This volume contains the proceedings of a workshop on the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the *Zengyi ahan jing* (增壹阿含經), Taishō no. 125, held at Dharma Drum Buddhist College in April 2012. The papers included focus on different aspects of the translation of this early Buddhist canonical collection: its school affiliation; the relationship of its textual materials to Indian Mahāsāṃghika and Mahāyāna milieux; the incorporation of late elements in the course of revisions or additions effected in China; collaborative quantitative text analysis and authorship attribution applied to verify the philological hypothesis of later additions to the collection; structural aspects that can be reconstructed on the basis of its summary stanzas and of scriptural quotations in other works.

# Research on the *Ekottarika-āgama* (Taishō 125)
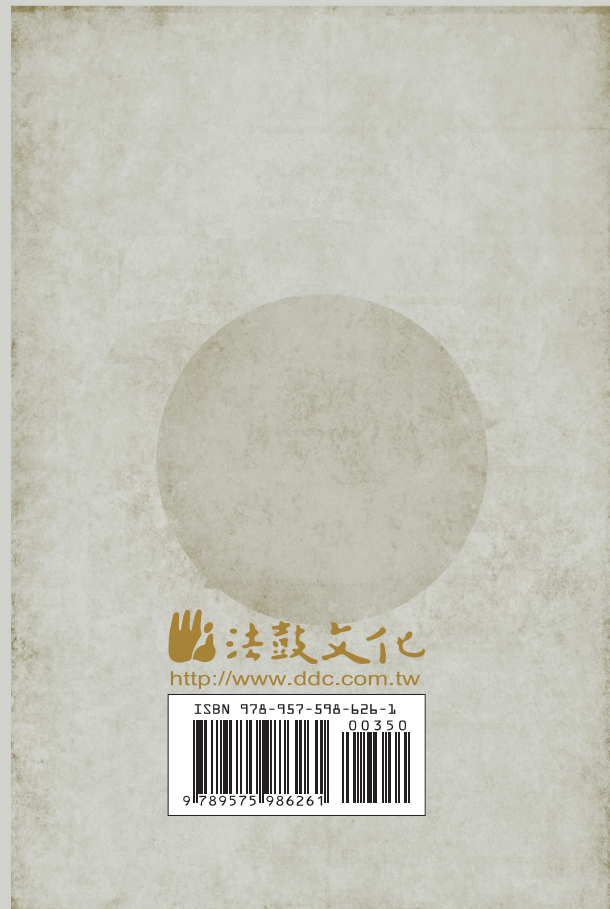
http://www.ddc.com.tw

ISBN 978-957-598-626-1
00350

Dharma Drum Buddhist College
Research Series 6

Research on the *Ekottarika-āgama* (Taishō 125)

edited by Dhammadinnā

法鼓文化
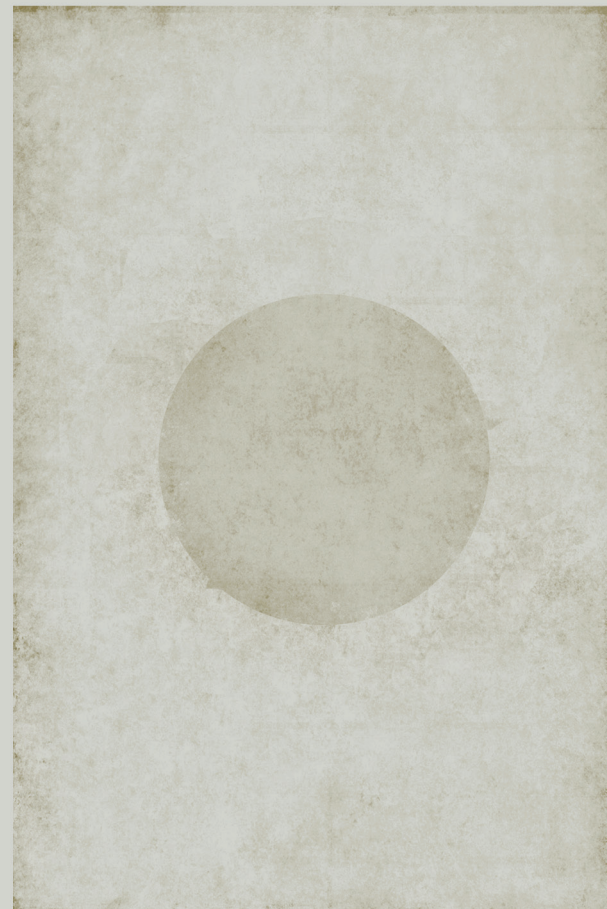
About the contributors

Bhikkhu Anālayo
University of Hamburg, Germany
Dharma Drum Buddhist College
法鼓佛教學院, Taiwan

Satoshi Hiraoka 平岡 聰
Kyōto Bunkyō University
京都文教大學, Japan

Jen-jou Hung 洪振洲
Dharma Drum Buddhist College
法鼓佛教學院, Taiwan

Tse-fu Kuan 關則富
Yuan Ze University
元智大學, Taiwan

Ken Su 蘇錦坤
Hsinchu City
新竹市, Taiwan

Research on the *Ekottarika-āgama* (Taishō 125)

Research on the *Ekottarika-āgama* (Taishō 125)

edited by Dhammadinnā

Contents

Dharma Drum Buddhist College Series

In 1994, Master Sheng Yen (1931–2009), the founder of Dharma Drum Buddhist College, began publishing the Series of the Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies. The purposes of publishing this series were: to provide a venue for academic research in Buddhist Studies supported by scholarships from the Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies; to encourage top-quality Buddhist research; and to cultivate an interest in Buddhist research among the readership of the series. Moreover, by encouraging cooperation with international research institutions, he hoped to promote the domestic status of the academic study of Buddhism.

In keeping with Master Sheng Yen's vision, in order to promote different aspects of exchange in academic research, we at Dharma Drum Buddhist College have begun to publish three educational series:

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

The Research Series (DDBC-RS) is primarily intended as a venue for academic research in the field of Buddhist Studies in general and of Chinese Buddhism in particular. The Translation Series (DDBC-TS) will present English renditions of Chinese canonical works as well as other important works, or else Chinese translations of academic publications on Buddhism that have appeared in European languages or Japanese, etc. The Special Series (DDBC-SS) will accommodate works which require special publication formats.

Among our future goals is the extensive development of Buddhist digital publishing and information to adapt to the interactive and

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

Bhikṣu Huimin
President, Dharma Drum Buddhist College

Dharma Drum Buddhist College, 26 July 2010

Introduction

On April 20, 2012, an impromptu but well-attended and well-received workshop was convened at the Library and Information Center of Dharma Drum Buddhist College under the title "增壹阿含經 — The Chinese Translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*: Research Perspectives and Collaboration". The text in question is the Chinese translation of an Indian *Ekottarika-āgama* or 'Collection of texts increasing by one', the *Zengyi ahan jing* (增壹阿含經), now found as entry no. 125 in the Taishō edition of the Chinese canon.

The event was quickly organized to coincide with a visit by Jan Nattier to Dharma Drum Buddhist College. She had already published (2010) on the translation corpus of Zhu Fonian (竺佛念), the translator of Taishō 125. Her findings on the problematic 'track record' of Zhu Fonian's (竺佛念) translation activities with regard to another work, the *Shizhu duanjie jing* (十住斷結經, Taishō 309), pointed to new directions for the further investigation of the problems of language and content of the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

The integration of later elements into the *Ekottarika-āgama*, often related to Mahāyāna thought, distinctly distinguishes it from the other Chinese Āgamas as well as their counterparts, the Pali *Nikāyas*. When, where, how and why did this early Buddhist collection and its translation undergo such striking transformations? A survey of the intricate and multi-layered problems regarding the formation, transmission and translation of this *Āgama* is beyond the scope of this introduction. The research papers collected in this volume – arranged alphabetically by authors' name – address and touch on most questions that bedevil the collection.

Bhikkhu Anālayo opens the volume with a close investigation of two versions of the tale of King Mahādeva included in the extant *Ekottarika-āgama*. His findings make it fairly certain that the second version of this tale (*Ekottarika-āgama* discourse no. 50.4) became part of the collection only after the translation of the collection had been completed. This discovery in turn suggests that other late elements found elsewhere in Taishō 125 could derive from revisions or additions effected in China. Anālayo's findings do not in themselves exclude the possibility that some of the changes had already occurred before the *Āgama* reached China, as Tse-fu Kuan (關則富) indicates later in the volume. The coexistence of possible trajectories in this manner points to the need for more detailed case studies of the apparently incongruous materials present in the collection, in order to analytically clarify its processes of modification and transformation. The origin and layering of these more developed parts – questions as to *which* of the textual incongruities entered the collection, *when*, and *where* during the transmission in India, Central Asia, and China – promises fascinating avenues for future research.

Hiraoka Satoshi's (平岡 聡) investigation of the problem of the 'school affiliation' of Taishō 125 is a revised English version of two articles previously published in Japanese (2007 and 2008). Hiraoka was not among the original participants at the 2012 workshop at Dharma Drum Buddhist College, but his recent research was frequently quoted during the workshop, and he kindly agreed to provide a new English version for inclusion in these proceedings. He uses 'narrative analysis' to examine the question of 'school affiliation', which yields useful clues and, once again, highlights the difficulties in tracing the collection back to a consistent lineage of transmission. The problems inherent in the fluctuation and cross-contamination of narrative materials compound with the pos-

sibly contaminated nature of Taishō 125 itself.

The third paper, by Jen-jou Hung (洪振洲), is an in-house product of the newly formed (2012) Āgama Research Group at Dharma Drum Buddhist College, the result of a collaboration between scholars trained in early Buddhist comparative philology with an expert in computational linguistic and text analytics applied to Chinese Buddhist texts. Taking Anālayo's findings as his point of departure, Hung parsed the second version of the tale of King Mahādeva with the procedures of quantitative text analysis and automated translatorship attribution, confirming that this discourse stands alone vis-à-vis the rest of the collection. A by-product of this research was that significant differences were discovered between T 125 and a group of twenty-four individually transmitted *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經) translations included in the Taishō edition which had previously been studied by Kōgen Mizuno (水野 弘元) (1989). This ascription of different authorship stands in contrast to Mizuno's hypothesis that these individually transmitted discourses are remnants of the first translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* carried out by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) and Dharmanandin. Further computational research of this nature is especially promising, where the quantitative approach is at its best in collaboration with textual scholars.

The contribution by Tse-fu Kuan (關則富) aims to strengthen the hypothesis of a Mahāsāṅghika affiliation for T 125. His study also offers a closer look at elements of the collection that previous scholars have categorised as 'Mahāyāna features'. The two parts of this contribution add new evidence to the old scholarly debate on the trends of the Mahāyāna that may be related to developments and transmission within Mahāsāṅghika communities. The definition of typically Mahāyāna content as against that of early and Middle Period Indian Buddhism is one of the most hazardous ter-

rains in Buddhist studies, as is the need to differentiate between the emergence of Mahāyāna trends within the early transmission of the canonical collections and passages that reflect the development of a fully-fledged Mahāyāna ideology. Thus the difficulties in categorising and identifying 'Mahāyāna' elements and motifs are nothing but pointers to the complexity of pinpointing clear-cut redefinitions of terminologies which have been recycled and imbued with new meanings.

Ken Su (蘇錦坤) closes the volume with a contribution on the summary stanzas, or *uddāna*s, of Taishō 125. These summary stanzas, employed in the transmission of Buddhist scriptural collections, provide an essential key to understanding the structural aspect of the early Buddhist *Āgama*s and *Nikāya*s. This is the first typological and systematic study of the *uddāna*s of Taishō 125 to be made available to English-language readership. Ken Su also takes up structural discrepancies between Dao'an's (道安) preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the extant T 125, and inspects passages identified as quotations from (an) *Ekottarika-āgama* in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相, T 2121) that are not found in the received collection. These investigations sound a note of caution regarding the use of catalogues, prefaces and scriptural quotations for the reconstruction of the history of Taishō 125. Making available in European languages more such contributions is highly desirable.

To conclude this introduction to the volume, I must briefly comment on my own role as editor. I am neither a Sinologist by education nor an *Āgama* specialist. However, the intrinsic lure of these scriptures inspires me to serve the cause of *Āgama* scholarship by supporting collaboration and by making the research conducted in Taiwan more widely known. Above all the desire to make the results of our local workshop available to the wider academic community led me to take up this editorial task.

While the papers were peer-reviewed, the authors were left free to make their own final decisions and to draw their own conclusions. The individual contributions have not been standardised editorially to any excessive degree, and the perspectives and conclusions reached by the authors at times do not always agree. The diversity of perception is a genuine reflection of the 'works in progress' of research on Taishō 125. Clearly, a convincing overarching model which can account for the *Ekottarika-āgama*'s fascinating blend of coherence and incoherence has yet to emerge, but my goal will be fulfilled if the volume inspires further questioning and exploration. I am certain that all of the contributors will welcome suggestions or criticism on research that remains naturally *in fieri*.

I thank Jan Nattier for the initial inspiration, and all of us regret that in the end her inspiring contribution could not be included in this volume. We look forward to its future publication. My gratitude goes to the many friends and colleagues who have contributed to the coming into being of this volume: Bhikṣu Huimin (釋惠敏), President of Dharma Drum Buddhist College, and Jen-jou Hung (洪振洲), Head of the Library and Information Center, for having allowed me the space and the support needed for the event; the staff of the Library and Information Center for their continuous selfless help; the students of Dharma Drum Buddhist College and those who attended the workshop for participating and engaging; Kuo-ping Chuang (莊國彬), responsible for our publications, for readily endorsing the volume proposal; Pei-shin Lo (羅珮心) of the publications section for her gentle liaising with Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation; Shen Yihua (沈宜樺) of Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation for her patience with us; the reviewers for their feedback; all authors for their patience; Bhikṣu Changrui (釋長叡), Lina Chen (陳莉娜) and Luke Gibson, graduate students at Dharma Drum Buddhist College, for having kindly offered varied assis-

Sāmaṇerī Dhammadinnā
Director, Āgama Research Group
Dharma Drum Buddhist College

Dharma Drum Buddhist College, 6 July 2013

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

A Study in the Development of Taishō No. 125

Bhikkhu Anālayo
University of Hamburg, Germany
Dharma Drum Buddhist College (法鼓佛教學院), Taiwan

Abstract

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

Contents

I. Versions of the Mahādeva Tale

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

[2]   Jā 9 at Jā I 137,13 to 139,ult.

[3]   MĀ 67 at T I 511c21 to 515b1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

[15] Adopting a variant without 復於.

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

[17] Adopting a variant without 後.

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

[19] Adopting the variant 北 instead of 比.

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

III. Three Former Buddhas
in the Mahādeva Tale

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

---

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

[38] T 1425 at T XXII 491b24.

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

[47] Sv I 15,22.

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

[52] EĀ 48.2 at T II 787b10: 有二百五十戒.

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

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

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

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

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

IV. Narrative Differences Between the Two Mahādeva Tales

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

[62] See above note 20.

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

[64] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b1: 身使.

[65] EĀ 1 at T II 552a4: 離於眾苦.

[66] EĀ 1 at T II 552a11: 財寶.

[67] EĀ 50.4 at T II 808b13: 田業.

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

V. Different Translation Terminology in the Two Mahādeva Tales

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

[84] T II 549a18.

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

[88] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c23.

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

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

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

[92] EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c22.

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

[98] EĀ 1 at T II 551c9.

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

[102] EĀ 36.5 at T II 707c11.

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

---

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

[117] Cf. Hung 2013.

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

---

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

[121] Anālayo 2011: 59f.

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

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

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

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

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

---

[123] Bᵉ, Cᵉ and Sᵉ have the title *Cakkavatti-sutta*, whereas in Eᵉ the title is *Cakka-vatti-sīhanāda-sutta.*

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

VI. The *Ekottarika-āgama* Translation

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

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

---

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

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

[127] T 2145 at T LV 71b29.

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

[129] T 2034 at T XLIX 70c12.

[130] T 2059 at T L 329a23.

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

[133] Cf. also below note 144.

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

[138] Cf. Su 2013.

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

[140] Cf. Su 2013.

lated previously (T 474).[141]

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

[144] Cf. Su 2013.

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

---

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

[148] T 2059 at T L 328c28.

[149] EĀ 1 at T II 550b13.

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

Abbreviations

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

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

References

Abeynayake, Oliver 1984: *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khudddaka Nikāya*, Colombo: Tisara.

Akanuma, Chizen 1929/1990: *The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas*, Delhi: Sri Satguru.

—— 1930/1994: *A Dictionary of Buddhist Proper Names*, Delhi: Sri Satguru.

Allon, Mark 2001: *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-type Sūtras, British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 12 and 14*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Anālayo 2003: *Satipaṭṭhāna, the Direct Path to Realization*, Birmingham: Windhorse.

—— 2006: "The Ekottarika-āgama Parallel to the Saccavibhaṅga-sutta and the Four (Noble) Truths", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 23.2: 145–153.

—— 2008: "Reflections on Comparative Āgama Studies", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 21: 3–22.

—— 2009a: "Karma and Liberation – The Karajakāya-sutta (AN 10.208) in the Light of its Parallels" in *Pāsādikadānaṃ, Festschrift für Bhikkhu Pāsādika,* M. Straube et al. (ed.), Marburg: Indica et Tibetica, 1–24.

—— 2009b: "Zeng-yi A-han", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 8, fasc. 3, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs, 822–827.

—— 2011: "The Tale of King Ma(k)hādeva in the Ekottarika-āgama and the Cakravartin Motif", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 9: 43–77.

—— 2012a: *Madhyama-āgama Studies*, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.

—— 2012b: "The Tale of King Nimi in the Ekottarika-āgama", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 10: 69–94.

—— 2013a: "Mahāyāna in the Ekottarika-āgama", *Singaporean Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 1 (forthcoming).

—— 2013b: *Perspectives on Satipaṭṭhāna*, Birmingham: Windhorse (forthcoming).

—— 2014: "Oral Features of the Brahmajāla", (in preparation).

Bareau, André 1955: *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

—— 1971: *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et le Vinayapiṭaka anciens II, Les derniers mois, le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles*, Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Bhagvat, Durga N. 1939: *Early Buddhist Jurisprudence (Theravāda Vinaya-Laws)*, Delhi: Cosmo Publications (undated reprint).

Biswas, Sampa 2009: "Depiction of Dīpaṅkara Jātaka in North-West India, Afghanistan and Central Asia", in *The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Subcontinent in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, A. Pande (ed.), Delhi: Ariyan Books International, 97–102.

Bongard-Levin, Grigorij Maksimovic et al. 1996: "The Nagaropamasūtra: An Apotropaic Text from the Saṃyuktāgama, A Transliteration, Reconstruction, and Translation of the Central Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts", in *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon, Folge 3*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 7–103.

Brough, John 1950: "Thus Have I Heard ...", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 13: 416–426.

Chavannes, Édouard 1910 (vol. 1): *Cinq cents contes et apologues, Extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois et traduits en français*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Chung, Jin-il and T. Fukita 2011: *A Survey of the Sanskrit Fragments Corresponding to the Chinese Madhyamāgama*, Tokyo: Sankibō Press.

Collins, Steven 1990: "On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon", *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 15: 89–126.

Coward, Harold 1986: "Oral and Written Texts in Buddhism", *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, 50: 299–313.

Cowell, E.B. and R.A. Neil 1886: *The Divyâvadâna, a Collection of Early Buddhist Legends, Now First Edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit Mss. in Cambridge and Paris*, Cambridge: University Press.

Deeg, Max 2009: "Writing for the Emperor – Xuanzang between Piety, Religious Propaganda, Intelligence, and Modern Imagination", in *Pāsādikadānaṃ, Festschrift für Bhikkhu Pāsādika*, M. Straube et al. (ed.), Marburg: Indica et Tibetica, 31–60.

Dhammadinnā, Sāmaṇerī 2013: "Semantics of Wholesomeness: Purification of Intention and the Soteriological Function of the Immeasurables (Appamāṇas) in Early Buddhist Thought", in *Proceedings of the International Conference "Buddhist Meditative Traditions: Their Origin and Development", held at Dharma Drum Buddhist College, Taiwan, October 26th and 27th, 2012* [provisional title], Chuang Kuo-ping (ed.), Taiwan: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, (forthcoming).

Dhirasekara, Jotiya 1982/2007: *Buddhist Monastic Discipline, A Study of its Origin and Development in Relation to the Sutta and Vinaya Piṭakas*, Dehiwala: Buddhist Cultural Centre.

DuBois, Thomas 2004: "Millenarianism and Millenarian Movements", *in Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), 2, New York: Macmillan, 537–540.

Dutt, Sukumar 1924/1996: *Early Buddhist Monachism*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Enomoto, Fumio 1984: "The Formation and Development of the Sarvāstivāda Scriptures", in *Proceedings of the Thirty-First International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa*, T. Yamamoto (ed.), Tokyo: Tōhō Gakkai, 197–198.

—— 1986: "On the Formation of the Original Texts of the Chinese Āgamas", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 3 (1): 19–30.

Frauwallner, Erich 1956: *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Freiberger, Oliver 2011: "Was ist das Kanonische am Pāli-Kanon?", in *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*, M. Deeg, O. Freiberger and Ch. Kleine (ed.), Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 209-232.

Funayama Tōru 2006: "Masquerading as Translation: Examples of Chinese Lectures by Indian Scholar-monks in the Six Dynasties Period", *Asia Major*, 19 (1/2): 39-55.

Gethin, Rupert 1992: *The Buddhist Path to Awakening: A Study of the Bodhi-Pakkhiyā Dhammā,* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Gnoli, Raniero 1978: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, vol. 2.

Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind 1994/2001: "On Buddhist Historiography", in *New Light on Early Buddhism*, B.G. Gokhale (ed.), Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1–12.

Harrison, Paul 1997: "The Ekottarikāgama Translations of An Shi-gao", in *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ, Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of his 65th birthday*, J.U. Hartmann and P. Kieffer-Pülz (ed.), Swisstal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica, 261–284.

—— 2007: "A Fragment of the *Samādhāvakāśasūtra from a Newly Identified Ekottarikāgama Manuscript in the Schøyen Collection", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 10: 201–211.

Hinüber, Oskar von 1991: "Das buddhistische Recht und die Phonetik des Pāli, Ein Abschnitt aus der Samantapāsādikā über die Vermeidung von Aussprachefehlern in kammavācās", *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 13/14: 101–127.

—— 1994: "Die Neun Aṅgas: Ein früher Versuch zur Einteilung buddhistischer Texte", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, 38: 121–135.

—— 1996/1997: *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

—— 2008: "The Foundation of the Bhikkhunīsaṅgha – A Contribution to the Earliest History of Buddhism", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 11: 3–29.

Hirakawa, Akira 1963: "The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Its Relation to the Worship of Stupas", *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, 57–106.

—— 1987: "Buddhist Literature: Survey of Texts", in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, M. Eliade (ed.), vol. 2, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 509–529.

—— 1997: *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Tokyo: Reiyukai.

Hung, Jen-jou, M. Bingenheimer and S. Wiles 2009/2010: "Quantitative Evidence for a Hypothesis Regarding the Attribution of Early Buddhist Translations", *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 25 (1): 119–134.

Hung, Jen-jou 2013: "The Second Version of the Mahādeva Tale in the Ekottarika-āgama: Quantitative Text Analysis and Translatorship Attribution", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 107–132.

Huyên-Vi, Thích 1985: "Ekottarāgama (II)", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 2 (1): 36–46.

Kalupahana, David J. 1965: "Aṅga", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 1, fasc. 4, G.P. Malalasekera (ed.), Sri Lanka: Government of Ceylon, 616–619.

Klaus, Konrad 2007: "Zu der formelhaften Einleitung der buddhistischen Sūtras", in *Indica et Tibetica 65, Festschrift für Michael Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden und Schülern überreicht*, K. Klaus and J.U. Hartmann (ed.), Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 309–322.

Kuan, Tse-fu 2001: "The Four Satipaṭṭhānas in Early Buddhism", *Satyābhisamaya – A Buddhist Studies Quarterly*, 17: 154–209.

—— 2012: "A Geographical Perspective on Sectarian Affiliations of the Ekottarika Āgama in Chinese Translation (T 125)", *Journal of the Oxford Centre of Buddhist Studies*, 2: 179–208.

—— 2013a: "Legends and Transcendence: Sectarian Affiliations of the Ekottarika Āgama in Chinese Translation", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 133 (forthcoming).

—— 2013b: "The Pavāraṇā Sutta and 'Liberation in Both Ways' as against 'Liberation by Wisdom'", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 76 (1), 1-25.

Lamotte, Étienne 1944/1981: *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sa-gesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, vol. 1.

—— 1956: "Problèmes concernant les textes canoniques 'mineurs'", *Journal Asiatique*, 244 (3): 249–264.

—— 1967: "Un sūtra composite de l'Ekottarāgama"*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 30: 105–116.

Lancaster, Lewis R. 1999: "The Movement of Buddhist Texts from India to China and the Construction of the Chinese Buddhist Canon", in *Buddhism Across Boundaries, Chinese Buddhism and the Western Regions, Collection of Essays 1993*, J.R. McRae and J. Nattier (ed.), Taiwan: Foguang Cultural Enterprise, 517–544.

Law, Bimala Churn 1933: *A History of Pāli Literature*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, vol. 1.

Lefmann, S. 1902: *Lalita Vistara, Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha*, Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.

Legittimo, Elsa 2005: "Synoptic Presentation of the Pusa chu tai jing (PCJ) 菩薩處胎經 the Bodhisattva Womb Sūtra Part 1 (chapters 1–14)", *Sengokuyama Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2: 1–111.

—— 2007: "The Vimalakīrtinirdeśa's Narration on the Amṛta Distribution and its Exploitation by the Pusa chutai jing's Authors", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 55 (3): 1079–1084.

—— 2008: "A Comparative Study Between the Womb and the Lotus Sūtra: Miraculous Stūpa Apparitions, Two Simultaneous Buddhas and Related Extraordinary Narrations", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 56 (3): 1114–1120.

—— 2010a: "Mythes, contes et légendes de l'Ekottarikāgama, Projet de recherche sur l'ancien recueil numérique du boud-

dhisme indien conservé en traduction chinoise, Le Zengyi ahan jing (增壹阿含經)”, *ASDIWAL, Revue Genevoise d'Anthropologie et d'Histoire des Religions*, 5: 151–156.

—— 2010b: “Reopening the Maitreya-files – Two Almost Identical Early Maitreya Sūtra Translations in the Chinese Canon: Wrong Attributions and Text-historical Entanglements”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 31 (1/2): 251–294.

—— 2012: “Buddhānusmṛti Between Worship and Meditation: Early Currents of the Chinese Ekottarika-āgama”, *Asiatische Studien*, 66 (2): 337–402.

Lévi, Sylvain, and É. Chavannes 1916: “Les seize arhat protecteurs de la Loi”, *Journal Asiatique*, 11 (8): 5–50 and 189–304.

Lin Jia’an (林家安) 2009: 現存漢譯《增一阿含經》之譯者考, MA Thesis, Taiwan: Yuan Kuang Institute of Buddhist Studies (圓光佛學研究所).

Lü, Cheng 1963: “Āgama”, in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 1, fasc. 2, G.P. Malalasekera (ed.), Sri Lanka: Government of Ceylon, 241–244.

Martini, Giuliana 2012: “The ‘Discourse on Accumulated Actions’ in Śamathadeva's Abhidharmakośopāyikā”, *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 13: 49–79.

Matsumura, Hisashi 1989: “One Sūtra of the Ekottarikāgama on Triśaraṇagamana and Pañcaśīla”, *Archiv Orientální*, 57: 359–371.

Mayeda [= Maeda], Egaku 1985: “Japanese Studies on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas”, in *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur, Erster Teil,* H. Bechert (ed.), vol. 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 94–103.

Meisig, Konrad 1990: “Die Liste der 13 Ṛṣis im chinesischen Dīrghāgama”, in *Festgabe für Professor Dr. Ulrich Unger zum 60. Geburtstag*, Münster: Ostasiatisches Seminar, 77–86.

Mejor, Marek 1991: *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa and the Commentaries Preserved in the Tanjur*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Migot, André 1952: "Un grand disciple du Buddha, Śāriputra, Son rôle dans l'histoire du bouddhisme et dans le développement de l'Abhidharma", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 46: 405–554.

Minh Chau, Thich 1991: *The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Misra, G.S.P. 1972: *The Age of Vinaya*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Mori, Sodō 1970: "On the Fēn-bié-gōng-dé-lùn (分別功德論)", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 19 (1): 458–452.

Nattier, Jan 2003: "The Ten Epithets of the Buddha in the Translations of Zhi Qian 支謙", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 6: 207–250.

—— 2004a: "Dīpaṃkara", in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, R.E. Buswell (ed.), vol. 1, New York: Macmillan, 230.

—— 2004b: "The Twelve Divisions of Scriptures (十二部經) in the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 7: 167–196.

—— 2007: "'One Vehicle' (一乘) in the Chinese Āgamas: New Light on an Old Problem in Pāli", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 10: 181–200.

—— 2008: *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations, Texts from the Eastern Han 東漢 and Three Kingdoms 三國 Periods*, Tokyo: Soka University.

—— 2010: "Re-Evaluating Zhu Fonian's Shizu duanjie jing (T309): Translation or Forgery?", *Annual Report of the In-*

ternational Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University, 13: 231–258.

—— 2012: "Reconsidering the Chinese Ekottarika-āgama: Questions of Content and School Affiliation in Light of the Translator's Track Record", unpublished paper presented at the Workshop "增壹阿含經 — *The Chinese Translation of the Ekottarika-āgama, Research Perspectives and Collaboration*" held at the Library and Information Center, 20th April 2012, Taiwan: Dharma Drum Buddhist College.

—— 2013: "Now You Hear It, Now You Don't: The Phrase 'Thus Have I Heard' in Early Chinese Buddhist Translations", *in Buddhism Across Asia, The Role of Buddhism in Intra-Asian Interactions*, T. Sen (ed.), Singapore: Institute of South-East Asian Studies, 39–64.

Norman, K.R. 1983: *Pāli Literature, Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Oberlies, Thomas 2003: "Ein bibliographischer Überblick über die kanonischen Texte der Śrāvakayāna-Schulen des Buddhismus (ausgenommen der des Mahāvihāra-Theravāda)", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 47: 37–84.

Pachow, W. 1955: *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa, On the Basis of its Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pāli Versions*, Santiniketan: Sino-Indian Cultural Society.

Palumbo, Antonello 2012: "Models of Buddhist Kingship in Early Medieval China", in 中古時代的禮儀, 宗教與制度, ed. Yu Xin (余欣), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe (上海古籍出版社), 287–338.

Park, Jungnok 2012: *How Buddhism Acquired a Soul on the Way to China*, Sheffield: Equinox Publishing.

Pāsādika, Bhikkhu 2007: "The Ekottarāgama Parallel to Jātaka 77", in *Indica et Tibetica 65, Festschrift für Michael Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden und Schülern überreicht,* K. Konrad and J.U. Hartmann (ed.), Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 395–403.

Pāsādika, Bhikkhu 2010: "Gleanings from the Chinese Ekottarāgama Regarding School Affiliation and Other Topics", in *Translating Buddhist Chinese, Problems and Prospects*, K. Meisig (ed.), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 87–96.

Pollock, Sheldon 1989: "Mīmāṃsā and the Problem of History in Traditional India", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 109 (4): 603–610.

Przyluski, Jean 1926: *Le concile de Rājagṛha, Introduction à l'histoire des canons et des sectes bouddhiques*, Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Pu, Chenzhong 2008: "Notes on the Chengju guangming jing, 'Sūtra of Achieving the Bright Light Concentration'", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 25 (1): 27–53.

Sander, Lore 2007: "Preliminary Remarks on Two Versions of the Āṭānāṭīya (Āṭānāṭika)-Sūtra in Sanskrit", *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*, 11: 159–196 [152–115].

Schopen, Gregory 1997/2004: "If you Can't Remember, How to Make It up, Some Monastic Rules for Redacting Canonical Texts", in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters, Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 395–407.

Senart, Émile 1882 (vol. 1), 1897 (vol. 3): *Le Mahāvastu, Texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire*, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

Silk, Jonathan A. 2006: *Body Language, Indic śarīra and Chinese shèlì in the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra and Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Skilling, Peter and P. Harrison 2005: "What's in a Name? Sarvāstivādin Interpretations of the Epithets 'Buddha' and 'Bhagavat'", in *Buddhism and Jainism, Essays in Honour of Dr. Hojun Nagasaki on His Seventieth Birthday*, Kyoto: Committee for the Felicitation of Dr. Hojun Nagasaki's Seventieth Birthday, 700–675 [131–156].

Staël-Holstein, A. von 1933: *A Commentary to the Kāśyapaparivarta, Edited in Tibetan and Chinese*, Peking: National Library of Peking and National Tsinghua University.

Su, Ken (Su, Jinkun 蘇錦坤) 2010: 從後說絕–單卷本《雜阿含經》是否將偈頌譯成長行, *Satyābhisamaya*, 55: 5–104.

—— 2013: "The Uddānas and Structural Aspects of the Ekottarika-āgama", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 195–233.

Sujato, Bhikkhu 2005: *A History of Mindfulness, How Insight Worsted Tranquility in the Satipatthana Sutta*, Taipei: Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation.

Tatz, Mark 1997: "Thus Have I heard, At One Time", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 40: 117–118.

Tilakaratne, Asaṅga 2005: "Personality Differences of Arahants and the Origins of Theravāda, A Study of Two Great Elders of the Theravāda Tradition: Mahā Kassapa and Ānanda", in *Dhamma-Vinaya, Essays in Honour of Venerable Professor Dhammavihari (Jotiya Dhirasekera)*, A. Tilakaratne et al. (ed.), Colombo: Sri Lanka Association for Buddhist Studies, 229– 257.

Tola, Fernando and C. Dragonetti 1999: "Ekaṃ Samayaṃ", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 42: 53–55.

Tournier, Vincent 2012: "The Mahāvastu and the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 15: 87–104.

Tripāṭhī, Chandrabhal 1995: *Ekottarāgama-Fragmente der Gilgit-Handschrift*, Reinbek: Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen.

Waldschmidt, Ernst 1980: "Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas", in *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, H. Bechert (ed.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 136–174.

Wen Zong-kun [= Tzung-kuen] (溫宗堃) 2011: 四念住如何是唯一之道: 再探 'ekāyana magga' 之語意, *Fuyan Buddhist Studies*, 6: 1–22.

Wogihara, Unrai 1932: *Sphuṭârthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā by Yaśomitra, Part I (I-II Kośasthānam)*, Tokyo: The Publishing Association of Abhidharmakośavyākhyā.

Yinshun (印順) 1971/1988: 原始佛教聖典之集成, Taipei: Zhengwen Chubanshe (正聞出版社).

The School Affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*

Satoshi Hiraoka (平岡　聡)
Kyōto Bunkyō University (京都文教大学), Japan

Abstract

Despite the work of numerous scholars, there is still no consensus as to the identity of the school that transmitted the *Ekottarika-āgama* (*Zengyi ahan jing*, 增壹阿含經), Taishō no. 125, one of the four *Āgama*s preserved in Chinese translation. This paper sheds some light on the formation of the text from the perspective of its school affiliation based on a comparative study of Buddhist narratives and formulaic phrases or refrains.

Contents

I. Previous Studies

The two main unresolved questions in relation to the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection (*Zengyi ahan jing*, 增壹阿含經), are: Who translated the text and what school is the text affiliated to?

The Chinese compilers of canonical catalogues show no consensus on the translator of the text,[1] which is the result of a confusion found in the editions of the Chinese Buddhist canons themselves.[2] Among Japanese scholars, while some hold that Dharmanandin (曇摩難提) translated the text into Chinese, others think that Saṃghadeva (僧伽提婆) was its translator. Mizuno, on the other hand, postulates the existence of two different versions of the collection, and then suggests that Dharmanandin translated an earlier version, and Saṃghadeva was the one who translated the extant text.

As for the school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, there are some conflicting views. Some associate the collection with the Dharmaguptakas, others with the Mahāsāṃghikas, and still others

---

[1] The *Gaoseng chuan* (高僧傳), T 2059 at T L 328b19ff; the *Fajing lu* (法經錄), T 2146 at T LV 127c25; the *Renshou lu* (仁壽大唐內典錄), T 2147 at T LV 154a5f; and the *Jing-tai lu* (靜泰錄), T 2148 at T LV 186b14–15, take the translator to be Dharmanandin, but the *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶紀), T 2034 at T ILIX 70c12ff and 75c18ff, takes the first translator to be Dharmanandin, and the second to be Saghadeva. The *Datang neidian lu* (大唐內典錄), T 2149 at T LV 246b23–24 and the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (開元釋教錄), T 2154 at LV 505a4–5 and 511b14–15, are of the same opinion as the *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶紀).

[2] The Old Sung edition and the Gaoli (高麗) edition take the translator to have been Saṃghadeva, but the Sung (宋), Yuan (元) and Ming (明) editions mention Dharmanandin (曇摩難提).

take it to be uncertain.[3]

Thus the formation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is still rather unclear. It is noteworthy, however, that so far nobody has ever affiliated the text to the Sarvāstivādins, although Saṃghadeva was connected to the Sarvāstivādins.[4] It is true that the *Ekottarika-āgama* does occasionally not concord with the tradition of the Sarvāstivādins,[5] but it is also true that it bears similarities with the Sarvāstivādins when we carefully examine the text, paying attention to narratives and recurrent formulations found within it. Thus, in what follows I illustrate some textual connections between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and Sarvāstivādin narratives and texts, classifying them according to three levels of closeness.

II. Textual Relationship Between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Sarvāstivāda Tradition

II.1 Level I [Fairly Close]

Here I introduce the traditions and narratives showing a close connection between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Sarvāstivādins.

---

[3]   On the translators and affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* cf. e.g. Hirakawa 1989: 29–45, Mizuno 1989: 1–42, and Enomoto 1984.

[4]   According to the *Gaoseng chuan* (高僧傳), T 2059 at T L 328c22ff, Saṃghadeva was from Kashmir where the Sarvāstivādins were predominant. Enomoto 1984: 102 points out that the *Ekottarika-āgama* was formed in Northern India, especially in Kashmir.

[5]   I discuss this below (section III).

II.1.1 Formulations of Prophecies

In the narratives of the Sarvāstivādins numerous examples of prophecies uttered by the Buddha can be found. For example, when a layperson donates something to the Buddha, the Buddha smiles and slightly opens his mouth. Then beams of light are emitted from his mouth, which move around the upper and lower worlds and then return to him. The Buddha's prophecy to the donor is then related to the particular place in his body into which the lights vanish. The refrain reads as follows:

> If the Blessed One wants to reveal the past, they vanish into him from behind. If he wants to predict the future, they vanish into him from the front. If he wants to predict a rebirth in hell, they vanish into the sole of a foot. If he wants to predict a rebirth as an animal, they vanish into a heel. If he wants to predict a rebirth as a hungry ghost, they vanish into the big toe. If he wants to predict a rebirth as a human (being), they vanish into his knees. If he wants to predict a reign of an armed wheel-turning king, they vanish into his left palm. If he wants to predict a reign of a wheel-turning king, they vanish into his right palm. If he wants to predict an awakening as a disciple, they vanish into his mouth. If he wants to predict an awakening as a Solitary Buddha, they vanish into the circle of hair between his eyebrows. If he wants to predict unsurpassed perfect awakening, they vanish into his *uṣṇīṣa*.[6]

A similar description can be found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*:

---

[6]   Rotman 2008: 145–146, Divy 68,25–69,7.

> If [the Buddha] predicts becoming a Tathāgata, the lights vanish into his *uṣṇīṣa*. If he predicts becoming a Solitary Buddha, the lights come out of his mouth and vanish into his ear. If he predicts [awakening] as a disciple, the lights vanish into his shoulder. If he predicts rebirth in heaven, then the lights vanish into his arm. If he predicts rebirth as a human, then the lights vanish into both his sides. If he predicts rebirth as a hungry ghost, the lights vanish into his armpit. If he predicts rebirth as an animal, the lights vanish into his knee. If he predicts rebirth in hell, then the lights vanish into the sole of a foot.

Comparison of the two passages above shows a close similarity between them, although the formulation in the Sarvāstivāda version is much more detailed.[7]

II.1.2 Prophecy of Pratyekabuddhahood to Devadatta

II.1.2.1 According to the traditional accounts, Devadatta was notorious for his bad deeds against the Buddha, for which he was doomed to end up in hell. But as he had taken refuge in the Buddha just before his death, the Buddha predicted that he would become a

---

[7] T 125 at T II 758b16–23: 設如來授決之時光從頂上入. 設授辟支佛決時光從口出還入耳中. 若授聲聞莂者光從肩上入. 若授生天之決者. 是時光明從臂中入. 若莂生人中者. 是時光明從兩脇入. 若授生餓鬼決者. 是時光從腋入. 若授生畜生決者光明從膝入. 若授生地獄決者. 是時光明從腳底入. The *Fushuo xinming jing* (佛説心明經), T 569 at T XIV 942c9–12, has a similar description: 授菩薩決. 遍照十方光從頂入. 授緣覺莂光入面門. 授聲聞莂光入肩斗説生天事光從臍入. 説降人中光從膝入. 説趣三苦從足心入. This is, however, very simple, and the version found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is closer to that of the Sarvāstivādins, see Hiraoka 2011.

Pratyekabuddha. The stories in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* can be summarized as follows:

II.1.2.1.1 *Ekottarika-āgama*: Devadatta had approached the Buddha with the intention of killing him with his nails which he had poisoned. However, a violent fire and wind occurred and his body was engulfed by it and burnt. Regretting his deed, Devadatta had invoked the name of the Buddha (*namas*) before he fell down into hell. The Buddha then predicted that Devadatta would become a Pratyekabuddha by the name of Namas in the future.[8]

II.1.2.1.2 Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*: Devadatta had approached the Buddha with the intention of killing him with his nails which he had poisoned, but he was affected himself by his own poison and had to suffer being flung into the fire of the Avīci Hell. Being instructed by Ānanda to do so, Devadatta invoked "*namo buddhāya*" just before falling down into the Avīci Hell. The Buddha then predicted that Devadatta would become a Pratyekabuddha by the name of Asthimat in the future.[9]

II.1.2.1.3 Although the name of the Pratyekabuddha is different in the two texts, they share the same narrative development.[10]

---

[8] T 125 at T II 804a7–c13.

[9] SBhV II 261,6–262,12.

[10] There are some other similar stories in the *Milindapañha* (111,7ff) and the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (146,18ff) in which the Buddha predicts that Devadatta will become a Pratyekabuddha named Aṭṭhisara, but the plot of killing with poisoned nails is only seen in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, 259,6ff, on the other hand, the Buddha predicts that he will become a Tathāgata named Devarāja. The Lotus Sūtra, therefore, has a tradition that differs from any of the texts mentioned in this footnote.

II.1.3 The Donation of Two Thousand Five Hundred Parasols

II.1.3.1 A story in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and in the *Ekottarika-āgama*[11] narrates in similar ways how the Buddha received the offering of two thousand five hundred parasols, although the names of the donors of the parasols are different.[12] This is a story located in the present time, which is followed by a past story that explains its karmic background. The summaries of the past stories in the two texts go as follows:

II.1.3.1.1 *Ekottarika-āgama***:** Realizing the impermanence of life in the palace and renouncing the world, the prince passed into nirvāṇa after becoming a Pratyekabuddha. His father King Shanhuazhi (善化治) (a former life of the Buddha) constructed a temple and covered it with parasols.[13]

II.1.3.1.2 Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya***:** Renouncing the world, the prince became a Pratyekabuddha which his father King Dashanxian (大善現) [a former life of the Buddha] did not know. His mother, who had become a devotee of her son, constructed a stūpa after the son had passed into nirvāṇa. Knowing later that the stūpa was for his son, the king decorated the stūpa with parasols.[14]

---

[11] There is a similar story in the *Mahāvastu*, Mv I 253,1ff. But this tradition is different from that of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and of the Sarvāstivādins since the number of the parasols are more than five thousands and the story from the past is not found at all in the *Mahāvastu*.

[12] Cf. the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 22c3–16, and the *Ekottarika-āgama*, T 125 at T II 726c1–8.

[13] T 125 at T II 726c19–727b9.

[14] T 1448 at T XXIV 22c25–23b21.

II.1.3.2 The similarity between these two texts becomes much stronger in the identification part of the story:

II.1.3.2.1 *Ekottarika-āgama*: The King Shanhuazhi (善化治) at that time was me. I then covered the temple with parasols for my son. By this merit, transmigrating among gods and men, I became a Wheel-turning king several hundreds of thousands of times, or Indra and Brahmā at times. At that time, I did not know that [my son] was a Pratyekabuddha. If I had known that he was a Pratyekabuddha, my merit would have been immeasurable. If the Tathāgata [i.e., I] had not become an unsurpassed Awakened One, I would have become a Wheel-turning king two thousand five hundred times more and ruled over this world. Because I reached awakening, these two thousand five hundred parasols naturally appeared.[15]

II.1.3.2.2 Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*: That King Dashanxian (大善現)[16] was me. In the past I had worshipped the stūpa of the Pratyekabuddha [adorning] it with parasols. Because of this meritorious deed, I became a Wheel-turning king two thousand five hundred times in the past. Because of this deed as well, having gained unsurpassed awakening now, I was worshipped by two thousand five hundred celestial beings each of whom held a parasol above my head. Had I not

---

[15] T 125 at T II 727b10–17: 爾時善化王者即我身是. 時以兒故以一蓋覆寺上. 緣此德本. 流轉天人之間. 數百千變爲轉輪聖王. 或爲帝釋梵天. 我爾時不知是辟支佛. 設我知是辟支佛者. 其德不可稱量. 若如來不成無上正眞道者. 更二千五百變. 作轉輪聖王. 治化天下. 以成道故. 今有此二千五百蓋. 自然應現.

[16] In the quoted extract the name of the king is just 善現, with the full name given earlier, T 1448 at T XXIV 22c25: 名大善現.

realized this excellent fruit, I would have become a Wheel-turning king for another two thousand five hundred times more. This is the ripening of my meritorious deeds.[17]

II.1.4 The Story of the Admonition to King Prasenajit

II.1.4.1 There is a story common to the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* regarding King Prasenajit worshipping the Buddha and the Saṅgha. The narrations can be summarized as follows:

II.1.4.1.1 *Ekottarika-āgama*: The Buddha explains a *jātaka*, in order to admonish King Prasenajit who had become conceited because of the merits he had accumulated by offering meals to the Buddha and the Saṃgha for three months.[18]

II.1.4.1.2 **Mūlasarvāstivāda** *Vinaya*: The Buddha explains a *jātaka* and makes King Prasenajit understand that it is very difficult to realize unsurpassed awakening. This teaching is given as an admonishment to King Prasenajit who had asked the Buddha to give him a prophecy of unsurpassed awakening on account of his offerings to the Buddha and the Saṅgha for three months.[19]

II.1.4.2 Although we find differences between the details of the two texts, the Buddha's admonishment to Prasenajit who had become conceited because of his almsgiving is an element shared

---

[17] T 1448 at T XXIV 23b22–27: 彼善現王者. 即我身是. 我於昔時. 將以傘蓋. 供養緣覺窣堵波塔. 由此福業. 我昔已獲二千五百轉輪王位. 復由彼業. 今證無上正覺. 於其頂上. 咸持二千五百天人百輻傘蓋. 我若不證殊勝之果. 更合感得二千五百轉輪王位. 於我所有福業異熟.

[18] T 125 at T II 609a11–611a20.

[19] BhV 79,3–159,16.

between the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

II.1.5 The Story of Dharmaruci

II.1.5.1 The story of the prophecy of Dīpaṃkara is very popular and well known among Buddhists. While it features in many Buddhist texts, only a few of them provide the past story of Dharmaruci, which is the case for the *Apadāna*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Divyāvadāna* (which could be taken as a text of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition), the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and the partial commentary on the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the *Fenbie gongde lun* (分別功德論). Among these texts, the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* seem to share the same tradition.[20] The summaries of the stories are as follows:

II.1.5.1.1 *Ekottarika-āgama*: Dharmaruci visits the Buddha, after having realized during his meditation that he had been a giant fish in his past life. The Buddha then tells his disciples that he has met Dharmaruci in the past and delivers the story of the prophecy of Dīpaṃkara.[21]

II.1.5.1.2 *Divyāvadāna*: A giant fish is reborn as a human being after its death, and named Dharmaruci, who then renounces the

---

[20]   The story in the *Apadāna* (Ap 429,21–431,15) is very short and written in verse; the story in the *Mahāvastu* (Mv I 231,6–248,5) goes from the past to the present chronologically. This is quite the opposite of the stories in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Divyāvadāna*, which move backwards from the present to the past. The *Fenbie gongde lun* (分別功德論), T 1507 at T XXV 45b9–c9, has a story in which the prophecy by the Buddha Dīpaṃkara is given after the householder Dharmaruci and the Buddha have met. Having listened to the story on Dīpaṃkara and then renounced the world, Dharmaruci awakens after seeing the corpse of a giant fish which was his own previous incarnation. Therefore the plot is different from that of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Divyāvadāna*.

[21]   T 125 at T II 597a22–599c4.

world and becomes an Arhat. The Buddha explains three past stories, telling that he has met Dharmaruci three times in the past. The second of these three times is the story of Dīpaṃkara's prophecy.[22]

II.1.6 The *Jātaka* of the Escape from the Island of the *Rākṣasīs*

II.1.6.1 This is a *jātaka* tale narrating how a caravan-leader escaped from the Island of the Rākṣasīs. This story is found in Buddhist texts such as the *Jātaka*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Udānavarga,* the *Chuyao jing* (出曜經), the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.[23] In this case, again, close similarity is shared exclusively between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* versions of this story.[24]

II.1.6.1.1 *Ekottarika-āgama***:** A ship with five hundred merchants is wrecked and cast up on the coast of the Island of the *rākṣasī*s. The merchants are devoured by *rākṣasī*s who had disguised themselves as beautiful women, thereby causing the merchants to fall prey to their temptations. The caravan-leader (a former life of Śāriputra), however, ascertains the truth about the *rākṣasī*s and manages to escape and return home riding on a horseking. A *rākṣasī* disguises herself as a woman and follows him to

---

[22] Divy 228,22–233,20, 234,4–241,29, 246,5–254,2.

[23] Anālayo 2010: 61 esp. note 26 lists a number of versions of this story and relevant secondary literature.

[24] The *Jātaka* (Ja II 127,23–130,9) and the *Mahāvastu* (Mv III 67,17–89,20) have no plot narrating that the king was devoured by a Rākṣasī, after inviting her into his palace out of compassion. As I already pointed out in Hiraoka 2007, the *Udānavarga* (出曜經) seems to be compiled mainly on the basis of texts of the Sarvāstivādins, taking some narratives from some texts affiliated to other lineages. This narrative in the *Udānavarga* is very close to that of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* both in structure and as far as the contents are concerned.

his home. Holding a baby in her arms, she tries to arouse every-
one's sympathy by saying that he abandoned his wife and baby.
But the caravan-leader does not listen to her. Feeling sympathy for
her, the king Brahmadatta lets her into his palace and as a conse-
quence of this he is devoured by her.[25]

II.1.6.1.2 Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*: Almost the same story is
found in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, which, however, identifies
the caravan-leader as the Buddha.[26]

II.1.6.2 Here too, the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda
Vinaya clearly share the same tradition.

II.2 Level II [Close]

Here I deal with some examples in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that are
attested in the Sarvāstivādin tradition as well as those of other
schools or texts.

II.2.1 The Story of Sumāgadhā

Comparing the story of Sumāgadhā preserved in several texts, Iwa-
moto (1967: 48–112, esp. 86–88) concluded that the version closest
to the story transmitted by the Sarvāstivādins (Sanskrit) is the
Geigudu zhangzhenü deidu yinyuan jing (給孤獨長者女得度因緣經,
T 130), and next the *Xumotinü jing* (須摩提女經, T 128) and the
Ekottarika-āgama, and last the *Sanmojie jing* (三摩竭經, T 129).
Iwamoto's observation shows that the story of Sumāgadhā in the
Ekottarika-āgama is the second closest to that of the Sarvāsti-
vādins.

---

[25] T 125 at T II 769c22–770c12.

[26] Divy 523,9–528,13; T 1442 at T XXIII 887b1–891c5.

II.2.2 The Stanza on One's Last Moment

The following stanza is found in the *Udānavarga*:

> All accumulations end with extinction,
> all piles end with collapse.
> Union ends with separation,
> and life ends with death.[27]

This stanza often occurs in narratives of the Sarvāstivādins depicting the last scene of one's death or someone's last wish.[28] The same usage, which is indeed quite appropriate for one's deathbed, can be seen in a narrative of the *Ekottarika-āgama* concerning the death of King Prasenajit, which features a version of this *Udānavarga* stanza.[29] This usage is not unique to the texts of the Sarvāstivādins, because we can find it also in the *Mahāvastu*, although it occurs only rarely.[30] It is noteworthy that many more examples appear in the texts of the Sarvāstivādins than in the Mahāvastu. This quantitative pattern is in line with the already discussed tendency of Sarvāstivāda elements manifesting in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

II.2.3 Narratives of the *Avadāna*-type

The full implications of the expression *avadāna* as a genre of religious literature are still not entirely clear. Nevertheless, one of the characters of *avadāna*-type narratives is to explain the pleasant and

---

[27] Uv I 22: *sarve kṣayāntā nicayāḥ patanāntāḥ samucchrayāḥ / saṃyogā viprayogāntā maraṇāntaṃ hi jīvitam*.

[28] Divy 27,29–30, 100,18–19, 486,20–21; BhV 115,6, SBhV I 56,29–30, II 38,24–25, 180,3–4.

[29] T 126 II at T 690c15–17: 一切歸於盡 果熟亦當墮 合集必當散 有生必有死.

[30] Mv III 152,4–5 and 183,13–14.

unpleasant results in the present of good and bad deeds performed in the past. There are three narratives of this kind in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Here are the introductory questions by monks to the past stories:

II.2.3.1 What good deed did this Śīvali (尸婆羅) do in the past so that he was born in the house of a householder, being of unmatched handsomeness, with a peach flower complexion? And what good deed did he do so that he came out of the womb of his mother, having gems in both his hands?[31]

II.2.3.2 What cause and condition did the Śākyans create in the past so that they were now been harmed by the king Virūḍhaka (流離)?[32]

II.2.3.3 What good deed did Aṅgulimāla (鴦掘魔) do in the past so that now he had intelligence and wisdom and that his very handsome face should be unprecedented in the world? And what bad deed did he do so that in this life he killed uncountable living beings? And again what good deed did he do so that he now met the Buddha and became an Arhat?[33]

II.2.3.4 Since narratives of this type are also found in the *Mahāvastu*, their presence cannot be classified as a peculiarity of the literature of the Sarvāstivādins. The examples found in Sarvāstivāda literature, however, significantly outnumber those occurring in the *Mahāvastu*. These three narratives, therefore, would more naturally suggest a

---

[31] T 125 at T II 685b20–21: 此尸婆羅昔作何福. 生長者家. 端正無雙. 如桃華色. 復作何福. 兩手捉珠出母胎中.

[32] T 125 at T II 693b14–15: 今此諸釋昔日作何因緣. 今爲流離王所害.

[33] T 125 at T II 721c3–6: 鴦掘魔本作何功德. 今日聰明智慧. 面目端政. 世之希有. 復作何不善行. 於今身上. 殺害生類不可稱計. 復作何功德. 於今値如來. 得阿羅漢道.

II.2.4 Prophecy of Pratyekabuddhahood

I have searched for occurrences of the term *pratyekabuddha* in the *Nikāya*s, the Chinese *Āgama*s, *Vinaya* texts, and narrative texts such as the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mahāvastu*. The prediction of someone becoming a Pratyekabuddha, frequently used in the texts of the Sarvāstivādins, occurs once in the *Mahāvastu* and three times in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This gives the impression that the *Ekottarika-āgama* gives considerable emphasis to such predictions and thus in this respect seems similar to the Sarvāstivādins.

II.3 Level III [Very Close]

The examples to be discussed now show that the connection between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Sarvāstivādins is very strong. In references to pregnancy and birth, narratives of the Sarvāstivādins take the duration of gestation to be eight or nine months. Here the reference to eight months is a unique feature of the Sarvāstivādins that is never seen in the extant texts of other schools. The same pattern can be observed in six passages in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which also mention eight or nine months.[34] These six examples are the most substantial piece of evidence to back up the relationship between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Sarvāstivādins.

---

[34] (1) 經八九月便生男兒端正無雙如桃華色 (T 125 at T II 673a5–6); (2) 是時夫人經八九月便生男兒顏色端正之希有如桃華色 (T 125 at T II 683a17–18); (3) 復經八九月生一男兒端正無雙世所殊特 (T 125 at T II 690b11–12); (4) 經八九月便生男兒顏貌端政世之希有 (T 125 at T II 721c13–14); (5) 復經八九月生一男兒顏貌端政面如桃華色 (T 125 at T II 726c28), (6) 是時夫人經八九月生一男兒極爲端正顏貌奇特世之希有 (T 125 at T II 815a22–23).

III. Connections with Other Texts

The above surveyed similarities between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the Sarvāstivādins are not in themselves conclusive. In fact, in spite of some fairly clear connections between Sarvāstivādin texts and the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the same collection also shows connections with the texts of other lineages of transmission. Here I give a few selected examples of cases that do not match the tradition of the Sarvāstivādins, but instead that of other lineages.

III.1 The Narrative of King Dīrghāyus

As I have already pointed out elsewhere (Hiraoka 2007), the narrative of King Dīrghāyus is explained in several texts, including the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[35] A comparison of these texts indicates that the narrative in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is congruent with that of the Theravāda *Vinaya*,[36] Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (五分律)[37] and Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* (四分律),[38] but not with that of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經)[39] affiliated to the Sarvāstivādins.[40]

---

[35] T 125 at T II 626c5ff.

[36] Vin I 342,3ff.

[37] T 1421 at T XXII 159a14ff.

[38] T 1428 at T XXII 880b18ff.

[39] T 26 at T I 532c16ff.

[40] The tradition of the *Udānavarga* (出曜經), T 212 at T IV 693b22ff, agrees with that of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經).

III.2 The Narrative of Śroṇakotiviṃśa

On paying attention to the description just before the Buddha gives admonition to Śroṇakoṭiviṃśa, we can confirm that the narrative in the *Ekottarika-āgama* corresponds to that of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*,[41] but not to that preserved in the Pali *Vinaya*,[42] both of which are affiliated to the Theravādins. It does also not agree with the narratives of the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (五分律),[43] the Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* (摩訶僧祇律),[44] or the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* (四分律).[45] Moreover, it does not accord with texts of the Sarvāstivādins such as the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經),[46] the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama* (雜阿含經),[47] the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (十誦律),[48] and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*,[49] either.

III.3 The Realms of Saṃsāra

There appear to be two traditions on the numbers of realms of saṃsāra, namely one comprising five realms of existence and another which has six. The difference between them is whether birth

---

[41] T 125 at T II 612a29ff and AN III 374,18ff. The *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相), T 2121 at T LIII 95a22–b6, and the *Udānavarga* (出曜經), T 212 at T IV 638c8–11, share the same tradition.

[42] Vin I 182,10ff.

[43] T 1421 at T XXII 146a26ff.

[44] T 1425 at T XXII 481c9ff.

[45] T 1428 at T XXII 844b13ff.

[46] MĀ 123, T 26 at T I 612a6ff.

[47] SĀ 254, T 99 at T II 62b28ff.

[48] T 1435 at T XXIII 183a15ff.

[49] SBh V II 142,17ff; T 1450 at T XXIV 186b3ff.

as an *asura* is included in the count or not. Five realms are reflected in the texts of a larger number of schools, whereas the six realms are adopted by the Mahāsāṃghika, the Pudgalavādins and the Saṃmitīyas.[50] Where does the *Ekottarika-āgama* stand in this respect?

We can find numerous examples of the five-realm model in this collection. In some instances, the five realms are enumerated in detail. Therefore it is unlikely that the *Ekottarika-āgama* belongs to one of the three schools mentioned above.

However, in the *Ekottarika-āgama* there is just one interesting example that presupposes six realms, although the term "six realms" itself is not mentioned.[51] Notably, here the *asura*s are included in good realms of birth (*sugati*, 善趣), similar to devas and humans (*manuṣya*). The *Mahāvastu*, a text of the Mahāsāṃghikas, which also has the tradition of six realms, considers the *asura*s to be representative of a bad realm and does not include them in the good realms of birth. The *Dazhidu lun* (大智度論) takes the *asura*s to be representative of one of the good realms, fitting the description of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[52] Thus we have an example showing

---

[50] Cf. the *Mahāvastu* at Mv I 4,15–33,17, for the Mahāsāṃghikas, and Namikawa 1992: 7 for the Pudgalavādins and the Saṃmitīyas.

[51] T 125 at T II 580a27–28: 行此惡已. 墮畜生餓鬼地獄中. 設得善者. 便生人中天上及諸善趣阿須倫中. There is one more example with a reference to the *asura*s, T 125 at T II 592c23–24: 天上人中及阿須倫. 如來爲最上. This might presuppose the existence of six realms.

[52] T 1509 at T XXV 280a20–23: 又摩訶衍中法華經説有六趣衆生. 觀諸義旨應有六道. 復次分別善惡故有六道. 善有上中下故. 有三善道. 天人阿修羅. 惡有上中下故. 地獄畜生餓鬼道. The *Dazhidu lun* (大智度論) explains this after reporting the notion of the six realms as presented by the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, conveying the impression, if my understanding is correct, that the idea of the *asura*s being included in a good realm is understood as being present also in

agreement with a Mahāyāna commentary, though this is just a single instance.

III.4 The Location of Hells

Next, let us compare the *Ekottarika-āgama* with other Buddhist texts concerning the location of hells. There are several references to hells in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, but only one mentions the location of these hells. Hells are usually supposed to be located in the netherworld and considered to be underground worlds. This is explicitly stated in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* when introducing the ideas of the Sarvāstivādins.[53] The hells explained in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, however, are different from this common notion:

> The eight great hells are located between the Mahācakravāḍa and the Cakravāḍa mountains, and each hell has sixteen separate rooms [i.e., minor or secondary hells].[54]

This quotation clearly shows that the location of the eight great hells is just between the Mahācakravāḍa (大鐵圍山) and the Cakravāḍa (鐵圍山), both of which exist on earth. This means that the hells are located on the earth's surface, rather than below it. The same notion of the location of hells found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is attested in the *Shiji jing* (世記經), a discourse in the Chinese

---

the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*. However, birth as an *asura* is not regarded as a good destination in a description of the land of a future Buddha found in the sixth chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, ed. Kern and Nanjio 1908–1912/1977: 151,9 "[In his land] there are no hells, animals, nor group of *asura*s of the world of Yama", *apagatanirayatiryagyoniyamalokāsurakāyau*.

[53]   AKBh 162,28ff

[54]   T 125 at T II 736a10–17: 大鐵圍山鐵圍中間有八大地獄. 一一地獄有十六隔子.

Dīrgha-āgama (長阿含經), a collection affiliated to the Dharma-guptakas.[55]

> Again, there is the second Great Diamond Mountain outside the Diamond Mountain. It is pitch-dark between those two mountains, the sun, the moon, and the gods with power, cannot emit their lights into the place. The eight great hells are located there, and each hell has sixteen minor hells.[56]

This also means that the eight great hells are located just between Diamond Mountain (金剛山) and the Great Diamond Mountain (大金剛山) equivalent to Cakravāḍa (鐵圍山) and Mahācakravāḍa (大鐵圍山). The *Mahāvastu* does not explicitly indicate the location of the hells between those two mountains, but tells us that:

> In the (hell called) the Great Cry, the voices of beings crying aloud echo between the Cakravāḍa Mountain and the Great Cakravāḍa Mountain ... resound in the ears of people of the Four Great Islands.[57]

This account seems to reflect the same idea as that of the *Ekotta-*

---

[55] The *Qishi jing* (起世經), T 24 at T I 320b24–c5, has a similar view of the world as follows: 諸比丘. 於四大洲. 八萬小洲. 諸餘大山. 及須彌山王之外. 別有一山. 名斫迦羅 (前代旧訳云鐵圍山) . 高六百八十萬由旬. 縱廣亦六百八十萬由旬. 彌密牢固. 金剛所成. 難可破壞. 諸比丘. 此鐵圍外. 復有一重大鐵圍山. 高廣正等. 如前由旬. 兩山之間. 極大黑暗無有光明. 日月有如是大威神大力大德. 不能照彼令見光明. 諸比丘. 於兩山間. 有八大地獄. The *Dai loutan jing* (大樓炭經), T 23 at T I 283b12–14, and the *Qishi yinben jing* (起世因本經), T 25 at T I 375c14–24, also locate the hells between those two mountains.

[56] T 1 at T I 121c2–5: 金剛山外復有第二大金剛山. 二山中間窈窈冥冥. 日月神天有大威力. 不能以光照及於彼. 彼有八大地獄. 其一地獄有十六小地獄.

[57] Mv I 5,14–6,3.

rika-āgama, indicating that the *Ekottarika-āgama* is the closest to the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* (長阿含經), affiliated to the Dharmaguptakas, and the *Mahāvastu*, a text of the Mahāsāṃghikas, and different from the tradition of the Sarvāstivādins.

III.5 Conditions to Be an *Upāsaka/Upāsikā* (Part 1)

Here the conditions to be an *upāsaka/upāsikā*, a male or female lay follower, are taken into consideration on the basis of the study conducted by Hirakawa (2000: 127–135). It is common that one has to take refuge in the three jewels (Buddha/Dharma/Saṅgha) and observe the five precepts in order to become an *upāsaka/upāsikā*. A reference to taking refuge in the three jewels is common to each school, but the schools differ in regard to the observing of the five precepts. Pali texts (or the Theravādins), for example, mention only taking refuge in the three jewels to be an *upāsaka/upāsikā*, generally speaking.[58]

In the case of the Sarvāstivādins, the situation is more complicated. The **Mahāvibhāṣā* (大毘婆沙論) explains that the Sarvāstivādins of Gandhāra adopt only the refuge in the three jewels, while those of Kashmir follow the custom of concomitantly taking refuge in the three jewels and undertaking the observance of the five precepts.[59] On the other hand, the *Sapoduo pini piposha* (薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙) makes the point that taking refuge in the three jewels

---

[58] However, Hirakawa 2000: 129 points out that it is unclear why the Pali texts mention only taking refuge to the three jewels to be an *upāsaka/upāsikā* though these same texts explain the five precepts and people in the southern Buddhist tradition actually observe the five precepts at the present time.

[59] T 1545 at T XXVII 645c25–26.

means observing the five precepts at the same time, and does not make an allowance for observing the precepts independently from taking refuge.[60] In a previous study devoted to the narratives of the Sarvāstivādins (Hiraoka 2002: 441 note76), I noted that, in spite of being affiliated to the same school, the Chinese texts adopt the taking refuge in the three jewels and the observance of the five precepts, whereas the Sanskrit texts have the taking refuge in the three jewels with pure faith (*abhiprasanna*).

Hirakawa points out that the *Dazhidu lun* (大智度論) explains both the observance of all the precepts at the same time and the observance of individual precepts, and the Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* (摩訶僧祇律) adopts the separate observance of the precepts.[61] Moreover, Hirakawa makes it clear that the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* (四分律) and the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (五分律) present the observance of all the precepts at the same time. The *Ekottarika-āgama*'s position on this point is as follows:

− Several passages mention the taking of the three refuges and the observance of all the precepts;[62]

---

[60]   T 1440 at T XXIII 506b14–18.

[61]   The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (十誦律), T 1435 at T XXIII 180c12–14, has just one example of the separate observation of the precepts which is only found in a narrative; see also Lamotte 1976: 76–77.

[62]   T 125 at T II 589b22–23: 自歸三尊佛法聖衆. 受持五戒; T 125 at T II 590a5–6: 自歸三尊. 佛法聖衆. 受持五戒. 爲如來眞子. 無復退還; T 125 at T II 618a8–9: 解如來教. 歸佛法聖衆. 而受五戒; T 125 at T II 616c23–24: 自歸三尊佛法聖衆而受五戒; T 125 at T II 648b21: 受五戒. 自歸佛法聖衆; T 125 at T II 649b6: 承事三尊. 受持五戒; T 125 at T II 667a1–2: 我今歸佛法衆. 自今以後受持五戒. 不復殺生. 爲優婆塞; T 125 at T II 775b2–3: 自歸佛法僧而受五戒; T 125 at T II 789b12–13: 受持五戒三自歸; T 125 at T II 818b28–29: 我等各各自歸世尊正法聖衆. 自今已後不復殺生乃至不飲酒; T 125 at T II 821a22: 自歸三尊而受五戒.

– Yet several other passages mention the taking of the three refuges and the separate observance of the precepts.[63]

The examples quoted above include the separate observance of the precepts to some extent, so that in this respect the *Ekottarika-āgama* shows similarity to the Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* (摩訶僧祇律).

IV. No Connection with Extant Texts

IV.1 Conditions to Be an *Upāsaka/Upāsikā* (Part 2)

Finally I introduce a number of examples that have no connection to any extant texts. Unless we are dealing with abbreviations in the recitation or the translation, the *Ekottarika-āgama* appears to include a tradition that differs from taking the three refuges and the observance of the five precepts as the conditions of being an *upāsaka/upāsikā*, namely (a) taking one refuge and observing the five precepts, or (b) taking one or two refuges and observing the five precept.

IV.1.1 An example of the first type occurs in the story of Nanda and Upananda, two Nāga kings, who are converted by Maudgalyāyana, and taken to the Buddha by him. Then the Nāga kings wish

---

[63]   T 125 at T II 595c25–27: 我今重自歸作禮及佛法衆. 盡其形壽不復殺生; T 125 at T II 649c20–27: 夫清信士之法. 限戒有五. 其中能持一戒二戒三戒四戒乃至五戒. 皆當持之（中略）聽授優婆塞五戒及三自歸; T 125 at T II 680b14–15: 我自歸如來法及比丘僧. 盡形壽聽爲優婆塞. 不復殺生; T 125 at T II 698b10–11:我今重自歸佛法衆. 願聽爲優婆塞. 盡形壽不敢復殺; T 125 at T II 715a24–26: 我今自歸佛法衆. 自今之後不復殺生. 唯願受爲優婆塞; T 125 at T II 716c12–14: 我今自歸沙門瞿曇法比丘僧. 自今以後盡形壽. 聽爲優婆塞. 不復殺生; T 125 at T II 797a29–b1: 我等今日自歸如來法及比丘僧. 唯願尊者. 聽爲優婆塞. 盡形壽不復殺生.

to be *upāsaka*s by taking refuge in the Buddha (here the Tathāgata) only and by observing the five precepts, a condition that is accepted by the Buddha.[64]

IV.1.2 An instance of the second type is found in the story of Subhadda, who becomes the last disciple just before the death of the Buddha. Taking the Malla people into consideration, Ānanda speaks to the Buddha as follows:

> There are two men: one is called Poatuo (婆阿陀), the second Xubatuo (須拔陀: Subatta). Now they take refuge in the Tathāgata and the noble Saṅgha, just wishing that the Blessed One permits them to become *upāsaka*s by abstaining from any further killing.[65]

Here just two refuges (in the Tathāgata and the noble Saṅgha) are mentioned. This is apparently followed by the taking of a single precept (the first in the standard list of five, viz. abstaining from killing). The passage then continues by indicating the taking of one refuge (in the Tathāgata) and the observance of all five precepts.[66] Thus in the present instance first two refuges and only the first precept are mentioned (in the part translated above), and then follows a single refuge and a reference to the first precept with the indication that this stands for all five precepts. In other words, we have

---

[64] T 125 at T II 704b16–19: 我等二族姓子. 一名難陀. 二名優槃難陀. 自歸如來. 受持五戒. 唯願世尊聽爲優婆塞. 盡形壽不復殺生. 爾時世尊彈指可之.

[65] T 125 at T II 751c24–27: 今有二種之姓. 一名婆阿陀. 二名須拔陀. 今來自歸如來聖衆. 唯願世尊聽爲優婆塞. 自今已後不復殺生. The passage continues as follows, at T II 751c27–752a1: 復有名帝奢. 二名優波帝奢. 復有名佛舍. 二名鷄頭. 如是之比皆來歸如來. 唯願世尊聽爲優婆塞. 自今之後不復殺生奉持五戒 (c).

[66] T 125 at T II 751c27–752a1: 復有名帝奢. 二名優波帝奢. 復有名佛舍. 二名鷄頭. 如是之比皆來歸如來. 唯願世尊聽爲優婆塞. 自今之後不復殺生奉持五戒.

an instance of variation between two and one refuges, whereas the reference at the outset to keeping only one precept is likely to be in this case an abbreviation. The text does not mention whether they became *upāsakā*s, which is however surmised because later in the text the Buddha informs Ānanda that the last disciples he admitted were those five hundred Malla in Kuśinagarī.[67]

IV.1.3 The last example occurs in the story of Jānussoni, who, converted by the Buddha, states as follows:[68]

> Again I will take refuge in the Śramaṇa Gautama. I just wish the Śramaṇa Gautama to permit me to become an *upāsaka*. Until the end of my life I will observe [five precepts] from abstaining from killing to abstaining from drinking alcohol.

This would also be an example of the second type, i.e., one refuge and five precepts. The text does not mention whether Jānussoni became an *upāsaka*. Be that as it may, the *Ekottarika-āgama* has unique examples of taking only a single refuge, to the best of my knowledge, not attested elsewhere.

IV.2 Five Declining Signs of the *Devas*

Here I examine the tradition of five signs of decline that are believed to appear to *deva*s who are about to die.[69] These examples are attested in various texts; their contents and orders differ from text to text, as illustrated by the chart in table 1.

---

[67] T 125 at T II 752a4–5: 吾最後受証弟子所謂拘尸那竭五百摩羅是也.

[68] T 125 at T II 813c22–24: 我今重復自歸沙門瞿曇. 唯願沙門瞿曇聽爲優婆塞. 盡其形壽不敢復殺乃至飲酒.

[69] Following are the contents of the five signs: (1) his clothes are stained, (2) his garland fades, (3) his body stinks, (4) his armpits sweat, (5) his seat is unstable, (6) his celestial maidens leave him, (7) his body loses light, and (8) the blinking of his eyes increases.

Table 1: Tradition of Five Signs of Decline of Devas[70]

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Ekottarika-āgama (A)[71]	—	2	1	3	4	5	—	—
Jinglü yixiang[72]	2	1	—	3	5	4	—	—
Ekottarika-āgama (B)[73]	—	—	2	1	3	—	4	5
Ekottarika-āgama (C)[74]	—	—	2	1	3	—	5	4
Itivuttaka[75]	2	1	4	3	5	—	—	—
Divyāvadāna[76]	—	1	2	3	4	5	—	—
Abhidharmakośabhāṣya[77]	—	—	1	2	4	3	5	—
*Mahvibhāṣā[78]	1	2	4	3	5	—	—	—
Fo benxing ji jing[79]	3	1	—	2	5	—	4	—
Mohe moye jing[80]	—	1	—	2	5	—	3	4
Dai panniepan jing[81]	1	2	3	4	5	—	—	—
Faju piyu jing[82]	—	5	2	4	3	—	1	—
Guoquxianzai yinguo jing[83]	—	3	2	4	5	—	—	1

[70]   The numbers in the first line of the table refer to the contents listed in note 69.

[71]   T 125 at T II 677b29–c3.

[72]   T 2121 at T LIII 1c17–20 (no. 6 is a quote from the *Ekottarika-āgama* (A)).

[73]   T 125 at T II 693c11–14.

[74]   T 125 at T II 814c7–17.

[75]   It 76,13–17.

[76]   Divy 57,18–22 and 193,20–24.

[77]   AKBh 157,9–11.

[78]   T 1545 at T XXVII 365b4–7: 大毘婆沙論.

[79]   T 190 at T III 676c21–24: 佛本行集經.

[80]   T 383 at T XII 1012a16–18: 摩訶摩耶經.

[81]   T 375 at T XII 478a25–28: 大般涅槃經.

[82]   T 211 at T IV 575b16–18: 法句譬喻經.

The chart above indicates that the three examples in the *Ekottarika-āgama* are not consistent and slightly different in content and order/sequence, but the sign (6), the separation from the celestial maidens, is included in the five signs in all the examples in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The inclusion of the separation from the celestial maidens in the five signs is characteristic of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and is never seen in other extant texts.

V. The *Ekottarika-āgama* as Quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相)

I now take up the problem of the affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* as quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) as a supplement to the foregoing examination. Mizuno (1989), postulating the existence of two recensions of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, assumes that the older version was translated by Dharmanandin and the extant one translated by Saṃghadeva. Mizuno is of the opinion that the *Ekottarika-āgama* was retranslated, because fifteen references to the *Ekottarika-āgama* quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) are different from the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* in matters of contents and location.

His remark seems to be correct, because comparison of the quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) against the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* confirms a clear dissimilarity between the two texts. However, it needs also be taken into account that the quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) may have been abridged or modified in order to comply with the quotation format and purposes of this

---

83   T 189 at T III 623b8: 過去現在因果經.

work. In addition to this, one needs to consider that the quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) are not always reliable and accurate in their treatment of the source texts.[84] Mizuno also points out that the first translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* as quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) was affiliated to the Sarvāstivādins, especially the early Sarvāstivādins. This remark, however, is problematic, in that two out of the fifteen quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) are unequivocally different from the Sarvāstivādins textual traditions.

The first case is the five declining signs I have examined above. As the chart shows, the example of the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相),[85] corresponding to the *Ekottarika-āgama* (A), agrees with the extant *Ekottarika-āgama*, but disagrees with texts of the Sarvāstivādins such as the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and the **Mahāvibhāṣā* (大毘婆沙論).

The second example is the narrative of Śroṇakoṭiviṃśa. As I have already pointed out, there are three patterns in the description of what happened just before the Buddha admonishes him:

(a) The Buddha directly goes to Śroṇakoṭiviṃśa (*Aṅguttara-nikāya*, *Ekottarika-āgama*).

(b) The Buddha asks the monks what has happened (Pali *Vinaya*, Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* (摩訶僧祇律), Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (五分律), Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* (四分律).

(c) The Buddha tells the monks to bring Śroṇakoṭiviṃśa (texts of the Sarvāstivādins such as the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經), *Saṃyukta-āgama* (雜阿含經).[86]

---

[84] On the *Ekottarika-āgama* quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) cf. also Kuan 2013: 136f and 152, Su 2013: 212–223 and Palumbo 2013.

[85] T 2121 at T LIII 9b22–24: 華萎 / 衣裳垢穢 / 腋下汗出 / 玉女減少 / 不樂本座.

[86] For the textual references see above (section III.2).

Here the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) agrees with the *Ekottarika-āgama* and disagrees with the texts of the Sarvāstivādins.[87]

Since both Dharmanandin and Saṃghadeva are from the regions where the Sarvāstivādins were dominant, it would be natural to assume that both recensions of the *Ekottarika-āgama* could be affiliated to the Sarvāstivādins. Since two examples out of fifteen, however, clearly indicate different traditions from the Sarvāstivādins in the old recension of the *Ekottarika-āgama* as quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相), one needs to hypothesize that some non-Sarvāstivāda traditions had already become blended with the earlier recension, even if it is the case that such earlier version was actually affiliated to the Sarvāstivādins.[88] In other words, it cannot simply be claimed that the old recension was affiliated to the Sarvāstivādins and that later different traditions got mixed when the extant version came into being, having been retranslated or revised.

VI. Conclusion

I would like here to summarize my foregoing examination in the following five points:

(1)   There are numerous examples in the *Ekottarika-āgama* which derive from the Sarvāstivāda traditions.

---

[87]   T 2121 at T LIII 95a27–28: 經律異相 (佛心知之便至彼處. 佛語二十耳億).

[88]   We cannot tell to what extent this reflects a historical fact, but the twenty-third chapter of the *Divyāvadāna*, Divy 329,2–3 and 7, which was derived from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, contains the following reference: "by the imperfect *Ekottara[-āgama]* (*khustikayā ekottarikayā*)". According to this expression, there is a possibility that the *Ekottarika-āgama* transmitted by the Sarvāstivādins was already disordered and imperfect at the stage of its Indian transmission.

(2) At the same time, there are some examples that are clearly different from the Sarvāstivāda traditions.

(3) Some examples show connections with the traditions of other schools.

(4) The *Ekottarika-āgama* displays some unique textual traditions that do not agree with any other extant texts.

(5) The references to the *Ekottarika-āgama* quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* are not congruent with the Sarvāstivāda traditions.

From these five points, we can surmise that the extant *Ekotta-rika-āgama* may have been formed based on Sarvāstivāda traditions with a patchwork of traditions of other affiliation. Accordingly, we cannot affiliate the text, as it has been received, with a single school.

Abbreviations

AKBh	*Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam* (ed. Pradhan)
Ap	*Apadāna*
BhV	*Bhaiṣajyavastu* (ed. Dutt)
Dhp-a	*Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā.*
Divy	*Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil)
It	*Itivuttaka*
Ja	*Jātaka*
Mil	*Milindapañha*
Mv	*Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart)
SBhV	*Saṃghabhedavastu* (ed. Gnoli)
T	Taishō edition
Uv	*Udānavarga*
Vin	*Vinayapiṭaka*

(All references to Pali texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society.)

References

Anālayo 2010: *The Genesis of the Bodhisattva Ideal*, Hamburg: Hamburg University Press.

Cowell E.B. and R.A. Neil 1886/1970: *Divyāvadāna, A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, Cambridge: University Press (Reprint: Amsterdam: Amsterdam, Oriental Press).

Dutt, N. 1947: *Gilgit Manuscripts*, part 3.1, Srinagar: His Highness' Government, Jammu and Kashmir.

Enomoto, Fumio (榎本 文雄) 1984: "Agon-kyōten no seiritsu" 阿含經典の成立 [The Formation of the Original Texts of the Chinese Āgamas], *Tōyō Gakujutsu kenkyū* 東洋学術研究 23 (1): 93–108.

Gnoli, Raniero 1977-1978: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, part 1 (1977), part 2 (1978), Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio e l'Estremo Oriente.

Hirakawa, Akira (平川 彰) 1989: *Shoki daijōbukkyō no kenkyū I* 初期大乗佛教の研究 Ⅰ, Hirakawa Akira chosaku-shū, 3, Tokyo: Shunjūsha (春秋社).

—— 2000: *Genshi-bukkyō no kyōdan-soshiki II* 原始佛教の教団組織 Ⅱ, Hirakawa Akira chosaku-shū, 12, Tokyo: Shunjūsha (春秋社).

Hiraoka, Satoshi (平岡 聡) 2002: *Setsuwa no kōkogaku: Indo bukkyō ni himerareta shisō* 説話の考古学：インド佛教説話に秘められた思想, Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan (大蔵出版).

—— 2007: "Shutsuyo-kyō no seiritsu ni kansuru mondai" 『出曜經』の成立に関する問題 [The Sectarian Affiliation of the Chuyao jing], *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学佛教学研究 55 (2): 181–187.

—— 2011: "Bussetsu-sinmyō-kyō no seiritsu: Setsu-issai-ubu no daijō-kyōten to iu kanousei" 『佛説心明經』の成立：説一切

有部の大乗經典という可能性 [The Formation of the Fu-shou xin-ming jing: The Possibility of a Mahāyāna-sūtra Affiliated to the Sarvāstivādins], *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学佛教学研究 60 (1): 131–139.

Iwamoto, Yutaka (岩本 裕) 1967: "Bukkyō setsuwa kenyū josetsu (Bukkyō setsuwa kenkyū dai-ichi)" 仏教説話研究序説 (仏教説話研究第一), Kyoto: Hōzōkan (法蔵館).

Kern H. and B. Nanjio 1908–1912/1977: *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, St.-Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences (Reprint Tokyo: Sankibō).

Lamotte, Étienne 1976: *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste.

Mizuno, Kōgen (水野 弘元) 1989: "Kan'yaku no Chūagon kyō to Zōitsuagon kyō" 漢訳の『中阿含經』と『増一阿含經』 [The Chinese Versions of the Madhyamaka-āgama-sūtra and of the Ekottara-āgama-sūtra], *Bukkyō kenkyū* 佛教研究 18: 1–42.

Namikawa, Takayoshi (並川 孝儀) 1992: "Shōryō-bu no hifuku-setsu" 正量部の非福説 [On the apuṇya of the Sāmmatīya School in the Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya XVIII], *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学佛教学研究 40 (2): 1–11.

Palumbo, Antonello 2013: *An Early Chinese Commentary on the Ekottarika-āgama, The Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 *and the History of the Translation of the Zengyi ahan jing* 増一阿含經, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation (forthcoming).

Pradhan, P. 1975: *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, A. Haldar (ed.), Patna, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

Rotman, Andy 2008: *Divine Stories: Divyāvadāna*, part 1, Boston: Wisdom Publications.

Senart, Émile 1882–1897: *Le Mahāvastu, Texte sanscrit publié pour le première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un*

commentaire, vol. 1 (1882), vol. 2 (1890), vol. 3 (1897), Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

Su, Ken (Su, Jinkun 蘇錦坤) 2013: "The Uddānas and Structural Aspects of the Ekottarika-āgama", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 141–179.

Taishō: *Taishō Shinshu Daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經), Takakusu Junjirō (高楠 順次郎), Watanabe Kaigyoku (渡邊 海旭) and Ono Genmyo (小野 玄妙) (ed.), Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai (大正一切經刊行會), 1924–1934.

The Second Version
of the Mahādeva Tale
in the *Ekottarika-āgama*

Quantitative Text Analysis & Translatorship Attribution

Jen-jou Hung (洪振洲)
Dharma Drum Buddhist College (法鼓佛教學院), Taiwan

Abstract

A few weeks before the workshop on the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (*Zengyi ahanjing* 增壹阿含經), Taishō no. 125, that was held at the Library and Information Center of Dharma Drum in April 2012, Bhikkhu Anālayo and Sāmaṇerī Dhamma-dinnā asked me if it would be possible to put to the test the findings of Anālayo's case study of a doubling of the tale of King Mahā-deva (found as EĀ 1 and EĀ 50.4 in T 125) based on a termino-logical comparative study of the two versions. The study in ques-tion shows that the longer version of the tale (EĀ 50.4) was added to T 125 when the translation of this collection underwent a pro-cess of revision. Anālayo further suggested that EĀ 50.4 may have originally belonged to a group of individually translated *Madhya-ma-āgama* discourses presently found outside of the *Madhyama-āgama* collection (T 26). The testing was implemented by pro-cessing EĀ 50.4 with the procedures of quantitative text analysis and automated translatorship attribution. The quantitative analysis has provided (a) no evidence to confirm Anālayo's hypothesis that EĀ 50.4 may be affiliated with the group of individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses, and (b) supportive evidence to con-firm the main finding that the longer version of the Mahādeva tale (EĀ 50.4) was not part of the original translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The results of the research in progress were discussed and re-oriented throughout the course of our research meetings and ex-changes, testifying to the potential and benefits that can be gar-nered from collaboration between philologically trained scholars of early Buddhism and scholars with an expertise in computational linguistics and digital humanities.

Contents

I. The Research Tasks

Anālayo (2013) presents a case study of a doubling of the tale of King Mahādeva in the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (*Zengyi ahanjing* 增壹阿含經, T 125) based on a narrative and terminological comparative study of the two versions found as discourses EĀ 1 and EĀ 50.4 in T 125.[1]

Briefly stated, this study shows that the longer version of the tale in question (EĀ 50.4) was added to T 125 when the collection underwent a process of editorial revision. As a side question, Anālayo for linguistic reasons suspected that EĀ 50.4 may have originally belonged to a group of individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses presently found outside of the *Madhyama-āgama* collection (中阿含經, T 26).

This group of discourses has been the object of a pioneering study by Mizuno (1969). Mizuno proposed that twenty-four of seventy-two individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses found in the *Āgama* section of the Taishō canon – all previously attributed to different translators – were in fact from the same translator.[2] Based on his consummate knowledge of Buddhist Chinese, Mizuno was able to distinguish that twenty-four of these seventy-two discourses belonged together simply on reading them. That is to say, his judgment was qualitative.

By applying the quantitative analysis and translatorship attribution program, my research group has demonstrated the correctness of Mizuno's conclusion (Hung, Bingenheimer and Wiles 2009/2010)

---

[1]   Anālayo 2013. A translation and study of EĀ 50.4 is available in Anālayo 2011 and Anālayo 2012.

[2]   The discourses studied in Mizuno are listed in table 1 below.

and complemented it by providing more substantial quantitative evidence.

However, although Mizuno was right – as we have been able to prove – that the set of twenty-four discourses belongs to the same corpus, his assumption that these individually transmitted discourses are remnants of the first translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* carried out by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) and Dharmanandin still needs to be tested.

Thus, as a first step, I put to the test Anālayo's suggestion that EĀ 50.4 may be affiliated with the group of individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses. I chose this as the starting point because I could profitably take advantage of the data set that had already been prepared for the study of the individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses mentioned above. The testing was implemented by processing EĀ 50.4 vis-à-vis the individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses by means of the procedures of quantitative text analysis and automated translatorship attribution.

The second part of the research then focused on the main finding by Anālayo and on the performance of automated textual analysis of the discourse EĀ 50.4 in relation to the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection (T 125). This analysis was carried out in order to verify Anālayo's main philological finding that EĀ 50.4 stands apart from the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, and that it therefore did not belong to the Indic collection from which the original Chinese translation was made.

In what follows, I present the research methodologies, processes and results.

II. EĀ 50.4 and Previous Study of the Group of Individually Translated *Madhyama-āgama* Discourses

According to Anālayo's textual study, EĀ 50.4 shows peculiarities in the translation terminology that signal the strong probability of a later addition.

The peculiarities in the translation terminology may also suggest an affiliation of EĀ 50.4 to the group of individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses identified by Mizuno (1969) and studied by myself and my colleagues.

II.1 "At That Time the Blessed One ...", 一時婆伽婆

Anālayo (2013: 40) notes that the Mahādeva tale found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* begins with the phrase "at one time the Blessed One ...", rendered as 一時婆伽婆, followed by a sentence indicating that "at that time the Blessed One ...", 爾時世尊.[3] The rendering of *bhagavant* as 婆伽婆 does not recur anywhere else in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, nor is it found in the *Dīrgha-āgama* (長阿含經, T 1) or in the *Udānavarga* (出曜經, T 212), translated by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念), the same translator of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

The peculiar opening of the discourse, with 一時婆伽婆 (*bhagavant* = 婆伽婆) followed by subsequent occurrences of *bhagavant* rendered instead as 世尊, recurs in a number of discourses belonging to the group of 24 individual *Madhyama-āgama* discourses.[4]

---

[3]   EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c21.

[4]   Cf. Anālayo 2013: 41f note 115 for a list of discourses that open with the 一時

Moreover, the six discourses in this group that give the standard listing of epithets for the Buddha, precede the qualification 等正覺 'perfectly awakened' with the epithet 無所著 'arhat' (lit., 'unattached'), a pattern also found in the Mahādeva tale among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[5] On this basis, Anālayo suggested to me that perhaps the Mahādeva tale now found among the Elevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* was originally a discourse belonging to this group and asked me to research this hypothesis.

II.2 Quantitative Analysis Procedure

To prove or else disprove Anālayo's hypothesis, I repeated the analysis conducted in the previous research on the individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses (Hung, Bingenheimer and Wiles 2009/2010) by adding EĀ 50.4 to the data set that had been used in the text analysis. That is, I took advantage of this previous successful analytical model and used it to analyse EĀ 50.4.

All parameters of the analysis remained the same as those stated and discussed in the earlier publication on that study. Here I limit myself to giving a general overview of the application of stylometrics to the study of early Chinese translations – the methodology employed – with a brief description of some technical details that are needed to follow the present discussion. The above-mentioned group of twenty-four individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses (hereafter: M-24) is listed in the following table.

婆伽婆 phrase, followed by the alternative rendering of *bhagavant* as 世尊 throughout the rest of the discourse, which indicates that with two exceptions this formula appears to be a common characteristic of the group of twenty-four discourses.

[5] Anālayo 2013: 41f with note 116.

Table 1: The M-24 Group of Discourses

Disc. no.	Title	Disc. no.	Title
T 47	離睡經	T 70	數經
T 49	求欲經	T 73	須達經
T 50	受歲經	T 75	佛為黃竹園老婆羅門說學經
T 51	梵志計水淨經	T 77	尊上經
T 53	苦陰經	T 79	鸚鵡經
T 55	苦陰因事經	T 82	意經
T 56	樂想經	T 83	應法經
T 58	阿耨風經	T 90	鞞摩肅經
T 60	瞿曇彌記果經	T 91	婆羅門子命終愛念不離經
T 64	瞻婆比丘經	T 92	十支居士八城人經
T 65	伏婬經	T 93	邪見經
T 66	魔嬈亂經	T 94	箭喻經

II.2.1 Stylometrics

Most authorship attribution approaches consist of two steps:

(1) establishing the stylometry, i.e., extracting quantifiable stylistic features from a given set of documents;

(2) then proceeding to the classification of documents on the basis of these features.[6]

---

[6] This and the following two sub-sections draw on Hung, Bingenheimer and Wiles 2009/2010.

The choice of stylometrics employed in the first step dramatically influences the results of the final analysis. In the pursuit of higher quality results, various definitions of stylometry have been adopted for use in attribution algorithms. Commonly used types of stylometry are based on textual measurement, such as the frequency of function words,[7] the frequency of word collocations,[8] vocabulary richness[9] and average sentence length.[10]

The major advantage of textual measurement techniques is the extremely low computational load. Other approaches utilise non-trivial NLP [Natural Language Processing] software for extracting contextual grammatical descriptors from documents. However, these types of feature extracting algorithms may encounter practical difficulties when dealing with documents written in Asian languages such as Chinese and Japanese, where determining the word boundaries is not straightforward. To overcome this difficulty, several attribution approaches have adopted n-gram extracting algorithms[11] to retrieve features from documents. N-gram extracting algorithms ignore the meaning of text and instead cut the text into arbitrary strings called grams. Stylometric definitions can then be calculated based on statistical analysis of the grams.

The second step in authorship identification requires the adoption of a suitable statistical classification method or artificial intelligence algorithm with which to classify documents of unknown

---

[7] Mosteller and Wallace 1984, Koppel and Schler 2004, Zhao and Zobel 2007.

[8] Hoover 2002.

[9] Grieve 2007.

[10] Bozkurt, Bağlıoğlu and Uyar 2007.

[11] Kjell 1994, Peng, Schuurmans and Wang 2003, Peng et al. 2004, Houvardars and Stamatatos 2006, Liu et al. 2007.

authorship into one of several possible document classes for which authorship is undisputed.

To extract stylistic features from the texts (in our case translations of Indic originals), we adopted an n-gram extraction algorithm to tokenize the texts into grams, and then calculated the stylistic features based on these grams. There are two reasons to use the n-gram extraction model. Firstly, to the best of our knowledge, there is not yet (and there may never be) any reliable method for establishing word boundaries for classical Chinese. We cannot, therefore, implement any style extracting strategies which operate at the word level, let alone apply advanced NLP analysis functions. Secondly, because there is no punctuation in the original texts, commonly used indicators which rely on the structure of the text, e.g. number of punctuations in a sentence, average length of sentences, etc., are not available in the case of classical Chinese. For these reasons the n-gram extraction model is clearly the best choice for extracting features from classical Chinese texts.

After all modern punctuation and tags are removed from the documents based on the digital text made available by the Chinese Electronic Buddhist Texts Association [CBETA],[12] the text becomes one long string. The string is then cut into grams of a fixed length n. After the grams are generated, significant grams are identified and selected into the feature set which will be used to evaluate the writing style of documents. Here, a 'gram' means a sequence of consecutive Chinese characters, for example: 如是 is a 2-gram, and 一時佛在 is a 4-gram. A gram does not always have a complete meaning; in some cases it could be just part of a meaningful word.

---

[12]   http://www.cbeta.org.

In order to avoid selecting content-dependent grams into the feature set, which may bias analysis towards content classification rather than authorship classification, we define an arbitrary number of documents in which a gram must appear as a threshold to merit inclusion in the feature set. Since the contents of the twenty-five texts (the twenty-four individual *Madhyama-āgama* translations plus EĀ 50.4) are in fact quite disparate, the occurrence of a gram in several different texts can be considered as an indication that it is a widely-used but a content-independent term, and is therefore suitable for inclusion in the feature set.

In order to generate better feature sets for analysis, instead of using fixed-length grams we first generate all possible grams from our texts, i.e. all bi-grams, tri-grams, quad-grams and so on up to the longest possible n-gram. Then we remove all non-significant grams from the features set and apply a special variable length n-gram counting procedure, in which the principle is that duplicate counts for the same long gram are to be eliminated.

II.2.2 Gram Selection

In the analysis in Hung, Bingenheimer and Wiles 2009/2010, all the texts of the seventy-two individual *Madhyama-āgama* discourses studied by Mizuno (1969) were tokenized using the variable n-gram algorithm, which generates a large number of grams of different lengths.

We selected significant grams into the feature set which were to be used to evaluate the writing style of the documents. In order to avoid selecting content-dependent grams into the feature set, we set the threshold at 10% of a total number of documents. This meant that if a gram appeared in more than 10% of the total number of documents, it would be selected as a stylometric feature to evaluate the writing style of the documents.

In the analysis, 1047 grams were designated, and the frequency of those 1047 grams in seventy-two documents was calculated to examine the variation between the documents. Then the Principle Component Analysis [PCA] was performed. The Principle Component Analysis is a statistical procedure that transforms a number of possibly correlated variables into a smaller number of uncorrelated variables called principal components. With a small number of components, it is easier to quantify the variations between documents. The result of the analysis showed that the twenty-four translations identified by Mizuno had significant trends that were very different from the remaining forty-eight texts.

To test Anālayo's hypotheses, I repeated the same analysis, this time on a data set of twenty-five documents comprising the twenty-four individual *Madhyama-āgama* discourses and EĀ 50.4. In the analysis, to evaluate the writing style of the twenty-five documents, I used the same 1047 feature grams employed in our previous research and performed the Principle Component Analysis on the twenty-five documents.

III. Analysis Results and Discussion

III.1 Results of Principle Component Analysis

The figure below illustrates the results of the Principle Component Analysis applied to the twenty-five documents consisting of the twenty-four individual translations plus EĀ 50.4. We observe:

(1) The point of EĀ 50.4 is outside the area where the M-24 group points are located;

(2) Furthermore, the point of EĀ 50.4 lies in the second quadrant, which means it has a negative value of Component 1 and a positive value of Component 2;

(3) However, all of the points in the M-24 group lie opposite one another in the fourth quadrant, which means they all have positive Component 1 values and negative Component 2 values.

Figure 1: PCA Result of M-24 plus EĀ 50.4
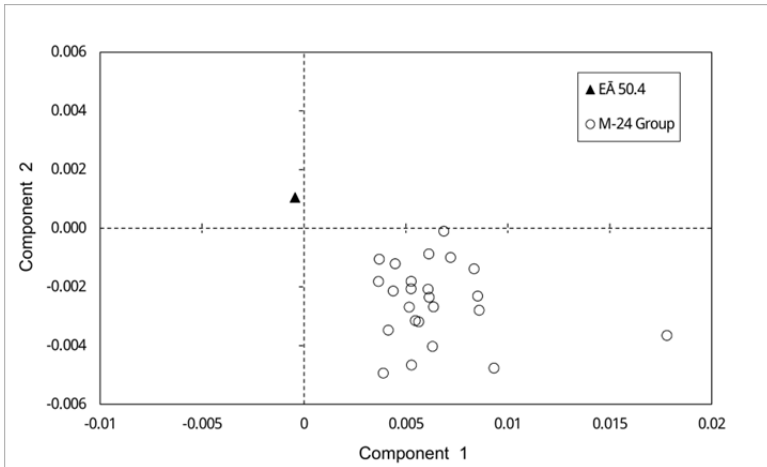
Therefore, according to the results of the Principle Component Analysis, EĀ 50.4 behaves very differently in comparison with the discourses in the M-24 group. In sum, the above two observations do not support Anālayo's hypothesis that EĀ 50.4 may have originally belonged to a group of individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses.

However, the Principle Component Analysis result is just a single piece of evidence. Since it contradicts philological observation, additional evidence would be needed in order to come to a defini-

tive conclusion. Thus, in order to obtain more persuasive evidence, we further performed some other examinations on the frequency of the 1047 features in the twenty-five documents. As we will see, this analysis also led us directly to the next research question, i.e., the status of EĀ 50.4 in relation to the rest of the T 125 collection.

III.2 Selected Statistics of Frequency of the 1047 Features

In this subsection, I present the results of a number of basic calculations performed on frequency of the 1047 features in the twenty-five documents.

III.2.1 Statistics of Frequently-used Grams

To study the degree of similarity between the discourses in the M-24 group and EĀ 50.4 in terms of the usage of the 1047 grams, I collected the grams that were more frequently present in the M-24 group than in the other 48 individual *Madhyama-āgama* translations. In what follows I use the expression "M-24 features" to denote the set.[13] Among the 1047 features, 421 (44%) are M-24 features. Table 2 lists the average percentage of M-24 features used in the M-24 group, and EĀ 50.4.

---

[13]   It needs to be noted that the M-24 group has only half the number of discourses compared to the remaining forty-eight discourses that were processed in addition to the M-24 in our original analysis (comprising seventy-two discourses), cf. Hung, Bingenheimer and Wiles 2009/2010. Therefore, if the number of discourses in the M-24 group containing the gram x is more than half in number compared to the discourses in the remaining forty-eight discourses containing the same gram x, then we consider that the gram x is a M-24 feature.

Table 2: Average Percentage of Usage of
M-24 features in the M-24 Group and EĀ 50.4

	M-24 Group	EĀ 50.4
M-24 Features	71.58%	32.06%

On average, 71.58% of the features used in the M-24 group are M-24 features. This matched our expectation that the discourses in the M-24 group would use a high number of M-24 features. However, as show in table 2, only 32.06% of the features used in EĀ 50.4 are M-24 features, which is less than half the average percentage of M-24 features used in the M-24 group.[14] This result shows that EĀ 50.4 and the M-24 group are very different in their choice of translation idioms. This is another piece of evidence indicating that EĀ 50.4 is unlikely to be affiliated to the M-24 group.

III.2.2 Statistics of Never-used Grams: Negative Evidence

It is worth noting that some of the 1047 features are never used in the M-24 group. In literature, observations related to never-used elements are usually referred to as negative evidence. These are rarely discussed, because negative evidence is often not easy to obtain on applying traditional philological methods. However, sometimes negative evidence is able to provide crucial clues for authorship attribution analysis. Table 3 shows the average percentage of M-24 never-used-features in the discourses belonging to the M-24 group and in EĀ 50.4 respectively, where it is logical that

---

[14] In fact, the remaining forty-eight discourses show similar behaviour to EĀ 50.4. According to my calculation, on average, these forty-eight discourses use in their texts only 27.43% of M-24 features.

discourses in the M-24 group never employ any of the M-24 never-used-features.

Table 3: Average Percentage of Usage of
M-24 Never-used-features in the M-24 Group and EĀ 50.4

	M-24 group	EĀ 50.4
M-24 Never-used-features	0%	19.2%

We thus notice that the EĀ 50.4 employs 19.2% of the M-24 never-used-features. It is obvious that, on the basis of the evidence provided by the behaviour of the never-used-features, EĀ 50.4 is very different from the discourses in the M-24 group. This observation further confirms that EĀ 50.4 is more than likely not part of the M-24 group.

III.3 Summary

Based on the foregoing quantitative analysis, it seems that EĀ 50.4 is almost certainly not part of the M-24 group. However, given the unavailability of the original recension of the Indic texts on which the Chinese translations were based, it is difficult to ascertain whether the absence or presence of such connecting phrases reflects a stylistic characteristic of the original or rather that of the translation. Further, I would like to remark that the interpretation of the results of the quantitative analysis calls for caution and needs to be combined with philological and text-critical evaluation.

IV. EĀ 50.4 and T 125:
Examination of Selected Features

I now take up the most significant pieces of evidence among the features never used in the M-24 group and relate them to EĀ 50.4 and the rest of the T 125 collection. These items were selected excluding those instances that for different reasons do not necessarily tell us something about translation terminology and are thus irrelevant to authorship attribution (for example, features caused by the subject matter, different narratives, differences that do not reflect the original translation but rather copyist's mistakes, etc.).

IV.1 佛告

The string 佛告 is a very commonly used phrase in Buddhist translations. It appears 27,239 times in the Taishō Canon (CBETA corpus). Thus, it is certainly unusual that the twenty-four discourses of the M-24 group never use such a phrase, whereas the string 佛告 "the Buddha says …" is used in EĀ 50.4 and in the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The titles of discourses in the Mizuno group[15] instead use 佛說. At the conclusion of the discourses[16] we find the phrase 佛如是說, an expression never found in the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama* or in EĀ 50.4. There is one exception for the M-24 group (T 83),[17] thus strictly speaking 佛告 is not entirely an M-24 never-used-feature, though this is an insignificant exception.[18]

---

[15]   Except T 75.

[16]   Except T 49, T 50, T 66, T 91, T 92, T 93.

[17]   T 83 at T I 902b7: 佛告諸比丘.

[18]   The term 佛 to render 'Buddha' is used only thirty-nine times in the M-24

IV.2 何等

The string 何等 is regularly found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and once in EĀ 50.4, but never in the M-24 group, which instead has 云何.[19]

III.3 一者，二者，三者，四者，五者

This feature is represented by the use of the string 一者, 二者, 三者, 四者, 五者 … for numbered listings of items, which occurs regularly in *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses, but not in the M-24 group. A numbered listing in an M-24 discourse instead employs the form 一也, 二也, 三也, 四也, 五也 … .[20]

IV.4 聲聞

The words 聲聞 and 弟子 for 'disciple' occur regularly in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. EĀ 50.4, however, only uses 聲聞 and has no occurrences of 弟子. The M-24 discourses instead use only 弟子 for 'disciple'.[21]

---

group, i.e., on average, 1.5 times per discourse. However, in EĀ 50.4 alone it appears thirty-three times, a very different rate compared to the discourses in the M-24 group. The very low frequency in the use of 佛 in the M-24 group is a somewhat unusual finding. This word mainly appears in the titles of discourses and in formulaic conclusions. The word is also used regularly in the rest of T 125. However, T 50 has the expression 佛世尊 in the body of the discourse. We find a few instances of expressions such as 歸佛 in T 51, 於佛無疑, 歸於佛 and 不疑佛 in T 60, etc. The discourse in the M-24 group with the highest frequency of 佛 is T 73, where the term mostly occurs as part of the expression 辟支佛.

19   This is not attested in T 64, T 73, T 75 and T 82.

20   T 82 at T I 901c19 lists the twelve divisions or genres of Buddhist canonical scriptures (*aṅga*s) as follows: 契 (一也), 歌 (二也), 記 (三也), 偈 (四也), 所因 (五也), 法句 (六也), 譬喻 (七也), 所應 (八也), 生 (九也), 方等 (十也), 未曾 (十一也), 法說 (十二).

21   Attested in T 53, T 55, T 58, T 60, T 66, T 70, T 82, T 90, T 91 and T 92.

IV.5 八萬四千

The numeral 八萬四千 'eighty-four thousand' occurs often in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and also in EĀ 50.4. Among the M-24 group this expression is not found. To express the same meaning, one discourse instead uses the expression 八十四千.[22] This expression never occurs in T 125.

IV.6 爾時世尊

In EĀ 50.4, the phrase 爾時世尊 is used once at the beginning of the discourse to render the meaning "at one time the Blessed One …". 爾時世尊 is a frequently used phrase in Chinese Buddhist translations. A full text search in the CBETA corpus indicates that 爾時世尊 is used 17,816 times. However, as shown in Table 5 below, none of the discourses in the M-24 group uses 爾時世尊. In fact, an alternative translation phrase, 彼時世尊, is used in the M-24 group to express the same meaning, with 彼時 used to translate "at that time" in lieu of 爾時. If we focus on the number of instances of 爾時 and 彼時 appearing in the M-24 group and in EĀ 50.4, it becomes apparent that the M-24 discourses use almost entirely 彼時, whereas EĀ 50.4 uses almost entirely 爾時. This is another strong indication that EĀ 50.4 is not related to the M-24 group. Moreover, even 爾時 on its own never occurs in the M-24 group except for one single occurrence.[23] The same expression is often found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* as well as in EĀ 50.4.

---

[22] T 73 at T I 879b11.

[23] T 53 at T I 847c19: 爾時.

Table 5: Occurrences of 爾時世尊, 爾時,
彼時世尊 and 彼 in the M-24 Group and EĀ 50.4

	M-24 group	EĀ 50.4
爾時世尊	---	1 time
彼時世尊	17 times / 7 disc.	---
爾時	1 time	4 times
彼時	76 times / 22 disc.	---

IV.7 又復

The phrase 又復 "again and repeat", as shown in table 6 below, is often found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and is used once in EĀ 50.4.[24] But it never occurs in the discourses of the M-24 group. Basically, in most situations, either 又 or 復 can already express the meaning conveyed by the two characters employed together. Both 又 and 復 are quite frequently used in EĀ 50.4, but in the M-24 group only 復 is used, and 又 never appears. The single occurrence of 又復 in EĀ 50.4 is part of the string 又復念曰.[25] In the last row of table 6 the frequency of these 復-x phrases is listed. We notice there are no instances of 復-x phrases in the M-24 group. However, these 復-x phrases seem quite common in EĀ 50.4. This is due to the translation style, in that the text of EĀ 50.4 is rendered adopting a "play script" format. That is, the translator(s) tend to connect the narrative with clauses such as "somebody said …" or "somebody asked …" etc. before the actual content of a dialogue is introduced. Consequently, sentences such as "some-

---

[24] EĀ 50.4, T 125 at T II 809c9: 又復.

[25] T 125 at T II 809c8: 諸天子心中念言: "何者帝釋? 何者為王?". 又復念曰: "人法當眴, 而俱不眴?".

body again asked" etc. are also to be found in these texts. Although the dialogue format is naturally present also in the M-24 group, the discourses in this group in most cases do not employ such phrases to mark the reported speech. In the M-24 group, most of the time, only the dialogue content is translated and therefore, no "-x" is used. This observation again points to EĀ 50.4 not belonging to the M-24 group.

Table 6: Occurrences of 又, 復, 又復 and 復念, 復言, 復問, 復曰, 復云, 復 in the M-24 Group and EĀ 50.4

	M-24 Group	EĀ 50.4
又復	---	1 time
又	---	3 times
復	99 times/14 disc.	26 times
復念, 復言, 復問, 復曰, 復云, 復說	---	14 times

IV.8 佛說是

In EĀ 50.4 佛說是 appears once at the end of the text, within the phrase 佛說是已 "when the Buddha had finished his talk,[26] that is, in one of the standard ending phrases of discourses. Like the opening phrase of a discourse, ending phrases are important characteristics for translatorship identification.[27] The string 佛說是已 is never

---

[26] T 125 at T II 810b18: 我前後所說法, 盡囑累汝. 汝當學是. 佛說是已, 阿難歡喜奉行.

[27] The string 佛告 'the Buddha says …' is used in EĀ 50.4 and in the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Within the titles of the Mizuno group (except T 75) it is instead found 佛說. At the conclusion of the discourses (except T 49, T 50, T 66, T 91, T 92, T 93) we have 佛如是說, an expression never found in the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama* or in EĀ 50.4. There is one exception, T 83 at T I

used in the M-24 group.[28] The most common concluding phrase in the M-24 group is 佛如是說, used in 19 discourses.

Table 7: Occurrences of 佛說是已
and 佛如是 in the M-24 group and EĀ 50.4

	M-24 group	EĀ 50.4
佛說是已	---	1 time
佛如是說	19 times/19 disc.	---

Since EĀ 50.4 uses a different ending clause to the M-24 group, this confirms that EĀ 50.4 does not stem from the same corpus as the M-24 Group. Not only that, this feature also provides a crucial clue towards proving Anālayo's conclusion that EĀ 50.4 was not part of the originally translated *Ekottarika-āgama* collection. The closing section of EĀ 50.4 is not found in the individual *Madhyama-āgama* discourses and also not in the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This seems fully supportive evidence

---

902b7: 佛告諸比丘. Thus 佛告 is strictly speaking not entirely an "M-24 never-used-feature", but this is an insignificant exception. As regards 佛 'Buddha', the very low frequency in the use of 佛 in the M-24 group is a somewhat unusual finding. This word mainly appears in discourse titles and formulaic conclusions. There are only thirty-nine occurrences of 佛 in the total twenty-four discourses of the M-24 group, i.e., on average, 1.5 佛 per discourse. In EĀ 50.4 it is employed thirty-three times and regularly used in the body of the discourse, which is a very different pattern from the discourses in the M-24 group. The word is also used regularly in the rest of T 125. However, T 50 has the expression 佛世尊 in the body of the discourse. We find a few instances of expressions like 歸佛 in T 51, 於佛無疑, 歸於佛, 不疑佛 in T 60, etc. The individual discourse with the highest frequency of 佛 is T 73, where the term occurs as part of the expression 辟支佛, cf. T I 879c2+4+6.

28 In fact, 佛說是已 only appears twice in the remaining forty-eight discourses.

for Anālayo's finding that EĀ 50.4 does not belong to the *Ekottarika-āgama* either. From a methodological viewpoint and looking at the potential of collaborative research, I think it may be of interest to the reader that this specific phrase had not been initially registered by Anālayo, but that it came to our notice through the application of our computational tools.[29]

IV.9 Summary

The above surveyed instances – in themselves and/or as cumulative evidence – suggest that (a) EĀ 50.4 is unrelated to the group of twenty-four individual translations, (b) that it stands alone vis-à-vis the rest of the collection, and (c) that there are significant differences between the twenty-four individual translations and the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This stands in contrast to Mizuno's hypothesis that these individually transmitted discourses are remnants of the first translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* carried out by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) and Dharmanandin. While to come to firm conclusions further research would be required, for the time being this part of Mizuno's hypothesis is doubtful.

V. Conclusion

The results of the first testing implemented by processing EĀ 50.4 vis-à-vis the individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses by means of quantitative text analysis and translatorship attribution – positive evidence (frequently used features) and negative evidence (never used features) – disproved the hypothesis that EĀ 50.4 may be affiliated to the group of twenty-four individually

---

[29]   Cf. Anālayo 2013: 42 with note 118.

translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses.

The second part of the research performed automated textual analysis of the second Mahādeva tale (EĀ 50.4) in relation to the rest of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection (T 125). The negative evidence represented by a number of linguistic and stylistic characteristics never used in EĀ 50.4 but featuring widely in the rest of the collection confirmed the philological finding that EĀ 50.4 was not part of the original *Ekottarika-āgama* collection that was translated as T 125.

At the same time, the evidence shows that the individually translated *Madhyama-āgama* discourses also differ from the translation terminology used in the rest of T 125. This makes it improbable that these discourses and T 125 stem from the same translator, although firm conclusions in this respect require further research.

Abbreviations

EĀ	*Ekottarika-āgama*
M-24	24 *Madhyama-āgama* discourses (in Mizuno 1969)
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)

References

Anālayo 2011: "The Tale of King Ma(k)hādeva in the Ekottarika-āgama and the Cakravartin Motif", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 9: 43–77.

—— 2012: "The Tale of King Nimi in the Ekottarika-āgama", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 10: 69–94.

—— 2013: "Two Versions of the Mahādeva Tale in the Ekotta-rika-āgama, A Study in the Development of Taishō No. 125", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 1–70.

Bozkurt, İlker Nadi, Özgür Bağlıoğlu and Erkan Uyar 2007: "Authorship Attribution: Performance of Various Features and Classification Methods", in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Symposium on Computer and Information Sciences*, Ankara: IEEE Press, 1–5.

CBETA: 中華電子佛典協會 *CBETA* [Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association] *Chinese Electronic Tripiṭaka Collection*, Taipei, version April 2011.

Grieve, Jack 2007: "Quantitative Authorship Attribution, an Evaluation of Techniques", *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 22 (3): 251–270.

Hoover, David L. 2002: "Frequent Word Sequences and Statistical Stylistics", *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 17 (2): 157–179.

Houvardars, John and Efstathios Stamatatos 2006: "N-Gram Feature Selection for Authorship Identification", in *Proceedings of 12th International Conference on Artificial Intelligence, Methodology, Systems, and Applications*, Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 77–86.

Hung, Jen-jou, Marcus Bingenheimer and Simon Wiles 2009/2010: "Quantitative Evidence for a Hypothesis Regarding the Attribution of Early Buddhist Translations", *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 25 (1), 119–134 (first published online November 16, 2009).

Kjell, Bradley 1994: "Authorship Determination Using Letter Pair Frequency Features with Neural Network Classifiers", *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 9 (2): 119–124.

Koppel, Moshe and Jonathan Schler 2004: "Authorship Verification as a One-Class Classification Problem", in *Proceedings of the 21st International Conference on Machine Learning*, New York: ACM Press, 62.

Liu, Wei et al. 2007: "Chinese Text Classification without Automatic Word Segmentation", in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Advanced Language Processing and Web Information Technology*, Washington: IEEE Press, 45–50.

Mizuno, Kōgen (水野 弘元) 1969: *Chū agon kyō kaidai* 中阿含經界解題, in *Kokuyakuissai-gyō* 國譯一切經, *Agon bu* 阿含部, 6th revised edition, 403–411.

Mosteller, Frederick and David Lee Wallace 1984: "Applied Bayesian and Classical Inference, The Case of the Federalist Papers", New York: Springer Verlag.

Peng, Fuchun, Dale Schuurmans and Shaojun Wang 2004: "Augmenting Naive Bayes Classifiers with Statistical Language Models", *Information Retrieval*, 7 (3–4): 317–345

Peng, Fuchun et al. 2004: "Language Independent Authorship Attribution Using Character Level Language Models", in *Proceedings of the 10th Conference of the European Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, Budapest: ACM press, 267–274.

Taishō: *Taishō Shinshu Daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經), Takakusu Junjirō (高楠 順次郎), Watanabe Kaigyoku (渡邊 海旭) and Ono Genmyo (小野 玄妙) (ed.), Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai (大正一切經刊行會), 1924–1934.

Ying Zhao and Justin Zobel 2007: "Searching with Style: Authorship Attribution in Classic Literature", in *Proceedings of the 13th Australasian Conference on Computer Science*, Ballarat: ACM Press, 59–68.

Mahāyāna Elements and Mahāsāṃghika Traces in the *Ekottarika-āgama*

Tse-fu Kuan (關則富)

Yuan Ze University (元智大學), Taiwan

Abstract

It has long been recognized that the *Ekottarika-āgama* in Chinese translation (*Zengyi ahanjing* 增壹阿含經), Taishō no. 125, contains Mahāyāna elements. Although some of them were probably interpolated into the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* after the text had been brought to China and translated, this paper demonstrates that at least two had already crept into the *Ekottarika-āgama* at the time it was passed down in India. The *Ekottarika-āgama* is most likely to be of Mahāsāṃghika origin. This school interacted with the Mahāyāna in a reciprocal manner. On the one hand, certain branches of the Mahāsāṃghikas borrowed materials from Mahāyāna literature and mixed them with their texts, including the *Ekottarika-āgama* now preserved in Chinese translation. On the other hand, the Mahāsāṃghikas' reformulation of certain early teachings was incorporated into their *Ekottarika-āgama*, which served as a medium for spreading the new doctrine in Mahāyāna circles.

Contents

I. Introduction

The four Chinese *Āgama*s, just like the four primary *Nikāya*s in Pali, are generally considered to be collections of the earliest Buddhist *sūtra*s. However, it has long been recognized that the *Ekottarika-āgama* in Chinese translation (*Zengyi ahanjing* 增壹阿含經, T 125), contains "Mahāyāna elements", which are unexpected in an *Āgama* collection.

There have been problems in the historical reconstruction concerning the translation process of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. A plausible reconstruction of its history has been done by Lin (2009) as follows. In 385 AD Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) completed a Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* recited by Dharmanandin (曇摩難提), a monk from Tukhāra. This first translation, in forty-one fascicles, was later revised and expanded by Zhu Fonian into the *Ekottarika-āgama* in fifty-one fascicles that has since come down to us. Zhu Fonian probably added new material to his first translation and even replaced some passages of his first translation with new material.[1]

The now-lost first translation still existed in 516 AD when the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相, T 2121) was composed and quoted some twenty passages from it.[2] These quotations are identified as

---

[1] Zhu Fonian was the translator despite the wrong attributions to Gautama Saṃghadeva. See Legittimo 2005: 3 note 7, Anālayo 2006: 145f, Lin 2009 and Nattier 2010: 233 note 8. For a case study of a probable addition to the collection by Zhu Fonian see Anālayo 2013 and Hung 2013.

[2] Su 2007: 115–147 and Lin 2009: 32–108 respectively identify twenty-four and sixteen passages using different criteria. On the quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* see also Hiraoka 2013: 99–101 and Su 2013: 213–224.

belonging to the first translation on the grounds that none of the *Ekottarika-āgama* passages quoted by the *Jinglü yixiang* has the same fascicle number as the fascicle in which its parallel in the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) appears,[3] and that more than half of the quotations are inconsistent with their parallels in T 125 or have no parallels there at all.[4]

Nattier (2010) demonstrates that the *Shizhu duanjie jing* (十住斷結經, T 309), purportedly a *sūtra* translated by Zhu Fonian, contains substantial material that Zhu Fonian drew from existing Chinese scriptures, including texts translated by Mokṣala (無叉羅 or 無羅叉), Zhi Yao (支曜), Dharmarakṣa (竺法護) and Zhi Qian (支謙). She calls attention to the possibility of "apocryphal interpolations" in Zhu Fonian's earlier translations, including the *Ekottarika-āgama* (p. 257). Therefore, one must be cautious when dealing with passages in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that seem to be influenced by Mahāyāna thought.

At the workshop on the *Ekottarika-āgama* held at Dharma Drum Buddhist College in April 2012, Nattier pointed out that the introductory portion (序品) of the *Ekottarika-āgama* contains a tremendous amount of Mahāyāna material. She raised the question: Is this a composition by Zhu Fonian himself? Or does it come from another source? As Nattier illustrates, several phrases and passages in the introductory portion of the *Ekottarika-āgama* are similar to those in some pre-existing Chinese translations of Mahāyāna texts. Here are two of the several examples given by Nattier (2012: 13–14):

---

[3]   Lin 2009: 33; Su 2007: 145–147, table 8.

[4]   Lin 2009: 108f; Su 2007: 115.

… 我等盡共擁護是善男子、善女人諷誦受持增一尊法，廣演流布 …[5]

… We all support these good men and good women who recite and observe the noble Dharma in the *Ekottarika* and widely disseminate it …

Cf. Mokṣala's *Larger* Prajñāpāramitā:

我等當護是善男子、善女人行般若波羅蜜，諷誦讀說習守持者.[6]

We should support these good men and good women who practise the *Prajñāpāramitā*, recite, read, preach and uphold it.

我今以此增一阿含囑累於汝，善諷誦讀，莫令漏減.[7]

I now entrust this *Ekottarika-āgama* to you. Well recite it! Do not let it wane!

Cf. Mokṣala's *Larger* Prajñāpāramitā:

以是深般若波羅蜜囑累汝，當善持善受善諷誦念.[8]

I entrust this profound *Prajñāpāramitā* to you. Well uphold, well accept and well recite it!

Thus, we have a number of questions in sequence:

(1) Could it be that *all* the passages relevant to the Mahāyāna in the *Ekottarika-āgama* were interpolated by Zhu Fonian?

(2) If not, which passages can be identified as already existing in

---

5   T 125 at T II 550c24–29.

6   *Fangguang banruo jing* (放光般若經), T 221 at VIII 43c9–10.

7   T 125 at T II 550b29–551a2.

8   *Fangguang banruo jing* (放光般若經), T 221 at T VIII 105a2–5.

the *Ekottarika-āgama* recited by Dharmanandin?

(3) Were these passages borrowed from Mahāyāna texts?

(4) Or alternatively, could these passages have originated from the *Ekottarika-āgama* and then inspired the further development and formulation of Mahāyāna thought?

The answer to the first question is negative. This can be proved by the evidence as follows: Two Mahāyāna-related passages in the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* already existed in the first translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* recited by Dharmanandin and witnessed by others.

II. Mahāyāna Elements
in the *Ekottarika-āgama*

Scholars have noticed the difficulties in defining "Mahāyāna Buddhism".[9] Nevertheless, it is possible and also desirable to recognize principal features of Mahāyāna ideas and thought. Rather than a sect or a school, Mahāyāna Buddhism started to arise as a new movement[10] from perhaps the second or first century BC[11] within the *nikāya*s or early Buddhist schools.[12] In regard to this movement, Harvey (2013: 108) says: "There developed a new orientation to traditional Buddhist teachings and an upsurge of novel

---

[9] E.g., Silk 2005 and Ruegg 2004.

[10] Williams 1989: 3, Keown 1996: 58 and Harvey 2013: 108.

[11] Gombrich 1990: 29, Williams and Tribe 2000: 96. Cf. also Falk and Karashima 2013: 100.

[12] Williams 1989: 6. See also de La Vallée Poussin's 1930: 25 and 32–33 remarks in Silk 2005: 389–390.

interpretations".[13] The new orientation involves "a wholehearted adoption of the *Bodhisattva* path".[14] The novel interpretations apply to various concepts and terminology (e.g., *samādhi*) that already existed in pre-Mahāyāna schools, and may be exemplified in the "new ideas about the Buddha", in line with which "devotional cults sprang up in which reverence and homage were offered" (Keown 1996: 59). Commenting on Mahāyāna Buddhism, Williams (1989: 4) writes that "its growth and development in the early centuries was marked by, and from our perspective is all but identical with, the evolution of a new distinctive canonical literature, the Mahāyāna *sūtras*". Similarly, Silk (2005: 386) suggests that Yijing's (義淨) *Record of Buddhist Practices*, dating from 691, makes a point of carefully defining the Mahāyāna: "Those who worship the Bodhisattvas and read the Mahāyāna Sūtras are called the Mahāyānists, while those who do not perform these are called the Hīnayānists".[15] Therefore, Mahāyāna Buddhism can be defined as a form of Buddhism that accepts the Mahāyāna *sūtra*s. The above features of Mahāyāna Buddhism will be dealt with in relation to the *Ekottarika-āgama* below.

II.1 Diamond Concentration in New Senses

Sūtra no. 6 in chapter forty-eight of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (EĀ 48.6) has the following storyline (abridged translation):[16]

---

[13] Similar views are expressed by Saitō 2011: 30–31 and Keown 1996: 64.

[14] Harvey 2013: 108; or "a new emphasis" on "the ideal of the bodhisattva", in the words of Keown 1996: 58.

[15] T 2125 at T LIV 205c: 若禮菩薩，讀大乘經，名之為大。不行斯事，號之為小 (English translation by Silk 2005: 386–387).

[16] This *sūtra* was already translated in full by Lamotte into French, which was

When Śāriputra was repairing his old robe, ten thousand *brahmakāyika* deities visited him and praised him with this stanza:

"Homage to the supreme of men. Homage to the venerable of men.
We now do not know what kind of meditation you rely on."

Śāriputra consented in silence, so the deities left. They had not gone far when Śāriputra entered the Diamond Concentration (金剛三昧, *vajra-samādhi*). Then there were two demons (鬼, *yakṣa*):[17] the first was called Kāla, and the second Upakāla. The two demons travelling through space from afar saw Śāriputra sitting with crossed legs. The demon Kāla said to the other demon: "I feel capable of striking that monk's head with my fist."

Upakāla said: "Do not intend to strike that monk's head. Why? The venerable one's name is Śāriputra. Among the Blessed One's disciples, none surpasses him in intelligence and ability. Of all the disciples endowed with wisdom, he is the foremost. Prepare yourself to undergo immeasurable suffering for a long time."

Kāla insisted on striking that monk's head. Shortly after he had struck Śāriputra's head, he fell into the hell. Then

---

translated into English by Boin-Webb (see Lamotte 1995: 32–37). My rendering below occasionally follows Boin-Webb's translation.

[17] The meaning of 鬼 here is ambiguous since this Chinese character can render several Indic words, including Sanskrit *preta* (ghost), *yakṣa* (demon), *rākṣasa* (ogre), etc. Fortunately, SĀ² 329 (T 100 at T II 485a) a counterpart of our *sūtra*, translates it as *yecha* (夜叉), which indicates that this term in the Indic original is a word equivalent to *yakṣa* in Sanskrit.

Śāriputra emerged from concentration and visited the Blessed One. The Buddha told Śāriputra what had happened and preached to the monks a sermon, which explained that it was owing to the power of the Diamond Concentration that Śāriputra repelled the demon's attack, and that if a monk attains the Diamond Concentration, he is not burnt by fire, nor pierced by a knife, nor carried off by water, nor wounded by someone else. Then the Blessed One spoke these stanzas:

> "Ten thousand deities, all *brahmakāyika*,
> took refuge in Śāriputra on the mountain Vulture Peak.
> Homage to the supreme of men. Homage to the venerable of men.
> We now do not know what kind of meditation you rely on.
> This flower among the disciples adorns the Buddha's Tree of Awakening.
> Just as in the heavenly garden of the Pārijātaka,
> joy is unequalled."

This flower among the disciples is the monk Śāriputra. The reason is that this man can adorn the Buddha's tree. The Tree of Awakening is the Tathāgata. The Tathāgata can shelter all beings.[18]

---

[18] The text runs as follows (abridged), T II 793a–c: 尊者舍利弗在耆闍崛山中屏隈之處，補衲故衣。爾時，有十千梵迦夷天從梵天沒，來至舍利弗所 ... 又以此偈而歎頌曰：「歸命人中上，歸命人中尊，我等今不知，為依何等禪。」... 諸天以見舍利弗默然已，即禮足退去。諸天去未遠，舍利弗即入金剛三昧。是時有二鬼，一名伽羅，二名優波伽羅 ... 是時，二鬼從彼虛空而過，遙見舍利弗結跏趺坐，繫念在前，意寂然定，伽羅鬼謂彼鬼言：「我今堪任以拳打此沙門頭。」優波伽羅鬼語第二鬼曰：「汝勿興此意打沙門頭。所以然者，此沙門極有神德，有大威力，此尊名舍利弗，世尊弟子中聰明高才無復過是，智慧弟子中最為第一。備於長夜受苦無量。」... 時彼惡鬼即

Terms paving the way for the later "Diamond(-like) Concentration" can be found in some pre-Mahāyāna or non-Mahāyāna texts. For example, the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* in the early stratum of Buddhist literature lists three types of person: (1) the person whose mind is like an open sore; (2) the person whose mind is like lightning; (3) the person whose mind is like a diamond (*vajirūpamacitto puggalo*).[19] This list depicts the progression from an ordinary state to liberation. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*,[20] the first book of the Theravāda *Abhidhamma*, explains "states that are like lightning" as "insight into the three lower noble paths" and "states that are like diamonds" as "insight into the highest path of Arahatship".[21]

As Frauwallner (1995: 177f) notes, this idea in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* was developed by the Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharma* in such a

---

以手打舍利弗頭。是時天地大動，四面有暴風疾雨，尋時來至，地即分為二分，此惡鬼即以全身墮地獄中。爾時，尊者舍利弗即從三昧起，整衣服，下耆闍崛山，往詣竹園，至世尊所 … 世尊告曰：「伽羅鬼以手打汝頭。若當彼鬼以手打須彌山者，即時須彌山便為二分。所以然者，彼鬼有大力故。今此鬼受其罪報故，全身入阿鼻地獄中。」爾時世尊告諸比丘：「甚奇！甚特！金剛三昧力乃至於斯。由此三昧力故無所傷害，正使須彌山打其頭者，終不能動其毫毛。所以然者，比丘聽之。… 若有比丘得金剛三昧者，火所不燒，刀斫不入，水所不漂，不為他所中傷。…」… 爾時，世尊便說此偈：「十千諸天人，盡是梵迦夷，自歸舍利弗，於靈鷲山頂：『歸命人中上，歸命人中尊，我今不能知，為依何等禪。』如是弟子花，莊嚴佛道樹，如天晝度園，快樂無有比。」;「弟子華者，即是舍利弗比丘是。所以然者，此人則能莊嚴佛樹。道樹者，即如來是也；如來能覆蓋一切眾生。…」。

[19] AN 3.25 at AN I 123,32. The translation is after Bodhi 2012: 219f.

[20] Rhys Davids 1974: xxv dates this text in the fourth century BC.

[21] Dhs §1298 at Dhs 225,33: *heṭṭhimesu tīsu ariyamaggesu paññā, ime dhammā vijjūpamā* and Dhs §1299 at Dhs 226,1: *upariṭṭhime arahattamagge paññā, ime dhammā vajirūpamā.*

way that it led to "a felicitous invention" (p. 178) of the term *vaj-ropama-samādhi*, "Diamond-like Concentration", which eliminates the last remaining defilements and represents the final immediate path (無間道, *ānantarya-mārga*) leading to liberation.[22] Such a notion was adopted by the Mahāyāna and assimilated into their bodhisattva path as illustrated by Ruegg (1989: 167) and Watanabe (2005a: 48–52 and 2005b: 352–351).[23]

On the other hand, however, the "Diamond-like Concentration" turned into something quite different in some Mahāyāna texts. Lamotte (1988: 617) is aware of the *Abhidharma* concept of the "Diamond-like Concentration" as the final stage of the path, but with regard to EĀ 48.6, he remarks (Lamotte 1995: 42):

> Śāriputra entered the Diamond Concentration (*vajrasamā-dhi*), a concentration unknown to the early texts but which appears in the list of 108 or 118 *samādhis* drawn up by the Prajñāpāramitās. … By introducing this concentration, the Sūtra of Śāriputra betrays its dependence on the sūtras of the Great Vehicle.

According to Lamotte, this episode in EĀ 48.6 draws on the Mahāyāna, "Great Vehicle". Lamotte (ibid.) gives several refer-

---

[22] E.g. the *Jñānaprasthāna* (發智論), one of the canonical *Abhidharma* works of the Sarvāstivādins (dated at approximately 150 BC by Yinshun 1968: 115), T 1544 at T XXVI 922b: 若無間道，金剛喻定，正滅，解脫道，盡智正生。爾時名未來無學心生時解脫一切障. For a Sanskrit counterpart in later literature, see the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan 1967: 364,15: *... sa cānantaryamārgo vajropamaḥ samādhir ity ucyeta / sarvānuśayabheditvāt*.

[23] For more references, see Martini 2011: 178 note 131 and Pagel 2007: 15 with note 17.

ences to the Diamond Concentration in the extant *Prajñāpāramitā* literature in Sanskrit, including the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā*[24] and the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.[25] He refers to part of the following passage in the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*:

> What is the concentration called Diamond? The concentra-tion in which [a practitioner] is not crushed while staying [in it] is said to be the concentration called Diamond.[26]

This appears in a lengthy list of one hundred and twenty-one concentrations,[27] a context very different from that in which the "Diamond-like Concentration" appears as discussed above. Thus the Diamond Concentration is described in a new way instead of referring to the final stage of the path to liberation. In this connection, it is worth noting the following observation by Skilton (2002: 56–57):

---

[24] Dutt 1934: 142,12 and 199,3.

[25] Ghoṣa 1902: 826,13 and 1416,1.

[26] Ghoṣa 1902: 1415,20: *tatra katamo vajro nāma samādhiḥ / yatra samādhau sthitvā na bhidyate / ayam ucyate vajro nāma samādhiḥ.* This is equivalent to the following passage in the Chinese translation of the *Guangzan jing* (光讚經), T 222 at T VIII 190c: 彼何謂金剛三昧？住是定意時，一切平等無能破壞，是謂 金剛三昧. My interpretation differs from Lamotte's 1995: 42: "... there is a Diamond Concentration or Diamond-like Concentration when one's state of concentration is not 'broken'".

[27] According to Skilton's 2002: 57 note 28 count of the *samādhi* names in Ghoṣa 1902: 1412–1414. This name list is followed by the explanations for these *samādhi*s (Ghoṣa 1902: 1415–1426), including the explanation for "the concentration called Diamond" mentioned above.

… the bodhisattva's motive is altruism, rather than the perceived self-interest of the Śrāvaka, and thus seeks to take advantage of the magical power (*ṛddhi*) with which *samādhi* is associated in the Mahāyāna. Supposedly in association with this last feature, there also appear in Mahāyāna literature references to a number of specific *samādhi*, each with a name and associated benefits ... one notes the appearance of lengthy lists of *samādhi* names, which one suspects have acquired their own aura of magical potency. Thus we can find *samādhi*-name lists, some of considerable length, in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*, *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, *Daśabhūmīśvara*, *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*, *Kāraṇḍavyūha, Mahāvyutpatti*, and various *Prajñā-pāramitā* texts.

Referring to several works, Skilton (2002: 56f, with notes 22–28) indicates that the numbers of *samādhi* in these Mahāyāna texts are diverse, including 9, 10, 17, 24, 37, 62, 100, 101, 108, 118 and 121. According to Skilton, the word *samādhi*, "concentration", was employed by the Mahāyāna in some new senses. Long lists of *samādhi* names came to appear, and a number of specific *samādhi*s came to acquire each their own particular magical potency in the Mahāyāna. These two novel features of *samādhi* are found in the present *Ekottarika-āgama*, where the Diamond Concentration in such innovative senses recurs in two other *sūtra*s of the *Ekottarika-āgama* besides EĀ 48.6.

Firstly, EĀ 42.4 states:

In my Dharma there are Diamond Concentration, Cessation Concentration, All-Light Concentration, Attaining Non--arising Concentration and various [other] concentrations

that are countless.[28]

The way this *sūtra* enumerates concentrations, including the Diamond Concentration, in a list is very similar to the way *samādhi* names are listed in Mahāyāna literature. Just as EĀ 42.4 describes the concentrations as countless, the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Avataṃsaka* literature also use "countless" or "innumerable" to describe some lists of concentrations including the Diamond(-like) Concentration.[29]

Secondly, EĀ 4.9 states:

It is the monk Abhaya who, while entering the Diamond Concentration, cannot be crushed.[30]

This sentence resembles the foregoing passage in the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*:

The concentration in which [a practitioner] is not crushed while staying [in it] is said to be the concentration called Diamond.

---

[28] T II 753b: 我法中有金剛三昧，有滅盡三昧，一切光明三昧，得不起三昧，種種三昧不可稱計.

[29] For the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, see, e.g., the *Da banruo boluomiduo jing* (大般若波羅蜜多經), T 220 at T V 292a–c: … 金剛喻三摩地 … 如是等三摩地有無量百千, and the *Mohe banruo boluomiduo jing* (摩訶般若波羅蜜經), T 223 at T VIII 417c–418a: 得無量三昧門現在前 … 如金剛三昧 … . For the *Avataṃsaka* literature, see the *Fo huayan ru rulai dezhi busiyi jingjie jing* (佛華嚴入如來德智不思議境界經), T 303 at T X 923a–b: 如金剛三摩地 … 俱致那由多百千不可數三摩地.

[30] T II 558b–c: 入金剛三昧，不可沮壞，所謂無畏比丘是.

This idea is elaborated in EĀ 48.6, where Śāriputra repels the demon's attack owing to the Diamond Concentration, further depicted as a technique of protection against attacks from fire, blades, water and any other beings. Therefore this *samādhi* is endowed with specific magical potency, an empowerment typical of the Mahāyāna meditative traditions. Apart from the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the term "Diamond Concentration" in such a new sense is also found in the *Avataṃsaka* literature. For example, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (大方廣佛華嚴經, T 293) mentions "crushing all *māra*s (evil demons) by the Diamond Concentration".[31]

In conclusion, the notion of Diamond(-like) Concentration is greatly transformed in some Mahāyāna literature and the three *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses discussed above. It is among the various lists of (innumerable) concentrations developed by the Mahāyāna, and has turned into a magical power that can protect the practitioner from being "crushed" rather than referring to the final stage of the path to liberation in pre-Mahāyāna traditions.[32] This belongs to the novel interpretations of pre-existing terminology as developed in the Mahāyāna movement discussed above. Lamotte (1995: 46) regards this feature along with others in EĀ 48.6 as "inspired by the Mahāyāna". According to the above discussions, the three occurrences of "Diamond Concentration" in the *Ekottarika-*

---

[31] T 293 at T X 823c: 以金剛定破一切魔.

[32] According to EĀ 48.6 at T II 793a, Śāriputra is already a liberated person, described by the good demon Upakāla as "among the Blessed One's disciples, none surpasses him in intelligence and ability. Of all the disciples endowed with wisdom, he is the foremost". Therefore, that Śāriputra enters the Diamond Concentration cannot mean that he reaches the final stage of the path to liberation, which would imply a regression.

-*āgama* may be reckoned a "Mahāyāna element".[33]

It is evident that one of the *sūtra* quotations from the *Ekotta-rika-āgama* in the *Jinglü yixiang*[34] is an abridged version of EĀ 48.6, with the omission particularly of two paragraphs relating to ten thousand *brahmakāyika* deities (梵迦夷天).[35] Even its wording is largely identical to that of EĀ 48.6. This version also elaborates on the Diamond Concentration. A significant difference, however, is that the *Jinglü yixiang* indicates that this *sūtra* is cited from fascicle thirty of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (出增一阿含經第三十卷), but our EĀ 48.6 appears in fascicle forty-five of the extant *Ekotta-rika-āgama* (T 125). As mentioned above, the *Ekottarika-āgama* passages quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* are identified as belonging to the first translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and the extant *Ekotta-rika-āgama* is an enlarged version of the first *Ekottarika-āgama* translation. This may explain why in the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* EĀ 48.6 appears in a fascicle whose number (forty-five) is larger than the fascicle number (thirty) of the same *Ekottarika-āgama* *sūtra* quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang*. To sum up, the Diamond Concentration as a Mahāyāna element already appeared in a *sūtra* in the first translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

---

[33] Anālayo 2011: 301 note 180 suggests that the Diamond Concentration in EĀ 48.6 might refer to the attainment of cessation (*nirodha-samāpatti*) for the following reason. The episode of how Śāriputra, in the Diamond Concentration, remained unhurt when hit by a demon (*yakkha*) is "similar to the story found in Ud 4:4 at Ud 39,20. The commentary Ud-a 245,5 records various opinions on the meditative attainment Sāriputta had entered when he was hit by the *yakkha*, one of which is that he had attained cessation. Thus, perhaps the 金剛三昧 in EĀ 48.6 also intends the attainment of cessation".

[34] T 2121 at T LIII 70c–71b.

[35] Lin 2009: 94–98. Cf. also Su 2007: 131.

II.2 Buddha image made by King Udayana

Sūtra no. 5 in chapter thirty-six of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (EĀ 36.5) contains a story as follows:

> The Blessed One thought: "These four assemblies are mostly idle, negligent, not listening to the Dharma … Now I can make them long for the Dharma." Then the Blessed One went to the heaven of the Thirty-three without informing the four assemblies or taking any attendants with him. … Śakra, ruler of the gods … went to greet the Blessed One. … Then the Tathāgata's mother Māyā led female deities to visit the Blessed One … The Blessed One preached marvellous discourses to those deities. … King Prasenajit and King Udayana approached Ānanda and asked him: "Where is the Tathāgata today?" Ānanda replied: "Great kings, I do not know where he is, either." At that time the two kings longed to see the Tathāgata, and hence suffered from distress. Then King Udayana's officials approached him and asked: "What are you suffering from now?" … The king replied: "If I do not see the Tathāgata any more, I will die." At that time the officials thought: "By what means can we save King Udayana from dying? We should make an image of the Tathāgata." Then the officials addressed the king: "We intend to make an image, which we may also serve and worship respectfully." … The king instructed the versatile craftsmen within his territory and said: "I now want to make an image." … At that time King Udayana [had them] make a Tathāgata image, five feet tall, out of bull-head-sandalwood (*gośīrṣa-candana*). King Prasenajit heard that King Udayana had made a Tathāgata image. … King Prasenajit summoned craftsmen in the country and told them: "I now want to make

a Tathāgata image … .” … At that time King Prasenajit [had them] make a Tathāgata image, five feet tall, out of polished red-gold. Then in Jambudvīpa these two Tathāgata images came into existence.[36]

This story is comparable to the following two quotations from the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the *Jinglü yixiang*:

[Quotation 1:] The four assemblies were too idle to listen to the Dharma. Śakra, ruler of the gods, invited the Buddha to ascend to the heaven of the Thirty-three and preached the Dharma to his mother there for three months during the summer [rains] retreat. The Tathāgata intended to make people long for [the Dharma], so he left without taking attendants with him or informing [people]. Then King Prasenajit in Śrāvastī and King Udayana in Kauśāmbī approached Ānanda and inquired about where the Buddha was. Ānanda replied: "I do not know, either." The two kings longed to see the Tathāgata, and hence became ill. Then King Udayana in-

---

[36] T II 705b–706a: 世尊便作是念:「此四部之眾多有懈怠，替、不聽法 ... 我今宜可使四部之眾渴仰於法。」爾時，世尊不告四部之眾，復不將侍者 ... 往至三十三天。... 釋提桓因 ... 前迎世尊 ... [705c] 爾時，如來母摩耶將諸天女至世尊所 ... 世尊漸與彼諸天之眾說於妙論 ... [706a] 波斯匿王、優填王至阿難所，問阿難曰:「如來今日竟為所在？」阿難報曰:「大王! 我亦不知如來所在。」是時，二王思覩如來，遂得苦患。爾時，群臣至優填王所，白優填王曰:「今為所患？」... 其王報曰:「... 設我不見如來者，便當命終。」是時，群臣便作是念:「當以何方便，使優填王不令命終? 我等宜作如來形像。」是時，群臣白王言:「我等欲作形像，亦可恭敬承事作禮。」 ... 王即勅國界之內諸奇巧師匠，而告之曰:「我今欲作形像。」... 是時，優填王即以牛頭栴檀作如來形像高五尺。是時，波斯匿王聞優填王作如來形像 ... 波斯匿王復召國中巧匠，而告之曰:「我今欲造如來形像 ...」... 是時，波斯匿王純以紫磨金作如來像高五尺。爾時，閻浮里內始有此二如來形像.

structed the versatile craftsmen in his country to make a Tathāgata image, five feet tall, out of bull-head-sandalwood. (From fascicle nineteen of the *Ekottarika-āgama*)

[Quotation 2:] Then King Prasenajit heard that King Udayana had made a Tathāgata image and worshiped it. Therefore he summoned craftsmen to cast a Tathāgata image in polished red-gold, five feet tall. Then in Jambudvīpa two images came into existence. (From fascicle nineteen of the *Ekottarika-āgama*)[37]

The storyline as found in the above two quotations is virtually the same as the story in EĀ 36.5 although it is more condensed and has a few divergences in wording. These two quotations can be recognized as being extracted from a version of the story that is identical or extremely similar to the story in EĀ 36.5.[38] Whereas the *Jinglü yixiang* notes that these two passages are quoted from fascicle nineteen of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, our EĀ 36.5 appears in fascicle twenty-eight of the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125). The difference in fascicle numbers indicates that the *Jinglü yixiang* is citing a version of the *Ekottarika-āgama* other than T 125. This version of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is identified as the first translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, as discussed above.

---

[37] T LIII 29c: 四部憒於諸聽法。釋提桓因請佛。昇三十三天。為母說法三月夏安居。如來欲生人渴仰。不將侍者不言而去。時舍衛國波斯匿王及拘翼國優填王至阿難所。問佛在何所。阿難答曰。我亦不知。二王思覩如來遂生身疾。優填王即勅國內諸巧師匠。以牛頭栴檀作如來像。舉高五尺 (出增一阿含第十九卷). T LIII 30a: 時波斯匿王聞優填王作如來像而供養之。復召工巧以紫磨金鑄如來像。高於五尺。時閻浮提內始有二像 (出增一阿含第十九卷).

[38] Su 2007: 127f, Lin 2009: 57–61 and items nos. 5 and 6 in Su 2013: 221, table 4.

Mizuno (1996: 436) suggests that the story of making Buddha images as found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is characteristic of the Mahāyāna, but he does not provide any discussion. Here we have to confront the complex issue of image cult, which will be clarified below. Firstly, I focus on the episode of King Udayana making a Buddha image since there was apparently a tradition that credited King Udayana with the making of a Buddha image. Then I demonstrate that this tradition appears to be closely linked to the Mahāyāna. Besides EĀ 36.5, similar episodes are also found in the following texts:

(1) *Sūtra on Making Buddha Images* (*Zuo fo xingxiang jing* 作佛形像經, T 692)

(2) *Sūtra on the Merits of Making and Setting up Images* (*Zaoli xingxiang fubao jing* 造立形像福報經, T 693)

(3) *Mahāyāna Sūtra on the Merits of Making Images* (*Dasheng zaoxiang gongde jing* 大乘造像功德經, T 694)

(4) *Sūtra on the Buddha's Paying a Debt of Gratitude with Great Skill-in-Means* (*Da fangbian fo bao'en jing* 大方便佛報恩經, T 156)

(5) *Sūtra on the Ocean-Like* Samādhi *of the Visualization of the Buddha* (*Guan fo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經, T 643)

Scholars have demonstrated that the last two texts, T 156 and T 643, are apocryphal works originally composed in Chinese.[39] Consequently, they fall outside the scope of this study.

The first text in the list, the *Sūtra on Making Buddha Images*, is ascribed to an unidentified translator in the Later Han dynasty

---

[39] For T 156, see Lin 1987: 71–74 and Supalaset 2009. For T 643, see Yamabe 1999: 186–213, etc.

(25–220 AD).[40] This text is mentioned in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* (出三藏記集),[41] the earliest extant catalogue of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, compiled by Sengyou (僧祐) around 515 AD.[42] In this catalogue the *Sūtra on Making Buddha Images* is listed among the texts attributed to unidentified translators, so we can affirm that this translation already existed at the time of Sengyou, but we do not know whether it goes back to the Later Han period.

The *Sūtra on the Merits of Making and Setting up Images* (T 693) is almost identical to the above *sūtra* except for a few more details and the addition of verses to T 692, which is entirely prose. This text is not mentioned in Sengyou's catalogue, but probably first appeared in the *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶紀),[43] a catalogue composed by Fei Changfang (費長房) in 597 AD.[44] From the foregoing it may be inferred that this text was translated between 515 and 597 AD.

Nanjio (1883: 76) points out that these two parallel texts, T 692 and T 693, agree with the Tibetan version, and he (pp. 75 and 76) provides these two texts with a Sanskrit title: *Tathāgata-pratibimba-pratiṣṭhānuśaṃsā*. Both *sūtra*s have the following storyline in common:

> The Buddha went to Kauśāmbī. King Udayana, only fourteen years old, approached the Buddha and said: "I am wor-

---

[40] T 692 at T XVI 788a: 關譯人名出後漢錄.

[41] T 2145 at T LV 22b: 作佛形像經一卷 (或云優填王作佛形像經或云作像因緣經).

[42] See, e.g., the relevant entry in the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, URL: http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=出三藏記集.

[43] T 2034 at T XLIX 116c.

[44] FDC: 6253.

ried that I may not see the Buddha again after he has left. I intend to make a Buddha image, to which I can pay my respect. What merits will I acquire by doing this?" In reply to the king, the Buddha enumerated several merits that people in the world will acquire by making Buddha images. The king and his officials who listened to this sermon were all reborn in the field of Amitābha Buddha after death.[45]

This story is different from that in EĀ 36.5, but in both stories King Udayana is credited with making a Buddha image. It is worth noting that the above two texts, T 692 and T 693, mention Amitābha Buddha and so they apparently belong to Mahāyāna

---

[45] T 692 at T XVI 788a–c: 佛至拘鹽惟國 … 時國王名優填，年十四。聞佛當來，王即勅傍臣左右，皆悉嚴駕，王即行迎佛。… 王復白佛言：「人作善者，其得福祐當何趣向？佛去後，我恐不復見佛，我欲作佛形像，恭敬承事之。後當得何等福？…」… 佛言：「天下人作佛形像者, (1) 其後世所生處，眼目淨潔，面貌端政，身體手足常好。生天上亦淨潔，與諸天絕異，眼目面貌好。… (14) 後世死，不復更泥犁、禽獸、薜荔惡道中生 …」… 其王歡喜，前為佛作禮，以頭面著佛足。王、群臣皆為佛作禮而去。壽終，皆生阿彌陀佛國. T 693 at T XVI 788c–790a: 佛至拘羅瞿國 … 時國王名優填，年始十四。聞佛當來，王即勅傍臣左右皆悉嚴駕，王行迎佛。… 王復白佛言：「人作善者，此之福祐當何所獲? 佛去以後，我恐不復見佛，今欲作佛形像，恭敬承事，得何福報?…」… 佛言：「天下人民能作佛形像者, (1) 其後世世所生之處，眼目淨潔，面貌端政，身體手足常好柔軟。生於天上亦復淨潔，諸天中勝，眼目面貌甚好無比。… (14) 作佛形像其福無量 … 後世所生常護佛道 … (15) 無所憂畏 … (16) 死後不復入於地獄、畜生、餓鬼諸惡道中…」爾時優填王以偈讚佛：佛者大聖人　為眾生說法　拘深瞿師園　優填叉手問　聞梵音審諦　不動百福成　作佛形像者　得何等福報？爾時世尊說偈答曰：王諦聽吾說　福地恢上士　福德無過者　作佛形像報　恒生大富家　尊貴無極珍　眷屬常恭敬　作佛形像報 … 佛說經竟，王大歡喜，即起前以頭面著佛足而起。比丘、比丘尼、優婆塞、優婆夷及其五百傍臣左右，皆起歡喜為佛作禮。後皆往生阿彌陀佛國 …．

literature.

The third text in the above list, the *Mahāyāna Sūtra on the Merits of Making Images* (T 694), unequivocally bears the word "Mahāyāna" in its title. Judging from the content, it is indeed a Mahāyāna text. This *sūtra* was translated by Devendraprajña (提雲般若) in 691 AD.[46] It begins with the following story very similar to the Udayana episode in EĀ 36.5:

At one time the Buddha was in the heaven of the Thirty-three … Then the Blessed One spent three months in the heaven for the [rains] retreat, preaching to his mother. … Then King Udayana, dwelling in his palace, often felt sad and longed for the Buddha … He further thought: "I should now make a Buddha image for worshipping and offering." … Immediately he summoned all the craftsmen in the country. … They told the king: "Your majesty should now use purely purple sandalwood to make the image."[47]

Although the whole story is much more elaborate than the Udayana episode in EĀ 36.5, its content basically matches the *Ekottarika--āgama* version.

According to the above discussion, apart from EĀ 36.5, the story of King Udayana making a Buddha image is found in three

---

[46] Nanjio 1883: 75; FDC: 826. For the correct form of the translator's Sanskrit name, see Forte 1979: 289f.

[47] T XVI 790a: 一時佛在三十三天 … 爾時世尊在彼天上，三月安居，為母說法 … 爾時優陀延王住在宮中，常懷悲感，渴仰於佛 … 即更思惟：「我今應當造佛形像，禮拜供養。」… . T XVI 790b: 即時告勅國內所有工巧之人，並令來集。… 白王言：「王今造像應用純紫栴檀之木。」.

*sūtra*s,[48] all of which belong to the Mahāyāna. In view of this fact, such a story could have emerged in a Mahāyāna milieu. Moreover, scholars have pointed out that the Mahāyāna is marked by its "visualization practices devoutly directed at the Buddha".[49] Stories that advocate making Buddha images such as those discussed above fit in this context. According to Yinshun (1981: 11–13), one of the major causes for the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism is that the Buddhists cherished an everlasting memory of the Buddha due to his having passed away into final Nirvāṇa (*parinirvāṇa*). He suggests that although the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* is final and perfect from the Dharma's point of view, his passing away nonetheless induced feelings of shock and grief among Buddhists, including Ānanda; and the nostalgic memories of the Buddha continued to grow from generation to generation and eventually stimulated the emergence of the Mahāyāna. One of the oldest extant forms of a Mahāyāna *sūtra*, the *Daoxing banruo jing* (道行般若經, T 224), is the translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* done by Lokakṣema in the second century AD.[50] A passage in this text reads:

> If there are contemporaries of the Buddha who have seen him, then after the Buddha's final Nirvāṇa (般泥洹, *parinirvāṇa), they will miss him and for this reason they will make

---

[48] Or perhaps more precisely two *sūtra*s, one of which has two versions.

[49] Harvey 2013: 108. Cf. also Williams 1989: 30 and Skilton 2002: 51. While discussing factors involved in the composition and transmission of Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, Ruegg 2004: 18f says: "Meditative visualization of the Buddha — a continuation of traditional *buddhānusmṛti* 'rememoration of the Buddha' rendering him immediately present — has also played a highly significant role".

[50] Lancaster 2005: 302.

images, wishing people in this world to revere [the Buddha] and receive the merit.[51]

The motivation for making Buddha images as shown in this text is exactly the same sentiment that was conducive to Mahāyāna Buddhism as Yinshun suggests. Likewise, it is this sort of sentiment that prompts King Udayana to have a Buddha image made as recorded in the above stories. A similar idea also appears in the earliest translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (大方廣佛華嚴經, T 278) done in 418 AD:[52] "After the Tathāgatas have passed away, I will collect each of their remains and erect stūpas … I will make im-

---

[51] T 224 at T VIII 476b: 若有見佛時人，佛般泥洹後，念佛故作像，欲使世間人供養得其福. Schopen 2005: 117 regards this reference to Buddha images as being "open to suspicion" because "[i]t occurs only in the two earliest Chinese translations of the text and not in the later ones: nor in the extant Sanskrit text, which we now know agrees well with the text in the recently published fragments of a Kuṣān manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*; nor in the Tibetan translation". We should, however, also consider the following observation by Lancaster 2005: 302: "This translation [i.e., the *Daoxing banruo jing*], when compared with the Sanskrit manuscripts and the later Chinese and Tibetan translations, gives an indication of the major changes which occurred not only in the text itself, but in the whole of the Mahāyāna tradition". The same reference to Buddha images also appears in another early translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, the *Da mingdu jing* (大明度經), T 225 at VIII 507a: 若有見佛時人，佛滅度後，念佛故作像，欲使十方供養得其福, translated in the third century AD according to Lancaster 2005: 303. This fact reinforces the authenticity of the passage on Buddha images as already contained in an Indic original on which the second century translation, the *Daoxing banruo jing*, was based. Recent research by Karashima 2013: 182–184 also supports my view.

[52] FDC: 760.

ages of the Tathāgatas …".[53] The same passage is also found in a later translation of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (T 279)[54] done in 699 AD.[55] These accounts of the Buddha image cult echo the changed conception of the Buddha in the Mahāyāna. In line with this tendency, "devotional cults sprang up in which reverence and homage were offered".[56]

On the other hand, Schopen (2005: 113–116) demonstrates that a rich corpus of donative inscriptions connected with Buddhist cult images in the early centuries of the Christian Era in North India has little to do with the Mahāyāna. These inscriptional records "sometimes, but only in a distinct minority of cases, explicitly name the monastic order that received … the individual images that were donated", such as the Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṃghika and Dharmaguptaka (pp. 114f). He asserts: "there is still nothing identifiably Mahāyāna in any of these records dealing with the early image cult" (p. 115). Similarly, Shimada (2011: 137) notes that the extant early Buddha images were largely donated to the *nikāya*s (early Buddhist schools) and very few of them display Mahāyāna characteristics. Does this mean that the Mahāyāna was much less concerned with Buddha images than those early schools were? The answer is probably negative.

Williams (1989: 5) states:

That Mahāyāna was embedded in its origins and develop-

---

[53] T 278 at T IX 646a: 彼諸如來滅度之後，我當悉取舍利而起塔廟 … 造如來像 … .

[54] T 279 at T X 292b: 彼諸如來滅度之後，我當為一一如來所有舍利各起寶塔 … 造佛形像 … .

[55] FDC: 762.

[56] Keown 1996: 59.

ment in the non-Mahāyāna schools is supported by inscriptional evidence. With the exception of one inscription from perhaps 104 CE (…), the earliest inscriptions containing recognizably Mahāyāna formulations date from as late as the fourth or fifth centuries CE. … It seems clear that Mahāyāna was in its origins and for some centuries almost exclusively the concern of a small number of monks and nuns from within the non-Mahāyāna schools, and as such subject to non-Mahāyāna Vinayas.

Even Schopen (2005: 239) suggests: "… we are able to assume that what we now call the Mahāyāna did not begin to emerge as a separate and independent group until the fourth century". The indication that the early Mahāyāna (second/first century BC – fourth/fifth century AD) was a minority from within the non-Mahāyāna schools explains why the extant early images (in the early centuries of the Christian Era) are mostly associated with the non-Mahāyāna schools (*nikāya*) rather than with the Mahāyāna.

Schopen (2005: 128–132) points out that there are two "authorizations *only* for images of the Bodhisattva [i.e., prince Siddhārtha]" in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinaya* texts, and suggests that they "can hardly be unrelated to what we find in the actual early image cult in North India, which is … predominantly and perhaps exclusively a cult of *the* Bodhisattva" (p. 132). Rhi (1994: 220) also notes: "The fact that there was a period in which Gautama was represented only in the form of the Bodhisattva, not the Buddha, is attested in several passages in the *Vinayas*", which include the Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya*s (pp. 220f). An important passage in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, or the *Ten Recitations Vinaya*, runs as follows:

> The householder Anāthapiṇḍada said to the Buddha: "O Blessed One, if an image of the Buddha's body should not be made, I wish that the Buddha will allow me to make an image of a Bodhisattva *attendant*. Is that alright?" The Buddha said: "I allow [you to] make."[57]

The reading "an image of a Bodhisattva *attendant*" is puzzling. Rhi (1994: 221) refers to Lin's (1949: 97 with note 2) emendation: *shi* 侍 "attendant" is a scribal error for *shi* 時 "when". Thus the correct reading should be "an image [of the Buddha] *when* [he was] a Bodhisattva". Rhi regards Lin's suggestion as "quite plausible" because the phrase "when [the Buddha was] a Bodhisattva" ([*fo wei*] *pusa shi* [佛為]菩薩時) is commonly found in Buddhist scriptures. In any case, the foregoing passage undoubtedly prohibits the making of a Buddha image, but it allows a Bodhisattva image in light of the above discussion. This fits well with the inscriptional records as noted by Schopen (2005: 116): "… early Buddhist cult images, even when these images iconographically represented Buddhas, were overwhelmingly referred to as Bodhisattvas in their accompanying inscriptions".

As Schopen (2005: 132) says, "there is no evidence for such a cult of Siddhārtha or the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni in early Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature". I would like to add that the above interdiction against making an image of the Buddha is perhaps not present in Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, but on the contrary, the Mahāyānists may have been the first to allow or even advocate the making of "Buddha" (not "Bodhisattva") images. Apart from the two early

---

[57] *Shisong lü* (十誦律), T 1435 at T XXIII 352a: 給孤獨居士 … 白佛言：「世尊，如佛身像不應作，願佛聽我作菩薩侍像者善。」佛言：「聽作。」.

Mahāyāna *sūtra*s (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and *Buddhāvataṃsaka*) mentioned above, the making of Buddha images is attested in many other early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, such as the **Sumatibodhisattva-sūtra*[58] translated by Dharmarakṣa (active in 266–308 AD),[59] the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*[60] translated by Kumārajīva in 406 AD,[61] the **Mahāvaipulyamahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra*[62] translated by Dharmakṣema (385–433 AD),[63] and the **Devarājapravaraprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*[64] translated by Upaśūnya in 565 AD.[65]

As discussed earlier in this paper, Mahāyāna Buddhism is characterized by its acceptance of a new distinctive canonical literature, the Mahāyāna *sūtra*s. It seems that the *sūtra* literature featuring King Udayana's Buddha image, along with other accounts of making "Buddha" images mentioned above, originated from the Mahāyāna.Therefore we can assume that this "Mahāyāna element", i.e.,

---

[58] *Xumoti pusa jing* (須摩提菩薩經), T 334 at T XII 76c: 一者瞋恚不起 ... 四者作佛形像。是為四法，菩薩用是四事故，人見之常歡喜.

[59] Mai 1996: 51.

[60] T 262 at T IX 9a: 白鑞及鉛錫，鐵木及與泥，或以膠漆布，嚴飾作佛像，如是諸人等，皆已成佛道.

[61] FDC: 2848.

[62] *Dafangdeng daji jing* (大方等大集經), T 397 at T XIII 37c: 生生之處作佛像故，得那羅延力相.

[63] FDC: 6234.

[64] *Shengtianwang banruo boluomi jing* (勝天王般若波羅蜜經), T 231 at T VIII 703c: 菩薩摩訶薩造作佛像.

[65] FDC: 4859. This date is certainly later than early Mahāyāna Buddhism, but it is reasonable to assume that it took at least one or two centuries for the text to be circulated in India and be transmitted, probably via central Asia, to China before it was translated into Chinese.

the episode of King Udayana's Buddha image, was incorporated into the *Ekottarika-āgama* at some point in time. Could this episode be an interpolation into the first translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*? The answer is negative. As demonstrated above, the story about images made by the Kings Udayana and Prasenajit appears in the *Jinglü yixiang* as two quotations from a certain version of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, which in all likelihood is the first translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

III. Mahāsāṃghika and Mahāyāna

The first translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* was produced by Zhu Fonian in collaboration with others, including Dharmanandin, Tansong (曇嵩), Fahe (法和) and even Dao'an (道安),[66] a prominent figure in the history of Chinese Buddhism. Consequently, this work is not suspected of containing any interpolations by Zhu Fonian, in contrast with suspicion cast on some of his works produced during the latter part of his career while he was mainly working alone.[67] Therefore, we can affirm that the Indic original of the *Ekottarika-āgama* introduced into China by Dharmanandin did contain at least two Mahāyāna elements, i.e., the Diamond Concentration in new senses and King Udayana's making of the Buddha image.

While the *Jinglü yixiang* quotes 24 passages from the *Ekottarika-āgama*,[68] 7 passages are said to be quoted not only from the

---

[66] See the Preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* by Dao'an (T 125 at T II 549a).

[67] Nattier 2010: 253.

[68] Su 2007: 145–147, table 8.

Ekottarika-āgama but also from other texts,[69] so these 7 passages are in fact amalgams of different sources. Consequently, only 17 passages, which are cited exclusively from the *Ekottarika-āgama*, are valid for the present research. Of these 17 passages, the two passages on image making must come from the same *sūtra* in view of the coherence of the storyline when the two passages are put together (as discussed above), and so we have 16 valid *sūtra*s in total. In sum, 2 *sūtra*s out of the 16 *sūtra*s quoted from the *Ekottarika-āgama* by the *Jinglü yixiang*, or 12.5% of the quoted *sūtra*s, are relevant to the Mahāyāna. The percentage seems significant, but with such small samples, we are unable to conduct a meaningful statistical analysis. Nevertheless, from this percentage we can deduce that when the *Ekottarika-āgama* was first translated, it already contained a considerable amount of Mahāyāna elements. In other words, these Mahāyāna elements crept into the *Ekottarika-āgama* when it was passed down in India (in a broad sense). How could this have happened to a corpus of *sūtra*s that is supposed to belong to "early Buddhism" rather than to the Mahāyāna? As suggested above, there are two possibilities:

(1) These Mahāyāna elements were borrowed from Mahāyāna texts.
(2) These peculiar elements originated from the *Ekottarika-āgama* and then inspired the further development and formulation of Mahāyāna thought.

Below are some indications that support the first possibility.

The extant *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) is ascribed to the Mahā-sāṃghikas by Bareau (1955a: 55–57), Ui (1965: 137f), Akanuma (1981: 38f), Bronkhorst (1985: 312–314), Schmithausen (1987: 318–321), Yinshun (1994: 755f) and Pāsādika (2008: 147f and 2010: 88–90). The Mahāsāṃghika hypothesis seems to prevail and

---

[69] Items nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 16, 21 and 24 in Su 2007: 145–147, table 8.

has been substantially strengthened by my recent research (Kuan 2012, 2013a and 2013b), which suggests that a considerable part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is likely to be of Mahāsāṃghika provenance, and that the *Ekottarika-āgama* contains numerous salient features of Mahāsāṃghika doctrine. Accordingly, this school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is taken as a working hypothesis for the present study.[70]

Let us look into a bit of the Mahāsāṃghika history. Bareau (1955b: ix, 108) makes the following remark when referring to the *Sanlun xuanyi* (三論玄義) by Jizang (吉藏, 549–623 AD),[71] which includes fragments of the commentary by Paramārtha (真諦, 499–569 AD) on the treatise by Vasumitra (*Bu zhiyi lun* 部執異論, T 2033):

> Paramārtha has passed on to us some data that this tradition [referring back to the Kashmiri Sarvāstivādins] has over-looked, such as the exile of the Mahāsāṃghikas to the north of Rājagṛha, data that seem to me credible enough to make me think that he has based them on other sources that are also worthy of attention.[72]

---

[70] Hirakawa 1989: 33f disagrees with this attribution on the grounds that the *Ekottarika-āgama* differs from the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* regarding the listing of the *aṅga*s, the number of *prātimokṣa* rules, the content of the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*, and the sequence of listing the four *Āgama*s. However, Anālayo 2009: 823 has demonstrated that all of these four objections are inconclusive.

[71] T 1852 at T XLV 8b–9c.

[72] I am grateful to Dr. Roderick S. Bucknell for translating this passage into

This record of the Mahāsāṃghika history, which may be reliable according to Bareau, contains the following account:

> At that time due to Mahādeva the Mahāsāṃghikas migrated and lived in the country of *Aṅguttarāpa, which lies to the north of Rājagṛha. This school preached the *Tripiṭaka* mingled with Mahāyāna *sūtra*s such as the *Avataṃsaka* and the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Then some believed while others did not believe, so they split into two schools.[73]

Just like Bareau, Harrison (1982: 228) sees this record as at least partly true and says:

> Paramārtha, for example, ascribes early splits within the Mahāsāṃghikas to differences of opinion over the authenticity of Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Avataṃsaka* and the *Prajñāpāramitā* … the affinities between certain theses attributed to the Mahāsāṃghikas and various ideas propounded in the Prajñāpāramitā literature suggest that it contains at least a grain of truth.

In this connection, it is worth noting that Schmithausen (1987: 318–321) suggests the possibility that the *Ekottarika-āgama* belongs to the Mahāsāṃghikas on grounds of certain significant correspondences between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and several versions of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. Similarly, as discussed above, the Mahāyāna *sūtra*s such as the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Ava-*

English for me.

[73] T 1852 at T XLV 8c: 于時大眾部因摩訶提婆移度住央崛多羅國，此國在王舍城北。此部將華嚴、般若等大乘經雜三藏中說之。時人有信者，有不信者，故成二部.

taṃsaka contain the term "Diamond(-like) Concentration" in innovative senses, which also recurs in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

Some indications of Mahāyāna influence on the Mahāsāṃghikas can be found in the *Tarkajvālā*, an auto-commentary on the *Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā* ascribed to the sixth-century philosopher Bhāviveka (Bhavya).[74] This text was originally written in Sanskrit and is now preserved in Tibetan translation. Chapter four of this text contains a wealth of information of the Śrāvaka (non--Mahāyāna) Buddhist schools. This chapter has been translated into English by Eckel (2008: 103–212), which will be referred to in the discussion below.

Chapter four of the *Tarkajvālā* states: "It also is generally accepted in the texts of most of the eighteen schools (*nikāya*) that [monks] should pay homage to Bodhisattvas".[75] Then it goes on to cite examples from the scriptures of these schools, namely six schools of the Mahāsāṃghika lineage and eleven schools of the Sthavira lineage. It is noteworthy that according to these seventeen citations, four out of the six Mahāsāṃghika schools mention the superiority of Bodhisattvas over Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas, whereas no such mention is found in any passages quoted from the eleven schools of the Sthavira lineage.[76] The relevant passages quoted from the scriptures of those four Mahāsāṃghika schools are as follows:

It says in the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* of the Pūrvaśaila Ārya Mahāsāṃghikas … : … Any Bodhisattvas who obtain this concentration will correctly understand the 84,000 preoccupa-

---

[74] For discussions of the correct form of his name, see the references in Eckel 2008: 88 note 1.

[75] Eckel 2008: 166.

[76] Eckel 2008: 169–173.

tions of sentient beings and expound the Dharma in accordance with them. But Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas cannot do this … .[77] (1)

It says in the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* of the Aparaśaila Ārya Mahāsāṃghikas: … Bodhisattvas can do things that are not possible for Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas … .[78] (2)

It says in the *Vaipulyapiṭaka* of the Bhadrayānīya Mahāsāṃghikas … : He asked the Blessed One: "… With Samantabhadra [a bodhisattva] and others, you have dwelt in the tenth stage (*bhūmi*). The Dharma … is beyond the range of Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas … ."[79] (3)

It says in the *Jātakapiṭaka* of the Haimavata Mahāsāṃghikas: Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas cannot fathom the secrets of the Bodhisattvas' body, speech, and mind.[80] (4)

These passages emphasize the supremacy of Bodhisattvas over Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas. This idea is articulated in Mahāyāna texts and is even formulated as the concept of three vehicles (*triyāna* or *yānatraya*, 三乘), which considers the Bodhisattva vehicle (*bodhisattvayāna*) to be the "great vehicle", i.e., Mahāyāna.[81] In contrast to the above passages quoted from the four

---

[77] Eckel 2008: 167f.

[78] Eckel 2008: 168.

[79] Eckel 2008: 168.

[80] Eckel 2008: 169.

[81] Tsai 2001: 159 points out that in the extant Sanskrit *Prajñāpāramitā* literature the third vehicle reads either *buddha-yāna*, or *bodhisattva-yāna*, or *mahā-yāna*. Choong 2008: 308 suggests that in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature the terms *buddha-yāna* and *mahā-yāna* may have appeared rather late. Similarly,

Mahāsāṃghika schools, nothing about the superiority of Bodhisattvas over Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas is cited by the *Tarkajvālā* from any of the eleven schools of the Sthavira lineage.[82] If any of these schools had such a passage in their texts, it would have been quoted in the *Tarkajvālā* since the author of the *Tarkajvālā* was keen to prove that the non-Mahāyāna schools also pay homage to Bodhisattvas.

Another significant contrast is that four Bodhisattvas' names, viz. Mañjuśrī, Jālinīprabha, Samantabhadra and Avalokiteśvara, are mentioned in the passages quoted from the above four Mahāsāṃghika schools, but none of these names appear in any passages cited from the eleven schools of the Sthavira lineage.[83] These Bodhisattvas are typical Mahāyāna figures. With regard to this, Skilling (1997: 612) remarks:

> That at least some of the texts transmitted by the Pūrvaśailas differed radically from those of the better-known mainstream schools (Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins, Sthaviras), to the point that they would seem to be indistinguishable from certain types of Mahāyāna texts, is clear from the present citation.

Referring to the Pūrvaśailas and Aparaśailas, Skilling (ibid.) points out: "It is reported that the two schools transmitted a Prakrit *Pra-*

Harvey 2013: 110 says: "At first, the new movement was called the *Bodhisattva-yāna* … As the new movement responded to criticisms …, it increasingly stressed the superiority of the *Bodhisattva-yāna*, and referred to it as the *Mahā-yāna*: the 'Great Vehicle'".

[82] Eckel 2008: 169–173.

[83] Eckel 2008: 169–173.

jñāpāramitā" according to a Tibetan source. In view of the foregoing, certain schools of the Mahāsāṃghika lineage did have texts influenced by Mahāyāna literature. This supports Paramārtha's account that some Mahāsāṃghikas mixed their texts with Mahāyāna *sūtra*s.

III.1 Four Fundamentals of the Dharma

What follows is concerned with the last of the four questions in sequence raised at the beginning of this paper. A set of four items called the "four fundamentals of the Dharma" recurs in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Before dealing with this idea, let us first examine other relevant notions that may have paved the way for it. As Fujita (1975: 114) points out, the early Buddhist texts repeatedly teach that each of the five aggregates, the six senses, the six sense objects, etc., are impermanent, unsatisfactory and non-self. Such teachings are summarized in the following three statements in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and in the *Dhammapada*:[84]

> *sabbe saṃkhārā aniccā.*
> All conditioned things are impermanent.
> *sabbe saṃkhārā dukkhā.*
> All conditioned things are unsatisfactory.
> *sabbe dhammā anattā.*
> All *dhamma*s are non-self.

The first and third statements also appear side by side in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.[85] Fujita (1975: 114)

---

[84] AN 3.134 at AN I 286,8ff; Dhp verses 277, 278 and 279.

[85] MN 35 at MN I 228,13 and 230,8; SN 22.90 at SN III 132,26–134,3.

and Hakamaya (1979: 72) both recognize that these three propositions are called the "three characteristics" (*tilakkhaṇa*, *tīṇi lakkhaṇāni*) in the later Pali literature such as the *Jātaka*s and the *Visuddhimagga*.[86] Hirakawa (1990: 50) observes that while the Theravāda tradition formulates the three characteristics of existence, the northern Buddhist tradition substitutes "Nirvāṇa is calm" for the second characteristic. Precisely speaking, the northern tradition has the following formula:

> All conditioned things are impermanent.
> All *dharma*s are non-self.
> Nirvāṇa is calm.

This formula is found in *sūtra* no. 262 of the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*,[87] which is widely ascribed to the Sarvāstivāda[88] or perhaps more specifically the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition.[89] Fujita (1975: 107) argues that this formula was interpolated into the *Saṃyukta-āgama* by the Sarvāstivādins on the grounds that this formula appears only in this one *sūtra* out of the 1300-plus *sūtra*s in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, and that except for the above reference, this formula is not found anywhere in the extant *Āgama*s or the corresponding Pali texts. Fujita (pp. 107f) also points out that it appears in many Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda texts.[90] Its Sanskrit

---

86 E.g., Ja I 48,28 and 275,23, Ja III 377,5, Ja IV 340,25, Vism 530,13, 531,14f and 549,15ff.

87 SĀ 262, T 99 at T II 66b: 一切行無常，一切法無我，涅槃寂滅.

88 Kumoi 1963: 248; Ui 1965: 136; Yinshun 1994: 97; Hiraoka 2000: 501.

89 Lü 1963: 242; Enomoto 1984a: 1071; Enomoto 1984b: 99; Mizuno 1996: 373–375; Hiraoka 2003; Oberlies 2003: 64.

90 E.g., *Abhidharma-saṃgīti-paryāya-pāda-śāstra* (集異門足論), T 1536 at

original is found in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*:

> *sarvasaṃskārā anityāḥ.*
> *sarvadharmā anātmānaḥ.*
> *śāntaṃ nirvāṇam*.[91]

This stock formula, composed of the three statements, is often rendered in Chinese as the "three seals of the Dharma" (三法印), a translation shown to be problematic by Fujita (1975: 107) and Hakamaya (1979: 67). Fujita (1975: 108) suggests the possibility that this stock formula was formed within the Sarvāstivāda school and afterwards influenced several Mahāyāna texts.[92]

XXVI 401c; *Dharmaskandha* (法蘊足論), T 1537 at T XXVI 512b; *Mahā-vibhāṣā* (大毘婆沙論), T 1545 at T XXVII 45a, 75b, 127b, 429a, 659c; *Saṃ-yuktābhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (雜阿毘曇心論), T 1552 at T XXVIII 949a; *Nyāyānusāra* (順正理論), T 1562 at T XXIX 455a and 736a; various texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (T 1442 at XXIII 670c, 848c, 864a; T 1448 at T XXIV 50b; T 1451 at T XXIV 376b; T 1452 at T XXIV 435c; etc.).

[91] Pradhan 1967: 80,20f and 108,21.

[92] Fujita 1975: 107 lists the references to the term "three seals of the Dharma", but many of them refer only to the term without describing the three statements. Later in his article (p. 108), he enumerates the other Mahāyāna references to the three statements, but two of the references deviate from the standard formula (T 635 at T XV 496b, T 625 at T XV 369c). Among the references given by Fujita, the valid references in Mahāyāna texts to the standard formula composed of the three statements are as follows: *Mahā-prajñāpāramitopadeśa* (大智度論), T 1509 at T XXV 297c, etc.; *Lianhuamian jing* (蓮華面經), T 386 at T XII 1077a–b; *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (大般涅槃經), T 374 at T XII 443a and 684c; *Dharmakāya-sūtra* (法身經), T 766 at T XVII 700a; *Fa putixin po zhumo jing* (發菩提心破諸魔經), T 838 at T XVII 900c; *Dasheng xiuxing pusa xingmen zhujing yaoji* (大乘修行菩薩行門諸經要集), T 847 at T XVII 958a; *Upāsakaśīla-sūtra* (優婆塞戒經), T 1488 at T XXIV

Another stock formula composed of four statements is found in many more Mahāyāna texts. These four statements are:

All conditioned things are impermanent.
All conditioned things are unsatisfactory.
All *dharma*s are non-self.
Nirvāṇa is calm.

This formula looks like a synthesis of the foregoing "three characteristics" and "three seals of the Dharma". Its designation is translated into Chinese as "four seals of the Dharma" (四法印)[93] or is half translated and half transcribed as "four *youtanna* Dharma" (四憂檀那法),[94] "four kinds of Dharma *woduonan*" (四種法嗢拕[95]南),[96] etc. "*Youtanna* Dharma" and "Dharma *woduonan*" appar-

---

1060b); *Yogācārabhūmi* (瑜伽師地論), T 1579 at T XXX 783c.

[93] E.g., the *Dharmasaṃgraha* (法集名數經), T 764 at T XVII 660c: 云何四法印？所謂一切行無常。一切行苦。一切法無我。涅槃寂靜. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (大乘莊嚴經論), T 1604 at T XXXI 646a: 四法印者：一者一切行無常印。二者一切行苦印。三者一切法無我印。四者涅槃寂滅印.

[94] E.g., the *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra* (菩薩地持經), T 1581 at T XXX 934c: 有四憂檀那法 ... 一切行無常是憂檀那法。一切行苦是憂檀那法。一切法無我是憂檀那法。涅槃寂滅是憂檀那法.

[95] Variant reading 柁.

[96] Here are two examples: the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in the Main Stages Division of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (瑜伽師地論本地分中菩薩地), T 1579 at T XXX 544a: 復有四種法嗢拕南。諸佛菩薩欲令有情清淨故說。何等為四。一切諸行皆是無常。是名第一法嗢拕南。一切諸行皆悉是苦。是名第二法嗢拕南。一切諸法皆無有我。是名第三法嗢拕南。涅槃寂靜。是名第四法嗢拕南; the *Āryadeśanā-vikhyāpana* (顯揚聖教論), T 1602 at T XXXI 510b: 如四種法嗢拕南教：謂一切行無常乃至涅槃寂靜. Cf. the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (說無垢稱經) T 476 at T XIV 586c: 諸法

ently render *dharmoddāna* (< *dharma-uddāna*), which is attested in the Sanskrit version of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*[97] and of the *Mahāyā-nasūtrālaṃkāra*.[98]

Following a discussion of the "three seals of the Dharma" (三法印) and the "four seals of the Dharma" (四法印), Hakamaya (1979: 67) concludes that these two terms are unlikely to be translated from Indic words containing *dharma-mudrā*, "seal of the Dharma", which appears in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* in a different context. Hakamaya (1979: 65–66) suggests that in many cases, the Chinese translation 法印 "seal of the Dharma" is likely to have been translated from *dharmoddāna*. For instance, *dharmoddāna-catuṣṭayaṃ* in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* is translated as "four seals" (四印) in a verse and as "four seals of the Dharma" (四法印) in the prose commentary.[99] On the other hand, Hakamaya (1979: 75) indicates that the "four seals of the Dharma" (四法印) in the *Dharmasaṃgraha* (法集名數經, T 764) is translated from *catvāri dharmapadāni* in the Sanskrit text.[100] Since *pada* can mean "footing", derived from its original meaning "footstep",[101] *dharma-padāni* may be rendered as "basics of doctrine" and therefore conveys a sense analogous to that of *dharmoddānāni*, "summary statements of doctrine".[102]

The stock formula composed of the above four statements, be it

---

無常、有苦、無我、寂靜，發生四種法嗢拕南.

[97] Wogihara 1971: 277,5.

[98] Lévi 1907: 148,25.

[99] See also Fujita 1975: 113.

[100] Kasawara 1885: 12,1; T 764 at T XVII 660c.

[101] Monier-Williams 1899: 583, s.v. *pada.*

[102] Edgerton 1953: 130, s.v. *uddāna.*

called *catvāri dharmapadāni* or something else, or even without any designation, appears in a large number of Mahāyāna texts.[103] This formula seems unique to the Mahāyāna as it is not found in any non-Mahāyāna texts except the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This formula may be compared to the case of the six *pāramitā*s scheme that is central to the Mahāyāna practice. Keown (1996: 64) points out that "this scheme constitutes a reformulation of the early

---

[103] E.g., the *Tathāgataguhya-sūtra* (密迹金剛力士會) included in the *Ratnakūṭa* collection (大寶積經), T 310.3 at T XI 72c = 如來不思議祕密大乘經, T 312 at T XI 741b); the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* (菩薩藏會) included in the *Ratnakūṭa*, T 310.12 at T XI 208a = 大乘菩薩藏正法經, T 316 at T XI 794c; the *Ratnarāśi-sūtra* (寶梁聚會) included in the *Ratnakūṭa*, T 310.44 at T XI 640b; the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (大方廣佛華嚴經), T 279 at T X 309c; the *Haiyi pusa suowen jingyin famen jing* (海意菩薩所問淨印法門經), T 400 at T XIII 479c; the **Mahāvaipulya-mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra* (大方等大集經), T 397 at T XIII 45c and 210c; the **Devarājapravara-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (勝天王般若波羅蜜經), T 231 at T VIII 704b; the *Kaijue zixing banruo boluomiduo jing* (開覺自性般若波羅蜜多經), T 260 at T VIII 864a–b; the **Mahākaruṇā-sūtra* (大悲經), T 380 at T XII 951c; the *Fo wei hailongwang shuo fayin jing* (佛為海龍王說法印經), T 599 at T XV 157b); the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* (解深密經), T 676 at T XVI 709b, c; the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (菩薩地) included in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (瑜伽師地論), T 1579 at T XXX 544a = **Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra* (菩薩地持經), T 1581 at T XXX 934c = Wogihara 1971: 277; the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (大乘莊嚴經論), T 1604 at T XXXI 646a = Lévi 1907: 148; the **Āryadeśanā-vikhyāpana* (顯揚聖教論), T 1602 at T XXXI 510b; the **Abhidharma-samuccaya-vyākhyā* (大乘阿毘達磨雜集論), T 1606 at T XXXI 745a; the *Dharmasaṃgraha* (法集名數經), T 764 at T XVII 660c. The following are incomplete versions of the formula that contain at least "impermanent, unsatisfactory, non-self, calm": the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (說無垢稱經), T 476 at T XIV 586c; *Daji da xukongzong pusa suowen jing* (大集大虛空藏菩薩所問經), T 404 at T XIII 620a); *Lalitavistara*, Lefmann 1902: 32,4–8 or Vaidya 1958: 23,16–19 = 方廣大莊嚴經, T 187 at T III 544b. The above references are mostly cited from Fujita 1975: 109–112.

teachings" and that the three divisions of the Noble Eightfold Path – morality (*śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) – feature among the six *pāramitā*s. Actually, the other three *pāramitā*s – generosity (*dāna*), patience (*kṣānti*) and energy (*vīrya*) – are also virtues articulated in pre-Mahāyāna texts.[104] The whole scheme of the six *pāramitā*s is indeed a Mahāyāna reformulation of the early teachings. Likewise, the foregoing formula composed of the four statements is a "seemingly Mahāyānic" reformulation of the early teachings.

As mentioned above, the *Ekottarika-āgama* is the only non-Mahāyāna text that has this formula. In this *Āgama* collection, it is designated variably as "four fundamentals of the Dharma" (四法之本; or 四法本, leaving out 之, "of"), "four fundamentals and incidentals of the Dharma" (四法本末) or "four doctrines of phenomena" (四事之教). These terms are probably synonyms or at least interchangeable judging from the contexts (see below). They may well be translated from words like *catvāri dharmapadāni* or *dharmoddāna-catuṣṭayaṃ* mentioned above. Relevant passages from four *sūtra*s of the *Ekottarika-āgama* are listed as follows:

(1) EĀ 26.8: The Blessed One told the monks: "… Now there are four fundamentals and incidentals of the Dharma (四法本末), which I understand by myself and witness among the four assemblies, deities and human beings. What four?
First, 'All conditioned things are impermanent', which I now understand by myself and witness among the four assemblies, deities and human beings.

---

[104] E.g., AN 5.36 at AN III 41,12ff: *dāna* (generosity), DN 14 at DN II 49,22: *khantī* (patience), SN 12.89 at SN II 132,10: *viriya* (energy).

Second, 'All conditioned things are unsatisfactory' […]
Third, 'All conditioned things are non-self' […]
Fourth, 'Nirvāṇa is **calm** (休息, **upaśama*)',[105] which I now understand by myself and witness among the four assemblies, deities and human beings.
These, monks, are the four fundamentals of the Dharma (四法之本), owing to which I alone am venerated among deities and human beings."[106]

(2) EĀ 26.9: Now there are four fundamentals and incidentals of the Dharma (四法本末) preached by the Tathāgata. What four?
"All conditioned things are impermanent" is the first fundamental and incidental of the Dharma preached by the Tathāgata.
"All conditioned things are unsatisfactory" is the second fundamental and incidental of the Dharma preached by the Tathāgata.

---

[105] The reconstructed Sanskrit counterpart of 休息 is based on the following fact. The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (e.g., AN 1.20.93–102 at AN I 42,9–18) contains a tenfold list of *anussati*s. Similarly, the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T II 554a–557a) contains a series of ten *sūtra*s, each of which is devoted to one of the ten *anussati*s as found in the tenfold list of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. *Upasamānussati* in the list of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* corresponds to 念休息 in the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T II 555c–556a), and thus 休息 was evidently translated from an Indic word equivalent to Pali *upasama* or Sanskrit *upaśama*.

[106] T 125 at T II 639a: 世尊告諸比丘：「⋯ 今有四法本末，我躬自知之，而作證於四部之眾、天上、人中。云何為四？一者一切諸行皆悉無常，我今知之，於四部之眾、天上、人中而作證；二者一切諸行苦；三者一切諸行無我；四者涅槃休息，我今知之，於四部之眾，於天上、人中而作證。是謂，比丘！四法之本，是故於天上、人中而獨得尊。」.

"All conditioned things are non-self" is the third fundamental and incidental of the Dharma preached by the Tathāgata.
"Nirvāṇa is forever **calm** (寂, *śānta*)" is the fourth fundamental and incidental of the Dharma preached by the Tathāgata.[107]

(3) EĀ 42.3: The Blessed One said: "… I have preached the four doctrines of phenomena (四事之教) to the four assemblies. What four?
'All conditioned things are impermanent' is the first [fundamental of] the Dharma.
'All conditioned things are unsatisfactory' is the second [fundamental of] the Dharma.
'All conditioned things are non-self' is the third [fundamental of] the Dharma.
'Nirvāṇa is **cessation** (滅盡, *nirodha*)' is the fourth fundamental of the Dharma.
Thus before long the Tathāgata will pass away. You should understand the four fundamentals of the Dharma (四法之本) and widely expound their meanings to all sentient beings."[108]

(4) EĀ 31.4: One who wishes to attain the Deathless should reflect on the four fundamentals of the Dharma (四法本). What four?
"All conditioned things are impermanent" is the first

---

[107] T 125 at T II 640b: 今有四法本末，如來之所說。云何為四? 一切諸行無常，是謂初法本末，如來之所說。一切諸行苦，是謂第二法本末，如來之所說。一切諸行無我，是謂第三法本末，如來之所說。涅槃為永寂，是謂第四法本末，如來之所說.

[108] T 125 at T II 749a: 世尊告曰:「… 與四部之眾，說此四事之教。云何為四? 一切行無常，是謂一法；一切行苦，是謂二法，一切行無我，是謂三法；涅槃為滅盡，是謂第四法之本。如是不久，如來當取滅度。汝等當知四法之本，普與一切眾生而說其義。」.

fundamental of the Dharma …

"All conditioned things are unsatisfactory" is the second fundamental of the Dharma …

"All *dharma*s (法) are non-self" is the third fundamental of the Dharma …

"**Cessation** (滅盡, *nirodha) is Nirvāṇa" is the fourth fundamental of the Dharma … .[109]

There are some divergences among these four passages. First, the first three passages read: "All conditioned things are non-self", but the last passage states: "All *dharma*s are non-self". The *Dharma-saṃgraha* edited by Müller and Wenzel gives two variant readings in the third *dharma-pada*: *niratmānaḥ* (*sic*) *sarva-saṃskārāḥ* and *nirātmanaḥ* (*sic*) *sarva-dharmāḥ*.[110] Accordingly, the two propositions "all conditioned things are non-self" and "all *dharma*s are non-self" may have already co-existed in Buddhism at early times. This explains why both appear in our *Ekottarika-āgama* in different *sūtra*s.

Second, Nirvāṇa is described as "calm" in the first two passages whereas it is equated with "cessation" in the last two. In a similar vein, these two words appear alongside Nirvāṇa in a passage of the *Mahāvastu*:

All conditioned things are impermanent.
All conditioned things are unsatisfactory.
All *dharma*s are non-self.

---

[109] T 125 at T II 668c: 欲得免死者，當思惟四法本。云何為四? 一切行無常，是謂初法本 … 一切行苦，是謂第二法本 … 一切法無我，此第三法本 … 滅盡為涅槃，是謂第四法本 … .

[110] See Kasawara 1885: 12,2 with note 1.

> This is **calm**, this is excellent, this is true, this is unchangeable, that is, the relinquishment of all clinging, the tranquillization of all conditioned things, the dissolution of *dharma*s, the destruction of craving, dispassion, **cessation**, **Nirvāṇa**.[111]

This passage resembles the fourfold stock formula in question. Fujita (1975: 110) suggests that this passage can be regarded as the inception of the concept that integrates the four statements into a formula. The *Mahāvastu* is a text of the Lokottaravādin subsect of the Mahāsāṃghikas. It is presumably because of this fact that Fujita (1975: 112) speculates that our fourfold stock formula was "probably formulated by the Mahāsāṃghika or a school close to it and then followed by Mahāyāna *sūtra*s and treatises".[112] I would like to add one point that may support the attribution of this stock formula to the Mahāsāṃghikas.

The *Mahākaruṇā-sūtra* (大悲經, T 380) has the formula: "All conditioned things are impermanent. All conditioned things are unsatisfactory. All *dharma*s are non-self. Calm is Nirvāṇa".[113] Although this is traditionally classified as a Mahāyāna text, its close connection with the Mahāsāṃghikas has been noted by Mizuno (1996: 300–301). He points out that the *Mahāvastu* records the names of 15 Buddhas after Dīpaṃkara, and among the extant Buddhist texts only the *Mahākaruṇā-sūtra* and the *Fo benxing ji jing*

---

[111] Mv II 285,18: *sarvasaṃskārā anityāḥ sarvasaṃskārā duḥkhā sarvadharmā anātmānaḥ // etaṃ śāntaṃ etaṃ praṇītaṃ etaṃ yathāvad etaṃ aviparītaṃ yam idaṃ sarvopadhipratiniḥsargo sarvasaṃskārasamathā dharmopacchedo tṛṣṇākṣayo virāgo nirodho nirvāṇaṃ.*

[112] Fujita does not seem to make it clear why he attributes this formula to the Mahāsāṃghikas.

[113] T 380 at T XII 951c: 一切行無常。一切行苦。一切法無我。寂滅涅槃.

(佛本行集經, T 190) have an (almost) identical list of 15 or 14 Buddhas' names. Therefore, he contends that as far as such a list is concerned, the three texts may belong to the same group of the Mahāsāṃghika lineage. In view of such affinity between the **Mahā-karuṇā-sūtra* and the Mahāsāṃghikas, the fourfold stock formula contained in this text is very likely to come from the Mahāsāṃghikas just as the foregoing passage in the *Mahāvastu*.

The above discussion indicates a strong possibility that the fourfold stock formula originated among the Mahāsāṃghikas and was passed on to many Mahāyāna texts as Fujita suggests. Since our *Ekottarika-āgama* can be identified as largely affiliated with the Mahāsāṃghikas, it is no wonder that this collection contains several *sūtra*s that elaborate on the fourfold stock formula.[114] In this connection, it should be reminded that the *Āgama*s, including the *Ekottarika-āgama*, are supposed to be non-Mahāyāna. Let us now return to the four questions in sequence raised at the beginning of this paper. The fourth and last question is "Could these [Mahāyāna-related] passages have originated from the *Ekottarika-āgama* and then inspired the further development and formulation of

---

[114] One might suspect that these occurrences of the stock formula were interpolations drawn from existing Chinese scriptures by Zhu Fonian. As far as I am aware, among the Chinese texts that mention this stock formula, the *Tathāgataguhya-sūtra* (密迹金剛力士會) included in the *Ratnakūṭa* collection is the only Chinese translation that predates Zhu Fonian. It was translated by Dharmarakṣa, whose translation career is dated approximately between 266 and 308 AD (see Mai 1996: 51). His translation of the stock formula, T 310.3 at T XI 72c, reads: 如來明證下四法[施]故。何謂為四? 一曰一切萬物皆歸無常。二曰一切諸有悉為苦毒。三曰一切諸法皆無有我。四曰一切有形悉至於空無，為泥洹寂. This translation is very different from that of Zhu Fonian in terms of wording, so it is very unlikely that the stock formula in the *Ekottarika-āgama* was borrowed from Dharmarakṣa's translation.

Mahāyāna thought?" The answer is positive according to the foregoing discussions. It may have been the case that certain Mahāsāṃghikas combined the four statements to form a stock formula which was incorporated into their *Ekottarika-āgama*; later on this formula was adopted by the authors of many Mahāyāna texts who had access to the Mahāsāṃghika literature, including the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[115]

IV. Conclusion

Although some Mahāyāna elements were probably interpolated into the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* after the text had been brought to China and translated, this paper demonstrates that at least two Mahāyāna elements already crept into the *Ekotta-rika-āgama* when it was passed down in India. This *Ekottarika--āgama* is most likely to be of Mahāsāṃghika origin. This school interacted with Mahāyāna Buddhism in a reciprocal manner. On the one hand, certain branches of the Mahāsāṃghikas borrowed materials from Mahāyāna literature and mixed them with their texts, including the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) now preserved in Chinese translation. On the other hand, the Mahāsāṃghikas' refor-mulation of certain early teachings was incorporated into their *Eko-ttarika-āgama*, which served as a medium for spreading the new doctrine in Mahāyāna circles.

---

[115] E.g., the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* by Asaṅga (fourth century AD) refers explicitly to the "Mahāsāṃghika *Ekottarika-āgama*", T 1592 at T XXXI 98a: 大僧祇增一阿含經.

Abbreviations

AN	*Aṅguttara-nikāya*
CBETA	*CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripiṭaka Collection*, Taipei: Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會, version April 2010
Dhp	*Dhammapada*
Dhs	*Dhammasaṅgaṇi*
DN	*Dīgha-nikāya*
EĀ	*Ekottarika-āgama*
FDC	*Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典, Ciyi (慈怡) (ed.), Kaohsiung: Foguang Chubanshe (佛光出版社), 1988
Ja	*Jātaka*
MN	*Majjhima-nikāya*
Mv	*Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart)
SĀ	*Saṃyukta-āgama* / *Za ahanjing* (雜阿含經)
SĀ[2]	Other translation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* / *Bieyi Za ahanjing* (別譯雜阿含經)

SN   *Saṃyutta-nikāya*
T   *Taishō Shinshu Daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經), Takakusu
          Junjirō (高楠 順次郎), Watanabe Kaigyoku (渡邊 海
          旭) and Ono Genmyo (小野 玄妙) (ed.), Tokyo: Tai-
          shō Issaikyō Kankōkai (大正一切經刊行會), 1924–1934
          [cited from CBETA]
Ud   *Udāna*
Ud-a   *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā* (*Paramatthadīpanī I*)
Vism   *Visuddhimagga* (ed. Warren)

(References to Pali texts are to the Pali Text Society editions.)

References[*]

Anālayo 2006: "The Ekottarika-āgama Parallel to the Saccavibhaṅ-
     ga-sutta and the Four (Noble) Truths", *Buddhist Studies
     Review*, 23 (2): 145–153.
—— 2009: "Zeng-yi A-han", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 8,
     fasc. 3, W.G. Weeraratne (ed.), Sri Lanka: Department of
     Buddhist Affairs, 822–827.
—— 2011: *A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-nikāya*, 2 vols.,
     Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.
—— 2013: "Two Versions of the Mahādeva Tale in the Ekotta-
     rika-āgama: A Study in the Development of Taishō No.
     125", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*,

---

[*]   For publications in modern East Asian languages I supply English titles within
      square parentheses.

Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 1–70.

Bareau, André 1955a: *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*, Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

—— 1955b: *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Bodhi, Bhikkhu (tr.) 2012: *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha*: *A Translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Boston: Wisdom Publications.

Bronkhorst, Johannes 1985: "Dharma and Abhidharma", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 48: 305–320.

Choong, Yoke Meei (宗玉嬡) 2008: 梵語 Gilgit 寫本兩萬五千頌《般若波羅蜜經‧第十四品》之校勘及其相關問題 "The Edition of the Fourteenth Chapter of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* of the Gilgit-Ms", *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica* / 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, 79 (2): 301–341.

Dutt, Nalinaksha (ed.) 1934: *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, London: Luzac & Co.

Eckel, Malcolm David 2008: *Bhāviveka and His Buddhist Opponents*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Edgerton, Franklin 1953: *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 2: *Dictionary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (reprint 1993).

Enomoto, Fumio (榎本 文雄) 1984a: 說一切有部系アーガマの展開 ——『中阿含』と『雜阿含』をめぐって —— ["The Development of the *Āgamas* of the Sarvāstivāda Lineage: Concerning the Madhyama-āgama and the Saṃyukta-āgama"], *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* / 印度學佛教學研究, 32 (2): 1073–1070.

—— 1984b: 阿含經典の成立 ["Formation of the *Āgama* Texts"], *Journal of the Oriental Studies* / 東洋學術研究, 23 (1): 93–108.

Falk, Harry and Seishi Karashima 2013: "A first-century Prajñāpāramitā Manuscript from Gandhāra – Parivarta 5 (Texts from the Split Collection 2)", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 16: 97–169.

Forte, Antonino 1979: "Le moine khotanais Devendraprajña", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, 66:* 289–298.

Frauwallner, Erich 1995: *Studies in Abhidharma Literature and the Origins of Buddhist Philosophical Systems*, S.F. Kidd (tr.), Albany: State University of New York Press.

Fujita, Kōtatsu (藤田 宏達) 1975: 三法印と四法印 ["The Three Seals of the Dharma and the Four Seals of the Dharma"], *Bukkyō kenkyū ronshū* / 佛教研究論集, Hashimoto Hakushi Taikan Kinen Bukkyō Kenkyū Ronshū Kankōkai (橋本博士退官記念佛教研究論集刊行会) (ed.), Osaka: Seibundō Shuppan (清文堂出版), 105–123.

Ghoṣa, Pratāpacandra (ed.) 1902: *Çatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Gombrich, R.F. 1990: "How the Mahāyāna Began", *The Buddhist Forum Volume I, Seminar Papers 1987–1988*, T. Skorupski (ed.), London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 21–30.

Hakamaya, Noriaki (袴谷 憲昭) 1979: 〈法印〉覚え書 "Notes on the Word 'Fa-yin 法印'", *Journal of the Faculty of Buddhism of the Komazawa University* / 駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要, 37: 60–81.

Harrison, Paul 1982: "Sanskrit Fragments of a Lokottāravādin Tradition", *Indological and Buddhist Studies, Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*, L.A. Hercus et al. (ed.), Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, 211–234.

Harvey, Peter 2013: *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practices*, 2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hirakawa, Akira (平川 彰) 1989: 初期大乗仏教の研究 I [*A Study of Early Mahāyāna Buddhism*, vol. 1], Tokyo: Shunjūsha (春秋社).

—— 1990: *A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, P. Groner (ed. and tr.), Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Hiraoka, Satoshi (平岡 聡) 2000: "The Sectarian Affiliation of Two Chinese Saṃyuktāgamas", 印度學佛教學研究 *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 49 (1): 506–500.

—— 2003: 『雜阿含經』と說一切有部の律藏 ["The Saṃyukta-āgama and the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda"], *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* / 印度學佛教學研究, 51 (2): 818–813.

—— 2013: "The School Affiliation of the Ekottarika-āgama", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 71–105.

Hung, Jen-jou (洪振洲) 2013: "The Second Version of the Mahādeva Tale in the Ekottarika-āgama: Quantitative Text Analysis and Translatorship Attribution", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 109–134.

Karashima, Seishi 2013: "Was the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* Compiled in Gandhāra in Gāndhārī?", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 16: 171–188.

Kasawara, Kenjiu 1885: *The Dharma-Saṃgraha: An Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms*, F. Max Müller and

H. Wenzel (ed.), Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Keown, Damien 1996: *Buddhism: A Very Short Introduction*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Kuan, Tse-fu 2012: "A Geographical Perspective on Sectarian Affiliations of the Ekottarika Āgama in Chinese Translation (T 125)", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, 2: 179–208.

—— 2013a: "The Pavāraṇā Sutta and 'Liberation in Both Ways' as against 'Liberation by Wisdom'", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 76 (1): 49–73.

—— 2013b (forthcoming): "Legends and Transcendence: Sectarian Affiliations of the Ekottarika Āgama in Chinese Translation", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 133.

Kumoi, Shōzen 1963. "Āgama (2)", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 1, fasc. 2, G.P. Malalasekera (ed.), Government of Ceylon, 244–248.

Lamotte, Étienne 1988. *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era*, S. Webb-Boin (tr.), Louvain: Peeters Press.

—— 1995: "A Composite Sūtra from the Ekottarāgama", Sara Boin-Webb (tr.), *Buddhist Studies Review*, 12 (1): 27–46.

Lancaster, Lewis R. 2005: "The Oldest Mahāyāna Sūtra: Its Significance for the Study of Buddhist Development", in *Buddhism: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies*, vol. 3: *The Origins and Nature of Mahāyāna Buddhism; Some Mahāyāna Religious Topics*, P. Williams (ed.), London and New York: Routledge, 302–311 (first published in *The Eastern Buddhist*, 8 (1): 30–41, 1975).

de La Vallée Poussin, Louis 1930: "Notes bouddhiques XVIII: Opinions sur les relations des deux véhicules au point de vue du Vinaya", *Académie royale de Belgique: Bulletins de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 5th series, 16: 20–39.

Lefmann, S. (ed.) 1902: *Lalita Vistara: Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha*, Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.

Legittimo, Elsa I. 2005: "Synoptic Presentation of the *Pusa chu tai jing* (PCJ) 菩薩處胎經 the Bodhisattva Womb Sūtra Part I (Chapters 1–14)", *Sengokuyama Journal of Buddhist Studies* / 仙石山論集, 2: 1–111.

Lévi, Sylvain (ed.) 1907: *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra*, vol. 1, Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion.

Lin, Jia'an (林家安) 2009: 現存漢譯《增一阿含經》之譯者考 [*An Investigation into the Translator of the Extant Chinese Translation of the Ekottarika-āgama*], MA Thesis, Yuan Kuang Buddhist Institute.
URL: http://old.ykbi.edu.tw/htm/thesis/94_19/94_19_03.pdf

Lin, Li-kouang 1949: *L'aide-mémoire de la Vraie Loi (Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra): Recherches sur un sūtra développé du Petit Véhicule*, Introduction de P. Démieville, Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Lin, Xianting (林顯庭) 1987: 大方便佛報恩經纂者考及其唐代變文 ["An Examination of the Compiler of the Sūtra on the Buddha's Paying a Debt of Gratitude with Great Skill-in-Means and Its Transformation Text in Tang Dynasty"], *Chinese Culture Monthly* / 中國文化月刊, 91: 65–91.

Lü, Cheng 1963: "Āgama (1)", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 1, fasc. 2, G.P. Malalasekera (ed.), Government of Ceylon, 241–244.

Mai, Lai-man (梅迺文) 1996: 竺法護的翻譯初探 "A Tentative Study of the Translation works of Master Dharmarakṣa", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* / 中華佛學學報, 9: 49–64.

Martini, Giuliana 2011: "*Mahāmaitrī* in a Mahāyāna Sūtra in Kho-

tanese — Continuity and Innovation in Buddhist Medita-
tion", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* / 中華佛學學報, 24:
121–194.

Mizuno, Kōgen (水野 弘元) 1996: 仏教文献研究 [*A Study of
Buddhist Literature*], Tokyo: Shunjūsha (春秋社).

Monier-Williams, Monier 1899: *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*,
Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nanjio, Bunyiu (南條 文雄) 1883: *A Catalogue of the Chinese
Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka: The Sacred Canon of
the Buddhists in China and Japan*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nattier, Jan 2010: "Re-Evaluating Zhu Fonian's Shizhu duanjie
jing (T309): Translation or Forgery?", *Annual Report of the
International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University*, 13: 231–258.

—— 2012: "Reconsidering the Chinese Ekottarika-āgama: Ques-
tions of Content and School Affiliation in Light of the
Translator's Track Record", unpublished paper presented at
the Workshop "增壹阿含經 — The Chinese Translation of
the Ekottarika-āgama, Research Perspectives and Collabora-
tion" held at the Library and Information Center, April 20,
2012, Dharma Drum Buddhist College, Taiwan.

Oberlies, Thomas 2003: "Ein bibliographischer Überblick über die
kanonischen Texte der Śrāvakayāna-Schulen des Buddhis-
mus", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 47: 37–84.

Pagel, Ulrich 2007: *Mapping the Path: Vajrapadas in Mahāyāna
Literature*, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist
Studies.

Pāsādika, Bhkkhu 2008: "The *Ekottarāgama* Parallel to the *Mūla-
pariyāyasutta*", *The Indian International Journal of Bud-
dhist Studies*, 9: 141–149.

—— 2010: "Gleanings from the Chinese *Ekottarāgama* regarding

School Affiliation and Other Topics", *Translating Buddhist Chinese: Problems and Prospects*, K. Meisig (ed.), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 87–96.

Pradhan, P. (ed.) 1967: *Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya*, Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

Rhi, Ju-hyung 1994: "From Bodhisattva to Buddha: The Beginning of Iconic Representation in Buddhist Art", *Artibus Asiae*, 54 (3/4): 207–225.

Rhys Davids, C.A.F. 1974. *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, 3rd ed., London: Pali Text Society.

Ruegg, David Seyfort 1989: *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective: On the Transmission and Reception of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

—— 2004: "Aspects of the Investigation of the (Earlier) Indian Mahāyāna", *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 27 (1): 3–62.

Saitō, Akira (斎藤 明) 2011: 大乗仏教とは何か ["What is Mahāyāna Buddhism"], in シリーズ大乗仏教 第一巻 大乗仏教とは何か [Series Mahāyāna Buddhism, vol. 1: *What is Mahāyāna Buddhism*], Shōryū Katsura (桂 紹隆) et al. (ed.), Tokyo: Shunjūsha (春秋社), 3–38.

Schmithausen, Lambert 1987: "Beiträge zur Schulzugehörigkeit und Textgeschichte kanonischer und postkanonischer buddhistischer Materialien", *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, H. Bechert (ed.), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 304–406.

Schopen, Gregory 2005: *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India: More Collected Papers*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Senart, Émile 1882–1897: *Le Mahāvastu: texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire*, 3 vols., Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

Shimada, Akira (島田 明) 2011: 仏塔から仏像へ ["From Buddha Stūpas to Buddha Images"], in シリーズ大乗仏教 第三巻 大乗仏教の実践 [Series Mahāyāna Buddhism*, vol. 3: *The Practice of Mahāyāna Buddhism*], Shōryū Katsura (桂 紹隆) et al. (ed.), Tokyo: Shunjūsha (春秋社), 127–165.

Silk, Jonathan A. 2005: "What, If Anything, Is Mahāyāna Buddhism? Problem of Definitions and Classifications", in *Buddhism: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies*, vol. 3: *The Origins and Nature of Mahāyāna Buddhism; Some Mahāyāna Religious Topics*, P. Williams (ed.), London and New York: Routledge, 383–419 [first publ. in *Numen*, 49 (4): 355–405, 2002].

Skilling, Peter 1997: "Citations from the Scriptures of the 'Eighteen Schools' in the Tarkajvālā", *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, P. Keiffer-Pülz and J.-U. Hartmann (ed.), Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 605–614.

Skilton, Andrew 2002: "State or Statement? Samādhi in Some Early Mahāyāna Sūtras", *The Eastern Buddhist*, 34 (2): 51–93.

Su, Ken (= Su, Jinkun 蘇錦坤) 2007: 寶唱《經律異相》所引之阿含經 —— 試論水野弘元教授的〈增一阿含經解說〉 "Texts Quoted from Āgamas in Shi-baochang's Jing-lü-yi-xiāng: An Investigation into Mizuno Kogen's 'A General Introduction on Chinese Ekottara-āgama'", *Fuyan Buddhist Studies* / 福嚴佛學研究, 2: 91–160.

—— 2013: "The Uddānas and Structural Aspects of the Ekottarika-āgama", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 195–233.

Supalaset, Sumet 2009: 『大方便仏報恩経』の成立問題 ["Problems concerning the Formation of the Sūtra on the Buddha's Paying a Debt of Gratitude with Great Skill-in-Means"], *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* / 印度學佛教學研究, 57 (2): 979–976.

Tsai, Yao-ming (蔡耀明) 2001: *The Teachings of Prajñāpāramitā and the Purification of the Buddha-field: Collected Papers on a Buddhist Approach to the World of Buddhism* / 般若波羅蜜多教學與嚴淨佛土: 內在建構之道的佛教進路論文集, Nantou: Right View Publications.

Ui, Hakuju (宇井 伯壽) 1965: 印度哲學研究 第二 [*A Study of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 2], Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten (岩波書店).

Vaidya, P.L. (ed.) 1958: *Lalita-Vistara*, Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.

Warren, Henry Clarke (ed.) 1950: *Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosācariya*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press (reprint 1999, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers).

Watanabe, Shōgo (渡辺 章悟) 2005a: 最終解脱へ向かう三昧 — 『大般若波羅蜜多経』における金剛喩定 — "The Samādhi to Proceed to Last Deliverance: Concentration Compared to a Vajra (Vajropamasamādhi 金剛喩定) in the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā Sutra", *Hokkaido Journal of Indological and Buddhist Studies* / 印度哲学仏教学, 20: 38–57.

—— 2005b: Vajropamasamādhi の考察 "A Consideration of the 'Concentration Compared to a Vajra' (Vajropamasamādhi)", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* / 印度學佛教學研究, 54 (1): 357–349.

Williams, Paul 1989: *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*, London and New York: Routledge.

Williams, Paul and Anthony Tribe 2000: *Buddhist Thought: A*

Complete Introduction to the Indian Tradition, London and New York: Routledge.

Wogihara, Unrai 1971: *Bodhisattvabhūmi: A Statement of Whole Course of the Bodhisattva (Being Fifteenth Section of Yogācārabhūmi)*, Tokyo: Sankibo Buddhist Book Store.

Yamabe, Nobuyoshi 1999: *The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha: The Interfusion of the Chinese and Indian Cultures in Central Asia as Reflected in a Fifth Century Apocryphal Sūtra*, PhD Thesis, Yale University.

Yinshun (印順) 1968: 說一切有部為主的論書與論師之研究 [*A Study of the Śāstras and the Śāstrakāras principally of the Sarvāstivāda School*], Taipei: Zhengwen Chubanshe (正聞出版社).

—— 1981: 初期大乘佛教之起源與開展 [*The Origins and Development of Early Mahāyāna Buddhism*], Taipei: Zhengwen Chubanshe (正聞出版社).

—— 1994: 原始佛教聖典之集成 [*Compilation of the Original Buddhist Scriptures*], 3rd rev. ed., Taipei: Zhengwen Chubanshe (正聞出版社).

The *Uddānas* and Structural Aspects of the *Ekottarika-āgama*

Ken Su (蘇錦坤)
Hsinchu City (新竹市), Taiwan

Abstract

After a brief introduction on the textual evidence at hand on the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection (增壹阿含經) preserved in Chinese translation as Taishō no. 125 (I), this article investigates the inconsistency between the summary stanzas (*uddāna*s) and the respective discourses and chapters they are related to in T 125, by examining the translation vocabulary and the sequence of the discourses and chapters in the collection (II). The next section takes up structural discrepancies between Dao'an's (道安) Preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the collection extant as T 125 (III). Passages identified as quotations from (an) *Ekottarika-āgama* in Baochang's (寶唱) *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相) are then taken into account. Some of these quoations are not to be found in the received collection (IV). After a concluding summary (V), an appendix recapitulating the situation of the *uddāna*s in T 125 is provided.

Contents

I. Textual Evidence

As far as external evidence bearing on the translation process of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (增壹阿含經) transmitted as entry no. 125 in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka is concerned, according to Dao'an's (道安) Preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* that is preserved in Sengyou's (僧祐) *Chu sanzang ji ji* (出三藏記集),[1] this collection was translated based on a recitation by Dharma-nandin. In the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, Dharmanandin alone is mentioned as the translator of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and it is not specified whether Saṃghadeva did (re-)translate the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[2] In the section on Saṃghadeva's biography in the same *Chu sanzang ji ji*, Sengyou records:

> By that time [Fahe] realised the previous translations con-tained errors and losses [of text]. He regretted it and asked [Saṃghadeva] to translate [them] anew. Thus they translated the *Abhidharma* and the *Vibhāṣā* (廣說) again, and [other] previous translations were subsequently modified and cor-rected … .[3]

Be it noted, the later *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶紀) reports that Saṃghadeva translated both the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekotta-*

---

[1] T 2145 at T LV 64b6–13.

[2] T 2145 at T LV 10b21: "*Ekottarika-āgama* … *Madhyama-āgama* … There are ninety two fascicles for these two discourses ... Dharmanandin recited the text, Zhu Fonian translated it [into Chinese]", 增一阿鋡經 ... 中阿鋡經 ... 右二部，凡九十二卷 ... 難提口誦胡本。竺佛念譯出.

[3] T 2145 at T LV 99c12: 方知先所出經多有乖失。法和歡恨未定，重請譯改，乃更出阿毘曇及廣說，先出眾經漸改定焉.

rika-āgama.[4] Subsequent canonical catalogues, T 2146, T 2147 and T 2148, report uniformly that Dharmanandin translated the *Ekottarika-āgama* and Saṃghadeva translated the *Madhyama-āgama*.[5] It is only by the time of the redaction of the catalogues T 2149, T 2154 and T 2157 that Saṃghadeva appears to be recorded as the translator of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. In brief, with the exception of T 2034 compiled by Fei Changfang (費長房), the ancient catalogues before T 2148 unanimously ascribe the *Ekottarika-āgama* to Dharmanandin, and those following T 2149 to Saṃghadeva.

There are two different scholarly opinions on the translatorship of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Mizuno (1969/1983) singled out eighteen discourses presently found as individual translations in the Taishō edition as originally belonging to an earlier *Ekottarika-āgama* that had been translated by Dharmanandin which differed from the extant T 125 that was, according to him, translated by Saṃghadeva.[6] These discourses are thus taken by Mizuno as remnants of the existence of an earlier translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. In Yinshun's (1971: 93) view, instead:

> There is only one *Ekottarika-āgama* translated by Dharma-nandin, and modified by Saṃghadeva … Even though there were two versions of this text in circulation for that period of time, it would simply be the case that there was one original translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and another modified version. It is not an issue of a 'new' translation of a different *Ekottarika-āgama* belonging to a different school.[7]

---

[4]   T 2043 at T IL 70c17.

[5]   T 2146, T 2147 and T 2148 bear the same title: *Zhong jing mulu* (眾經目錄).

[6]   Mizuno 1969/1983.

[7]   Yinshun 1971: 93: 從來只此一部─曇摩難提所(譯)出，僧伽提婆重治改定。…

Anālayo (2009: 822) sums up the situation as follows:

> There is some uncertainty in the Chinese records of transla-
> tion activities about whether later on Gautama Saṃghadeva
> did a revision of this *Ekottarika Āgama* translation, or
> whether what is now found in the Taishō edition is a new
> translation made by him. … A close inspection of the two
> collections extant in the Chinese canon shows, however, that
> the translation vocabulary found in [the] *Madhyama Āgama*
> rendered into Chinese by Gautama Saṃghadeva differs
> considerably from the terminology employed in *Ekottarika
> Āgama* discourses. These differences make it improbable
> that the two collections [i.e., the *Ekottarika-āgama* and *Ma-
> dhyama-āgama*] could stem from the same translator.

My present investigation focuses on evidence other than that
obtainable on the basis of the ancient catalogues. Namely, such
evidence as is represented by:

(1) Inconsistencies in translation terminology and sequence
    apparent between the *uddāna*s and the relevant textual
    materials of the *Ekottarika-āgama*;

(2) Structural discrepancies between the collection as reflected
    in Dao'an's Preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the extant
    text of T 125;

(3) Absence in the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) of some of the
    quotations from the *Ekottarika-āgama* – or, perhaps more
    precisely, from an *Ekottarika-āgama* – as cited in Bao-
    chang's (寶唱) *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相).

曇摩難提原譯本，僧伽提婆改正本，可能曾同時流行，但只是初譯本與重治本，
而決沒有異部別本的差別.

II. The *Uddānas* in the Chinese *Āgamas*

The main function of the *uddāna*s is to serve as a mnemonic aid to help the recitation. Although not originally meant for the purposes of writing down or translating the texts, once the needs of written redaction and translation arose, they proved useful for such tasks, especially for works characterised by a complex structure such as the early Buddhist canonical collections. The Chinese canonical texts themselves contain some information regarding the functions performed by the *uddāna*s. Their function as reminders to facilitate proper recall of a text is shown for example in a compilation of stanzas in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (*Genben shuoyi qieyoubu pinaiye song,* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶頌) that was translated by Yi-jing (義淨, 635–713 AD):

> these *uddāna*s were composed for the sake of convenience in teaching … comprising in short verses the original long texts.[8]

Another description related to this aspect of the *uddāna*s is found in the *Fenbie gongde lun* (分別功德論), a commentary on the *Ekottarika-āgama* surviving in Chinese translation:[9]

> After the compilation of the Tripiṭaka was accomplished, Ānanda composed stanzas [known as *uddāna*s] to cover [each] ten discourses, out of an apprehension that in the future reciters might recall wrongly.[10]

---

[8] T 1459 at T XXIV 657b9: 結頌令生易方便，… 略為少頌收廣文.

[9] On the *Fenbie gongde lun* (T 1507) cf. now Palumbo 2013.

[10] T 1507 at T XXV 32b2: 阿難撰三藏訖，錄十經為一偈。所以爾者，為將來誦習

Communal recitation of the texts was held to ensure the longevity of the Dharma.[11] The harmony of the recitation embodies the unity of the Saṃgha.[12] Especially in the early centuries of the saṃgha, before the availability of written texts, it was a crucial task of monastic education to teach junior monastics to recite the discourses and the *Vinaya*.[13] It was thus essential that the same sequence be kept by each reciter during group recitation and the *uddāna*s would have been instrumental in maintaining standard recitation sequences.

The *uddāna*'s utility in guarding the original collections from subsequent textual intrusions or to allow for the identification of subsequently added material is highlighted in a debate recorded in the **Nyāyānusāra* (*Apidamoshun zhengli lun* 阿毘達磨順正理論). One of the debating parties raises the following point:

> The other side claims that the discourse is not included in the *uddāna*, [and] that therefore it is not included in the [original] collection.[14]

With the sole exception of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, the other three main Chinese *Āgama*s all contain *uddāna*s that would have been translated from their respective Indian originals. The *uddāna*s of the *Madhyama-āgama* are complete and cover all the two hundred and

---

者懼其忘誤. There are of course exceptions, both in the Chinese and Pali tradition, to the rule of covering ten discourses with a single summary stanza.

[11] E.g. T 5 at T I 161a2: 比丘當數相聚會誦經，法可久.

[12] Cf., e.g., Tilakaratne 2000.

[13] Guidelines on how to teach disciples to recite the discourses are found for example in the Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 337a1.

[14] T 1562 at T XXIX 352c12: 彼謂此經非入結集，越總頌故.

twenty-two discourses of the collection. Of the three extant *Saṃ-yukta-āgama* collections (the main *Saṃyukta-āgama*, T 99; the 'other' *Saṃyukta-āgama* in twenty fascicles, T 100; and the single-fascicled *Saṃyukta-āgama*, T 101), T 99 and T 100 have incomplete *uddāna*s covering part of discourses, while T 101 does not include *uddāna*s.

Table 1: The *Uddāna*s in the Chinese *Āgama*s

Āgama	*Uddāna*s
Dīrgha	---
Madhyama	21 (cover all discourses)
Saṃyukta	14 (cover 1 chap.)[15]
'other' *Saṃyukta*	31[16]
Ekottarika	27[17]

Theoretically the sequence of discourses covered by an *uddāna* should follow the same sequence of the 'keywords' featuring in the *uddāna*. Under normal circumstances, both the *uddāna*s and the

---

[15] Not including a single 'sub-*uddāna*' found in this collection, T 99 at T II 15b2: 陰・根・陰即受，二陰共相關，名字・因・二味，我慢・疾漏盡. Sub-*uddāna*s (內攝頌) are special types of *uddāna* that contain keywords extracted from a single discourse. This is a lexicographic term already used by the ancient translator Yijing, cf., e.g., T 1442 at T XXIII 762c8: 內攝頌曰. Yinshun 1983: 179 note 4 adopts this term to refer to *uddāna*s that contain keywords belonging to a single discourse: 此頌是「內攝頌」.

[16] There are thirty-one *uddāna*s for the sixteen-fascicles recension of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (cf. Su 2008: 6) and thirty *uddāna*s for the twenty-fascicles *Saṃyukta-āgama* transmitted in the Taishō edition (T 100). On the structure T 100 cf. Bucknell 2008.

[17] Not including the twenty-two sub-*uddāna*s.

texts are translated by the same translation team. Thus one would expect that the rendering of the specific keywords appearing in an *uddāna* is also used when the same words appear in the respective discourse.

III. The *Uddānas* in T 125

Close examination of the *uddāna*s of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) highlights the occurrence of five distinct cases:[18]

(1) Different renderings are adopted in the text of the discourses and in the corresponding *uddāna*s;

(2) The sequence of discourses differs from the order provided by the keywords in the relevant *uddāna*;

(3) One or more discourses are not represented in the relevant *uddāna*;

(4) The keywords of an *uddāna* do not relate to any corresponding discourse;

(5) Special types of *uddāna*s cover discourses belonging to two or three different chapters of the collection.[19]

In what follows I give examples for each of these five cases just listed.

---

[18] All the *uddāna*s of the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* are listed in an appendix to this article.

[19] Except for the fifth case, similar typologies of *uddāna* can also be found in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99) and in the 'other' *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 100), cf. Su 2008 and Su 2009b.

III.1 Different Renderings in the Discourses and in the Corresponding *Uddāna*s

III.1.1 The keyword of the *uddāna* for EĀ 21.9 is 苦陰,[20] 'the aggregate of *duḥkha*', corresponding to *dukkhakkhandha* in its Pali parallel.[21] Neither the whole phrase 苦陰 nor the single word 陰 appearing in the *uddāna* reference can be located in EĀ 21.9. Another parallel found in the *Madhyama-āgama*, MĀ 99,[22] provides a contrast to this discrepancy, in that both the title of this discourse and the keyword in the respective *uddāna* employ the expression 苦陰. The same is also the case for the following discourse in the *Madhyama-āgama*, MĀ 100, which has the same title as MĀ 99, 苦陰經.[23] Thus while the translation of what was probably the same Indic word, equivalent to Pali *dukkhakkhandha*, in MĀ 99 and MĀ 100 is consistently 苦陰, in the case of EĀ 21.9 this translation is only found in the *uddāna*, with the rendering 大患 being instead used within the discourse itself.[24]

---

[20] The keyword 苦陰 in this *uddāna* follows the variant reading of the Song (宋), Yuan (元) and Ming (明) editions, while the Taishō edition has 苦除 (T 125 at T II 606c28).

[21] *Mahādukkhakkhandha-sutta*, MN 13 at MN I 83,29. The *uddāna* covering EĀ 21.9, T 125 at T II 606c27–28, reads: 第一德 (EĀ 21.1), 福業 (EĀ 21.2), 三因 (EĀ 21.3), 三安 (EĀ 21.4), 瞿 (EĀ 21.5), 三夜 (EĀ 21.6), 病 (EĀ 21.7), 惡行 (EĀ 21.8), 苦陰 (EĀ 21.9), 不牢要 (EĀ 21.10); cf. also item no. 13 in the appendix to this article.

[22] MĀ 99, T 26 at T I 584c8.

[23] The keyword in this *uddāna*, T 26 at T I 578b5, is 二苦陰, where 'two' (二) indicates that the keyword for MĀ 99 and MĀ 100 is the same (苦陰).

[24] MĀ 99, T 26 at T I 585a22: 是謂現法苦陰，因欲緣欲，以欲為本; EĀ 21.9, T 125 at T II 605a20: 是為欲為大患，皆緣欲本，致此災變.

III.1.2 The keyword in the *uddāna* for EĀ 39.1 is 等法 ('equal *dharma*'),[25] counterpart to *dhammaññū* in its Pali parallel.[26] The phrase in the *uddāna* (等法 or 善法) cannot be located in EĀ 39.1. In contrast, a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*, MĀ 1, has 善法 ('wholesome *dharma*') both in the title and as the keyword in the respective *uddāna*.[27]

III.1.3 The keyword in the *uddāna* for EĀ 39.9 is 波蜜 which corresponds to *vammika* ('anthill') in its Pali parallel.[28] The translation of the Indic word equivalent to *vammika* found in the text of EĀ 39.9 is however 舍 'house'.[29]

III.1.4 Another case where the expression in the *uddāna* and that in the discourse differ is represented by the use of the keyword 瞿默 'cowdung' in the sixteenth *uddāna* of T 125 and a somewhat inaccurate or euphemistic translation found in the corresponding discourse, EĀ 24.4, that reports the Buddha took up 'a little bit of earth' (少許土) on his finger to illustrate his teaching:[30] 幢 (EĀ

---

[25]   T 125 at T II 735b11: 等法及畫度. An alternative title for this chapter is given as 等法品 (T 125 at T II 728b25).

[26]   The Pali parallel to EĀ 39.1 is the *Dhammaññū-sutta*, AN 7.64 at AN IV 113,6. This *uddāna* covering EĀ 39.1 is given as the 23rd *uddāna* in the appendix to this article: 等法 (EĀ 39.1; 等法 might be a scribal error for 善法)，及畫度 (EĀ 39.2)，水 (EĀ 39.3)，及城郭喻 (EĀ 39.4)，識 (EĀ 39.5), 均頭 (EĀ 39.6)，二輪 (EĀ 39.7 and EĀ 39.8)，波蜜 (EĀ 39.9)，及七車 (EĀ 39.10) (T 125 at T II 735b11).

[27]   The keywords in the relevant *uddāna* are 善法: 善法，畫度樹 (T 26 at T I 421a10). The title of MĀ 1 is: 善法經 (T 26 at T I 421a12).

[28]   The Pali parallel to EĀ 39.9 is *Vammika-sutta*, MN 23 at MN I 142,12. For the *uddāna* covering EĀ 39.9, T 125 at T II 735b11, cf. item no. 22 in the appendix to this article.

[29]   T 125 at T II 733b15.

[30]   T 125 at T II 617 b21: 世尊取少許土. In the case of the other the parallel, MĀ

24.1)，毘沙 (EĀ 24.2)，法王 (EĀ 24.3)，瞿默 (EĀ 24.4)，神足化 (EĀ 24.5)，齋戒 (EĀ 24.6)，現在前 (EĀ 24.7)，長壽 (EĀ 24.8)，結 (EĀ 24.9)，三昧 (EĀ 24.10).[31]

III.1.5 Different words are adopted to translate the proper name Devadatta in the text of the discourses and in the relevant *uddāna*s, as shown in the following table.

Table 2: Different Renderings of the Proper Name 'Devadatta'[32]

Discourse No.	Keyword in *Uddāna*	Keyword in Discourse
EĀ 11.9	婆達	提婆達兜
EĀ 11.10	婆達	調達, 提婆達兜
EĀ 12.7	調達	提婆達兜
EĀ 12.8	調達	提婆達兜
EĀ 43.4	提婆達	提婆達兜

61, T 26 at T I 496a28, 世尊以手指爪抄少牛糞, this is also found in the respective *uddāna*, T 26 at T I 493a8: 牛糞.

[31] T 125 at T II 630b15.

[32] The keywords in the relevant *uddāna* for EĀ 11.9 (T 125 at T II 567a14) and EĀ 11.10 (T 125 at T II 567b4) are 婆達二契經 (T 125 at T II 567c28), while the corresponding words in text are 提婆達兜 (T 125 at T II 567a17) for EĀ 11.9, and 調達 (T 125 at T II 567b6) and 提婆達兜 (T 125 at T II 567b9) for EĀ 11.10. The keyword in the relevant *uddāna* for EĀ 12.7 (T 125 at T II 570b20) and EĀ 12.8 (T 125 at T II 570c2) is 調達及二經 (T 125 at T II 576a5), while the corresponding word in EĀ 12.7 (T 125 at T II 570b23) and in EĀ 12.8 is 提婆達兜 (T 125 at T II 570c3). The keywords in the relevant *uddāna* for EĀ 43.4 (T 125 at T II 759a29) are 提婆達，船筏 (T 125 at T II 764c11), while the corresponding words in EĀ 43.4 are 提婆達兜 (with variant reading 多 for 兜, T 125 at T II 759b1) and 提婆達兜 (T 125 at T II 759b10).

III.2 Order of Discourses Different from the Sequence of Keywords in the Relevant *Uddāna*

III.2.1 The sequence of EĀ 13.6 and EĀ 13.7 is reversed in the seventh *uddāna* of T 125: 孫陀利 (EĀ 13.5)，善業 (EĀ 13.7)，釋提桓 (EĀ 13.6).[33]

III.2.2 EĀ 30.1, EĀ 30.2 and EĀ 30.3 are listed before discourses of the twenty-eighth chapter in the nineteenth *uddāna* of T 125: 修陀 (EĀ 30.1)，修摩 (EĀ 30.2)，均 (EĀ 30.3)，賓頭盧 (EĀ 28.1)，翳 (EĀ 28.2)，手 (EĀ 28.3)，鹿頭 (EĀ 28.4)，廣演義 (EĀ 28.5)，後樂 (EĀ 28.6)，柔軟經 (EĀ 28.7).[34]

III.3 Discourses not Represented in the Relevant *Uddāna*

Keywords for EĀ 31.6 are absent from the twentieth *uddāna* of T 125 where they would be expected: 增上 (EĀ 31.1)，坐 (EĀ 31.2)，行跡 (EĀ 31.3)，無常 (EĀ 31.4)，園觀池 (EĀ 31.5)，無漏 (EĀ 31.7)，無息禪 (EĀ 31.8)，四樂 (EĀ 31.9)，無諍訟 (EĀ 31.11).[35]

---

[33] T 125 at T II 576a5. The sequence of this *uddāna* is also not coherent in other ways: 調達及二經 (EĀ 12.7, EĀ 12.8)，皮 (EĀ 12.9)，及利師羅 (EĀ 12.10)，竹膞 (EĀ 13.3)，孫陀利 (EĀ 13.5)，善業 (EĀ 13.7)，釋提桓 (EĀ 13.6).

[34] T 125 at T II 654a8.

[35] T 125 at T II 673c11. The same might apply to 31.10; however, as pointed out by a reviewer, here 無諍訟 may be rendered as 無 (EĀ 31.10) and 諍訟 (EĀ 31.11), in which case only EĀ 31.6 would not be represented in the *uddāna*.

III.4 *Uddānas* Covering Discourses Located in Different Chapters

The seventh and nineteenth *uddāna*s of T 125 cover discourses belonging to two different chapters. The seventh *uddāna* includes discourses located in chapters twelve and thirteen: 調達及二經 (EĀ 12.7, EĀ 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);[36] and the nineteenth *uddāna* includes discourses located in chapters thirty and twenty eight: 修陀 (EĀ 30.1)，修摩 (EĀ 30.2)，均 (EĀ 30.3)，賓頭盧 (EĀ 28.1)，翳 (EĀ 28.2)，手 (EĀ 28.3)， 鹿頭 (EĀ 28.4)，廣演義 (EĀ 28.5)，後樂 (EĀ 28.6)，柔軟經 (EĀ 28.7).[37]

The eleventh *uddāna* covers discourses from three different chapters, viz. seventeen, eighteen and nineteen: 羅云 (EĀ 17.1)，迦葉 (EĀ 18.4)，龍 (EĀ 18.5)，二難 (EĀ 18.6 and EĀ 18.7)，大愛道 (EĀ 18.8)，誹謗 (EĀ 18.9)，非 (EĀ 18.10)，梵法 (EĀ 19.1)，二事 (EĀ 19.2) 最在後.[38]

As regards the adoption of more than one phrase to render the same Indic word, it might be difficult to pin down the actual reason underlying such choice. Whatever the reason, I would hold that this feature should be ascribed to the translation process rather than to the recitation stage. As far as other irregularities are concerned, these may derive from some deviations or variations in the course of the recitation process. Further research might uncover more conclusive indications regarding the principles regulating the

---

[36]   T 125 at T II 576a5.

[37]   T 125 at T II 654a8.

[38]   T 125 at T II 593c11.

composition and use of the *uddāna*s.[39] Table 3 below shows the overall situation of the *uddāna*s in the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125). As discussed in the next section of this article, this is quite a different state of affairs compared to the description of the *Ekottarika-āgama uddāna*s in Dao'an's Preface.

Table 3: The *Uddāna*s in T 125

Division	Chaps. with *Uddānas*	Chaps. without *Uddānas*
Ones	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14	1, 12
Twos	15, 16, 19(1), 19(2)	17, 18, 20
Threes	21, 22, 23, 24	---
Fours	25, 26, 28, 31	27, 29, 30
Fives	32, 33	34, 35, 36
Sixes	---	37, 38
Sevens	39	40, 41
Eights	42, 43	---
Nines	44	45
Tens	46	47, 48
Elevens	---	49, 50, 51, 52

IV. The *Ekottarika-āgama Uddānas* According to Dao'an's (道安) Preface

In addition to the transmitted text itself, the closest and most direct

---

testimony on the *Ekottarika-āgama* at our disposition is perhaps Dao'an's Preface. Here the translation process of the collection is described as follows:

> There was a foreign monk called Dharmanandin [who recited the *Ekottarika-āgama*] … Fonian translated it, Tansong was the scribe … the complete translation consists of forty-one fascicles, divided into a first and a second portion: the first twenty-six fascicles [constituting] the first portion are complete and without any memory loss; the remaining fifteen fascicles [constituting] the second portion of which the *uddāna*s are lost.[40]

There is a discrepancy between the number of fascicles mentioned in the Preface and that of the present collection, that has fifty one fascicles.

Now, if the content of T 125 is different from the *Ekottarika-āgama* described in Dao'an's Preface, then it would follow that there was yet another *Ekottarika-āgama* recited by Dharmanandin and translated by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念).

If the content of T 125 corresponds to what is described in Dao'an's Preface, then the reason T 125 contains fifty one fascicles would be simply an issue of the length of each fascicle – the quantity of text/characters that was included in each fascicle constituting a textual unity. T 125 has the same number of discourses (472) mentioned in Dao'an's Preface. By proportion, the first thirty-two fascicles of T 125 would be equivalent to the first twenty-six fascicles described in Dao'an's Preface, and the last nineteen fascicles

---

[40] T 2145 at T LV 64b6: 有外國沙門曇摩難提者，… 佛念譯傳，曇嵩筆受 … 為四十一卷，分為上下部：上部二十六卷，全無遺忘；下部十五卷。失其錄偈也.

of T 125 would be equivalent to the last fifteen fascicles described in Dao'an's Preface. The thirty-second fascicle of T 125 ends with the thirty-eighth chapter (力品).

Detailed examination of the extant T 125 against Dao'an's Preface shows that some *uddāna*s in chapters contained, approximately, in the first twenty-six fascicles were lost. Some *uddāna*s were present in the last fifteen fascicles of the collection (although not all of these last fifteen fascicles have an *uddāna*, there being only five *uddāna*s in total in the last fifteen fascicles). That *uddāna*s in the first twenty-six fascicles were lost is not so puzzling after all. The historical background of the domestic warfare in China at the time may explain scribal haste, transmission errors and loss of text.[41] Unfortunately, because the translation was carried out based on an oral recitation, the *uddāna*s that were not translated are now forever lost. However, the question may be raised as to whether the presence of additional or 'extra' *uddāna*s incorporated in T 125 may be due to the translator(s) or revisor(s) including them at a subsequent stage, based on different sources.

Such a hypothesis, however, would need to explain why the translator(s) did not recover or add all of the *uddāna*s that were previously lost. Also, why and from where would they have retrieved and added the *uddāna*s, once the task of translation had been completed and the function of the *uddāna*s as aids to the translation process no longer had any role to play.

---

[41] Dao'an's Preface describes the noise of nearby war drums, T 125 at T II 549a18: 此年有阿城之役，伐鼓近郊. The postscript to the *Madhyama-āgama* depicts the war between the Yan (燕, 383–407 AD) and the Qin (秦, 383–417 AD), reporting that the translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* could not be formally written down in 384 AD due to the chaotic situation at the time, cf. T 26 at T I 809b8: 會燕秦交戰，關中大亂, and T 26 at T I 809c3: 時遇國大難，未即正書，乃至五年辛丑之歲，方得正寫，校定流傳.

V. *Ekottarika-āgama* Quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相)

The *Jinglü yixiang*, an encyclopaedic anthology of Buddhist stories produced under the sponsorship of the Emperor Liang Wudi (梁武帝 464–549 AD),[42] was compiled by the scholar monk Baochang and probably completed in 516 AD. Already Mizuno (1996/2003: 772) noticed that this work contains fifteen passages quoted from an *Ekottarika-āgama*, and that (at least) one of them cannot be found in the extant T 125. Inspired by Mizuno's findings, I inspected the *Jinglü yixiang* again and found in total twenty-three passages quoted from an *Ekottarika-āgama* in the *Jinglü yixiang*, two of which cannot be found in the extant T 125. There are eleven quotations showing significant differences to the corresponding passages identified in T 125. Quotations nos. 12 and 22 cannot be located in T 125, while quotations nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, 22 and 23 show significant differences compared to their counterparts in T 125.[43] These findings are summarized in table 4 below (at the end of section V).

In a number of instances, the *Jinglü yixiang* gives several sources for each quotation, which gives a rather different impression of the value of this work to reconstruct the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Since the *Jinglü yixiang* mentions two or three different sources,

---

[42] T 2121 at T LIII 1a21: "It is the order of the Emperor to assign to Baochang the compilation of important events from the Sūtras and the Vinaya according to their categories so that the readers understand them easily", 勅寶唱鈔經律要事，皆使以類相從，令覽者易了. For unknown reasons, this task was first assigned to Sengmin (僧旻) and subsequently to Baochang.

[43] I have examined in detail all the *Ekottarika-āgama* quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* in Su 2007.

for example, which we can be sure would have had differences between them, we can safely assume the *Jinglü yixiang* does not give verbatim quotes, but it must have had some editing and homogenizing done at least in these instances, and probably also in those where only the *Ekottarika-āgama* is quoted.

The location of the quotations from the *Ekottarika-āgama* cited in the *Jinglü yixiang* does not match with that of the extant T 125. Some quotations located in an earlier fascicle are instead found in a later T 125 fascicle (such as quotations nos. 5 and 19), while a number of quotations supposedly located in a later fascicle are found instead in earlier T 125 fascicles (such as quotations nos. 2 and 22). In what follows, I give selected examples by way of illustration of the quotation patterns of the *Jinglü yixiang*.

V.1 Nanda and Amrapālī

The passage recounting the episode of Amrapālī and Nanda (no. 12 in table 4) as quoted in in the *Jinglü yixiang* reads:

> The Buddha was staying at Vaiśāli … At that time Nanda was practicing walking meditation not far from the Buddha. Amrapālī approached Nanda, who was walking, and touched Nanda's feet with her hands [in order to pay homage to him] and said to him: 'Nanda, I am Amrapālī.' At that moment Nanda ejaculated sperm and dirtied her hands … Then Nanda dwelled in seclusion in a quiet place, and attained arhatship. — Quoted from the thirty-ninth fascicle of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[44]

---

[44] T 2121 at T LIII 77a2: 佛在鞞舍離 … 時難陀去佛不遠經行，柰女便至難陀行，以手接難陀足，便作是語：『難陀，我是柰女。』是時難陀即失精，精污其

This story is not found in the thirty-ninth fascicle of T 125, nor, for that matter, anywhere else in T 125. However, a similar passage is found in the *Fenbie gongde lun*.

> At that time Nanda was practicing walking meditation outdoors. Amrapālī … saw Nanda practicing walking meditation outdoors. As she admired him very much, she touched his feet with her hands in order to pay homage at his feet. Although Nanda on seeing her pretty appearance did not have excited perceptions, when their bodies came together and touched he ejaculated sperm and … Amrapālī was doubtful if he had perceptions of lust. The Buddha who had become aware of her thoughts, told Amrapālī: 'Do not give rise to doubts in your heart, Nanda will attain arahatship in seven days'.[45]

A similar passage is featured in the *Sifen lü* (四分律), the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*:

> At one time there was a woman who paid homeage to Nanda and touched his feet . Nanda was very passionate, he ejaculated his sperm and it fell on the head of that woman. That woman was embarassed, Nanda was also embarassed. The monks told the Buddha. The Buddha said: 'Nanda is permitted to make a cloth that covers [the private parts of] his body'.[46]

手。… 是時難陀在一靜處閑居，成阿羅漢(出《增一阿含》第三十九卷).

[45] T 1507 at T XXV 47a25: 時難陀在外經行。柰女 … 於外見難陀經行，愛樂情深，接足為禮以手摩足。雖覩美姿，寂無情想，形形相感，便失不淨。… 柰女不達，疑有欲想。佛知其意，告柰女曰：『勿生疑心，難陀却後七日當得羅漢。』.

[46] T 1428 at T XXII 986a16: 時有女人禮難陀足，難陀多欲，失不淨墮女人頭上。

V.2 The Wheel-turning King's Saddle Horse

Let us take a closer look at the quotation no. 21 in table 4, considered by Mizuno as the only quotation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the *Jinglü yixiang* without a parallel in the Chinese *Āgama*s and the Pali *Nikāya*s:[47]

The name of the Horse-King is Poluoxi.[48] His palace is located on the Bright-Moon mountain on an island in the ocean. There are eight thousand horses as his family dependants. When a Wheel-turning king appears in the world, he takes the smallest [of the eight thousand] as his horse-gem and gives it to the Wheel-turning king as his royal mount. — Quoted from the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[49]

The same story appears in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the *Shisong lü* (十誦律), and in a quotation in the *Fayuan zhulin* (法苑珠林).[50] Fur-

---

時女人慚愧，難陀亦慚愧。諸比丘白佛，佛言：『聽難陀作遮身衣。』.

[47] Mizuno 1969/1983: 771 in addition to observing that this story cannot be found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and that the other Chinese *Āgama*s as well as the Pali *Nikāya*s do not contain any similar descriptions, proposes that its presence in *Ekottarika-āgama* may be due to a translation error.

[48] Mizuno 1969/1983: 771 indicates that 婆羅醯 renders an Indic original corresponding to Valāhaka; however, Valāhaka is not a direct phonetical reconstruction of the form underlying the transcription 婆羅醯.

[49] T 2121 at T LIII 247b21: 馬王名婆羅醯，宮殿住在大海洲內明月山，有八千馬以為眷屬。若轉輪聖王出世，取最小者以為馬寶，給王乘御(出增一阿含經).

[50] T 1435 at T XXIII 441c6: 外大海內洲有明月山婆羅醯馬王宮殿住處，有八千馬以為眷屬，若轉輪聖王出於世時，八千馬中最下小者, 出為馬寶給聖王乘; T 2122 at T LIII 618c3: 又《十誦律》云：『有阿耨達池縱廣五十由旬，繞池四邊種種菓樹，善住象王宮殿住處，有八千象以為眷屬. 若轉輪聖王出於世時，八千象中最下小者, 出為象寶給輪王乘. 又外大海內洲有月明山，婆羅醯馬王宮殿住處，

ther, a related though shorter reference to the same story can be found in a discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, EĀ 50.4:

> He saw a dark purplish coloured royal horse, by the name of Valāhaka, that came approaching through the sky, proceeding without any shaking of the body.[51]

According to the passage in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the Wheel-turning king Mahādeva takes the Horse King Vālakambala as his saddle horse. This passage does not tally with the quotation in the *Jinglü yixiang*, according to which the Horse-King will assign his smallest family dependant as the saddle horse of the Wheel-turning king. A similar passage in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* agrees with the description in EĀ 50.4:

> [The Wheel-turning King has] eighty-four thousands precious horses. He would only ride one of them. This horse is called Valāhaka, the colour of its tail is dark red. [52]

In brief, this quotation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the *Jinglü yixiang* appears to be different from the parallel passage in T 125.

V.3 The Donkey Pretending to Be an Ox Killed by the Oxen

The passage of quotation no. 22 in table 4 below reads:

有八千馬以為眷屬，若輪王出於世時，八千馬中最下小者出為馬寶，給輪王乘.』.

[51] EĀ 50.4 at T II 807b22: 見有紺馬王，名婆羅含 (秦言髮烏朱髮尾)，乘空而來，行不動身, translated by Anālayo 2011: 43.

[52] SĀ 264 at T II 68a25: 八萬四千寶馬，唯乘一馬，名婆羅訶，毛尾紺色.

The herd of oxen was tame and calm, wherever they went they picked soft and nice grass to feed on and selected clean cool water to drink. At that time there was a donkey who thought: 'I am going to eat and drink like that.' He went among the herd of oxen, raking the earth with his forefeet and annoying the oxen. He wanted to moo but was unable to do so. Thus he claimed: 'I am an ox, too.' The oxen killed him and left. — Quoted from the twentieth fascicle of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[53]

EĀ 16.4 (seventh fascicle) has it as follows:

Just as a donkey who goes among the herd of oxen and claims of himself: 'I am an ox, too. I am an ox, too.' Yet it is seen that his two ears are not like an ox, he does not have horns like them, his tail is not like theirs, the sound he makes is different. Then the herd of oxen stab him with their horns, or kick him, or bite him.[54]

The passage given in quotation gives more details than its original. Quotations often tend to become longer and more detailed than their sources and thus a mere difference in length need not be taken in itself as an indication that the passage of the *Jinglü yixiang* – more detailed than that of T 125 – was quoted from an *Ekottarika-*

---

[53] T 2121 at T LIII 248c16: 群牛志性調良，所至到處擇軟美草食，選清涼水飲。時有一驢便作是念：『我亦効其飲食。』即入牛群，前脚把地，觸嬈彼牛；効其鳴吼而不能改其聲，自稱：『我亦是牛。』牛角觝殺捨之而去 (出增一阿含第二十卷).

[54] T 125 at T II 579c8: 猶如驢入牛群之中而自稱曰：『我亦是牛！我亦是牛！』然觀其兩耳復不似牛，角亦不似，尾亦不似，音聲各異。爾時，群牛或以角觝，或以脚蹋，或以口齧者.

āgama other than T 125. However caution is in order when forming judgements as to the possible sources of scriptural quotations when working with materials such as the *Jinglü yixiang*:[55] the passages quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* might have been modified to make them comply with the quotation format of this work. In general, the quotations cited in the *Jinglü yixiang* are not always accurate and reliable.

In sum, the analysis of the quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* shows that these seem to have been extracted from a different *Ekottarika-āgama*.

---

[55] On the affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* as quoted in the *Jinglü yixiang* cf. also Hiraoka 2013: 99–101 and Palumbo 2013.

Table 4: *Ekottarika-āgama* Quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang* (經律異相)[56]

Quot. No.	Quotation	Fasc. No. in *Ekottarika-āgama* as per T 2121	Fasc. No. T 125	Congru-ence[57]
(1)	The sphere of nothingness (T 2121 at T LIII 4a22: 無所有入處 (不用處))	---	10 (EĀ 19.8)	≡
(2)	Three great disasters (T 2121 at T LIII 6a10: 三大災)	32	34 (EĀ 40.1)	≡
(3)	Duration of a cosmic aeon (T 2121 at T LIII 6a28: 劫之修短)[58]	31 or 28	50 (EĀ 52.3), 51 (EĀ 52.4)	≠

[56] On the relationship between the quotation in the *Jinglü yixiang* and its counterpart passage in T 125 cf. Su 2007.

[57] The symbols ≡ and ≠ indicate respectively correspondence or lack of correspondence between the quotations.

[58] T 2121 gives several alternative sources, among them also the thirty-fourth fascicle of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.

(4)	A deva expected to be born as a pig is born as a human being instead (T 2121 at T LIII 9c14: 三十三天應生豬中轉入人道)	19	24 (EĀ 32.6)	≠
(5)	Eight causes for major earthquakes (T 2121 at T LIII 12c17: 地大動有八種緣)	24	37 (EĀ 42.5)	≠
(6)	King Udayana has a Buddha statue built from a log of ox-head sandal-wood) (T 2121 at T LIII 29c16: 優填王造牛頭栴檀像)	19	28 (EĀ 36.5)	≡
(7)	King Prasenajit has a gold statue of the Buddha made (T 2121 at T LIII 30a9: 波斯匿王造金像)	19	28 (EĀ 36.5)	≡
(8)	King Viḍūḍabha destroys the Śākya tribe (T 2121 at T LIII 36b8: 琉璃王滅釋種)	19	26 (EĀ 34.2)	≠
(9)	Śāriputra enters *vajra* concentration whereby ghosts cannot hurt him (T 2121 at T LIII 71b7: 舍利弗入金剛定為鬼所打不能毀傷)	30	45 (EĀ 48.6)	≡
(10)	Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana engage in a contest of supernatural powers) (T 2121 at T LIII 73c1: 舍利弗目連角現神力)	27	29 (EĀ 37.2)	≠

(11)	Amrapālī touches Nanda's feet, Nanda regrets this and then stays in seclusion, finally achieving liberation (T 2121 at T LIII 77a24: 難陀得柰女接足內愧閑居得道)	39	---	---
(12)	Cūḍapanthaka forgets to sweep while reciting verse, and forgets to recite while sweeping (T 2121 at T LIII 91a6: 槃特誦掃忘簀誦簀忘掃)	1	11 (EĀ 20.12)	≡
(13)	Aṅgulimāliya violently harms people, then meets the Buddha, goes forth, finally achieving arhatship (T 2121 at T LIII 92a7: 鴦崛鬘暴害人民遇佛出家得羅漢道)	19	31(EĀ 38.6)	≠
(14)	Śroṇa Koṭiviṃśa practices energetically but improperly) (T 2121 at T LIII 95b6: 二十耳億精進大過)	8	13 (EĀ 23.3)	≡
(15)	The first king at the beginning of the cosmic aeon (T 2121 at T LIII 129a7: 劫初人王始原)	---	(EĀ 40.1, EĀ 42.3)	≡

(16)	King Prasenajit asks the Buddha to explain the implications of his dream (T 2121 at T LIII 152a23: 波斯匿王請佛解夢)	41	51(EĀ 52.9)	≠
(17)	King Udayana asks of the Buddha the methods to govern a nation (T 2121 at T LIII 157c25: 優填王請求治化方法)	39	42 (EĀ 46.7)	≠
(18)	The *yakṣa* Āḷavaka eats humans, meets the Buddha, then attains awakening (T 2121 at T LIII 242a22: 毘沙惡鬼食噉人民遇佛悟解)	8	14 (EĀ 24.2)	≡
(19)	A *yakṣa* meets Śakra, the lord of gods, and becomes thinner and uglier (T 2121 at T LIII 244a23: 惡鬼見帝釋形稍醜滅)	27	41 (EĀ 45.5)	≡
(20)	Elephant King Shanzhu is one of the Wheel-turning king's seven gems (T 2121 at T LIII 247a11: 善住象王為轉輪王寶)[59]	---	34 (EĀ 40.1)	≡

[59] This quote is attributed to two sources, one of which is the eighteenth fascicle of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, cf. T 2121 at T LIII 247a8 and 247a11.

(21)	Horse King Poluoxi is one of the Wheel-turning king's seven gems (T 2121 at T LIII 247b23: 婆羅醯馬王為轉輪王寶)	---	---	---
(22)	The donkey pretending to be an ox is killed by the oxen (T 2121 at T LIII 248c20: 驢効群牛為牛所殺)	20	7 (EĀ 16.4)	≠
(23)	The necessities of life (T 2121 at T LIII 253c14: 生住所資)[60]	15	19 (EĀ 27.8)	≠

VI. Conclusion

In the foregoing pages I have taken as my point of departure a survey of the *uddāna*s of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection (T 125). It remains difficult to assess the deviations and variations between these *uddāna*s and the counter texts of the extant collection, and more research is required in this respect. Nonetheless, such a survey has provided crucial evidence regarding structural aspects and the circumstances of translation of the received collection. I have then analysed a number of structural differences apparent between Dao'an's Preface to the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the extant T 125. Following the lead of Mizuno, I have also checked some of the *Ekottarika-āgama* quotations in the *Jinglü yixiang*. It is my hope that this contribution will be followed by the discovery of more evidence and by new research on the content and structure of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, the intertextual network of its scriptural quotations and the records in the ancient Chinese catalogues.

Appendix: The *Uddāna*s in T 125

The numbers within brackets are inserted by the author and refer to the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses (according to the numbering in the Taishō edition) corresponding to the *uddāna*s.

1. 佛 (2.1) 法 (2.2) 聖眾 (2.3) 念，戒 (2.4) 施 (2.5) 及天 (2.6) 念；休息 (2.7) 安般 (2.8) 念，身 (2.9) 死 (2.10) 念在後.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 1, 553c2–3)

2. 佛 (3.1) 法 (3.2) 及聖眾 (3.3)，乃至竟死 (3.10) 念；雖與上同名，其義各別異.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 2, 557a8–9)

3. 須倫 (8.1) 益 (8.2) 一道 (8.3)，光明 (8.4) 及闇冥 (8.5)；道品 (8.6) 沒盡 (8.7) 信 (8.8)，熾盛 (8.9) 無與等 (8.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 3, 562a5–6)

4. 二斯 (9.1, 9.2) 及二心 (9.3, 9.4)，一墮 (9.5) 一生天 (9.6)；男女想受樂 (9.7, 9.8)，二欲想 (9.9, 9.10) 在後.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 4, 563c8–9)

5. 無慢二 (10.1, 10.2) 念檀 (10.3)，二施 (10.4, 10.5) 慳 (10.6) 無厭施福 (10.7)；魔波旬 (10.8) 惡趣 (10.9) 及一人 (10.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 4, 566a22–23)

6. 四種阿那含 (11.1, 11.2, 11.3, 11.4)，二心 (11.5, 11.6) 及二食 (11.7, 11.8)；婆達二契經(11.9, 11.10)，智者當覺知.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 5, 567c27–28)

7. 調達及二經 (12.7, 12.8)，皮 (12.9) 及利師羅 (12.10)；竹膊 (13.3) 孫陀利 (13.5)，善業 (13.7) 釋提桓 (13.6).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 6, 576a5–6)

8. 第五地獄經，此名不善行 (14.1, 14.3, 14.5, 14.7, 14.9)；五者天及人 (14.2, 14.4, 14.6, 14.8, 14.10)，令知次第數.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 7, 577a12–13)

9. 二見 (15.1, 15.2) 及二施 (15.3, 15.4, 15.5)，愚者有二相 (15.6)；禮法 (15.7, 15.8) 如來廟 (15.9)，正見 (15.10) 最在後.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 7, 578a10–11)

10. 難陀 (16.1) 涅槃 (16.2) 烏 (16.3)，驢 (16.4) 不善有二 (16.5, 16.6)；燭 (16.7) 及忍思惟 (16.8)，梵志 (16.9) 及羅雲 (16.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 7, 581b27–28)

11. 羅云 (17.1) 迦葉 (18.4) 龍 (18.5)，二難 (18.6, 18.7) 大愛道 (18.8)；誹謗 (18.9) 非 (18.10) 梵法 (19.1)，二事 (19.2) 最在後.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 10, 593c11–12)

12. 斷愛 (19.3) 及師子 (19.4)，無智 (19.5) 少於財 (19.6)；家貧 (19.7) 須深女 (19.8)，迦旃 (19.9) 法說 (19.10) 女 (19.11).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 10, 596c13–14)

13. 第一德 (21.1) 福業 (21.2)，三因 (21.3) 三安 (21.4) 瞿 (21.5)；三夜 (21.6) 病 (21.7) 惡行 (21.8)，苦陰 (21.9) 不牢要 (21.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 12, 606c27–28)

14. 供養 (22.1) 三善根 (22.2)，三痛 (22.3) 三覆露 (22.4)；相 (22.5) 法 (22.6) 三不覺 (22.7)，愛敬 (22.8) 春 (22.9) 無足 (22.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 12, 609a5–6)

15. 地主(23.1) 婆拘 (23.2) 耳 (23.3)，婆提 (23.4) 逆順香 (23.5)；愚 (23.6) 世 (23.7) 三不善 (23.8)，三聚 (23.9) 觀 (23.10) 在後.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 13, 614c29– 615a1)

16. 幢 (24.1) 毘沙 (24.2) 法王 (24.3)，瞿默 (24.4) 神足化 (24.5)；齋戒 (24.6) 現在前 (24.7)，長壽 (24.8) 結 (24.9) 三昧 (24.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 16, 630b15–16)

17. 諦 (25.1) 饒益 (25.2) 阿難 (25.3)，重擔 (25.4) 四生 (25.5) 結 (25.6)；四果 (25.7) 隨嵐風 (25.8)，四鳥 (25.9) 雷 (25.10) 在後.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 17, 635b3–4)

18. 四意斷之法 (26.1, 26.2, 26.3, 26.4)，四闇 (26.5) 老耄法 (26.6)；阿夷 (26.7) 法本末 (26.8)，舍利 (26.9) 婆迦梨 (26.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 19, 643a23–24)

19. 修陀 (30.1) 修摩 (30.2) 均 (30.3)，賓頭盧 (28.1) 翳 (28.2) 手 (28.3)；鹿頭 (28.4) 廣演義 (28.5)，後樂 (28.6) 柔軟經 (28.7).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 20, 654a8–9)

20. 增上 (31.1) 坐 (31.2) 行跡 (31.3)，無常 (31.4) 園觀池 (31.5)；無漏 (31.7) 無息禪 (31.8)，四樂 (31.9) 無諍訟 (31.11).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 23, 673c11–12)

21. 善 (32.1) 不善 (32.2) 禮佛 (32.3)，天使 (32.4) 歲 (32.5) 五瑞 (32.6)；文茶 (32.7) 親 (32.8) 瞻病 (32.9)，五施 (32.10, 32.11) 隨時施 (32.12).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 24, 681c7–8)

22. 五王 (33.1) 及月光，尸婆 (33.2) 二種鬪 (33.3, 33.4)；二掃 (33.5, 33.6) 二行法 (33.7)，去住有二種 (33.8, 33.9)；枯樹 (33.10) 最在後.
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 25, 689c4–6)

23. 等法 (39.1) 及晝度 (39.2)，水 (39.3) 及城郭喻 (39.4)；識 (39.5) 均頭 (39.6) 二輪 (39.7, 39.8)，波蜜 (39.9) 及七車 (39.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 33, 735b11–12)

24. 非時 (42.1) 泥犁 (42.2) 道 (42.3)，須倫 (42.4) 天地動 (42.5)；大人八念 (42.6) 眾 (42.7, 42.8)，善男子施 (42.9) 道 (42.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 37, 755c26–27)

25. 馬血 (43.1) 齋 (43.2) 難陀 (43.3)，提婆達 (43.4) 船筏 (43.5)；牧牛 (43.6) 無根信 (43.7)，世法 (43.8, 43.9) 善八人 (43.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 39, 764c11–12)

26. 九止 (44.1) 嚫 (44.2) 孔雀 (44.4)，繫縛 (44.5) 法之本 (44.6)；病 (44.7) 供養 (44.8) 槃特 (44.9)，梵行 (44.10) 若干想 (44.11).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 40, 769b6–7)

27. 結禁 (46.1) 聖賢居 (46.2)，二力 (46.3, 46.4) 及十念 (46.5)；
親國 (46.6) 無罣礙 (46.7)，十輪 (46.8) 想 (46.9) 觀想 (46.10).
(T 125 at T II, fasc. 42, 780c4–5)

Abbreviations

AN   *Aṅguttara-nikāya*
CBETA   Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association
DĀ   *Dīrgha-āgama* (T 1)
DN   *Dīgha-nikāya*
EĀ   *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125)
fasc.   fascicle (*juan* 卷)
MĀ   *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26)
MN   *Majjhima-nikāya*
SĀ   *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99)
SĀ²   'other' *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 100)
SN   *Saṃyutta-nikāya*
T   Taishō edition (CBETA)

(All references to Pali texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society.)

References*

Akanuma, Chizen (赤沼 智善) 1929/1986: *The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas*, Taipei County: Hua-Yu Publishing Company (華宇出版社) (reprint).

Anālayo 2009: "Zeng-yi A-han", in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, 8.3, W.G. Weeraratne, Sri Lanka: Department of Buddhist Affairs, 822–827.

---

*   In the references, English titles within square brackets are supplied by the author.

—— 2011: "The Tale of King Ma(k)hādeva in the Ekottarika-āgama and the Cakravartin Motif", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, 9: 43–77.

—— 2013: "Two Versions of the Mahādeva Tale in the Ekottarika-āgama, A Study in the Development of Taishō No. 125", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 1–70.

Bucknell, Roderick 2008: "The Two Versions of the Other Translation of the Saṃyuktāgama", *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 21: 23–54.

CBETA: 中華電子佛典協會 *CBETA* [Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association] *Chinese Electronic Tripiṭaka Collection*, Taipei, version April 2011.

Hiraoka, Satoshi 2013: "The School Affiliation of the Ekottarika-āgama", in *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)*, Dhammadinnā (ed.), Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation, 71–105.

Mizuno, Kōgen (水野 弘元) 1969/1983: 增一阿含經解說《佛光阿含藏, 附錄(下)》[Appendix to Foguang Tripiṭaka, Āgama section, vol. 2], Taipei: Foguang Chubanshe (佛光出版社), 761–785 [Chin. transl. of *Zōitsu-agon-gō kaidai (hoi)* 增一阿含經解題 (補遺), in *Kokuyaku issai-gyō* 國譯一切經, vol. 4, 415–429, Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha (大東出版社)].

—— 1996/2003: 佛教文獻研究 ― 水野弘元著作選集, vol. 1, Xu yangzhu (許洋主) (tr.), Taipei City: Fagu Wenhua (法鼓文化), 509–579 [Chin. transl. of *Bukkyō Bunken Kenkyū: Mizuno Kōgen Chosaku Senshū* 1 佛教文獻研究 ― 水野弘元著作選集, vol. 1, Tokyo: Shunjūsha (春秋社), 1996].

Nattier, Jan 2008: *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations, Texts from the Eastern Han* 東漢 *and Three Kingdoms* 三國 *Periods*, Tokyo: The International Re-

search Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, Tokyo.

—— "Re-Evaluating Zhu-Fonian's Shizhu duanjie jing (T309): Translation or Forgery?", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute of Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 13: 231–258.

Palumbo, Antonello 2013: *An Early Chinese Commentary on the Ekottarika-āgama, The Fenbie Gongde Lun* 分別功德論 *and the History of the Translation of the Zengyi Ahan Jing* 增一阿含經, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation (forthcoming).

Su, Ken (Su, Jinkun 蘇錦坤) 2007: 寶唱《經律異相》所引之阿含經— 試論水野弘元教授的〈增一阿含經解說〉 ["Texts Quoted from Āgamas in Shi-baochang's Jinglü yixiang: An Investigation into Mizuno Kōgen's 'A General Introduction on the Zengyi Ahan Jing'"], *Fuyan Buddhist Studies* 福嚴佛學研究, 2: 91–160.

—— 2008: 《別譯雜阿含經》攝頌的特點 ["Characteristics of the Bieyi Za Ahan Jing's Uddānas"], *Satyābhisamaya* 正觀雜誌: *A Buddhist Studies Quarterly*, 45: 5–80.

—— 2009a: 《雪山夜叉經》— 漢巴經典對照閱讀 ["A Comparative Study of the Xuesan yecha jing"], *Satyābhisamaya* 正觀雜誌: *A Buddhist Studies Quarterly*, 48: 69–142.

—— 2009b: 《雜阿含經》攝頌初探—兼談印順導師在《雜阿含經》攝頌研究的創見 ("First Exploration to the Uddānas of Za-a-ahan-jing (T 99): and Ideas Highlighted and Inspired by Master Yin-Shun"), *Fuyan Buddhist Studies* 福嚴佛學研究, 4: 89–139.

—— 2009c: 再探漢巴文獻的〈比丘尼相應〉— 馬德偉教授〈《別譯雜阿含經》的比丘尼相應〉一文的回應 ["Reconsidering the 'Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta' in the Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas, With a Response to Marcus Bingenheimer's (馬德

偉) Contribution on the Bieyi Za Ahan Jing's 'Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta'"], *Satyābhisamaya* 正觀雜誌: *A Buddhist Studies Quarterly*, 51: 6–34.

—— 2010: 《增壹阿含經》攝頌初探 ("The Uddānas of Zen-gyi-a-ahan-jing (T125)"), *Fuyan Buddhist Studies* 福嚴佛學研究, 5: 59–114.

Taishō: *Taishō Shinshu Daizōkyō* (大正新脩大藏經), Takakusu Junjirō (高楠 順次郎), Watanabe Kaigyoku (渡邊 海旭) and Ono Genmyo (小野 玄妙) (ed.), Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai (大正一切經刊行會), 1924–1934.

Tilakaratne, Asaṅga 2000: "Saṅgīti and Sāmaggī: Communal Recitation and the Unity of the Saṅgha", *Buddhist Studies Review*, 17 (2): 175–197.

Yinshun (Yinshun Fashi 印順法師) 1971/1988: 原始佛教聖典之集成 [*The Compilation of Buddhist Canonical Literature of Early Buddhism*], Taipei: Zhengwen chubanshe (正聞出版社) (reprint).

—— 1983/1994: 雜阿含經論會編, Taipei: Zhengwen chubanshe (正聞出版社) (reprint).

Zhu, Qingzhi (朱慶之) 2009: 佛教漢語研究, Beijing: Shangwu chubanshe (商務出版社).

Index of Names

Index of Works

Dharma Drum Buddhist College Research Series 6
Research on the *Ekottarika-Āgama* (Taishō 125)

法鼓佛教學院論叢 6
增壹阿含經(Taishō 125)研究論文集

法鼓文化