

Research on the *Dīrgha-āgama*

edited by Dhammadinnā



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Contents

Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (DILA) Series <i>Bhikṣu Huimin</i>	vii
Preface <i>Sāmaṇeri Dhammadinnā</i>	ix
Three Chinese <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> Discourses without Parallels <i>Bhikkhu Anālayo</i>	1
The Structure of the Sanskrit <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> from Gilgit vis-à-vis the Pali <i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> <i>Roderick S. Bucknell</i>	57
The <i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī</i> and the <i>Dīgha-bhāṇakas</i> <i>Toshiichi Endo</i>	103
The <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins: What Was the the Purpose of this Collection? <i>Jens-Uwe Hartmann</i>	135
A Textual Analysis of the Last Discourse in the Chinese <i>Dīrgha- āgama</i> Based on a Translatorship Attribution Algorithm <i>Jen-jou Hung</i>	167
The Sarvāstivādins’ “Encroachment” into the Chinese Translation of the <i>Daśottara-sūtra</i> in the <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> of the Dharmaguptakas <i>Seishi Karashima</i>	197

Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (DILA) 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, Master Sheng Yen hoped to foster the academic study of Buddhism in Taiwan.

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

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

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

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

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

Among our goals is the extensive development of digital publishing and information to adapt to the inter-active and hyper-connective environment of the Web 2.0 age. This will allow research outcomes to be quickly shared and evaluated through the participation of individual users, through such media as blogs, shared tagging,

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

Bhikṣu Huimin

President, Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts

Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts, August 15th, 2014

Preface

This is the second volume of proceedings of the Āgama seminars convened by the Āgama Research Group at the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (formerly Dharma Drum Buddhist College).

On this occasion, the Āgama Research Group met to discuss the early collections of long discourses transmitted by the different Buddhist schools. Thanks to the discovery and ongoing publication of the incomplete Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript from Gilgit, three different versions of the Collection of Long Discourses are now available for comparative study: the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* transmitted within the Theravāda tradition, the just-mentioned *Dīrgha-āgama* in Sanskrit, identified as Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda, and the Chinese translation of an Indic *Dīrgha-āgama* (長阿含經), generally considered to be affiliated with the Dharmaguptakas.

The seminar, “The Chinese Translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* (長阿含經, Taishō 1)”, took place on 18 and 19 October, 2013. It was organised in collaboration with the Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies at Dharma Drum Mountain and the Numata Center for Buddhist Studies at Hamburg University. The event was generously funded by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange.

In this volume, we publish most of the papers that were presented and discussed at the seminar, with the chapters – six in total – arranged according to the authors’ names in alphabetical order.

Bhikkhu Anālayo opens the volume with a study of “Three Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* Discourses without Parallels”, concluding that the three discourses examined in his study are very likely later additions to the collection.

Roderick S. Bucknell studies “The structure of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* from Gilgit vis-à-vis the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*”, giving evidence

that both of these versions of the Long Collection underwent a process of expansion through transfer of material from the corresponding version of the Middle-Length Collection.

With the third contribution to this volume, “The *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* and the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*”, Endo Toshiichi (遠藤敏一) summarises his research on the *bhāṇaka* tradition, in particular on the transmitters of the Pali commentary to the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*. His investigations point to the possibility that there may have been different groups of *dīgha-bhāṇakas* within the *dīgha-bhāṇaka* tradition itself. He shows that the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* contains some apparently ‘extraneous’ textual material, the counterpart of which is not found in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, but only in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*.

Jens-Uwe Hartmann, in his paper “The *Dīrgha-āgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins: What Was the Purpose of this Collection?”, reflects on a number of peculiarities in the *Dīrgha-āgama* from Gilgit. He discusses the overall purpose of the collection, and considers whether certain passages might have been intended to be entertaining, if not even humorous.

In the following chapter, Hung Jen-jou (洪振洲) approaches the last discourse in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* with the tools of digital stylometrics, producing “A Textual Analysis of the Last Discourse in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* Based on a Translatorship Attribution Algorithm”, an analysis that detects no significant differences in the translation style as against the rest of the collection.

The volume closes with a study by Karashima Seishi (辛嶋靜志) on “The Sarvāstivādins’ ‘encroachment’ into the Chinese translation of the *Daśottara-sūtra* in the *Dīrgha-āgama* of the Dharmaguptakas”, demonstrating that a number of readings in some editions and manuscripts agree completely with the readings in the Sarvāstivāda versions of the same discourse. He explains this as the product of a re-translation done on the basis of a newly arrived Sanskrit manuscript belonging to a Sarvāstivāda lineage.

A by-product of the seminar is that under the supervision of Karashima Seishi we have digitised, edited and supplemented an unpublished index to the footnotes to the Japanese translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* that was originally published in monthly instalments in *Gekkan Āgama* (月刊アーガマ), the magazine of Agonshū (阿含宗), the Āgama revivalist movement founded in 1978 by Kiriya Seiyū (桐山靖雄), and then republished in six volumes (Tokyo, 1996–2005). This large translation project was the joint effort of sinologically trained linguists and philologists trained in Indology and Buddhist studies. Their combined expertise resulted in rich research footnotes that deal with problematic terminology and readings from a perspective that takes into account both linguistic and content aspects of this collection. The index home page is <http://dev.ddbc.edu.tw/t1index> and all data is freely available for inclusion and (re-)use in other digital projects.

My gratitude goes to the many friends and colleagues who have contributed to the production of this volume: bhikṣu Huimin (釋惠敏), President of the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts, and Hung Jen-jou (洪振洲), Director of the Library and Information Center of the same institution, for having allowed me the space and the support needed to conceive and organise the event; bhikṣu Guojing (釋果鏡), director of the Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies, for supplying extra funding when needed, and Chen Hsiu-lan (陳秀蘭) at the same institute for kindly liaising on our behalf; the staff and volunteers of the Library and Information Center for their continuous selfless help; Zhang Zhen-hwa (張振華), our chief accountant, for being flexible with us; our students and especially my assistants Hung Pei-ying (洪佩英), Ke Chunyu (柯春玉) and Ge Xianmin (葛賢敏) for prodigious support; all the students, scholars and auditors who attended the workshop for participating and engaging; Chuang Kuo-ping (莊國彬), responsible for our publications, who readily endorsed the volume proposal; Lo Pei-shin (羅珮心) of the publications section for her

gentle coordination of the workflow with Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation; the authors for their trust and patience; the reviewers for their feedback; Adam Clarke and Geraint Evans for editorial help; bhikkhu Aggacitta, Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Peter Skilling for advice; and, finally, bhikkhu Anālayo, co-director with me of the Āgama Research Group, for having been always ready to offer his support throughout the organisational and editorial process.

Neither a Sinologist nor an Āgama specialist by training, I am not, perhaps, qualified to edit a specialised volume such as this. I am happy, however, to have had the opportunity to help make the seminar results available to the wider academic community within a short span of time. This is in keeping with our local Āgama Research Group effort to publish in English so as to enable easy access to the field of Āgama studies for students and scholars beyond East Asia.

sāmaṇerī Dhammadinnā

Director, Āgama Research Group

Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts

Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts, September 27th, 2014

Three Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* Discourses without Parallels

Bhikkhu Anālayo
Numata Center for Buddhist Studies, University of Hamburg &
Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts

Abstract

With the present paper I examine three discourses in the *Dīrgha-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation (長阿含經, T 1) that are not found in the collections of long discourses extant in Pali and Sanskrit. My presentation proceeds through four main parts: I begin by surveying the extant collections of long discourses (I), followed by turning to the three *Dīrgha-āgama* discourses that are without parallels: DĀ 11, the Discourse Increasing by One, of which I provide a translation (II); DĀ 12, the Discourse On the Three Groups, which is similar in type and which I have translated elsewhere (III); and DĀ 30, the Discourse On a Record of the World (IV). The main thrust of my investigation is towards gaining a better understanding of the nature of these three discourses and to ascertain if they should be reckoned as later additions to the *Dīrgha-āgama* extant in Chinese translation.

Contents

- I. The Collections of Long Discourses
- II. The Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11)
 - II.1 Translation
 - II.2 Study
- III. The Discourse On the Three Groups (DĀ 12)
- IV. The Discourse On a Record of the World (DĀ 30)
- Conclusion
- Abbreviations
- References

I. The Collections of Long Discourses

The *Vinayas* of different Buddhist schools report that a division of the scriptural collections into *āgamas* or *nikāyas* was already used at the first “communal recitation”, *saṅgīti*,¹ which according to the traditional account was held at Rājagṛha soon after the Buddha’s decease. While the traditional accounts are of course influenced by later conceptions of canonicity, the fact that in spite of various differences they agree on this basic fourfold division makes it probable that this way of arranging the discourse material for oral transmission is fairly early.

Most *Vinayas* first mention the collection of long discourses when listing the four *āgamas* or *nikāyas*.² Perhaps considerations of length influenced this choice, in that the collection of long discourses was placed before the collections of discourses that are of middle or shorter length.³

¹ On the term *saṅgīti* cf., e.g., Tilakaratne 2000 and Skilling 2009: 55–60.

² The *Dīrgha-āgama* is mentioned in first place in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 968b19, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at XXII 491c16 (with a variant listing at 492c18), in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 191a24, and in the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Vin II 287,16 (which does not list the order explicitly, although the position of the *Dīrgha-nikāya* is implicit in the circumstance that the *Brahmajāla* (DN 1) and the *Sāmaññaphala* (DN 2) are on record as having been the first discourses recited at the *saṅgīti*). An exception is the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 407b27, which has the *Samyukta-āgama* in first place. Translations of several of these *Vinaya* accounts can be found in Przyluski 1926 and Anuruddha 2008.

³ Alternatively it could also be that this decision was influenced by the principle of waxing syllables. According to this principle, words with fewer syllables in a series of terms are followed by words with an equal or a greater number of syllables; cf. in more detail Anālayo 2009. Following the principle of waxing syllables, the *dīrgha* would come in first

The principles used for allocating discourses to a particular *āgama* or *nikāya* appear to have also affected the type of discourses that are found in a particular collection. Thus, for example, the topics chosen for the *saṃyukta* collections – which contain shorter discourses arranged according to topic – are for the most part based on themes such as conditionality, the five aggregates, the six senses, and the constituents of the path to awakening. This naturally invests the *saṃyukta* collections with an emphasis on doctrinal teachings.⁴ In the case of the *dīrgha* collections, the fact that debates and eulogies easily tend to become prolonged appears to have resulted in a corresponding emphasis on the Buddha's ability to stand his ground successfully in debate with non-Buddhist teachers,⁵ together with the inspiration to be gained from his exceptional nature and qualities. According to the Sarvāstivāda **Vinayavibhāṣā* (薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙), the long discourses collected in the *Dīrgha-āgama* are in fact especially apt for the refutation of heterodox philosophies.⁶

Three collections of such long discourses are extant:⁷

position when the four *āgamas/nikāyas* are listed (as in the *Vinaya* accounts mentioned in the previous note), because the term *dīrgha* is the only one that has just two syllables. In an oral setting the order of reciting the listing could then have influenced the actual placement of the collections. Both of my suggestions remain speculative, however, as I am not aware of any evidence that would support these hypotheses.

⁴ The point I intend to make is not that the *saṃyukta* collections are entirely doctrinal, but only that doctrinal teachings are particularly prominent in these collections.

⁵ On debates in the *Dīrgha-nikāya* cf. Manné 1992.

⁶ T 1440 at T XXIII 504a1: 破諸外道, 是長阿含.

⁷ A *Dīrgha-āgama* had apparently been translated into Tibetan, but the translation seems to have been lost during the persecution of Buddhism under King Glang dar ma; cf. Skilling 1997: 96. Faxian (法顯) brought a *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript to China, which he had obtained in Sri Lanka; cf. T 2085 at T LI 865c24. This was apparently never translated

- the *Dīgha-nikāya* transmitted by Theravāda reciters, containing thirty-four discourses;
- substantial parts of the *Dīrgha-āgama* transmitted by Sarvāstivāda and/or Mūlasarvāstivāda reciters, containing forty-seven discourses;⁸
- the *Dīrgha-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation (長阿含), transmitted by Dharmaguptaka reciters and containing thirty discourses.⁹ This *Dīrgha-āgama* is now found as entry no. 1 in the Taishō edition. According to the information at our disposal, this collection was translated in the year 413 of the present era by Zhu Fonian (竺佛念), based on an original recited by Buddhayaśas.

The table below gives an overview of the three collections, listing the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* discourses to the left and their counterparts in the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* and the Sarvāstivāda and/or Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* to the right.¹⁰

since by the time of his return the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* had already been translated; cf. Anālayo 2010a: 69–74. In addition to the three collections now extant, individual discourses have been preserved in Chinese or Tibetan translation, as well as in Indic language fragments.

⁸ Here and below, indications concerning the structure of this collection, the names of the discourses, and their parallels are based on Hartmann and Wille 2014.

⁹ On the school of the *Dīrgha-āgama* cf., e.g., Demiéville 1951: 252f, Lü 1963: 242, Bareau 1966, Waldschmidt 1980: 136, Mayeda 1985: 97, Enomoto 1986: 25, Hirakawa 1987: 513, Schmithausen 1987: 318, Brough 2001 [1962]: 50, Oberlies 2003: 44, Salomon 2007: 354 note 14, and Willemen 2008: 60.

¹⁰ Surveys of this collection have been provided by Hartmann 2000, Hartmann 2002, Hartmann 2004, and Hartmann and Wille 2014. Editions of discourses from this collection, listed in the order of their canonical placing, are: *Govinda-sūtra* (14th): Sadakata 1999 and Sadakata 2006, *Kāyabhāvanā-sūtra* (20th): Liu 2010, *Bodha-sūtra* (21st): Hartmann 2004 and Silverlock 2009, *Śaṃkara-sūtra* (22nd): Zhang 2004, *Ājānāta-sūtra* (23rd): Sander 2007 and Dietz 2011, *Tridaṇḍi-sūtra* (25th): Matsuda 2006, *Pinṅalātreyā-*

Table. Structural Overview of the Collections of Long Discourses

DĀ (Chin)	DN	DĀ (Skt)
1 大本經	14 <i>Mahāpadāna-sutta</i>	5 <i>Mahāvadāna-sūtra</i>
2 遊行經	16 <i>Mahāparinibbāna-sutta</i> ¹¹	6 <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra</i>
3 典尊經	19 <i>Mahāgovinda-sutta</i>	14 <i>Govinda-sūtra</i>
4 闍尼沙經	18 <i>Janavasabha-sutta</i>	13 <i>Jinayabha-sūtra</i>
5 小緣經	27 <i>Aggañña-sutta</i>	3 <i>Saṅgīti-sūtra</i> 1 <i>Daśottara-sūtra</i>
6 轉輪聖王修行經	26 <i>Cakkavatti(sīhanāda)-sutta</i>	
7 弊宿經	23 <i>Pāyāsi-sutta</i>	
8 散陀那經	25 <i>Udumbarikasīhanāda-sutta</i>	
9 眾集經	33 <i>Saṅgīti-sutta</i>	
10 十上經	34 <i>Dasuttara-sutta</i>	
11 增一經		
12 三聚經		
13 大緣方便經	15 <i>Mahānidāna-sutta</i>	9 <i>Bhārgava-sūtra</i>
14 釋提桓因問經	21 <i>Sakkapañha-sutta</i>	
15 阿菟夷經	24 <i>Pāṭika-sutta</i>	
16 善生經	31 <i>Sīṅgālovāda-sutta</i>	

sūtra (26th): Matsuda 2006 and Peipina 2008, *Kairvartī-sūtra* (29th): Zhou 2008, *Kūṭatāṇḍya-sūtra* (34th): von Criegern 2002, *Ambaṣṭha-sūtra* (35th): Melzer 2006, *Prṣṭhapaḥla-sūtra* (36th): Melzer 2006 and Stuart 2013, *Kāraṇavādi-sūtra* (37th): Melzer 2006, *Pudgala-sūtra* (38th): Melzer 2006, *Śruta-sūtra* (39th): Melzer 2006, *Mahalla-sūtra* (40th): Melzer 2006, and *Anyatama-sūtra* (41st): Melzer 2006. For a survey of work in progress cf. Hartmann and Wille 2014: 142f.

¹¹ In the *Dīrgha-nikāya* the *Mahāsudassana-sutta*, DN 17, forms a separate discourse.

DĀ (Chin)	DN	DĀ (Skt)
17 清淨經	29 <i>Pāsādika-sutta</i>	15 <i>Prāsādika-sūtra</i> ¹²
18 自歡喜經	28 <i>Sampasādanīya-sutta</i>	16 <i>Prasādanīya-sūtra</i>
19 大會經	20 <i>Mahāsamaya-sutta</i>	24 <i>Mahāsamāja-sūtra</i>
20 阿摩晝經	3 <i>Ambaṭṭha-sutta</i>	35 <i>Ambāṣṭha-sūtra</i>
21 梵動經	1 <i>Brahmajāla-sutta</i>	47 <i>Brahmajāla-sūtra</i>
22 種德經	4 <i>Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta</i>	33 <i>Śroṇatāṇḍya-sūtra</i>
23 究羅檀頭經	5 <i>Kūṭadanta-sutta</i>	34 <i>Kūṭatāṇḍya-sūtra</i>
24 堅固經	11 <i>Kevaddha-sutta</i>	29 <i>Kaivartī-sūtra</i>
25 俱舍梵志經	8 <i>Kassapasīhanāda-sutta</i>	46 <i>Kāśyapa-sūtra</i>
26 三明經	13 <i>Tevijja-sutta</i>	45 <i>Vāsiṣṭha-sūtra</i>
27 沙門果經	2 <i>Sāmaññaphala-sutta</i>	44 <i>Rājā-sūtra</i>
28 布吒婆樓經	9 <i>Poṭṭhapāda-sutta</i>	36 <i>Prṣṭhapāla-sūtra</i>
29 露遮經	12 <i>Lohicca-sutta</i>	27 <i>Lohitya-sūtra</i> (II)
30 世紀經		

The table conveys the impression that the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* is somewhat closer to the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* than to the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama*. An exception is the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*'s adoption of a fourfold division, a topic to which I will return in a later part of my study.¹³

¹² My presentation here follows Hartmann and Wille 2014: 140; the indication in Hartmann 2004: 126, which relates DĀ (Skt) 15 *Prāsādika-sūtra* to DN 28 *Sampasādanīya-sutta*, and DĀ (Skt) 16 *Prasādanīya-sūtra* to DN 29 *Pāsādika-sutta*, reflects the then still unclear correspondences, which thanks to a more detailed study of the fragments have been clarified in the meantime.

¹³ The introduction to the *Dīrgha-āgama* explicitly draws attention to this fourfold division; cf. T I 1a12: 此《長阿含》四分. The indication by Hart-

The impression of closeness finds confirmation when examining the situation from the viewpoint of the *Dīrgha-nikāya*. Out of the forty-seven discourses in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama*, eleven are without known parallels anywhere in the four Pali *Nikāyas*,¹⁴ and another twelve discourses are not found in the *Dīrgha-nikāya*, but only in other *Nikāyas*.¹⁵ Together these amount to twenty-three discourses not shared with the *Dīrgha-nikāya*, which correspond to 49% of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama*. In the case of the thirty discourses of the Dharmaguptaka collection, three are without counterparts in the *Dīrgha-nikāya*, corresponding to 10% of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama*.

mann and Wille 2014: 139 that “all three versions of the Long Discourses are divided into three sections” and that each of the sections of the Chinese collection contains 10 discourses does not seem to be correct. In the Taishō edition the second section begins with the fifth discourse (cf. T I 36b28: 第二分), the third section with the twentieth discourse (cf. T I 82a6: 第三分), and the fourth section then contains just DĀ 30 (cf. T I 114b7: 第四分). A correct description of the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* can be found in Choi 2012a: 77f and Choi 2012b: 18f (included in the list of works cited in Hartmann and Wille 2014: 154), whose tables and descriptions reflect the four divisions and the distribution of the discourses in these divisions as they are found in the Chinese collection.

¹⁴ These are the *Arthavistara-sūtra* (2nd), the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* (4th), the *Sarveka(?)*-*sūtra* (8th), the *Māyājāla-sūtra* (18th), the *Tridaṇḍi-sūtra* (25th), the *Piṅgalātreyā-sūtra* (26th), the first *Lohitya-sūtra* (27th), the second *Maṇḍiśa-sūtra* (31st), the *Kāraṇavādi-sūtra* (37th), the *Śruta-sūtra* (39th), the *Mahalla-sūtra* (40th), and the *Anyatama-sūtra* (41st).

¹⁵ These are: the *Apannaka-sūtra* (7) ≈ (perhaps) MN 60, the *Śālya-sūtra* (10) ≈ MN 105, the *Bhayaḥhairava-sūtra* (11) ≈ MN 4, the *Roma(harṣa)ṇa-sūtra* (12) ≈ MN 12, the *Pañcatraya-sūtra* (17) ≈ MN 102, the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* (19) ≈ MN 95, the *Kāyabhāvanā-sūtra* (20) ≈ MN 36, the *Bodha-sūtra* (21) ≈ MN 85, the *Śaṃkara-sūtra* (22) ≈ MN 100, the *Pudgala-sūtra* (38) ≈ MN 51 / AN 4.198, and the *Jīvaka-sūtra* (43) ≈ MN 55.

In what follows, I examine the three discourses in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* that are without parallels:¹⁶

- DĀ 11, the Discourse Increasing by One,
- DĀ 12, the Discourse On the Three Groups,
- DĀ 30, the Discourse On a Record of the World.

II. The Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11)

The Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11) and the Discourse On the Three Groups (DĀ 12) occur after the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* versions of the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* (DĀ 9) and the *Daśottara-sūtra* (DĀ 10).¹⁷ These four discourses are of a similar nature, in that they provide lists of doctrinal items.

The list in the different versions of the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* has as its main structural element the progression from Ones to Tens, under which various numbers of doctrinal items are arranged.

The *Daśottara-sūtra* differs in so far as it invariably assigns ten items to each of the numerical divisions from Ones to Tens. Moreover, these ten items follow a consistently applied thematic pattern for each exposition, from Ones to Tens. The thematic pattern proceeds as follows in the case of the Chinese version:

- “greatly successful”, 多成,
- to be “cultivated”, 修,
- to be “understood”, 覺,

¹⁶ For a study of two discourses in T 100 that are without parallels cf. Bin-genheimer 2013.

¹⁷ My use of Sanskrit discourse titles is simply for the sake of ease of presentation and does not imply taking a stance on the language of the text that formed the basis for the Chinese translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, which would have been in a Prakrit.

- to be “extinguished”, 滅,
- leading to “decline”, 退,
- leading to “increase”, 增,
- “difficult to comprehend”, 難解,
- to be “aroused”, 生,
- to be “known”, 知,
- to be “realized”, 證.¹⁸

Such a clearly structured discourse is certainly easier to memorize than the listing given in the *Śaṅgīti-sūtra*, where the items under each number vary considerably and also do not follow a consistent thematic pattern. Thus the *Daśottara-sūtra* would have been of considerable appeal to disciples who were not part of the circle of professional reciters, but who nevertheless wished to learn by heart such a summary of the teachings.¹⁹

The Discourse Increasing by One proceeds in a similar way to the *Daśottara-sūtra*, with the difference that, instead of using ten topics, it works through the listing of Ones to Tens based on five topics.

In what follows, I translate this discourse.

¹⁸ For the case of the Ones cf. DĀ 10 at T I 53a2, where for the first quality here and below in the translation of DĀ 11 I follow a variant reading that adds 多 to 成.

¹⁹ For a more detailed study of the function of such summaries cf. Anālayo 2014.

II.1 Translation

Discourse Increasing by One²⁰

Thus I heard. At one time the Buddha was at Śrāvastī in Jeta's Grove, the park [given by] Anāthapiṇḍada, accompanied by a great community of one thousand two hundred and fifty monks.

At that time the Blessed One said to the monks: "I will teach you the sublime Dharma, whose words in the beginning, middle, and end are all true and correct, which is flavoured with meaning and endowed with the purity of the holy life, that is to say, states increasing by one. Listen and pay proper attention to what I will teach you." ^[57c] Then the monks received the instruction and listened.

1. The Buddha said to the monks: "States increasing by one are [as follows]: that is to say, one state is greatly successful,²¹ one state is to be cultivated, one state is to be understood, one state is to be extinguished, and one state is to be realized.

1.1 "What one state is greatly successful? It is: not neglecting wholesome states.

²⁰ DĀ 11 at T I 57b25 to 59b8. I have added numbering to the translation in order to make it easier to recognize the underlying structure. In order not to overburden the notes to this translation, I have taken into account only what seemed relevant from the material in the parallels to the preceding discourse in the *Dīrgha-āgama* (DĀ 10 at T I 52c17 to T I 57b24), found in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda and the Theravāda collections; cf. Mittal 1957 and Schlingloff 1962, as well as DN 34 at DN III 272,¹ to DN III 292,⁷. Thus my survey does not cover another parallel to DĀ 10, preserved individually in Chinese translation: T 13 at T I 233b23 to T I 241c19. A comparative study of DĀ 10 in the light of all its three parallels can be found in de Jong 1979 [1966].

²¹ My translation follows a variant reading that adds 多 to 成.

1.2 “What one state is to be cultivated? It is: constant mindfulness of one’s own body.

1.3 “What one state is to be understood? It is: being contacted by the influxes.

1.4 “What one state is to be extinguished? It is: the conceit ‘I am.’

1.5 “What one state is to be realized? It is: the unimpeded liberation of the mind.²²

2. “Again, two states are greatly successful, two states are to be cultivated, two states are to be understood, two states are to be extinguished, and two states are to be realized.

2.1 “What two states are greatly successful? They are: knowing shame and knowing fear of wrongdoing.²³

2.2 “What two states are to be cultivated? They are: tranquillity and insight.

2.3 “What two states are to be understood? They are: name and form.

2.4 “What two states are to be extinguished? They are: ignorance and craving for existence.

2.5 “What two states are to be realized? They are: knowledge and liberation.

²² DĀ 11 at T I 57c6: 無礙心解脫, found similarly in DĀ 10 at T I 53a10; on which de Jong 1979 [1966]: 255 comments: “*asaṅgā cetovimuktiḥ*?” The Indic language parallels to DĀ 10 speak of *akopyā cetovimuktiḥ* or *akup-pā cetovimutti*; cf. Mittal 1957: 55 (§i.10) and DN 34 at DN III 273,13.

²³ The Indic language parallels to DĀ 10 instead list mindfulness and clear comprehension; cf. Mittal 1957: 56 (§ii.1) and DN 34 at DN III 273,22. The qualities of shame and fear of wrongdoing do occur elsewhere in the Sanskrit fragment version, where they are found instead under the heading of two states that lead to distinction; cf. Mittal 1957: 56 (§ii.6).

3. “Again, three states are greatly successful, three states are to be cultivated, three states are to be understood, three states are to be extinguished, and three states are to be realized.

3.1 “What three states are greatly successful? The first is associating with good friends, the second is [lending] an ear to hear the Dharma, and the third is becoming accomplished in the Dharma [in accordance with] the Dharma.²⁴

3.2 “What three states are to be cultivated? They are the three concentrations: concentration on emptiness, concentration on signlessness,²⁵ and concentration on non-activity.²⁶

3.3 “What three states are to be understood? They are: painful feeling, pleasant feeling, and neutral feeling.²⁷

3.4 “What three states are to be extinguished? They are the three cravings: craving for sensual pleasures, craving for existence, and craving for non-existence.²⁸

²⁴ The third state mentioned in the Sanskrit fragment parallel to DĀ 10 is rather “thorough attention”, *yoniso manasikāraḥ*; cf. Mittal 1957: 58 (§iii.1).

²⁵ Adopting the variant 相 instead of 想; on this type of variation cf. Anālayo 2011a: 274f note 54.

²⁶ The Indic language parallels to DĀ 10 list another set of three concentrations: with *vitarka* and *vicāra*, without *vitarka* but still with *vicāra*, and without both; cf. Mittal 1957: 58 (§iii.2) and DN 34 at DN III 274,25. On the significance of these two absorption factors cf., e.g., Cousins 1992 and Anālayo 2013a: 79–84.

²⁷ The Sanskrit fragment parallel to DĀ 10 lists the three types of becoming, *bhava*; cf. Mittal 1957: 58 (§iii.3).

²⁸ The Sanskrit fragment parallel to DĀ 10 has craving for immateriality as its third; cf. Mittal 1957: 59 (§iii.4). This reflects a recurrent difference, where references in Dharmaguptaka and Theravāda discourses to the three types of craving, with non-existence as the third, are not found in this way in Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda counterparts; cf. also Choong 2000: 166, Delhey 2009: 69 note 4, and Anālayo 2011a: 70 note 216.

3.5 “What three states are to be realized? They are the three knowledges: the knowledge of recollection of past lives, the knowledge of the divine eye, and the knowledge of the destruction of the influxes.²⁹

4. “Again, four states are greatly successful, four states are to be cultivated, four states are to be understood, four states are to be extinguished, and four states are to be realized.

4.1 “What four states are greatly successful? The first is dwelling in the middle country (*madhyadeśa*), the second is associating with good friends, the third is self-restraint, and the fourth is having planted wholesome roots in the past.³⁰

4.2 “What four states are to be cultivated? They are the four establishments of mindfulness: In regard to the internal body a monk contemplates the body, diligently without negligence, with recollective mindfulness that is not lost, abandoning lust and discontent for the world; in regard to an external body he contemplates the body, diligently without remiss, with recollective mindfulness that is not lost, abandoning lust and discontent for the world; in regard to the internal and an external body he contemplates the body, diligently without remiss, with recollective mindfulness that is not lost, abandoning lust and discontent for the world. Contemplating feeling ... mind ... and dharmas *is also like this*.³¹

4.3 “What four states are to be understood? They are the four nutriments: the nutriment of morsels [of edible food], the nutriment of

²⁹ The Sanskrit fragment parallel to DĀ 10 qualifies these three as being beyond training, *aśaikṣa*; cf. Mittal 1957: 60 (§iii.10).

³⁰ Adopting the variant 植 instead of 殖.

³¹ The Indic language parallels to DĀ 10 do not bring in the distinction between internal and external mindfulness practice; cf. Mittal 1957: 61 (§iv.2) and DN 34 at DN III 276,10.

contact, the nutriment of [intentional] thought, and the nutriment of consciousness.

4.4 “What four states are to be extinguished? They are the four clings: Clinging to sensual pleasures, clinging to a self, clinging to precepts, and clinging to views.”³²

4.5 “What four states are to be realized? They are the four fruits of recluseship: the fruit of stream-entry, the fruit of once-return, the fruit of non-return, and the fruit of arhatship.”³³

5. “Again, five states are greatly successful, five states are to be cultivated, five states are to be understood, five states are to be extinguished, and five states are to be realized.

5.1 “What five states are greatly successful? They are the five limbs of exertion:³⁴ the first is faith in the Buddha, the Tathāgata, the arhat, who is endowed with ten epithets; ^[58a] the second is being without illness, with a body that is constantly at ease; the third is being honest without crookedness, truly arousing the Tathāgata’s path to Nir-

³² The Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 276,19, lists the four floods (*ogha*) of sensuality, becoming, views, and ignorance.

³³ The Sanskrit fragment parallel to DĀ 10, Mittal 1957: 64f (§iv.10), instead mentions things to be realized directly (literally ‘with the body’), through recollection, through the [divine] eye, and through wisdom. A similar set, although in a different sequence, can be found in the Pali parallel to DĀ 9, DN 33 at DN III 230,7, according to which recollection of past lives is to be realized through recollection, the passing away and re-arising (of beings) is to be realized through the [divine] eye, the eight liberations are to be realized directly, and the destruction of the influxes is to be realized through wisdom.

³⁴ DĀ 11 at T I 57c29: 五滅盡支 (with 枝 as a variant for 支), a rendering which would go back to an original *prahāṇa* instead of *pradhāṇa*; on this type of difference cf., e.g., Bapat 1969: 5, Minh Chau 1991 [1964]: 327, and Gethin 1992: 70–72.

vāṇa; the fourth is having a collected mind that is not confused, [being able] to recite without forgetfulness; the fifth is being skilled in contemplating the rise and fall of phenomena, and through noble practice extinguishing the roots of *duḥkha*.

5.2 “What five states are to be cultivated? They are the five faculties: the faculty of faith, the faculty of energy, the faculty of mindfulness, the faculty of concentration, and the faculty of wisdom.”³⁵

5.3 “What five states are to be understood? They are the five aggregates of clinging: the bodily form aggregate of clinging, the feeling ... perception ... formations ... and consciousness aggregate of clinging.

5.4 “What five states are to be extinguished? They are the five hindrances: the hindrance of lustful sensual desire, the hindrance of ill will, the hindrance of sloth-and-torpor, the hindrance of restlessness-and-worry,³⁶ and the hindrance of doubt.

5.5 “What five states are to be realized? They are the five groups that are beyond training (*aśaikṣa*): the group of morality beyond training, the group of concentration beyond training, the group of wisdom beyond training, the group of liberation beyond training, and the group of knowledge and vision of liberation beyond training.”³⁷

6. “Again, six states are greatly successful, six states are to be cultivated, six states are to be understood, six states are to be extinguished, and six states are to be realized.

³⁵ The Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 277,25, instead lists five-fold right concentration.

³⁶ DĀ 11 at T I 58a7: 掉戲蓋, where the second character has rather the sense of “frivolity”.

³⁷ The Indic language parallels to DĀ 10 do not qualify these five as being beyond training; cf. Mittal 1957: 74 (§v.10) and DN 34 at DN III 279,14; the Sanskrit fragment version does, however, introduce them with the qualification “noble”.

6.1 “What six states are greatly successful? They are: the six principles of respect. Supposing a monk cultivates the six principles of respect, which should be esteemed and respected, for being in harmony with the community and without dispute, not different from practising alone. What are the six? Thus a monk constantly acts with benevolence (*maitrī*), extending it to [his companions] in the cultivation of the holy life, being established in a mental attitude of affectionate goodwill – this is called a principle of respect, which should be esteemed and respected, for being in harmony with the community and without dispute, not different from practising alone.

“Again, a monk speaks with benevolence ...

“[Again], he thinks with benevolence ...

“[Again], he shares with others his own supplies, up to what has remained in his bowl, without keeping it back from them ...

“Again, a monk does not violate the precepts that are practised by the noble ones, does not break them and is without a stain [in this respect], as praised by the wise, being well endowed with the upholding of the precepts ...

“[Again], he is accomplished in right view, which is noble and transcending, and which evenly eradicates *duḥkha*, extending [this mental attitude] to all [companions] in the holy life – this is called a principle of respect, which should be esteemed and respected, for being in harmony with the community and without dispute, not different from practising alone.

6.2 “What six states are to be cultivated? They are the six recollections: recollection of the Buddha, recollection of the Dharma, recollection of the Community, recollection of morality, recollection of charity, and recollection of *devas*.³⁸

³⁸ The Sanskrit fragment parallel to DĀ 10, Mittal 1957: 76 (§vi.2), instead speaks of remaining balanced with what is experienced through the six

6.3 “What six states are to be understood? They are the six internal spheres: the eye sphere, the ear sphere, the nose sphere, the tongue sphere, the body sphere, and the mind sphere.

6.4 “What six states are to be extinguished? They are the six cravings: craving for forms, craving for sounds, craving for odours, craving for tastes, craving for tangibles, and craving for mental objects.

6.5 “What six states are to be realized? They are the six higher knowledges: the first is the higher knowledge of supernormal abilities, the second is the higher knowledge of the divine ear, the third is the higher knowledge of knowing the minds of others, the fourth is the higher knowledge of recollecting past lives, the fifth is the higher knowledge of the divine eye, and the sixth is the higher knowledge of the eradication of the influxes.

7. “Again, seven states are greatly successful, seven states are to be cultivated, seven states are to be understood, seven states are to be extinguished, and seven states are to be realized.

7.1 “What seven states are greatly successful? They are the seven assets: the asset of faith, the asset of morality, the asset of shame, the asset of fear of wrongdoing, the asset of learning, the asset of charity, and the asset of wisdom.³⁹ These are the seven assets.

7.2 “What seven states are to be cultivated? They are: the seven awakening factors. Thus a monk cultivates the awakening factor of mindfulness in dependence on dispassion, ^[58b] in dependence on cessation, and in dependence on seclusion; he cultivates the [awakening factor] of [investigation of] phenomena ... he cultivates the [awakening factor] of energy ... he cultivates the [awakening factor] of

senses. A similar quality can be found in the Pali parallel to DĀ 9, DN 33 at DN III 250,14.

³⁹ Adopting the variant 慧 instead of 惠.

joy ... he cultivates the [awakening factor] of tranquillity ... he cultivates the [awakening factor] of concentration ... he cultivates the [awakening factor] of equanimity in dependence on dispassion, in dependence on cessation, and in dependence on seclusion.⁴⁰

7.3 “What seven states are to be understood? They are: the seven stations of consciousness. Suppose living beings are of different body and different perception, [such as some] *devas* and humans – this is the first station of consciousness.

“Again, there are living beings of different body but of the same perception, such as the *Brahmā devas* at the time of their first being born – this is the second station of consciousness.⁴¹

“Again, there are living beings of the same body and different perception, such as the *Ābhāsvara devas* – this is the third station of consciousness.

“Again, there are living beings of the same body and the same perception, such as the *Śubhakṛtsna devas* – this is the fourth station of consciousness.

“Again, there are living beings established in the sphere of [infinite] space – this is the fifth station of consciousness.

⁴⁰ The Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 282,7, simply lists the seven awakening factors, without indicating on what their cultivation depends (which usually comprises four aspects, with seclusion in first place and the fourth aspect then being that the awakening factors culminate in letting go). The Sanskrit fragments edited in Mittal 1957 have not preserved this part of the discourse.

⁴¹ My translation here and below (in relation to the nine states to be understood) is based on emending 梵光音天 to 梵天, on the assumption that the reading for the next station of consciousness, 光音天, has in the course of transmission or translation influenced the formulation for this station of consciousness. The use of 梵光音天 is a recurrent pattern in descriptions of the stations of consciousness in the *Dīrgha-āgama*; cf. also Behrsing 1930: 51 note 92.

“Again, there are living beings established in the sphere of [infinite] consciousness – this is the sixth station of consciousness.

“Again, there are living beings established in the sphere of nothingness – this is the seventh station of consciousness.

7.4 “What seven states are to be extinguished? They are the states of the seven underlying tendencies: the underlying tendency to craving for sensual pleasures, the underlying tendency to craving for becoming, the underlying tendency to views, the underlying tendency to conceit, the underlying tendency to resistance, the underlying tendency to ignorance, and the underlying tendency to doubt.⁴²

7.5 “What seven states are to be realized? They are: the seven powers of one who has eradicated the influxes. Thus, a monk who has eradicated the influxes has understood and seen as it really is the entirety of *dukkha*, its arising, its cessation, its gratification,⁴³ its danger, and the escape [from it].

“He contemplates sensual pleasures as being like a fiery pit or like a knife or sword, [so when] he knows sensual pleasures and sees sensual pleasures, he does not lust for sensual pleasures and his mind does not dwell on sensual pleasures. Herein having further well examined them and having gained knowledge as it really is, vision as it really is, he does not give rise to sensual lust in the world, to evil and unwholesome states, and he is without influxes.

“He cultivates the four establishments of mindfulness, cultivating them much and practising them much ... the five faculties ... the

⁴² The order of enumeration differs from the standard presentation of the underlying tendencies in the Pali discourses which, e.g. in the case of DN 24 at DN III 282,¹⁷ proceeds as follows: sensual desire (1), resistance (2), view (3), doubt (4), conceit (5), desire for becoming (6), and ignorance (7).

⁴³ My translation follows an emendation in the CBETA edition of 昧 to 味.

five powers ... the seven awakening factors ... the noble eightfold path, cultivating it much and practising it much.⁴⁴

8. “Again, eight states are greatly successful, eight states are to be cultivated, eight states are to be understood, eight states are to be extinguished, and eight states are to be realized.

8.1 “What eight states are greatly successful? They are: the eight causes and conditions for gaining the wisdom in the holy life that has not yet been gained, and for increasing the wisdom in the holy life that has been gained. What are the eight?

“In this way a monk dwells in dependence on the Blessed One, or in dependence on a senior teacher, or in dependence on a wise companion in the holy life, and having affection and esteem [for them] he arouses a mental attitude of shame and fear of wrongdoing – this is the first cause and condition for gaining the wisdom in the holy life that has not yet been gained, and for increasing the wisdom in the holy life that has been gained.

“Again, dwelling in dependence on the Blessed One ... at the proper time he asks questions: ‘What is the meaning of this teaching. How does one give rise to it?’ The Blessed One discloses to him its deep meaning – this is the second cause and condition ...⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 284,3, does not mention the five powers, but only the five faculties; cf. also Anālayo 2014: 52. Its additional quality (3rd) then is being inclined to and intent on seclusion, *viveka*. In relation to the first in this set, DN 34 at DN III 283,15 speaks of having seen the impermanent nature of all formations. While the Sanskrit fragments edited in Mittal 1957 have not preserved this part of the discourse, a Sanskrit fragment parallel to this item can be found in fragment Or. 15009/164 (Hoernle 149/185), Hartmann 1991: 135f (§62) and Melzer 2009: 208.

⁴⁵ Adopting the variant 世尊 instead of 尊長.

Since he has heard the teaching, his body and mind are happy and calm – this is the third cause and condition ...⁴⁶

“He does not join various unprofitable discussions which obstruct the path. When he arrives among the community, either he teaches the Dharma himself or he invites another to teach it; yet he also does not neglect noble silence – this is the fourth cause and condition ...⁴⁷

“He is widely learned, retaining without loss the deep teachings which are good in the beginning, middle, and end, ^[58c] which are flavoured with meaning and truth, and endowed with the holy life; what he has heard enters his mind and his view does not fluctuate – this is the fifth cause and condition ...

“He cultivates energy for the cessation of unwholesome activities and the daily increase of wholesome activities, he makes an effort and keeps firm, does not neglect these [wholesome] states – this is the sixth cause and condition ...

“Again, he knows the rise and fall of phenomena, through wisdom aroused by noble ones, and is able to eradicate *duḥkha* completely – this is the seventh cause and condition ...⁴⁸

“Again, he contemplates the five aggregates of clinging, the mark of their arising and the mark of their cessation:⁴⁹ this is bodily form, this is the arising of bodily form, and this is the cessation of bodily form; this is feeling ... perception ... formations ... consciousness, this is the arising of consciousness, and this is the cessation of con-

⁴⁶ The parallels to DĀ 10 speak of a twofold withdrawal (*vyapakaṛṣa/vūpakāsa*) by body and mind; cf. Mittal 1957: 84 (§viii.1.3) and DN 34 at DN III 285,13.

⁴⁷ The fourth condition in the Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 285,16, instead mentions being virtuous and restrained by the precepts.

⁴⁸ Adopting the variant 起 instead of 趣.

⁴⁹ Adopting the variant 相 instead of 想; for a discussion and several examples where these two characters appear to have been confounded with each other cf. Anālayo 2011a: 274 note 54.

sciousness – this is the eighth cause and condition for gaining the wisdom in the holy life that has not yet been gained, and for increasing the wisdom in the holy life that has been gained.

8.2 “What eight states are to be cultivated? They are the [factors of the] noble eightfold path: right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration.

8.3 “What eight states are to be understood? They are the eight worldly conditions: gain and loss, infamy and fame, praise and blame, pain and happiness.

8.4 “What eight states are to be extinguished? They are the eight [types of] wrongness: wrong view, wrong intention, wrong speech, wrong action, wrong livelihood, wrong effort, wrong mindfulness, and wrong concentration.

8.5 “What eight states are to be realized? They are the eight liberations: having form one contemplates forms – this is the first liberation. Not perceiving form internally one contemplates forms externally – this is the second liberation.⁵⁰ The liberation by purity – this is the third liberation.⁵¹ Surpassing perceptions of form, with the disappearing of perceptions of resistance one dwells in the sphere of [infinite] space – this is the fourth liberation. Surpassing the sphere of [infinite] space, one dwells in the sphere of [infinite] conscious-

⁵⁰ My translation follows an emendation suggested in the CBETA edition of 有 to 無.

⁵¹ The Indic language parallels to DĀ 10 speak of the liberation by beauty, *śubhavamokṣa*, or else of being determined on beauty, *subhan’ t’ eva adhimutto*; cf. Mittal 1957: 93 (§viii.7) (where this comes as the seventh instead of the tenth in the tenfold exposition of Eights and thus forms the exposition of the eight things that are difficult to penetrate; cf. also Pauly 1957: 290) and DN 34 at DN III 288,2 (to be supplemented from DN III 262,1).

ness – this is the fifth liberation. Surpassing the sphere of [infinite] consciousness, one dwells in the sphere of nothingness – this is the sixth liberation. Surpassing the sphere of nothingness, one dwells in the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception – this is the seventh liberation. Surpassing the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, one dwells in the cessation of perception and knowing – this is the eighth liberation.

9. “Again, nine states are greatly successful, nine states are to be cultivated, nine states are to be understood, nine states are to be extinguished, and nine states are to be realized.

9.1 “What nine states are greatly successful? They are the states of the nine factors of exertion for purification: the factor of exertion for purification of morality, the factor of exertion for purification of the mind, the factor of exertion for purification of view, the factor of exertion for purification by surmounting doubt, the factor of exertion for purification by distinguishing [what is the path from what is not the path], the factor of exertion for purification by [knowledge and vision of] the path, the factor of exertion for purification by elimination, the factor of exertion for purification by dispassion, and the factor of exertion for purification by liberation.⁵²

⁵² The Indic language parallels to DĀ 10 have as the fifth to eighth factors in their list: 5) knowledge and vision of what is the path and what is not the path, 6) knowledge and vision of the path, 7) knowledge and vision, 8) wisdom; cf. Schlingloff 1962: 18 (§ix.1) and DN 34 at DN III 288,20 (where this is the second set in the list of Nines and thus describes the nine things that are to be cultivated). While in the case of the fifth and sixth factors it is possible that the description in DĀ 11 has preserved part of a similar expression (hence my supplementations), in the case of the seventh and eighth factors the original used for translation must have been different.

9.2 “What nine states are to be cultivated? They are the nine states that are a root of joy: the first is joy [itself], the second is affection, the third is delight, the fourth is happiness, the fifth is concentration, the sixth is knowledge as it really is, the seventh is relinquishing, the eighth is dispassion, and the ninth is liberation.⁵³

9.3 “What nine states are to be understood? They are the nine abodes of living beings: There are living beings of different body and different perception, such as some *devas* and humans – this is the first abode of living beings.

“Again, there are living beings of different body but of the same perception, such as the *Brahmā devas* at the time of their first being born – this is the second abode of living beings.

“Again, there are living beings of the same body and different perception, such as the *Ābhāsvara devas* – this is the third abode of living beings.

“Again, there are living beings of the same body and the same perception, such as the *Śubhaktṛsna devas* – this is the fourth abode of living beings.

“[Again, there are living beings] without perception, who do not feel or know anything, such as the unconscious *devas* – this is the fifth abode of living beings.

“Again, there are living beings established in the sphere of [infinite] space ^[59a] – this is the sixth abode of living beings.

“Again, there are living beings established in the sphere of [infinite] consciousness – this is the seventh abode of living beings.

“Again, there are living beings established in the sphere of nothingness – this is the eighth abode of living beings.

⁵³ The Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 288,8, has a similar list as its first quality, with the difference that it indicates how each quality leads on to the next. As already noted by Schlingloff 1962: 18 note 2, the same is also the case for a similar listing in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* §§1585–1595; cf. Sakaki 1962 [1916]: 127f.

“Again, there are living beings established in the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception – this is the ninth abode of living beings.

9.4 “What nine states are to be extinguished? They are the nine [states] that are rooted in craving: in dependence on craving there is searching, in dependence on searching there is gain, in dependence on gain there is use, in dependence on use there is desire, in dependence on desire there is attachment, in dependence on attachment there is jealousy, in dependence on jealousy there is guarding, in dependence on guarding there is protection.⁵⁴

9.5 “What nine states are to be realized? They are the nine eradications: Entering the first absorption, the thorn of sound ceases.⁵⁵ Entering the second absorption, the thorn of [directed] awareness and [sustained] contemplation ceases. Entering the third absorption, the thorn of rapture ceases. Entering the fourth absorption, the thorn of breathing in and out ceases. Entering the sphere of [infinite] space, the thorn of the perception of form ceases. Entering the sphere of [infinite] consciousness, the thorn of the perception of space ceases. Entering the sphere of nothingness, the thorn of the perception of consciousness ceases.⁵⁶ Entering the sphere of neither-perception-

⁵⁴ The Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 289,6, indicates that such protection leads to the taking up of weapons, quarrelling, and falsehood.

⁵⁵ The Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 290,6 (to be supplemented from DN III 266,6), instead highlights that with the attainment of the first absorption, perceptions of sensuality cease. That sound is a thorn for the first absorption is stated elsewhere in the Pali discourses, however; cf. AN 10.72 at AN V 135,1 (the same position is also taken in its parallel MĀ 84 at T I 561a7). While the Sanskrit fragments edited in Mittal 1957 have not preserved this part of the discourse, a Sanskrit fragment parallel to this item can be found in Or.15009/542 (Hoernle 149/Add.2), Hartmann 1991: 140 (§67).

⁵⁶ Here and with the next two items, my translation follows an emendation in the CBETA edition of 刺 to 刺, in keeping with the character used earlier.

nor-non-perception, the thorn of the perception of nothingness ceases. Entering the concentration on cessation, the thorn of perception and feeling ceases.

10. “Again, ten states are greatly successful, ten states are to be cultivated, ten states are to be understood, ten states are to be extinguished, and ten states are to be realized.

10.1 “What ten states are greatly successful? They are the ten states of protection: The first is when a monk is endowed with the two hundred and fifty precepts and endowed with dignified deportment, seeing a minor offence arouses in him great trepidation, he evenly trains in morality with a mind that does not incline to wrongness.

“The second is gaining a good friend.

“The third is speaking what is balanced and correct, and having much patience.

“The fourth is seeking well the good Dharma and sharing it [with others] without stinginess.

“The fifth is to assist his companions in the holy life in what they have to arrange without becoming weary, being able to do what is difficult to do, and to teach others in doing it.

“The sixth is being learned, able to retain what has been heard without ever forgetting it.

“The seventh is being energetic in eradicating unwholesome states and increasing wholesome states.

“The eighth is being oneself constantly with undivided mindfulness, without being [carried away] by different perceptions, and [thus able] to recall former good activities as if they were in front of one’s eyes.

“The ninth is being accomplished in wisdom, contemplating the arising and cessation of states, and through noble discipline abandoning the root of *duḥkha*.

“The tenth is delighting in seclusion, giving attention with undivided mindfulness and being without restlessness between meditations.”⁵⁷

10.2 “What ten states are to be cultivated? They are the ten right practices: right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration, right liberation, and right knowledge.”⁵⁸

10.3 “What ten states are to be understood? They are the ten material spheres: the sphere of the eye, the sphere of the ear, the sphere of the nose, the sphere of the tongue, the sphere of the body, the sphere of forms, the sphere of sounds, the sphere of odours, the sphere of tastes, and the sphere of tangibles.

10.4 “What ten states are to be extinguished? They are the ten wrong practices: wrong view, wrong intention, wrong speech, wrong action, wrong livelihood, wrong effort, wrong mindfulness, wrong concentration, wrong liberation, and wrong knowledge.”⁵⁹

⁵⁷ The ten states of protection in the Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 266,27, are that a monk is: 1) morally restrained, 2) learned, 3) a good friend, 4) gentle and patient, 5) capable at assisting companions in the holy life, 6) delighted by the Dharma, 7) contented, 8) energetic, 9) mindful, and 10) wise. The Sanskrit fragment parallel in Schlingloff 1962: 23f (§x.1), which has not preserved the first state, lists: 2) morally restrained, 3) a good friend, 4) secluded, 5) energetic, 6) mindful, 7) wise, 8) gentle, 9) delighted by the Dharma, 10) capable at assisting companions in the holy life.

⁵⁸ The Pali parallel to DĀ 10, DN 34 at DN III 290,16, presents the ten spheres of totality, *kaṣiṇāyatana*, as what should be cultivated. Regarding the positioning and implications of right knowledge cf. Bucknell 1984: 9f, 15, and 31, and Anālayo 2011a: 663 note 114.

⁵⁹ The Sanskrit fragment parallel to DĀ 10, Schlingloff 1962: 26 (§x.4), lists the five hindrances in a twofold manner (cf. also SHT VII 1646A, Bechert and Wille 1995: 60; identified by M. Schmidt in Bechert and Wille 2004: 423). Similar presentations, where a doubling of the five

10.5 “What ten states are to be realized? They are the ten states beyond training: the right view beyond training, ^[59b] the right intention ... right speech ... right action ... right livelihood ... right effort ... right mindfulness ... right concentration ... right liberation ... and right knowledge [beyond training].

“Monks, these are called states increasing by one. Now having taught you the Dharma in this way, as the Tathāgata I have done for my disciples what is appropriate, with which you are now all completely familiar. I have taught you out of kindness and concern. You should be diligent and receive it respectfully. Monks, you should dwell in seclusion, at the root of trees, in empty places, energetically sit in meditation. Do not yourselves be negligent. If you do not exert yourselves now, what benefit will it be later to harbour regrets? This is my injunction, uphold it diligently.”

At that time the monks, hearing what the Buddha had said, were delighted and received it respectfully.

hindrances results in ten, can be found in SN 46.52 at SN V 110,1 and its parallels SĀ 713 at T II 191b11 and D 4094 *ju* 60a1 or Q 5595 *tu* 66a2.

II.2 Study

Compared with the early discourses found elsewhere in the Pali *Nikāyas* and Chinese *Āgamas*, the Discourse Increasing by One translated above stays well within the doctrinal world of early Buddhist thought. That is, even though this discourse does not have a known parallel, in doctrinal terms nothing seems to mark it off as substantially late.

Perhaps the only difference worth explicit mention is in regard to the “nine factors of exertion for purification”. The rendering of some factors here suggests that the Indic original used for the translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* into Chinese differed from the terms used in the corresponding schemes found in the *Daśottara-sūtra* of the Sarvāstivāda and/or Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* and in the *Dasuttarasutta* of the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya*.⁶⁰

Elsewhere I have argued that the scheme of seven purifications, which is part of this ninefold set, might have been an adaption of what was not originally a Buddhist teaching.⁶¹ Should this indeed be the case, it would not be surprising if some variation in terminology occurred in what would not have been a scheme of central importance, at least in the early stages of transmission.

So in doctrinal terms the Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11) shows no evident signs of lateness. Its presentation in fact corresponds exactly to the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* version of the *Daśottara-sūtra* (DĀ 10) for these five topics:

- “greatly successful” (1st of DĀ 10 = 1st of DĀ 11),
- to be “cultivated” (2nd of DĀ 10 = 2nd of DĀ 11),
- to be “understood” (3rd of DĀ 10 = 3rd of DĀ 11),
- to be “extinguished” (4th of DĀ 10 = 4th of DĀ 11),
- to be “realized” (10th of DĀ 10 = 5th of DĀ 11).

⁶⁰ Cf. above note 52.

⁶¹ Anālayo 2012b: 70–77.

In other words, the main difference between the Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11) and the Dharmaguptaka version of the *Daśottara-sūtra* is their compass, the former takes up five topics, the latter ten that include the former's five. In principle, it would be possible that an earlier presentation of five topics was later expanded to ten, and this expansion became a separate discourse, or else that the five topics were extracted from an earlier presentation of ten topics to form a separate discourse. Since the mode of presentation by way of ten topics recurs in the Sarvāstivāda and/or Mūlasarvāstivāda *Daśottara-sūtra* and in the *Dasuttara-sutta* of the Theravāda tradition, as well as in an individually translated Chinese version, it seems safe to conclude that this form of presentation is the earlier one, given that it is shared by different transmission lineages. From this it would follow that the Discourse Increasing by One is an extract from this tenfold presentation, by leaving out these five topics:

- leading to “decline”,
- leading to “increase”,
- “difficult to comprehend”,
- to be “aroused”,
- to be “known”.

Such an abridgement would make it easier to memorize the list and thus enable those outside of the circle of professional reciters to commit to heart a summary of the teachings.

III. The Discourse On the Three Groups (DĀ 12)

Similar to the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel to the *Daśottara-sūtra* (DĀ 10) and the Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11), the Discourse On the Three Groups (DĀ 12) works its way through a list of doctrinal items based on the same pattern of proceeding from

Ones to Tens. It differs from the other two discourses by adopting a threefold scheme,⁶² which distinguishes between:

- what leads towards a bad destiny, 趣/向惡趣,
- what leads towards a good destiny, 趣/向善趣,
- what leads towards Nirvāṇa, 趣/向涅槃.

Like the Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11), the Discourse On the Three Groups (DĀ 12) appears to be based on the *Daśottara-sūtra* (DĀ 10). Thus the exposition of what “should be cultivated” in the *Daśottara-sūtra* recurs in the Discourse On the Three Groups under the heading of what leads towards Nirvāṇa. This is the case for each of the sets, from the Ones to the Tens. The exposition of what leads to either a bad destiny or else a good one in the Discourse On the Three Groups corresponds to what leads to decline or else to increase according to the *Daśottara-sūtra* in the case of the Twos, Threes, Sixes, Nines, and Tens. Moreover, in the case of the Eights the states that lead to a bad destiny in the Discourse On the Three Groups correspond to what should be “extinguished” according to the *Daśottara-sūtra*.

In this way, while the Discourse Increasing by One in its entirety appears to be simply a straightforward extract from the *Daśottara-sūtra*, the Discourse On the Three Groups is based on such an extract in the case of its third category, regarding what leads towards Nirvāṇa. This appears to be the nucleus out of which the Discourse On the Three Groups evolved, that is, by taking over the entire listing of states to be cultivated from the *Daśottara-sūtra*. The other two categories – what leads towards a bad or a good destiny – are only in part inspired by the *Daśottara-sūtra*.

The following scenario emerges: At an earlier point in its evolu-

⁶² DĀ 12 at T I 59b14 to T I 60a27; in what follows my presentation is based on extracts from a more detailed study and translation of DĀ 12 in Anālayo 2013b.

tion what was to become the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* would have had versions of the *Śaṅgīti-sūtra* (DĀ 9) and the *Daśottara-sūtra* (DĀ 10), similar to the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* and the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* collections. The appeal of such summaries of the Dharma would then have led to the emergence of an abbreviated version of the *Daśottara-sūtra* in the form of the Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11).⁶³ The same tendency would have inspired the reciters to develop an even shorter summary of the teachings in the form of the Discourse On the Three Groups (DĀ 12).

In comparison to the development that in this way can be discerned in the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* collection, the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* reciters pursued a somewhat different course, resulting in the *Arthavistara-sūtra*.⁶⁴ This discourse is found in their *Dīrgha-āgama* between the *Daśottara-sūtra* and the *Śaṅgīti-sūtra*. The *Arthavistara-sūtra*, attributed to Śāriputra, no longer follows a numerical order in its presentation. Instead, the items in its list proceed thematically, following a trajectory that builds up to the attainment of full liberation and freedom from rebirth. This trajec-

⁶³ It is noteworthy that a discourse with the same title is mentioned in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* account of the first *śaṅgīti*, T 1421 at T XXII 191a19: 增一經, followed by references to the 增十經 and the 僧祇陀經, counterparts to the *Daśottara-sūtra* and the *Śaṅgīti-sūtra*. Thus it seems as if a similar discourse was also part of the Mahīśāsaka *Dīrgha-āgama*. In a personal communication Matsuda Katsunobu pointed out to me that this reference in T 1421 has already been noted in Karashima et al. 2000: 14, which due to my ignorance of Japanese I had not been able to consult when writing the present paper.

⁶⁴ The discourse has been preserved in Sanskrit fragments, a Tibetan translation, and two Chinese translations: *Arthavistara-sūtra*, Hartmann 1991: 319–336; *'phags pa don rgyas pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs*, D 318 *sa* 188a7 to 193b7 or Q 984 *shu* 197b6 to 203a5; [佛說]廣義法門經, T 97 at T I 919b22 to 922a23, and [佛說]普法義經, T 98 at T I 922b5 to 924c28.

ry of building up towards liberation is also evident in the schemes employed in the *Daśottara-sūtra* as well as in the two discourses found only in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* (the Discourse Increasing by One and the Discourse On the Three Groups). What appears to be a specific line of development taken in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda collection is that with the *Arthavistara-sūtra* a numerical scheme is no longer evident. This shows that attempts to construct a summary survey of central aspects of the Dharma were not confined to numerical listings.

In this way, while the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* and the *Daśottara-sūtra* reflect the shared heritage of the Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda and Theravāda traditions, the basic tendency underlying these two discourses has found different modes of expressions with the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* and the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama*. These different modes point to the same need to provide the disciples of the Buddha with a succinct summary of the Dharma, a map to be memorized, contemplated, and recited as a way of ensuring proper understanding of the teachings and communal harmony.⁶⁵

IV. The Discourse On a Record of the World (DĀ 30)

The fourth division of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* contains just a single discourse. This discourse, the Discourse On a Record of the World,⁶⁶ comprises five fascicles in the Taishō edition and is by

⁶⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the function of such lists cf. Anālayo 2014.

⁶⁶ DĀ 30 at T I 114b7 to 149c21; several parts of DĀ 30 have been translated by Howard 1986: 115–156; a detailed survey of the discourse can be found in Denis 1977b: 289–301, a comparison with the *Lokapaññatti* in

far the longest discourse in any of the *Āgama* or *Nikāya* collections.⁶⁷

The Discourse On a Record of the World begins with the Buddha in Jeta's Grove at Śrāvastī in the company of one thousand two hundred and fifty monks. Sitting in the assembly hall together after the meal, the monks discuss the topic of the nature of the heavens and the earth, and of living beings.⁶⁸ The Buddha overhears their con-

Denis 1977a: xxv. While Mizuno 1961: 70 speaks of the “*Loka-utsthāna-sūtra* of the *Dīrgha Āgama*”, Dhammajoti 2007 [2002]: 108 and van Put 2007: 207 reconstruct the title 世記 as *Lokaprajñapti*; cf. also Bareau 1979: 301: “Description du monde”. Willemen 2008: 60 remarks that “*ji* in the title means *jishuo* 記說, explanation. This most probably means *prajñapti*, but a form of *sthā* ... or a compound (e.g. *vyava-sthāna*), are not impossible”.

⁶⁷ By way of comparison, the Dharmaguptaka counterpart to the longest discourse in the Pali *Nikāyas*, the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (DN 16), covers three fascicles: DĀ 2 at T I 11a7 to 30b4.

⁶⁸ DĀ 30 at T I 114b10: “It is marvellous, venerable friends, now what causes the destruction of this heaven and earth? What causes its formation? What are the living beings that dwell in its countries?”, 諸賢, 未曾有也, 今此天地何由而敗? 何由而成? 眾生所居國土云何? The terms 敗 and 成 recur in the title of a discourse mentioned in the account of the first *saṅgīti* in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* as being part of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, the “Discourse On the Formation and Destruction of the World”, 世界成敗經. Except for the first two discourses in this account's listing, found in T 1428 at T XXII 968b15, the titles of the other discourses do not necessarily correspond to what appear to be their equivalents in the *Dīrgha-āgama*: 1st (梵動經) ≈ DĀ 21 (梵動經), 2nd (增一) ≈ DĀ 11 (增一經), 3rd (增十) ≈ DĀ 10 (十上經), 5th (僧祇陀經) ≈ DĀ 9 (眾集經), 6th (大因緣經) ≈ DĀ 13 (大緣方便經), 7th (天帝釋問經) ≈ DĀ 14 (釋提桓因問經). The 4th in this listing, the 世界成敗經, could correspond to DĀ 5, 小緣經, translated in Meisig 1988, since this discourse briefly refers to the destruction of the world, T I 37b28, and then takes up the formation of the world in detail; a possible correspondence already suggested by Oldenberg 1898: 653. According to Bareau 1966: 50, however, the ref-

versation through his supernormal ability of the divine ear. He joins them and the monks report what they had been discussing. The Buddha praises them for broaching such a topic and asks if they wish him to expound on this theme, to which the monks happily agree. After this introduction, the discourse proper starts, providing a detailed description of matters of cosmology in twelve chapters.

The first two chapters of the discourse describe Jambudvīpa and Uttarakuru,⁶⁹ followed by a chapter that portrays a *cakravartin* with his various endowments and a chapter that surveys the hells. The discourse continues with chapters on *nāgas* and *garuḍas*, on the *asuras*, on the Four Heavenly Kings, and on the Gods of the Thirty-three, together with various other matters. Then come chapters on the three calamities (i.e., the destruction of the world by fire, water, and wind), on warfare between the *devas* and the *asuras*, on three types of *kalpas* during which the lifespan and morality of beings decrease, and on the coming into being of the world after one of the three calamities. The discourse concludes with the standard description of the delight of the listening monks.

Much of the information given in these chapters can be found elsewhere among the early discourses, although often put to a different purpose. Thus, for example, the function of the *cakravartin* in the early discourses is not yet the providing of a model that Buddhist

erence 世界成敗經 is to DĀ 30, the 世記經. On this identification it would seem that at the time of the translation of the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* this discourse was already part of the *Dīrgha-āgama* (according to an introduction that prefaces the *Dīrgha-āgama*, the translation of the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* was completed before the translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama*; cf. T 1a28). It is possible, however, that the reference was added to the listing in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* during a subsequent revision of the translation, the undertaking of which is mentioned in the introduction to the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* itself, T 1428 at T XXII 567b3; cf. also Heirman 2006: 415.

⁶⁹ On the term Jambudvīpa cf. Wujastyk 2004.

kings should emulate, which appears to be a later development. Instead, the main function of the *cakravartin* motif is to convey the soteriological message that even the acme of worldly power is vastly inferior to renunciation and liberation.⁷⁰ Such a message is no longer evident in the third chapter of the Discourse On a Record of the World, whose function is merely to provide a detailed description of a *cakravartin*.⁷¹

The overall impression conveyed by the discourse is as if all kinds of information on cosmological matters had been collected from various discourses and passages to form a single text that gives an exhaustive account of the world from a Buddhist viewpoint.⁷² As a result, the Discourse On a Record of the World is not only exceptionally long, but also has a somewhat different thrust when compared to cosmological descriptions found elsewhere in the early discourses, as these usually serve to illustrate some doctrinal teaching. While doctrinal teachings are also found in the Discourse On a Record of the World, these appear for the most part to have made their way into the description simply because they were found in the original discourse from which a particular passage was taken.⁷³

In sum, the function of the Discourse On a Record of the World is mainly a descriptive one – “on a record of the world”, as the title indicates – and thus in its basic thrust similar to texts like the Jain *Ṭhāṇaṅga*, for example, where Mahāvīra is shown to give all kinds

⁷⁰ Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2011b.

⁷¹ DĀ 30 at T I 119b26.

⁷² On Buddhist (and Indian) cosmology cf., e.g., La Vallée Poussin 1911, Kirfel 1920, Günther 1944, Bhattacharyya 1969, Gombrich 1975, Reynolds and Reynolds 1982, Kloetzli 1983, Jayawardhana 1984, Nattier 1991, Kongtrul 1995, Gethin 1997, Sankarnarayan 2002, Gethin 2004, Sadakata 2004 [1997], and Zhu 2006.

⁷³ Anesaki 1908: 35 comments that texts like DĀ 30 “may have been one of the products of the period in which many manuals of Buddhist philosophy and tradition were compiled”.

of detailed descriptions of cosmological matters.⁷⁴ In sum, it seems fairly probable that the Discourse On a Record of the World is a rather late text.⁷⁵

The impression that the Discourse On a Record of the World could be a latecomer to the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* collection is strengthened when the entire collection is examined from a structural viewpoint. In what follows, I first consider the function of such structuring by looking at the other *Āgamas* and *Nikāyas*, in order to be able to apply this to the case of the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*.

In the case of the *saṃyukta* and *ekottarika* collections, the fact that these collections are subdivided by way of topics or numbers – the *saṃyukta* is arranged according to topics, the *ekottarika* groups discourses according to a numerical principle ranging from Ones to Elevens – would have facilitated portioning off parts of the collection for memorization purposes.

The same procedure is less easily applied to the long and middle length discourse collections, as these are not structured by topics or a numerical principle. Nevertheless, a similar effect can still be achieved. This can be seen by taking a closer look at the *Majjhima-nikāya*, transmitted by the Theravāda tradition, where a basic threefold division appears to have fulfilled this purpose.⁷⁶ This basic threefold division of the *Majjhima-nikāya* collects the discourses in three fifties:

- the *Mūla-paṇṇāsa*, “the root fifty” (50 discourses),
- the *Majjhima-paṇṇāsa*, “the middle fifty” (50 discourses),
- the *Upari-paṇṇāsa*, “the top fifty” (52 discourses).

⁷⁴ For an edition of the *Thāṇaṅga* cf. Jambūvijaya 1985, and on its structure Krümpelmann 2006.

⁷⁵ Pande 1957: 79 comments that this “single long cosmological sūtra ... appears apocryphal”. He appears to have come to this conclusion based on the survey of the chapters of DĀ 30 given in Nanjio 1989 [1883]: 137.

⁷⁶ What follows is based on extracts from Anālayo 2010b.

The *Visuddhimagga* indicates that these three fifties were to be learnt by a prospective reciter one after the other in succession. That is, reciters would at first memorize the first fifty, and when this was accomplished they would turn to the middle fifty. When these had been successfully committed to memory, they would learn the final fifty.⁷⁷ According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, a monk who wants to become a reciter of the *Majjhima-nikāya* needs to memorize at least the first set of fifty.⁷⁸ From this it would follow that the first set of fifty is the minimum that needs to be learned, to which the middle and the final fifty could then be added. Though these descriptions are only found in commentarial literature, they may well reflect ancient patterns among reciters.

Extrapolating from the indications given in the commentaries, the subdivision into three fifties could reflect the need to accommodate differences in the memory skills of those who wish to become reciters of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. A reciter of less talent in memorization may only learn the first fifty, as suggested in the *Samantapāsādikā*. The first set of fifty in fact collects discourses that take up the most essential themes required for a monastic's training and practice. Thus learning the first fifty would provide a reciter with expositions on the most foundational matters.

A reciter with more abilities could then continue and learn also the second fifty. Having learned two fifties would enable such a reciter to take up preaching on a broader scale. For such purposes the five chapters assembled in the second fifty would be particularly apt, as they collect discourses spoken to householders, monks, wanderers,

⁷⁷ Vism 95,23 describes that a prospective reciter of the *Majjhima-nikāya* needs first to memorize the first fifty, then the middle fifty, and then the final fifty, *mūlapaṇṇāsakaṃ sajjhāyantassa majjhmapaṇṇāsako āgacchati, taṃ sajjhāyantassa uparipaṇṇāsako*.

⁷⁸ Sp IV 789,14: *sace majjhimabhāṇako hoti, mūlapaṇṇāsako uggahetabbo*.

kings, and Brahmins.⁷⁹ These five groups are the main audiences that a reciter would address when preaching on a broader scale, so that learning this second set of fifty would provide a selection of discourses related to each of these groups, as occasion demands.

A reciter who trains further and becomes a full-fledged *majjhima-bhāṇaka*, in the sense of memorizing all of its 152 discourses, would also be versed in the more detailed descriptions of meditation practice and related topics provided in several of the discourses collected under the third fifty. This would enable such a reciter to be not only a preacher in general, but also to act as a teacher for more advanced disciples and fellow monastics, guiding them in their practice.

Thus the division into three fifties appears to suit the exigencies of oral transmission, where reciters of differing degrees of ability need to be provided with a foundational set of discourses, with the option of adding more material for teaching the wider society through the second fifty, and eventually more expositions for adepts in memorizing the *Majjhima-nikāya* by learning the final fifty.

The counterpart to the *Majjhima-nikāya* of the Theravāda tradition, the *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含) extant in the Taishō edition as entry no. 26 and apparently transmitted by Sarvāstivāda reciters,⁸⁰ has considerably more discourses than its Pali counterpart and does not show evidence of having been partitioned in a threefold manner.

Coming back to the collections of long discourses, the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* also adopts a threefold division of its discourses:⁸¹

⁷⁹ This is evident from the titles of the subdivisions of the middle fifty: *Gahapati-vagga*, *Bhikkhu-vagga*, *Paribbājaka-vagga*, *Rāja-vagga*, and *Brāhmaṇa-vagga*.

⁸⁰ The general consensus by scholars on this school affiliation has recently been called into question by Chung and Fukita 2011: 13–34; for a critical reply cf. Anālayo 2012a: 516–521.

⁸¹ On this threefold division cf. also Bapat 1926.

- the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga*, the “chapter on the aggregate of morality” (13 discourses);
- the *Mahā-vagga*, the “great chapter” (10 discourses);
- the *Pāṭika-vagga*, the “chapter [beginning with] Pāṭika” (11 discourses);

While the tripartite division of the *Majjhima-nikāya* does not seem to have an equivalent in the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama*, the threefold division of the *Dīgha-nikāya* does have a counterpart in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* preserved in Sanskrit fragments, which also falls into three main sections:

- the *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta*, a section with “six discourses” (6 discourses);
- the *Yuga-nipāta*, a section on “pairs” of discourses (18 discourses);
- the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*, a section on the “aggregate of morality” (23 discourses).

While the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* and Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* agree on this basic threefold division, the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* instead falls into four main chapters. For the Dharmaguptaka collection to differ from its Theravāda counterpart on an issue where the Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda versions agree is noteworthy, since the general tendency is for Theravāda and Dharmaguptaka transmissions of the collection of long discourses to be similar.⁸² In view of the close relationship of these two traditions in the history of the Buddhist schools, for these two collections to disagree on such a fundamental matter as the basic division of the collection, especially when the Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda collections are in agreement in this respect, is surely significant.

⁸² On the otherwise close relation between the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* and the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* cf., e.g., Lamotte 1981 [1949]: 811 note 1 and Waldschmidt 1980: 149, as well as the discussion above p. 8.

This supports the impression that the Discourse On a Record of the World is a later addition to the collection, since without this discourse the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* would also follow the subdivision into three chapters, similar to its Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda/Mūla-sarvāstivāda counterparts.

In principle, the integration of such an addition could have happened at any time during the transmission in India of the *Dīrgha-āgama* or even at the time of its translation into Chinese.⁸³ Be that as it may, it seems clear that this discourse is a latecomer to the collection, an addition that in view of the nature of the discourse can safely be assumed to have happened subsequent to the addition of the two discourses surveyed in the first part of this paper.

What these additions share in common is the attempt to provide a map. In the case of the Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11) and the Discourse On the Three Groups (DĀ 12), this attempt is merely

⁸³ In view of the case record of the translator Zhu Fonian (竺佛念), studied by Nattier 2010, it cannot a priori be excluded that the Discourse On a Record of the World became part of the *Dīrgha-āgama* only in China. At the time of the translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, a comparable discourse on cosmological matters had already been translated: T 23 at T I 27a3, 大樓炭經, which according to the information given in the Taishō edition was translated during the Western Jin and thus towards the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. Nanjio 1989 [1883]: 139 refers to T 23 (his no. 551) as one instance of what he calls “earlier translations” of DĀ 30. An interest in cosmological matters is also evident in EĀ 40.1 at T II 735c15, translated by the same Zhu Fonian before undertaking the translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama*. EĀ 40.1 precedes its exposition of the destruction of the world by seven suns with a long cosmological description, and after the destruction continues by depicting the re-emergence of the world, T II 736c16, material that bears similarities to DĀ 30, but is absent from the parallels to EĀ 40.1: AN 7.62 at AN IV 100,1, MĀ 8 at T I 428c7, T 30 at T I 811c19, and D 4094 *ju* 102b3 or Q 5595 *tu* 117a7 (edited and translated in Dietz 2007, together with an edition of relevant Sanskrit fragments).

an extension of a concern already evident in the *Śaṅgīti-sūtra* and the *Daśottara-sūtra* found in all three collections of long discourses. The need to have a map of central doctrinal teachings must have made itself felt soon after the teacher's demise. In fact the parallel versions of the *Śaṅgīti-sūtra* explicitly indicate that the main purpose of the discourse is to forestall disputes about the teachings once the Buddha had passed away.⁸⁴ The Discourse On a Record of the World (DĀ 30), however, reflects concerns of a later period.⁸⁵ Interest in an exhaustive account of the world from a Buddhist viewpoint would have arisen only once the making of maps had already acquired a momentum of its own for quite some time.

Conclusion

The three discourses in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* that are without parallels in other early discourse collections appear to be later additions to the collection. They share in common an attempt to map doctrinal terminology. While the Discourse Increasing by One (DĀ 11) and the Discourse On the Three Groups (DĀ 12) still seem to belong to an early stage in the developing of such maps, the Discourse On a Record of the World (DĀ 30) appears to reflect a later stage.

The circumstance that all three discourses in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* that are without parallels appear to be later additions should

⁸⁴ For a more detailed discussion cf. Anālayo 2014.

⁸⁵ La Vallée Poussin 1911: 129 begins his survey of Buddhist cosmogony and cosmology with the pertinent remark: “in the earliest times, speculations on the universe were apparently regarded as wrong”; cf. also Bhattacharyya 1969: 49f: “the Buddha did not encourage speculations on the universe, which, according to him, were nothing but foolish questions ... but in [the] course of time the Buddhists developed a systematic cosmographical outlook”.

not be taken to reflect a general rule, however, assuming that any discourse without parallels must be a later addition. It is always possible that a discourse is now extant from only one textual lineage due to the vicissitudes of transmission. An example would be the *Jīvaka-sūtra* of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Āgama*. Until the recent discovery of fragments of the *Jīvaka-sūtra*, only the *Majjhima-nikāya* version of this discourse was known. This was because the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda reciters had allocated this discourse to their long discourse collection, whereas the Theravāda reciters placed their version of this discourse in their middle length collection.⁸⁶ So lack of a parallel may simply be the result of differences in the distribution of discourses among the four discourse collections, transmitted by various Buddhist schools.

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Abbreviations

AN	<i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i>
D	Derge edition
DĀ / DĀ (Chin)	<i>Dirgha-āgama</i> (Chinese, T 1)
DĀ (Skt)	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (Sanskrit)
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)

⁸⁶ For a more detailed discussion cf. Anālayo 2012a: 528–532.

MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
Q	Peking edition
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99)
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
Sp	<i>Samantapāsādikā</i>
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)
Vin	<i>Vinaya</i>
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>

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**The Structure of the Sanskrit
Dīrgha-āgama from Gilgit
vis-à-vis the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya***

Roderick S. Bucknell
University of Queensland

Abstract

Thanks to the discovery and ongoing publication of the incomplete Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript from Gilgit, scholars now have three different versions of the Collection of Long Discourses at their disposal for comparative study.¹ The three are: 1) the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*; 2) the just-mentioned Gilgit *Dīrgha-āgama* in Sanskrit, consistently identified as either Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda; 3) the *Chang ahan* (長阿含), or *Dīrgha-āgama* in Chinese translation (T 1), generally considered to be of Dharmaguptaka affiliation. At the same time, the emergence of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* means that researchers are now able to undertake comparative study of the Long and Middle-length Collections of two different schools: 1) Theravāda – *Dīgha-nikāya* and *Majjhima-nikāya*,² and 2) Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda – *Dīrgha-āgama* in Sanskrit and *Zhong ahan* (中阿含), or *Madhyama-āgama* in Chinese translation (T 26). In this paper I explore both of these research avenues in the light of recent work on the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* by Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Gudrun Melzer, Matsuda Kazunobu and others. While my starting point is a comparison of the Pali and Sanskrit versions of the Long Collection (*Dīgha-nikāya* and Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*), I soon move on to take account also of the Pali and Chinese versions of the corresponding Middle-length Collection (*Majjhima-nikāya* and Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*). This procedure reflects a key premise of the study, namely that for each of the schools in

¹ Publications relating to the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* are listed in Hartmann and Wille 2014: 154f.

² While acknowledging the ongoing uncertainty about the appropriateness of such use of the term *theravāda*, I use it here in keeping with the conclusions reached by Anālayo 2013: 215–235.

question, the Long Collection cannot be adequately understood unless due attention is paid also to the corresponding Middle-length Collection. Consequently, this study only occasionally refers to the Dharmaguptaka Long Collection in Chinese; for that text there exists no corresponding Middle-length Collection with which it could be compared. The question whether the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* and the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* belong to the Sarvāstivāda or to the Mūlasarvāstivāda is not important for my paper.³ What is important is the principle, endorsed by Hartmann (1992: 12f (§1.2)) that, whichever school the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* belongs to, the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* belongs to the *same* school. For this reason among others I will, for practical convenience, refer to the school in question simply as “Sarvāstivāda” on the understanding that this is shorthand for “Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda”.

³ This question is complicated by the ongoing uncertainty among scholars about what the terminological distinction (“Sarvāstivāda” versus “Mūlasarvāstivāda”) may signify. On this issue, see Enomoto 2000 and Skilling 2002: 374–376.

Contents

I. Sanskrit-Pali Correspondences

II. The Central Research Question

II.1 The Hypothesis

II.1.1 Decades of Discourses

II.1.2 Transfer of Discourse Decades (i)

II.1.3 Transfer of Discourse Decades (ii)

II.1.4 Partial Scattering of a Transferred Decade

III. The *Yuga-nipāta* of the Sarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama*

IV. The *Mahā-vagga* and *Pāṭika-vagga* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*

V. The *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*

Summary and Conclusion

Abbreviations

References

I. Sanskrit-Pali Correspondences

In an informative article on the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*, Hartmann (2004: 125–128) includes a table setting out the text’s component discourses (*sūtras*) and their Pali parallels. I provide here, as Table 1 (below), a slightly simplified and updated version of it.⁴ Table 1 shows that, of the forty-seven discourses that make up the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*, thirty-six have known parallels or counterparts in the Pali *nikāyas*.⁵ Most of those parallel Pali discourses (*suttas*) are located, as might be expected, in the *Dīgha-nikāya*; twelve of them, however, are instead located in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

⁴ For a more recent version of the table in Hartmann 2004 see Hartmann and Wille 2014: 139–141. The bold horizontal dividing lines in the second column are explained below.

⁵ For some of the remaining eleven Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* discourses (e.g., DĀ (Skt) 25 and 26), Pali *nikāya* parallels have been tentatively identified outside of the *Dīgha-* and *Majjhima-nikāyas* (see below, p. 93); for others identification of parallels is an ongoing research task. This task is complicated by the existence of “partial parallels”, cases where the Sanskrit and Pali discourses in question have only part (for example, only half) of their content in common. In Table 1 issues deriving from the notion of partial parallels arise in the cases of DĀ (Skt) 25 and 26 (no Pali parallel shown), DĀ (Skt) 40 (parallel shown as provisional) and DĀ (Skt) 43 (parallel shown as beyond question). Akanuma 1990 [1929], long the standard source of information on discourse parallels, is now outdated. More recent information is available at suttacentral.net; also, for the *Majjhima-nikāya*, see Anālayo and Bucknell 2006.

Table 1: Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* → *Dīgha-nikāya* / *Majjhima-nikāya*

<i>Nipāta</i>	DĀ (Skt)	DN	MN
<i>Ṣaṭ-sūtraka-nipāta</i>	1. <i>Daśottara</i>	34. <i>Dasuttara</i>	
	2. <i>Arthavistara</i>		
	3. <i>Saṅgīti</i>	33. <i>Saṅgīti</i>	
	4. <i>Catuṣpariṣat</i>		
	5. <i>Mahāvadāna</i>	14. <i>Mahāpadāna</i>	
	6. <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa</i>	16. <i>Mahāparinibbāna</i>	
<i>Yuga-nipāta</i>	7. <i>Apannaka</i>		60. <i>Apaṇṇaka</i>
	8. <i>Sarveka</i>		
	9. <i>Bhārgava</i>	24. <i>Pāṭika</i>	
	10. <i>Śālya</i>		105. <i>Sunakkhatta</i>
	11. <i>Bhayabhairava</i>		4. <i>Bhayabherava</i>
	12. <i>Romaharṣaṇa</i>		12. <i>Mahāsīhanāda</i>
	13. <i>Jinayabha</i>	18. <i>Janavasabha</i>	
	14. <i>Govinda</i>	19. <i>Mahāgovinda</i>	
	15. <i>Prāsādika</i>	29. <i>Pāsādika</i>	
	16. <i>Prasādanīya</i>	28. <i>Sampasādanīya</i>	
	17. <i>Pañcāttraya</i>		102. <i>Pañcattaya</i>
	18. <i>Māyājāla</i>		
	19. <i>Kāmaṭhika</i>		95. <i>Caṅkī</i>
	20. <i>Kāyabhāvanā</i>		36. <i>Mahāsaccaka</i>
	21. <i>Bodha</i>		85. <i>Bodhirājakumāra</i>
	22. <i>Śaṃkaraka</i>		100. <i>Saṅgārava</i>
	23. <i>Āñānāṭa</i>	32. <i>Āñānāṭiya</i>	
	24. <i>Mahāsamāja</i>	20. <i>Mahāsamaya</i>	

<i>Nipāta</i>	DĀ (Skt)	DN	MN
<i>Śīla-skandha-nipāta</i>	25. <i>Tridaṇḍin</i>		
	26. <i>Piṅgalātreya</i>		
	27. <i>Lohitya</i> (I)		
	28. <i>Lohitya</i> (II)	12. <i>Lohicca</i>	
	29. <i>Kaivartin</i>	11. <i>Kevaddha</i>	
	30. <i>Maṇḍīśa</i> (I)	7. <i>Jāliya</i>	
	31. <i>Maṇḍīśa</i> (II)		
	32. <i>Mahallin</i>	6. <i>Mahāli</i>	
	33. <i>Śroṇatāṇḍya</i>	4. <i>Soṇadaṇḍa</i>	
	34. <i>Kūṭatāṇḍya</i>	5. <i>Kūṭadanta</i>	
	35. <i>Ambāṣṭha</i>	3. <i>Ambaṭṭha</i>	
	36. <i>Prṣṭhapāla</i>	9. <i>Poṭṭhapāda</i>	
	37. <i>Kāraṇavādin</i>		
	38. <i>Pudgala</i>		51. <i>Kandaraka</i>
	39. <i>Śruta</i>		
	40. <i>Mahalla</i>		
	41. <i>Anyatama</i>		
	42. <i>Śuka</i>	10. <i>Subha</i>	
	43. <i>Jīvaka</i>		55. <i>Jīvaka</i>
	44. <i>Rājā</i>	2. <i>Sāmaññaphala</i>	
	45. <i>Vāsiṣṭha</i>	13. <i>Tevijja</i>	
	46. <i>Kāśyapa</i>	8. <i>Kassapasīhanāda</i>	
	47. <i>Brahmajāla</i>	1. <i>Brahmajāla</i>	

Hartmann had already discussed this phenomenon twelve years earlier, in his *Habilitation* thesis (1992: 26 (§ 1.4) and 30 (§ 1.4)).⁶ It is equally instructive to consider, as he also does in his thesis, the discourse correspondences from the viewpoint of the Pali tradition (Hartmann 1992: 30 (§ 1.4)). How the thirty-four discourses of the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* relate to the components of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* is shown in Table 2 (below). Ten of the *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses lack parallels in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* but do have parallels in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. This is exactly the same kind of relationship as seen above. Here ten discourses are involved, none of which is among the above-mentioned twelve.⁷

Table 2:

Dīgha-nikāya → Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* / Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*

<i>Vagga</i>	DN	DĀ (Skt)	MĀ
<i>Sīla-kkhandha-vagga</i>	1. <i>Brahmajāla</i>	47. <i>Brahmajāla</i>	
	2. <i>Sāmaññaphala</i>	44. <i>Rājā</i>	
	3. <i>Ambaṭṭha</i>	35. <i>Ambāṣṭha</i>	
	4. <i>Soṇadaṇḍa</i>	33. <i>Śroṇatāṇḍya</i>	
	5. <i>Kūṭadanta</i>	34. <i>Kūṭatāṇḍya</i>	
	6. <i>Mahāli</i>	32. <i>Mahallin</i>	

⁶ There the reference is not to the Gilgit manuscript itself, which had not yet come to light, but to the likewise incomplete version of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* from East Turkestan that had been painstakingly edited by a succession of scholars over several preceding decades.

⁷ This complementarity between the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Madhyama-āgama* vis-à-vis the *Dīgha-nikāya* parallels is the main basis for the inference that Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* belongs to the same school as the *Madhyama-āgama* (see above, p. 59).

The structure of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* from Gilgit
vis-à-vis the Pali *Dīrgha-nikāya* · 65

<i>Vagga</i>	DN	DĀ (Skt)	MĀ
	7. <i>Jāliya</i> 8. <i>Kassapa-sīhanāda</i> 9. <i>Poṭṭhapāda</i> 10. <i>Subha</i> 11. <i>Kevaddha</i> 12. <i>Lohicca</i> 13. <i>Tevijja</i>	30. <i>Maṇḍīśa</i> (I) 46. <i>Kāśyapa</i> 36. <i>Prṣṭhapāla</i> 42. <i>Śuka</i> 29. <i>Kaivartin</i> 27. <i>Lohitya</i> (II) 45. <i>Vāsiṣṭha</i>	
<i>Mahā-vagga</i>	14. <i>Mahāpadāna</i>	5. <i>Mahāvadāna</i>	
	15. <i>Mahānidāna</i>		97. 大因
	16. <i>Mahāparinibbāna</i>	6. <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa</i>	
	17. <i>Mahāśudassana</i>		68. 大善見王
	18. <i>Janavasabha</i>	13. <i>Jinayabha</i>	
	19. <i>Mahāgovinda</i>	14. <i>Govinda</i>	
	20. <i>Mahāsamaya</i>	24. <i>Mahāsamāja</i>	
	21. <i>Sakkapañña</i>		134. 釋問
	22. <i>Mahāsatipatṭhāna</i>		98. 念處
	23. <i>Pāyāsi</i>		71. 婢肆
<i>Pāṭika-vagga</i>	24. <i>Pāṭika</i>	9. <i>Bhārgava</i>	
	25. <i>Udumbarikaśī</i> ^o		104. 優曇婆邏
	26. <i>Cakkavattisi</i> ^o		70. 轉輪王
	27. <i>Aggañña</i>		154. 婆羅婆堂
	28. <i>Sampasādanīya</i>	16. <i>Prasādanīya</i>	
	29. <i>Pāsādika</i>	15. <i>Prāsādika</i>	
	30. <i>Lakkhaṇa</i>		59. 三十二相
	31. <i>Sigālovāda</i>		135. 善生

<i>Vagga</i>	DN	DĀ (Skt)	MĀ
	32. <i>Āṭānāṭṭiya</i>	23. <i>Āṭānāṭṭa</i>	
	33. <i>Saṅgīti</i>	3. <i>Saṅgīti</i>	
	34. <i>Dasuttara</i>	1. <i>Daśottara</i>	

In what follows I explore some possible implications of these observed phenomena. In particular, I consider what the relationships shown in Tables 1 and 2 may be able to tell us about the historical development of these two versions of the Long Collection – that is, about how the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* and the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* came to be the way they are.

II. The Central Research Question

As just noted, twelve discourses of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* have their Pali parallels not in the *Dīgha-nikāya* but in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, and ten (different) discourses of the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* have their Sarvāstivāda parallels not in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* but in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. How can this distributional pattern be accounted for?

One interpretation that naturally comes to mind is that (a) these two versions of the Long Collection are divergent descendants from a common ancestral version,⁸ and (b) the observed differences between them have resulted from blocks of about ten dis-

⁸ By “a common ancestral version” I do not mean an “*Ur*-version” of the Long Collection supposedly compiled at the so-called First Council. Rather, I mean an early version of that collection such as can reasonably be inferred to have existed at some time before the splits that would eventually yield the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda branches.

courses being subsequently transferred between the Long Collection and the Middle-length Collection within each of the two traditions in question: the Sarvāstivāda and the Theravāda.

Hartmann (1992: 30 (§ 1.4)) does indeed canvass interpretation along these lines, but concludes that it is not viable. The main problem he identifies is difficulty in explaining how such a postulated common ancestor could have developed into the now diverse extant versions (Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*, Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*, Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*). My suggestion that blocks of about ten discourses may have been transferred between the Long and Middle-length Collections does appear to be ruled out by certain features of the data that Hartmann cites. His reasoning is paraphrased – also updated and augmented with references to my tables – in the following paragraph.

The twelve (formerly ten) known *Majjhima-nikāya* parallels of Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* *sūtras* have a widely scattered distribution within the *Majjhima-nikāya*; this is evident in their serial numbers, which range from 4 to 105 (see Table 1, column 4).⁹ Also, these *Majjhima-nikāya* parallels share no evident common feature, for example subject matter or discourse length. Much the same is found with the ten *Madhyama-āgama* parallels to the discourses of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (Table 2): their serial numbers indicate a widely scattered distribution within the *Madhyama-āgama*, and they possess no evident shared features. If each of these two sets of parallel discourses (in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and in the *Madhyama-āgama*) had been transferred from the Long Collection into the Middle-length Collec-

⁹ Also see Table 3 (below), which lists the Sarvāstivāda parallels to the 152 discourses of the *Majjhima-nikāya*; column 3 shows the 11 scattered Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* references, marked with shading.

tion, then one would expect them to be located close together as a discernible block, and one would expect them to possess some shared feature that could be identified as having motivated the transfer. Neither of these expectations is fulfilled. That is to say, the cited features provide no support for the postulated transfer of blocks of about ten discourses. Nor do they support the notion that the existing Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* and Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* might be divergent derivatives of a single original Long Collection. Rather, they suggest that the discourses were initially transmitted individually or in small groups, and that their consolidation into the present Long and Middle-length Collections happened only after the separation into discrete schools had come about.¹⁰

As regards possible movements of blocks of about ten discourses these observations and inferences are certainly correct and valid; however, they represent only half of the story, as I will now seek to demonstrate. Let us consider first the situation shown in Table 1: twelve *sūtras* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* have their Pali parallels not in the *Dīgha-nikāya* but in the *Majjhima-nikāya*. One possibility is that these twelve discourses were present in the postulated ancestral Long Collection, but that in a forerunner of the Theravāda reciter tradition they were subsequently transferred into the Middle-length Collection, thus yielding a *diminished Dīgha-nikāya*. The other possibility is that these twelve discourses were not in the ancestral Long Collection but rather in the corresponding Middle-

¹⁰ Based on Hartmann 1992: 30. Hartmann's discussion of possible discourse transfer between the Sarvāstivāda Long Collection and Middle-length Collection was intended to counter the suggestion, made by some earlier editors of Sanskrit discourse fragments from East Turkestan, that these were parts of a *Madhyama-āgama*.

length Collection, and that the Sarvāstivādins subsequently transferred them from Middle-length to Long, thus yielding an *enlarged Dīrgha-āgama*. Similar reasoning applies for the data in Table 2. It could be that the ten *Madhyama-āgama* discourses were moved from Long to Middle-length within the Sarvāstivāda transmission, or alternatively that they were moved from Middle-length to Long within the Theravāda trajectory.

In his analysis (summarized above) Hartmann considers only the first of these two possible directions of movement, namely the movement from Long Collection to Middle-length Collection. For example, in Table 1 the scattered distribution of the twelve discourses within the *Majjhima-nikāya* (as indicated by their serial numbers) certainly counts against a movement of these discourses from Long to Middle-length within the Theravāda transmission; however, for the other possible direction of movement, from Middle-length to Long within the Sarvāstivāda transmission, it has no relevance. For this second scenario one needs to look instead at the distribution of the twelve parallel Sanskrit discourses within the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* as shown in Table 1. The latter approach reveals a significantly different situation, as will now be demonstrated.

The Sanskrit discourses in question are DĀ (Skt) 7, 10–12, 17, 19–22, 38, 40 and 43. Their distribution within the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* is shown by the shading in Table 1. For this purpose it has to be recognized that these twelve Sanskrit discourses belong to two different sections (*nipātas*) of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*, whose titles appear in column 1 of the table. The first nine of the twelve discourses belong to the *Yuga-nipāta*, the “Section of Pairs”, which is a block of eighteen discourses (DĀ (Skt) 7–24) discussing a wide variety of topics. The last three of the twelve belong to the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*, the “Section on the Moral Discipline Group”, a block of twenty-three discourses (DĀ (Skt) 25–47) possessing a

unifying common feature, on which more will be said later. Because the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* has a well-defined identity and is clearly marked off from the preceding *Yuga-nipāta* and because, furthermore, *Majjhima-nikāya* parallels have so far been confidently identified for only three of its twenty-three component *sūtras*, it is appropriate to exclude, at least initially, the entire *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* from the assessment that now follows.¹¹ The first of the three Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* sections, the *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta* (DĀ (Skt) 1–6), is automatically excluded from the assessment, since none of its six *sūtras* has a parallel in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.¹² Accordingly, attention now focuses on the nine discourses of the *Yuga-nipāta* that are marked with shading in Table 1 (i.e., DĀ (Skt) 7, 10–12, 17, 19–22).

Of these nine discourses, three are together as one group and four are together as another group. In contrast to the widely scattered distribution of their *Majjhima-nikāya* parallels pointed out by Hartmann, we find here a partially clustered distribution. It now appears reasonable to suggest that this distribution could be consistent with transfer of a block of nine Sanskrit discourses from the Sarvāstivāda Middle-length Collection into the Sarvāstivāda Long Collection.

The situation just described needs to be considered alongside the corresponding one for the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* (Table 2). The first column of Table 2 shows the three sections recognized in the *Dīghanikāya*. The first, *Śīlakkhandha-vagga*, corresponds to the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*, though it comprises only thirteen discourses rather than twenty-three. The other two, *Mahā-vagga* (“Great Section”, with ten discourses) and *Pāṭika-vagga* (“Section on [the ascetic] Pāṭikaputta” with eleven), corre-

¹¹ The *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* will be discussed in full toward the end of the paper.

¹² For a discussion of this group of six discourses, see Hartmann 1994.

spond broadly to a combination of the *Śaṣṭhātraka-* and *Yuga-nipātas* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*. The overall sequence of the *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses is broadly the reverse of the sequence of their Sanskrit parallels. In Table 2 the *Dīgha-nikāya* sequence runs from *Brahmajāla* to *Dasuttara*, while the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* sequence runs from *Daśottara* to *Brahmajāla*. However, the detailed pattern of correspondence for the intervening discourses is not straightforward. It is complicated by the fact, already mentioned, that ten discourses of the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* have their Sarvāstivāda parallels not in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* (the expected place) but in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, as shown in columns 3 and 4 of the table.

In column 2 of Table 2 the ten *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses that have *Madhyama-āgama* parallels are spread over the combined *Mahā-* and *Pāṭika-vaggas*. Here again the serial numbers of the Sarvāstivāda parallels indicate that they have a very scattered distribution in the *Madhyama-āgama* (as pointed out by Hartmann); but, at the same time, the distribution of the *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses in question, as indicated by the shading in column 2, reveals a distinct though partial clustering. As before, it now seems reasonable to suggest that this distribution could be consistent with transfer of these ten Pali discourses from the Middle-length Collection into the Long Collection.

II.1 The Hypothesis

In both Table 1 and Table 2 the wide scattering of the discourse serial numbers in column 4 counts against the suggestion that those nine/ten discourses might have moved, at some early time, from the Long Collection into the Middle-length Collection. On the other hand, the partially clustered distribution of the shaded discourse

titles in column 2 (*Yuga-nipāta* in Table 1; *Mahā-* and *Pāṭika-vaggas* in Table 2) appears compatible with a movement in the reverse direction, from Middle-length to Long – though in each case it raises the question why the clustering is only partial. Hartmann’s evaluation rules out one of the two possible directions of movement. It thereby serves the valuable function of excluding one of the two hypotheses that suggest themselves as possible explanations for the observed phenomena. The other hypothesis, which now remains to be evaluated, is the following:

- the nine discourses in the *Yuga-nipāta* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* whose Pali parallels are in the *Majjhima-nikāya* rather than in the *Dīrgha-nikāya* (Table 1) were formerly located in the Sarvāstivāda Middle-length Collection, but were later moved as a block into the Sarvāstivāda Long Collection, where they subsequently became partly scattered;
- the ten *Dīrgha-nikāya* discourses whose Sarvāstivāda parallels are in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* rather than in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* (Table 2) were formerly located in the Theravāda Middle-length Collection, but were later moved as a block into the Theravāda Long Collection, where they subsequently became partly scattered.

The movements referred to are to be thought of as probably occurring within the period of oral transmission of the canon(s), at a time when the grouping into four main *nikāyas/āgamas* was already in place and the main divisions of the early schools had already occurred.¹³

Both parts of the hypothesis incorporate the following three key notions:

¹³ That is, sometime between the so-called council of Veśālī/Vaiśālī and the first writing down of the canon in the 1st century BC.

1. grouping of discourses into sets of ten or some number close to ten;
2. transfer of such a set of about ten discourses from one collection to another within the *Sutta/Sūtra-piṭaka* of a particular school;
3. subsequent small-scale scattering of the transferred discourses.

To provide a solid basis for evaluating the hypothesis, I now briefly examine these three notions as they can be shown to manifest in various contexts. The discussion will focus initially on the Middle-length Collections of the Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda (*Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama*), since these are the sources of the two allegedly transferred blocks of discourses. It will then move on to the corresponding Long Collections, the alleged destinations of these blocks. The analysis of the phenomena thus highlighted is intended to reveal the processes underlying them and thereby to facilitate evaluation of the hypothesis. The discussion follows the order of the three notions as listed above.

II.1.1 Decades of Discourses

The extant *nikāyas/āgamas*, whatever their school affiliation, are all characterized by an explicit grouping of the component discourses into sets of roughly ten. Regardless of any larger-scale pattern of grouping – for example, the three “fifties” (*pañṇāsa*) of the *Majjhima-nikāya* or the eleven numerical groups (*nipāta*) of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* – the small-scale grouping into sets of about ten discourses is always there. In the three versions of the Long Collection the actual number of discourses per group often departs widely from the standard ten.¹⁴ However, in the remaining three collections (Middle-length, Connected and Numerical), each of

¹⁴ The section (*Abschnitt*) studied by Melzer 2006 (esp. p. 8), is one such decade; it comprises just 7 discourses: DĀ (Skt) 35–41.

which comprises a much larger total number of discourses, it is the rule that the discourses are grouped into uniform sets of ten – or occasionally some other number very close to ten. In Pali such a group of about ten discourses is called a *vagga*; but because the term *vagga* is often also used to denote other textual units,¹⁵ I shall refer to such a group of discourses as a “decade”.

The clearest example of decades is found in the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* (see Table 3, below, where the end of each decade is marked with a bold horizontal line¹⁶). The 152 discourses of this collection are grouped into fifteen decades, of which all but one are made up of the standard ten discourses, while the remaining one has twelve. (The presence of one irregular decade is unavoidable wherever the total number of discourses is not a multiple of ten – in this case 152.) The discourses that make up each of these fifteen decades are listed, by keywords, in an *uddāna*, a versified table of contents that appears immediately below the decade, along with a title for the decade as a whole.

¹⁵ Most notably, *vagga* is also used in reference to the five large groupings of *saṃyuttas* recognized in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.

¹⁶ The “Other” column lists Sarvāstivāda parallels from texts other than the *Madhyama-āgama*: from the Sanskrit *Dirgha-āgama* (as shown in Hartmann and Wille 2014) or, if none is found there, then a full parallel from the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*. If no further Sarvāstivāda parallel is known, a full parallel from the *Ekottarika-āgama* is listed if one exists. Partial parallels are not shown. The end of each decade is marked with a bold horizontal line.

Table 3: *Majjhima-nikāya* → *Madhyama-āgama* / Other

MN	MĀ	Other
1	106	
2	10	
3	88	
4		DĀ (Sk) 11
5	87	
6	105	
7	93	
8	91	
9	29	
10	98	
11	103	
12		DĀ (Sk) 12
13	99	EĀ 21.9
14	100	
15	89	
16	206	
17	107– 108	
18	115	
19	102	
20	101	
21	193	
22	200	
23		SĀ 1079
24	9	

MN	MĀ	Other
25	178	
26	204	
27	146	
28	30	
29		EĀ 43.4
30		
31	185	
32	184	
33		SĀ 1249
34		SĀ 1248
35		SĀ 110
36		DĀ (Sk) 20
37		SĀ 505
38	201	
39	182	
40	183	
41		SĀ 1042
42		SĀ 1042
43	211	
44	210	
45	174	
46	175	
47	186	
48		
49	78	

MN	MĀ	Other
50	131	
51		DĀ(Sk)38
52	217	
53		
54	203	
55		DĀ(Sk)43
56	133	
57		
58		
59		SĀ 485
60		DĀ(Sk)7
61	14	
62		EĀ 17.1
63	221	
64	205	
65	194	
66	192	
67		EĀ 45.2
68	77	
69	26	
70	195	
71		
72		SĀ 962
73		SĀ 964
74		SĀ 969
75	153	

MN	MĀ	Other
76		
77	207	
78	179	
79	208	
80	209	
81	63	
82	132	
83	67	
84		SĀ 548
85		DĀ(Sk)21
86		SĀ 1077
87	216	
88	214	
89	213	
90	212	
91	161	
92		EĀ 49.6
93	151	
94		
95		DĀ(Sk)19
96	150	
97	27	
98		
99	152	
100		DĀ(Sk)22
101	19	

The structure of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* from Gilgit
vis-à-vis the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* · 77

MN	MĀ	Other
102		DĀ (Sk) 17
103		
104	196	
105		DĀ (Sk) 10
106	75	
107	144	
108	145	
109		SĀ 58
110		
111		
112	187	
113	85	
114		
115	181	
116		EĀ 38.7
117	189	
118		SĀ 815
119	81	
120	168	
121	190	
122	191	
123	32	
124	34	
125	198	
126	173	
127	79	

MN	MĀ	Other
128	72	
129	199	
130	64	
131		
132	167	
133	165	
134	166	
135	170	
136	171	
137	163	
138	164	
139	169	
140	162	
141	31	
142	180	
143		EĀ 51.8
144		SĀ 1266
145		SĀ 311
146		SĀ 276
147		SĀ 200
148		SĀ 304
149		SĀ 305
150		SĀ 280
151		SĀ 256
152		SĀ 282

In some cases the discourses that make up a decade have some shared feature of content or structure, which is recognised in the decade's title; for example, the third decade of the *Majjhima-nikāya* is titled *Opamma-vagga*, “Decade with Similes”, because each of its ten discourses (MN 21–30) includes a simile (*upama*). Equally often, however, a decade appears to be merely a mechanical grouping of ten unrelated discourses, whose title derives from the first of those ten; for example, the *Mūlapariyāya-vagga* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* is a group of ten miscellaneous discourses (MN 1–10) beginning with the *Mūlapariyāya-sutta* (MN 1).¹⁷ One can, therefore, recognize a distinction between “natural decades” and “mechanical decades”.

In the Pali *Samyutta-* and *Aṅguttara-nikāyas*, the grouping of discourses into decades is subsidiary to the primary grouping into *saṃyuttas* (in the *Samyutta-nikāya*) or *nipātas* (in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*). Most of the decades thus grouped have the standard ten *sūtras*, except for the last one in a *saṃyutta* or *nipāta*.

Of the *āgamas* in Chinese, the Middle-length Collection (*Madhyama-āgama*) has an unusually irregular pattern of grouping, with seven of the eighteen decades actually comprising more than ten discourses.¹⁸ In the Numerical Collection (*Ekottarika-āgama*, T 125, provisionally attributed to the Mahāsāṅghikas) the *sūtras* are grouped into a complete set of decades, only a few of

¹⁷ This is not to suggest that the grouping is totally random. As pointed out by Anālayo 2011: 10–13, the sequence of the ten discourses of the *Mūlapariyāya-vagga* can be seen as designed to facilitate the oral transmission of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

¹⁸ The irregular decades of the *Madhyama-āgama* are nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12 and 18, comprising 11, 16, 14, 15, 25, 20 and 11 discourses respectively. Reasons for this irregularity are not immediately apparent.

which are inexplicably irregular.¹⁹ In the Connected Collection (*Samyukta-āgama*, T 99, Mūlasarvāstivāda) the grouping into decades is vestigial. Decades are preserved, by way of their *uddānas*, only in the first *samyukta*, the *Skandha-samyukta*, which represents roughly one tenth of the total collection.²⁰

It is found, then, that grouping of discourses into more or less regular decades is a consistent feature of the *nikāyas/āgamas*. This fact is directly relevant to the hypothesis that a group of nine *sūtras* was, at some early time, moved from the Middle-length Collection into the Long Collection within the Sarvāstivāda oral transmission; and similarly a group of ten within the Pali oral transmission. In each case the transferred group could have been one of the decades already recognized within the corpus of memorized discourses.

This point made, the discussion turns now to the second of the three key notions identified above. Is there clear evidence, anywhere among the *nikāyas/āgamas*, of discourse decades having been actually transferred in this way?

II.1.2 Transfer of Discourse Decades (i)

Data relevant to this question can be found in Table 3. There the first column specifies, by serial number, the 152 discourses of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya*. The second column lists, for each of those

¹⁹ Of the 51 decades of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, 18 are irregular. Of those 18 cases, 8 are unavoidable because they are at the end of a *nipāta*; a further 5 are readily explained in other ways.

²⁰ The lack of discernible decades in the remainder is probably due to secondary loss, since decades are present throughout the incompletely preserved “Other *Samyukta-āgama* Translation” (T 100), which otherwise corresponds closely to one quarter of the full *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99); see Bingenheimer 2011 and Bucknell 2011.

discourses, the parallel discourse in the *Madhyama-āgama*, if one exists. If no known parallel exists in the *Madhyama-āgama* (the expected place), then a parallel discourse found in any other non-Theravāda collection is listed in the third column, “Other”. As noted earlier, in eleven widely scattered cases (shaded) this parallel is a discourse of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*. In the remaining cases, if an *āgama* parallel is known, it is in either the *Samyukta-āgama* or the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

Of particular interest here is the last of the fifteen decades, MN 143–152. This is the *Ṣaḍāyatana-vagga*, the “Decade on the Six Sense-bases”, so called after the shared topic of its component discourses. All of these ten *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses are exceptional in having no parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.²¹ The first of them has a parallel in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The remaining nine have parallels in the *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99); and of those nine *Samyukta-āgama* parallels, the last eight (corresponding to MN 145–152) are in the *Ṣaḍāyatana-samyukta*, “Connected with the Six Sense-bases”.²²

The points just noted make the “Decade on the Six Sense-bases” conspicuously different from the remainder of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. In attempting to explain this phenomenon, one can find clues in two features of the decade’s immediate environment. The first such feature is that, as already noted, the decade in question is

²¹ Akanuma 1990: 171 shows MN 143 and MN 148 as having *Madhyama-āgama* parallels; however, this is unlikely to be correct, for reasons stated in Anālayo and Bucknell 2006: 242f, notes 63 and 65.

²² It is unclear which *samyukta* of the *Samyukta-āgama* the second of the ten parallels (SĀ 1266) would belong to. *Samyukta* headings are largely absent from the extant *Samyukta-āgama*, but their locations have been identified by scholars on the basis of discourse content and the broad pattern of parallelism with SN; see Choong 2000: 16–23.

located at the very end of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. The second is that the decade immediately preceding it, which is the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* or “Decade of Analyses” (MN 131–142), actually comprises twelve *suttas* rather than ten. Normally, and very naturally, an irregular decade like this is the last one in its *nikāya/āgama*, *saṃyutta*, or *ni-pāta*; here, however, it is the second to last. This unusual feature suggests that the Decade on the Six Sense-bases, which follows it, is a relatively late addition to the *Majjhima-nikāya*; for common sense tells us that the natural place for such a late addition would be at the end of the recipient collection.²³ Taken together, the observed facts point to a simple conclusion: the *Salāyatana-vagga* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* was formerly a decade within the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, but was subsequently transferred from there into the *Majjhima-nikāya*.²⁴

That the first discourse of this decade has no parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* is of no consequence for the interpretation. What matters is that this first discourse, and also the nine that follow it in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, would (by virtue of their content) be appropriately located within the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-*

²³ By “relatively late” I mean later than the time when the set of decades was formalized with the twelve-membered *Vibhaṅga-vagga* as the last. For an appraisal of possible alternative interpretations of the irregularity of the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, see Anālayo 2010: 42–45.

²⁴ The associated *uddāna*, if one existed, presumably moved with the *vagga* to the new location. Somehow, in the process of transfer, replicas of three of the ten *sūtras* (namely MN 144, 145, 147) remained in the source text (as SN 35.87, 35.88 and 35.121 respectively). Movement in the reverse direction – i.e., from Middle-length Collection to Connected Collection within the Sarvāstivāda transmission – is rendered unlikely by the location of the decade: at the end of the *Majjhima-nikāya* following the twelve-membered *Vibhaṅga-vagga*.

nikāya.²⁵ Why this decade should have been transferred from its natural home in the *Samyutta-nikāya* to its present location in the *Majjhima-nikāya* is not immediately apparent. If the transfer happened during the period of oral transmission, then, given the large size of the *Samyutta-nikāya* relative to the *Majjhima-nikāya*, it could have been motivated by a wish to distribute the burden of memorization more evenly among the four main Theravāda reciter (*bhāṇaka*) lineages. More likely, however, is that this transfer happened after the Pali texts had been committed to writing and came about through accidental misplacement of the relevant manuscript portion.

II.1.3 Transfer of Discourse Decades (ii)

Moving now from the Theravāda *Majjhima-nikāya* to the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama*, one finds evidence of much the same phenomenon, this time in the first decade of the collection, MĀ 1–10, rather than the last. This first decade of the *Madhyama-āgama* bears the title *Qi fa pin* (七法品), “Section with Sets of Seven”. The known parallels to its ten discourses are listed in Table 4 (below). There exists a parallel in the *Majjhima-nikāya* in just two cases; each of them features the number seven. In seven of the remaining eight cases there is, instead, a parallel in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*; and, looking further afield, one finds that in nine cases there is also a parallel in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

²⁵ Three of them are in fact replicated there; see preceding note. The fact that most of these ten discourses have their *āgama* parallels in the *Samyukta-āgama* does not in itself demonstrate that they were formerly located in the *Samyutta-nikāya*. It is merely a signal alerting the researcher to that possibility. What makes the link with the *Samyutta-nikāya* is the content of the ten discourses themselves.

Table 4: *Madhyama-āgama* →
Majjhima-nikāya / *Āṅguttara-nikāya* / *Ekottarika-āgama*

MĀ	MN	AN	EĀ
1		7.64	39.1
2		7.65	39.2
3		7.63	39.4
4		7.15	39.3
5		7.68	33.10
6		7.52	
7			40.7
8		7.62	40.1
9	24		39.10
10	2	6.58	40.6

Of the eight *Āṅguttara-nikāya* parallels, all but one are located in the *Sattaka-nipāta*, the *Āṅguttara* Book of Sevens. The one exception (AN 6.58, parallel to MĀ 10) is located in the Sixes; there is, however, good evidence that it formerly discussed seven items rather than six and therefore did belong in the Sevens.²⁶ As for the

²⁶ AN 6.58 has a parallel in MN 2 (see Table 4). These two Pali discourses are closely similar in content and wording; but whereas MN 2 agrees with MĀ 10 in naming seven ways of abandoning the *āsavas* (influxes), AN 6.58 names just six ways, omitting the first of the seven. Probably, then, these are divergent versions of a single discourse. It may be that MN 2 gave rise to a variant through accidental loss of the first of the seven items and that this six-membered version was subsequently transferred to the Sixes of the Numerical Collection, where it is now preserved as AN 6.58. This postulated transfer of a sin-

nine parallels in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, eight of them are located in the Book of Sevens; the one exception (EĀ 33.10) is in the Fives.²⁷ Here again it can be shown that the discrepancy is probably due to a mishap in transmission; the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to MĀ 5 probably derives from an earlier version that featured the number seven.²⁸ In any case, MĀ 5 itself does feature the number seven, thus confirming the integrity of this “natural” decade.

Reasoning similar to that applied above to the last decade of the *Majjhima-nikāya* leads to the following inference. The decade in question here (MĀ 1–10) was formerly located within the Sevens of the no-longer-extant Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection (*Ekottarika-āgama*), but it was subsequently transferred to its present location in the corresponding Middle-length Collection (*Madhyama-āgama*).²⁹

gle discourse from the Middle-length Collection to the Numerical within the Theravāda is very different in nature from the inferred transfer of an entire decade from the Numerical Collection to the Middle-length within the Sarvāstivāda.

²⁷ *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses are numbered by decade (before the dot, with the numbers running from 2 to 52) and by position within the decade (after the dot, from 1 to (usually) 10). The Sevens of the *Ekottarika-āgama* are in decades 39–41, the Fives in 32–36.

²⁸ This is the Discourse on the Blazing Pile of Wood, found in three parallel versions: MĀ 5 = AN 7.68 = EĀ 33.10. In the *Madhyama-āgama* and *Anguttara-nikāya* versions the Buddha illustrates a Dharma teaching by citing seven extremely painful experiences. In the *Ekottarika-āgama* version he illustrates the same teaching by citing just five of those seven. Since the number of painful experiences is of no doctrinal significance, this discrepancy is likely to be another case of accidental loss during oral transmission.

²⁹ The possibility that the movement was the reverse of this must also be considered. For a numerically defined decade the natural home is the Numerical Collection, which is where this Decade of Sevens is found in the Theravāda tradition (i.e., in the *Anguttara-nikāya*) and in the tradi-

The present case differs significantly from the previous one (involving the *Samyutta-nikāya*) in that the Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection no longer exists as a single discrete entity.³⁰ One incidental implication of this is that the transfer of this decade has fortuitously resulted in the preservation of one section from an *āgama* that is otherwise lost. In this connection it is noteworthy that for seventy-seven of the 222 *sūtras* of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* (more than one-third of the total) the Pali parallel is in the *Anguttara-nikāya* rather than in the *Majjhima-nikāya*. However, most of those seventy-seven are scattered throughout the *Madhyama-āgama*, rather than being grouped together as in the first decade. Thus, it may be that the *Madhyama-āgama* preserves a large sampling of the otherwise lost Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection.

The two examples given above, from the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Madhyama-āgama*, provide good grounds for concluding that transference of a decade of discourses from one collection to another within a given tradition could and sometimes did occur. That is, these examples, drawn from intact and readily accessible *nikāya/āgama* texts, add substance and authentication to the second of the three notions identified above.

tion that was responsible for the transmission of the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*. Given the wide historical and geographical distance separating these two traditions, their agreement on this point is unlikely to be due to reciprocal influence between them. Far more likely is that they both preserve (a little imperfectly) the ancestral arrangement. Hence, the location in the *Madhyama-āgama* has probably resulted from subsequent modification of that ancestral arrangement; i.e., the transfer was from Numerical to Middle-length within the Sarvāstivāda.

³⁰ Portions of it are probably represented in the Gilgit manuscript materials in Sanskrit edited by Tripāṭhi 1995. Other portions are perhaps preserved as T 150A, on which see Harrison 1997: 280.

II.1.4 Partial Scattering of a Transferred Decade

This section appraises the third of the three notions: that a discourse decade, after having been transferred to a different collection, might then undergo a partial scattering of its component discourses. The question here is whether the discourses of a transferred decade might switch places with discourses of neighbouring decades in that new location, thereby becoming partly scattered.

It will be recalled that the reason for raising this question is the partly discontinuous distribution of the discourses of an allegedly transferred decade in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* and of another in the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*. This discontinuity is graphically represented by the discontinuous pattern of shading in the *Yuga-nipāta* in Table 1 (DĀ (Skt) 7–24) and in the *Mahā-* and *Pāṭika-vaggas* in Table 2 (DN 14–34). In each case one is led to ask: why isn't there a single continuous block of shading (reflecting a single transferred decade) rather than four (Table 1) or five (Table 2) discontinuous small blocks? In addressing this pair of questions I will refer directly to the two sections of text in question rather than seeking parallel phenomena elsewhere.

III. The *Yuga-nipāta* of the Sarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama*

In the case of the Sarvāstivāda Long Collection, the relevant part is the *Yuga-nipāta*, the Section of Pairs, represented in the eighteen discourses numbered 7–24 (Table 1, column 2). These eighteen are grouped into a decade of ten discourses followed by another of just eight. Of these eighteen, the nine shown with shading are the ones which, according to the hypothesis, were imported from the Sar-

vāstivāda Middle-length Collection. The problem is to account for their partly scattered distribution.

Here analysis is impeded by incompleteness of the data. For the first ten of the *Yuga-nipāta sūtras* (DĀ (Skt) 7–16) the text is almost entirely missing from the Gilgit manuscript. However, the content of these missing discourses is partly known from fragmentary manuscripts from East Turkestan.³¹ It can also be indirectly inferred, with less certainty, from the Pali parallels – except in two cases (DĀ (Skt) 8 and 18), for which Pali parallels are unknown.³² This limited range of data nevertheless suffices for the present purpose.

The term *yuga*, “pair”, in the title of this section unmistakably refers to a phenomenon discernible in the eighteen component discourses. Consideration of the discourses as consecutive pairs (7+8, 9+10 and so on) reveals that, insofar as the discourse contents are known, the members of each such pair usually have some significant detail of content in common.³³ A good example is provided by discourses 9 and 10: both of these feature the disgruntled former disciple, Sunakkhatta the Licchavi. Another is 13+14: one quarter of the text of 13 is repeated almost verbatim in 14. Yet another good example is 21+22: both of these discourses contain the set of three firestick similes.³⁴

³¹ Most notably DĀ (Skt) 7, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16 in Hartmann 1992: 62–65 [1–2], 70–75 [7–11], 236–241 [133–135], 161–165 [77–79], 228–234 [129–131] respectively.

³² It is mainly on the Pali parallels that I rely here.

³³ As noted by Hartmann 2014: 144 in this volume, the pairing is sometimes difficult to see.

³⁴ Such pairing of discourses can be regarded as a variant of the phenomenon of “concatenation” discussed by Anālayo 2011: 11–16. It can be interpreted as a device used during the period of oral transmission to facilitate memorization of the sequence of discourses.

I have chosen the above three examples in order to illustrate a further point: the discourse pairs can be seen to be of three different types. In the case of 21+22, both of the component discourses have their Pali parallels in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (which is why they are shaded in Table 1); that is, these two belong to the group of nine discourses which, according to the hypothesis, the Sarvāstivādins transferred into the Long Collection from the Middle-length Collection. In the case of the pair 13+14, however, the Pali parallels are instead in the *Dīgha-nikāya* (hence no shading in the Table); that is, each of them was already present in the Long Collection before the hypothesized transfer. And in the pair 9+10, no. 9 (unshaded) was already in the Long Collection while no. 10 (shaded) was transferred from the Middle-length Collection.

Particular interest attaches to the third of these three types, the case where the two members of a pair have their Pali parallels in different collections: one in the Long, the other in the Middle-length Collection. There are three instances of this situation: the pairs 7+8, 9+10 and 17+18. In Table 1 each of these is signalled by the juxtaposition of a shaded cell with an unshaded one. This phenomenon goes some way toward explaining why the nine discourses that were allegedly transferred from the Middle-length Collection do not form a continuous block in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* – that is, explaining why they are not represented in Table 1 by an unbroken area of shading. Taken together, the three pairs just cited account for two of the three cases where an area with shading is broken by an area without shading.³⁵

The third of the three cases is occasioned by the presence of a block of two consecutive pairs of discourses, namely DĀ (Skt)

³⁵ The three cases are occasioned by DĀ (Skt) 8 and 9, 13–16 and 18. The first and third of these have been explained, leaving only the case of 13–16.

13+14 (*Jinayabha*, *Govinda*) and 15+16 (*Prāsādika*, *Prasādanīya*), all four of which have their Pali parallels in the Long Collection.³⁶ Each of these two pairs is remarkable in being also treated as a pair (through being located consecutively) not only in the Theravāda version of the Long Collection (as DN 18+19 and 29+28) but also in the Dharmaguptaka version (as DĀ (Chin) 4+3 and 17+18). It is likely, therefore, that these two pairs were already recognized as pairs before the transfer occurred and thus inspired the creation of a *Yuga-nipāta*. It remains unclear why the nine imported discourses should have been so located that four were above the existing two pairs and five were below them. In any case, the above discussion has demonstrated that there would have existed good reasons for reciters to rearrange the eighteen discourses following the hypothesized transfer.

IV. The *Mahā-vagga* and *Pāṭika-vagga* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*

In the case of the *Dīgha-nikāya* attention is on DN 14–34, the twenty-one discourses that together make up the *Mahā-* and *Pāṭika-vaggas* (Table 2). Ten of these, namely DN 15, 17, 21–23, 25–27, 30, 31 (shaded in column 2 of the table), have their Sarvāstivāda parallels in the Middle-length Collection (column 4). The hypothesis is that these ten were formerly a decade in the Theravāda Middle-length Collection, with the implication that the remaining eleven of the twenty-one discourses, DN 14, 16, 18–20, 24, 28, 29, 32–34, had

³⁶ DĀ (Skt) 13 and 14 have a large part of their content in common (as already noted); DĀ (Skt) 15 and 16 have very similar titles: *Prāsādika* and *Prasādanīya*.

been a pre-existing decade in the Theravāda Long Collection.

This amounts to proposing that the Pali Long Collection formerly consisted of just these eleven discourses preceded by the thirteen of the *Sīlakkhandha* section (that is, it consisted of the unshaded discourses in Table 2, column 2) and that it acquired its present form following the transfer of the above-mentioned ten discourses (shaded) from the Pali Middle-length Collection. Here again the main task is to explain why the discourses of the allegedly transferred decade are not together as a single block in the existing collection but instead have the partly scattered distribution represented by the discontinuous pattern of shading.

The *Pāṭika-vagga* is, as far as can be discerned, a “mechanical” decade. Its component discourses share no defining common feature and it derives its title mechanically from its first discourse, the *Pāṭika-sutta*, the “Discourse about [the naked ascetic named] Pāṭika-putta”.

In contrast to this, the *Mahā-vagga*, “Great decade”, qualifies as a “natural” decade, though not a perfect one. Seven of its ten component discourses (DN 14–17, 19, 20 and 22) have titles beginning with the element *mahā*°, “great”, and this shared feature is clearly the source of its title.³⁷ Of these seven discourses tagged as *Mahā*°, three (DN 15, 17 and 22, shaded) are from the ten discourses that, according to the hypothesis, were transferred from the Middle-length Collection; the other four (DN 14, 16, 19 and 20, unshaded) are from the eleven discourses that would have been already present in the Long Collection. The natural conclusion to draw is that, following the transfer, the twenty-one discourses in question were

³⁷ The enlargement of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* (MN 10) to yield the *Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* (DN 22) introduces an irregularity, for which a near counterpart is found in AN 4.198 / MN 51 = DĀ (Skt) 38 (discussed below).

intentionally rearranged so as to bring all seven *Mahā*° discourses together in one decade; and that the two new decades thus produced were then renamed accordingly.

While it remains unclear why the seven *Mahā*° discourses were not brought together to form an unbroken block, the basic question has been answered: the present partly scattered distribution of the discourses of the transferred decade is probably due to rearrangement aimed at producing a more rational grouping into decades.

The above analysis (sections III and IV) has provided support for the notion that the components of a decade could become rearranged following the transfer of that decade into a different collection. It has demonstrated that there would have existed a good motive for such rearrangement in each of the two cases in question: the nine discourses of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* that have their Theravāda parallels in the *Majjhima-nikāya*; and the ten discourses of the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* that have their Sarvāstivāda parallels in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*.

V. The *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*

Thus far this study has focused on the *Yuga-nipāta* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* (DĀ (Skt) 7–24) and its approximate counterpart in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the combined *Mahā*- and *Pāṭika-vaggas* (DN 14–34). Attention now turns to the other substantial component shared by these two collections, the one called *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* and *Śīlakkhandha-vagga* in the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*: the “Section on the Moral Discipline Group”. The corresponding section of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* in Chinese will also receive occasional mention in the discussion that now follows.

The *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* comprises twenty-three discourses. With the single exception of the last one, *Brahmajāla-sūtra* (DĀ (Skt) 47), all of these discourses (as far as they are known through relevant published research) are consistently characterized by inclusion of the so-called “gradual training” (Pali: *anupubbasiccikkhā*). This is a very lengthy account of the entire course of the Buddhist practitioner’s progress, from first hearing a Dharma discourse through to finally attaining liberation.³⁸ Because of its great length, it is heavily elided at each of its occurrences in this *nipāta* except for the first and second of them (DĀ (Skt) 25 and 26).

Such inclusion of the account of the gradual training is similarly the defining characteristic of the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* and Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* versions of this *nipāta/vagga*. These two versions are much smaller in size. Of the twenty-three discourses that make up the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* version, only thirteen make up the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* version (Table 2, column 2, discourses 1–13); and of those thirteen, only ten make up the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* version (DĀ 20–29). The three discourses that are present in the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* but lacking in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* are DN 6, 7 and 10. Of these, DN 7 is virtually a duplicate of DN 6, while DN 10 is a duplicate of one large portion of DN 2. Since these three (DN 6, 7, 10) are represented also in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* (as DĀ (Skt) 32, 30, 42), it is possible that their absence from the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* is due to intentional deletion within the Dharmaguptaka line of transmission.³⁹ The objec-

³⁸ For a study of this lengthy account as found in the Long Collection, see Meisig 1987; also Melzer 2006: 12–24. The *Brahmajāla* (DĀ (Skt) 47) has just the portion of it that deals with moral discipline; hence the section title: *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*.

³⁹ An alternative interpretation is offered by Hartmann 2014: 141f.

tive may have been to eliminate the duplications and, in the process, produce a block having the standard ten discourses.

The Sanskrit *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* contains parallels to the thirteen discourses of its Pali counterpart, plus a further ten discourses, namely: DĀ (Skt) 25, 26, 28, 31, 37–41 and 43 (Table 1, column 2). Despite recent progress in research, these ten remain something of a mystery. In five of the ten cases the Pali parallels (if such exist) remain unknown. As shown in Table 1, two of the ten (namely DĀ (Skt) 38 and 43) have their Pali parallels in the *Majjhima-nikāya* rather than in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, an already familiar phenomenon. For a further two of them, parallels have recently been tentatively identified, by Matsuda (2006), in the Threes of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*: DĀ (Skt) 25 and 26 appear to be paralleled by AN 3.58 and 3.59 respectively.

Of the four known Pali parallels just mentioned only the one for DĀ (Skt) 38 – that is, the *Kandaraka-sutta* (MN 51) – actually includes the account of the gradual training. The other three (corresponding to DĀ (Skt) 25, 26 and 43) do not include it; nevertheless they are recognizable as (partial) parallels on the basis of their other content. This situation can be interpreted as evidence that the consistent inclusion of the gradual training in these ten discourses of the Sanskrit Long Collection is, at least in some cases, a result of intentional addition. Such addition could have been motivated by a perceived need to conform to the model provided by the basic set of thirteen and implied in the section's title (*Śīlaskandha*). In the case of the *Kandaraka-sutta* support for this suggestion can be found in the fact that the Pali discourse exists in two versions, one of which (MN 51) includes the gradual training while the other (AN 4.198) does not.⁴⁰ This phenomenon complicates the identifi-

⁴⁰ See Melzer 2006: 301f. Cf. also the finding by Meisig 1987: 35–37

cation of parallels, a task that is already difficult enough because most of the ten Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* discourses in question are unusually brief.⁴¹

Despite the shortage of known Pali parallels, this set of ten discourses within the *Śīlaskandha* section of the Sanskrit Long Collection is highly informative. Having no counterpart in the Pali *Dīrgha-nikāya* or the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*, the set is likely to be a further example of a decade transferred into the Long Collection from some other location. That recognized, it also provides evidence of how such a transferred decade can subsequently become rearranged: while five of the ten seemingly transferred discourses are still together as a block (DĀ (Skt) 37–41), the other five are scattered (DĀ (Skt) 25, 26, 28, 31, 43). Not only that, the keywords for these ten discourses appear in three successive *uddānas*, representing three separate decades of the *Śīlaskandha* section. The latter feature demonstrates how a new pattern of decade boundaries could be established following such rearrangement. It thereby supports the claim, made earlier, that such establishing of new decades also happened in the *Yuga-nipāta*.

As to the source of this transferred decade, the obvious candidate is again the Sarvāstivāda Middle-length Collection. As mentioned earlier, one third of the *sūtras* of the existing Chinese *Madhyama-*

that, even in the basic set of thirteen, the account of the gradual training often fits poorly in the discourse context in which it is embedded, suggesting that it is a secondary addition. Cf. further the fact that in two cases (EĀ 43.7, cf. DN 2; and T 20, cf. DN 3) a discourse in the Long Collection that contains the account of the gradual training has (like the *Kandaraka-sutta*, MN 51) a variant version, located outside the Long Collection, that lacks this account.

⁴¹ Identifying parallels to very brief discourses can be difficult because of the relatively small amount of content available for comparison.

āgama have their Pali parallels in the *Āṅuttara-nikāya* rather than in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, a proportion that is approximately matched in most of the individual decades of the *Madhyama-āgama*. A very similar picture is now emerging for the present decade of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*: of the five Pali parallels so far identified, three are in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and two are in the *Āṅuttara-nikāya*. There are, therefore, good grounds for suspecting that this extra decade within the *Śīlaskandha* section of the Sarvāstivāda Long Collection was transferred there from the Sarvāstivāda Middle-length Collection.⁴² The presence in it of parallels to *Āṅuttara-nikāya* discourses provides a possible explanation for the unexpected brevity of some discourses in this group within the nominally “Long” Collection.⁴³

Summary and Conclusion

As foreshadowed early in the paper, this comparative study of the structure of the Sarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* (in Sanskrit) and the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya*, has expanded to encompass also the corresponding *Madhyama-āgama* (in Chinese) and *Majjhima-nikāya*.

Comparison of the contents and structures of these two pairs of texts has revealed a pattern of discourse distribution that points to movement of blocks of discourses (decades) from the Middle-length Collection into its Long counterpart, independently in each

⁴² Like the other transfers of decades proposed here, this would have happened well before any of the Sarvāstivāda *āgamas* had been taken to China and translated into Chinese.

⁴³ Remarkably, the proposed interpretation implies that these Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* discourses with *Āṅuttara-nikāya* parallels (DĀ (Skt) 25 and 26) have spent time successively in three different Sarvāstivāda collections: Numerical, Middle-length and Long.

of the two traditions. Specifically, I have argued for recognition of the following transfers.

Within the Sarvāstivāda transmission (Table 1):

- nine discourses, currently in the *Yuga-nipāta* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* and numbered DĀ (Skt) 7, 10–12, 17, 19–22, which were transferred there as a block from a former location somewhere in the *Madhyama-āgama*;
- ten discourses, currently in the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* and numbered DĀ (Skt) 25, 26, 28, 31, 37–41, 43, which were transferred there as a block from a former location somewhere in the *Madhyama-āgama*.

Within the Theravāda transmission (Table 2):

- ten discourses, currently in the non-*Sīlakkhandha* portion of the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* and numbered DN 15, 17, 21–23, 25–27, 30, 31, which were transferred there as a block that was formerly located somewhere in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

Recognition of these transfers complements the notion of an ancestral version underlying the existing Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda versions of the Long Collection.⁴⁴ As a first approximation, the composition of that ancestral version is obtained by either

- deleting from the current list of forty-seven Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* discourses (Table 1) the nineteen transferred discourses listed just above; or
- deleting from the current list of thirty-four Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses (Table 2) the ten transferred discourses also listed just above.

⁴⁴ Here I reiterate my earlier clarification. By “ancestral version” I do not mean an *Ur*-version produced at the First Council. Rather, I mean a now lost early version from which the two existing versions can reasonably be supposed to have descended by divergent development and which is itself likely to have resulted from a long process of development.

Implementing these deletions reveals a discrepancy: a total of twenty-eight remaining Sanskrit discourses as against a total of twenty-four Pali discourses. This is because there remain, in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*, four discourses that lack parallels in the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*, namely: DĀ (Skt) 2, *Arthavistara*; 4, *Catuṣpariṣat*; 8, *Sarveka*; and 18, *Māyājāla*. One of these is readily accounted for: the Pali parallel to the Sanskrit *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* is located in the *Khandhaka* section of the Pali *Vinaya*. That the Sarvāstivāda version is instead located in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* is, therefore, probably due to a distinctly different kind of transfer: movement of a single large text from the *Vinaya-piṭaka* to the *Sūtra-piṭaka*.⁴⁵ The status of the remaining three unmatched Sanskrit *sūtras* (*Arthavistara*, *Sarveka* and *Māyājāla*) is less apparent. Like the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*, they were evidently not directly involved in the process of transferring decades.⁴⁶ That is to say, transference of discourse decades from the Middle-length Collection was probably not the only means whereby the Long Collection grew in size.

Despite such exceptional cases, it is evident that each of the two versions of the Long Collection studied here has undergone a process of expansion through transfer of material from the correspond-

⁴⁵ I am inclined to agree with Hartmann 1994: 332–334 that the direction of this movement is likely to have been from *Vinaya* to *Sūtra* within the Sarvāstivāda transmission rather than the reverse of this within the Pali transmission.

⁴⁶ Similarly exceptional are three discourses in the Dharmaguptaka Long Collection. As demonstrated by Anālayo 2014 in this volume, DĀ (Chin) 11 and 12 are likely to have developed out of DĀ (Chin) 10 within the Dharmaguptaka tradition itself; while DĀ (Chin) 30 appears to have developed out of cosmological material gathered from various sources to yield an unusually long text that is thoroughly out of place among the discourses of the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*.

ing version of the Middle-length Collection. That this is part of a wider process is shown by the even clearer evidence of broadly similar transfers into the Middle-length Collection from the Connected and Numerical Collections.⁴⁷ Why such transfers of discourse material should have happened is a question on which I will not attempt to speculate.⁴⁸ Suffice it here to comment that recognition of this process has the potential to enlarge greatly our still very limited picture of the early development of the *nikāyas/āgamas*.

I presented a shorter and less detailed version of this paper at the XIVth Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held in London in 2005. I am gratefully indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a copy of his unpublished Habilitationsschrift (1992) and for his valuable feedback on drafts of the present version. I also thank bhikkhu Anālayo for his equally valuable feedback and suggestions and sāmānerī Dhammadinnā for her very careful and constructive editorial work.

⁴⁷ I am referring here to MN 143–152 (Table 3) and MĀ 1–10 (Table 4). These two transfers differ from those into the Long Collections in two respects: (a) the target location is at the end (MN 143–152) or the beginning (MĀ 1–10) of the recipient collection; and (b) there is no evidence of subsequent rearrangement or scattering of the transferred discourses. This suggests a relatively late date of occurrence, probably after the texts in question had been committed to writing.

⁴⁸ I would, however, comment that the picture presented here matches up remarkably well with the theory advanced by Yinshun (1988 [1971]) regarding the sequential development of the *nikāyas/āgamas*.

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i>
DĀ (Chin)	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (Chinese, T 1)
DĀ (Skt)	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (Sanskrit)
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99)
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
T	Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka

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The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*

Toshiichi Endo (遠藤敏一)

Centre of Buddhist Studies, The University of Hong Kong

Abstract

This paper is a summary of the research on the *bhāṇaka* tradition, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (the Pali commentary to the *Dīgha-nikāya*) and other related themes I have conducted for the past decade or so. It begins with a general introduction to the features of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, followed by a discussion on the sources of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. The *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*, their historical evolution, function, responsibility and the related information are surveyed and discussed somewhat in detail next. The Pali commentaries reveal the existence of the various types of *bhāṇakas* whose primary responsibility was to preserve and transmit the assigned texts to future generations. Even if the term *dīgha-bhāṇakā* (usually in plural) is not used or referred to in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, it is generally understood that the text's content is what they had preserved and transmitted. When the term *dīgha-bhāṇaka* occurs in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, it suggests that there may have been different groups of *dīgha-bhāṇakas* within the *Dīgha-bhāṇaka* tradition. This and other intriguing questions are raised, surveyed and examined from different perspectives.

Contents

Preliminaries

I. Features of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*

II. Sources of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*

III. The *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*

IV. *Bhāṇakas* in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*

Concluding Remarks

Abbreviations

References

Preliminaries

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the Pali commentary to the *Dīgha-nikāya*, is a work of Buddhaghosa (fl. fifth century A.D.), who is considered to be the greatest commentator in the history of the Theravāda tradition. The date of its composition is determined on the basis of several historical facts. It is believed that the commentator Buddhaghosa went to Sri Lanka from South India during the reign of King Mahānāma (A.D. 410–432).¹ The evidence to indicate approximately the dates of his arrival and activity in Sri Lanka is derived from the epilogue (*nigamana*) in the *Samantapāsādikā*, where the following passage occurs:

This [work, i.e., the *Samantapāsādikā*] began in the exact twentieth year and was completed in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Sirinivāsa Siripāla, who was protecting the entire island of Laṅkā, pure and free from diseases.²

Paranavitana believes that the *Siripāla* in question would be another title for King Mahānāma according to the inscriptions found at Monarāgala and Tissamahārāma in Southern Sri Lanka.³ In other words, Buddhaghosa commenced on his *Samantapāsādikā* sometime around the year A.D. 429–430 and completed it by around A.D. 430–431. Although according to chapter thirty-seven of the *Mahāvamsa* King

¹ Mori 1984: 517. Mori adopts Paranavitana's new calculation, while Geiger 1929: VIII–XV assigns a period between A.D. 409–431; cf. Mori 1984: 332.

² Sp VII 1415,17–20: *pālayantassa sakalaṃ, Laṅkādhīpaṃ nirabbudam; rañño Sirinivāsassa, Siripālayasassino. samavīsati me kheme, jayasamvacchare ayaṃ; āraddhā ekavīsamhi, sampatte pariniṭṭhitā.*

³ Paranavitana 1959: 291 and 390. However, a doubt on the equation of Siripāla with King Mahānāma has been raised by Kieffer-Pülz in her doctoral dissertation 1992: 163–167.

Mahānāma would have ruled the country for twenty-two years,⁴ a new piece of evidence that might correct the dates of King Mahānāma's reign is found in the epilogue (*nigamana*) of the *Saddhammapajjotikā* (i.e., the *Niddesa-aṭṭhakathā*), where it is stated that this work was completed in the 26th year of King Sirinivāsa Sirisaṅghabodhi.⁵ This name is in fact also considered to be another title for

⁴ Mhv 37, v. 247: *bhutvā dvāvīsavassāni mahānāmo mahāmahiṃ ...*

⁵ Nidd-a III 151,24–152,3: *Upasenavhayena sā, katā Saddhammajotikā; rañño Sirinivāsassa, Sirisaṅghassa bodhino; chabbīsatiṃhi vassamhi, niṭṭhitā niddesavaṇṇanā*. The identification of the title *sirisaṅghabodhi* has been a controversy. von Hinüber, for instance, says that Sena II Sirisaṅghabodhi (851–885 or 791–825) reigned long enough to fit into the description of at least 26 years of rule as in the *Niddesa-aṭṭhakathā* (von Hinüber 1997 [1996]: 142 (§287)). In relation to the question of King Mahānāma's reign (traditionally accepted as 22 years, Mhv 37, v. 247: *bhutvā dvāvīsavassāni mahānāmo*), Kieffer-Pülz 1992: 163–167 hazards that based on the mention of some “victory” gained during the reign of Sirinivāsa Siripāla as found in the colophon of the *Samantapāsādikā* (VII 1415,19: *jayasamvacchare*), there were only Sirimeghavaṇṇa, Buddha-dāsa, Upatissa and Mahānāma who ruled more than 21 years and that the victory (*jayasamvacchare*) in the *Samantapāsādikā* refers to the reign of King Upatissa I. Moreover, the identification of *siripāla* with King Mahānāma, which was made by Paranavitana 1959: 291 and 390 on the basis of the ancient inscriptions, has been challenged by Kieffer-Pülz. These arguments rest on two controversial epithets: *siripāla* and *sirisaṅghabodhi*. Interestingly and importantly, all titles referred to above feature another title *sirinivāsa*, which Kieffer-Pülz says has no occurrence except with this king. Malalasekera 1994: 96 comments: “In a Sinhala work, the *Pūjāvaliyā* (Sinhala work of the thirteenth century A.D.), it is mentioned that he [Buddhaghosa] wrote the work [*Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*] at the request of King Sirinivāsa and his minister Mahānigama”. Further, the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* in its epilogue (*nigamankathā*) mentions the following, Dhp-a IV 235,4–5: *vihāre adhirājena, kāritamhi kataññunā; pāsāde Sirikūṭassa, rañño viharatā mayā*. The

King Mahānāma,⁶ which may suggest that King Mahānāma's reign could be extended from about twenty-six to thirty years (i.e., until A.D. 436 or 440) and not for the twenty-two years indicated in the *Mahāvamsa*.⁷ This theory is substantiated by evidence found in certain Chinese historical sources as well.⁸

Mori has extensively examined the circumstances and other details of the writing of the Pali commentaries and has shown that the *Visud-dhimagga* was Buddhaghosa's first work after he arrived in Sri Lanka, as the tradition advocates.

Then he proceeded to write the *Samantapāsādikā* (= *Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā*)⁹ and the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (= *Pāṭimokkha-aṭṭhakathā*),¹⁰

name Sirikūṭa (or Sirikuḍḍa) is considered to be another epithet like Sirinivāsa for King Mahānāma (Malalasekera 1983 [1937]: II.1139), the assumption derived from the reference to Buddhaghosa in the same epilogue. This interpretation is endorsed once again by another well-known Sinhalese scholar, D.B. Jayatilaka. In his introduction to the Sinhalese work called *Sikhavalanda* (dated to the tenth century according to Godakumbura 1955: 4) he refers to the epithet *sirikuḍḍa* and identifies it with *sirinivāsa*; cf. Jayatilaka 1923: vii (cited by Malalasekera 1994 [1928]: 96). Since there has been no challenge to this interpretation, at least to my knowledge, it can be generally accepted that the epithet *sirinivāsa* was exclusively used for King Mahānāma, and the usage of *sirisāṅghabodhi* together with *sirinivāsa* merely suggests that King Mahānāma had both epithets. He may also have been known by other epithets such as *sirikūṭa* and *sirikuḍḍa*.

⁶ Mori 1984: 488.

⁷ Mhv 37, v. 247.

⁸ Mori 1984: 488.

⁹ It may be noted that in recent years the authorship of Buddhaghosa ascribed to the *Samantapāsādikā* has become a doubtful proposition, see, for instance, von Hinüber 1997 [1996]: 109 (§220). However, the question of whether the *Samantapāsādikā* was the composition of a single author or not is an area of study that requires not only separate study but also voluminous research.

¹⁰ Though both the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* are ascribed to

followed by the commentaries to the four major *Nikāyas* beginning with the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (= *Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā*), followed in turn by the *Papañcasūdanī* (= *Majjhima-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā*), *Sāratthappakāsinī* (= *Samyutta-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā*) and *Manorathapūraṇī* (= *Aṅguttara-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā*) in this order of composition. Mori expresses a doubt about the order of writing between the *Samantapāsādikā* and at least the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and the *Papañcasūdanī*, as both these sources, the *Samantapāsādikā* on the one hand, and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* with the *Papañcasūdanī* on the other hand, show cross-references to each other, suggesting that either these commentaries were written concurrently, or else that the cross-references were added later once one or the other had already been completed.¹¹

Buddhaghosa may have taken at least one year each for these works as indicated in the epilogue to the *Samantapāsādikā* quoted above, and if this calculation is trustworthy, the writing of the *Visuddhimagga* could have been about a year or two earlier than that of the *Samantapāsādikā*, i.e., A.D. 428–429.

Buddhaghosa, there is a suggestion by von Hinüber that the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* was not written by the same author as the *Samantapāsādikā* as the terminology is partly different, the rules are named differently, etc.; cf. von Hinüber 1997 [1996]: 110f (§§223–225). Such differences, however, may stem from the subject-matters both of the texts deal with. Further, if the general understanding that the Pali commentaries were based upon the old Sīhaḷa commentaries is true, a possibility may exist that the differences von Hinüber talks about could be traced to the Sīhaḷa commentaries and not necessarily to different authorship. It therefore requires a separate and thorough comparative study to reach any definitive conclusions.

¹¹ Mori 1984: 100f.

I. Features of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*

The *Dīgha-nikāya* contains thirty-four discourses, as we have it now. This tradition seems to have originated at least before the period of Pali commentarial literature. In the introductory section of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, it is clearly stated that the *Dīgha-nikāya* contains thirty-four discourses divided into three *vaggas*, namely the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga*, the *Mahā-vagga* and the *Pāthika-vagga*, and that the collection begins with the *Brahmajāla-sutta*.¹² This passage, interestingly, has the title *Dīgha-āgama* instead of *Dīgha-nikāya*. However, these two terms were considered to be interchangeable in the Pali commentaries.¹³

The Pali commentaries often begin with introductory verses (*ganthārambhakathā*) that provide the information concerning what kind of old Sīhaḷa sources were utilized, under what circumstances the texts were composed, so on and so forth,¹⁴ while at the end epi-

¹² Sv I 2,10-13: *tattha dīghāgama nāma sīlakkhandhavaggo, mahāvaggo, pāthikavaggoti vaggato tivaggo hoti; suddato catuttimsasuttasaṅgaho. tassa vaggesu sīlakkhandhavaggo ādi, suddesu brahmajālaṃ.*

¹³ Mp II 189,17-20: *āgatāgamā ti eko nikāyo eko āgama nāma, dve nikāyā dve āgamā nāma, pañca nikāyā pañca āgamā nāma, etesu āgamaṃ yesaṃ ekopi āgama āgato paṇṇo pavattito, te āgatāgamā nāma*; Mp III 382,7-8: *āgatāgamā ti dīghādīsu yo koci āgama āgato etesaṃ ti āgatāgamā.*

¹⁴ The prologues (*ganthārambhakathā*) in the commentaries to the four major *Nikāyas* include, incidentally, descriptions of the nature of each *Nikāya* and state the purpose of their compilation. It is said that the *Dīgha-nikāya* (-āgama) is a collection of “long discourses” (*dīghasuttaṅkita*) (Sv I 1,12); the *Majjhima-nikāya* (-āgama) is a collection of “medium length discourses” (*majjhimaṇṇasuttaṅkita*) (Ps I 1,12); the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (-āgama) “consists of connected groups” (*saṃyuttavaggapaṭi-maṇḍita*) (Spk I 1,10); and the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* (-āgama) “consists of

logues (*nigamana*) are supplied as summaries describing who requested the texts to be composed, the authors who compiled them and other related information. These introductory verses and epilogues are obviously the information compiled by either the commentators themselves or the elders of the Mahāvihāra fraternity responsible for the preservation and transmission of the texts.¹⁵ Some commentaries

the group of Ones, the group of Twos, etc.” (*ekakadukādīpaṭimaṇḍita*) (Mp I 1,12). These comments can be considered the standard definition of the nature of the Four *Nikāyas* in the Theravāda tradition. In addition, the Pali commentaries provide some insight into the purpose of their compilations as follows: the *Dīgha-nikāya* is “for the virtue of bringing about faith” (*saddhāvahaguṇassa*) (Sv I 1,13); the *Majjhima-nikāya* is “for the refutation of other schools’ theories” (*paravādamathanassa*) (Ps I 1,13) – incidentally, this *paravāda* in the Pali commentaries is used as a term denoting schools other than the Mahāvihāra and these schools are always rejected (cf. Mori 1984: 135f); the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* is “for the generation of distinctive knowledge” (*ñāṇappabhedajanana*) (Spk I 1,11); the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* is “for the generation of varied wit or intelligence” (*vicittapaṭibhāṇajanana*) (Mp I 1,13). These insights can be compared with the other traditions found in different sources; cf. also Dhammajoti 1987: 187–196 (esp. 191).

- ¹⁵ The authorship of *nigamanas* (epilogues) is not always certain. For instance, Adikaram 1994: 7 points out that the author of the *Paramatthajotikā* (I) (*Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā*) very humbly admits that the task of compiling a commentary for a person such as himself who has no understanding of the Doctrine is difficult and that Buddhaghosa has never recorded this kind of weakness in any other work. At the end of the commentary, however, the same author refers to himself as a person possessing unrivalled knowledge in the teachings of the Buddha, including the three *Piṭakas* and the *aṭṭhakathās*. This contradiction, as Adikaram surmises, seems to suggest that the *nigamana* of the *Paramatthajotikā* (I) could be a later addition by those responsible for the transmission of the text. The available evidence, such as found in the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism*

however provide more than what is termed as the *ārambhakathā*, dealing with the formation of the *Tipiṭaka*, the texts included therein, etc., often in relation to the so-called First Council or Chanting (*paṭhama-saṅgīti*). The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, for instance, begins with an introductory section of a considerable length amounting to about twenty-five printed pages in the PTS edition, before it presents the exegesis for the *Brahmajāla-sutta* proper. This kind of textual feature gives rise to the question as to whether the introductions and epilogues are actually translations of older sources as in the case of the main bodies of the Pali commentaries themselves, or new additions made by the commentators.¹⁶

Only the following commentaries have introductory sections of some considerable length: (a) the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp I 1–105); (b) the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Sv I 1–25); (c) the *Paramatthajotikā* (I) (Pj I 11–13); and (d) the *Atthasālinī* (As 1–35). Even a cursory glance at this list shows that these introductory sections are placed in the first book of the commentaries to the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, to the four *Nikāyas* of the *Sutta-piṭaka* with the *Khuddaka-nikāya* as a separate collection, and to the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*. This may be due to the fact that the introductory section of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, for instance, is referred to, or more precisely, alluded to, in commentaries to the other *Nikāyas*, such as the *Papañcasūdanī*,¹⁷ *Sāratthappakāsinī*,¹⁸ *Manorathapūraṇī*,¹⁹ *Paramatthadīpanī* (I) (= *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā*)²⁰ and *Paramatthadīpanī* (II) (= *Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā*).²¹

713,1–9 with note 1), indeed points to the greater possibility that some of the epilogues (*nigamanas*) in the Pali commentaries could be later additions. This is an area of study which needs further investigation.

¹⁶ Cf. Endo 2013: 225–235.

¹⁷ Ps I 2,35.

¹⁸ Spk I 3,5.

¹⁹ Mp I 3,13.

²⁰ Ud-a 5,20.

²¹ It-a I 3,3.

Such an editorial arrangement may suggest that works such as the *Papañcasūdanī*, *Sāratthappakāsinī*, *Manorathapūraṇī*, etc. also had similar introductory sections for each text before the exegeses proper began. Since the information contained in the various introductory sections is likely to have been the same or very similar, Buddhaghosa, and even Dhammapāla, the author of the *Paramatthadīpanī* (I) (= *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā*) and *Paramatthadīpanī* (II) (= *Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā*), might well have thought it redundant to reproduce them. However, on closer examination of the content, it appears that each text lays emphasis on different aspects – for instance, in the *Samantapāsādikā* details regarding the formation of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* are given more prominence compared with other such introductory sections. Similarly, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* deals more with the details of the four *Nikāyas* in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, the *Paramatthajotikā* with the *Khuddakanikāya* and the *Atthasālinī* with the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*.

This characteristic may suggest that it was by design that we have the introductory sections only for the sources given above. Another hypothesis is that there had already been repetitions in the old Sīhaḷa commentaries, and the commentators edited and arranged things as we have them today as, for instance, when Buddhaghosa says in his commentaries that he would remove the repetitions.²² Yet another possibility may exist that similar introductory sections were repeated in each Pali commentary and those responsible for copying them in the past intentionally omitted them to avoid repetitions. Whichever the case may have been, such possibilities will surely necessitate a need to further examine the formation stages of the Pali commentaries as we have them today at the end point of their transmission.

The *Samantapāsādikā*, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and *Atthasālinī* have

²² Sv I 1,22, Ps I 1,22, Spk I 2,1 and Mp I 2,6: *hitvā punappunāgatamattham*.

accounts of the so-called First Council in the introductory sections – the *Paramatthajotikā* (I) has such an account not in its introductory section but in relation to the *Maṅgala-sutta*²³ – they all closely follow the account given in the *Vinaya*’s *Cullavagga*.²⁴ It is however noteworthy that neither the *Samantapāsādikā* nor the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* nor the *Atthasālinī* offers any passage corresponding to the following parts of the account in the *Vinaya*’s *Cullavagga*:

1. the allowance to change the so-called minor rules;²⁵
2. the imposition of an offence of wrongdoing (*dukkata*) on Ānanda on five counts;²⁶
3. the elders’ request to Purāṇa, the head of a retinue of 500 monks, to accept the results of the *saṅgīti*, to which his reply was that he would bear the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* in the way he received in the presence of the Exalted One;²⁷
4. the higher penalty (*brahmadaṇḍa*) on the monk Channa.²⁸

This absence can be seen as a deliberate omission on the part of the commentators, as they probably did not serve the purposes for which the introductory sections were compiled.²⁹

Another important feature to be noted here is a further development within the period between the *Vinaya*’s *Cullavagga* and the commentarial literature. The fundamental question is then asked as to when and how such extraneous elements came to be incorporated in

²³ Pj I 89,28–98,14.

²⁴ Vin II 284,1–293,12.

²⁵ Vin II 288,36–289,5.

²⁶ Vin II 289,5–33.

²⁷ Vin II 290,5–8: *therehi āvuso Purāṇa dhammo ca vinayao ca saṅgīto, apehi taṃ saṅgītiṃ ti ... susaṅgīti’ āvuso therehi dhammo ca vinayo ca, api ca yath’ eva mayā bhagavato sammukhā sutam sammukhā paṭigga-hitam tath’ evāhaṃ dhāressāmi ti.*

²⁸ Vin II 290,9–15.

²⁹ Even Sp VI 1296,18–1297,20 (*Cullavagga-aṭṭhakathā*) gives scanty comments only on the so-called First Council or First Recitation.

the old commentaries. Scholarship however is not advanced enough to determine the developmental stages, even to say whether such developments took place in India or Sri Lanka. Bearing these limitations in mind, the following can be suggested as important aspects of the introductory sections of the commentaries under discussion.

Although all the commentaries in question follow the sequences of the accounts of the *Vinaya*'s *Cullavagga*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* differs from the *Samantapāsādikā* significantly in certain respects. For instance, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* is more concerned with the accounts of Ānanda, his journey to Jetavana, Gandhakuṭi and finally to Rājagaha, his attainment of arahantship, Mahākassapa's praise for Ānanda's attainment, his mode of travelling to the Assembly Hall, etc. The other sources also refer to some of these incidents concerning Ānanda, but what is noticeable in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* is the emphasis upon any event involving Ānanda more than in any other commentaries. Such a characteristic, along with the fact that some of the additional information regarding Ānanda is not found anywhere else, can be interpreted to suggest that: firstly, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*'s introduction is expected to deal with the formation and content of the *Sutta-piṭaka*; secondly, since tradition has it that the *Dīgha-nikāya* was entrusted to Ānanda and his pupils for transmission,³⁰ Ānanda became the main focus of his pupils as the head or founder of the *bhāṇaka* lineage of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and its commentary; thirdly, the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*, the successors responsible for the preservation and transmission of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and its commentary, made extraordinary efforts to gather data around Ānanda.³¹ These observations would

³⁰ Sv I 15,2–4: *ayaṃ Dīgha-nikāyo nāmā ti vatvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ paṭicchāpesuṃ, āvuso imaṃ tuyhaṃ nissitake vācehi ti.*

³¹ Cf. Endo 2003b: 1–42 and Endo 2013: 225–235. On *bhāṇakas*, cf. Mori 1990: 123–129; discussions on *bhāṇakas* and related subjects are also

augur well that a special place provided for Ānanda in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* was a natural corollary.

Another addition in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* but described differently in the *Samantapāsādikā*, deals with the circumstances of Ānanda's proceeding to the Assembly Hall on the eve of the so-called First Council or First Recitation.³² The *Samantapāsādikā* simply states that Ānanda, after attaining arahantship, did not go with the other elders on the day of the first meeting of the assembly, but instead, with the intention of letting the others know, dived into the earth and took his seat.³³ This account is also seen in the *Paramatthajotikā* (I)³⁴ and in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*,³⁵ but is not ascribed to any *bhāṇakas* there. The *Samantapāsādikā* also records that “some” (*eke*) say that Ānanda came through the air and sat down.³⁶ This version of Ānanda plunging into the earth is also recorded with a variant in the third chapter of the *Mahāvaṃsa*.³⁷ Yet this statement is not ascribed to anyone in the *Samantapāsādikā*, while it is clearly ascribed to the *Majjhima-bhāṇakas* in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. The other view found in both the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* that Ānanda went flying through the air is ascribed to “some” (*eke*), and this *eke* is identified with the “some” of the *Majjhima-bhāṇakas* in the *Sārattadīpanī*.³⁸ That the *Samantapāsādikā* does not specifically refer in words to the

found in Allon 2007: 2f, 165, 353f and 364, Gethin 2008: xxii, Deegalle 2006: 43–46 and Kieffer-Pülz 2013: 639f [at Z 80].

³² Sv I 11,9–11.

³³ Sp I 12,22–13,2: *attano ānubhāvaṃ dassento paṭhaviyaṃ nimujjitvā attano āsane yeva attānaṃ dassesi*.

³⁴ Pj I 96,23–25.

³⁵ Mhbv 90,17–21.

³⁶ Sp I 13,2: *ākāsenāgantvā nisīdī ti pi eke*.

³⁷ Mhv 3, v. 29: *nimujjitvā paṭhaviyā gantvā jotipathena vā*.

³⁸ Sp-† (B^e) I 59 = *Vimativinodanī-ṭikā* (B^e) I 16: *eke ti Majjhimabhāṇakānaṃ yeva eke*.

Majjhima-bhāṇakas could be, as I have already suggested elsewhere,³⁹ an indication that the *vinayadharas* (the custodians of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and its commentaries) had a close relationship with the *Majjhima-bhāṇakas*,⁴⁰ with the result that the *Samantapāsādikā* often gave preference to them whenever the occasion demanded. Further, there is an interesting statement supposedly made by Buddhaghosa concerning the above divergent views of Ānanda's going to the Assembly Hall. He says: "May it be such or not so" (*yathā vā tathā vā hotu*).⁴¹ This

³⁹ Endo 2003a: 55–72.

⁴⁰ It seems that there was no category of *bhāṇakas* called *Vinaya-bhāṇakas* and the bearers of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* were known as *vinayadharas*. We have however terms like *ubhatovibhaṅgabhāṇaka* (Sp III 644,10), *Khandhakabhāṇaka* (Sp V 1107,26–27), etc. This fact implies that there were those responsible for the preservation and recitation of certain sections of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* only. These two terms are used together with some individual monks, for instance, *Ubhatovibhaṅgabhāṇaka-Mahāṭissatthera* (Sp III 644,10–11) and *Khandhakabhāṇakattherā* (Sp V 1107,27). The occurrences of such terms in Pali literature indicating those responsible for the preservation and transmission of parts of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* are to be carefully investigated specially from a perspective of a historical development of the *bhāṇaka* tradition in Sri Lanka. See for discussions on this, Adhikaram 1946: 24–32; cf. Hinüber 1997 [1996]: 25 note 92.

⁴¹ Sv I 11,11. Pj I 165,17 has a similar expression in relation to the view expressed by "some" (*apare*) that the first five stanzas were spoken by the Buddha and the rest were by Ānanda (*apare pana vadanti: ādito pañceva gāthā bhagavatā vuttā, sesā parittakaraṇasamaye ānandattherenā ti*). This is followed by the phrase similar to that in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. It says: *yathā vā tathā vā hotu, kiṃ no imāya parikkhāya, sabbathāpi etassa ratanasuttassa karissāmatthavaṇṇanam*. This sentence is translated by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli 1978: 179 as follows: "that may be so in fact, or it may not. But does that investigation concern us? The commentary that we shall make on this Jewel Sutta will actually fit both cases." The phrase *yathā vā tathā vā hotu* at Sv I 11,11 is also similar to the context at Pj I

phrase carries at least the following two implications: (a) Buddhaghosa was merely editing and rearranging the old Sīhaḷa sources, and (b) he was at the same time critical of their content.⁴² Further, the passage (*yathā vā tathā vā hotu*) occurs almost identically in both the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and the *Samantapāsādikā*, with the marked difference that Buddhaghosa's own comment is omitted in the *Samantapāsādikā*.⁴³ This omission suggests that Buddhaghosa made this comment when editing and rearranging the Sīhaḷa *Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā*.

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* provides another additional piece of information not found in the *Samantapāsādikā* with regard to the length of each *Nikāya* in terms of *bhāṇavāras* (divisions for recitation) as follows:

1. *Vinaya Khandhaka*: 80 (*asīti-bhāṇavāra*);
2. *Vinaya Parivāra*: 25 (*pañcavīsati-bhāṇavāra*);
3. *Dīgha-nikāya*: 64 (*catusaṭṭhi-bhāṇavāra*);
4. *Majjhima-nikāya*: 80 (*asīti-bhāṇavāra*);
5. *Samyutta-nikāya*: 100 (*bhāṇavāra-sata*);
6. *Aṅguttara-nikāya*: 120 (*vīsati-bhāṇavāra-sata*).⁴⁴

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* also adds that the *Vinaya-piṭaka* was entrusted to Upāli for transmission,⁴⁵ the *Dīgha-nikāya* to Ānanda, the *Majjhima-nikāya* to the pupils of Sāriputta, the *Samyutta-nikāya* to

165,17. The point of the argument here is that what Buddhaghosa tried to say was that *it would not matter* whether Ānanda dived into the earth or flew over the sky to get to the Assembly Hall.

⁴² According to my investigation in Endo 2013: 181–208, much evidence is found that Buddhaghosa adopted his own understanding of ‘Theravāda’ as a yardstick to examine the Mahāvihāra tradition when editing and translating the texts into Pali. As a result, he points out doctrinal misunderstanding and writing mistakes committed even by some of the teachers (*ācariyā*) of the Mahāvihāra fraternity.

⁴³ Sp I 13,2.

⁴⁴ Sv I 13,19–22 and I 15,1–13.

⁴⁵ Sv I 13,23–24.

Mahākassapa, and the *Anguttara-nikāya* to Anuruddha.⁴⁶ Interestingly, there is no reference to the *Khuddaka-nikāya*. The same can be said of another instance recorded in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* where Mahākassapa asks the monks at the Assembly “which collection” is to be first recited (*kataraṃ āvuso piṭakaṃ paṭhamaṃ saṃgāyāma ti*). Then the monks reply that the *Sutta-piṭaka* should be recited first (*suttantapiṭakaṃ bhante ti*). In regard to the four collections in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, the question arises which of these should be recited first. The monks answer: “the *Dīgha-saṃgīti*” (*suttantapiṭake catasso saṃgītiyo*), and so on and so forth.⁴⁷ What is significant is the statement that there are four collections (*catasso saṃgītiyo*), implying that this scheme would appear to have originated earlier than the idea of the five collections (*pañca-nikāya*).⁴⁸ The *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Vinaya*’s *Cullavagga* on the other hand repeat the same statement *eten’ eva upāyena pañca (pi) nikāye pucchi* soon after the descriptions about the compilation of the *Dhamma* by Ānanda.⁴⁹ A reasonable suspicion is raised that this particular phrase in the *Vinaya* was a later insertion,⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Sv I 15,2–13.

⁴⁷ Sv I 14,9.

⁴⁸ There is another issue here in that both Sv I 11,15–18 and Sp I 13,4–7 state that Mahākassapa asked the *bhikkhus* as to which they should recite first, the *Dhamma* or *Vinaya* (*āvuso kiṃ paṭhamaṃ saṃgāyāma, dhammaṃ vā vinayaṃ vā ti*), and both commentaries agree that the *Vinaya* is the very life of the Buddha’s Dispensation and that so long as the *Vinaya* endures, the Dispensation endures (*vinayo nāma Buddhasāsanassa āyu, vinaye ṭhite sāsanaṃ ṭhitaṃ hoti*). It is clear that the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and the *Samantapāsādikā* specifically mention the importance of the *Vinaya*. But here the question is asked “of which collection?” (*kataraṃ piṭakaṃ?*). Does this show an inconsistency even within the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* itself?

⁴⁹ Sp I 16,11–12 = Vin II 287,27–18.

⁵⁰ Vin II 287,27.

after the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, hence the word *pañca-nikāya* came to be seen from about the time of the *Milindapañha*⁵¹ of the first century A.D.⁵² The introduction to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* is free from such attendant complications, probably due to the fact that its old Sīhaḷa commentary would have contained information older than that in the *Samanta-pāsādikā*, although later on new material came to be added within the old Sīhaḷa commentaries themselves. Or, such differences could be attributed to the differences between the two *bhāṇaka* traditions.

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* further gives accounts for the works to be included in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*.⁵³ In this respect the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* records the view of the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* as follows: *Jātaka*, *Mahā-niddesa*, *Cūla-niddesa*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimāna-Peta-vatthu*, *Thera-Therī-gāthā* are all to be called the *Khuddaka-gantha*, and they are to be included in the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*,⁵⁴ whereas the *Majjhima-bhāṇakas* say that all the texts mentioned above, together with *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Apadāna* and *Buddhavaṃsa*, should constitute the *Khuddaka-gantha*, which is in the *Sutta-piṭaka*.⁵⁵ These lists are not the same as the list appearing in

⁵¹ Mil 342,1. There is a reference to the *Khuddaka-bhāṇakā* at this place, which suggests that by the time of the *Milindapañha* the *Khuddaka-nikāya* must have been known. However if this reference is a later insertion, then many questions arising from that assumption have to be investigated; cf. Adikaram 1994 [1946]: 25.

⁵² E.g., Mizuno 1996: 240.

⁵³ Sv I 15,22–30.

⁵⁴ Sv I 15,22–27: *tato param Jātakam Mahā-niddeso Cūla-niddeso Paṭisambhidā-maggo Sutta-nipāto Dhammapadam Udānam Itivuttakam Vimāna-peta-vatthu Thera-therī-gāthā ti imam tantim saṃgāyitvā Khuddaka-gantho nāma ayan ti ca vatvā, Abhidhamma-piṭakasmim yeva saṃgaham āropayimsū ti Dīgha-bhāṇakā vadanti.*

⁵⁵ Sv I 15,27–29: *Majjhima-bhāṇakā pana Cariyāpiṭaka-Apadāna-Buddhavaṃsesu saddhim sabbam pi tam Khuddakagantham suttanta-piṭake pariyāpannan ti vadanti.* It is interesting that the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*' list

the *Samantapāsādikā*, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, *Paramatthajotikā* (I) and *Atthasālinī*.⁵⁶

In the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* itself there are different lists of texts included in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*. One list includes the same titles associated with those falling within the range of the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*' expertise with the addition of the *Apadāna*.⁵⁷ A minor difference is that in this list the *Niddesa* is not divided into *Mahā-* and *Cūla-*, thus both lists come to comprise twelve works. Further, the *Samantapāsādikā* proffers yet another list while defining the term *buddha-bhāsita* as follows:

What was spoken by the Buddha [include] the entire *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, *Dhammapada*, *Cariyā-piṭaka*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Jātaka*, *Suttanipāta*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu* and discourses (*suttas*) beginning with the *Brahmajāla[-sutta]*, etc.⁵⁸

contains both *Mahā-* and *Cūla-niddesa* and together with them the list has 12 texts. On the other hand, the *Majjhima-bhāṇakas* give three additional books, so that if both lists are put together, there are 15 texts. What is striking however is that neither list includes the *Khuddakapāṭha* as in later lists.

⁵⁶ Sp I 18,12–15, Sv I 17,10–14, Pj I 12,7–10 and As 18,28–31: *Khuddakapāṭha-Dhammapada- Udāna- Itivuttaka- Suttanipāta- Vimānavatthu- Peta- vatthu- Thera-Therīgāthā- Jātaka- Niddesa- Paṭisambhidā- Apadāna- Buddhavaṃsa-Cariyāpiṭakavasena paññarasabhedo Khuddakanikāyo ti idaṃ Suttantapiṭakaṃ nāma*.

⁵⁷ Sv II 566,3–6 (= Mp III 159,7–10); the listing of works associated with the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* is found at Sv I 15,22–27; cf. Endo 2003b: 22–25.

⁵⁸ Sp III 742,9–12: *buddhabhāsita ti sakalaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ Abhidhamma- piṭakaṃ Dhammapadaṃ Cariyāpiṭakaṃ Udānaṃ Itivuttakaṃ Jātakaṃ*

The fact that the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and the *Samantapāsādikā*, in both their introductions and main bodies, provide different lists for the works to be included in the *Khuddaka-nikāya* is a strong indication that Buddhaghosa did not interfere with or modify the contents of the old Sīhaḷa commentaries, which he could have done, if he so wished, in order to standardize the Mahāvihāra tradition and make it more consistent.⁵⁹

II. Sources of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*

This aspect of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* has been dealt with already by Sodō Mori.⁶⁰ The basic source-material for the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* would have included the singular form of ‘*aṭṭhakathā*’ without any word prefixed to it,⁶¹ the *Dīgha-Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*,⁶² and the other old Sīhaḷa commentaries, such as, the *porāṇā*, *porāṇakattherā*, *Dīgha-bhāṇakā*, *aṭṭhakathācariyā*, *ācariyavāda* and *therasallāpa*. It can be surmised that the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* was thus based upon, firstly, the *aṭṭhakathā* (sg., otherwise named *Sīhaḷa-Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā*), secondly, the *Dīgha-Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* and, thirdly, supplemented by other old Sīhaḷa commentaries of both Indian and Sri Lanka origin. Probably included in the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* literature are the views of other schools including those of the Abhayagiri school. These views are signaled by expressions such as *keci*, *apare*, *eke*, *aññe*, *ekacce*, *ye ... te ...*, etc.

Suttanipāto Vimānavatthu Petavatthu Brahmajālādīni ca suttāni.

⁵⁹ Regarding the historical development of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, particularly the works to be included in it, cf. Abeynayake 1984: 1–15.

⁶⁰ Mori 1984: 147–307.

⁶¹ This is referred to in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* about twelve times, and there is one reference to *Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā* at Sv I 87,13.

⁶² This *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* is referred to in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* only twice.

The value of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* for the understanding of the canonical texts in general and for the *Dīgha-nikāya* in particular is beyond any dispute. The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* also provides the extra-neous information to understand even the textual formation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. For instance, at the end of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* some verses describing the distribution of the Buddha's relics are given as follows:

(a) Of the eight *doṇa*-measurements of the Possessor of the Eye's bodily relics, seven were honoured in Jambudīpa; [the eighth] one [doṇa-measurement] of the Noblest of Men was kept with honours in Rāmagāma by *nāga* kings. (b) One Tooth [of the Buddha] is honoured by the gods of the *Tāvātimsa* heaven; one, honoured in the city of Gandhāra, one, by the king of Kāliṅga, and [the fourth] one is again worshipped by *nāga* kings.⁶³

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, making a comment on these verses, specifically states that these verses were added by Sri Lankan elders.⁶⁴ This can be one of the instances where the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* can be fully utilized for a better understanding of the textual features of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

⁶³ DN 16 at DN II 167,22–29: (a) *aṭṭhadonaṃ cakkhumato sarīraṃ, satta-doṇaṃ Jambudīpe mahenti; ekañ ca doṇaṃ purisa-varuttamassa, Rāmagāme nāgarājā mahenti*; (b) *ekā pi dāṭhā Tidivehi pūjītā, ekā pana Gandhāra-pure mahīyati; Kāliṅgarañño vijite pun' ekaṃ, ekaṃ puna nāgarājā mahenti*.

⁶⁴ Sv II 615,16–17: *aṭṭhadonaṃ cakkhumato sarīraṃ ti ādi gāthāyo pana Tambapaṇṇitherehi vuttā*. For a detailed discussion of this, cf. Endo 2013: 157–177 and Anālayo 2012: 223–253.

III. The *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*

The term *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* occurs throughout the commentaries. It is found in the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, the *Papañcasūdanī*, the *Manorathapūraṇī*, the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Atthasālinī*, the *Saddhammappakāsinī* (*Paṭisambhidā-magga-aṭṭhakathā*), the *Visuddhajanavilāsinī* (*Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā*), the *Madhuratthavilāsinī* (*Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*) and the *Sam-mohavinodanī* (*Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā*).⁶⁵ Their views are diverse. Historically, the *bhāṇaka* tradition began in India and they were those responsible for the preservation and transmission of the texts assigned to them, when the oral tradition was the main mode of transmission to future generations. This tradition, however, faced drastic and unprecedented transformation when the mode of transmission of the texts shifted from oral to written. The Buddhist texts are said to have been committed to writing in the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya of the first century B.C. in Sri Lanka. The reason why there are contrasting views expressed by different *bhāṇakā* is that they were not in favor of consulting one another for the homogenization of views that could represent the official stance of the Theravāda school of thought. Among them there was a sense of mutual exclusionism.⁶⁶ These observations are substantiated by divergent views expressed by them. The origins of the *bhāṇaka* tradition in India can be considered to go back to a period at least earlier than their counterparts in Sri Lanka whose dates are roughly determined on the basis of the ancient Sri Lankan inscriptions.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Vism 36,15, 266,1, 275,18 and 286,8; Sp II 339,28, II 413,1, II 428,12, II 474,7, IV 789,15 and VII 1364,11; Sv I 15,27, I 131,18, II 530,24–25, II 543,26–27 and II 635,11–12; Ps I 79,5 and IV 178,24; Mp II 249,19, III 128,1 and III 347,17; Ja I 59,31; As 151,31, 159,3 and 399,28; Paṭis-a II 493,16; Ap-a 64,23 and 157,2; Bv-a 280,16; Vibh-a 81,35–36.

⁶⁶ Cf. Norman 1997: 45.

⁶⁷ Ancient Sinhalese cave inscriptions belonging to the period between the

IV. *Bhāṇakas* in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* refers to the *bhāṇakas*' views. Generally speaking, when the word *bhāṇakā* is found in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, it can naturally be assumed that the word refers to the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* who were responsible for the preservation and transmission of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and its (old) commentary *Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā*.⁶⁸ There are nonetheless certain instances where the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* were directly referred to. The first instance is found in the Introductory Section of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. This reference is to the list of texts to be included in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*,⁶⁹ whereas another list in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* provides all the fifteen works as we have them today.⁷⁰ The fact that this reference is to the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* suggests that this instance must be separately examined, separate from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* proper. Such references may suggest that even among the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* (as with the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā*) there were certain

third century B.C. and the first century A.D. refer to different *bhāṇakas* such as *eka-uttiraka* (*ekottarika*), *śayutaka* (*Samyutta*) and *majjhima* (*Majjhima*); cf. Paranavitana 1970: nos. 407, 666, 708, 852 and 1061.

⁶⁸ These cases, however, are extremely rare. Instead, the term *dīgha-bhāṇakā* is found in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* at Sv I 15,27 (*dīghabhāṇakā*), Sv I 131,18 (*dīghabhāṇakattherā*), Sv II 530,20 (*mahāgatimbā-abhayatthera-dīghabhāṇaka-abhayatthera-tipiṭaka-cūḷābhayattherā* and *dīgha-bhāṇaka-abhayatthera*), Sv II 543,26–27 (*dīghabhāṇaka-tipiṭaka-mahāsīvattthera*), Sv II 635,11–12 (*dīghabhāṇakattherā*), Sv III 805,10 (*dīgha-bhāṇaka-mahāsīvattthera*), Sv III 881,15–16 (*dīghabhāṇaka-mahāsīvattthera*) and Sv III 883,4 (*dīghabhāṇaka-tipiṭaka-mahāsīvattthera*).

⁶⁹ Sv I 15,22–27.

⁷⁰ Sv I 17,10–14.

factions holding different views.⁷¹

The transmission of the *bhāṇaka* tradition from its origin, India, to Sri Lanka can be ascertained in the references made to the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* itself. This commentary, for instance, refers to the *Dīgha-bhāṇaka-theras*:

In the east of the Lohapāsāda was the place named Ambalaṭṭhikā. It was there the *Dīgha-bhāṇaka-theras* sat and began [the recitation of] the *Brahmajāla-sutta*.⁷²

This incident occurred obviously after King Dutthagāmaṇī (B.C. 161–137) who was responsible for the construction of the Lohapāsāda (‘Brazen Palace’). Moreover, the tradition seems to have continued in Sri Lanka as there is another reference to the *Dīgha-bhāṇaka-theras* in the same *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, as follows:

Formerly, King Vasabha listened to the recitation [of the *Mahāsuddasana-sutta*] by the *Dīghabhāṇaka-theras* at the Ambalaṭṭhikā, which is on the eastern side of the Lohapāsāda ...⁷³

Now, King Vasabha belongs to a period between the latter half of the first century and the early second century A.D. (A.D. 65–109). These

⁷¹ Such textual features give rise to the complexity of the Pali commentaries, especially in determining the official stance of the Mahāvihāra tradition. For a detailed discussion on the nature and function of the *bhāṇaka* tradition in the Pāli commentaries, cf. Endo 2013: 47–81.

⁷² Sv I 131,16–19: *lohapāsādassa pācīna Ambalaṭṭhikaṭṭhānaṃ nāma ahoṣi. Tattha nisīditvā Dīghabhāṇakattherā Brahmajālasuttaṃ ārabhimsu.*

⁷³ Sv II 635,11–13: *teneva pubbe Vasabharājā Dīgha-bhāṇaka-ttherānaṃ Lohapāsādassa pācīnapasse Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ imaṃ suttaṃ [Mahāsuddasana-sutta] sajjhāyantaṇaṃ sutvā ...*

instances imply that the *bhāṇaka* tradition was still in vogue even after the Buddhist texts were committed to writing in the first century B.C. and seems in fact to have gained a strong and distinct tradition in ancient Sri Lanka as certain well known elders were referred to under different titles.⁷⁴

The term *dīgha-bhāṇaka* is not always clearly indicated within the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. Ambiguous or indirect references are also made to the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*. Such instances become intelligible with the help of the *Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā* (*Līnatthavaṇṇanā*). Discussing the eighteen qualities of the Buddha (*aṭṭhārasabuddhadhammā*), for instance, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* introduces a list of them as follows:

Further (*api ca*), the absence of wrong deeds in the Exalted One should be understood also in terms of the eighteen qualities of the Buddha.⁷⁵

This “further” (*api ca*) is understood as the reference to the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* in the *Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā*,⁷⁶ and the list is ascribed to the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* and is criticized as “as if confused” (*pātho ākulo viya*). In this instance the *Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā* gives

⁷⁴ The Pali commentaries record names like *Dīgha-bhāṇaka-Tiṭṭhaka-Mahāsīvatthera* (Sv II 543,26–27, Sv III 883,4, Spk III 281,23–24, etc.), *Majjhima-bhāṇaka-Revatattthera* (Vism 95,19), *Samyutta-bhāṇaka-Cūḷa-sīvatthera* (Vism 313,22–23, Mp V 83,8–9 and Vibh-a 446,6), *Dhammapada-bhāṇaka-Mahātissattthera* (Dhp-a IV 51,13) and *Ubbatovibhaṅga-bhāṇaka-Mahātissattthera* (Sp III 644,10–11), etc.

⁷⁵ Sv III 994,5–6: *api ca aṭṭhārasannaṃ Buddha-dhammānaṃ vasaṇāpi Bhagavato duccaritābhāvo veditabbo*.

⁷⁶ Sv-pt III 257,8.

an alternative list of eighteen qualities of the Buddha, which is similar, for instance, to lists found in the *Vimuttimaggā* and others.⁷⁷ According to my understanding, this can be regarded as one instance that shows some form of contribution by the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā*, not only in their traditional role of preserving and faithfully transmitting the texts assigned to them, but also in the development of the old commentarial literature collectively known as the *Sīhaḷa-aṭṭhakathā*.

Although the term *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* occurs in several places in the Pali commentaries,⁷⁸ they are cited with concrete views only in the following places: two references each in the *Visuddhimaggā*, *Sumanagalavilāsinī* and the *Atthasālinī*, and one each in the *Papañcasūdanī*, *Manorathapūraṇī* and *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*; thus amounting to nine instances of reference to the term.⁷⁹ Of the nine instances of reference to the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā*, only three instances are verifiable or corroborated either in the existing Pali canonical texts or commentaries,⁸⁰ and the remaining six instances are not found anywhere. This fact implies that the old commentaries (in this case, the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*) would have contained those citing the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas*. Such evidence is indicative of the complexity of the *bhāṇaka* tradition in India and Sri Lanka.

Moreover, among the *bhāṇakas* there was a tendency to group into factions. My preliminary research has shown that the *Vinayadharas* (responsible for the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and its commentary) appear to have

⁷⁷ Cf. Endo 1997 and 2002: 113–133 for a detailed discussion on the eighteen qualities of the Buddha as found in the Pali commentaries.

⁷⁸ For a comprehensive list cf. Mori 1984: 273.

⁷⁹ Vism 275,13–18 and 286,5–8; Sv I 15,22–27; As 151,31–33 and 159,3–5; Ps IV 178,24–26; Mp III 347,17–18; Ja I 59,31. Sv 994,5, as mentioned above, does not directly refer to the term *dīgha-bhāṇaka*, but instead to *api ca*, a phrase which is identified in its *Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā* as referring to the *dīgha-bhāṇakā* (Sv-pt III 257,8).

⁸⁰ For a detailed discussion on this, cf. Endo 2003b: 1–42 and Endo 2013 47–81 (esp. 77f).

been closely related to the *Majjhima-bhāṇakas* and the *Majjhima-aṭṭhakathā*.⁸¹ The *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* and the other *bhāṇakas*, on the other hand, appear not to have been so kindly disposed towards the *Majjhima-bhāṇakas*. The following is a summary of the combination of different *bhāṇakas* versus the *Majjhima-bhāṇakas* found in the Pali commentaries:

- a. the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* and *Samyutta-bhāṇakā* combined versus the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā*;⁸²
- b. the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* versus the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā*;⁸³
- c. the *Samyutta-bhāṇakā* versus the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā*;⁸⁴
- d. the *Dīgha-aṭṭhakathā* (i.e., *Dīgha-bhāṇakā*) versus the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā*;⁸⁵
- e. the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* versus the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* (Sv I 15,27);
- f. some *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* within the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* tradition;⁸⁶
- g. some *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* within the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* tradition;⁸⁷
- h. the *Anguttara-aṭṭhakathā* (i.e. *Anguttara-bhāṇakā*) versus the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā*.⁸⁸

Of these, difference of views between the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* and the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* is seen in (a), (b), (d) and (e), while the combination of the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* and *Samyutta-bhāṇakā* versus the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* can be seen in (a) and also the difference of views between the *Samyutta-bhāṇakā* and the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* in (c); and the *Anguttara-bhāṇakā* and the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* in (h). This suggests

⁸¹ Cf. Endo 2003a: 55–72 and Endo 2013: 237–250.

⁸² Vism 275,18–19.

⁸³ Vism 286,8–9.

⁸⁴ Vism 431,29–30.

⁸⁵ Sv I 11,3.

⁸⁶ Ps II 51,7. The term *thero* in the PTS edition is given as *Majjhima-bhāṇakatthero* in the Siamese edition; cf. Ps II 51 note 1.

⁸⁷ Ps I 227,3. The *ṭikā* gives *therā* as *Majjhimbhāṇake*; cf. Ps I 227 note 1.

⁸⁸ Mp I 306,27.

that the *Majjhimabhāṇakā* were not allied with any other *bhāṇaka* tradition, while, for instance, the *Dīgha-bhāṇakā* and *Samyutta-bhāṇakā* could come together. In fact, there is one instance in the Pali commentaries where the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* differ from the rest of *bhāṇaka* traditions (*avasesanikāya-bhāṇakā*) in interpretation.⁸⁹ All these indicate that the *Majjhima-bhāṇakā* (and therefore the *Majjhima-aṭṭhakathā*) had a somewhat unique scriptural tradition not allied with the others within the Theravāda tradition. This also supports K.R. Norman's contention that *bhāṇakā* and other specialists did not consult with one another in compiling their texts.⁹⁰

Concluding Remarks

The study of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the commentary to the *Dīghanikāya*, has advanced much in recent years compared with a couple of decades ago. A comparative and analytical study of the Chinese translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* and its counterpart in Pali occupied a chapter of considerable length in Mayeda Egaku's *A History of the Formation of Original Buddhist Texts* (原始仏教經典の成立史研究) published in 1964. Questions, such as, "why is the order of collected discourses (*sūtras*) in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* and the Pali *Dīghanikāya* different from each other?", "is there any specific scheme or meaning of this difference?", etc., were addressed by Mayeda. Moreover, the scholarly awareness of the need to compare the Chinese Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* and the Pali Theravāda *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* has been much strengthened for the simple reason that the

⁸⁹ Ps IV 135,5-6: *sammādiṭṭhissa, bhikkhave, micchādiṭṭhi nijjīṇṇā hotī ti ādīsu avasesanikāyabhāṇakā phalaṃ kathitaṃ ti vadanti, majjhimabhāṇakā pana dasannaṃ nijjaravatthūnaṃ āgataṭṭhāne maggo kathito ti vadanti.*

⁹⁰ Cf. Norman 1997: 45.

Dīgha-āgama contains certain extraneous information, the counterpart of which is not found in its canonical Pali counterpart, the *Dīgha-nikāya*, but only in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. The study of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* is thus becoming more important for the understanding not only of the textual and doctrinal history of the Theravāda but also of that of other early schools, and beyond the confines of the various schools as well.

Abbreviations

As	<i>Atthasālinī</i> (<i>Dhammasaṅgaṇī-aṭṭhakathā</i>)
B ^e	Burmese edition (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Tipiṭaka cd-rom, version 4.0)
Mhv	<i>Mahāvamsa</i>
Mhbv	<i>Mahābodhivamsa</i>
Mp	<i>Manorathapūraṇī</i> (<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā</i>)
Nidd-a I and II	<i>Saddhammapajjotikā</i> (I) and (II) (<i>Mahāniddesa-aṭṭhakathā</i> and <i>Cūlaniddesa-aṭṭhakathā</i>)
Pj I	<i>Paramatthajotikā</i> (I) (<i>Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā</i>)
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī</i> (<i>Majjhima-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā</i>)
Sp	<i>Samantapāsādikā</i> (<i>Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā</i>)
Spk	<i>Sāratthappakāsinī</i> (<i>Samyutta-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā</i>)
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī</i>
Sv-pt	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-pūraṇaṭikā</i> (<i>Dīgha-nikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭikā</i>)
v(s)	verse(s)
Vibh-a	<i>Sammohavinodanī</i> (<i>Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā</i>)

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**The *Dīrgha-āgama* of
the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins:
What Was the Purpose of this Collection?**

Jens-Uwe Hartmann
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität of Munich

Abstract

Between fifteen and twenty years ago a manuscript was found which turned out to contain a Sanskrit version of the Long Collection. Although the manuscript is incomplete, enough is preserved to recover the basic structure of the collection and the complete number of discourses, their titles and their sequence. A comparison with the other two known versions of the Long Collection shows that there are many similarities, but also reveals notable differences. Prominent among these differences figure the number of discourses, which is considerably higher in the Sanskrit version, and a section named *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta*, the “Six-Sūtra-Section”, which is unique to the Sanskrit version. It even contains a discourse, the *Arthavistara-sūtra*, found in none of the other preserved *Nikāyas* and *Āgamas*. The elaborate structure of the *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta* leads to a consideration of the purpose and usage of the Long Collection, and this in turn leads to a brief reflection on the narrative elements and the question of whether certain passages are possibly meant to be entertaining, if not even humorous.

Contents

I. A Sanskrit Version of the Long Collection

II. Comparative Overview of the Long Collection

III. The Function of the Long Collection

IV. The Sanskrit Manuscript

V. Prestige and Humor

Abbreviations

References

I. A Sanskrit Version of the Long Collection

Sometime in the late nineties somewhere in Afghanistan or, perhaps, somewhere in the north of Pakistan somebody found a remarkable manuscript, and this manuscript, or rather parts of it, reached the art market in London and Tokyo – in a way that we know nothing about and that the people involved are disinclined to broadcast – and these parts were subsequently sold to various private collectors. As luck would have it, scholars were informed about the manuscript, this already being a happy coincidence, and these scholars were not only informed about it, but also granted access to the parts by the various private owners, an even happier coincidence. I have called it a remarkable manuscript, and this is justified even by its state of preservation alone. There are many well-preserved folios which are easy to read and pleasant to look at.¹

When scholars took a closer look, soon they found that the manuscript contained a Sanskrit version of the Long Collection, or Collection of the Long (Discourses of the Buddha), in Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*. As is well-known, within the Tripiṭaka scheme of arranging the canonical scriptures the Long Collection forms a part of the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, the ‘Basket of Discourses’, and there it usually comes as the first of altogether four or five parts that make up this section of the Tripiṭaka.² The Sanskrit version of the Long Collection had been considered lost, like so many other parts of the canonical scrip-

¹ For the latest discussion of this manuscript cf. Hartmann and Wille 2014; on pp. 139–141 this paper contains a corrected survey of all the sūtras and their sequence in the manuscript.

² Cf. Lamotte 1958: 164–171.

tures, until the new manuscript surfaced. This explains why the manuscript was greatly welcomed by scholars; it does not happen every other day that such a substantial part of lost scriptures suddenly becomes available again. Now we have the text of a number of sūtras at our disposal that up to this point have been preserved neither in their original language nor in Chinese or Tibetan translation. As the editorial work proceeds, first insights are gained from this manuscript, and a number of questions are raised, a few of which I shall address here.

One of the perspectives will be comparative, looking at all the existing versions of the Long Collection and asking if comparing them tells us anything about the formation of such a collection. Another question asks the purpose of the collection: was it just a receptacle for lengthy discourses or is it possible to find other features that reveal something about the intentions of its transmitters? And finally a somewhat risky question will be asked: it is common knowledge that these texts are highly repetitive and that they consist of a large number of recurring stock phrases. The question is: are there traces of any attempts at rendering such a text more readable and enjoyable, for instance by examples of humor? This is a rather dangerous question: first of all, there are severe methodological problems involved; second, the question is not meant to raise expectations. In Buddhist literature there is certainly room for all kinds of humor, but the early canonical texts do not seem to abound in it, or, if they do, it escapes us.

II. Comparative Overview of the Long Collection

We are now in the lucky position that there are three different versions of the Long Collection at our disposal. This is unique; there is

no other section of the *Sūtrapīṭaka* for the study of which we are equally well equipped, and therefore it is especially fruitful to compare the three versions. The first one is, of course, the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the Pali version, fully preserved in its Indian original, well-known, well-studied, several times translated into Western languages and therefore highly accessible. Since it was the first version of the Long Collection to become known and studied in the West, it set a standard and to a considerable degree informed the Western idea of that collection. A second version, not very different from the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*, is preserved only in a Chinese translation. This is the *Chang ahan* (長阿含), entry no. 1 in the Taishō edition of the Chinese canon, which is also completely preserved. Quite clearly the translation is based on an original text in another Middle Indic language, possibly even Gandhari, and it is generally ascribed to the school of the Dharmaguptakas.³ Although it goes back to a Middle Indic language, for want of a more correct label it has become an established custom to call it by the Sanskrit term *Dīrgha-āgama* or the “Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*”.⁴ As a third, there is now the ‘real’ *Dīrgha-āgama*, real in the sense that this is the name it gives itself, since the colophon of the manuscript is preserved and there it reads *samāptaś ca dīrghāgamah*, “finished is the *Dīrgha-āgama*”. This *Dīrgha-āgama* is in Sanskrit, belongs to the school of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins,⁵

³ Cf. Karashima 2014.

⁴ I find this habit very problematic, as it suggests an original Sanskrit text, but in the absence of a Dharmaguptaka source text I have no better term to offer.

⁵ I use this conflated term for want of anything better, although I have grave doubts about its heuristic value. First of all, we do not know the exact reference, the range, and the connotations of the distinction between the terms Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda, and this problem is not remedied by combining the two. Second, even if such a distinction

and although presently not fully extant, enough of it is available for there to be no doubt about its contents and about the order of the sūtras and sections it contains.

In a case like this numerical aspects offer themselves for a first comparison, and they quickly reveal that the *Dīrgha-nikāya* and the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* are much closer to each other than to the Sanskrit version. A simple count of the sūtras in each version shows that the Sanskrit contains forty-seven texts against thirty-four texts in the *Dīrgha-nikāya* and only thirty texts in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*. In other words, the Sanskrit version is by far the longest of the three; it contains over 30% more texts than the *Dīrgha-nikāya*. All three are divided into three sections,⁶ but only one of these sections is common to all three versions. If we stop here for an initial conclusion, it would be that every school which adopted the Tripiṭaka scheme of arranging the scriptures has a collection of Long Discourses. This collection preserves a common stock of sūtras. The overall structure, however, must be younger, because there are many deviations, and it does not appear possible to reconstruct something like an Ur-*Dīrgha-āgama* from the three versions.

was meaningful with regard to, e.g., *vinaya* texts, we do not know if it was ever applied to *āgama* texts, since the two terms never appear in the colophons. What then do they denote in present usage apart from the underlying implication that an *āgama* text thus referred to is in Sanskrit and follows certain conventions in the diction and the stock phrases? Cf. the very apposite remarks in Skilling 20002: 374–376.

⁶ In fact the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* is divided into four sections, but the fourth section contains nothing but the *Shiji jing* (世記經), the ‘Discourse Explaining the World’, and this surely supports the impression that this is a later addition to the collection; cf. Anālayo 2014: 8f note 13.

What makes a discourse long enough to become included within the Long Collection? Is there a minimum length prescribed? Evidently this is not the case, at least not in every tradition, because the length of the texts oscillates between dozens of pages and a single sentence. This is not quite as paradoxical as it sounds; both the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Dīrgha-āgama* include such a discourse, but in both cases it is a discourse that is verbally identical with the preceding text, and the “new” text is only a proper name which replaces the name in the previous discourse; therefore it has been possible to abbreviate it to a single sentence. This is not unusual, as there are similar examples also in the other canonical collections, and it is a phenomenon characteristic of the written version rather than of its oral counterpart. If a discourse consists of a high percentage of stock phrases it becomes possible to shorten considerably its written version by reducing a lengthy stock phrase to a brief reference (for another case cf. below). In a recital it would be normal to expand such an abbreviation. But even if fully expanded versions are taken into consideration there is no definite criterion for length, and this becomes the more evident when the Pali parallels of the Sanskrit discourses are taken into consideration. Of the forty-seven discourses of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* only twenty-four or slightly over 50% have a corresponding text in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, ten (or eleven)⁷ however find their correspondence in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, one in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, and ten have no known correspondence with any Pali sutta. This leads on to the next conclusion: Long and middle length are not hard and fast categories as the Pali collection

⁷ There are eleven if one accepts the *Kandaraka-sutta* (MN 51) as the most likely among the five Pali correspondences to the *Pudgala-sūtra* (no. 38); cf. also Bucknell 2014: 63.

would somehow have us believe; they are fairly arbitrary. When we also consider the shared portions of the Sanskrit and Chinese *Dīrgha-āgamas*, we find that they have twenty discourses in common, and that is two thirds of the Chinese, but only two fifths of the Sanskrit text. This could lead to another conclusion, but a conclusion not without its dangers. Our standard vision of the redactional processes in Indian Buddhist tradition is similar to that of the growth of a plant: the larger, the more recent. When we apply this image to the three collections, it would mean that the Chinese version, being the shortest and that with the highest percentage of the common stock, would represent the oldest version, the Pali text an intermediate state, and the Sanskrit the youngest and most conflated.

There is at least one indication which seems to confirm this view, but there is another signal which should sound a note of warning. For this it is necessary to look at the different sections of the received collections. All versions are divided into three sections (for the fourth of the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*, cf. note 6). The Pali starts with the *Sīlakkhandha*, next comes the *Mahā-vagga*, and it concludes with the *Pāṭika-vagga*. The first is named after a lengthy passage recurring in all the suttas in this section, and the other two refer to sutta titles: the *Mahā-vagga* starts with the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, and it includes altogether seven suttas with the extension *mahā*^o, like the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* etc., and the *Pāṭika-vagga* starts with the *Pāṭika-sutta*. In the Sanskrit version this is quite different. Its first section is the *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta*, the Six-Sūtra-Section. The second is the *Yuga-nipāta*, apparently a section where the sūtras should come in pairs. This pairing is comprehensible in some cases,⁸ but difficult

⁸ It is rather obvious in the cases of the *Āṭānāṭa-sūtra* (no. 23; DN 32) and the *Mahāsamāja-sūtra* (no. 24; DN 20), both of which deal with congre-

to see in others. The final section is the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* corresponding to the *Sīlakkhandha*, the first in the Pali collection. If the sections of the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* ever had names, they have not been transmitted.

From a comparative point of view the *Ṣaṣṣūtraka-nipāta* is the most interesting one. It appears to be based on a balanced and deliberate arrangement, and it is difficult to believe that this happened by chance. A brief description of the contents of this section may illustrate this point.⁹ It contains the following six texts: *Daśottara-sūtra*, *Arthavistara-sūtra*, *Saṅgīti-sūtra*, *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*, *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. For purely formal reasons, the section clearly consists of two parts. The first three texts are taught not by the Buddha himself, but by Śāriputra, one of his two main disciples. As the foremost among the disciples with regard to discriminative understanding (*prajñā*), tradition saw him as somehow connected with the Abhidharma and Abhidharma-like texts. Except for the introduction to the *Saṅgīti-sūtra*, there are no narrative passages at all in the first three texts. Only this introduction to the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* contains a narrative passage, with the Mallas of Pāpa inviting the Buddha as the first visitor to their newly built assembly hall. The Buddha instructs them and then sends them home in the evening, and afterwards he tells Śāriputra to preach to the monks. The latter starts his discourse with a reference to the quarrels among the followers of Nirgrantha Jñātiputra who had recently died. This is a well-known historical reference to Mahāvīra, the leader of the Jain

gations of non-human beings (cf. below), and the *Pañcatraya-sūtra* (no. 17; MN 102) and the *Māyājāla-sūtra* (no. 18; without Pali counterpart), both of which describe wrong “philosophical” views.

⁹ Cf. Hartmann 1994.

movement. Apart from this, all three texts contain nothing but groups and lists of dogmatic terms, arranged according to various numerical principles.

There are a number of overlaps between the *Daśottara-* and the *Saṅgīti-sūtra*, but none with the *Arthavistara*, and this is an interesting text.¹⁰ The *Daśottara-* and the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* are found in all three Long Collections, but the *Arthavistara* is found only in the Sanskrit, and it is completely unknown to the Pali tradition. Again, one would tend to think that this is a younger text that was composed too late to be included in the two older collections and just made it into the younger Sanskrit compilation. However, there is a problem. An Shigao (安世高), the first known translator of Buddhist discourses into Chinese, knew the *Arthavistara*, and in a version that is more or less identical with the received Sanskrit text, and he found this discourse important enough to translate it into Chinese.¹¹ In other words, this is not necessarily a late text, and one should be careful not to understand a difference in contents always and automatically as a phenomenon with a chronological relevance. Of course growth is a process of time, and the whole development of canonical Buddhist literature in India is a striking example of this phenomenon, but the fact that we practically never know where a specific instance of growth took place tempts us to position processes – which in fact had been parallel – in sequential order, and this may very well be misleading.

To come back to the Six-Sūtra-Section: while the first three discourses are nothing but lists of dogmatic terms, the remaining three

¹⁰ For an edition of its Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia and a restoration based on its Tibetan and Chinese translations cf. Hartmann 1992.

¹¹ T 98 at T I 922b4–924c29.

are completely different: in a rather clever arrangement, they present a consecutive biography of the Buddha. The fourth one is the *Catus-pariṣat-sūtra*, the ‘Sūtra On the Four Congregations’; it begins with the description of the Buddha’s awakening, the second of the four major events in the life of a Buddha. It continues with a record of the events immediately following the awakening, the god Brahmā’s exhortation to teach, the journey to Benares and the famous first sermon to the five disciples, the third of the four main events in the life of the Buddha. Several conversions follow, first of other ascetics, then of King Bimbisāra and finally of the two foremost disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

The next is the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra*: the Buddha tells the monks about the lives of his six predecessors, e.g., their respective caste, their parents, their Bodhi tree, their two main disciples etc. Then he takes Vipasyin, the first of those predecessors, as an example, and with him he describes the typical career of a Buddha. The narrative starts with the stay in the Tuṣita heaven, and it goes on with the time from conception up to the first teaching. Such a life invariably follows a recurring pattern, and therefore the career of Vipasyin serves *mutatis mutandis* as a model for all the following Buddhas including the present Buddha Śākyamuni himself. Thus, chronologically speaking this discourse contains the beginning of the biography of the Buddha, including the miraculous birth, the first of the four major events in the life of every Buddha. However, the arrangement of the three discourses follows the logic of the frame story, not the chronology of the biography as such.

There is probably no need to say much about the final text, the well-known *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. It begins with the strife between King Ajātaśatru of Magadha and the Vṛji confederation and the mission of Ajātaśatru’s minister to the Buddha in order to make

enquires about the probable result of a military campaign against the Vṛjīs. Following this, the text covers the final months in the life of the Buddha, leading up to his last meal in the house of Cunda and his arrival in Kuśinagara. It culminates in the description of the *parinirvāṇa*, the fourth and last major event in the life of a Buddha, and, finally, reports the events connected with the funeral and the impending war over the relics. It ends with the distribution of the relics.

Thus, the *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta* is clearly divided into two parts, both consisting of three closely related works. The first part consists only of lists of terms covering most of the basic teachings,¹² while the second part is only narrative. The latter half combines the three discourses that are most essential for the biography – and also hagiography – of the Buddha, the three discourses which relate, for instance, the four major events in his life or in the life of any Buddha. It is very difficult, I believe, not to see an intentional and very deliberate arrangement behind this specific selection of texts. It is impossible to reconstruct the use and the specific importance of this section within its tradition, but there is an indication that at least at one time and in one place that arrangement proved very successful and enjoyed a special popularity: In the second half of the first millennium the Buddhists along the northern branch of the Silk Road in Central Asia used the same Sanskrit version of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, as can be seen from the manuscript fragments found there exactly a hundred years ago. When one looks at the distribution of those manuscript fragments, it becomes evident that considerably more fragments have survived of the first six discourses than of all the others. This strongly suggests that the Six-Sūtra-Section was copied also

¹² Such groups as the four truths and the twelvefold dependent origination, for instance, are conspicuous for their absence.

separately, outside of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, and it appears quite likely that it was used as something like a catechism, as Buddhism in a nutshell, so to speak.¹³

These six discourses provide an excellent foundation in the teachings and in the Buddhology of any of the early schools, and not only of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda. When we look at the Pali parallels, there are no fundamental differences. We observe that this specific collection became very successful in Central Asia, although it was not created there, but most likely in India, since the Gilgit manuscript of the *Dīrgha-āgama* also contains it. Then one wonders why the other two schools, the Theravāda and the Dharmaguptaka, neither copied it into their own versions of the Long Collection nor somehow imitated it. Due to the complete lack of data it is, of course, impossible to answer this question, but in this case it is tempting to assume a relation to the time of its formation. If correct, this would lead to the conclusion that the Sanskrit collection as we now have it was indeed the latest to be redacted.

III. The Function of the Long Collection

These observations on the composition and possible function of the *Śaṭsūtraka-nipāta* lead to the question of the purpose of the whole *Dīrgha-āgama*. The title, ‘Collection of Long (Discourses)’, suggests that its basic principle is one of form, not of content. Nevertheless, Otto Franke tried about a hundred years ago to prove that the

¹³ Roderick Bucknell raised the intriguing question (in an email of December 5th, 2013) whether the *Śaṭsūtraka-nipāta* as an independently circulating text was in effect another set of *Mahāsūtras* similar to that preserved in the Kanjur and edited in Skilling 1994 and 1997.

Dīrgha-nikāya was “keine Sammlung von Reden, sondern ein einheitlich abgefaßtes schriftstellerisches Werk”, not just a collection of discourses, but a uniformly composed literary work.¹⁴ He spent a lot of time and no less of ingenuity on the attempt to show that the suttas were carefully devised and consciously arranged. Even at the time his contemporaries found this idea unconvincing.¹⁵ Nonetheless, having dismissed the view of a deliberate arrangement, the question remains if there is perhaps more than just the length of a text for justifying or preventing its inclusion. Here a possible starting point is to look at the interlocutors, opponents or disciples the sermons are addressed to.

At first sight, the settings are very diverse. There are another three discourses, foremost being the well-known *Brahmajāla-sūtra* which do not contain a story.¹⁶ They treat exclusively the *dṛṣṭi*, the wrong philosophical views, for instance ontological ideas which were rejected by the Buddha. These texts consist of abstract discussions and refutations of controversial philosophical standpoints, and their arrangement is highly systematized. They are extremely interesting in order to know the Buddhist standpoint in such matters and to learn more about the views which the Buddhists imputed to their opponents and rivals. However, these texts are not embellished

¹⁴ Franke 1913: X.

¹⁵ Cf. the reviews of Wilhelm Geiger in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 35 (1914), columns 1637–1638, C.A.F. Rhys Davids in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1914: 459–468, esp. 466–467, and Walter E. Clark in the *American Journal of Theology* 19 (1915): 122–123.

¹⁶ Apart from the *Daśottara-sūtra*, *Arthavistara-sūtra* and *Śaṅgīti-sūtra* mentioned above, these are the *Pañcatraya-sūtra* (no. 17) and the *Māyājāla-sūtra* (no. 18). The *Brahmajāla-sūtra* is the final text in the collection (no. 47); cf. Hartmann and Wille 2014: 139–141.

with any frame story worth mentioning, and all three are addressed to monks.

In most of the discourses, however, the presentation of a Buddhist teaching is embedded in a frame story. The Buddha meets somebody, or, rather, somebody comes to meet the Buddha and ask him a question. Again, no underlying ordering principle is visible. The majority of the visitors are brahmins, the representatives of one of the rival groups of religious specialists. That this is by far the most important rival group is demonstrated by their number and by the ranks attributed to the brahminical visitors. It is also evident during the course of the discussions which, not surprisingly, always end with a convincing answer to the initial question of the brahmin or with the successful refutation of the view taken by him and, particularly important, with him admitting to have been convinced by the arguments of the Buddha. The interesting point is that these brahmins are hardly ever converted to the Buddhist teaching; normally they do not even become lay followers, let alone monks. Contrary to what one may expect, successful conversion is not at all the topic of the texts. Quite often, such an encounter ends with the extremely brief and stereotype statement: "Thereupon, the person so-and-so rejoiced in the words of the Lord, was delighted and went away from the presence of the Lord". And, again interesting, there is no difference between the Pali ending of such a discourse and its Sanskrit counterpart. If there was a considerable distance in time between the final redactions of the two, one might be inclined to expect a development in the Buddhology in the sense that a possibly later version would tend to underline the irrefutability of the Buddha's arguments by letting the story end with a complete conversion, but this is not at all the case. On the contrary, the texts prove extremely stable in that regard. One part of the message is clear: this is

the absolute superiority of the Buddha in knowledge, argumentation and all intellectual matters. He always has the appropriate answer. And exactly this could be another part of the message to his followers: a kind of prescript or instruction manual on how to deal with the ideas and claims of other religious groups which at one time must have been contemporary. This is somehow corroborated by a brief statement in a canonical commentary to the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* preserved only in Chinese translation, where the purpose of each of the four collections of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* is explained: that of the Long Collection is the refutation of the Non-Buddhists (*waidao* (外道), most probably *tīrthika*).¹⁷ If this was indeed the case, it could partly explain why the collection as a whole somehow fell into desuetude. Who would need a manual for arguing against ideas that were no longer relevant or in vogue in later discussions? I will come back to that.

Apart from brahmins there are representatives of other groups of ascetics, notably the Jains who appear several times in the canon. In the *Dīrgha-āgama* it is the *Kāyabhāvanā-sūtra* (no. 20) which is apparently addressed to a Jain follower. The title of its Pali parallel, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* (MN 3), refers to the interlocutor of the Buddha, the Jain follower Saccaka, as he is called in Pali, or Sātyakin in the Sanskrit text. The Sanskrit title refers to the principal question addressed by Sātyakin, the question whether the Buddha aims at a cultivation (*bhāvanā*) of only the mind (*citta*) or also of the body (*kāya*). As an answer the Buddha relates part of his autobiography, as it were. The story starts with the moment when the Bodhisattva decides to leave home and then reports the spiritual events of the following years, the search for teachers and the studies with his first

¹⁷ T 1440 at T XXIII 504a1; cf. Anālayo 2013: 17 note 39.

and second teachers. A colorful description of the austerities practiced by the future Buddha follows, until he eventually abandons these practices, proceeds to Bodh Gaya, enters meditation and finally attains the understanding of the four Noble Truths. The discourse advocates a definite rejection of those ascetic practices, and it is no surprise that its addressee is depicted as a Jain follower.

The long story which I have called an autobiography became so fixed in itself that the whole narrative was turned into a block of text which could be inserted into other texts whenever necessary. In fact the *Dīrgha-āgama* itself contains two more discourses, the *Bodha-sūtra* (no. 21) and the *Śaṃkaraka-sūtra* (no. 22), that include the same narrative,¹⁸ but in each case it is abbreviated to a few sentences. This is also a good example of how a text may become *dīrgha*, long. In the *Kāyabhāvanā-sūtra* the life story fills approximately nine and a half folios. The *Bodha-sūtra* covers a little less than five folios in the manuscript. If the whole life story were written out, it would treble its length.

When we take a look at the Buddha's other dialogue partners we find kings, for instance Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, in the *Catuṣparīṣat-sūtra*, or his son Ajātaśatru Vaidehīputra in the *Rāja-sūtra* (no. 44, corresponding to the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, DN 2). A high-ranking official, Varṣākāra, the minister of Ajātaśatru, is sent to the Buddha to receive advice in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*; a famous physician, Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya, meets the Buddha in the *Jīvaka-sūtra* (no. 43; its Pali parallel is found in MN 55); there is a prince Bodha Rājakumāra in the *Bodha-sūtra* (no. 21, parallel to MN 85), and there are many, many brahmins.

¹⁸ This may have been (one of) the reason(s) for pairing these two sūtras within the *Yuga-nipāta*.

All the texts have a message, or, rather, several messages. They contain aspects and points of Buddhist dogmatics, and this is, so to speak, the religious message; some of them focus on what we would call philosophical questions, but most of them deal with Buddhist views on morality, on spiritual development, and on the various theoretical and practical aspects of the way to nirvāṇa. This is what one tends to look for when one takes a volume of the *Dīrgha-nikāya* and starts to read it. However, I wonder if this expectation is not a fairly recent phenomenon. There are few indications that these collections continued to serve as an important source of religious information for the followers in the centuries after their final redaction. Rather the opposite appears to have been the case, that it was enough to have these collections, but for the purpose of studying the way to awakening other texts replaced them. What then continued to serve as a possible purpose of such a collection as the *Dīrgha-nikāya* or the *Dīrgha-āgama*? Nearly all of its texts have to do with yet another, rather different set of messages: this is the construction of power, of protection and of prestige, in short the construction of the superiority of the Buddha. All these aspects closely intertwine. There are two discourses in the *Dīrgha-āgama* and in the *Dīrgha-nikāya* which do not contain any religious message at all – religious here in the sense of providing instruction on the Buddhist path to liberation. However, they count among the most important when we scrutinize their utilization outside the canon in other contexts. Their function seems to be confined exactly to generating protection and prestige. These two texts are the *Āṭānāṭa-sūtra* (no. 23; parallel to DN 32) and the *Mahāsamāja-sūtra* (no. 24; parallel to DN 20). The *Mahāsamāja-sūtra*, the Discourse On the Great Assembly, consists of a description of a huge number of non-human beings, especially of the followers of the four Great Kings who serve as guardians of the world

and protect the four directions. The only sentence of a religious relevance, in the sense described above, tells us the following: “There, the Exalted One delivered to the congregation of monks a religious discourse which referred to Nirvāṇa”.¹⁹ The remainder of the text is devoted to demonstrating that the Buddha, unlike others, is able to see all those non-human beings which are standing there, that he knows them and is able to name them, and that they all have come to pay homage to him. What is to be expressed here is a relationship between powers, not a homily. The Buddha does not teach those deities. The contents of the *Āṭānāṭa-sūtra* are basically the same. It focuses on Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera), one of the four guardian kings; he comes to visit the Buddha and lists the retinue of non-human beings of the four Great Kings in the four quarters. He promises, and this is probably the main point of the text, that those beings will protect the followers of the Buddha against attacks from all other harmful beings. Again the message is twofold: first, acknowledgement of the superiority of the Buddha by non-human agencies, and second, the promise of protection. It is no wonder that this discourse gained great popularity among the followers, and that it was and still is employed for protective purposes, for instance in the well-known *paritta* of Theravāda Buddhism.²⁰

IV. The Sanskrit Manuscript

This is the moment to come back once more to the new manuscript. There is a certain probability that it comes from the area of Gilgit,

¹⁹ Waldschmidt 1980: 150 [= 1989: 384].

²⁰ For this and similar texts cf. the excellent contribution of Skilling 1992; especially for the *parittas* cf. also Harvey 1993.

today in northern Pakistan, once a place at one of the branches connecting the main axis of the Silk Road with the Indian subcontinent. It is a sizable manuscript, 50 by 10 centimeters (= 20 x 4 inches), consisting of more than 450 folios (= 900 pages), and there is a radiocarbon dating available which places it between AD 764 and 1000. At first sight the manuscript looks very good, but it does not hold what it seems to promise. As soon as one starts reading the texts it becomes obvious that the textual transmission has already deteriorated to a degree that turns its perusal into quite a challenge for the modern academic reader. Two examples may suffice to illustrate this.²¹ This is the transliteration of a passage exactly as it is found in the manuscript:

tvam tathāgatasya vyam manyase

In the following the text is reconstructed as it should be and once was; the portion omitted by the scribe(s) is marked by pointed brackets and set in italics:

tvam tathāgatasya <vrddhavṛddhānām autkāṭānām brāhmaṇānām dharmyāyām kathāyām kathyamānāyām sopānatkaś caṃkramamāṇo 'ntarāntarā kathām utpādayasi nāgamayasi kathāparyavasānam agauravo 'pratīṣaḥ pratimantrayita>vyam manyase²²

Although there are less omissions, the second example is worse from the philological point of view; this is the received text:

²¹ Both of them I owe to Gudrun Melzer; cf. Melzer in press.

²² This is section no. 35.23 in Melzer's edition of the *Ambāṣṭha-sūtra*; cf. Melzer 2010.

anāśvataś cāśāśvataś ca naiva śāśvato nāśāśvata anantavān
 antaḥ anantavān antaḥ anantavāṃ gā[ś].[a] āṃś cā na-
 ivāntavā nānantavān ma jīvas tac charīraṃ

and this is the text as it should be with all the necessary corrections (restored omissions again in pointed brackets and italics, and deleted superfluous *akṣaras* in curly brackets):

a<śāśvato *lokaḥ*> śāśvataś cāśāśvataś ca naiva śāśvato
 nāśāśvata<ḥ> {an} antavān *lokaḥ* anantavān *lokaḥ* {an} an-
 tavāṃ {gā} ś (c) <ā> (nantav) āṃś ca naivāntavā<n> nān-
 antavān <|> śa jīvas tac charīraṃ <anyo jīvo 'nyac cha-
 rīraṃ |>²³

In the received text there is a complete confusion with regard to the negations, and this renders it absolutely incomprehensible. The confusion is such that it is beyond any possibility of disentanglement without the help of a correct parallel, usually the Pali version, and this means that a past reader of the manuscript would have been simply at a loss. Such phenomena occur throughout the manuscript, but nowhere does one find corrections or any other indication that the text was ever read. Towards its end, long discourses are reduced to a few folios by dropping lengthy passages, while the page numbers continue to be consecutive and to pretend an unfounded completeness. All this makes it rather probable that the manuscript was never meant for reading. Looking at the present-day situation of canonical collections in Buddhist monasteries, be it in Thailand or in Tibet, one often finds that books containing the canonical collec-

²³ This is section no. 36.49 in Melzer's edition of the *Prṣṭhapāla-sūtra*; cf. Melzer 2010.

tions are there to be present, not to be studied, and they rather serve ritual functions. To judge by our manuscript, this does not appear to be a modern phenomenon, but to go back at least a thousand years.

V. Prestige and Humor

The Buddha found in the *Dīrgha-āgama* is still identical with the one of the Pali canon. He is by no means a normal human being, and the texts present ample evidence that the Buddha possesses all the supernatural faculties connected with and indicative of his spiritual achievement. He crosses the Ganges walking on the water, he is master of all the elements in a magical competition with the leader of a group of naked ascetics, and there are countless other indications of the Buddha's superiority in all magical and spiritual matters – there is no clear-cut border line between these two, magic and spirituality. The discourses leave no room for doubt that the Buddha is simply the best. The whole *Dīrgha-āgama* is, in modern terms, a construction of the prestige of the central figure, a prestige extremely important when we think of the rival situation among all those groups of spiritual seekers who had left society and were unavoidably competing for the same supporters. This necessitated a renowned and respected leader as the leading figure who was superior to all rivals. The greater the leader, the better the support, and, following Max Weber, once the leader was accepted as charismatic and prestigious, his disciples would profit by proximity, an ongoing process not at all confined to the life time of the leader. All this appears to be another underlying message and function of the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

Finally, a few words about the narratives may be added. Many of the discourses contain a fair amount of narrative elements, and such narrative passages sometimes give the impression of uniqueness, even of possibly mirroring real events since they appear so fitting. However, this impression is deceptive. To give an example:²⁴ The Buddha sits together with brahminical dignitaries and is engaged in a friendly conversation with them. Among the listeners is a young brahmin, a very learned person, but impatient, as young people often are, and he simply cannot restrain himself in his wish to show off his learning. He interrupts the Buddha's conversation with the elders, and the Buddha rebukes him for this impolite interruption. The elders react indulgently and soothe the Buddha; they explain that the disrupter is young, but very learned. This episode sounds so fresh and vivid that one feels inclined to take it at least for an individual trait of that specific narrative. Only when one reads it a second time in another story, but in very similar words,²⁵ does one start to mistrust such events and recognize even them as recurring formulas the historical nucleus of which – if there ever was one – being difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct. This is not meant to say that there was no historical background to any of the events reported in the discourses; but when events were turned into tropes it facilitated duplicating and shifting them, and this renders futile any attempt at disentangling their history.²⁶

²⁴ From the *Kāmaṭṭhika-sūtra* (no. 19) corresponding to the *Caṅkī-sutta*, MN 95 at MN II 168,15–33.

²⁵ In the *Ambāṣṭha-sūtra* (Melzer 2010: 150, section no. 35.21–23); this episode is somewhat different in the *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*, DN 3 at DN I 88,3–90,2, where Ambaṭṭha is not depicted as interrupting the conversation.

²⁶ The reciters and redactors seem to have had much more latitude in dealing with the texts than we, perceiving in most cases only the final prod-

Sometimes the stories are colorful, to a certain degree, but they do not primarily aim at getting the listener or reader emotionally involved in the narrative. Due to their repetitive and formulaic wording they appear rather solemn, and they rarely seem interested in providing reasons for laughter or exhilaration. If there is some kind of humor included, it is not easily recognizable to us as such.²⁷ This is not the moment to discuss theories of humor or to ask the obvious question to which degree the perception of a situation as hilarious is conditioned by the specific cultural background of the perceiver. Here the example of humor is only meant to serve as a starting point for reflecting on the non-intellectual, emotional responses of a person reading or listening to texts such as the discourses of the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Dīgha-nikāya*; eventually this may also contribute to a better understanding of their purposes. Two examples may illustrate the basic difficulties. The first is from the *Śaṃkaraka-sūtra* (no. 22; parallel to MN 100): Śaṃkaraka is a famous brahmin. He has a female servant or a wife - the wording is not really clear - who is a follower of the Buddha. One day she trips, and she does

uct and nothing of the long and complicated process of its origination, generally tend to imagine; cf. also the telling example in Schopen 1997.

²⁷ For some random examples of possibly intended humor or satire in canonical Buddhist texts see Anālayo 2011a: 13, Anālayo 2011b: 56–60, Anālayo 2012a: 22, Anālayo 2012b: 82–84, Anālayo 2013: 22–23, Ciurtin 2010/2011: 354 note 73, Clarke 2009 (with further references in his bibliography), Collins 1993: 313–316, Collins 1996, Gethin 2006: 102, von Hinüber 1994: 34, von Hinüber 2006: 28, Norman 1990: 194 [= 1993: 272] (on Buddhist mockery of brahminical myths), Schmithausen 2005: 171 (with a remark on the cultural setting of the modern reader in note 17), and Schopen 2012: 597. This list is everything but exhaustive, and a methodologically sound analysis of humor and related phenomena in early Buddhist texts is a desideratum.

what people worldwide do in such a precarious moment: automatically she calls on the spiritual power she relies on, in her case the Buddha. The brahmin overhears her invocation and becomes furious; he scolds her severely for addressing the Buddha, “this shaven little ascetic (*śramaṇaka*)” –as he calls him – “this friend of the evil one, this heretic”, and he points out to her that he is not alone, that other learned brahmins are present - which probably renders the situation embarrassing for him. Is this meant to provoke laughter? It seems to develop the comedy of a situation, and most people will probably smile when they read the story. I still find it amusing after reading it several times, especially since I have not so far seen the same passage in any other context.

The section of the Sanskrit manuscript which contains the second example is still missing, and the text is only partly preserved in very fragmentary manuscripts from Central Asia; therefore my account is based on the corresponding Pali text. The monk Sunakkhatta/Sunakṣatra accompanies the Buddha on alms round, and “at that time the naked ascetic Khorakkhattiya [Skt. Khoradattika] the “dog-man” was going round on all fours, sprawling on the ground, and chewing and eating his food with his mouth alone. Seeing him, Sunakkhatta thought: “Now that is a real Arahant ascetic, who goes round on all fours, sprawling on the ground, and chewing and eating his food with his mouth alone.”” The Buddha knows his thought and rebukes him saying: “You foolish man, do you claim to be a follower of the Sakyan?” When Sunakkhatta says “Lord, what do you mean by this question?”, the Buddha repeats Sunakkhatta’s impression of that dog-man and asks him if he had really formed that opinion. Sunakkhatta admits it saying “I did, Lord”, and then goes on to ask, and this is indeed an unexpected question: “Does the Blessed Lord

begrudge others their Arahantship?”²⁸ From a present-day perspective there are three possible causes for a humoristic reaction in the listener or reader: first, the strange ascetic practice, second, Sunakkhatta’s mistaking it for holiness and, third, Sunakkhatta’s suspicion that the Buddha’s rebuke is motivated by nothing else but enviousness. Again it seems extremely difficult to prove the whole story or at least parts of it as intentionally humorous, all the more so as the remainder of this episode is not at all amusing.

When we do find such stories funny, projecting our reaction back onto an Indian audience in the first millennium would of course be premature. It only indicates that such a response is basically possible and that it probably makes sense to take such responses into consideration when dealing with the purposes of “religious” texts like those discourses, especially in view of the fact that we are all too often inclined to identify the religious with the serious and solemn. However, in the *Dīrgha-āgama* and *Dīgha-nikāya* there are not too many occasions where the description of a situation raises a question, the question whether there is intended humor or not. These discourses have many fascinating points to offer, and they serve various underlying purposes, but entertainment in the sense of frolic and disport does not appear to have been one of the major concerns of this literature.

The detailed comments of bhikkhu Anālayo, Roderick Bucknell and sāmaṇerī Dhammadinnā on an earlier version of this paper made me reconsider several points, and they led to a considerable number of improvements for which I am very grateful.

²⁸ DN 24 at DN III 6,4–7,10; all quotations are taken from Walshe 1987: 373.

Abbreviations

DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)

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**A Textual Analysis of the Last
Discourse in the Chinese *Dīrgha-
āgama* Based on a Translatorship
Attribution Algorithm**

Jen-jou Hung (洪振洲)

Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts

Abstract

The fourth division of the *Dīrgha-āgama* collection extant in Chinese translation (長阿含經, T 1) is constituted by a single discourse, DĀ 30 (世記經), in five fascicles (fasc. nos. 18–22 of T 1). During the *Ekottarika-āgama* (增壹阿含經, T 125) workshop held at Dharma Drum Buddhist College (now Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts) in 2012, Anālayo had pointed out that the discourse in this division of the collection has no known parallel in any other canonical discourse collections nor in texts preserved in Indic languages. It is empirically evident to textual scholars of early Buddhism that the content of DĀ 30 is somewhat out of place in a collection of early Buddhist discourses. In light of a previously studied case record of the translator of the collection, Zhu Fonian (竺佛念) (Nattier 2010, Anālayo 2013, Hung 2013), the possibility suggests itself that this discourse might have been added by him to the translation of the original Indic version of the *Dīrgha-āgama*. To investigate this possibility, DĀ 30 and the other discourses in the *Dīrgha-āgama* collection were processed with the procedures of mainly quantitative text analysis and translatorship attribution. The main idea of quantitative translatorship analysis methods is to check whether different texts have similar translation style, i.e., similar vocabulary usage patterns. For this purpose all Chinese sentences in T 1 were broken down into units of character sequences of varying length in order to extract significant stylometric measurements. Moreover, an advanced multivariate statistical method – the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) – was employed to detect the ‘hidden patterns’ of the documents. This investigation as to whether the (translation) style of the disputed part (i.e., DĀ 30) is consistent with that of other parts in the same collection (i.e., rest of T 1), on the philologically so far undisputed assumption

of a unitary translatorship of the latter, provides thus evidence relevant to the question of a possible later addition of DĀ 30. The stylistic findings show that, in terms of translation style, the PCA result did not detect significant differences between DĀ 30 and the rest of T 1. Further, from the analysis of long textual string matches between the last five fascicles (DĀ 30) and the first seventeen fascicles of T 1, it is observed that many long strings of texts are used in both the first seventeen and the last five fascicles, but rarely appear outside T 1. These findings indicate that the last five fascicles were probably translated by the same translator(s) as the first seventeen fascicles.

Contents

I. Research Question and Points of Methodology	
II. Description of the Data Set and Extraction of Stylistic Features	
III. Result of the First Principal Component Analysis	
IV. Result of the Second Principal Component Analysis	
V. Analysis of Long String Matches	
V.1 Widely Used Translation Phrases	
V.2 Significant Long String Matches	
Conclusion	
Abbreviations	
References	
Appendix A	
Appendix B	

I. Research Question and Points of Methodology

Several of the contributions to this volume study the structure and content relationship between the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* collection preserved as Taishō entry no. 1 and its Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* and Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* counterparts.¹ There is close structural correspondence between the Dharmaguptaka and Theravāda versions, except for the basic division of the collections, where the Dharmaguptaka differs by having four main divisions, instead of three.²

¹ Anālayo 2014, Bucknell 2014 and Hartmann 2014.

² Yinshun 1971: 719f remarks: 「『長阿含經』第四分的『世記經』，是『長部』所沒有的。敘述世界形態，天地成壞，以及王統治世，四姓分化；這是佛化的富婁那 (Purāṇa)。如除去『世記經』，那末『長部』的三品，三四經，與『長阿含經』的三分，二九經，非常的接近。這是由於『長部』屬銅鑠部 *Tāmraśātīya*，『長阿含經』屬法藏部 *Dharmaguptaka*；同屬於分別說系 *Vibhajyavādin* 的部派，所以誦本相近，不能就此而推論為上座部 *Sthavira* 的聖典原形。」“The fourth division of the *Dīrgha-āgama* (長阿含經), namely the 世記經, does not exist in the *Dīgha-nikāya*. It describes the appearance of the world, the creation and destruction of the universe, [how] the king rules the world and the differentiation into four castes. It is a Buddhist-ised *Purāṇa*. Once the 世記經 is removed, the three divisions of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, [comprising] 34 discourses, and the remaining three divisions of the 長阿含經, [comprising] 29 discourses, are very close. This is due to the fact that the *Dīgha-nikāya* belongs to the *Tāmraśātīyas*, whereas the 長阿含經 belongs to the *Dharmaguptakas*. Because these are different branches of the *Vibhajyavādins*, their narrative texts are close [to each other]. However, we cannot use them [i.e., the three divisions of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the remaining three divisions of the *Dīrgha-āgama*] to infer [the shape of] the original text of the *Sthaviras*”.

The fourth division of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* is actually a single discourse, DĀ 30 (世記經), occupying the last 5 fascicles of the collection, which is seemingly out of place in a collection of early Buddhist discourses; there are content-related reasons to believe that this closing discourse, comprising 5 fascicles, is a later addition.

In view of the case record of the translator of the collection, Zhu Fonian (竺佛念),³ it is possible that this part was added by him to the translation of the original Indic version of the *Dīrgha-āgama*. This reflects the problem of possibly late additions to Buddhist translations, where content might have been inserted at the time of translation (or later), which Buddhist scholars have reason to suspect was not found in the original Indic sources. In other words, the case may be similar to that of my earlier collaborative study with Anālayo in which we demonstrated that EĀ 50.4 (T 125) is a later addition to the canonical *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.⁴

By way of introducing the textual analysis of this discourse – which has been conducted mainly on the basis of a translatorship attribution algorithm – I would like to note that one of the potentially most significant dimensions of this study is not its results for the study of the Chinese translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* per se, but, rather, its value as a trial of a method of translatorship attribution applied to the early Chinese Buddhist translations. The application of this method – and of such methods in general – to Chinese Buddhist texts is still in its infancy and is generally unfamiliar to philologically trained scholars of Buddhism.

Coming back to the research question itself, initial testing had seemed to confirm the suspicion around DĀ 30, thus preliminarily validating our hypothesis and making it worth being pursued further.

³ Cf. Nattier 2010, Anālayo 2013 and Hung 2013.

⁴ Anālayo 2013 and Hung 2013.

For DĀ 30 to have been attached to the body of the translated text of the canonical collection, there are three possible cases:

1. the addition was done by Zhu Fonian based on a text translated by someone else;
2. the addition happened already before the translation and was then translated together with the rest of the *Dīrgha-āgama* by the same translator, Zhu Fonian;
3. the addition was the work of Zhu Fonian, being his own composition or a text “crafted” by him based on other materials

The method of quantitative translatorship analysis can be employed to test the first of these three possible scenarios. The main idea of methods based on quantitative approaches to translatorship analysis is to check whether different texts have similar (translation) style, i.e., similar vocabulary usage pattern(s). The major advantage of quantitative analysis is that it is able to discover quantitative evidence that is easily ignored on applying traditional philological research methods.

Although the method applied is – from a technical viewpoint – ‘quantitative’, and I speak accordingly of “quantitative text analysis”, as will become clearer in the following pages those results that have the greatest evidential force (namely, the long strings discussed in section V below) are not merely the result of ‘quantitative’ testing but, rather, of a qualitative approach to data which was initially gathered by a quantitative method. That is, these results are qualitative in that they rely for their probative value upon an understanding of the semantic content of the strings in question, and of the relations thereby revealed to other types of texts. Thus, from this perspective, the most significant evidence as to whether DĀ 30 was ‘translated’ by Zhu Fonian is obtained by complementing the quantitative analysis with a procedure that relies on an approach similar to traditional philological examinations of the same types of questions. In fact

eventually the analysis turns to what are basically ‘qualitative’ methods. Therefore, the expression “quantitative text analysis” does not refer to a quantitative-only type of analysis, but to a mode of analysis where the tools employed as a point of departure are those of quantitative methods of text analytics.

Technically speaking, to process DĀ 30 and the other discourses in the *Dīrga-āgama* collection with procedures of mainly quantitative text analysis and automated translatorship attribution basically means that the Chinese sentences are broken down into units of character sequences of varying length with a Variable Length n-gram algorithm in order to extract frequently used translation idioms, which are then used as stylometric measurements. Moreover, an advanced multivariate statistical method – the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) – is employed to analyse the content of the text in order to discover ‘hidden patterns’ in the documents. This enabled us to check whether the (translation) style of the disputed part of, for example, a scriptural collection or a single work, is consistent with that of other parts in the same collection or work, making it possible for us to observe changes of language in translation.

In the case under examination, the steps of the text analysis were envisaged as follows:

1. if the addition was done by Zhu Fonian based on a text translated by someone else, we would likely be able to detect some variations;⁵

⁵ That is, within the limitations of the tools that are being applied. As already mentioned, text analytics applied to the early Chinese Buddhist translations is still in its early stages of development. Therefore, the possibility that the methods upon which it relies might simply not be yet sharp enough to identify differences that nonetheless do indeed still lie hidden in the text cannot be ruled out altogether. I would also like to note that my usage, throughout the present paper, of expressions such as “translation”, “(translation) style”,

2. if the addition happened already before the translation, and the translation was the work of the same translator as for the rest of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, Zhu Fonian, then no stylometric differences will be evidenced;
3. similarly, if the addition was the work of Zhu Fonian, being his own composition based either on his own translation or on a text “crafted” by him based on other materials, no stylometric differences will be evidenced.

Now in principle it is of course possible that the *Dīrgha-āgama* was not translated by Zhu Fonian. This would not affect the present research, however, which only seeks to establish if the last discourse in the collection, DĀ 30 (世記經), was translated by the same person as the one who translated the rest of the *Dīrgha-āgama*. In fact, to our knowledge the translatorship attribution of the *Dīrgha-āgama* is so far undisputed, making it safe for the time being to assume that the translator would indeed have been Zhu Fonian.

II. Description of the Data Set and Extraction of Stylistic Features

The digital text of T 1 (*Dīrgha-āgama*) is taken from the CBETA 2011 edition.⁶ For our analysis, we removed the entire markup, punctuation, front and back matter, as well as all the headings added by

“translatorship”, etc., does not intend to exclude, in principle, the possibility that the text is not a translation or an entirely ‘genuine’ translation presumably from an Indic source text, and that Zhu Fonian (or someone other than Zhu Fonian) composed it. These expressions simply reflect the working hypothesis the text analysis sets out to investigate.

⁶ The CBETA (Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association) edition is a digital edition of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon.

the editors. T 1 consists of 22 fascicles and contains 30 different discourses. Table 1 lists the character count of all 22 fascicles and the titles of the discourses contained in each fascicle.

Table 1. Character Count of the 22 Fascicles of T 1
and Titles of Discourses According to Fascicle

Fascicle	Character Count	Discourse Title
1	10438	DĀ 1 大本經
2	7096	DĀ 2 遊行經
3	9261	
4	8568	
5	7880	DĀ 3 典尊經 DĀ 4 闍尼沙經
6	8250	DĀ 5 小緣經 DĀ 6 轉輪聖王修行經
7	6278	DĀ 7 弊宿經
8	7818	DĀ 8 散陀那經 DĀ 9 眾集經
9	9229	DĀ 10 十上經 DĀ 11 增一經
10	8515	DĀ 12 三聚經 DĀ 13 大緣方便經 DĀ 14 釋提桓因問經
11	8731	DĀ 15 阿菟夷經 DĀ 16 善生經
12	11616	DĀ 17 清淨經 DĀ 18 自歡喜經 DĀ 19 大會經
13	8782	DĀ 20 阿摩晝經

Fascicle	Character Count	Discourse Title
14	7983	DĀ 21 梵動經
15	10009	DĀ 22 種德經
		DĀ 23 究羅檀頭經
16	7855	DĀ 24 堅固經
		DĀ 25 裸形梵志經
		DĀ 26 三明經
17	9883	DĀ 27 沙門果經
		DĀ 28 布吒婆樓經
		DĀ 29 露遮經
18	10098	DĀ 30 世記經
19	10141	
20	11057	
21	9144	
22	7854	

The table shows that the 30 discourses in T 1 are very different from each other in terms of their length. Some discourses, such as DĀ 2 (遊行經) and DĀ 30 (世記經), occupy more than one fascicle, while some fascicles contain more than one discourse. Because the difference in the sample’s length may affect the results of the analysis, we decided to use fascicles, instead of discourses, as the basic unit for our analysis. That is, each fascicle was treated as an independent document.

With the next step, we extracted stylistic features from the text by applying the following procedure to each fascicle:

1. all modern punctuation marks were removed; thus the text became one long string;
2. we adopted an n-gram extraction algorithm to tokenize the texts into grams, and then calculated the stylistic features based on these

grams;⁷

3. in order to generate better feature sets for analysis, instead of using fixed-length grams, we first generated 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;
4. to avoid using highly content-dependent grams as stylistic measurements in the analysis, we defined an arbitrary number of documents,⁸ referred to as “D”, within which a gram must appear as a threshold to merit inclusion in the feature set.⁹ This also means that the grams that were used in “less than D” documents were not chosen as stylistic measurements.

Once the feature set had been established, the frequency of the grams, the number of matching grams divided by the length of text, of the feature set in the 22 fascicles of T 1 was calculated in order to examine variations between the documents. Then the PCA was performed. The

⁷ Here, a “gram” indicates 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.

⁸ Here a document means a single fascicle in T 1.

⁹ As the value of D increases, the algorithm will choose only those grams that appear in a large number of different documents as stylistic measurements. This will then reduce the probability of including content-dependent grams into the feature set. However, the increase of D also raises the possibility of excluding some important stylistic features that appear only in a relatively small number of documents from the entire feature set. Therefore, in order to avoid that the results are influenced by a particular setting of D, in the following procedure we performed a progressive analysis series with different settings of D. On this basis, we were seeking a universal explanation which could explain the observations that resulted from all the analyses.

PCA is a statistical procedure that transforms a large 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 variations between documents.

One of the most notable advantages of the PCA analysis is that this procedure is a so-called ‘unsupervised learning’ method, which means that the algorithm is not ‘aware’ of any predefined grouping information of the data. The algorithm treats all testing data equally. When performing the analysis, the program does not need to know the characteristics we are looking for or are expecting to be singled out. The program itself will illustrate the relations between items with certain new features that are represented on a bi-dimensional diagram. This is a relational model of analysis that highlights the relationship between points. Therefore, if we observe some special trends in the result charts, this quite probably reveals some significant hidden patterns of data.

III. Result of the First Principal Component Analysis

In this section, we present and discuss the PCA analysis results of the 22 fascicles in T 1. We use F17 to refer to the first 17 fascicles of T 1, and L5 to refer to the last 5 fascicles of T 1. In our first analysis, we set the value of D to 4, 6 and 8, a relatively low value for the document threshold. The following Figures 1–3 illustrate the PCA analysis results. In these charts, the triangular symbols represent the documents from the F17 group and the circles represent the documents from the L5 group.

Figure 1. PCA Result of the 22 Fascicles in T 1 with $D = 4$

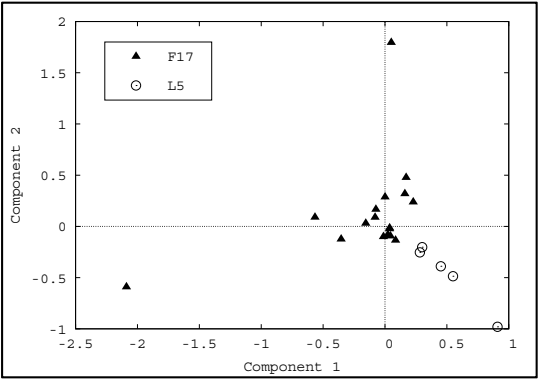


Figure 1 shows the analysis result with D set to 4. In Figure 1, all of the 5 points in L5 lie in the fourth quadrant, which means the result has a positive value for the first component and a negative value for the second component. In contrast, the points in the F17 group are spread across the remaining three quadrants¹⁰. This result shows that the five fascicles in L5 have a similar style but behave very differently compared to the fascicles in the F17 group.

Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the PCA result with D set to 6 and 8 respectively. The results of these two experiments are very similar to those shown in Figure 1: the five points in the L5 group are again only located in one quadrant and are very close to each other. Further, the points in the F17 group lie in different quadrants than the points in the L5 group, and the distance between the L5 group and the F17 group is significant.

¹⁰ A few of the F17 points also lie in the fourth quadrant but they are very close to the origin.

Figure 2. PCA Result of the 22 Fascicles in T 1 with $D = 6$

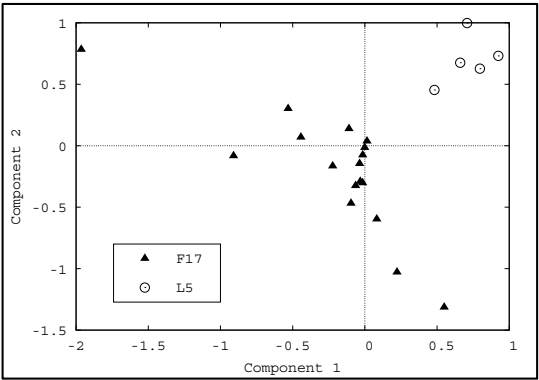
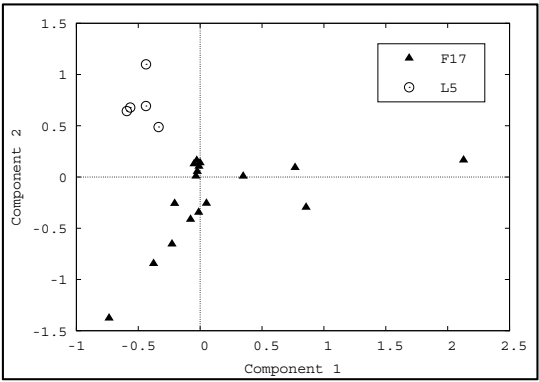


Figure 3. PCA Result of the 22 Fascicles in T 1 with $D = 8$



In summary, these three analysis results indicate that when D is set to a low value, the last 5 fascicles in T 1 behave very differently from the other 17 fascicles.

In the subsequent analyses, we raise the value of D to 10, 12 and

14 and perform the PCA analysis again. The following Figures 4–6 illustrate the result of PCA analyses with three different setting of D.

Figure 4. PCA Result of the 22 Fascicles in T 1 with D = 10

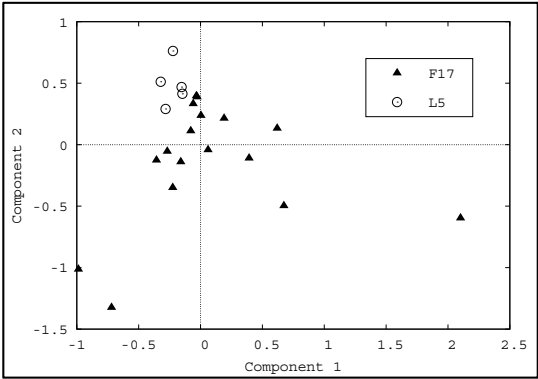


Figure 5. PCA Result of the 22 Fascicles in T 1 with D = 12

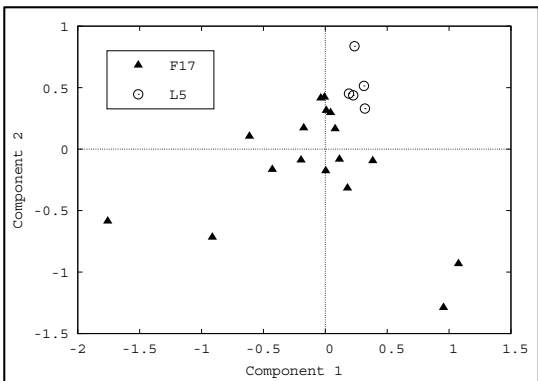
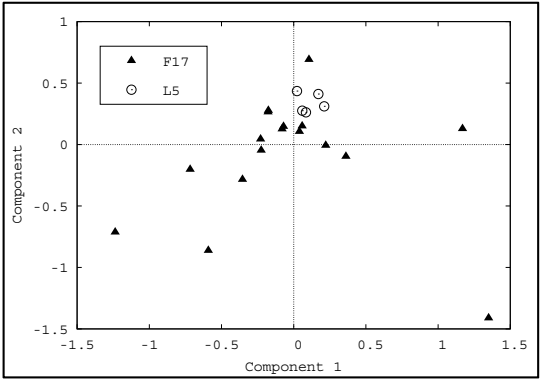


Figure 6. PCA Result of the 22 Fascicles in T 1 with D = 14



To our surprise, from Figures 4, 5 and 6, we noticed that when D was larger than 10, the difference between L5 and F17 started to decrease. When D was set to 14, all points in L5 were enclosed by points in the F17 group, and there was no more a clear boundary between the L5 and F17 groups. In fact, the results show that the L5 and F17 groups share a very similar pattern of usage of translation phrases, as if they choose the translation phrases from the same pool.

The decrease of the distance between L5 and F17 as D is set to a value higher than 8 is related to the fact that the value of D largely influences the selection process of stylometric measurements. As mentioned in section II above, the document threshold (D) is used to filter out the grams that are only used in a small number of documents. Thus, when the document threshold is set to a lower value, the grams which appear only in a few documents will be selected into the feature set. These grams are very likely to be content-dependent grams. With such a setting, the analysis shifts in the direction of a content-oriented rather than style-based analysis. Now the last 5 fascicles are from one discourse and share the same topic. Therefore, it seems that the

distance in the result of the analysis with a low D value results from a difference in content, not from a difference in style. This assumption also matches the result that is obtained once D is set to a relatively high value, i.e., higher than 10. In that case, the distance between L5 and F17 is not significant. To further verify this assumption, we performed another PCA analysis, which is described in the next section.

IV. Result of the Second Principal Component Analysis

We performed some detailed calculations on the grams (see Appendix A) from the analysis result with D set to 6 and 8, where the difference between F17 and L5 is largest. We found out that, in the analysis with D set to 6, the three grams with the most significant distinctive power to cause L5 to behave very differently from F17 are: 地獄, 由旬 and 縱廣. With the same calculation we also discovered that when D is set to 8, the three grams with the most significant distinctive power are: 由旬, 地獄 and 七寶. It is easy to notice that the four short phrases 地獄, 由旬, 縱廣 and 七寶 are all highly related to the topic or content of DĀ 30.

To check whether the distance we observe in the PCA result with D set to a small value is due to differences related to content rather than style, we redid the PCA analysis with D set to 6 and 8, and removed from the texts the four phrases that are identified above. The analysis results are illustrated in Figures 7 and 8 below.

Figure 7. PCA Result with D = 6, Removing 地獄, 由旬, 縱廣 and 七寶

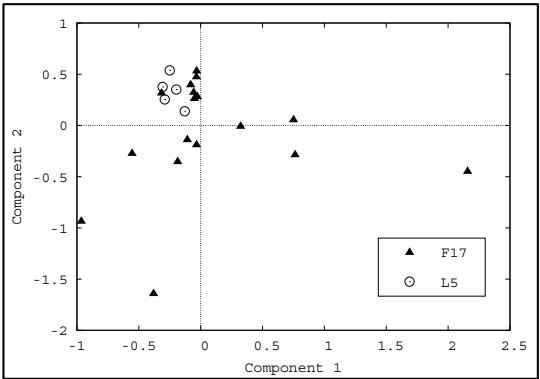
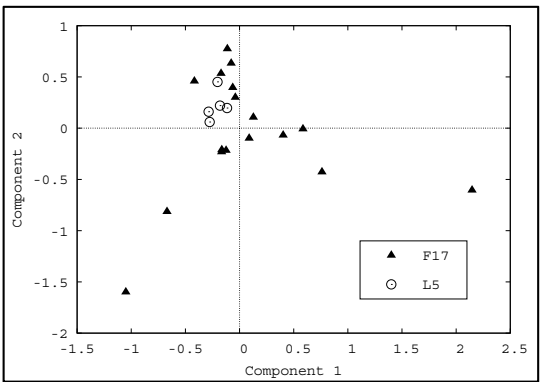


Figure 8. PCA Result with D = 8, Removing 地獄, 由旬, 縱廣 and 七寶



This evidence confirms the previous observation that F17 and L5 are very different in content but very similar in style.

V. Analysis of Long String Matches

In order to gather more evidence to verify the finding of a close similarity in style between F17 and L5, we performed a number of basic calculations on the frequencies of the grams. In the calculations we noticed an interesting fact, namely that there are many long strings that appear in both the F17 and L5 groups. What especially caught our attention is that some of the long string matches never occur outside of Zhu Fonian's corpus. The latter is here defined as the translations attributed to him by the redactors of the Taishō edition (with the definition and establishment of Zhu Fonian's "genuine" corpus of translation being the broader research trajectory the present research aims at contributing). We believe this shows that both F17 and L5 bear some stylistic features signaling Zhu Fonian's hand. For the sake of clarity, we categorize these long strings into two different types:

- (1) strings that are widely used as specific translation patterns;
- (2) other significant long string matches.¹¹

V.1 Widely Used Translation Phrases

Some of the long strings used in both in the F17 and L5 groups are in fact widely used translation patterns, such as, for instance, 如是我聞一時佛在, normally used at the beginning of early Buddhist discourses, or 聞佛所說歡喜奉行, appearing at the end of discourses. These strings are not necessarily to be treated as demonstrating that the texts are translated by the same hand, as they could simply reflect widely used

¹¹ In fact, aside from the above-mentioned two types of long string matches, we also found many very long string matches in the narratives featuring the *cakravartī-rāja*, see Appendix B.

translation patterns. There are indeed many occurrences of these strings elsewhere, as can be seen in Table 2, which lists the text string and its character count (“char.”), followed by giving the count of fascicles in which this string occurs in F17, in L5, and elsewhere in the CBETA corpus.

Table 2. Commonly Used Significant Translation Patterns
Appearing in Both F17 and L5 Texts

Text String	Char.	F17	L5	Elsewhere
爾時，諸比丘聞佛所說，歡喜奉行	13	4	1	453
如是我聞：一時，佛在舍衛國	11	5	1	466
諦聽！諦聽！善思念之，當為汝說。	12	4	1	228
我今歸依佛，歸依法，歸依僧	11	4	1	22

V.2 Significant Long String Matches

In addition to a large number of highly content-dependent matches containing the term 轉輪王 (Skt. *cakravartī-rāja*) in the 22 fascicles of the *Dīrgha-āgama* (included in the Appendix B), we also found other long string matches that are used in both the F17 and the L5 groups. Notably, these strings are very rarely seen outside the text of T 1. Further, most of them are not confined to a specified topic. We list these significant long string matches in the following Table 3.

Table 3. Significant Long Strings Used in Both the F17 and L5 groups

Text String	Char.	F17	L5	Elsewhere
所以者何？我今如來．至真．等正覺，亦說此	15	1	2	0
邪婬、兩舌、惡口、妄言、綺語、貪取、嫉妬、邪見	16	2	1	0
生死已盡，梵行已立，所作已辦，更不受有	16	2	1	4 (T 190; T 212)
盡壽不殺、不盜、不婬、不欺、不飲酒	13	6	1	1 (T 125)
遠塵離垢，得法眼淨，猶如淨潔	12	2	1	0
剃除鬚髮，服三法衣，出家修道	12	8	1	0
身行不善，口行不善，意行不善	12	2	1	2 (T 1548)
苦聖諦，苦集、苦滅、苦出要諦	11	2	1	0

Here only strings are listed that are longer than ten characters. There are many more long strings that show the same behaviour. Different from the strings in Table 2, those in Table 3 are not always related to a specified topic; most of them are used in narrative descriptions and modules that commonly occur in early Buddhist discourses. However, these strings are largely only used in T 1. We believe this demonstrates that F17 and L5 are by the same translator.

Conclusion

This research has mainly deployed a quantitative translatorship analysis method to test the hypothesis that the last discourse in the Chinese translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, DĀ 30 in 5 fascicles, may have been added by the translator of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, Zhu Fonian, to the translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama*.

The stylometric findings (discussed in sections III–V) have provided the following evidence:

1. in terms of style, the PCA analysis result does not detect significant differences between the first 17 fascicles and the last 5;
2. the analysis of long textual string matches across the last 5 fascicles (DĀ 30) and the first 17 fascicles of the *Dīrgha-āgama* shows that many long strings of text are used in both, but these rarely appear outside the *Dīrgha-āgama*;

These findings indicate that the last 5 fascicles were probably translated by the same translator(s) as the first 17 fascicles. To sum up, the analysis conducted on DĀ 30 and other parts of the collection does not provide supportive evidence to confirm the hypothesis that a later addition has taken place by integrating a text translated by someone else, in that it shows that the last 5 fascicles (= DĀ 30) have a style very similar to that of the first 17 fascicles.

Since the hypothesis of a later addition by the hand of the translator cannot find confirmation through the stylometric analysis, an alternative explanatory hypothesis for the empirical evidence that DĀ 30 is out of place within the *Dīrgha-āgama* collection ought to be taken into account. That is, it is possible that DĀ 30 has been “created”

by Zhu Fonian drawing on texts of content similar to DĀ 30.¹² In such a case, no differences in translation style could really be expected because Zhu Fonian, inspired by an oral or written text, would have reworked and reworded it to such an extent that it is impossible to detect a source for it (at least among the surviving materials received in Indic languages or in Chinese translation). Alternatively, DĀ 30 may already have become part of the collection before it reached China. These hypotheses requires more comprehensive research.

This research has been undertaken in collaboration with my graduate student in the program of Buddhist Informatics at the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts bhikṣu Fachi (釋法持); parts of the analysis result will also be included in his master's thesis (in Chinese, 2014). I am much indebted to Michael Radich for having constructively commented on this paper as a reviewer, helping me to improve my presentation.

Abbreviations

D	Document Threshold
DĀ	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (T 1)
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
F17	First 17 Fascicles of T 1
L5	Last 5 Fascicles of T 1
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)

¹² See the discussion in Anālayo 2014: 50 note 83.

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Appendix A

Calculations of Highest Distinctive Power Grams in the First Principal Component Analysis Result

In order to further define the difference between F17 and L5, we examine the constitution of the first and second components. Figure 2 shows the PCA analysis result with $D = 6$. In this case the points of the L5 group are located in the second quadrant, which means the documents in the L5 group have smaller first component values and larger second component values. Therefore, the grams with the ‘lightest’ weight for the first component and ‘heaviest’ weight for the second component are the most significant, and therefore distinctive, features of the L5 group. Table 4 shows the top 10 grams with these attributes. In Table 4, ‘first component weight’ indicates the weight of the gram for the first component, and ‘second component weight’ indicates the same for the second component. The ‘distinctive power’ is calculated by multiplying the negative value of the first component weight by the positive value of the second. ‘F17 document count’ and ‘L5 document count’ record the number of documents in which the gram is found, from the F17 and L5 groups respectively.

Table 4. Top 10 Grams with the Smallest Weight in First Component Value and the Largest Weight in Second Component Value
(PCA Analysis with $D = 6$)

Grams	1 st Comp. Weight	2 nd Comp. Weight	Distinctive Power	F17 Doc. Count	L5 Doc. Count
地獄	-0.0987	0.3274	0.0323	5 (29%)	4 (80%)
由旬	-0.1344	0.2082	0.0280	1 (6%)	5 (100%)
縱廣	-0.0969	0.1648	0.0160	2 (12%)	5 (100%)

七寶	-0.0717	0.1187	0.0085	4 (24%)	5 (100%)
百由旬	-0.0583	0.1205	0.0070	1 (6%)	5 (100%)
自然	-0.0578	0.0947	0.0055	8 (47%)	5 (100%)
周匝	-0.0513	0.0913	0.0047	3 (18%)	4 (80%)
佛告比丘	-0.0475	0.0914	0.0043	6 (35%)	5 (100%)
天宮	-0.0444	0.0739	0.0033	2 (12%)	4 (80%)
五十	-0.0513	0.0631	0.0032	4 (24%)	5 (100%)
Average				3.6 (21%)	4.7 (94%)

We observe that for all grams in Table 4, the percentage of the grams appearing in L5 documents is higher than that of the grams appearing in the F17 documents. This means this examination can effectively define the translation features of the L5 group. Moreover, it shows that the three most distinctive grams in this analysis are 地獄, 由旬 and 縱廣.

With the same method, we can determine the top 10 grams with the highest distinctive power in the analysis with $D = 8$. From Table 5, we obtain the three most distinctive grams in this analysis, i.e., 由旬, 地獄 and 七寶.

Table 5. Top 10 Grams with Largest Weights in Both
First and Second Component Value (PCA Analysis with $D = 8$)

Grams	1 st Comp. Weight	2 nd Comp. Weight	Distinctive power	F17 Doc. Count	L5 Doc. Count
由旬	0.3556	0.3770	0.1341	4 (24%)	5 (100%)
地獄	0.1594	0.2764	0.0441	5 (29%)	4 (80%)
七寶	0.1017	0.1067	0.0109	4 (24%)	5 (100%)
自然	0.0767	0.0822	0.0063	8 (47%)	5 (100%)
故名	0.0631	0.0870	0.0055	8 (47%)	5 (100%)

名曰	0.0714	0.0726	0.0052	17 (100%)	5 (100%)
佛告比丘	0.0667	0.0745	0.0050	6 (35%)	5 (100%)
五十	0.0730	0.0571	0.0042	9 (53%)	5 (100%)
亦復如是	0.0774	0.0414	0.0032	16 (94%)	5 (100%)
轉輪	0.0492	0.0590	0.0029	6 (35%)	2 (40%)
Average				8.3 (49%)	4.6 (92%)

Appendix B

Long String Matches in the *Cakravarti-rāja* Narrative

There are in total 85 matches containing the term 轉輪王 (Skt. *cakravarti-rāja*) in the 22 fascicles of the *Dīrgha-āgama*. Among them, 13 appear in fascicle no. 3, 13 in fascicle no. 6, and 39 in fascicle no. 18. Obviously, the reason for the intensive use of the term 轉輪聖王 is simply that these three fascicles contain narratives featuring the *cakravarti-rāja*. The three narratives repeat similar elements related to the *cakravarti-rāja*; thus, they feature highly similar sentences.

Table 6. Long String Matches Featuring the Term 轉輪王

Text String	Char.	F17	L5	Elsewhere
1. 一、金輪寶，二、白象寶， 三、紺馬寶，四、神珠寶， 五、玉女寶，六、居士寶， 七、主兵寶	28	3	1	1 (T2121)

2. 踊躍而言：『此金輪寶真為我瑞，我今真為轉輪聖王。』是為金輪寶成就。	27	2	1	0
3. 諸小王聞是教，已即從大王巡行諸國，至東海表；次行南方、西方、北方，隨輪所至，其諸國王，各獻國土如東方諸小王國比。	47	2	1	0
4. 王語小王言：『止！止！諸賢！汝等則為供養我已，但當以正法治	23	2	1	1 (T2122)
5. 金輪寶前有四神導，輪所住處王即止駕，爾時東方諸小國王見大王至，以金鉢盛銀粟，銀鉢盛金粟，來詣王所，拜首白言：	47	2	1	0
6. 王即召四兵，向金輪寶偏露右臂，右膝著地	17	2	1	2 (T2121; T 2122)
7. 以右手摩[扞/捫]金輪，語言：『汝向東方，如法而轉，勿違常則。』輪即東轉。	25	2	1	1 (T2122)
8. 是則名為轉輪聖王。今此輪現，將無是耶？今我寧可試此輪寶	24	2	1	0
9. 娑女圍遶，自然金輪忽現在前，輪有千輻，光色具足，天匠所造，非世所有	28	2	1	0
10. 剎利王水澆頭種，以十五日月滿時，沐浴香湯	18	2	1	0

**The Sarvāstivādins' "Encroachment"
into the Chinese Translation of the
Daśottara-sūtra in the *Dīrgha-āgama*
of the Dharmaguptakas**

Seishi Karashima (辛嶋静志)

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University

Abstract

As indicated by its title, the *Daśottara-sūtra* (in Sanskrit; Pali: *Dasottara-sutta*) is an exposition in which items of the teachings (*dharma*s) increase in a tenfold manner, that is, the key concepts are classified into ten categories, with each of these ten being then analytically presented into further ten sub-categories. There are four extant versions of this discourse: the Theravāda *Dasottara-sutta* in the *Dīgha-nikāya* (no. 34 of the collection), the *Shishang jing* (十上經) included in the Chinese translation of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* (no. 10 of the collection), a Sarvāstivāda version individually translated into Chinese by An Shigao (安世高), and another Sarvāstivāda *Daśottara-sūtra* preserved in Sanskrit fragments from Turfan. These four versions are structurally consistent, but there are discrepancies among the contents of the ten items enumerated in the sub-categories. These discrepancies seem to reflect the doctrines of the schools involved with the transmission of the different versions. Further, there are obvious disagreements in the readings amongst two groupings of editions and manuscripts of the text in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* stemming from the Dharmaguptaka tradition. Unexpectedly, the readings of one of these two groups agree completely with those of the corresponding sections of the Sarvāstivāda versions. These readings are later re-translations. The re-translator(s), probably with an original Sanskrit manuscript at hand, modified the Chinese readings where they differed from those in that manuscript, a manuscript which apparently belonged to the same Sarvāstivāda tradition the Sanskrit *Daśottara-sūtra* and An Shigao's Chinese translation.

Contents

- I. Four Versions of the *Daśottara-sūtra*
- II. Contents of the Four Versions of the *Daśottara-sūtra*
- III. Doctrinal Discrepancies and School Affiliations
- IV. Two Groups of Editions and Manuscripts of the *Shishang jing*
(十上經)
- V. The Existing Translation Partially Replaced by a Re-translation
- Abbreviations
- Text-critical Conventions
- References

I. Four Versions of the *Daśottara-sūtra*

The title *Daśottara-sūtra* (in Sanskrit; Pali: *Dasottara-sutta*) means “discourse in which [items of the teachings] increase tenfold”. In this discourse, key doctrinal concepts are classified into ten categories, with each of these ten being then further divided into ten sub-categories. In this way, the first category deals with teachings consisting of one *dharma*, the second one deals with teachings consisting of two *dharma*s, and so on up to the tenth category, which deals naturally with teachings consisting of ten *dharma*s. Thus, “by increasing tenfold”, five hundred and fifty items are enumerated in this *sūtra*. This scripture is quoted in the *Xianyang Shengjiaolun* (顯揚聖教論),¹ in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of Vasubandhu and in the **Nyāyānusāraśāstra* of Saṅghabhadra, as we shall see later.

The following versions of this discourse are still preserved:

1. the *Shishang jing* (十上經), the tenth discourse in the Chinese translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* (長阿含經), belonging to the Dharmaguptaka school (hereafter Daśo (Ch1));²
2. the Pali *Dasuttara-sutta*, the thirty-fourth discourse of the *Dīgha-nikāya* of the Theravādins (hereafter Daso (Pa));³
3. the *Chang Ahan Shibaofa jing* (長阿含十報法經), An Shigao’s (安世高) Chinese translation of the *Daśottara-sūtra*, belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school (hereafter Daśo (Ch2));⁴
- 4a. the Sanskrit *Daśottara-sūtra*, the first discourse of the *Dīrgha-āgama* of the Sarvāstivādins, whose fragments were discovered on the northern route of the Silk Road, brought back by the German Turfan expeditions and edited by Kusum Mittal and Dieter

¹ T 1602 at T XXXI 500a27

² T 1 at T I 52c17–57b24.

³ DN 34 at DN III 272,1–292,8.

⁴ T 13 at T I 233b23–241c19.

Schlingloff (hereafter Daśo (Skt)).⁵ Apart from these, quite a few Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia have been identified as belonging to the same version, which are now preserved in the Hoernle Collection at the British Library, the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Berlin Turfan Collection, and the Ōtani Collection at the Ryūkoku University Library in Kyoto;⁶

- 4b. fragments of the Sanskrit *Daśottara-sūtra*, the first discourse of the *Dīrgha-āgama* probably of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin, which were discovered most likely in Pakistan and are preserved at present in a private collection in Virginia, U.S.A. (hereafter Daśo (DĀG)). According to Klaus Wille, the beginning of this text is missing and the fragments, which have been identified so far, are from the "five *dharma*s" onwards, and this version seems to agree with the preceding one, though further investigation is yet to be completed.⁷ As these fragments are as yet unpublished, reference to them in this paper is limited.

Although the structures of these four versions are similar, there are discrepancies among the contents of the ten items enumerated in the sub-categories.

⁵ Ed. Mittal 1957 and Schlingloff 1962; cf. also Tripāṭhi 1980 and Hartmann 2011: 87.

⁶ Most of the Central Asian fragments have been transcribed and studied by Jens-Uwe Hartmann 1992: 124–141 and 2011: 88–95 as well as Klaus Wille in the recent volumes of the *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, while a fragment in the Ōtani Collection, no. 626, has been investigated by Shin'ichirō Hori 2003: 130f.

⁷ Klaus Wille's personal communication (20 November 2013); cf. also Hartmann 2004: 125, 2011: 89–92 and now Hartmann and Wille 2014: 138f.

II. Contents of the Four Versions of the *Daśottara-sūtra*

The table in the following pages (table 2) presents the contents and sequences of items in the latter three versions of the discourse in comparison to the version witnessed by the Chinese translation included in the *Dīrgha-āgama* collection.⁸ For the categories of three and four *dharmas*, I give additional columns with the readings in what I identify as ‘Group B’ of editions and manuscripts of the version included in the *Dīrgha-āgama* collection. I come back to the significance of these variations in section IV of this article.

Table 2. Synopsis of the Sequence of *Dharmas* in the Four Versions of the Discourse

One <i>Dharma</i>			
Daśo (Ch1)	Daso (Pa)	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch2)
1 不放逸	1 <i>appamādo kusalesu dhammesu</i>	1 <i>apramādaḥ kuśalesu dharmesu</i> ⁹	1 但守行
2 常自念身	2 <i>kāyagatā sati sātasaḥagatā</i>	2 <i>kāyagatā smṛtiḥ</i> ¹⁰	2 意不離身

⁸ Cf. de Jong 1966 and Karashima 2000: 10–12. In the tables, an asterisk (*) indicates a lacuna in the manuscript.

⁹ Throughout, the brackets indicating characters restored by the editors Mittal and Schlingloff in the translation of the Sanskrit *Daśottara-sūtra* are omitted for ease of readability.

¹⁰ After *smṛtiḥ*, Mittal supplements *śātasahagatā* on the basis of the reading in the Pali version. However, a fragment of the Sanskrit version in the Hoernle Collection also lacks this word: Or.15009/89 verso d /// *kāyagatā smṛtiḥ eko dharmah* (in BLSF II.1: 158) (K.W.).

3 有漏觸	3 <i>phasso sāsavo upādāniyo</i>	3 <i>sparśaḥ sāsrava upādānīyaḥ</i>	3 世間麁細
4 有我慢	4 <i>asmimāno</i>	4 <i>asmimānaḥ</i>	4 憍慢
5 不惡露觀	5 <i>ayoniso manasikāro</i>	5 <i>ayoniśo manasikāraḥ</i>	5 意 (read 非?) 本觀
6 惡露觀	6 <i>yoniso manasikāro</i>	6 <i>yonīśo manasikāraḥ</i>	6 本觀
7 無問定	7 <i>ānantariko cetosamādhī</i>	7 <i>ānantaryacetahsamādhīḥ</i>	7 不中止定
8 有漏解脫	8 <i>akuppaṃ ñāṇaṃ</i>	8 <i>sāmayikī kāmā cetovimuktiḥ</i> ¹¹	8 令意止 (?)
9 諸衆生皆仰食存	9 <i>sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhitikā</i>	9 <i>sarvasatvā āhārasṭhitayaḥ</i>	9 一切人在食
10 無疑心解脫	10 <i>akuppā cetovimutti</i>	10 <i>akopyā cetovimuktiḥ</i>	10 今意莫疑
Two Dharmas			
Daśo (Ch1)	Daso (Pā)	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch2)
1 知慙、知愧	6 <i>sovacassatā ca kalyāṇamittatā ca</i>	6 <i>hrīś ca vyavatrāpyaṃ ca</i>	6 兩法不當爾爾
2 止與觀	2 <i>samatho ca vipassanā ca</i>	2 <i>śamathāś ca vipaśyanā ca</i> ¹²	2 止亦觀
3 名與色	3 <i>nāmañ ca rūpañ ca</i>	3 <i>nāmaṇ ca rūpaṇ ca</i>	3 名、字 (s.e. for 色?)

¹¹ Cf. SW/TF, s.v. *sāmayika*.

¹² Cf. SW/TF, s.v. *śamatha*.

4 無明、愛	4 <i>avijjā ca bhavataṇhā ca</i>	4 <i>avidyā ca bhavaṭṭṣṇā ca</i>	4 癡亦世間愛
5 毀戒、破見	5 <i>dovacassatā ca pāpamittatā ca</i>	5 <i>āhrīkyam anavatrāpyam ca</i>	5 不愧、不慚
6 戒具、見具	1 <i>sati ca sampajaññaṇi ca</i>	1 <i>smṛtiś ca samprajanyam ca</i>	1 當有意，亦當念
7 有因有緣衆生 生垢。有因有緣 衆生得淨。	7 <i>yo ca hetu yo ca paccayo sattānaṃ saṃklesāya. yo ca hetu yo ca paccayo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā</i>	9 <i>yaś ca hetur yaḥ pratyaḥ sarvānāṃ saṃklesāya. yaś ca hetur yaḥ pratyaḥ sarvānāṃ visuddhaye</i>	9 人本何因緣在世 間得苦。亦當知 何因緣得度世
8 盡智、無生智	8 <i>khaye ñāṇaṃ; anuppāde ñāṇaṃ</i>	8 <i>kṣayajñānam anupādajñānaṇ ca</i>	8 盡點(←點)。不 復生點(←點)
9 是處、非處	9 <i>saṅkhatā ca dhātu asaṅkhatā ca dhātu</i>	7 <i>sthānam ca sthānato dusprati- vedham asthānam cāsthānataḥ</i>	7 當不爾爾
10 明與解脫	10 <i>vijjā ca vimutti ca</i>	10 <i>viḍyā ca vimuktiś ca</i>	10 慧亦解脫
Three Dharmas			
Daśo (Ch1)	Daso (Pa)	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch1) Group B
1 親近善友; 耳聞 法音; 法法成就	1 <i>sappurisaṃsevo, saddhammassavaṇaṃ,</i>	1 <i>satpuruṣasamsevā¹³ saddharmaśravaṇaṃ</i>	1 親近善友; 耳聞 法音; 非惡露觀

¹³ Cf. SWTF, s.v. *satpuruṣa-samsevā*.

<u>dharmānudhamma- ppatipatti</u>		<u>yoniso manasikārah</u>	
2 三昧：空三昧、無相三昧、無作三昧	2 <i>tayo samādhi</i> : <i>savitakko savicāro samādhi</i> , <i>avitakko vicāramatto samādhi</i> , <i>avitakko avicāro samādhi</i>	2 <i>trayaḥ samādhayaḥ</i> : <i>savitarakah saviārāḥ samādhir avitarko vicāramātrah samādhir avitarko vicārāḥ</i> ¹⁴ <i>samādhil</i>	2 三三昧：有覺有觀三昧、無覺有觀三昧、無覺無觀三昧
3 三受	3 <i>vedanā</i>	9 <i>vedanāḥ</i>	9 三痛
4 三愛	4 <i>taṇhā</i>	4 <i>trṣṇāḥ</i>	4 欲愛、色愛、不色愛
5 三不善根	5 <i>akusalamūlāni</i>	5 <i>akuśalamūlāni</i>	5 本三惡
6 三善根	6 <i>kusalamūlāni</i>	6 <i>kuśalamūlāni</i>	6 無有貪欲本、無有瞋恚本、無有愚癡本
7 三難解	9 <i>dhānyo</i>	7 <i>nimitāni</i>	7 (三)相
8 三相	8 <i>ñānāni</i>	8 <i>vimoksa-samukhāni</i>	8 空、無相、無作

¹⁴ The fragments read: *avicārah*.

9 三出要界	7 <i>nissaraṇīyā dhātuyo</i>	3 <i>bhavāh</i>	3 欲有、色有、 不色有	3 三受生處。欲處、 色處、無色處
10 三明	10 <i>vijjā</i>	10 <i>aśaikṣyo vidyāh</i>	10 慧不復學	10 = Daśo (Ch1)
Four Dharmas				
Daśo (Ch1)	Daso (Pa)	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch2)	Daśo (Ch1) Group B
1 四輪法	1 <i>cakkāni</i>	1 <i>devamanusyanām cakkāni</i>	1 天人輪	1 四天人輪
2 四念處	2 <i>satipaṭṭhānā</i>	2 <i>smṛtyupasāhānāni</i>	2 四意止	2 = Daśo (Ch1)
3 四食	3 <i>āhārā</i>	3 <i>āhārāh</i>	3 四飯	3 = Daśo (Ch1)
4 四受	4 <i>oghā</i>	4 <i>upādānāni</i>	4 四躲(v.l. 以)	4 四受
5 四扼	5 <i>yogā</i>	5 <i>vipattayaḥ</i>	5 四失	5 = Daśo (Ch1)
6 四無扼	6 <i>visamyogā</i>	6 <i>sampattayaḥ</i>	6 四成	6 = Daśo (Ch1)
7 四聖諦	9 <i>ariyasaccāni</i>	7 <i>āryasatyāni</i>	7 四諦	7 = Daśo (Ch1)
8 四智。法智、 未知智、等智、 知他心智	8 <i>cattāri ñāṇāni: dhamme ñāṇaṃ, anvaye ñāṇaṃ, pariye ñāṇaṃ, sammutiṇṇā</i>	8 <i>cattvāri jñānāni</i> . ¹⁵ <i>duḥkhaññāṇaṃ</i>	8 四點。苦點、 習點、盡點、道 點	8 四智。苦智、 習智、滅智、道 智

¹⁵ Cf. SWTF, s.v. *jñāna*, nom. pl.

<i>ñāṇam</i>		<i>samudayaññāṇam</i> <i>nirodhaññāṇam</i> <i>mārgaññāṇam</i>
9 四辯才	7 <i>samādhi</i>	9 <i>samjñāh</i> 9 四相識 9 知小、知大、知無量、知無邊法
10 四沙門果	10 <i>sāmaññaphalāni</i>	10 一法身當知； 二法意當知；三 法眼當知；四法 慧當知 10 <i>sāksīkaraṇīyā</i> ¹⁶ <i>dharmāh</i> 10 有法須身證、 有法須念證、有 法須眼證、有法 須慧證
Five Dharmas		
Daśo (Ch1)	Daso (Pa)	Daśo (Skt)
1 五減盡枝	1 <i>padhāṇīyaṅgāni</i>	1 <i>prādhāṇīkasyāṅgāni</i> 1 五種斷意
2 五根	6 <i>indriyāni</i>	6 <i>indriyāni</i> 6 五根
3 五受陰	3 <i>upādānakkhandhā</i>	3 <i>upādānaskandhāh</i> 3 五種。一為色受 種。二為痛受種。 三為想受種。四為 行受種。五為識受 種

¹⁶ Cf. SW/TF, s.v. *sāksī-karaṇīya*.

4 五蓋	4 <i>nīvaraṇāni</i>	4 五蓋
5 五心癡結	5 <i>cetokhilā</i>	5 五心意釘
6 五喜本	2 <i>pañcaṅgiko sammāsamādhī</i>	2 五種定
7 五解脫入	9 <i>vimuttāyatanāni</i>	9 五解脫
8 賢聖五智定	8 <i>pañcañāṇiko sammāsamādhī</i>	8 五慧定
9 五出要界	7 <i>nissaraṇiṇyā dhātuyo</i>	7 五行得要出
10 五無學聚	10 <i>dhammakkhandhā</i>	10 一不學陰。二不學戒。三不學定。四不學慧。五不學度世解脫
Six Dharmas		
Daśo(Ch1)	Daso(Pa)	Daśo(Skt)
1 六重法	1 <i>sāraṇiṇyā dhammā</i>	1 <i>saṃraṇjanīyā dharmāḥ</i>
2 六念	2 <i>anussatiṭṭhānāni</i>	(8)*
3 六內入	3 <i>ajjhāttikāni āyatanāni</i>	3 <i>ādhyātmikāny āyatanāni</i>

¹⁷ Cf. Daśo (DĀG), G4, fol. 5(?) recto 5: *pañcāṅgikasya samādh* (transliteration K.W., 20 November 2013).

4 六愛	4 <i>ṭaṇhākāyā</i>	4 <i>ṭṛṣṇākāyāḥ</i>	4 六愛
5 六不敬法	5 <i>agāravā</i>	5 <i>agauravataḥ</i>	5 六不恭敬
6 六敬法	6 <i>gāravā</i>	6 (<i>gauravataḥ</i>)	6 六恭敬
7 六無上	9 <i>anuttariyāni</i>	(9)*	9 六無有量
8 六等法	8 <i>satatavihārā</i>	2 <i>sātatavihārāḥ</i>	2 六共居
9 六出要界	7 <i>nissaraṇiṇyā dhātuyo</i>	7 (<i>nihsaraṇiṇyā dhātavaḥ</i>)	7 六行度世
10 六神通	10 <i>abhiññā</i>	(10)*	10 六知
Seven Dharmas			
Daśo (Ch1)	Daso (Pa)	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch2)
1 七財	1 <i>dhanāni</i>	(1)*	1 七寶
2 七覺意	2 <i>bojjhaṅgā</i>	(2)*	2 七覺意
3 七識住處	3 <i>viññāṇaṭṭhitiyo</i>	7 <i>viññānasthitayaḥ</i>	7 七識止處
4 七使法	4 <i>anusayā</i>	(4)*	4 七結
5 七非法	5 <i>asaddhammā</i>	(5)*	5 惡人七法
6 七正法	6 <i>saddhammā</i>	(6)*	6 七慧者法
7 七正善法	7 <i>sappurisa-dhammā</i>	(10)*	10 一有法。二有解。三知時。四知足。五知身。六知

衆。七知人前後			
8 七想	8 <i>saññā</i>	8 <i>samādhipariskārāḥ</i>	8 定意
9 七勤	9 <i>niddesavatthūni</i> ¹⁸	9 <i>nir-doṣavastūni</i>	9 七現恩
10 七漏盡力	10 <i>khīṇāsavabalāni</i>	(3)*	3 七有
Eight Dharmas			
Daṣo(Ch1)	Daso(Pa)	Daṣo(Skt)	Daṣo(Ch2)
1 八因緣	1 <i>aṭṭha heṭū aṭṭha paccayā</i>	1 <i>dharmapratyayāḥ</i>	1 法八因緣
2 賢聖八道	2 <i>ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo</i>	2 <i>āryo ṣṭāngo mārgaḥ</i>	2 八種道
3 世八法	3 <i>lokadhammā</i>	3 <i>lokadharmāḥ</i>	3 八世間法
4 八邪	4 <i>micchattā</i>	4 <i>mithyāṅgāni</i>	4 一爲不直見。二爲不直念。三爲不直語。四爲不直法。五爲不直業。六爲不直方便。七爲不直意。八爲不直定
5 八懈怠法	5 <i>kusīlavatthūni</i>	5 <i>kausīdyavastūni</i>	5 八瞢瞢不精進道

¹⁸ *V.l. niddasavatthūni*; cf. Karashima 2000: 190f note 108.

6 八不怠	6 <i>ārabbhāvathūni</i> ¹⁹	6 <i>vīryārambhavastūni</i>	6 八精進方便道
7 八不閑妨修梵行	7 <i>akkhaṇā asamayā brahmacariyavāsāya</i>	(10)*	10 八無有著行者力 (* <i>arhato bhikkṣoḥ kṣī- ṇāsraṇasya balāni</i>) ²⁰
8 八大人覺	8 <i>mahāpurisavitakkā</i>	8 <i>mahāpurusaṇṭarikkāḥ</i>	8 八大人念
9 八除入	9 <i>abhibhāyatanāni</i>	9 <i>abhibhāvāyatanāni</i>	9 (八)自在
10 八解脫	10 <i>vimokkhā</i>	7 <i>vimokṣāḥ</i>	7 八解脫
Nine Dharmas			
Daśo (Ch1)	Daso (Pa)	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch2)
1 九淨滅枝	2 <i>pārisuddhipadhāniyaṅgāni</i>	1 <i>vīryavitarana viśuddhi- pūrvāṅgamā dharmāḥ</i>	2 精進致淨
2 九喜本	1 <i>yoniso manasikāramūlakā dhammā</i>	2 <i>cetasah prasāda- pūrvāṅgamā dharmāḥ</i> ²¹	1 九意喜
3 九衆生居	3 <i>sattāvāsā</i>	3 <i>sattāvāsāḥ</i>	3 九神止處

¹⁹ *V.l. ārambhāvathūni.*

²⁰ Cf. Abhidh-k-vy 591,29 and de Jong 1966: 14 [1979: 262].

²¹ = Daśo (DĀG), G5, fol. ? verso 1: *cetasah prasādapūrvāṅgamā [dharm] ...* (transliteration K.W., 20 November 2013).

4 九愛本	4 <i>taṇhāmūlakā dhammā</i>	(4)*	4 九結 (* <i>saṃyojanāni</i>) ²²
5 九惱法	5 <i>āghātavathūni</i>	5	5 九惱本
6 九無惱	6 <i>āghātapativinayā</i>	6	6 除九意惱
7 九梵行	9 <i>anupubbavāhārā</i>	8 (<i>anupūrvavāhārāh?</i>) ²³	8 九次定
8 九想	8 <i>sañhā</i>	(7)*	7 九依住 (* <i>apāsrayaṇāni</i>) ²⁴
9 九異法	7 <i>nānatā</i>	(9)*	9 九不應時 (* <i>akṣaṇāh</i>) ²⁵
10 九盡	10 <i>anupubbanirodhā</i>	(10)*	10 九(←無)滅
Ten Dharmas			
Daśo (Ch1)	Daso (Pa)	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch2)
1 十救法	1 <i>nāthakaraṇadhammā</i>	1 <i>nāthakarakā dharmāh</i>	1 十救法

²² Cf. de Jong 1966: 14 [1979: 262].

²³ Cf. SHT X 4333 verso d: /// + .. māpa[t]. + + + (read: (*anupūrvasamādhisa*)*māpat*(*ṭayaḥ*) or (*anupūrvavāhāra-samādhisa*)*māpat*(*ṭayaḥ*)) (K.W.).

²⁴ Cf. de Jong 1966: 14 [1979: 262].

²⁵ Cf. de Jong 1966: 14 [1979: 262].

2 + 正行	2 <u>kaśināyatanāni</u>	8 (<u>kṛtsnāyatanāni</u>)	8 + 普定
3 + 色入	3 āyatanāni	3 rūpūy āyatanāni	3 + 内外色入
4 + 邪行	4 micchattā	4 ... (<u>bā</u>)hyāni nī(vara)ni	4 + 内外盖
5 + 不善行迹	5 akusalakammamapathā	5 akusalāḥ karmapathāḥ	5 惡行
6 + 善行	6 kusalakammamapathā	6 kuśalāḥ karmapathāḥ	6 + 淨行
7 + 賢聖居	7 ariyavāsā	7 āryāvāsāḥ	7 + 德道居
8 + 稱譽處	8 <u>saññā</u>	9 <u>tathāgatasya balāni</u>	9 佛十力
9 + 減法	9 nijjaravattihūni	2 nirjvaravastūni	2 + 種直
10 + 無學法	10 asekkhā dhammā	10 āśaikṣā dharmāḥ	10 + 足學不復學

III. Doctrinal Discrepancies and School Affiliations

As we can see from the series of tables in the preceding pages, the version in the Chinese translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, belonging to the Dharmaguptaka school, agrees well with the Pali *Dasuttara-sutta* of the Theravādins. The same is true of *not only* the whole of the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the Pali *Dīrgha-nikāya*, *but also* their Vinaya and Abhidharma or Abhidhamma texts. This fact may reflect the close relationship between these two schools.²⁶ On the other hand, An Shigao's Chinese translation and the Sanskrit version, both belonging to the Sarvāstivādins, correspond almost completely. de Jong and myself have already discussed in detail the relationship of these four versions of the same text.²⁷

It is quite interesting that these discrepancies seem to reflect the doctrines of the various schools involved. For example, the third category of the sevenfold *dharma*s is “the seven states of consciousness” (七識住處; *satta viññāṇa-ṭṭhitiyo*) in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* version and the Pali *Dasuttara-sutta*, while An Shigao's translation has “the seven kinds of states of existence” (七有; **sapta bhavāḥ*), namely *naraka*-, *tiryag*-, *preta*-, *manuṣya*-, *deva*-, *karma*- and *antarā-bhava*, at the corresponding places – the Sanskrit manuscript is lacking here. The notion of *antarābhava* (“the intermediate state [between one existence and the next]”) was maintained by the Sarvāstivādins, Vātsīputrīyas, Sāṃmatīyas etc., while the Theravādins, Dharmaguptakas, Vibhajyavādins and Mahāsāṅghikas rejected it.²⁸

²⁶ Cf., e.g., Waldschmidt 1932: 229 and Bareau 1950: 94.

²⁷ de Jong 1966 and Karashima 2000.

²⁸ Cf. Bareau 1955: 291 and 1979; cf. also Wayman 1974 and Kritzer 2000.

Now, there seems to have been a canonical scripture (*āgama*) which was composed probably by the Sarvāstivādins to convey the notion of *antarābhava*. A Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma work, namely the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of Vasubandhu, states:

A sūtra distinguishes *antarābhava* from other *gatis*. Which sūtra? It is the 'Seven Kinds of Existence Sūtra' (**Saptabhavasūtra*). This [sūtra] talks of the seven kinds of existences, namely *naraka*-, *tiryag*-, *preta*-, *deva*-, *manuṣya*-, *karma*- and *antarā-bhava*.²⁹

Another Abhidharma work of the same school, namely the **Nyāyā-nusāraśāstra* of Saṅghabhadra, states:

... Also because the sacred teaching states that there is *antarābhava*. Namely, a sūtra says that there are seven kinds of existences, i.e., the *bhavas* of the five *gatis*, *karmabhava* and *antarābhava*.³⁰

Thus, the Sarvāstivādins regarded a sūtra which talked of *antarābhava* as a "sacred teaching". However, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* also tells us that other schools did not recognise this sūtra:

A sacred teaching proves that there is *antarābhava*. The sūtra states: "There are seven kinds of existences, i.e., the

²⁹ T 1558 at T XXIX 42a28–b2: 契經亦簡中有異趣。是何契經？謂《七有經》。彼說七有，謂地獄有、傍生有、餓鬼有、天有、人有、業有、中有；cf. Abhidh-k-bh 114,17f: *sūtre 'pi ca bahiṣkṛto 'ntarābhavo gatibhyaḥ kasmin sūtre? "sapta bhavā narakabhavas tiryagbhavaḥ pretabhavo devabhavo manuṣyabhavaḥ karmabhavo 'ntarābhava" iti*.

³⁰ *Apidamo Shunzheng Lilun* (阿毘達磨順正理論), T 1562 at T XXIX 475a25–27: 又聖教說中有有故。謂契經言：“有有七種。即五趣有、業有、中有”。

bhavas of the five *gatis*, *karmabhava* and *antarābhava*”.
This sūtra is not recited by other schools.³¹

The *Chenshilun* (成實論, **Tattvasiddhi-* or **Satyasiddhi-śāstra*) of Harivarman (ca. AD 250–350 ?), who had studied first the doctrine of the Sarvāstivādins and later those of the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Mahāyāna, rejects as spurious the sūtras which make reference to the notion of *antarābhava*:

The disputant says: “Some people say that there is *antarābhava*, while others say there is not.” Someone asks: “For what reason do some say that it exists; and for what reason do others say that it does not?” He answers: “The reasons for its existence are as follows: ... Also, a sūtra talks of four *bhavas*, namely *pūrvakāla-bhava*, *marāṇa-bhava*, *antarā-bhava* and *upapatti-bhava*. Also, [another sūtra] talks of seven *bhavas*, i.e., the *bhavas* of the five *gatis*, *karmabhava* and *antarābhava*. ... For these reasons, it is known that there is *antarābhava*.” ... Some people reject the existence of *antarābhava*, (saying) “... Also, you talk about the four *bhavas* and the seven *bhavas*. These sūtras are not genuine, because they do not conform to the characteristics of the Dharma.” ... For these reasons, one should not consider that *antarābhava* exists.³²

³¹ T 1558 at T XXIX 29 42a28–b2: 次依聖教證有中。調契經言：“有有七種。即五趣有、業有、中有。若此契經彼部不誦”；cf. Abhidh-k-bh 121,19f: *sūtra uktaṃ “sapta bhavāḥ. narakabhavas tiryagbhavaḥ pretabhavo devabhavo manuṣyabhavaḥ karmabhavo ’ntarābhava” iti. naitat sūtram tair āmnāyate* (the sentence 次依聖教證有中 “A sacred teaching proves that there is *antarābhava*” in the Chinese translation has no parallel in the Sanskrit version).

³² T 1646 at T XXXII 32 256b12–257a14: 論者言：“有人說有中陰，或有說無。”問曰：“何因緣故說有？何因緣故言無？”答曰：“有中陰者，...

We may assume that the original *Daśottara-sūtra* had not contained "the seven kinds of states of existences", but later the Sarvāstivādin revised the discourse and added this category to conform to their doctrine of the existence of *antarābhava*. This case suggests that the present four versions (on which cf. the list in section I of this paper) might be the result of the modifications of the original text made in accordance with their own particular doctrine. The existent *nikāyas*, *sūtras* and *āgamas* might be the result of revisions made according to the doctrine of each school,³³ and they underwent revision in the course of the so-called "*Nikāya* Buddhism" period.

The present finding demonstrates that, even during the time of their transmission within China, *āgama* discourses could still be affected by revisions made according to the doctrine of a particular school; thus, the possibility of such influence is not confined to the period of the transmission in India, etc.

As a result of such influences, in general, the contents of the

(256b20) 又經中說四有一本有、死有、中有、生有。又說七有一五道有、業有、中有。... (256b28) 以是故知有中陰。... (256c2) "有人言：'無有中陰。... (256c12) 又汝言四有、七有者。是經不然。以不順法相故。... (257a13) 是故不應分別計有中陰'".

³³ A testimony about a revision of *sūtras* by a group to conform to their doctrine is found in Saṅghabhadra's **Nyāyānusāraśāstra*, T 1562 at T XXIX 352c1–23: 寡學上座於此說言：“非觸處中有所造色。所以者何。...” 此說不然。違聖教故。如契經說：“苾芻當知。觸謂外處。是四大種。及四大種所造有色無見有對。” 彼不許有如是契經。不應不許。入結集故。又不違害諸餘契經，亦不違理，故應成量。彼謂：“此經非入結集。越總頌故。如說。製造順別處經，立為異品。若爾，便應棄捨一切違自部執聖教契經。如說。製造二種空經，立為異品，亦越總頌。如是等類互相非撥。若謂此經非聖所說。違餘經故。法處不說無色言故。如舍利子增十經中，唯作是言：“有十色處。” 故知此經非入結集。但是對法諸師愛無表色，製造安置阿笈摩中。” 若爾，對法諸師豈不亦能作如是說：“譬喻部師憎無表色，製造安置增十經中。”？如是展轉更相非撥，便為壞亂一切契經。然增十經。為顯十種應遍知法。故但說言有十色處。

nikāyas, *sūtras* and *āgamas* are not necessarily older than their counterparts transmitted in the Abhidharma works of the early schools.³⁴

IV. Two Groups of Editions and Manuscripts of the *Shishang jing* (十上經)

In the *Shishang jing* included in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* there are obvious discrepancies in the readings amongst two groups of editions and manuscripts. These two are:

- A. the first and second Korean canons (初雕大藏經, 高麗再雕版大藏經), the Jin edition (金藏廣勝寺本), a stone-carved inscription (房山石經), a manuscript copied in Japan in A.D. 740 (Tenpyo Juninen Gogankyo 天平十二年御願經) in the Shōgozō (聖語藏), and another manuscript in the Sūtra Collection of Kongōji Temple in Osaka, Japan;³⁵
- B. the Old Song edition (舊宋本), belonging to the Library of the Imperial Household Office in Tokyo (宮内廳書陵部本), the Sixi-Zifu edition (思溪資福藏),³⁶ and the Qisha edition (磧砂藏), all from the Song dynasty and their copies from the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties periods.

These discrepancies are found in the category part dealing with teachings which consist of three and four *dharma*s.

³⁴ Cf. Bronkhorst 1985.

³⁵ I thank Toshinori Ochiai (落合俊典) for providing me with a photocopy of the relevant portion of this manuscript.

³⁶ I thank Susumu Kajiura (梶浦晉) for providing me with a photocopy of the relevant portion of the Sixi-Zifu edition preserved at the Kyoto University Institute for Research in Humanities (Kyōdai Jinbunken (京大人文研)).

The table in the following pages (table 1) presents the readings in the Pali *Dasuttara-sutta*, in Group A of the *Shishang jing*, in Group B of the same text, in the Sanskrit *Daśottara-sūtra*, and in An Shigao's individual translation of the discourse.

Table 1. Discrepancies in the Categories of Three and Four Dharmas

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
<i>tayo dhammā bahukārā, tayo dh° bhāvetābbā, tayo dh° parinñeyyā, tayo dh° pahātabbā, tayo dh° hānabhāgiyā, tayo dh° viśesabhāgiyā, tayo dh° uppāduppaṭṭivijjhā, tayo dh° detābbā, tayo dh° abhiññeyyā, tayo dh° sacchikātabbā.</i>	又有三乘法、三修法、三覺法、三減法、三退法、三增法、三難解法、三知法、三證法。	又有三多成法、三修法、三覺法、三減法、三退法、三增法、三難解法、三知法、三證法。		
(1) <i>katame tayo dh° bahu-kārā? sappurisaṇsevo, saddhammassavanāṇi, dhammānudhammappaṭṭi-patti. ime tayo dh° bahukārā.</i>	云何三乘法？一者親近善友；二者耳聞法音；三者法法成就。	云何三多成法？一者親近善友；二者耳聞法音；三者非法露觀。	(1) <i>trayo dharmā bahu-kārāḥ. satpuruṣaṇsevaḥ saddharmaśravaṇaṇi manasikārah</i>	第一三法行者竟無爲。事慧者，亦聞法經，亦當觀本。

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
(2) <i>katame tayo dh° bhāvetabbā? tayo samādhī: savi- takko savi-cāro samādhī: avi- takko vicāramatto samādhī: avitakko avicāro samādhī. ime tayo dh° bhāvetabbā.</i>	云何三修法? 謂三昧。空。 三昧、無相三 昧、無作三昧。	云何三修法? 謂三三昧。有。 覺有觀三昧、 無覺有觀三 昧、無覺無觀 三昧。	(2) <i>trayo dharmā bhāvayitavyāḥ. trayāḥ samādhayah: śavitarakah savi-cārah samādhir avitarko vicāra-mātrah samādhir avitar-ko 'vicārah samādhīh.</i>	第二三法當思惟。欲念定、不欲但念、亦不欲亦不念。
(3) <i>katame tayo dh° pari-ññeyyā? tisso vedanā: sukhā vedanā: dukkhā vedanā: adukkha-m-asukhā vedanā. ime tayo dh° pariññeyyā.</i>	云何三覺法? 謂三受。苦。 受、樂受、不 苦不樂受。	云何三覺法? 謂三受生處。 欲處、色處、 無色處。	(3) <i>trayo dharmāḥ pari-ññeyāḥ. trayo bhavāḥ: kāma- bhavo rūpabhava ārūpyabhavah.</i>	第三三法可識。欲有、色有、不色有。
(4) <i>katame tayo dh° pahātabbā? tisso taṇhā: kāmataṇhā, bhavataṇhā, vibhavataṇhā. ime tayo dh° pahātabbā.</i>	云何三減法? 謂三愛。欲愛、 有愛、無有愛。 云何三退法?	= Group A ³⁷	(4) <i>trayo dharmāḥ pradhātavyāḥ. tisras tṛṣṇāḥ. kāmataṛṣṇā rūpatṛṣṇā ārūpyatṛṣṇā.</i>	第四三法可捨。欲愛、色愛、不色愛。

³⁷ The reading 欲愛、有愛、無有愛 (cf. Anālayo 2011: 70 note 216) in Group A has not been changed in Group B, even though its text could have read *rūpatṛṣṇā ārūpyatṛṣṇā* as in the Sarvāstivāda versions.

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
(5) <i>katame tayo dh° hāna-bhāgiyā? tīni akusalamūlāni: lobho akusalamūlaṃ, doṣo akusalamūlaṃ, moho akusalamūlaṃ. ime tayo dh° hāna-bhāgiyā.</i>	謂三不善根。 貪不善根、恚 不善根、癡不 善根。	= Group A	(5) <i>trayo dharmā hānabhā-gīyāḥ. trīṇy akusalamūlāni: lobho 'kuśalamūlaṃ, dveṣo moho 'kuśalamūlaṃ*</i>	第五三法可捨。 本三惡。貪欲 惡、瞋恚惡、 愚癡惡。
(6) <i>katame tayo dh° visesa-bhāgiyā? tīni kuśalamūlāni: alobho kuśalamūlaṃ, adoso kuśalamūlaṃ, amoho kuśalamūlaṃ. ime tayo dh° visesa-bhāgiyā.</i>	云何三增法？ 謂三善根。無 貪善根、無恚 善根、無癡善 根。	= Group A	(6) <i>trayo dharmā viśeṣabhāgi-yāḥ. trīṇi kuśalamūlāni. alo-bhaḥ kuśalamūlaṃ adveṣo 'mohaḥ kuśalamūlaṃ*</i>	第六三法可增。 無有貪欲本、 無有瞋恚本、 無有愚癡本。
(7) <i>katame tayo dh° duppaṭi-vijjhā? tisso nissaranīyā dhātuyo: kāmānaṃ etaṃ nissaranam yad idaṃ nek-khammam, rūpānaṃ etaṃ nissaranam yad idaṃ</i>	云何三難解法？ 謂三難解。賢 聖難解、聞法 難解、如來難 解。	云何三難解法？ 謂三難解。三 摩提相難解、 三摩提住相難 解、三摩提起 相難解。	(7) <i>trayo dharmā dūppaṭi-vedhāḥ. trīṇi nimitṭāni. samā-dhīnimitṭam samādhīsthi-<u>imittam samādhiviyuthāna-nimitṭam*</u></i>	第七三法難 受。相。定。 相、定止相、 定起相。

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
<u>arūpam, yam kho pana kiñci</u> <u>bhūtam, sanīkatam paṭicca-</u> <u>samuppānānam, nirodho</u> <u>tassa nissaraṇānam, ime tayo</u> <u>dh° duppāṭivijjhā.</u>				
(8) <u>katame tayo dh° uppāde-</u> <u>tabbā? tīhi nānāni: aṭṭhamse</u> <u>ñānam, anāgatamse ñānam,</u> <u>paccuppānānamse ñānam,</u> <u>ime tayo dh° uppādetabbā.</u>	云何三 生法？ 謂三 相。息止 相、精進相、 捨離相。	云何三 生法？ 謂空、 無相、 無作。	(8) <u>trayo dharmā utpādayi-</u> <u>tavyāḥ, trīṇi vimokṣasa-</u> <u>mukhāni: śūnyatā apraṇi-</u> <u>hitam ānimittam*</u>	第八三法可作。 三活向。空、 不願、不相(← 想)。
(9) <u>katame tayo dh° abhi-</u> <u>ññeyyā? tisso dhātuyo:</u> <u>kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu,</u> <u>arūpadhātu, ime tayo dh°</u> <u>abhiññeyyā.</u>	云何三 知法？ 謂 三 出要界。欲出 要至色界；色界 出要至無色界； 捨離一切諸有爲 法，彼名爲盡。	云何三 知法？ 謂三 受。苦 受、樂受、不 苦不樂受。	(9) <u>trayo dharmā abhi-</u> <u>jñeyāḥ, tisso vedanāḥ:</u> <u>sukhā duḥkhā aduḥkhā-</u> <u>sukkhāś ca.</u>	第九三法可識。 三痛。樂痛、< 苦痛>、亦不樂 亦不苦痛。

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
(10) <i>katame tayo dh° sacchi-kātabbā? tisso vijjā: pubbe nivāsānussatthānaṃ vijjā, satthānaṃ cutūpapāte nānaṃ vijjā, āsavānaṃ khaye nānaṃ vijjā. ime tayo dh° sacchi-kātabbā.</i>	云何三證法？ 謂三明。宿命、智、天眼智、漏盡智。	= Group A	(10) <i>trayo dharmāḥ sāksī-kartavyāḥ. tisso 'śaiksyo vidyāḥ. katamās tisraḥ? āśaiksī pūrve nivāsānussatthānaṃ vijjā vidyā. āśaiksī pūrvapapādajñānasāksī-kṣī cyutyupapādajñānasāksī-kriyā vidyā. āśaiksī āsravakṣayajñānasāksīkriyā vidyā.</i>	第十三法自證。慧不復學。從本來、亦往生、漏(爾)無所應除。
<i>iti ime tiṃsa dhammā bhūtā tacchā tathā avitathā anaññathā sammā tathāgatena abhisambuddhā.</i>	諸比丘是為三 十法，如實無虛。 如來知己，平等 說法。	= Group A	<i>itiṃsa āyuṣmantas triṃśad dharmāḥ pūrvavat*</i>	是為行者三十法。是不非，是不異，有諦，如有，不惑，不倒。是如{是}有，持慧意觀。
<i>cattāro dhammā bahukārā, cattāro dh° bhāvetabbā ... pe ... cattāro dh° sacchi-kātabbā.</i>	復有四成法、四 修法、四覺法、 四滅法、四退 法、四增法、四 難解法、四生	復有四多成法、 四修法、四覺 法、四滅法、四 退法、四增法、 四難解法、四生		

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
(1) <i>katame cattāro dh° bahukārā? cattārī cakkāni; patirūpadesavāso, sappuri- sūpanissayo, attasamānā- pañidhi, pubbe ca kata- puññatā. ime cattāro dh° bahukārā.</i>	法、四知法、四 證法。 云何四成法？ 謂四輪法。 一者住中國； 二者近善友； 三者自謹慎； 四者宿植善本。	法、四知法、四 證法。 云何四多成 法？謂四天人 輪備悉具有天 人四輪迴轉生 長莊滿 ³⁸ 於諸 善法。一者住 中國；二者近 善友；三者宿 曾發精願；四 者宿植善本。	(1) <i>cattāro dharmā bahu- karāḥ. catvāri devamanu- svānām cakrāni yair deva yamānā vreddhim vai- pulyam āpadyante kuśalair dharmair. katamāni catvāri? pratirūpo deśāvāsah sapuru- ṣāpāśraya ātmanas ca sam- yak- prañidhānam pūrve ca kṛta(puṇyatā).</i>	第一四法，行 者竟無爲。天 人輪。 好郡居、依慧 人、自直願、 宿命有本。
(2) <i>katame cattāro dh° bhāve- tabbā? cattāro satipaṭṭhānā; idhāvuso, bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ālāpi</i>	云何四修法？謂 四念處。比丘內 身身觀，精勤不 懈，憶念不忘，	= Group A	(2) <i>cattāro dharmā bhāvyitavyāḥ. catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni; katamāni catvāri? kāye</i>	第二四法增行。 四意止。自觀身 觀，內外身觀， 莫離意知，著

³⁸ The Ming edition reads 嚴 instead of 滿.

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
<i>sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassam. vedanāsu ... pe ... citte ... dhammesu dhammānupassī vihareti ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhi- jjhādomanassam. ime cattāro dh° bhāvetabbā.</i>	捨世貪憂；外身 身觀，精勤不 懈，憶念不忘， 捨世貪憂；內外 身身觀，精勤不 懈，憶念不忘， 捨世貪憂；受意 法觀亦復如是。		<i>kāyānupāśyanā smṛtyupa- śhānam* vedanāyām citte dharmaṃsu dharmānu- paśyanā smṛtyupasthānam*</i>	意，離世間癡 惱。痛痒(v.l. 以)、意、法亦 如觀身法。
(3) <i>katame cattāro dh° pari- ññeyyā? cattāro āhārā: ka- balīkāro āhāro oḷāriko vā sukhūmo vā, phasso dūtiyo, manosañcetanā tatiyā, vi- ññānaṃ catuttham. ime cattāro dh° parinñeyyā.</i>	云何四覺法？ 謂四食。搏食、 觸食、念食、 識食。	= Group A	(3) <i>catvāro dharmāḥ pari- jñeyāḥ. catvāra āhārāḥ: ka- baḍḍhikāra āhāra audārikāḥ sūkṣmāś ca. sparśo dvītiyo manasāñcetanā tṛtīyā vijñānaṃ caturtham*</i>	第三四法可識。 四飯。搏(←搏) 飯、樂飯、念 飯、識飯。
(4) <i>katame cattāro dh° pahātabbā? cattāro oghāḥ: kāmoḥ, bhavogho.</i>	云何四滅法？ 謂四受。欲受、 我受、戒受、...	云何四滅法？ 謂四受。欲 受、見受、戒	(4) <i>catvāro dharmāḥ prahā- tavyāḥ. catvāry upādānāni: katamāni catvāri? kāmapā-</i>	第四四法可捨。 四繫(v.l. 以)。欲 繫(v.l. 以)、意生

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
<i>ditthogho, avijjogho, ime cattāro dh° pahātabbā.</i>	見受。	受、我受。	<u>dānam drstṛupādānam</u> <u>śīlavratopādānam</u> <u>ātmavāḍopādānam</u>	是樂(v.l. 以)、戒願樂(v.l. 以)、受身樂(v.l. 以)。
(5) <i>katame cattāro dh° hānabhāgiyā? cattāro yogā: kāma-yogo, bhava-y°, diṭṭhi-y°, avijjā-y°. ime cattāro dh° hānabhāgiyā.</i>	云何四退法? 謂四扼。欲扼、有扼、見扼、無明扼。	云何四退法? 謂四扼。欲扼、有扼、見扼、無明扼。 ³⁹	(5) <i>cavāro dharmā hāna-bhāgēvāḥ. catasro vipattiyah: sīlavipattir dṛṣṭivipattir ācāravipattir ājīvavipattiḥ.</i>	第五四法可減(v.l. 減)。四失。戒失、意失、行失、業失。
(6) <i>katame cattāro dh° vise-sabbhāgiyā? cattāro viṣaṇ-yogā: kāmayoga- viṣaṇyogo, bhavayoga- viṣaṇ°, diṭṭhi-yoga- viṣaṇ°, avijjāyoga- viṣaṇ°. ime cattāro dh° vise-</i>	云何四增法? 謂四無扼。無欲扼、無有扼、無見扼、無無明扼。	云何四增法? 謂四無扼。無欲扼、無有扼、無見扼、無無明扼。 ⁴⁰	(6) <i>cavāro dharmā viṣeṣa-bhāgēvāḥ. catasro sampattiyah. sīlasampattir dṛṣṭisampattir ācārasampattir ājīvasampattiḥ</i>	第六四法可增。四成。戒成、意是失、行失、業成。

³⁹ Even though 扼 (“yoke”) was changed to 梘 (“yoke”) in Group B, it does not agree with the readings in the Sarvāstivāda versions.

⁴⁰ The reading does not agree with those in the Sarvāstivāda versions.

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
<i>sabhāgiyā.</i>				
(7) <i>katame cattāro dh° dūppaṭivijjhā? cattāro samādhiḥ. hānabhāgiyo samādhi, iṭṭibhāgiyo sam°, viśesa-bhāgiyo sam°, nibbedha-bhāgiyo samādhi. ime cattāro dh° dūppaṭivijjhā.</i>	云何四難解法? 謂有四聖諦。 苦諦、集諦、 滅諦、道諦。	云何四難解法? 謂有四聖諦。 苦諦、習 ⁴¹ 諦、 盡 ⁴² 諦、道諦。	(7) <i>cattvāro dharmā dūppaṭivedhāḥ. catvāry āryasatyāni. katamāni catvāri? dūḥkham āryasatyam dūḥkhasamudayo dūḥkhanirodho dūḥkhanirodha- gāminī pratipad āryasatyam*</i>	第七四法難知。 四諦。苦諦、 習諦、盡諦 (v.l. -)、受滅苦 諦。
(8) <i>katame cattāro dh° up-pādetabbā? cattāri ṇānāni: dhamme. ṇānaṃ. anyaye. ṇ°. pariyē. ṇ°. sammūtiyā ṇ°. ime</i>	云何四生法? 謂四智。法 ⁴³ 智、 未知智、等智、 知他心智。	云何四生法? 謂四智。苦智、 習 ⁴³ 智、滅智、 道智。	(8) <i>cattvāro dharmā utpādayitavyāḥ. catvāri jñānāni. dūḥkhaññānam samudaya-jñānam nirodhaññānam</i>	第八四法令有。 四點。苦點、 習點、盡點、 道點。

⁴¹ 習 is the reading in the Zifu-Sixi editions (= Daśo (Ch2)), while the Jisha and Ming, Yuan and Qing editions read: 集 (= Daśo (Ch1)).

⁴² 盡 is the reading in the Zifu-Sixi editions (= Daśo (Ch2)), while the Jisha and Ming, Yuan and Qing editions read: 滅 (= Daśo (Ch1)).

⁴³ 習 is the reading in the Zifu-Sixi editions (= Daśo (Ch2)), while the Jisha and Ming, Yuan and Qing editions read: 集.

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
<i>cattāro dh° uppādetabbā.</i>	云何四知法？ 謂四辯才。法 辯、義辯、辭 辯、應辯。	云何四知法？ 謂知小、知大、 知無量、知無 邊法。	<i>mārgajñānam*</i>	第九四法可識。 四相識。少識。 多識 (v.l. -)。
(9) <i>katame cattāro dh° abhi- ññeyyā? cattāri ariyasaccāni: dukkham ariyasaccam, duk- khasamudayaṃ ariya°, duk- khanirodham ariyasaccam, dukkhānirodhagāminī paṭi- padā ariya°. ime cattāro dh° abhiññeyyā.</i>			(9) <i>cavāro dharmā abhiññeyāh. cattasrah saññāh. parittam eke saññānamti. mahadgatam eke saññānamti. apramānam eke saññānamti. nāsti kiñcid iya ākāñcanyāvatatanam eke sam- jānamti.</i>	無有量、無所 有不用識。知 多，知無有量， 知無所有，不用 智知。
(10) <i>katame cattāro dh° sac- chikātabbā? cattāri sāmā- ññaphalāni: sotāpatiphalam, sakadāgāmiṃphalam, anāgā- miṃphalam, arahattaphalam.</i>	云何四證法？ 謂四沙門果。須 陀洹果、斯陀含 果、阿那含果、 阿羅漢果。	云何四證法？ 謂有法須身證、 有法須念證、 有法須眼證、 有法須慧證。	(10) <i>cavāro dharmāh sāksī- kartavyāh. catvārah sāksī- karaṇīyā dharmāh. santi dharmāh kāyena sāksīkarta- vyāh. santi smṛtyā, santi caksusā, santi prajñayā sāksīkartavyā dharmāh.</i>	第十四法自證。 一法身當知； 二法意當知； 三法眼當知； 四法慧當知。
<i>ime cattāro dh° sacchikā-</i>	諸比丘是為四	= Group A	<i>iīma āyuṣanto catvāriṇ-</i>	是為行者四十

Daśo (Pa)	Daśo (Ch1) Group A	Daśo (Ch1) Group B	Daśo (Skt)	Daśo (Ch 2)
<i>tabbā. itī ime cattārīsa- dhammā bhūtā tacchā tathā avītatthā anaññathā sammā tathāgatena abhisam- buddhā.</i>	十法，如實無 虛(←空)。如 來知己，平等 說法。		<i>śad dharmās tathā avīta- thāḥ. pūrvavad yāvat sam- yakprajñayā draṣṭavyāḥ.</i>	法。是不非， 是不異，有諦， 如有，不惑， 不倒。是如 {是}有，持慧 意觀。

V. The Existing Translation Partially Replaced by a Re-translation

It is quite noteworthy that the readings in Group B in the part in question agree well with those in the Sarvāstivāda versions, namely the Sanskrit *Daśottara-sūtra* and An Shigao's Chinese translation. What might this mean?

Amongst the categories consisting of 1~2 and 5~10 *dharmas* there are many in which the *Shishang jing* and the Sarvāstivāda versions enumerate items differently and so, naturally, their enumeration would differ also amongst the categories consisting of 3~4 *dharmas*. However, the readings in Group B in the part in question practically all agree with those in the Sarvāstivāda versions. Therefore, I assume that the readings in Group A are original, while those in Group B are later re-translations. The re-translator(s), probably with the original manuscript, written in Sanskrit, at hand, changed the Chinese readings, where they differed from those in that manuscript. This manuscript belonged apparently to the same school as the Sanskrit *Daśottara-sūtra* and An Shigao's Chinese translation, namely the Sarvāstivāda. It is, however, not clear why only the categories consisting of 3~4 *dharmas* were re-translated. Who did this – judging from the wording, it might have been completed before the Tang period – and why was the re-translation transmitted only in Group B editions? These are questions which need further investigation.

On the basis of this finding we may assume that the readings in these editions, *not only* in this particular text, *but also* in others in the same Chinese translation of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, could be the result of later modifications, based on a newly-arrived Sarvāstivāda Sanskrit manuscript. One should, therefore, be careful in adopting the readings in these editions in preference to those in Group A.

Moreover, this may also suggest that there might be other cases where translated texts were partially and "privately" replaced by re-translations which were made based on newly-arrived Sanskrit (or Prakrit) manuscripts.

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Abbreviations

Abhidh-k-bh	<i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> (ed. Pradhan)
Abhidh-k-vy	<i>Abhidharmakośavyākhyā</i> (ed. Wogihara)
BLSF	<i>The British Library Sanskrit Fragments</i> (ed. Karashima and Wille)
DĀ	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (Chinese, T 1)
DN	<i>Dīrgha-nikāya</i>
Daśo (Ch1)	DĀ 30
Daśo (Ch2)	T 13
Daśo (DĀG)	Fragments of the Sanskrit <i>Daśottara-sūtra</i> (private collection, Virginia)
Daso (Pa)	DN 34
Daśo (Skt)	<i>Daśottara-sūtra</i> (Mittal and Schlingloff (ed.))

DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> (Rhys Davids and Carpenter (ed.))
SHT	<i>Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> , (Waldschmidt et al. (ed.))
SWTF	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i> (Bechert et al. (ed.))
T	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō</i> (Takakusu and Watanabe (ed.))

Text-critical Conventions

-	absence of word(s); e.g., 諦(v.l. -)
◦	except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one
←	$\alpha \leftarrow \beta$: the Chinese character β should be changed to α ; e.g., 搏(←搏)
{ }	superfluous Chinese character(s); e.g., 如{是}有
*	lacuna in the manuscript
s.e.	scribal error

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