9 and 39). T 1579 at T XXX 772c23–28 (= P 5540, *sems tsam*, 'i 144a1–2): 即彼一切事相應教間廁鳩集。是故說名雜阿笈摩 = *gzhi thams cad dang ldan pa'i gtam de yang dag par ldan pa las 'byung bas na de'i phyir yang dag par ldan pa zhes bya'o*. 即彼相應教。復以餘相處中而說。是故說名中阿笈摩 = *de dang ldan pa'i gtam nyid rnam pa gzhan du bar gyi mdo sde rnams kyis bstan pas na de'i phyir bar ma zhes bya'o*. 即彼相應教。更以餘相廣長而說。是故說名長阿笈摩 = *de nyid rnam pa gzhan du rgyud ring po'i mdo sde rnams kyis bstan pas na de'i phyir ring po zhes bya'o*. 即彼相應教。更以一二三等漸增分數道理而說。是故說名增一阿笈摩 = *gcig dang gnyis dang gsum la sogs pa nas gcig nas gcig tu sde tshan gyi tshul gyis 'byung bas na gcig las 'phros pa zhes bya'o*, “Because the connected discourses/teachings (相應教, **saṃyukta-kathā*) are grouped together according to all

Regarding the sections on the major subject items, i.e., aggregates, sense spheres, causal condition and path of the extant *Samyukta-āgama*/*Samyutta-nikāya*, they are evidently the core teachings of early Buddhism and early *Abhidharma* Buddhism. For example, the subject items of the *Samyukta-āgama*/*Samyutta-nikāya* bear certain resemblances to the structure of these two early *Abhidharma* books: the Pali *Vibhaṅga* and the Sarvāstivāda **Abhidharma-dharmaskandha-pāda* (*Apidamo fayun zu [lun]* 阿毘達磨法蘊足[論]) (Choong 2000: 252) (see Appendix 3 below). Also, *Sāratthappakāsinī*, ‘Revealer of the Essential Meaning’, is the title of Ācāriya Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the *Samyutta-nikāya*. This suggests that the Pali tradition also recognized the practical and essential values of the *Samyutta-nikāya suttas* for Buddhist monks.

the topics/subject matters (事, *vastu*) into connected units (*samyuktas*), it is called *Samyukta-āgama*. Because the connected discourses are expounded in another manner by means of medium-sized discourses, it is called the *Madhyama-āgama*. Because the connected discourses are expounded in another manner by means of lengthy discourses, it is called the *Dīrgha-āgama*. Because the connected discourses are arranged sequentially in sections going from one [topic/subject matter], to two, three and so forth, it is called the *Ekottarika-āgama*.” Thus, according to Yinshun 1971 and 1983, the *Samyukta-āgama* is so called because the connected discourses are grouped together according to their topics into connected units. Then, according to other intensions by means of different structures, the connected discourses associated with their topics subsequently expanded and yielded the other *Āgamas* in the sequence *Madhyama-āgama*, *Dīrgha-āgama*, *Ekottarika-āgama*. Therefore, the *Samyukta-āgama* is the foundation of all four *Āgamas* in the formation of early Buddhist texts, according to the Sarvāstivāda tradition of the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

²² In the *Samyutta-nikāya* the section on the truths is located in the *Mahāvagga* (= the path section of the *Samyukta-āgama*); see Choong 2000: 22, 244 and 251.

The extant *Samyukta-āgama* and *Samyutta-nikāya* are definitely sectarian texts. Since we do not have the Mahāsāṅghika *Samyukta-āgama*, it is not possible to find out precisely and clearly what the original version of the *Samyukta/Samyutta* text would have been.

Nevertheless, the structure and content of the discourses on the above-mentioned major topics in the *Samyukta-āgama/Samyutta-nikāya* are clearly evident. These are short, simple prose works, and also center mainly on practice and experience for Buddhist monks. They lay emphasis on the teachings related to the aggregates, sense spheres, causal condition, and the path in a practical sense, rather than on idealistic and systematic theory. These collections of short, simple prose works also share many similarities, though minor differences in style and use of sentences on particular topics do exist. (In these discourses the introductory and concluding words, such as “Thus have I heard”, are likely to have been added later.) Thus, according to Master Yinshun (1971: 690), these discourses may reflect the essential characteristics of the early *Saṅgha* council (*saṅgīti*) for collecting the *dharma*s or ‘teachings’ of the Buddha (cf. also Mizuno 1988: 23 and Nagasaki 2004: 51).²³

²³ Also, only the first three *aṅgas* are mentioned in the *Mahāsuññatā-sutta*, MN 122 at MN III 115,¹⁷ and its Chinese counterpart, the *Dakong jing* 大空經, MĀ 191 at T I 739c4. This suggests the possibility that only the three *aṅgas* existed in the period of Early (or pre-sectarian) Buddhism (Yinshun 1983: I, Preface, 1–2; cf. Choong 2010: 60–61, Mizuno 1988: 23 and Nagasaki 2004: 51–52). Rupert Gethin on the H-Buddhism Discussion Network suggests that the PTS reading *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇassa hetu* in MN 122 at MN III 115,¹⁷ should be corrected to *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ tassa hetu*, following the Ceylonese and Burmese versions’ reading *na kho Ānanda arahati sāvako sathhāraṃ anubandhituṃ yadidaṃ suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ tassa hetu*, “It is not right, Ānanda, that a disciple should seek the Teacher’s company

Conclusion

This paper has compared the two different accounts, offered by Ācāriya Buddhaghosa and Master Yinshun, of the three *aṅgas* in early Buddhist texts.

It is possible that Ācāriya Buddhaghosa saw the three *aṅgas* not as referring to particular works in the Pali texts, but rather as depicting various types of text. He may also have had the purpose of making it appear that the Pali *Piṭakas* had originated from the first *Saṅgha* council, and that the Pali language of the texts was identical with Magadhi, the language spoken by the Buddha.

By contrast, Master Yinshun draws attention to detailed data relating to this historical issue. He identifies specific sections of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*/*Saṃyutta-nikāya* in terms of the three *aṅgas*, as indicated in the Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra traditions. The structure and content of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and *Saṃyutta-nikāya* are found to be very similar, particularly regarding their *sūtra-aṅga* portion, although some minor differences do exist. This suggests that the structure of the two versions is largely pre-sectarian. If the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version had the three-*aṅga* structure, then it is only to be expected that the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version would have been the same.

Consequently, the three-*aṅga* structure of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*/

for this reason, namely *sutta*, *geyya*, *veyyākaraṇa*.” This Pali version’s reading is clearly supported by the Chinese version in the *Madhyama-āgama*, MĀ 191 at T I 739c4-5: 佛言。阿難。不其正經·歌詠·記說故。信弟子隨世尊行奉事至命盡也, “The Buddha said: Ānanda, it is not for this reason, namely *sūtra*, *geya*, *vyākaraṇa*, that a disciple follows the World-Honoured One with respect until the end of life.” See also the discussion on H-Buddhism of October 21st–23rd and 31st, 2011, under the subject ‘Disagreement in Renderings of *Sūtra*/*Geya*/*Vyākaraṇa*’.

Samyutta-nikāya proposed by Master Yinshun should be regarded as essentially more logical and acceptable (or perhaps historically more accurate) than Ācāriya Buddhaghosa's traditional interpretation. It even appears possible that Ācāriya Buddhaghosa had adopted a different definition of *aṅga* from the one adopted by Master Yinshun, and that, as a consequence of this, these two scholar-monks are citing different textual samples.

Postscript: Critique and Response

Given his input summarized above, it is remarkable that the work of Master Yinshun regarding the *aṅgas* in the *Samyukta-āgama/Samyutta-nikāya* has attracted so little attention among Western researchers into early Buddhism.

A good example of this seeming lack of interest is provided by recent publications of Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011 and 2016 [2017]). That author's latest publication in this field, titled “*Āgama* and *Aṅga* in the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition” (2016 [2017]), makes no explicit mention of Master Yinshun's very relevant contributions. However, he appears to address Master Yinshun's position in his criticism of Bhikkhu Sujāto's (2005: 61–62) and my own presentations (Choong 2000: 9–10), which are in turn dependent on Master Yinshun's findings (Anālayo 2016 [2017]: 23–24, note 50).²⁴ In an earlier publication Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 697, note 69) does demonstrate an

²⁴ Anālayo 2016 [2017]: 23–24, note 50 obviously ignores the relevant findings of Master Yinshun and the Ceylonese/Burmese version's reading in MN 122: *na kho Ānanda arahatī sāvako satthāraṃ anubandhituṃ yadidaṃ suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ tassa hetu*. Thus, he is apparently unable to present a clear and precise argument or analysis

awareness of Master Yinshun's work. He achieves this by critiquing, in a single lengthy footnote, Master Yinshun's three-*aṅga* hypothesis as it had been reported earlier by myself (Choong 2010). In the hope of initiating a fruitful on-going exchange of ideas on this and related topics, I now reproduce four samples from that critique and respond to each of them in turn, as follows.

1. Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 697, note 69) states:

This hypothesis is based on the description of the *Āgamas* given in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Although the indications made in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* have indubitably been of great importance for reconstructing the order of the *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99) ... from a methodological viewpoint it would not be possible to use the reconstructed *Samyukta-āgama* in turn to prove that the indications given in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* are correct, since this would become a circular argument.

In my opinion, Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 697, note 69) offers no explanation in support of his claim that “this would become a circular argument”; I have difficulty seeing how it would.

The response I now offer consists mainly in expanding on the relatively brief analysis of the relevant section of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* that I presented earlier in this paper, followed by a more adequate appraisal of what it can tell us about the *Samyukta-āgama*. My immediate purpose is to demonstrate the diverse research value of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (*She shifen* 攝事分), ‘Compendium of Topics’, a quality that Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 697, note 69) appears not to have noticed. I begin by providing an overview of the relevant

regarding why only the first three *aṅgas* are mentioned in MN 122 and its Chinese counterpart, MĀ 191 (see note 23 above).

portion of the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* as preserved in Chinese translation.²⁵ This will reveal that the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* list is, in effect, the table of contents of a text closely resembling the extant *Samyukta-āgama*. It lists nineteen topics. These topics can be grouped as indicated by the numeral(s), 1 to 19, that precede each of the paragraphs set out below. They can also be categorized in terms of the *aṅgas*, as indicated by the words within square brackets that follow each of those paragraphs:

1. Spoken by the Tathāgata [detailed exposition at first hand = *vyākaraṇa*-1]
2. Spoken by Disciples [detailed exposition at second hand = *vyākaraṇa*-2]
- 3–8. Aggregates, Elements, Sense Spheres, Causal Condition, Nutriment, Truths [On Suffering and its Arising = *sūtra*]
- 9–18. Stations of Mindfulness, Right Effort, Bases of Supernormal Power, Faculties, Powers, Enlightenment Factors, Path Factors, Mindfulness of Breathing, Trainings, Definite Purity/Faith [about the Path to the Cessation of Suffering = *sūtra*]
19. Eight Assemblies [versified teaching on/by twelve classes of human and divine beings = *geya*]

Comparison reveals that most of the nineteen items in this list are also represented among the *Samyukta-āgama* titles contained in Table 1 of Appendix 2 below, though with some differences in the sequence. Sixteen of them (bearing the numbers 3 to 18 in the list) are titles of *saṃyuktas*. They are found to be distributed in two groups: nos. 3 to 8 are located in two nearly contiguous blocks that are labeled in the Table as belonging to *sūtra-aṅga*; nos. 9 to 18 are

²⁵ T 1579 at T XXX 772c11–15: 雜阿笈摩者。謂於是中世尊觀待彼彼所化。宣說如來及諸弟子所說相應。蘊界處相應。緣起食諦相應。念住正斷神足根力覺支道支入出息念學證淨等相應。又依八眾說眾相應。

together as a separate single block in the table, again labeled as *sūtra-aṅga*.

The remaining three items in the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* list are: 1. ‘Spoken by the Tathāgata’, 2. ‘Spoken by *Śrāvakas*’, and 19. ‘Eight Assemblies’. The second of these three titles denotes a certain coherent group of *saṃyuktas* – in contrast to the remaining sixteen titles, 3 to 18, each of which instead denotes a single *saṃyukta*.²⁶ The same is true of the third of the three (i.e., item no. 19). The first of the three, however, (i.e., item no. 1) is unique in that it covers three separate groups of *saṃyuktas*, each classified as *vyākaraṇa* – ‘Spoken by the Tathāgata’.

In summary, then, one finds that this list from the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* matches closely (but not completely) the content of Table 1 of Appendix 2. The same is true of two further lists, one from the *Bahubhūmika* (located elsewhere in the *Yogācārabhūmi*), and the other from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*,²⁷ both of which are discussed by Master Yinshun and briefly noted earlier in this paper.

Despite the close overall agreement in both content and sequence between the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the three lists exemplified in the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* series, there also exist a few discrepancies. Conspicuous among these is the fact that the *Rādha-* (羅陀) and *Dṛṣṭi-* (見) *saṃyuktas* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (contained in fascicles 6 and 7; see Appendix 1 below) are absent from all three lists. The point I am making here is that comparison of the entire *Saṃyukta-āgama*

²⁶ As can be seen in the preceding note, the term *saṃyukta* (相應) appears six times at random intervals throughout the list. This suggests that it is being used indiscriminately as a filler and therefore can be disregarded by readers of the text.

²⁷ T 1451 at T XXIV 407b.

series (Appendix 1 below) with the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* series (the above list of 19 items) is a demonstrably effective technique for investigating the structure of the *Samyukta-āgama*. Far from resulting in useless circular arguments, it reveals unexpected discrepancies and other odd features that promise to throw light on otherwise puzzling structural details.

2. Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 698, note 69) further contends:

Regarding the *aṅgas*, the description of the *Āgamas* in the passage under discussion from the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* does not explicitly refer to the set of three *aṅgas*. The only tripartite analysis found in the present passage distinguishes the *Samyukta-āgama* from the viewpoint of speaker, topic, and audience. This division does not naturally evoke the three *aṅgas* of *sutta*, *geyya*, and *veyyākaraṇa*. ... In fact, had this been the original intention, the three *aṅgas* could have been directly mentioned.

In response to this statement, I would like to point out that the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* passage that Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 698, note 69) refers to here²⁸ follows almost immediately after the one in which the nineteen headings are listed. It begins with this statement: “It should be known thus: All of the *samyuktas* reduce to three aspects. What are the three? The first is ‘the speaker’ (能說). The second is ‘what is spoken’ (所說). The third is ‘those for whom it is spoken’ (所爲說). Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 698, note 69) finds that this tripartite analysis “does not naturally evoke the three *aṅgas*”. Admittedly, the

²⁸ T 1579 at T XXX 772c16–18: 當知如是一切相應略由三相。何等爲三。一是能說。二是所說。三是所爲說。若如來若如來弟子是能說。如弟子所說佛所說分。若所了知若能了知。是所說。如五取蘊六處因緣相應分。及道品分。若諸苾芻天魔等眾。是所爲說。

correspondence is partly obscured by a difference in the sequence in which the two triads are conventionally listed:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| speaker (exposition) | = 3. <i>vyākaraṇa</i> |
| message | = 1. <i>sūtra</i> (discourse) |
| audience | = 2. <i>geya</i> (verses) |

Clarity is maintained, however, because the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī*, having introduced the “speaker-message-audience” distinction, goes on to specify (unfortunately with much elision) which *saṃyuktas* of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* correspond to which of the three categories (see also Bucknell 2007: 19 and 32, note 78).

Recognizing these correspondences is helpful in throwing light on the *aṅga* terminology and on its relation to the structure of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*/*Saṃyutta-nikāya*. In particular, it confirms two points: 1) that *vyākaraṇa* encompasses the two sub-categories, *Buddha-bhāṣita* and *Śrāvaka-bhāṣita* (‘Spoken by the Buddha’ and ‘Spoken by Disciples’ respectively); and 2) that *geya/geyya* (also called *aṭṭhapaṇṣā* in Pali) refers to the set of eight assemblies, which constitutes the audience.

3. Next, Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 697, note 69) reasons:

Besides, it is also not clear if the description of the *Āgamas* in the *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* has to be read as positing the *Saṃyukta-āgama* as a kind of “Urkanon” in its own right. It might just intend to explain why the *Saṃyukta-āgama* is given pride of place in its listings of the four *Āgamas*. In the corresponding passage in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* ... the point at stake does in fact not seem to be a temporal priority of the formation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* but only a temporal priority of it being recited by Ānanda at the so-called first council, before he recited the other *Āgamas*.

Here Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 697, note 69) is right in pointing out the possibility of alternative interpretations of the relevant textual data. There is merit in his suggestion that the reference may be simply to the traditional Sarvāstivāda view that Ānanda's recitation at the 'First Council' began with the *Samyukta-āgama* rather than to the postulated status of the *Samyukta-āgama* as the historical forerunner or ancestor of the other three *Āgamas*. Another good reason for caution is that the various extant accounts of the Council are in serious disagreement regarding the sequence of events, particularly regarding which of the *Āgamas/Nikāyas* was the first to be recited, and regarding how and when the other three came into existence.

The *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* account indicates that the sequence in which the four *Āgamas* were formed was: *Samyukta-*, *Madhyama-*, *Dīrgha-*, *Ekottarika-*. As regards the first three of these, the sequence Connected, Middle-length, Long has this in its favour that it suggests a progressive increase in the length of the component discourses with the passage of time, which is just what might be expected to have occurred. For example, it would be entirely reasonable to suggest that the 'Discourse on the Stations of Mindfulness' was originally much shorter than it is at present and was therefore appropriately located within the *Smṛtyupasthāna-samyukta*; but that later, following a substantial growth in size, it was moved, along with other similarly enlarged discourses, into a new grouping called *Madhyama-āgama*.²⁹

4. Last, according to Bhikkhu Anālayo (2011: 697, note 69):

Although the idea that the early Buddhist oral transmission began by assembling discourses according to topics

²⁹ Cf. Bucknell's 2014: 75–91 and 95–96 finding that transposition of discourses was usually from Connected to Middle-length, and/or from Middle-length to Long.

in a manner similar to what is found in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* is certainly appealing, there seems to be no reason why a numerical organisation could not have been in use as well, similar to what underlies the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*. ... Perhaps more than one organizing principle was in use from the outset, since otherwise it would be difficult to explain what happened to those discourses that do not fit neatly into the topic-wise arrangement now found in the *Saṃyukta-āgama/Saṃyutta-nikāya*. It seems improbable that these were just left to float around without being in any way organised.

This question is, admittedly, one for which Master Yinshun appears not to provide an explicit answer. Although the notion of unattached ‘floating’ discourse components has gained currency in recent decades, appealing to it in the present instance does not, in my opinion, yield a satisfactory solution. The question remains open. It is perhaps worth noting that Master Yinshun (1971: 488–491 and 788–789) suggests that the *Saṃyukta-āgama/Saṃyutta-nikāya* was edited mainly for the practical and essential value it had for monks in the *Saṅgha*, whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama/Āṅguttara-nikāya* was edited mainly for the promotion of Buddhist teachings for the general public. This statement appears to imply that at some time the *Saṃyukta-āgama* coexisted with the corresponding Numerical Collection. It counts neither for nor against the notion of *Saṃyukta-āgama* as the sole source of the other three *Āgamas*. Also, it is possible that the idea of unattached floating discourse components in the *Ekottarika-āgama/Āṅguttara-nikāya* is just a speculation (Yinshun 1971: 755–787).³⁰

³⁰ On movements of discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* see now Kuan and Bucknell 2019.

This completes my response to Bhikkhu Anālayo's (2011 and 2016 [2017]) questions and doubts. I have chosen to locate it at the very end of my paper because I wanted to end on an optimistic note. At the outset I drew attention to a widespread failure, among Western scholars of early Buddhism, to take due account of the very substantial research findings of Master Yinshun. My hope is that the present paper will help to eliminate this blind spot by providing a brief but thought-provoking glimpse at the work of this still seriously underrated Chinese scholar.

Appendix 1.

Table of the Distribution of *Samyuktas/Samyuttas* within Each *Aṅga* in the *Samyukta-āgama* and the *Samyutta-nikāya*³¹

(a) *Sūtra-aṅga*

| <i>SAMYUKTA-ĀGAMA</i> | <i>SAMYUTTA-NIKĀYA</i> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) 五陰誦 | (3) <i>Khandha-vagga</i> |
| - 陰相應 | 22. <i>Khandha-samyutta</i> |
| (2) 六入處誦 | (4) <i>Salāyatana-vagga</i> |
| - 入處相應 | 35. <i>Salāyatana-samyutta</i> |
| | 36. <i>Vedanā-samyutta</i> |
| (3) 雜因誦 | (2) <i>Nidāna-vagga</i> |
| - 因緣相應 | 12. <i>Nidāna-samyutta</i> |
| - 諦相應 | |
| - 界相應 | 14. <i>Dhātu-samyutta</i> |
| - 受相應 | |
| (4) 道品誦 | (5) <i>Mahā-vagga</i> |
| - 念處相應 | 45. <i>Magga-samyutta</i> |
| - 正斷相應 or 正勤相應 (missing) | 46. <i>Bojjhaṅga-samyutta</i> |
| - 如意足相應 (missing) | 47. <i>Satipaṭṭhāna-samyutta</i> |
| - 根相應 | 48. <i>Indriya-samyutta</i> |
| - 力相應 | 49. <i>Sammappadhāna-samyutta</i> |
| - 覺支相應 | 50. <i>Bala-samyutta</i> |
| - 聖道分相應 | 51. <i>Iddhipāda-samyutta</i> |
| - 安那般那念相應 | 54. <i>Ānāpāna-samyutta</i> |
| - 學相應 | |
| - 不壞淨相應 | 55. <i>Sotāpatti-samyutta</i> |
| | 56. <i>Sacca-samyutta</i> |

³¹ Table based on Choong 2000: 19–23 and 243–251; see also Appendix 2.

(b) *Geyā-aṅga*

| <i>SAMYUKTA-ĀGAMA</i> | | <i>SAMYUTTA-NIKĀYA</i> |
|-----------------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| (5) 八衆誦 ³² | | (1) <i>Sagātha-vagga</i> |
| - 比丘相應 | _____ | 21. <i>Bhikkhu-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 魔相應 | _____ | 1. <i>Devatā-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 帝釋相應 | _____ | 2. <i>Devaputta-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 剎利相應 | _____ | 3. <i>Kosala-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 婆羅門相應 | _____ | 4. <i>Māra-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 梵天相應 | _____ | 5. <i>Bhikkhunī-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 比丘尼相應 | _____ | 6. <i>Brahma-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 婆耆舍相應 | _____ | 7. <i>Brāhmaṇa-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 諸天相應 | _____ | 8. <i>Vaṅṭṣathera-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 夜叉相應 | _____ | 9. <i>Vana-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 林相應 | _____ | 10. <i>Yakkha-saṃyutta</i> |
| | | 11. <i>Sakka-saṃyutta</i> |

(c) *Vyākaraṇa-aṅga*

| <i>SAMYUKTA-ĀGAMA</i> | | <i>SAMYUTTA-NIKĀYA</i> |
|-------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| (6) 弟子所說 (<i>Śrāvaka-bhāṣita</i>) | | |
| - 舍利弗相應 | _____ | 38. <i>Jambukhādaka-saṃyutta</i> |
| | _____ | 39. <i>Sāmaṇḍaka-saṃyutta</i> |
| | _____ | 28. <i>Sāriputta-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 目犍連相應 | _____ | 40. <i>Moggallāna-saṃyutta</i> |
| | _____ | 19. <i>Lakkhaṇa-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 阿那律相應 | _____ | 52. <i>Anuruddha-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 大迦旃延相應 | | |
| - 阿難相應 | | |
| - 質多羅相應 | _____ | 41. <i>Citta-saṃyutta</i> |

³² This corresponds with the ‘Chanted Section’ (結集品, *saṅgīta*).

(7) 如來所說 (*Tathāgata-bhāṣita*)

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| - 羅陀相應 | 23. <i>Rādha-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 見相應 | 24. <i>Diṭṭhi-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 斷知相應 | |
| - 天相應 | 32. <i>Valāha-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 修證相應 | 34. <i>Jhāna-saṃyutta</i> |
| | 43. <i>Asaṃkhata-saṃyutta</i> |
| | 13. <i>Abhisamaya-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 入界陰相應 | 25. <i>Okkantika-saṃyutta</i> |
| | 18. <i>Rāhula-saṃyutta</i> ³³ |
| | 26. <i>Uppāda-saṃyutta</i> |
| | 27. <i>Kilesa-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 不壞淨相應 | |
| - 大迦葉相應 | 16. <i>Kassapa-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 聚落主相應 | 42. <i>Gāmaṇi-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 馬相應 | |
| - 摩訶南相應 or 釋氏相應 | |
| - 無始相應 | 15. <i>Anamatagga-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 婆蹉種出家相應 | 33. <i>Vacchagotta-saṃyutta</i> |
| | 44. <i>Avyākata-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 外道出家相應 | |
| - 雜相應 | |
| - 譬喻相應 | 20. <i>Opamma-saṃyutta</i> |
| - 病相應 | |
| - 業報相應 | |
| | 17. <i>Lābhasakkāra-saṃyutta</i> |

³³ Note: this is a correction to Choong 2000: 21–22, where the item no. 18 (“Rāhula S.”) should be added in page 21 and deleted in page 22. See also Choong 2018 for a comparison of the Pali and Chinese version of the *Okkantika*-, *Uppāda*-, *Kilesa*- and *Rāhula-saṃyuttas*.

- 29. *Nāga-saṃyutta*
- 30. *Suppaṇṇa-saṃyutta*
- 31. *Gandhabbakāya-saṃyutta*
- 37. *Mātugāma-saṃyutta*
- 53. *Jhāna-saṃyutta*

Appendix 2.

Tables of the Distribution of the Three *Āṅgas*
in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and *Saṃyutta-nikāya*

Table 1. Distribution of the Three *Āṅgas*
in the Reconstructed *Saṃyukta-āgama*

| <i>Saṃyukta</i> (相應) | Fascicle and Discourse Numbers in the Taishō edition | <i>Āṅga</i> (Classification) | Total of Discourses |
|--|--|--|---------------------|
| (1) 五陰誦 ('Five Aggregates Section') | | | |
| 陰相應 | 1, SĀ 1–32 | <i>Sūtra</i> | 112 |
| | 10, SĀ 256–272 | | |
| | 3, SĀ 59–87 | | |
| | 2, SĀ 33–58 | | |
| | 5, SĀ 103–110 | | |
| 羅陀相應 | 6, SĀ 111–132 | <i>Vyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Tathāgata-bhāṣita</i>) | 22 |
| 見相應 | 6, SĀ 133–138 | | 39 |
| | 7, SĀ 139–171 | | |
| 斷知相應 | 7, SĀ 172–187 | | 16 |
| (2) 六入處誦 ('Six Sense Spheres Section') | | | |
| 入處相應 | 8, SĀ 188–229 | <i>Sūtra</i> | 131 |
| | 9, SĀ 230–255 | | |
| | 43, SĀ 1164–1177 | | |
| | 11, SĀ 273–282 | | |
| | 13, SĀ 304–342 | | |

| (3) 雜因誦 (‘Causal Condition Section’) | | | |
|--|-------------------|--------------------------------------|----|
| 因緣相應 | 12, SĀ 283–303 | Sūtra | 57 |
| | 14, SĀ 343–364 | | |
| | 15, SĀ 365–378 | | |
| 諦相應 | 15, SĀ 379–406 | | 65 |
| | 16, SĀ 407–443 | | |
| 界相應 | 16, SĀ 444–454 | | 22 |
| | 17, SĀ 455–465 | | |
| 受相應 | 17, SĀ 466–489 | | 24 |
| 舍利弗相應 | 18, SĀ 490–500 | Vyākaraṇa (Śrāvaka- bhāṣita) | 11 |
| 目犍連相應 | 18, SĀ 501–503 | | 34 |
| | 19, SĀ 504–534 | | |
| 阿那律相應 | 19, SĀ 535–536 | | 11 |
| | 20, SĀ 537–545 | | |
| 大迦旃延相應 | 20, SĀ 546–555 | | 10 |
| 阿難相應 | 20, SĀ 556–558 | | 10 |
| | 21, SĀ 559–565 | | |
| 質多羅相應 | 21, SĀ 566–575 | 10 | |
| 天相應 | --- ³⁴ | Vyākaraṇa (Tathāgata- bhāṣita) | 12 |
| | 31, SĀ 861–872 | | |
| 修證相應 | 31, SĀ 873–891 | | 19 |
| 入界陰相應 | 31, SĀ 892–901 | | 10 |
| 不壞淨相應 | 31, SĀ 902–904 | | 3 |
| (4) 道品誦 (‘Path Section’) ³⁵ | | | |
| 念處相應 | 24, SĀ 605–639 | Sūtra | 35 |

³⁴ Fascicle 23, SĀ 604 is from the *Aśoka-avadāna*, not part of the *Samyukta-āgama*.

³⁵ Or 'Enlightenment-factors Section' (菩提分誦, *Bodhipakṣya-varga*).

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------------|--|----|
| | --- ³⁶ | | |
| 正斷 or 正勤相應 | --- | | |
| 如意足相應 | --- | | |
| 根相應 | --- | | 19 |
| | 26, SĀ 642–660 | | |
| 力相應 | 26, SĀ 661–703 | | 43 |
| 覺支相應 | 26, SĀ 704–711 | | 44 |
| | 27, SĀ 712–747 | | |
| 聖道分相應 | 28, SĀ 748–796 | | 53 |
| | 29, SĀ 797–800 | | |
| 阿那般那念相應 | 29, SĀ 801–815 | | 15 |
| 學相應 | 29, SĀ 816–829 | | 17 |
| | 30, SĀ 830–832 | | |
| 不壞淨相應 | 30, SĀ 833–860 | | 43 |
| | 41, SĀ 1121–1135 | | |
| 大迦葉相應 | 41, SĀ 1136–1144 | | 11 |
| | 32, SĀ 905–906 | | |
| 聚落主相應 | 32, SĀ 907–916 | | 10 |
| 馬相應 | 32, SĀ 917–918 | | 10 |
| | 33, SĀ 919–926 | | |
| 摩訶南 or 釋氏相應 | 33, SĀ 927–936 | | 10 |
| 無始相應 | 33, SĀ 937–939 | | 20 |
| | 34, SĀ 940–956 | | |
| 婆蹉種相應 | 34, SĀ 957–964 | | 8 |
| 外道出家相應 | 34, SĀ 965–969 | | 15 |
| | 35, SĀ 970–979 | | |

Vyākaraṇa
(*Tathāgata-*
bhāṣita)

³⁶ Fascicle 25, SĀ 640–641 are from the *Aśoka-avadāna*, not part of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.

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| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|------|-----|
| 雜相應 | 35, SĀ 980–992 | | 18 |
| | 47, SĀ 1241–1245 | | |
| 譬喻相應 | 47, SĀ 1246–1264 | | 19 |
| 病相應 | 47, SĀ 1265–1266 | | 18 |
| | 37, SĀ 1023–1038 | | |
| 業報相應 | 37, SĀ 1039–1061 | | 23 |
| (5) 八衆誦 ('Eight Assemblies Section') | | | |
| 比丘相應 | 38, SĀ 1062–1080 | Geya | 22 |
| | 39, SĀ 1081–1083 | | |
| 魔相應 | 39, SĀ 1084–1103 | | 20 |
| 帝釋相應 | 40, SĀ 1104–1120 | | 21 |
| | 46, SĀ 1222–1225 | | |
| 剎利相應 | 46, SĀ 1226–1240 | | 21 |
| | 42, SĀ 1145–1150 | | |
| 婆羅門相應 | 42, SĀ 1151–1163 | | 38 |
| | 4, SĀ 88–102 | | |
| | 44, SĀ 1178–1187 | | |
| 梵天相應 | 44, SĀ 1188–1197 | | 10 |
| 比丘尼相應 | 45, SĀ 1198–1207 | | 10 |
| 婆耆舍相應 | 45, SĀ 1208–1221 | | 16 |
| | 36, SĀ 993–994 | | |
| 諸天相應 | 36, SĀ 995–1022 | | 108 |
| | 22, SĀ 576–603 | | |
| | 48, SĀ 1267–1293 | | |
| | 49, SĀ 1294–1318 | | |
| 夜叉相應 | 49, SĀ 1319–1324 | | 12 |
| | 50, SĀ 1325–1330 | | |
| 林相應 | 50, SĀ 1331–1362 | | 32 |

Table 2. Distribution of the Three *Aṅgas* in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*

| <i>Samyutta</i> | Discourse Numbers in the PTS edition (SN I–V) | <i>Aṅga</i> (Classification) |
|--|--|--|
| (1) <i>Sagātha-vagga</i> (‘Verse Section’) | | |
| 1. <i>Devatā-samyutta</i> | 1–81 | <i>Geyya</i> |
| 2. <i>Devaputta-samyutta</i> | 1–30 | |
| 3. <i>Kosala-samyutta</i> | 1–25 | |
| 4. <i>Māra-samyutta</i> | 1–25 | |
| 5. <i>Bhikkhunī-samyutta</i> | 1–10 | |
| 6. <i>Brahma-samyutta</i> | 1–15 | |
| 7. <i>Brāhmaṇa-samyutta</i> | 1–22 | |
| 8. <i>Vaṅṣīsaṭṭha-samyutta</i> | 1–12 | |
| 9. <i>Vana-samyutta</i> | 1–14 | |
| 10. <i>Yakkha-samyutta</i> | 1–12 | |
| 11. <i>Sakka-samyutta</i> | 1–25 | |
| (2) <i>Nidāna-vagga</i> (‘Causal Condition Section’) | | |
| 12. <i>Nidāna-samyutta</i> | 1–93 | <i>Sutta</i> |
| 13. <i>Abhisamaya-samyutta</i> | 1–11 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Tathāgata-bhāṣita</i>) |
| 14. <i>Dhātu-samyutta</i> | 1–39 | <i>Sutta</i> |
| 15. <i>Anamatagga-samyutta</i> | 1–20 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Tathāgata-bhāṣita</i>) |
| 16. <i>Kassapa-samyutta</i> | 1–13 | |
| 17. <i>Lābhasakkāra-samyutta</i> | 1–43 | |
| 18. <i>Rāhula-samyutta</i> | 1–22 | |
| 19. <i>Lakkhaṇa-samyutta</i> | 1–21 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Śrāvaka-bhāṣita</i>) |

| | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 20. <i>Opamma-saṃyutta</i> | 1–12 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Tathāgata-bhāṣita</i>) |
| 21. <i>Bhikkhu-saṃyutta</i> | 1–12 | <i>Geyya</i> |
| (3) <i>Khandha-vagga</i> (‘Aggregates Section’) | | |
| 22. <i>Khandha-saṃyutta</i> | 1–158 | <i>Sutta</i> |
| 23. <i>Rādha-saṃyutta</i> | 1–46 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Tathāgata-bhāṣita</i>) |
| 24. <i>Diṭṭhi-saṃyutta</i> | 1–96 | |
| 25. <i>Okkantika-saṃyutta</i> | 1–10 | |
| 26. <i>Uppāda-saṃyutta</i> | 1–10 | |
| 27. <i>Kilesa-saṃyutta</i> | 1–10 | |
| 28. <i>Sāriputta-saṃyutta</i> | 1–10 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Sāvaka-bhāṣita</i>) |
| 29. <i>Nāga-saṃyutta</i> | 1–50 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Tathāgata-bhāṣita</i>) |
| 30. <i>Supaṇṇa-saṃyutta</i> | 1–46 | |
| 31. <i>Gandhabbakāya-saṃ.</i> | 1–112 | |
| 32. <i>Valāha-saṃyutta</i> | 1–57 | |
| 33. <i>Vacchagotta-saṃyutta</i> | 1–55 | |
| 34. <i>Jhāna-saṃyutta</i> | 1–55 | |
| (4) <i>Salāyatana-vagga</i> (‘Six Sense Spheres Section’) | | |
| 35. <i>Salāyatana-saṃyutta</i> | 1–207 | <i>Sutta</i> |
| 36. <i>Vedanā-saṃyutta</i> | 1–29 | |
| 37. <i>Mātugāma-saṃyutta</i> | 1–34 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Tathāgata-bhāṣita</i>) |
| 38. <i>Jambukhādaka-saṃ.</i> | 1–16 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (<i>Sāvaka-bhāṣita</i>) |
| 39. <i>Sāmaṇḍaka-saṃyutta</i> | 1–16 | |
| 40. <i>Moggallāna-saṃyutta</i> | 1–15 | |
| 41. <i>Citta-saṃyutta</i> | 1–10 | |
| 42. <i>Gāmaṇi-saṃyutta</i> | 1–13 | |
| | | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> |

| | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 43. <i>Asaṅkhata-saṃyutta</i> | 1–44 | (Tathāgata-bhāsita) |
| 44. <i>Avyākata-saṃyutta</i> | 1–11 | |
| (5) <i>Mahā-vagga</i> ('Great Section') | | |
| 45. <i>Magga-saṃyutta</i> | 1–180 | <i>Sutta</i> |
| 46. <i>Bojjaṅga-saṃyutta</i> | 1–175 | |
| 47. <i>Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta</i> | 1–102 | |
| 48. <i>Indriya-saṃyutta</i> | 1–185 | |
| 49. <i>Sammappadhāna-saṃyutta</i> | 1–54 | |
| 50. <i>Bala-saṃyutta</i> | 1–110 | |
| 51. <i>Iddhipāda-saṃyutta</i> | 1–86 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (Sāvaka-bhāsita) |
| 52. <i>Anuruddha-saṃyutta</i> | 1–24 | |
| 53. <i>Jhāna-saṃyutta</i> | 1–54 | <i>Veyyākaraṇa</i> (Tathāgata-bhāsita) |
| 54. <i>Ānāpāna-saṃyutta</i> | 1–20 | <i>Sutta</i> |
| 55. <i>Sotāpatti-saṃyutta</i> | 1–75 | |
| 56. <i>Sacca-saṃyutta</i> | 1–131 | |

Appendix 3.

Contrast Table of the *Sūtra-aṅga* Portion (*Samyukta-āgama*/*Samyutta-nikāya*) and the Two Early *Abhidharmas* (*Dharmaskandha* and *Vibhaṅga*)

| <i>Samyukta-āgama</i> | <i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> | <i>Dharmaskandha</i> | <i>Vibhaṅga</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| <i>skandha</i> | 22. <i>khandha</i> | 19. <i>skandha</i> | 1. <i>khandha</i> |
| <i>āyatana</i> | 35. <i>saḷāyatana</i> | 18. <i>āyatana</i> | 2. <i>āyatana</i> |
| <i>pratītyasamutpāda</i> | 12. <i>nidāna</i> | 21. <i>pratītyasamut.</i> | 6. <i>paccayākāra</i> |
| <i>satya</i> | 56. <i>sacca</i> | 10. <i>āryasatya</i> | 4. <i>sacca</i> |
| <i>dhātu</i> | 14. <i>dhātu</i> | 20. <i>dhātu</i> | 3. <i>dhātu</i> |
| <i>vedanā</i> | 36. <i>vedanā</i> | | |
| <i>smṛtyupasthāna</i> | 47. <i>satipaṭṭhāna</i> | 9. <i>smṛtyupasthāna</i> | 7. <i>satipaṭṭhāna</i> |
| <i>samyak-pradhāna</i> | 49. <i>sammappadh.</i> | 7. <i>samyak-pradh.</i> | 8. <i>sammappadh.</i> |
| <i>ṛddhipāda</i> | 51. <i>iddhipāda</i> | 8. <i>ṛddhipāda</i> | 9. <i>iddhipāda</i> |
| <i>indriya</i> | 48. <i>indriya</i> | 17. <i>indriya</i> | 5. <i>indriya</i> |
| <i>bala</i> | 50. <i>bala</i> | | |
| <i>bodhyaṅga</i> | 46. <i>bojjhaṅga</i> | 15. <i>bodhyaṅga</i> | 10. <i>bojjhaṅga</i> |
| <i>āryamārga</i> | 45. <i>magga</i> | | 11. <i>magga</i> |
| <i>ānāpānasamṛti</i> | 54. <i>ānāpāna</i> | | |
| <i>śikṣā</i> | | 1. <i>śikṣāpada</i> | 14. <i>sikkhāpada</i> |
| <i>avetyaprasāda</i> | 55. <i>sotāpatti</i> | 2. <i>srotāpattyaṅga</i> 3. <i>avetyaprasāda</i> | |
| | | 11. <i>dhyāna</i> | 12. <i>jhāna</i> |
| | | 12. <i>apramāṇa</i> | 13. <i>appamañña</i> |
| | | 14. <i>samādhībhāva</i> | |
| | | | 15. <i>paṭsamabhidā</i> |
| | | 4. <i>śrāmanyaphala</i> | |

| | | | |
|--|--|--------------------------|--|
| | | 5. <i>pratipada</i> | |
| | | 6. <i>āryavaṃśa</i> | |
| | | 13. <i>ārūpya</i> | |
| | | 16. <i>kṣudravastuka</i> | |

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Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|---|
| As | <i>Atthasālinī</i> |
| CBETA | Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會 |
| Dīp | <i>Dīpavaṃsa</i> |
| PTS | Pali Text Society |
| MĀ | <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26) |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| P | Peking edition (Ōtani) |
| Ps | <i>Papañcasūdanī</i> |
| PTS | Pali Text Society |
| SĀ | <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SN | <i>Saṃyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Sp | <i>Samantapāsādikā</i> |
| Sv | <i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition (CBETA, 2016) |

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**Assessing the Field of *Āgama* Studies
in Twentieth-century China:
With a Focus on
Master Yinshun's 印順 Three-*aṅga* Theory**

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Abstract

Between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century China experienced an important moment of transformation, involving shifts in the political system, social customs, and intercultural relations; an overall atmosphere that affected the religious domain as well. Buddhists responded to the new milieu by repositioning themselves in Chinese society, reinventing their cultivation practices, and reviving certain schools, teachings, and scriptures. This research explores the renaissance of *Āgama* studies in this Chinese context. In the first part of the chapter (section II), Stefania Travagnin provides an overview of the main voices of the new *Āgama* scholarship, their arguments and major works, with attention to the intellectual domain within which these protagonists, from Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) to Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1896–1989) and Master Dongchu 東初 (1908–1977), were trained and operated. The impact of Buddhist publishing and the influence from Japanese Buddhist scholarship were important contextual factors that this part of the chapter also analyses. Travagnin then continues with an inquiry into Master Yinshun's 印順 (1906–2005) specific contribution to *Āgama* studies, with particular attention to his understanding and classification of the *Āgamas* according to doctrinal concepts such as the *aṅgas* (section III). The last part, by Bhikkhu Anālayo, addresses the ‘*aṅga* question’, and offers a critical assessment of the theory according to which during an early stage in the transmission of the early Buddhist discourses the three *aṅgas* of *sūtra/sutta*, *geya/geyya* and *vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa* served as guiding principles of textual assemblage, comparable to the function of the scriptural collections now known as *Āgamas* or *Nikāyas* (section IV).

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Abbreviations

References

I. Introduction

The study of the *Āgamas* in modern China, especially when it concerns the *Samyukta-āgama*, is often (or even always) associated with the figures of Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1896–1989) and Master Yinshun 印順 (1906–2005). While the latter proposed a new evaluation of early Indian Buddhism in a systematic way and a new edition of the *Samyukta-āgama*, it was the former who set the foundations for the research of Master Yinshun and others. Lü Cheng, in fact, pointed out that the order and structure of the *Samyukta-āgama* should be redefined via the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (攝事分) section of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Master Yinshun completed Lü Cheng's work, and at the same time put forward an understanding and classification of the *Āgamas* according to several doctrinal concepts such as the *siddhāntas* and the *aṅgas*.¹

¹ The four *siddhāntas* (Ch: *xitan* 悉檀), which appeared in Mahāyāna texts like the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, T 1509) and the *Fahua jing xuanyi* 法華經玄義 (T 1716), can refer to either four perspectives through which reality is perceived, or four modalities the Buddha used to preach the Dharma. Master Yinshun considered them in terms of 'preaching modes': 1) the *siddhānta* of supreme meaning (第一義悉檀) refers to preaching according to how the Buddha understands the world; 2) the corrective *siddhānta* (對治悉檀) is the preaching that aims to correct human beings with defilements by eliminate those defilements; 3) the individualised *siddhānta* (各各爲人悉檀) means a preaching according to the abilities and understanding of the audience; 4) the worldly *siddhānta* (世界悉檀) refers to preaching according to the conventional understanding of the world. Master Yinshun relied mostly on the definition of *siddhānta* as described in the *Da zhidu lun*, T 1509 at T XXV 59b17–60b15. See also the notes that he took on the *Da zhidu lun* in Yinshun 2005: 1 [A001], 2 [A002],

This study aims to shed new light on Master Yinshun's *Āgama* scholarship, with special attention to his *aṅga* theory.

It starts with a survey by Stefania Travagnin of the historical background and the scholarly context before and within which Master Yinshun operated. Travagnin looks at monastics and lay Buddhists, including Lü Cheng, who wrote on the *Āgamas* from the late Qing 清 up to, and during, Master Yinshun's time, and analyses themes and questions that had been addressed (section II). In the subsequent part Travagnin then considers Master Yinshun's entire oeuvre, so as to unpack the development and shifts in his thought in parallel with his learning and also the availability at that time of Japanese scholarship on the subject (section III).²

In the last part (section IV), Bhikkhu Anālayo offers a critical assessment of the theory that during an early stage in the transmission of the discourses the three *aṅgas* of *sūtra/sutta*, *geya/geyya*, and *vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa* served as textual collection, comparable to the function of the collections now known to us as *Āgamas* or *Nikāyas* (section IV).

231 [C028], 265 [D021]. For his definition of the four *siddhāntas* see Yinshun 1988: 126. Meaning and functions of the *aṅgas* is explained in detail in section IV of this chapter. The term *aṅga* was intended as a literary form, or a textual collection. In my view, Yinshun alluded to the *aṅgas* in both meanings, and sometimes also referred to them in the sense of division of teachings.

² Translations from Chinese in sections II and III of this chapter are Travagnin's, unless stated otherwise.

II. The State of *Āgama* Scholarship in Twentieth-century China: Voices, Publications and Arguments

This section explores *how* and *why* Buddhist scholars (monastics and laity) in twentieth-century China were interested in the *Samyukta-āgama*, and it therefore concerns the reception and domestication of these texts in a century that redefined features and methodologies of Chinese Buddhism. This is then a study of the context within which Lü Cheng and Master Yinshun were trained and then operated, and highlights other scholarly networks and forms of cooperation, so to give a brief yet comprehensive idea of the overall *Āgama* scholarship in those decades.

This research is based on various sources from the Republican period (1912–1949)³ and beyond: Buddhist periodicals; publications by the key figures (monastics and laity) of the Buddhist intellectual sphere; catalogues of scriptural presses and publishing houses; historical records and curricula of Buddhist seminaries. It looks at *Āgama* scholarship in four contexts: 1) publications and arguments (and thus circulation of debates in China); 2) East-Asian networks (transmission and exchanges of knowledge between Chinese Bud-

³ After the demise of the Qing 清 dynasty, that lasted from 1644 to 1912, and in light of the reforms in the intellectual and political system, China became a 'Republic' (*Zhonghua minguo* 中華民國). In this chapter, 'Republican period' and 'Republican era' refer to that first Republican regime in China that followed the imperial dynasties. The rule of the Nationalist Party (Guomindang 國民黨, better known as KMT) lasted until the instalment of the People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo* 中華人民共和國) and the coming to power of the Chinese Communist Party (*Zhongguo gongchandang* 中國共產黨) in 1949.

dhists and scholars in Japan and Taiwan); 3) *saṅgha* education (special attention to the courses on Indian Buddhism and the *Āgamas* that were running during the Republican period); 4) publishing (namely, the situation of the reprinting – and circulation – of the Chinese *Āgamas* in China in the first half of the twentieth century).

II.1 Towards a Revival of *Āgama* Studies? Preliminary Observations

The term ‘revival’ (*fixing* 復興) has been used (and often abused) to define crucial trends in modern Chinese Buddhism;⁴ and the same term has been used by intellectuals like Liang Qichao to label the new situation of *Āgama* scholarship. However, can we really talk of a revival (*fixing* 復興) of the study of the *Āgamas* (*ahan xue* 阿含學) in early twentieth-century China? According to the lay Buddhist scholar Zhang Mantao 張曼濤, the interest in the study of the *Āgamas* and other foundational texts representative of the so-called ‘original Buddhism’ (*yuanshi fojiao* 原始佛教) is a major feature of the new Chinese Buddhology in the twentieth-century. Zhang Mantao does not speak in terms of ‘revival’ though; in his view, this interest is something new, belonging to the modern Buddhology (*xiandai fojiao yanjiu* 現代佛教研究), and the main difference between the latter and the (Chinese) traditional Buddhist perspective (*chuantong fojiao* 傳統佛教).

As Zhang Mantao argued, this scholarship on the *Āgamas* and other early texts had a remarkable impact on the development of modern Buddhist studies in China, because: 1) it offered more knowledge about so-called ‘original Buddhism’, and also of the so-

⁴ For the debates on the concept of ‘revival’ (*fixing*), see Ji, Tian and Wang 2016, and Laliberté and Travagnin 2019.

cial background of India at the time of the Buddha; 2) those studies aimed not just to explain early Buddhism but also, and especially, to explore its links with the Mahāyāna; 3) the increased attention and value given to the *Āgamas* had an impact on the *panjiao* 判教 (systems of doctrinal classifications)⁵ as well. In fact, this traditional Chinese classification of teachings had located teachings and texts of ‘early Buddhism’ (defined in various ways, including ‘original Buddhism’, *yuanshi fojiao* 原始佛教, and ‘Hīnayāna’, *xiaocheng* 小乘) to the lowest position. This changed in the more recent *panjiao*, where early or original Buddhism was, by some Chinese Buddhists, set on a higher position in the doctrinal classification.

This initial section looks at the intellectual and religious framework that Zhang Mantao referred to. I list and briefly explain specific patterns that, in my view, defined the context wherein Buddhists, from the early twentieth-century, developed a strong interest in the

⁵ *Panjiao*, which literally means division of the teachings, is a system of classification of Buddhist teachings based on the chronological sequence, location, modalities and contents of the preaching of the Buddha with the purpose of having a precise interpretation of the Dharma. Each *panjiao* systematises Buddhist scriptures according to a particular hierarchy, with the text that represents the most complete and perfect teaching on top, and the other teachings (and texts) being read as preliminary steps to the final revelation. Each school compiled and proposed its own *panjiao*, which becomes a distinct feature of the school itself, and the way adopted by each school to claim the superiority of its own doctrine and scriptures. Although already adopted in India, the practice of compiling *panjiao* became popular in the history of Chinese Buddhism, especially from the Sui and the Tang dynasties. The most well-known *panjiao* in the history of Chinese Buddhism are the classification in ‘five phases and eight doctrines’ elaborated by Master Zhiyi 智顗 (538–397) of the Tiantai 天台 school (see Hurvitz 1962), and the division into ‘five teachings and ten schools’ formulated by Master Fazang 法藏 (643–712) of the Huayan 華嚴 school (see Cook 1977).

Āgamas. We will thus be able to make connections between this modern Chinese scholarship on the *Āgamas* and some earlier Japanese and European research on early Buddhism.⁶ In other words, this Chinese interest in the *Āgamas* needs to be contextualised also within the non-Chinese publications, and perceived, at least partly, as an effect of the overall ‘translation enterprise’ that developed in the Republican era. In doing so, we will also realise that Chinese Buddhists were somehow, perhaps more implicitly than explicitly, participating in the interest in looking for an ‘original’ Buddhism that had also animated Western scholars and the rest of the Asian region.

To begin with, the first half of the twentieth century featured a complex transfer of knowledge from Japan to China and Taiwan, including Japanese translations of early Western works on Buddhism, the following Chinese translation and reprinting in China of some of them, and the retrieval and return to China of canonical texts that had disappeared.⁷ The monk Mochan 墨禪 was among those who played a major role in that respect (Dongchu 1974, 989–992). Exchanges and translation activities were not restricted to Japan and Japanese; in fact, the 1930s and 1940s were also the years of mass translation of texts from Tibetan and Pali into Chinese.⁸ It is clear

⁶ Among the very first Western works on the topic translated into Chinese see *Hinduism and Buddhism, An Historical Sketch* by Charles Eliot (1864–1931), published in 1921.

⁷ For more about the Japanese impact on the creation of modern Chinese Buddhism, from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s, with information on channels and extension of the exchange, social and political issues involved, and the lists of the translated texts, see Welch 1968: 169–173, Sueki 2012, Schickelanz 2017, Laliberté and Travagnin 2019.

⁸ Several Chinese monks travelled and studied in Tibet during the Republican period; names include Dayong 大勇 (1893–1929), Nenghai 能海 (1886–1967) and Fazun 法尊 (1902–1980). The latter was author of several translations of Lama Tsongkhapa’s works, like the *Lam rim*

that the first half of the twentieth-century brought awareness of new texts and doctrinal positions, and this caused a reassessment of the traditional understanding and practice of Mahāyāna.

Secondly, Chinese research, analyses and arguments followed specific methodologies and pursued certain objectives. For instance, the interest in the *Āgamas* was part of the wider interest in early Indian Buddhism, as a way of reconstructing the origins of this tradition and the situation of the Buddhadharma and other Indian social and religious environments at the time of the Buddha (see the following section on Liang Qichao 梁啟超). Philology and philosophy were important components that encouraged these studies, but history and social studies were the leading angles in this modern Chinese scholarship. This research was certainly facilitated by the efforts of Chinese monks who visited India, Ceylon, and Myanmar, and contributed to this *new* discourse on 'original Buddhism', also by making direct translations of some Pāli *suttas*.⁹

Thirdly, besides an interest in the Buddha's time, these Chinese Buddhists studied the *Āgamas* in relation to their 'more popular' Mahāyāna texts and doctrine; more precisely, the study of the *Samyukta-āgama* was also seen as instrumental for a better understanding and revaluation of the (Mahāyāna) Yogācāra.¹⁰

Fourthly, the study of the *Āgamas* was not limited to research on the *Samyukta-āgama*, but involved all the *Āgamas*. Some of these

chen mo (translated as *Putidao cidi guanglun* 菩提道次第廣論, translated between 1930 and 1934). For the exchange with Tibet see Welch 1968: 173–179 and Dongchu 1974: 992–997. For Fazun's translations see also Dongchu 1974: 993–995 and Travagnin 2009: 52–55. For the mission to India and Ceylon see Welch 1968: 179–183, Dongchu 1974: 997–1004 and Ritzinger 2016.

⁹ Welch 1968: 179–183; Dongchu 1974: 997–1004; Ritzinger 2016.

¹⁰ On this point, see also Ritzinger 2016.

Buddhist authors analysed and classified the *Āgamas* in general, and the *Samyukta-āgama* specifically, also in relation to the early Indian notion of the *aṅgas*, which is a point of contention with regard to Master Yinshun's work.

Finally, the Republican period is also characterised by the theorising of the concepts of *rensheng fojiao* 人生佛教 ('Buddhism for the Human Life') and *renjian fojiao* 人間佛教 ('Buddhism in the Human Realm'). The Buddhist voices explored below all participated in the formation of these new phenomena. How is this ideology, practice or propaganda connected to the study of the *Āgamas*? In which ways did reformer Buddhists find the doctrinal and scriptural authority and basis of their *rensheng fojiao* and *renjian fojiao* ideologies in passages from the *Āgamas*? On this topic, I would mention an article by the monk Fafang (1934), where he argued extensively how 'original Buddhism', which for him is the Buddhism at the time of the Buddha, was just *renjian fojiao*.

II.2 From Liang Qichao 梁啟超 to Lü Cheng 呂澂: Reframing the Chinese Mainstream Understanding of Mahāyāna

Who writes about the *Āgamas*, and especially about the *Samyukta-āgama*? Major Buddhist figures and prolific writers between the late Qing and the initial stage of the Republican period, such as Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1837–1911), Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952), and Fan Gunong 范古農 (1881–1951), did not engage much either with the *Āgamas* or the *Samyukta-āgama*. Yang Wenhui, also known as Yang Renshan 楊仁山, is usually conceived of as the pioneer in the modernisation of Buddhism in China; he established the Jinling Scriptural Press (Jinling kejingchu 金陵刻經處) in 1866 to reprint

Buddhist scriptures and later, in 1908, he opened the Jetavana Hermitage (Zhihuan jingshe 祇洹精舍), a new model of Buddhist school for nurturing both monastics and laity, a school attended also by the monk Taixu and the layperson Ouyang Jingwu. Yang Wenhui classified the *Āgamas* as teachings belonging to the second period of preaching of the Buddha, and only briefly explained the division into four *Āgamas*. As for the *Samyukta-āgama*, Yang Wenhui stated that half of its contents were also found in the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The Jinling Scriptural Press (Jinling kejingchu 金陵刻經處) reprinted the *Āgamas* and thus made them widely available in China.

Ding Fubao was a medical doctor and a Buddhist scholar, who is especially remembered for his famous dictionary *Foxue dacidian* 佛學大辭典 (1922). In this dictionary we can find some short entries on the four *Āgamas*, a general term that, Ding wrote, indicates what the Buddha originally said, and some of the scriptures belonging to 'Hīnayāna' (*xiaocheng* 小乘).

Fan Gunong studied Buddhism with important monks and lay Buddhist scholars in the first two decades of the twentieth-century, before he started, in 1929, to serve as general editor of the newly established Shanghai Buddhist Books (Shanghai foxue shuju 上海佛學書局). As discussed later, this press was also instrumental in printing new critical editions and studies on the *Āgamas*. In his own writings, however, Fan mentioned the four *Āgamas* only briefly, in his *Gunong foxue dawen* 古農佛學答問 (1935), and, similarly to Ding Fubao, in terms of core teachings of 'Hīnayāna' (*xiaocheng* 小乘).¹¹ As with Ding Fubao and Yang Wenhui, the concept of 'original

¹¹ See fascicle no. 6, titled 'Maintaining the Correct Dharma' (*huchi zhengfa* 護持正法), pp.18–19. That was the section about 'scriptures' (*jingdian* 經典).

Buddhism' (*yuanshi fojiao*) does not appear in Fan's reference either.

In the preface to his anthology *Jingdian yanjiu lunji* 經典研究論, Zhang Mantao (Zhang 1978: 1) listed the names of the laypersons Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無, Lü Cheng 呂澂, Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, Wang Enyang 王恩洋, and especially the monk Yinshun as leading figures in the study of early Indian Buddhist texts; however, he also includes writings of the monks Dongchu 董楚, Fazhou 法周 and others in the book. A careful investigation reveals that in the Republican period, starting from the 1920s, there were two major networks of Buddhist intellectuals producing important works on the *Āgamas*, with major emphasis given to the *Samyukta-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*: the Ouyang Jingwu-centred network and the Taixu-centred network. These two networks included lay and monastic intellectuals, were based at Buddhist institutes, and thus associated with the new teaching and learning systems that characterised the Republican period.

As for the Ouyang Jingwu-centred network, scholars and teachers active at the China Inner Studies Institute (*Zhina neixue yuan* 支那內學院), namely Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無, Wang Enyang 王恩洋, Lü Cheng 呂澂, and Nie Ougeng 聶耦庚, were the major authors we need to consider. The last two are mentioned as the main teachers at the school for the study of early Buddhism, the *Āgamas* and the *Samyukta-āgama*. Studies were all published in *Neixue* 內學, the journal of the China Inner Studies Institute. Ouyang Jingwu and his legacy concentrated on the reappraisal of Yogācāra, and then contributed greatly to the revival of this field of studies. The curriculum of the institute gave strong emphasis to language training, especially the study of Pali and Sanskrit.

Research outputs from the Taixu-centred network are associated with monks and lay scholars who operated closely with Master Taixu and published in the *Haichao yin* 海潮音; or they can be in-

ferred through an analysis of the curricula in force at seminaries like the Wuchang Buddhist Institute (Wuchang foxueyuan 武昌佛學院) and the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute (Hanzang jiaoliyuan 漢藏教理院). Master Taixu was also an important actor in the revival of studies on Yogācāra; however, in contrast to Ouyang Jingwu's institute, he kept a more traditionally Chinese approach.

Another pole of discussion on the *Āgamas* developed in Taiwan, in the first decades of the twentieth century, hence during the Japanese occupation. Publications of Japanese and Taiwanese scholars, such as the Taiwanese monk Zeng Jinglai (Sō Keirai) 曾景來 in periodicals such as *Nanying fojiao/Nan'e bukkō* 南瀛佛教 prove the vitality of *Āgama* studies on the island.¹²

II.2.1 Liang Qichao 梁啟超 and the Revival of *Āgama* Studies

Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) was a political intellectual who travelled extensively in Japan and the West, pushed for modernisation reforms, and served for a few years in the government of the Republic of China. Liang Qichao was also interested in Buddhism, and wrote on a number of subjects, including the *Āgamas*. Moreover, it was Liang Qichao who gave insights on how and why we could talk of a revival (*fluxing* 復興) of the study of the *Āgamas* (*ahan xue* 阿含學) in China from the dawn of the twentieth century.

¹² This is the journal published by the South Sea Buddhist Association (Chinese: *Nanying fojiao hui*; Japanese: *Nan'e bukkō kai* 南瀛佛教會), which was established in Taiwan in 1921 as a Japanese official reference organ to include all the Buddhist groups and activities in Taiwan. Run by Japanese, it involved also Taiwanese Buddhists. Articles published in the journal were mostly authored by Japanese intellectuals or monks, however some were also written by local Taiwanese.

Liang's article on the four *Āgamas* titled 'Shuo si ahan 說四阿含' (1920), later included in his famous anthology *Foxue yanjiu shiba pian* 佛學研究十八篇 (1935), is one of the few published in the collection edited by Zhang Mantao 張曼濤 on early scriptures (1978: 1–21). This lengthy piece starts with the definition of '*Āgama*', observations on when and how the Buddha had delivered these teachings, and the timing of their compilation (by the monastic community in the fourth month after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha). Liang also remarked that the division into four *Āgamas* may have been in some way reminiscent of another corpus of sacred scriptures in India, the four *Vedas*, and that those four *Āgamas* related to the Five *Nikāyas*.

Liang touched upon two important issues often debated in Chinese Buddhism: the translation process of Buddhist texts into Chinese; and the sectarian affiliation of scriptures. Relying mostly on Japanese scholarship, Liang surmised that the *Ekottarika-āgama* reflected Mahāsāṅghika doctrine, and the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Saṃyukta-āgama* were doing the same with the Sarvāstivāda.

Liang underlined the importance of studying the *Āgamas*, as they represented the first corpus of Buddhist teachings and scriptures; in the *Āgamas* we find details of all the core teachings of the Buddha (such as the four noble truths, causality, etc.), and concern with Buddhist practice. Liang also underlined the connection between the *Āgamas* and the Mahāyāna tradition, an argument that would be reiterated, in stronger terms, by Master Yinshun a few decades later and that made the latter the object of harsh criticism from Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhist circles. In a way similar to other scholars, Liang emphasised that these texts provided information on the social environment wherein the Buddha had lived. It is evident that Liang's research on the *Āgamas* is also part of his wider interest in Indian Buddhism (*yindu fojiao*) and 'original Buddhism' (*yuanshi fojiao*),

which were the main subjects of other essays, such as ‘Yindu fojiao gaiguan 印度佛教概觀’ and ‘Fotuo shidai ji yuanshi fojiao jiaoli gangyao 佛陀時代及原始佛教教理綱要’, also included in the *Foxue yanjiu shiba pian*. As did some other scholars, Liang used the term ‘original Buddhism’ (*yuanshi fojiao*), which, in his view, referred not only to Buddhism at the time of the Buddha but also to the first few centuries after his Nirvāṇa. At the same time, Liang also mentioned that, traditionally, the *Āgamas* and other early scriptures were termed ‘Hīnayāna’ (*xiaocheng* 小乘).

Liang reported difficulties in the development of the study of the *Āgamas* in China, due mainly to the recurrence of obscure India-related terms (i.e., often unclear to a Chinese audience), the lack of some fascicles from the scriptures, and the duplications of others. At the same time Liang did strongly encourage the revival of *Āgama* studies (*fuxing* ‘*Ahanxue*’ 復興『阿含學』). He regarded these as the earliest teachings given by the Buddha, and scriptures that explain the Buddha’s core tenets (*genben yuanli* 根本原理). He also understood them as a study of Indian customs, places and figures. The *Āgamas*, Liang concluded, are a treasure trove of the culture of the East, and any angle of investigation on these texts certainly had value.¹³

II.2.2 Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無: From a Mahāyāna and Yogācāra Perspective

Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無 (1871–1943),¹⁴ also known as Ouyang Jian 歐陽漸, studied with Yang Wenhui in Nanjing, where he opened the China Inner Studies Institute (1922) to continue the mission of

¹³ Zhang 1978: 20: *Si ahan wei dongfang wenhua yi da baozang, wulun cong he fangmian yansu, jie you jiazhi* 四阿含爲東方文化一大寶藏，無論從何方面研索，皆有價值。

¹⁴ For a critical study of Ouyang Jingwu, see Aviv 2008.

education initiated by his teacher. In 1924 he established the periodical *Inner Studies Monthly* (*Neixue* 內學), which also published pieces about the *Āgamas* and the *Saṃyukta-āgama*. Ouyang became a well-known scholar of the Dharmalakṣaṇa and Consciousness-Only (*faxiang weishi* 法相唯識) tradition, which is the Chinese domestication of the Indian Yogācāra.

In his sole and somewhat short article about *Āgama* texts (1923), and specifically about the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, he wrote that 1) this constitutes the most important of the *Āgamas*; 2) the order of the *sūtras* was not correct and in need of revision; and 3) the *Yogācāra-bhūmi* should be used to reassess the structure of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.¹⁵ In doing so, as Ritzinger (2016: 152) also pointed out, Ouyang gave more authority to the *Āgamas*, which were seen as closely associated to the Mahāyāna tradition, and not just Hīnayāna, in its pejorative sense.

II.2.3 Nie Ougeng 聶耦庚: Teaching the *Saṃyukta-āgama* in a Buddhist Seminary

Nie Ougeng was one of the key teachers at the China Inner Studies Institute, and a regular contributor to the monthly *Neixue*. His views on Buddhist history and scriptures followed those of the rest of the Ouyang Jingwu-centred network. For this reason, he built quite explicitly on Lü Cheng's work (1924) and, also similarly to Lü Cheng, he relied on the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (攝事分) section of the *Yogācāra-bhūmi* to define the order and structure of the *sūtras* within the *Saṃyukta-āgama*. Nie published the famous work 'Za ahanjing yunpin lueshi 雜阿含經蘊品略釋' (1925).¹⁶

¹⁵ Chinese: *Geng yi yujia deng er xi zhengli zhi* 更依瑜伽等而悉整理之 (Ouyang 1923: 2).

¹⁶ For the position of the study of the *Āgamas* and Indian Buddhism within

II.2.4 Master Taixu 太虛: Locating the Study of the *Āgamas* within the Buddhist Reforms

Master Taixu (1890–1947) was well known for being a reformer and innovator in institutional and educational structures, but he remained clearly a traditional Chinese monk in his classification of teachings and positions towards Mahāyāna and early Buddhism. In fact, in his classification of teachings he labelled the *Āgamas* as the ‘Dharma common to the three vehicles’ (*sancheng gong fa* 三乘共法) (Taixu 1950 [1924]), and belonging to the tradition that he still named ‘Hīnayāna’ (*xiaocheng* 小乘) rather than ‘original Buddhism’. On the other hand, in a different essay on the contemporary situation of Buddhism in Ceylon, Master Taixu stated that local monks were following Hīnayāna doctrinal principles (*xiaocheng jiaoli* 小乘教理) but conducting a Mahāyāna practice (*dacheng xing* 大乘行) (Taixu 1940).¹⁷

Master Taixu did not author any cardinal work on the *Āgamas* or the *Samyukta-āgama*, but he did compile some explanations on translation and contents of each *Āgama* in his ‘Xiaocheng foxue gailue 小乘佛學概略’ (published in Taixu 1950 [1924]). ‘Hīnayāna’ is the term he generally used to define the tradition of those textual collections.

At the same time, a different position appears if we look at his reform of Saṅgha education and his theorising of *renjian fojiao*. Concerning his Saṅgha seminaries, their curricula, textbooks and teachers, the Wuchang Buddhist Institute adopted the Chinese trans-

the curriculum of the China Inner Studies Institute, and the role of Nie Ougeng as a teacher see Dongchu 1970: 712–724.

¹⁷ The talk ‘Cong baliyu xi fojiao shuodao jin pusa xing 從巴利語系佛教說到今菩薩行’, delivered in 1940 at the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute, was then included in the ‘Xuexing tonglun 學行通論’, of the *Taixu dashi quanshu* 太虛大師全書; for an analysis of Taixu’s revaluation of the Saṅgha in contemporary Ceylon see also Ritzinger 2016.

lation of the book *Shōjō bukkō shiron* 小乘仏學史論 (1904), authored by the important Japanese scholar Funahashi Suisai 舟橋 水哉, as a textbook as far back as the early 1920s (the same years when Lü Cheng published his important work).¹⁸ Later, in a lecture given at the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute (1945), Master Taixu proposed the inclusion of the study of the *Āgamas* in the curriculum of his seminaries. The curriculum included four subjects: 1) the study of Tibetan Buddhism; 2) the study of Indian Buddhism; 3) the study of Chinese Buddhism; 4) the study of contemporary Buddhism. The study of Indian Buddhism centred on the study of the *Āgamas*, but also included learning about the various Hīnayāna schools and early Mahāyāna. The main teacher assigned to this subject was a very young Yinshun, assisted by his peer Miaoqin 妙欽.¹⁹ Despite all this, Master Taixu continued to use the term ‘Hīnayāna’.

He (and others at that time, including Master Cihang 慈航) also quoted the *Āgamas* as the textual foundation of *rensheng fojiao* and built a strong connection between those texts and the (new) Mahāyāna practice.²⁰

¹⁸ The book was translated by the lay teacher Shi Yiru 史一如 (1876–1925), also known by his Dharma name Huiyuan 慧圓 (see Dongchu 1974: 681–682). He was fluent in Japanese, and at Wuchang he was teacher of Japanese language and of the so-called ‘Hīnayāna’. This textbook became the most adopted book in several Buddhist seminaries, but in a few years both the original Japanese text and its first Chinese translation were lost; hence, a second edition of the textbook was produced in 1933 on the basis of notes taken from the lectures given by Shi Yiru in the 1920s and titled somewhat differently, *Xiaocheng foxue gailun* 小乘佛學概論. This translation, published in 1934 at Wuchang, is still available and is currently re-printed in China.

¹⁹ The talk ‘Xiuchi yu yanjiu 修持與研究’ was later included in the ‘Xuexing tonglun 學行通論’ of the *Taixu dashi quanshu* 太虛大師全書.

²⁰ Among the most used passages, the following from the *Ekottarika-*

II.2.5 Master Liding 力定 and Master Fafang 法舫: The *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Discourse on 'Original Buddhism'

As a monk belonging to Master Taixu's entourage, Master Liding transcribed several of Taixu's lectures, but also, especially from the late 1920s to the late 1930s, wrote on the history of Indian Buddhism, and the *Āgamas* as part of that historical context.

Two major works of his, the 'Yindu fojiao zhi shengshuai 印度佛教之盛衰' (1929), and the later 'Si ahanjing zhi tiyao yanjiu 四阿含經之提要研究' (1950 [1934]), can be highlighted. In a chart from the first article, Master Liding summarised the events of the so-called first council (*saṅgīti*) after the passing of the Buddha as being the delivery of the Vinaya (*lǚ zang* 律藏) by the monk Upāli, and the recitation of the Dharma discourses (*fa jing zang* 法經藏) by the monk Ānanda; moreover, he identified these Dharma discourses with the content of the four *Āgamas*.

The article from 1935 was included later in Zhang Mantao's anthology as one of the few important pieces on the *Āgamas* from the Republican period (Zhang 1978: 75–142). This piece does not include elaborated arguments, but it does contain a long analysis of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and the repetitive mention of an unpublished book on the *Āgamas* by Liang Qichao. We see again the usual Chinese emphasis on the history of the translation process.

Master Fafang 法舫 (1904–1951) was one of the disciples of Master Taixu who joined the mission to India and South East Asia. The limits and focus of this chapter do not allow for a detailed account of Master Fafang's study in India and Ceylon, or a proper

āgama may be quoted, EĀ 3 at T II 694a4–5: 佛世尊皆出人間，非由天而得也, “Buddhahood is achieved in the human realm, not in a divine birth.”

analysis of his role in the mission. I will limit myself to a few notes about his contribution to the discourse on ‘original’ Buddhism that was also spreading in China in those decades, and how he investigated the *Āgamas* within that context.

Besides arguing that the same *renjian fojiao* proposed by his mentor Taixu was just Buddhism in its ‘origins’ (Fafang 1934: 41), in an earlier article, titled ‘Yuanshi fojiao zhi niaokan 原始佛教之鳥瞰’ (1931),²¹ Master Fafang (1931: 7–8) defined the teachings of ‘original’ Buddhism as embodied in the three-fold *Tripitaka* (*jing lü lun de sanzang* 經律論的三藏). The four *Āgamas* were listed as the *jing* 經 part of it. The four *Āgamas* are defined as the first textual collection of the Buddha’s teachings, as the scriptural canon of ‘original’ Buddhism (*yuanshi fojiao*), and also as the textual body of the ‘core doctrine’ (*genben sixiang* 根本思想) of the Buddhadharmā. I would like to make two observations here: firstly, even if ‘original Buddhism’ was being revalued, and even associated with new Mahāyāna phenomena such as the *renjian fojiao*, the texts belonging to it are nonetheless labelled as ‘Hīnayāna’. Secondly, the four *Āgamas* are addressed only very briefly and in the following terms: the *Dīrgha-āgama* confutes (*po* 破) views and teachings of pre-Buddhist Indian religions; the *Madhyama-āgama* explains supramundane causation (*chu shijian yinguo* 出世間因果); the *Ekottarika-āgama* addresses mundane causation (*shijian yinguo* 世間因果); the *Saṃyukta-āgama* concerns the *dhyāna* of the higher realms (*shangjie ding* 上界定).

II.2.6 Master Yangzhen 楊真: Another Classification of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*

Yangzhen was a Buddhist monk who also assisted the famous Chan Master Xuyun 虛雲 in the transcription of his talks. At the same time,

²¹ I am grateful to Ester Bianchi for bringing this article to my attention.

he wrote notes on several *sūtras*, including the **Amitābha-sūtra* (*Fo-shuo amituo jing* 佛說阿彌陀經, T 366).

Among his articles we can also count ‘Za ahanjing jiaoyi dagang xu 雜阿含經教義大綱序’ (1942a); ‘Beichuan za ahan nanchuan xiangying bujing duixiao jiyao 北傳雜阿含南傳相應部經對校輯要’ (1948); ‘Za ahan jing jiaoyi dagang (shang) 雜阿含經教義大綱(上)’ (1942b); and ‘Za ahan jing jiaoyi dagang (xia) 雜阿含經教義大綱(下)’ (1942c). In these articles, Master Yangzhen outlined textual problems within the *Samyukta-āgama*: the fact that sections of the text were lost, as well as questions about the order of the *sūtras* and the structure of the entire collection.

Although he mentioned Lü Cheng’s seminal article (1924), which structured the *Samyukta-āgama* into ten recitations under four groups (四分十誦), Master Yangzhen explored the core teachings of the *Samyukta-āgama*, grouping them under the four noble truths (*si shengdi* 四聖諦) as, he argued, those are the first teachings of the Buddha and also the core of the *Samyukta-āgama*. Interestingly, a few years later Master Yinshun classified the chapters of the *Zhonglun* 中論 under the four noble truths too (Travagnin 2012).

II.2.7 Tang Yongtong 湯用彤: A Revaluation of Indian Buddhism

Although listed as an important *Āgama* scholar by Zhang Mantao (et al.), Tang Yongtong (1893–1964), a well-known scholar and historian of Chinese Buddhism, did not write anything specific on those texts, but he produced several studies on Indian philosophy and Indian Buddhism (see Tang 1944 for instance), and contributed by giving renewed attention, knowledge, and a fresh revaluation of Indian Buddhism in China. Being an expert in Pali, Tang Yongtong was often called on to supervise students of the China Inner Studies

Institute who wanted to specialise in that field, a fact that also shows the general interest in this textual and doctrinal tradition that was developing in China during those years.

II.2.8 Master Dongchu 東初: The *Āgamas* as the Real Teaching of the Buddhadharmā

The monk Dongchu (1908–1977) is mostly renowned as a historian of Buddhism and for his mission in the field of Saṅgha and lay education in Taiwan, but not as an expert in the *Āgamas*. His works include the volumes *Zhongguo fojiao jindaishi* 中國佛教近代史 and *Zhongri fojiao jiaotong shi* 中日佛教交通史, published in the 1970s, which are helpful in reconstructing the development of *Āgama* scholarship in twentieth-century China. It is important to remember that Dongchu was a monastic student of Master Taixu, hence he was educated in the same milieu of the seminaries run by Taixu and Ouyang Jingwu, although he was quite critical of Taixu's new structures of learning for the Saṅgha.

Master Dongchu also authored a rather long essay on the *Āgamas* in the early 1960s, which became part of his *Fofa zhenyi* 佛法真義, written in the late 1960s, where he explained the doctrinal contents of the texts. This article was included in Zhang Mantao's later collection, *Jingdian yanjiu lunji* 經典研究論集, as representative of early and crucial works on the *Āgamas* together with the articles by Master Liding 力定 and Liang Qichao 梁啓超.

II.3 Scriptural Presses and Publishing Houses: Reprinting the *Āgamas*

Besides research articles and textual classifications published in journals from *Haichao yin* 海潮音, *Neixue* 內學 to *Zangyao xiaokan*

藏要校刊,²² we can notice the efforts, by presses and publishers, to reprint the *Āgamas*, mostly under the umbrella title *Xiaocheng jing ahan bu* 小乘經阿含部, which again brings in the term ‘Hīnayāna’. Among others, the Shanghai Buddhist Books (*Shanghai foxue shuju* 上海佛學書局) catalogues in the 1930s include the titles of both canonical texts and critical studies on those texts.²³

Quite interesting is the brief description that accompanies the announcement of the publication of the book *Za ahanjing fenlei zuanyao* 雜阿含經分類纂要 from the list of new titles out in 1930. It reads: “The *Samyukta-āgama* is important for the study of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school [*faxiang zong* 法相宗]”. This book was authored by the monk Manzhi 滿智 (1903–1937), who was also part of the Taixu-centred network and active at the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute before he disrobed. This is in line with what was explained at the beginning of this section: the major scholars and writers on the *Samyukta-āgama* in the 1920s were from the China Inner Studies Institutes, and they were all Yogācāra scholars. The instrumental role of the study of the *Āgamas* for a better understanding of Yogācāra was often repeated in the first half of the twentieth century by both the Taixu-centred network and the Ouyang Jingwu-centred network.

II.4 Importing Japanese Scholarship

From the early twentieth century we have several Japanese works translated into Chinese by Chinese laity or monks during their periods of education in Japan. This started a transfer of knowledge within East Asia, but also led to a domestication of the imported knowledge.

The translated scholarship included works specifically on the

²² This was also published by the China Inner Studies Institute.

²³ The Shanghai Buddhist Books was established in 1929.

Āgamas or the *Samyukta-āgama*, and discussion on these collections in general works on Indian Buddhism, the life of the Buddha, and the historical/doctrinal/sociological context of ‘original Buddhism’ (*yuanshi fojiao* 原始佛教).

When it comes to the *Āgamas* in general, or the *Samyukta-āgama* in particular, the major ‘imported’ scholars include Funahashi Suisai 舟橋 水哉, Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎 正治 (1873–1949),²⁴ Akanuma Chizen 智善 赤沼 (1885–1937), and Maeda Egaku 前田 惠學.²⁵ Akanuma published the *Agon no bukyō* 阿含の佛教 in the 1920s, while his *Kanpa shibu shiagon goshōroku* 漢巴四部四阿含互照錄 came out in September 1929.²⁶ The latter was translated into Chinese after a short time, and reprinted later (in the mid-1980s) in other collections of translations of Japanese works.

Another scholar whose works were available (either in Japanese or in Chinese translation) in the 1920s is the already mentioned Zeng Jinglai (Sō Keirai).²⁷

²⁴ See his *Hanyi ahanjing* 漢譯阿含經 from 1909.

²⁵ He was later than the other scholars, although his work preceded Master Yinshun’s final writings on the *Āgamas*. See especially his *Genshi bukyō seiten no seiritsushi kenkyū* 原始仏教聖典の成立史研究 (published in 1966), where he also explained the division of the teachings into nine or twelve *aṅgas*.

²⁶ News of the Japanese publication appears on *Haichao yin* 海潮音, 12.3 (1931): 3.

²⁷ See for instance his article published in Japanese in *Nanying fojiao/Nan’e bukyō* 南瀛佛教 (1925). I am extremely grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers of this chapter who provided the following information: Zeng Jinglai (Sō Keirai) was a Taiwanese Buddhist monk who had studied under Nukariya Kaiten 忽滑谷 快天 as his advisor in the Komazawa University 駒澤大學 in Tokyo. The articles published in *Nanying fojiao/Nan’e bukyō* were also from his bachelor’s thesis written in the same university which was titled *Agon no bukyō kan* 阿含の仏陀觀.

The works by Maeda Egaku, published in the 1960s, affected Chinese Buddhists' later understanding of the *āṅgas* in relation to the *Āgamas*. Maeda and his arguments are often quoted in Yinshun (1971); however, Yinshun's positions are always more nuanced than how they had been presented by Maeda.

II.5 Lü Cheng 呂澂: The *Samyukta-āgama* via the *Yogācārabhūmi*

Lü Cheng became a key figure in the Yogācāra network led by Ouyang Jingwu. He also became well known as a historian of Buddhism, and a scholar of different traditions, schools and scriptures, which he could assess from different angles given his language skills.²⁸ He was often discussed in parallel with Master Yinshun, as they were two very similar figures in terms of background and scholarship.²⁹ For the purpose of this chapter, I am looking more closely at his works about Indian Buddhism – so as to also retrieve his position within the contemporary debate on 'original Buddhism' – and his articles about the *Āgamas*, especially those concerning the *Samyukta-āgama*.

His main work about Indian Buddhism is certainly *Yindu foxue yuanliu luejiang* 印度佛學源流略講.³⁰ The greatest value of this

²⁸ Lü Cheng could access sources in Japanese, Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and also English.

²⁹ In 2000, Lan Jifu edited a three-volume collection titled *Yinshun lü cheng foxue cidian* 印順呂澂佛學辭典; in the introduction, the monk Chuandao 傳導 defined Master Yinshun and Lü Cheng as the 'columns' of twentieth-century Chinese Buddhology (二十世紀華人之佛學雙壁, p. vi), while Lan Jifu called them the two 'heroes' of the twentieth-century Chinese Buddhist world (二十世紀華人佛學界的二位青英份子, p. viii).

³⁰ The first draft of this work is dated back to 1954, and it was finally revised and finalised in 1979; it is now part of the fourth volume of the

book is the literature review offered at the beginning, which included Tibetan, Japanese and Western sources, and thus reveals which foreign scholarship was available in China around the mid twentieth century.

In contrast to other scholars, Lü Cheng does not use the term ‘Hīnayāna’ too often, and certainly when he does, it is in quite a peculiar sense. Instead, he discussed the history of Indian Buddhism in six stages. First, the time of the Buddha and the early stage of the Buddhist community after his Nirvāṇa is defined as ‘original Buddhism’ (*yuanshi foxue* 原始佛學). This phase is followed, in the following order, by the stage of so-called first sectarianism (*bupai foxue* 部派佛學), Early Mahāyāna (*chuqi dacheng foxue* 初期大乘佛學), Hīnayāna (*xiaocheng foxue* 小乘佛學), Middle Mahāyāna (*zhongqi dacheng foxue* 中期大乘佛學) and Late Mahāyāna (*wanqi dacheng foxue* 晚期大乘佛學). Lü Cheng argued that the term ‘Hīnayāna’ was coined by early Mahāyānists, hence the term could be used only after the inception of Mahāyāna, to indicate a new development in that pre-Mahāyāna ‘sectarian Buddhism’.

Ouyang Jingwu and other Buddhist figures seemed to already rely on Lü Cheng as the major authority in the field of *Āgama* studies by as early as the 1920s (Ouyang Jingwu 1923: 1); it will also become clear how instrumental his work was for the later accomplishments of Master Yinshun. Lü Cheng was also asked to contribute the entry on ‘*Āgama*’ for the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* published by the Ceylonese/Sri Lankan Government (1963), as proof of his international reputation on the subject.

Concerning the *Āgamas*, Lü Cheng followed mainstream positions, such as those of Master Taixu, and defined those teachings as teachings common to the three vehicles (*sancheng gongjiao* 三乘共教). At the same time, he also worked on innovative ways of dividing and reassessing the texts of the *Samyukta-āgama*.

As for the first point, he reported different views, from early Chinese Buddhists to contemporary Japanese scholars. For instance, he mentions that Sengzhao 僧肇 had proposed a division into ten recitations under four parts 四分十誦 (in 1909 Japanese scholarship advanced a division into eight recitations under twelve parts, 八誦十二部). As for the second point, we cannot forget his adoption of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* as a way of redefining the order of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*: this then became the basis of Master Yinshun's works, and of that of other Chinese Buddhists right up to today.

In his *Yindu foxue yuanliu luejiang*, Lü Cheng remembered the nine *āṅgas* mostly as literary forms and topics used by the Buddha in his exposition of the Dharma; he called them *jiu fenjiao xingshi* 九分教形式. According to him, the *Āgamas* were perhaps not the first textual collections to be formed, but it is possible that the nine *āṅgas*³¹ were the first textual collections, which later served as the basis for the compilation of the *Āgama* collections (Lü Cheng 1991: 1922–1923). It has to be borne in mind that Lü Cheng expressed hypotheses, not firm convictions, and did not build a more articulated discussion as Master Yinshun instead did.

³¹ Here is Lü Cheng's list of the nine *āṅgas*: 1. *sūtra* (*jīng* 經); 2. *geya* (*yingsong* 應頌); 3. *vyākaraṇa* (*jībié* 記別); 4. *gāthā* (*jisong* 偈頌); 5. *udāna* (*zì shuōsong* 自說頌); 6. *ityuktaka* (*rúshì yǔ* 如是語); 7. *jātaka* (*bēnshēng* 本生); 8. *adbhuta-dharma* (*wēihúiyǒu* 未會有); 9. *vaipulya* (*fāngguāng* 方廣).

III. Master Yinshun 印順: The *Samyukta-āgama* and the *Aṅgas*

The monk Yinshun (1906–2005) was crucial in the history of modern Chinese Buddhism. Born at the end of the Qing 清 period, he started his study and practice of Buddhism in the 1920s, enrolled in Master Taixu's new Buddhist seminaries, where he also taught afterwards, and eventually moved to Taiwan via Hong Kong in the early 1950s.³² Master Yinshun embodied the heritage of the Chinese 'reform Buddhism' that had developed on the mainland in the 1920s–1930s, a heritage that then became a core element in the formation of Taiwanese Buddhism in the second half of the twentieth century. Master Yinshun has been labelled as one of the main theorists of *renjian fojiao* 人間佛教 ('Buddhism for the Human Realm'), and he is often remembered as the master of the nun Zhengyan 證嚴 (b. 1937), the founder of the international Buddhist NGO Tzu Chi Foundation (Ciji gongdehui 慈濟功德會). Master Yinshun was also a prolific writer and an educator. His comprehensive study of the history of Indian Buddhism, based mostly on Chinese sources, has had a strong impact on the development of Chinese and Taiwanese Buddhology.

³² It is possible to list as many as six autobiographies of Master Yinshun: *Pingfan de yisheng* 平凡的一生 (1994); *Youxin fahai liushinian* 游心法海六十年 (1985); 'Wo zenyang xuanzele fojiao 我怎樣選擇了佛教', in the *Wo zhi zongjiao guan* 我之宗教觀, 301–306 (1972); 'Wo huainian dashi 我懷念大師', in the *Huayu xiangyun* 華雨香雲, 299–308 (1973); 'Anguan yaoqi 庵關遙寄' (1973), in the *Huayu xiangyun*, 395–396; and the introduction to the *Shuo yiqie youbu wei zhu de lunshu yu lunshi zhi yanjiu* 說一切有部爲主的論書與論師之研究 (1968). See Hou 2008 for a thorough biographical account of Master Yinshun's life.

Master Yinshun has been celebrated as one of the most eminent monks in modern Chinese Buddhism, but also highly criticised in the mainstream Chinese Buddhist environment. He became controversial for his re-evaluation of early Indian Buddhism, the repositioning of that tradition within the classical classification of teachings (*panjiao* 判教) that several Buddhist leaders, in the past and present have drawn up, and also in his sharp and articulated attacks on the traditional Chan and Pure Land practices. Master Yinshun's criticism of the cult of the Buddha Amitābha led to the burning of his books in a public square in Taizhong (Taiwan).³³ Moreover, his statement that the correct practice of the Dharma is represented by the *bodhisattva* path in its early formulation, and as embodied in Nāgārjuna's works, was quite different from the positions taken up by previous Buddhist leaders in their respective *panjiaos*.³⁴ Master Yinshun's argument that the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* was a thorough restatement of the *Āgamas*³⁵ created a heated debate on his (apparent) neglect of the *Prajñāpāramitā* tradition.³⁶ As a result, he was often perceived as a betrayer of the Mahāyāna (and Chinese Buddhist mainstream) tradition.³⁷

³³ For more about this incident see for instance Yang 1991: 23 and Jiang 1989: 163–164.

³⁴ For a detailed study of his *panjiao*, in relation to the previous systems of classification, see Travagnin 2001.

³⁵ Yinshun 1950a: 17–24 and Yinshun 1984 [1993]: 209–216. Chinese: *Zhonglun shi ahajing de tonglun* 中論是阿含經的通論.

³⁶ The common Chinese (Mahāyāna) view was that the *kārikās* were directly linked to the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures and only through the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, therefore indirectly, linked to the *Āgamas*. As Lan Jifu 藍吉富 stated, the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* is the 'tonglun 通論' (thorough treatise) of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, and the *Prajñāpāramitā* is then connected to the *Āgamas* (Lan 1993: 224–225). See also Travagnin 2012: 261–267.

³⁷ The document *Jiaru mei you dacheng* 假如沒有大乘 ('If there were not

When it comes to the study of the *Āgamas* in general, and the *Samyukta-āgama* in particular, Master Yinshun was following the research trajectory of Lü Cheng, in a certain sense completing the work of the latter. Yinshun lectured and wrote on the *Āgamas* from the early 1940s until the late 1980s, making those texts a constant interest in his doctrinal and historical research. A particular distinctive trait of his work is the new edition of the *Samyukta-āgama*, which presents a defined punctuation and emendation to characters, and his categorisation of those texts (and the *Āgama* collections in general) according to the four *siddhāntas* and the *aṅgas*.

In this section I explore how Master Yinshun used the categories of *siddhāntas* and *aṅgas* (separately and sometime in combination) to classify or label these and other corpora of texts. First of all, I give an overview of how and when he encountered the *Āgamas*, and a chronology of his publications and arguments to provide the framework within which he operated.

III.1 Master Yinshun's 印順 Study of the *Āgamas*

The first considerable reading of the *Āgamas* dated back to 1932, when the monk Yinshun was on Mt. Putuo (Putuo shan 普陀山), having a period of retreat in the Tripiṭaka Hall (Yuezang lou 閱藏樓) at the Huiji Temple (Huiji si 慧濟寺), on the highest place on the mountain called Foding shan 佛頂山 or Pusa ding 菩薩頂. This retreat was undertaken in order to read the *Tripiṭaka* in its entirety. At that time, Yinshun had been a student of the Minnan Buddhist Institute (Min-

Mahāyāna'), that the senior monk Cihang 慈航 (1893–1954) wrote in 1953 to criticise Master Yinshun reflects well the common Chinese traditional atmosphere of that time. In the end, this document was never published, but parts of it are available in Dao'an 道安 1981: 1280–1284.

nan foxueyuan 閩南佛學院), under the guidance of teachers such as Masters Taixu and Daxing 大醒 (1900–1952) for a few months only.

At Minnan, following the curriculum arranged by Taixu, he had mastered only texts of the School of the Three Treatises (*sanlun zong* 三論宗), which is the first Chinese version of the Indian Mādhyamika, and those of the School of Consciousness-Only (*weishi zong* 唯識宗), namely the first Chinese rendition of Indian Yogācāra. In other words, he had acquired mastery of some mainstream Chinese Mahāyāna, but lacked a strong knowledge of pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism. A second observation is that Master Yinshun was on a solitary retreat (*biguan* 閉關), which he needed to deepen his understanding of the entire Chinese Buddhist canon, hence it was not planned to be a study of the *Āgamas* only. According to his memoirs, he spent the daytime reading through canonical scriptures he was not familiar with, and dedicated evening and night of each day to the review of *sanlun* and *weishi* texts.³⁸ Finally, the order he followed in reading these scriptures affected his hermeneutics of the teachings of Buddha. First, he read the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures in four months' time, then he directed his attention to the *Āgamas*, and in the end he read through the *Vinaya*. Yinshun read the *Long zang* 龍藏 edition of the canon.³⁹ It was a fast, almost ritualistic, and unguided reading. Yinshun (1993 [1984]: 8–9) wrote:

³⁸ Yinshun 1993 [1984]: 8.

³⁹ Printed during the Qing dynasty (1735–1738), the *Long zang* is formed by 718 sets, 7168 fascicles, 1660 texts. Holmes Welch provides important details on the availability of the *Long zang* in the first half of the Twentieth century China. Referring to data collected from different sources, Welch listed the purchase of the *Long zang* by several monasteries in the South of China. Referring to Boerschmann 1911, he includes the case of Foding on Putuo Mountain, as a monastery that received a copy of the *Long zang* in 1908. This probably was the edition of the canon that Master Yinshun read; see Welch 1968: 228 and 345.

Every day I read seven or eight fascicles (*juan* 卷) of scriptures (with each volume including an average of 9,000 characters). This was a quick reading, without any possibility to think over the contents. My memorization skills were never excellent, hence whatever I read got lost in the dark immediately. Nevertheless, this reading gave some results.

Once back at the Wuchang Buddhist Institute (1937), Master Yinshun continued his study of Indian Buddhism by reading Japanese secondary literature, especially the *Genshi bukkō shisōron* 原始佛教思想論 by Kimura Taiken 木村 泰賢, and the *Indo tetsugaku shūkyō shi* 印度哲学宗教史 edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠 順次郎 and Kimura Taiken 木村 泰賢, and Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* through the Japanese translation by Teramoto Enga 寺本 婉雅. Although Lü Cheng had already published on the *Āgamas* by that time, Master Yinshun did not refer to those publications, or any of Lü Cheng's books, until he edited the *Samyukta-āgama* in the early 1980s.

Master Yinshun (1993 [1984]: 10) referred to this phase of learning (1932–1938) on Mt. Putuo and at Wuchang as crucial because it was then that he finally learned the original core of the Buddhādharma, and realised there was such a large divide between the Buddhādharma (*fofa* 佛法) and the Buddhism practiced in contemporary China (*zhongguo xianshi fojiao* 中國現實佛教).

This learning caused a substantial shift in Master Yinshun's writings. Whereas the first articles (and lectures) in the early 1930s were all about the Chinese *sanlun* and *weishi* schools, with a clear focus on China, in 1940 he started writing more substantially on the history of Indian Buddhism, including the Indian history of those Buddhist schools present in China, and paid considerable attention to the pre-Mahāyāna and the connections between pre-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna.

A final observation: in 1938–1939, after reading and learning about the *Āgamas*, Master Yinshun had the opportunity to reside at the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute, and study under the guidance of the monk Fazun 法尊 (1902–1980). Fazun was a leading authority on the Tibetan tradition, and a remarkable translator of Tibetan texts into Chinese. Throughout his works, Master Yinshun acknowledged the impact that these two years had on his understanding and practice of Buddhism. As mentioned above, we detect in Yinshun a shift of attention from Chinese schools to pre-Mahāyāna Indian Buddhism, and a revaluation of the latter, from the early 1940s onwards. At the same time, however, his reading of the Tibetan traditions did not lead to the same result. On the contrary, he came to define the Tibetan (esoteric) tradition of Buddhism as ‘the final decline of Buddhism’ (*fojiao zhi mie* 佛教之滅).⁴⁰

III.2 Master Yinshun's 印順 Major Publications on the *Āgamas*

Master Yinshun produced publications specifically on the *Āgamas*, but also wrote about them in his books about Indian Buddhism or the general history of Buddhism, hence within the wider frame of the early Buddhadharma. It is important to look at his publications diachronically, and contextualise them within his overall life, learning, and literary production. From that perspective, all his lectures and publications on the *Āgamas* (which he took as the core scriptures at the basis of early Indian Buddhism and referred to in terms of

⁴⁰ This expression is found in several of his writings, see for instance Yinshun 1985 [1943]: Chapter 17 of *Yindu zhi fojiao* is titled ‘Mijiao zhi xing yu fojiao zhi mie 密教之興與佛教之滅’. The same argument appeared even later in his *panjiao*; see Yinshun 1993 [1989].

‘original Buddhism’) followed his early works on Chinese *sanlun* and *weishi*, and most of them were completed at the same time as his works on the revaluation of Nāgārjuna.

Master Yinshun’s written output on the *Āgamas* can be divided into four stages. The first period dates to the 1940s. This phase includes sections from the first edition of the *Yindu zhi fojiao* 印度之佛教 (1943),⁴¹ the early articles ‘Ahan jiang yao 阿含講要’ (1945a and 1945b) and ‘Ahan jiangyi 阿含講義’ (1945c);⁴² the revisions of those articles that became part of the *Fofa gailun* 佛法概論 (1949);⁴³ sections from his *Weishi xue tanyuan* 唯識學探源 (1944),⁴⁴ *Xing-kong xue tanyuan* 性空學探源 (1950a)⁴⁵ and *Zhongguan jinlun* 中觀今論 (1950b).⁴⁶ In these early works, Master Yinshun was already adopting the *siddhāntas* as a lens through which to read the *Āgamas*. Also, these first works were completed while he was still in China, before moving to Taiwan.

⁴¹ It is in the introduction of this book, written in 1942, that Master Yinshun reported for the first time, in paraphrasis, the passage from the *Ekottarika-āgama* that was often used even by others as the scriptural foundation of *renjian fojiao* 人間佛教, to stress that Buddha’s teachings were centred on human beings in their lifetime. The relevant sentence read as follows: 諸佛皆出人間，終不在天上成佛也 (Yinshun 1985 [1943]: 2).

⁴² These articles were used as drafts for the lectures he gave in 1944 at the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute (Hanzang jiaoli yuan 漢藏教理院).

⁴³ He gave 13 lectures on the *Āgamas* in 1944; most of the contents, once revised, became chapters 3–6, part of chapter 7, and chapter 8–12 of the *Fofa gailun*.

⁴⁴ This book includes a revised version of the talks given in 1940 at the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute (Hanzang jiaoli yuan 漢藏教理院).

⁴⁵ This book includes a revised version of the talks given in 1944 at the Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Institute (Hanzang jiaoli yuan 漢藏教理院).

⁴⁶ This book includes a revised version of the talks given in 1947.

A second stage includes his later works on Indian Buddhism (1970s–1980s). Within a little more than ten years, Master Yinshun wrote (or rewrote) extensively on the subject: he revised the *Yindu zhi fojiao* (1985), composed the *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng* 原始佛教聖典之集成 (1971), and wrote his final work on the history of Indian Buddhism, titled *Yindu fojiao sixiang shi* 印度佛教思想史 (1985). This is an important phase, as by that time he had become acquainted with new arguments from Japanese scholarship, and also engaged with Maeda's theory of the *āṅgas* to unpack the history of the composition of the *Āgamas*. Master Yinshun's position in Taiwan was already consolidated in those years, which are seen as the stage of his mature thinking.

The third phase (1980s) includes his critical edition of texts. This is when he also published his three-volume critical edition of the *Samyukta-āgama*, the *Za ahanjing lun huibian* 雜阿含經論會編 (1983), which was based on Lü Cheng's early discoveries. This kind of textual analysis resembled his new edition of *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, which had been completed just a few years earlier, in 1979, and revealed a very different approach to texts from that which he had adopted in his earlier works on, for instance, the *Mūlamadhya-maka-kārikā*.

His concluding remarks are dated to the late 1980s. I would rely on the article 'Qili qiji zhi renjian fojiao 契理契機之人間佛教' (1993 [1989]) to understand Master Yinshun's final views on the *Āgamas*. This is a key piece of writing in his production, where he also discussed his *panjiao*, his own definition of *renjian fojiao*, and his understanding of the 'correct' Buddhist practice. It is thus a crucial article that includes Master Yinshun's final views on Buddhist teachings and practice. Moreover, it is important from the point of view of his own analysis of the *Āgamas* as well, since in this he draws

some cross-references between the first lectures in 1944 (where he had already adopted the four *siddhāntas* to read the *Āgamas*) and his studies from the 1970s (especially the *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng*), merging the results, and thus bringing the *Āgamas*, *siddhāntas* and *aṅgas* in dialogue (Yinshun 1993 [1982]: 29–33). After in-depth research on Master Yinshun (e.g., Travagnin 2001, 2009, 2012 and 2013), I usually refer to this article as his ‘last will’ for his overall scholarship.

III.3 Master Yinshun’s 印順 Main Arguments on *Āgamas* and *Aṅgas*: Repositioning ‘Original Buddhism’

Master Yinshun’s first analysis in the 1940s opened up the issue of the Chinese misconception of the *Āgamas* as textual corpora of the ‘Hinayāna’ only. This was a misperception he opposed firmly, yet a misperception that was so strong and widespread around him that it pushed him to title his first book on the *Āgamas* *Fofa gailun* (‘On the Foundational Doctrine of the Buddhadharmā’)⁴⁷. As seen in the first part of this chapter, Master Yinshun was not alone in this revaluation of the contents of the *Āgamas*, and a new conception of the relation between those texts and Mahāyāna, even if his conclusions were more extreme than others.⁴⁸ He was not the only one who defined the *Āgamas* as the scriptures all three vehicles (Sanskrit *tri-yāna*; Chinese *sancheng* 三乘) rely on.⁴⁹ As seen in the previous sec-

⁴⁷ Quoting from Yinshun 1949: 2: 以阿含經爲小乘的誤解，所以改提爲《佛法概論》。

⁴⁸ The atmosphere and debates in those decades have also been described by Ritzinger 2016: 152.

⁴⁹ As for Master Yinshun, he wrote clearly that in the *Fofa gailun* (1949:

tion, the monk Taixu and Lü Cheng held the same position.

The relevance of the *Āgamas* as the doctrinal basis of the Mahāyāna is explained further in his first substantial works on Chinese Mādhyamika (*Xingkong xue tanyuan*) and Chinese Yogācāra (*Weishi xue tanyuan*). In the latter, Master Yinshun underlined that the (Chinese) Yogācāra philosophy is also based on the *Āgamas* (Yinshun 1944: 4), since it is also rooted in the doctrine of dependent origination (*yuanqi* 緣起) (Yinshun 1944: 38). In his *Xingkong xue tanyuan*, he confuted another misconception about the *Āgamas*: contrary to the most common view held (in China), he argued that the *Āgamas* do not just discuss ‘existence’ (*you* 有), they include important explanations about ‘emptiness’ (*kong* 空) too, and in fact, he continued, it is based on the *Āgamas*’ arguments on emptiness that Nāgārjuna construed his own *śūnyatā* doctrine (Yinshun 1950a: 15–98, especially 16). The relevance of the *Āgamas* in Nāgārjuna’s thought is repeated, in stronger (and for Chinese highly controversial) terms, in the *Zhongguan jin lun*, where *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* is defined as a thorough restatement of the *Āgamas* (Yinshun 1950b: 17–20).

These early texts also explore the *Samyukta-āgama* for the first time, in terms of both dating and contents. He defined the *Samyukta-āgama* as the earliest textual corpus among the *Āgamas* (Yinshun 1944: 5; 1950a: 16 and 76–77).

The concept of *aṅga* is translated in Chinese in different ways, mostly as *fenjiao* 分教 (literally ‘doctrinal divisions’ or ‘divisions of teachings’) or *bujing* 部經 (literally ‘textual collections’ or ‘groups of texts’), and the use of these terms seems to be interchangeable.⁵⁰

1): 阿含經是三乘共依的聖典。

⁵⁰ The recurrence of these translations are found in classical and popular dictionaries like Mochizuki Shinkō’s 望月 信亨 *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (1909), and the *Foguang dacidian* 佛光大辭典 published by Fo-

According to Master Yinshun (1971: 476), the term *bujing* is an older translation of the term *aṅga*. This consideration, however, does not explain why he adopted both the variants in his writings. I would argue that he used the translation *bujing* when he wanted to refer to the *aṅgas* as textual collections, whereas he adopted *fenjiao* when he wanted to infer the nuance of divisions of teachings.

The first discussion of the *aṅgas* in the *Yindu zhi fojiao* (Yinshun 1985 [1943]: 72–79) might have appeared only in the revised version (1985), given the number of correspondences between this book and *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng*, and some direct references to it. Nonetheless, some differences between these two books can be detected. In the *Yindu zhi fojiao*, he wrote about the *aṅgas* as he explained the three stages of formation of the *sūtras* (*xiuduoluo* 修多羅). The latter term identifies both the notion of ‘scripture’ (i.e., turning the Buddha’s Dharma teaching, *fayi* 法義, into the form of discourses) and one literary form (i.e., prose, the first *aṅga*) in which some of these teachings were expounded. In the *Yindu zhi fojiao*, the first three *aṅgas* are referred to as both literary forms (with a distinction between prose and verses, and a combination of both) and textual collections, and these collections are identified with the totality of the Buddha’s teachings. The further distinction between the first three (*sūtra*, *geya*, *gāthā*) and the following *aṅgas* (*nidāna*, *avadāna*, *jātaka*, *ityuktaka*, *adbhutadharma*, *upadeśa*) is that the first three encompass the Buddha’s direct teachings, while the second group includes also other topics and the intervention of the Buddha’s disciples. Moreover, Master Yinshun made a distinction between three, nine and twelve *aṅgas*, and placed more emphasis on the nine collections (*jiu bu jing* 九部經); the final three collections, namely *vyākaraṇa*, *udāna*, *vaipulya*, are seen as a later addition.

The three stages of formation of the *sūtras* (*xiuduohuo* 修多羅), according to Master Yinshun, are the following:

1. The division of the Buddha's teachings into nine forms of exposition and groups of teachings; the first three (*sūtra*, i.e., teachings expressed in prose; *geya*, i.e., teachings expressed as a combination of prose and verses; *gāthā*, i.e., teachings expressed in verses) predated those that followed (Yinshun 1985: 72–75).

2. The formation of the four *Āgamas* on the basis of the exposition of the first nine divisions (which he defined as both *jiu bujing* 九部經 and *jiu fenjiao* 九分教), with a close association between *sūtra*, *geya*, *gāthā* and the *Samyukta-āgama* being also sometimes argued (Yinshun 1985: 75–77).

3. The nine divisions of teachings became the four *Āgamas*, and so the emergence of the four *Āgamas* implied the loss of the old forms of the nine textual divisions; the formation of the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* (*Zazang* 雜藏) happened later, and was based on the four *Āgamas* (Yinshun 1985: 77–79).⁵¹

The *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng* marked a turning point in Master Yinshun's understanding of 'original Buddhism'; this is a book he felt the need to write, as a better knowledge of early Indian Buddhism, he argued, would help correct popular misunderstandings of Mahāyāna too. Yet, he relied only on Chinese sources and secondary literature coming from Japanese Buddhologists for his writing.⁵² Furthermore, he insisted that an investigation based only on Pali texts might have neglected important elements of the *Āgama* tradition (Yinshun 1971: 475–482). This is probably why he spent quite a few pages on the Chinese translations (and translators) of the four *Āgamas* (see especially Yinshun 1971: 90–100).

⁵¹ More on the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* is found in Yinshun 1971: 793–866.

⁵² Besides Maeda Egaku 前田 惠學 1964, he also lists Ui Hakuju 宇井 伯壽. 1925 and Tetsuro Watsuji 和辻 哲郎 1927.

In the *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng*, Master Yinshun referred to nine and twelve groups of teachings (*jiu fen jiao* 九分教; *shi'er fen jiao* 十二分教), and not to textual collections. In line with other Chinese and Japanese scholars, he also discussed the timeline of teaching and textual formations extensively, questioning whether the four *Āgamas* were formed before or after the systematisation of the nine (or twelve) divisions of the teachings (Yinshun 1971: 2, 475–492). The extension of the discussion on the *Āgamas* in relation to the divisions of the *aṅgas*, and the new arguments expressed about the latter constitute a major difference between this book and *Yindu zhi fojiao*.

Certainly at the time of the Buddha, Master Yinshun (1971: 2) argued, the *Āgamas* had not yet been collected. He claimed that there had been a shift in the understanding of the division of teachings and the formation of Buddhist texts (including the four *Āgamas*) within Chinese and Japanese scholarship. The traditional Chinese and Japanese position – which argued the idea that the twelve divisions of teachings represented the old form of teachings, while the four *Āgamas* were the first collection of them – was replaced by a new viewpoint, based on a fresh study of the Pali scriptures, according to which the nine divisions were not only an ancient development but also predated the formation of the *Āgamas* (Yinshun 1971: 6).

In other words, the ‘old’ pattern in the scholarship argued that first there was Upāli’s recitation of the *Vinaya*, followed by Ānanda’s recitation of all the discourses (*fa* 法), and it was the latter’s recitation which became the four *Āgamas*. This scholarship did not perceive the four *Āgamas* as having been formed on the basis of (or after the formation of) the nine or twelve divisions of the teachings. The ‘later’ scholarship, however, came to argue that the four *Āgamas* had been formed on the basis of the nine divisions of teachings (Yinshun 1971:

476–478).⁵³ Nonetheless, Master Yinshun reasoned, asserting that the four *Āgamas* were constituted on the basis of the nine divisions of the teachings, and that then, chronologically, the four *Āgamas* followed the appearance of the nine divisions was still questionable as this is not stated in any ancient text.

So, how did Master Yinshun position himself in this debate? He concluded that the nine groups of teachings (*jiu fenjiao*) and the four *Āgamas* developed simultaneously. That is to say the four *Āgamas* were already present in the early stage of the formation of those nine teachings, even though they had not yet been assembled and collected into collections, and were not known as ‘the four *Āgamas*’ at that time.⁵⁴ The four *Āgamas* were constituted in various stages, and did not form before the nine-fold division of the teachings. If a chronology has to be given, Master Yinshun argued, it can be said that the nine divisions of teachings found their completion before the four *Āgamas* had been finalised (Yinshun 1971: 481).

Master Yinshun discussed the categories of divisions of teachings (*fenjiao* 分教), genres of textual collections (*bujing* 部經), and *Buddhavacana* (*foshuo* 佛說). Firstly, the nine-fold or twelve-fold divisions encompassed not only the teachings in the discourses – in short, the Dharma (*fa* 法) – but also the *Vinaya* (*lü* 律) (Yinshun 1971: 479). Secondly, he argued, it is difficult to draw parallels and correspondences between the nine or twelve divisions of teachings and the *Āgamas*, as the former, at least according to a more traditional view,

⁵³ Here he uses both the term ‘four *Āgamas*’ (*si ahan* 四阿含) and ‘*Āgama* section’ (*ahan bu* 阿含部), that is, a section of the Buddhist canonical scriptures.

⁵⁴ On the construct of the four *Āgamas* in the Chinese Buddhist canon see also Zacchetti 2016.

includes only the *Buddhavacana* (*foshuo* 佛說), whereas the *Āgamas* incorporate more than just the *Buddhavacana* (Yinshun 1971: 480).

The list of nine textual collections (*jiu bujing*) in *Yindu zhi fojiao* and the list of the nine divisions of teachings (*jiu fenjiao*) in *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng* are quite different. In the *Yindu zhi fojiao*, Master Yinshun did not develop a lengthy explanation of the *aṅgas*; he just explained that the first nine textual collections were divided into two groups, with the *Buddhavacana* manifesting in the first three collections, which he listed here as *sūtra*, *geya* and *gāthā*. The final three, hence the extension from nine to twelve *aṅgas*, are a later addition. In the *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng*, Master Yinshun developed a more in-depth narrative about a possible chronology and typology of the *aṅgas*, which made him also change the order of the *aṅgas* (see Table 1 below). This new narrative, he acknowledged, partly mirrored conclusions made previously by Maeda (1964).

According to Maeda, Master Yinshun reported, the twelve *aṅgas* developed in four stages. First, the classification into twelve *aṅgas* is a later development and followed the classification into nine *aṅgas*, and in fact the twelve-fold division even included Mahāyāna teachings. For the nine *aṅgas*, the first five (*sūtra*, *geya*, *vyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *udāna*) preceded the following four (*ityuktaka*, *jātaka*, *vaipulya*, *adbhuta-dharma*). Within the first group, the first two *aṅgas* (namely *sūtra* and *geya*) were formed earlier than the other three (namely *vyākaraṇa*, *gāthā* and *udāna*).

Moreover, the meaning and ordering of these *aṅgas* changed as they were going from one phase to the next, and the interconnections that then emerged among them also changed. This is why there is not one ‘*aṅga* narrative’, but streams of collective narratives that developed before the twelve *aṅgas* reached their final completion. And this is why schools in early Buddhism gave different interpretations and defin-

itions to the meaning, order and interrelations of the twelve *āṅgas* (see especially Yinshun 1971: 621–627).

Table 1. Master Yinshun's Listing of the *Āṅgas* in the *Yindu zhi fojiao* (1985 [1943]) and the *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng* (1971)

| <i>Yindu zhi fojiao</i> 印度之佛教 | <i>Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng</i> 原始佛教聖典之集成 |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>sūtra</i> (修多羅) | 1. <i>sūtra</i> (修多羅) ⁵⁵ |
| 2. <i>geya</i> (祇夜) | 2. <i>geya</i> (祇夜) |
| 3. <i>gāthā</i> (伽陀) | 3. <i>vyākaraṇa</i> (記說) |
| 4. <i>nidāna</i> (因緣) | 4. <i>gāthā</i> (伽陀) |
| 5. <i>avadāna</i> (譬喻) | 5. <i>udāna</i> (優陀那) |
| 6. <i>jātaka</i> (本生) | 6. <i>ityuktaka</i> (本事) |
| 7. <i>ityuktaka</i> (本事) | 7. <i>jātaka</i> (本生) |
| 8. <i>adbhutadharma</i> (未會有) | 8. <i>vaipulya</i> (方廣) |
| 9. <i>upadeśa</i> (優波提舍) | 9. <i>adbhutadharma</i> (未會有法) |
| 10. <i>vyākaraṇa</i> (記別) | 10. <i>nidāna</i> (因緣) |
| 11. <i>udāna</i> (陀南) | 11. <i>avadāna</i> (譬喻) |
| 12. <i>vaipulya</i> (方廣經) | 12. <i>upadeśa</i> (論議) |

Another difference between the two volumes by Master Yinshun is the large space that he dedicated to the analysis of the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* (*Zazang* 雜藏) in the *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng*. Also defined as ‘Minor Collection’ (*xiaobu* 小部), and ‘Fifth Collection’ (*wubu* 五部), this group of discourses were formed after the four *Āgamas* (as Master Yinshun argued in the *Yindu zhi fojiao*), and has been preserved only in the Tāmraśāṭiya tradition. He also related the formation of this collection to the nine *āṅgas* (Yinshun 1971: 793–866).

⁵⁵ It is worth noting that here *sūtra* (*xiuduoluo* 修多羅) is sometimes used to indicate texts (*jing* 經) and at other times just teachings (*fa* 法).

III.4 Master Yinshun's 印順 Classification Systems: *Āngas* and *Siddhāntas*

Very often, Master Yinshun adopted Buddhist doctrinal tenets to classify the historical development of Buddhism or the structure of texts. For instance, he divided the chapters of the *Mūlamadhyamakā-kārikā* into four groups according to the four noble truths (Travagnin 2012: 270), showing an approach quite different from other previous Chinese monks, such as Taixu, who had grouped those chapters in terms of their supposed pre-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna tendencies (Travagnin 2012).

The *siddhāntas*, as described by Nāgārjuna in the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitopadeśa* (*Da zhi du lun* 大智度論, T1509) seem to be extremely important in Master Yinshun's thought, as he referred back to them repeatedly and in different contexts, including in his *panjiao* and in his categorisation of the four *Āgamas*. He related these four *siddhāntas* to the four *Āgamas* from the time of his very first lectures on these textual corpora in 1944.

In what follows, I explain how he correlated and merged the four *siddhāntas* with the system of the *āngas* in his systematisation of the four *Āgamas*, with special attention to the *Samyukta-āgama*. I thus aim to provide some additional perspective on Master Yinshun's view of the *āngas* and his own study of the *Samyukta-āgama*. I rely mostly on his final article (Yinshun 1993 [1989]), which represents the fourth and conclusive phase of his study of the *Āgamas*, and where he also offers his conclusions on the history of Indian and Chinese Buddhism. Furthermore, the article in question not only reports and explains further arguments that he had already presented in previous works (1944–1945 and 1971), but also brings new elements into the conversation, such as Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the four *Nikāyas*.

Table 2 below illustrates how Master Yinshun related the four *siddhāntas* (as per the *Da zhidu lun*; cf. note 1 above) to his four-fold division of the history of Indian Buddhism, and the four *Āgamas*. While considering how he linked the first three *āṅgas* to the *Āgamas* (also with consideration of Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the four *Nikāyas*), it also shows the connections that he wanted to draw between the *siddhāntas* and the *āṅgas*.

As Table 2 shows, Master Yinshun argued that the Buddhadharma corresponded to the first *siddhānta*, and in doing so he gave the highest value to the Buddhadharma rather than only to the Mahāyāna.

This was in line with his overall arguments on Indian Buddhism, and one of the main reasons he was criticised by mainstream Chinese Buddhists. However, for him, this Buddhadharma encompasses, diachronically, 'root Buddhism' (*genben fojiao* 根本佛教), 'original (pre-sectarian) Buddhism' (*yuanshi fojiao* 原始佛教), and 'sectarian Buddhism' (*bupai fojiao* 部派佛教), and it is to the first two that he gave more value. Master Yinshun attempted to correct the misleading understanding of 'Buddhadharma' as 'Hīnayāna' (*xiaocheng* 小乘), a misconception that had spread into Chinese Buddhism. This is why he insisted on highlighting the first phase of Buddhadharma and identifying the phase when early Mahāyāna emerged from the Buddhadharma as the 'correct Dharma'. It is for this reason that he claimed that crucial schools in Mahāyāna, such as Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, were not just rooted in, but continued to embody those pre-Mahāyāna tenets. As explained in the previous part of the chapter, Lǚ Cheng himself did not adopt the term Hīnayāna for the pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism, but he was moved by different motivations that made him use this term anyway in reference to another stage of the history of Indian Buddhism.

Table 2. Master Yinshun's View on
the Scriptural History of Indian Buddhism

| <i>Siddhāntas</i> | History of Indian Buddhism | <i>Āgamas</i> | Commentaries on the Four <i>Nikāyas</i> | <i>Āngas</i> |
|---|----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| 第一義悉檀 [<i>Siddhānta</i> of Supreme Meaning] | 佛法 [Buddha- dharma] | 雜阿含 [<i>Saṃyukta- āgama</i>] | <i>Sāratthappakāsinī</i> (<i>Saṃyutta- nikāya</i> Comm.): 顯揚真義 [‘Proclamation of the Supreme Truth’] | <i>sutta/ sūtra</i> |
| 對治悉檀 [Corrective <i>Siddhānta</i>] | 初期大乘 [Early Mahāyāna] | 中阿含 [<i>Madhyama- āgama</i>] | <i>Papañcasūdanī</i> (<i>Majjhima- nikāya</i> Comm.): 破斥猶豫 [‘Elimination of Doubts’] | <i>veyyakāraṇa/ vyākaraṇa</i> (by the Buddha’s disciples) |
| 各各為人悉檀 [Individualised <i>Siddhānta</i>] | 後期大乘 [Late Mahāyāna] | 增一阿含 [<i>Ekottarika- āgama</i>] | <i>Manorathapūraṇī</i> (<i>Aṅguttara- nikāya</i> Comm.): 滿足希求 [‘Satisfaction of Wishes’] | <i>veyyakāraṇa/ vyākaraṇa</i> (by the Buddha) |
| 世界悉檀 [Worldly <i>Siddhānta</i>] | 秘密大乘 [Esoteric Mahāyāna] | 長阿含 [<i>Dīrgha- āgama</i>] | <i>Sumaṅgalavilasini</i> (<i>Dīrgha-nikāya</i> Comm.): 吉祥悅意 [‘Optimism and Delight’] | <i>geyya geya</i> |

When it comes to the *Āgamas*, Master Yinshun agreed with other scholars in considering the *Samyukta-āgama* as the earliest of the four collections to find completion. As mentioned above, he argued that there was a parallel development of the *aṅgas* and the *Āgamas*, but also underlined how the *Āgamas* were collected in their final form after the *aṅgas* had been fully developed. At the same time, he saw that the *Samyukta-āgama* started taking shape when the three *aṅgas* of *sūtra*, *geya* and *vyākaraṇa* had already taken form. In fact, Master Yinshun argued that the *Samyukta-āgama* includes all these three *aṅgas*, with *aṅgas* taken in their sense of literary genres. The same scheme also suggests correspondences between *geya*, *vyākaraṇa* and the other three *Āgamas*.

Master Yinshun wanted to demonstrate that the *Samyukta-āgama* represents the highest teachings, hence it corresponds to the first *siddhānta*. Nonetheless, through this cross-reference, he also argued that the Buddhadharma encompasses all the subsequent trajectories of Buddhism and all the *siddhāntas*, and that the four *siddhāntas* were all present already in the *Samyukta-āgama* and in the *sūtra aṅga*. This marks the *Samyukta-āgama* as the highest early body of teachings.

III.5 Closing Reflections on Modern Chinese *Āgama* Scholarship

The brief overview in the first part of the chapter reveals the complexity of the *Āgama* studies in the Republican period. There were various factors involved in the renaissance of *Āgama* scholarship in modern China: the debate around ‘original Buddhism’, the revaluation of early Indian tradition as instrumental for a redefinition and new analysis of Mahāyāna itself, and for providing more scriptural and doctrinal authority and legitimacy to the new *renjian fojiao*, and the circulation of ideas within Asia and beyond.

Yet, none of the works before Master Yinshun explored above discussed the formation of the *Samyukta-āgama* through the notion of selected *āṅgas*. Not even Lü Cheng or Tang Yongtong, scholars who could read Pali and Sanskrit, did that. Lü Cheng mentioned the *āṅgas* but in a discussion on whether the *Āgamas* or the *āṅgas* (here intended as literary forms, topics and also textual collections) were the first textual collections in the history of Buddhism. Lü Cheng made some propositions, however he did not offer any certain conclusion on the issue. The book where he argued about the *āṅgas* was written before the publication of Maeda's work, but it was revised more than ten years after the Japanese scholar had expressed his views. The Cultural Revolution, and the isolation in which Lü Cheng worked after the 1960s could explain this omission.

It is with Master Yinshun that the topic of the *āṅgas* is articulated extensively, in relation also to the formation of each of the four *Āgamas* and the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*, the context of 'original Buddhism' and the notion of *Buddhavacana*. Nonetheless, Master Yinshun's view on the *āṅgas* is not consistent throughout his writings. In fact, he drew up different lists of the *āṅgas* and looked at them from multiple angles and for multiple objectives. Moreover, he clearly presented the '*āṅga* question' as something still under debate, a debate among different scholarly positions that he summarised in several sections of the *Yuanshi fojiao shengdian zhi jicheng*, and a debate with still many open questions. Another matter raised by Master Yinshun concerns methodology and approach. He acknowledged the contribution that studies of the Pali canon had to offer toward a better understanding of early Buddhism and the original formation of the texts, but at the same time questioned some side-effects that such an extreme weight given to the Pali tradition could cause (see for instance Yinshun 1971: 476). Finally, his adoption of the four *siddhāntas*, based on the definition found in the *Da zhidu lun*, as analytical tools to

classify and understand the history of Indian Buddhism and the four *Āgamas* shows that Master Yinshun's revaluation of 'original Buddhism', which aimed at a better understanding and repositioning of the Mahāyāna, was still framed within Mahāyāna (a repositioned Mahāyāna, yet Mahāyāna) concepts.

In line with what Master Yinshun argued, it may be concluded that the reason why the '*aṅga* question' is still debated may be found in the various approaches, in terms of language and texts and research questions, that created different streams of scholarship.

The foregoing two parts of this chapter have given an overview of many arguments on 'original Buddhism' and the *Āgamas* that eminent Buddhist voices in modern and contemporary China have raised and discussed, looking at their research methods, sources, evidence and objectives. What follows places one of those arguments, the '*aṅga* question', in the light of a text-historical comparative approach to early Buddhist texts, hence arriving at conclusions that differ from those of the traditional East-Asian scholarship surveyed above, as well as from those of recent academically trained Asian scholars following in Master Yinshun's footsteps (Choong 2020 in this volume).

IV. Problems with the Three-*aṅga* Theory

Based on the pioneering research and reflections advanced by Master Yinshun that have been surveyed above, there has been a tendency in subsequent academic *Āgama* scholarship to posit the three *aṅgas* as an early ordering principle of the Buddhist scriptures. An example is the presentation by Choong Mun-keat 鍾秉潔 [Wei-keat 煒傑] (2020). In what follows, the proposed interpretation of these

three *aṅgas* is examined from the viewpoint of current academic knowledge and relevant textual comparison. This will hopefully serve as a reply to the concerns voiced by Choong Mun-keat (2020: 903) that Master Yinshun's proposal

has attracted so little attention among Western researchers into early Buddhism.

Contrary to the impression articulated by Choong Mun-keat (2020: 911), this is not so much a case of

a widespread failure, among Western scholars of early Buddhism, to take due account of the very substantial research findings of Master Yinshun.

Instead, it is rather because for several reasons this particular proposal is text-historically unconvincing.

The hypothesis that at an early stage in the transmission of the early Buddhist discourses the three *aṅgas* of *sūtra* (Pali *sutta*), *geya* (Pali *geyya*), and *vyākaraṇa* (Pali *veyyākaraṇa*) fulfilled a role of textual collections, similar to that of the *Āgamas* and *Nikāyas*, rests on the following five premises:

1. The assumption that the *aṅgas*, usually known in listings of nine or twelve, functioned as textual collections.
2. The proposition that *sūtra/sutta* stands for simple prose expositions of doctrinal topics (such as on the five aggregates, the six sense-spheres, conditionality, and the path), *geya/geyya* for verse mixed with prose, and *vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa* for expositions (of the type found in the 弟子所說誦 and 如來所說誦 sections of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*).
3. The hypothesis that the structures of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and

the *Samyutta-nikāya* in particular reflect the employment of these three *aṅgas* as a basic ordering principle.

4. The notion that at an earlier stage only three *aṅgas* were in use, which formed a precedent to the listings of nine or twelve.

5. The identification of the three *aṅgas* with a three-partite analysis of the *Samyukta-āgama* in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*.

In what follows, each of these five points are examined in turn.

IV.1 The Function of the *Aṅgas*

The actual function of the *aṅgas* is up to now not well understood, in spite of considerable scholarship on this topic both in the East and in the West. A detailed survey of references to listings of nine or twelve *aṅgas* in the early discourses makes it appear rather improbable that the *aṅgas* ever functioned as an organisational principle for allocating discourses into textual collections (Anālayo 2016).

In reply to a proposal by Oskar von Hinüber (1994) that a shorter listing of four *aṅgas* reflects an early attempt at organizing the texts, Konrad Klaus (2010: 518) points out that such hypotheses are not supported by the discourses, which do not present the *aṅgas* as an attempt at ordering the texts. Lance Cousins (2013: 105–106) comments that:

short versions are sometimes interpreted as earlier lists of ‘*Aṅgas*’, but that seems quite anachronistic to me ... there is no indication anywhere that any of this has anything to do with an arrangement of the canonical literature in some kind of earlier recension.

Peter Skilling (2017: 293 note 55) concludes that:

the *Aṅgas* are not actual collections of texts.

It is thus not possible to take for granted that the *aṅgas*, be it the full set or a shortened listing, ever served as textual collections. Instead, it needs to be acknowledged that, at the present state of academic knowledge, this is a debated issue.

IV.2 The Significance of the Three *Aṅgas*

An understanding of the significance of the three *aṅgas*, found at the outset of the standard listings of nine or twelve, can be approached by examining occurrences of the respective terms in the early discourses apart from such bare listings. This enables ascertaining the type of meaning the relevant term would have carried at an early stage, before any possible change in meaning during the period of its employment as an *aṅga*.

In the case of the first of the three *aṅgas*, the term *sūtra/sutta* (leaving aside *suttanta*), is of course regularly found in the titles of discourses. The main occurrence of relevance apart from discourse titles can be found in the context of the four great standards (*mahā-padesa/mahāpradeśa*). These describe procedures for verification to determine if certain teachings should be accepted as reliable testimonies of what the Buddha had taught. For this purpose, the particular teaching under scrutiny should be examined to see if it fits among the *sūtras/suttas* and is in line with the *Vinaya*.⁵⁶ The Pali commentaries on the respective passage offer several interpretations of these two referents. The most straightforward interpretation understands

⁵⁶ DN 16 at DN II 124,15 and AN 4.180 at AN II 168,21: *sutte c'eva otaranti vinaye ca sandissanti*; with parallels in Sanskrit fragments, Waldschmidt 1951: 246,7: *sūtre 'vataranti vinaye saṃdṛśyante*, in DĀ 2 at T I 17c10: 其所言依經, 依律, 依法者, T 6 at T I 183a1: 入經承律, T 7 at T I 195c9: 若修多羅及以毘尼法相之中有此法者, and EĀ 28.5 at T II 652b24: 彼布現, 所謂與契經相應, 律, 法相應者.

sutta here to stand for the whole collection of discourses.⁵⁷ This would be in line with the use of the term in discourse titles. As a result, all discourses, without exception, would fall under this *āṅga*.

The term *geya/geyya* appears to occur in the early discourses principally in listings of the *āṅgas*, leaving little to be said about its import.

The term *vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa* occurs quite often in the early discourses and can carry a range of meanings.⁵⁸ Of particular interest are several Pali discourses that identify themselves (or at least the main ‘explanation’ given in the body of the discourse) as *veyyākaraṇa*:

- the *Brahmajāla-sutta* (DN 1)⁵⁹
- the *Sakkapañha-sutta* (DN 21)⁶⁰
- the *Sampasādanīya-sutta* (DN 28)⁶¹
- the *Brahmanimantanika-sutta* (MN 49)⁶²
- the *Mahāpuṇṇama-sutta* (MN 109)⁶³

⁵⁷ Sv I 565,37 or Mp III 159,3: *sutta(ṇṭa)-piṭakam suttam, vinaya-piṭakam vinayo ti*. Bodhi 2012: 1712 note 893 comments that “this instruction presupposes that there already existed a body of discourses and a systematic Vinaya that could be used to evaluate other texts proposed for inclusion as authentic utterances of the Buddha.”

⁵⁸ For a survey of *veyyākaraṇa* in Pali discourses see Anālayo 2009b.

⁵⁹ DN I 46,28; parallel to 說此法時 in DĀ 21 at T I 94a9, 說是經時 in T 21 at T I 270c14, and *chos kyi rnam grangs 'di bshad pa na* in a Tibetan parallel, Weller 1934: 64,23.

⁶⁰ DN II 288,20 and 289,3; parallel to *(a)smiṃ khalu dharmapary(ā)ye bhāṣyamāṇe* in a Sanskrit fragment parallel, Waldschmidt 1932: 111,6, to 說此法時 in DĀ 14 at T I 66a1 and MĀ 134 at T I 638a26, and to 說正法時 in T 15 at T I 250b20.

⁶¹ DN III 116,9; parallel to *asmiṃ khalu dharmaparyāye bhāṣyamāṇe* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* Sanskrit manuscript, 299r8, DiSimone 2016: 121 and 389.

⁶² MN I 331,32; parallel to 此經 in MĀ 78 at T I 549a29.

⁶³ MN III 20,22; parallel to 說此經時 in SĀ 58 at T II 15a28 and to *chos*

- the *Cūḷarāhulovāda-sutta* (MN 147 = SN 35.121)⁶⁴
- the *Chachakka-sutta* (MN 148)⁶⁵
- the *Timsamattā-sutta* (SN 15.13)⁶⁶
- the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta* (SN 22.59)⁶⁷
- the *Khemaka-sutta* (SN 22.89)⁶⁸
- the *Āditta-sutta* (SN 35.28)⁶⁹
- the *Gilāna-suttas* (SN 35.74 and SN 35.75)⁷⁰
- the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta* (SN 56.11)⁷¹
- the *Gotamakacetiya-sutta* (AN 3.123)⁷²
- the *Aggikkhandhopama-sutta* (AN 7.68)⁷³
- the *Dvayatānupassanā-sutta* (Sn 765)⁷⁴

kyi rnam grangs 'di bshad pa na in Up 7006 at D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 57a2 or P 5595, *mngon pa 'i bstan bcos, thu* 98b8.

⁶⁴ MN III 280,7 and SN IV 107,28; parallel to 說此經已 in SĀ 200 at T II 51c10.

⁶⁵ MN III 287,5; parallel to 說此經已 in SĀ 304 at T II 87a25.

⁶⁶ SN II 189,1; parallel to 說是法時 in SĀ 937 at T II 240c22, SĀ² 330 at T II 486a16, and EĀ 51.2 at T II 814b19.

⁶⁷ SN III 68,28; parallel to *imaspi ca va araṇa bhaṣiamaṇ(*o)* in the Gandhari fragment parallel in Allon 2020: 223, *asmin khalu dharmaparyāye bhāṣyamāṇe* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Gnoli 1977: I 139,14, 說此經已 in SĀ 34 at T II 8a2, and 說此法時 in T 102 at T II 499c26.

⁶⁸ SN III 132,10; parallel to 說此法時 in SĀ 103 at T II 30c4.

⁶⁹ SN IV 20,26; parallel to 說此經已 in SĀ 197 at T II 50c5.

⁷⁰ SN IV 47,27 and SN IV 48,12; parallel to 授第一記 (adopting a variant reading) followed by the standard 說此經已 in SĀ 1025 at T II 268a18.

⁷¹ SN V 423,14; parallel to 說是法時 in SĀ 379 at T II 104a8, T 110 at T II 504b7, and EĀ 24.5 at T II 619b6 (for a survey of parallels found apart from *Āgama* texts see Anālayo 2015: 348–350).

⁷² AN I 276,24; no parallel appears to be known to this discourse.

⁷³ AN IV 135,4; parallel to 說此法時 in MĀ 5 at T I 427a3 and EĀ 33.10 at T II 689c1.

⁷⁴ Sn 149,16; no parallel to this discourse appears to be known.

The parallels to these Pali discourses differ, however, often speaking instead of a *dharmaparyāya* or a *sūtra*.⁷⁵ It seems that these three terms were perceived as conveying similar meanings. Such usage does not give the impression that from an early stage the terms *vyākaraṇa* and *sūtra* carried sufficiently different meanings for the reciters such that they could have been employed as headers to create different collections of the orally transmitted texts.

Regarding the possible implications of *geya/geyya*, it is noteworthy that the *Brahmanimantaṇika-sutta* combines prose with verse, even though the Pali version refers to it as a *veyyākaraṇa* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel as a *sūtra* (經). This usage would conflict with the assumption that all texts with verse were assigned to the category of *geya/geyya*.

IV.3 The First Part of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and its Parallel in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*

A similar impression emerges when consulting the first part of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, which begins with the *Skandha-saṃyukta*, in comparison with its Pali counterpart. Two discourses found in both the *Skandha-saṃyukta* (with their parallels in the *Abhidharmakośo-pāyikā-īkā*) and the Pali *Khandha-saṃyutta* have verses;⁷⁶ another discourse shared by the two collections has an inspired utterance (*udāna*).⁷⁷

⁷⁵ See above notes 59 to 73, and on the significance of *dharmaparyāya* the entry in Edgerton 1953: 279–280, *s.v.*

⁷⁶ SĀ 73 at T II 19a26, Up 9023 at D 4094, *mngon pa, nyu* 86a3 and P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, thu* 132b6, and SN 22.22 at SN III 26,10; SĀ 265 at T II 69a18, Up 4084 at D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 240b2 and P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 274b6, and SN 22.95 at SN III 142,29.

⁷⁷ SĀ 64 at T II 16c8 and its parallel SN 22.55 at SN III 55,29.

One of the discourses with verse is the famous ‘Discourse on the Burden’ (*Bhāra-sutta*). The other has the perhaps even more famous set of similes that compare the body to a lump of foam, feeling to bubbles, perception to a mirage, formations to a plantain tree, and consciousness to a magical illusion. This can safely be regarded as one of the most important teachings on the five aggregates. It is hard to imagine that the reciters would have collected texts on the topic of the five aggregates without from the outset including these two discourses, even though they have verses.

Following the *Skandha-saṃyukta* and the *Khandha-saṃyutta* are the collected sayings spoken to Rādhā.⁷⁸ Similar to the preceding discourses in the *Skandha-saṃyukta* and *Khandha-saṃyutta*, the discourses in this collection also cover the topic of the aggregates. According to Choong Mun-keat (2000: 243 and 249), the discourses found in the *Skandha-saṃyukta/Khandha-saṃyutta* should be considered as *sūtra/sutta*, but those found in the *Rādhā-saṃyukta/Rādhā-saṃyutta* should instead be regarded as *vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa*. Yet, the only real difference between them is that in the latter case the recipient of the teachings is explicitly named as Rādhā. It is not easy to understand how this changes the nature of the respective discourse from a *sūtra/sutta* to a *vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa*.

To solve this conundrum, one might imagine that the *Rādhā-saṃyukta/Rādhā-saṃyutta* originated from what initially was merely a sub-chapter within the *Skandha-saṃyukta/Khandha-saṃyutta*. This is certainly possible, but it is equally possible that several discourses addressed to Rādhā were collected under his name from the outset. In fact the list of foremost disciples in the *Anguttara-nikāya* includes Rādhā among outstanding male monastics.⁷⁹ Once he is already

⁷⁸ SĀ 111 to SĀ 129 at T II 37c6–41b6 and SN 23.1 to SN 23.71 at SN III 188–201.

⁷⁹ AN 1.4.4 at AN I 25,15.

known in the discourses themselves as an exceptional disciple, sufficient to find a place in this listing, it would not be surprising if the reciters should have chosen his name as a reference point for collecting discourses, similar to *saṃyuktas/saṃyuttas* collected under the name of other eminent disciples. Due to the fact that the discourses addressed to him happened to be on the topic of the five aggregates, it would then have been natural to place this collection on Rādhā close to the collection on the aggregates, as the similarity in content facilitates ease of memorisation and hence their oral transmission. Although this is of course just a hypothesis, it is in principle just as possible as the assumption that the collection on Rādhā originated from a sub-section within the collection on the aggregates.

The *Rādhā-saṃyukta* and the *Rādhā-saṃyutta* share a pattern of beginning with several discourses, found similarly in both versions, that have quite unique and individual presentations. These are then followed by a proliferation of discourses that appear to have been generated somewhat automatically by way of repetition, similar to what has been described by Rupert Gethin (2020) for another part of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. These proliferations or discourse permutations differ between the *Rādhā-saṃyukta* and the *Rādhā-saṃyutta*. Such differences imply that the grouping of discourses around the name Rādhā must have been in existence early enough to allow for the arising of different additional discourse permutations in the two reciter traditions.

Of further interest regarding the distinction applied by Choong Mun-keat not only to the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, but also to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, is that the *Khandha-saṃyutta* actually contains a discourse on the five aggregates that is explicitly addressed to Rādhā.⁸⁰ In other words, the reciters of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* apparently did not

⁸⁰ SN 22.71 at SN III 79,33; no parallel to this discourse appears to be known.

consider it an issue of major importance whether a teaching on the aggregates addressed to Rādha is placed in the *Khandha-saṃyutta* or in the *Rādha-saṃyutta*. As a result, one such discourse is now found in the *Khandha-saṃyutta* and a number of others in the *Rādha-saṃyutta*. The discourse on the aggregates addressed to Rādha and found in the *Khandha-saṃyutta* leaves no room at all for considering other discourses on the aggregates addressed to Rādha, now found in the *Rādha-saṃyutta*, as representing a substantially different type of exposition, *veyyākaraṇa* as opposed to *sutta*.

This case exemplifies a problem that also holds for the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, in that it is difficult to discern what would make the discourses in the *Skandha-saṃyukta* sufficiently different from those in the *Rādha-saṃyukta* to be reckoned as pertaining to the category of *sūtra* instead of *vyākaraṇa*.

The situation that emerges in this way concords with the overall impression conveyed by references to the three *aṅgas* in early Buddhist discourse, in that it is doubtful that they served as an ordering principle for creating discourse collections. This is as doubtful as the assumption that the *aṅgas* in general ever had such a role.

At the same time, it needs to be admitted that the three points surveyed so far are not yet decisive. It is still possible to assume that the *aṅgas* did have such a role originally, that the uncertainty in defining the three *aṅgas*, as currently reflected in early discourse literature, is due to a loss of understanding of their earlier function, and that the present distribution of discourses in the first part of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and its counterpart in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* is similarly due to a loss of understanding of their original structure, which has been obscured by later developments. Although the points mentioned so far make the three-*aṅga* theory doubtful, they do not suffice to disprove it.

IV.4 The Count of Three *Āṅgas*

The next premise to be examined is the assumption that at an early stage in the development of Buddhist textual collections, only three *āṅgas* were in existence. Here the count of three *āṅgas* derives from a passage in the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel;⁸¹ a Tibetan parallel has instead the full set of twelve *āṅgas*.⁸² The context of this reference in all three versions is an admonition addressed by the Buddha to his attendant Ānanda. According to this admonition, a disciple should not follow the teacher (the Buddha) for the sake of these *āṅgas*, but instead follow him for the sake of teachings on morality, concentration, wisdom, liberation, and knowledge-and-vision-of-liberation.⁸³

If the reference to three *āṅgas* (or twelve *āṅgas* in the Tibetan version) is taken to indicate some system of textual division that collects the different discourses spoken by the Buddha and his disciples,

⁸¹ MN 122 at MN III 115,18: *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇassa hetu* (Burmese and Ceylonese edition: *sutta-geyya-veyyākaraṇaṃ tassa hetu*, Siamese edition: *sutta-geyya-veyyākaraṇassa sotuṃ*) and MĀ 191 at T I 739c4: 正經, 歌詠, 記說.

⁸² Skilling 1994: 242,13: *mdo'i sde dang, dbyangs kyis bsnyad pa'i sde dang, lung bstan pa'i sde dang, tshigs su bcad pa'i sde dang, ched du brjod pa'i sde dang, gleng gzhi'i sde dang, rtogs pa brjod pa'i sde dang, de lta bu byung ba'i sde dang, skyes pa rabs kyi sde dang, shin tu rgyas pa'i sde dang, rmad du byung ba'i chos kyi sde dang, gtan la bab par bstan pa'i sde'i chos de dag dang.*

⁸³ MN 122 at MN III 115,25: *sīlakathā, samādhikathā, paññākathā, vimuttikathā, vimuttiñāṇadassanakathā*, MĀ 191 at T I 739c8: 戒論, 定論, 慧論, 解脫論, 解脫知見論, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994: 244,13: *tshul khrims kyi gtam dang, ting nge 'dzin gyi gtam dang, shes rab kyi gtam dang, rnam par grol ba'i gtam dang, rnam par grol ba'i ye shes mthong ba'i gtam dang.*

there would be no place left for the teachings on morality, concentration, wisdom, liberation, and knowledge-and-vision-of-liberation for whose sake a disciple should follow the Buddha. The context makes it clear that something more specific than the whole corpus of early Buddhist canonical texts must have been intended, independent of whether this corpus be presented as three-fold, nine-fold, or twelve-fold.

Judging from the context, the passage under examination might originally have been an injunction not to follow the teacher for the sake of getting ever more ‘explanations’ (*vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa*), in contrast to following him for the type of teachings that are directly related to the practice and the goal. Such an admonition would suit the case of Ānanda quite well, who features in the discourses as foremost among monastic disciples in being learned but at the same time as one who has not yet reached full awakening. In fact, the *Mahā-suññata-sutta* and its parallels begin with the Buddha admonishing Ānanda and a group of monastics by contrasting excessive socializing with the secluded lifestyle necessary to gain both temporary and final liberation of the mind.

In this way, the context makes it quite possible that the reference to three (or twelve) *āṅgas* results from an expansion of what originally could have been just a reference to explanations. During oral transmission the occurrence of *vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa* would have prompted the addition of *sūtra/sutta* and *geya/geyya*. In line with the same tendency, subsequently the other terms mentioned in the standard list of the *āṅgas* were added, as now seen in the Tibetan version.

Be that as it may, however, the context makes it certain that the textual passage employed to establish the notion of three *āṅgas* as an early stage in the evolution of textual division is unable to fulfil that purpose. On this interpretation, the relevant discourse passage

no longer makes sense, as it posits a contrast between the whole of the teachings (in terms of three *aṅgas*) and what indeed is about the whole of the teachings, namely teachings on morality, concentration, wisdom, liberation, and knowledge-and-vision-of-liberation. Whereas the previous three points are only doubtful, the present one is decisive. It definitely undermines the three-*aṅga* theory, leaving it bereft of any grounds for the assumption that at some early stage in the history of Buddhism only three *aṅgas* were known.

IV.5 The *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*

In a discussion of the divisions of the *Samyukta-āgama*, the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* division of the *Yogācārabhūmi* offers a three-fold typology as a principle underlying all of them:⁸⁴

- speaker
- topic
- audience

In other words, the *saṃyuktas* of the *Samyukta-āgama* are based on one of these three perspectives, in that they concern either the one who spoke a particular discourse, the topic taken up in it, or those to whom the teaching was given. This presentation has no explicit reference whatsoever to the three *aṅgas*.

Each of these three labels can be applied to any discourse, since they invariably involve a speaker, are on some topic, and the very fact that they have been transmitted shows that they had an audience. In other words, these three categories are not mutually exclusive.

⁸⁴ T 1579 at T XXX 772c17: 一是能說, 二是所說, 三是所爲說 and D 4039, *sems tsam, zi* 128a1 or P 5540, *sems tsam, 'i* 143b6: *su ston pa dang, ci ston pa dang, gang la ston pa dang*. On the content of the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* supplying a 'mātrikā' to the *Samyukta-āgama* see Huimin 2020 in this volume.

They are complementary perspectives that can be applied to each and every discourse.

Whereas any single discourse can fit each of the three categories mentioned in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī*, for the three *āṅgas* to have functioned as textual divisions, they need to be at least somewhat exclusive to each other. If each and every discourse could at the same time be a *sūtra/sutta*, a *geya/geyya*, and a *vyākaraṇa/veyyākaraṇa*, these three terms would no longer be able to function as ordering principles for a textual collection since they would not yield any concrete evaluative principle to determine to which of these three a particular discourse should be allocated.

Such evaluative principles can be seen to underlie the division into *Āgamas* or *Nikāyas*, which is based on distinguishing between long, medium-length, and short discourses (the last are then further distinguished into those collected by topic and those collected numerically). Now these distinctions are not absolutely water-tight compartments. The length of a discourse is open to some degree of subjectivity. At the same time, it is clearly not the case that each and every text can at the same time be considered long and medium-length and short.

Material common to the collections of long discourses consists indeed of long discourses and a particularly short discourse in the *Dīrgha-āgama* can be identified as the result of a later development that occurred within the already-formed collection (Anālayo 2014b: 32–35). A comparable case is an extremely long discourse (if its abbreviated parts were to be filled out) now found in the *Madhyama-āgama* collection (Anālayo 2014a: 44–47). Again, an unusually long discourse in the *Majjhima-nikāya* can be shown to have grown in size from what originally would have been just a medium-length discourse (Anālayo 2009a).

In sum, the basic distinction of discourses into long, medium-length, and short, despite some overlap and fuzziness of boundaries, does yield categories that enable allocating discourses differently. The same does not hold for the distinction into speaker, topic, and audience.

Take the example of the earlier mentioned discourses spoken by the Buddha to Rādha on the topic of the five aggregates. Such discourses could be fitted under each of these three categories. They could in principle be allocated to a collection of texts 'spoken by the Buddha', a collection of texts 'on the five aggregates', and a collection of texts 'spoken to Rādha'. In contrast, they could not equally well be allocated to a collection of texts that are 'long', that are 'medium-length', and that are 'short'.

From this it follows that the tripartite analysis in the *Vastusamgrahaṇī* cannot be equated with the three *aṅgas*, as this results in equating a listing of three complementary categories with a listing of three categories that, in spite of occasional overlap, need to be exclusive of each other. Already the previous point, regarding the count of three *aṅgas*, deprives the three-*aṅga* theory of an indispensable premise. The present point has the same effect by showing that the presentation in the *Vastusamgrahaṇī* could not have intended the positing of the three *aṅgas* as the basic formative principle behind the order of discourses in the *Samyukta-āgama*.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| AN | <i>Āṅuttara-nikāya</i> |
| CBETA | Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會 |
| DĀ | <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (T 1) |
| D | Derge edition |
| DN | <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> |
| EĀ | <i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125) |
| MĀ | <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26) |
| MN | <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> |
| Mp | <i>Manorathapūraṇī</i> |
| P | Peking edition |
| SĀ | <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> (T 99) |
| SĀ ² | <i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> (T 100) |
| SN | <i>Saṃyutta-nikāya</i> |
| Sn | <i>Sutta-nipāta</i> |
| Sv | <i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī</i> |
| T | Taishō 大正 edition (CBETA) |
| Up | <i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā</i> |

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