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This is the third 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). It collects academic contributions on various

aspects related to the Middle-length Collections of discourses (*sūtras*, *suttas*)

transmitted by different early Buddhist lineages of reciters, preserved in their

Indic originals in Gandhari, Pali and Sanskrit as well as in Chinese and Tibetan

translations.

Research on the *Madhyama-āgama*



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Research Series 5

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Madhyama-āgama

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Research on the *Madhyama-āgama*

edited by Dhammadinnā

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Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (DILA) Series

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Preface

This is the third volume of proceedings of the Āgama seminars held by the Āgama Research Group at the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts (formerly Dharma Drum Buddhist College) during the last weekend of October 2015.

On this occasion, we met to discuss various questions related to the Middle-length Collections of discourses transmitted by different early Buddhist lineages of reciters.

This volume comprises twelve studies, arranged according to the authors' names in alphabetical order. Several contributions are the result of the collaborative work of the participants, reflecting the co-operative nature of the research seminar.

The volume begins by bringing us straight into the world of the Gandhari *Āgamas*, with Mark Allon and Blair Silverlock's in-depth investigation of "*Sūtras* in the Senior Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Collection with Parallels in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and/or the *Madhyama-āgama*". The Senior manuscripts were probably produced by monastics of the Dharmaguptaka lineage, since several of the texts in the collection most closely match the versions found in texts attributed to the Dharmaguptakas preserved in Chinese, namely the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*. Based on the characteristics of the inscription on the pot that contained the manuscripts and the results of carbon dating, the collection seems to have been assembled between AD 130 and 140. The scriptures include four discourses whose primary parallels are found in the Pali or Chinese Middle-Length Collections. Furthermore, there appear to be several *uddāna*-like references to middle-length discourses in the list of fifty-five discourses preserved on two scrolls. Allon and Silverlock look from numerous angles into what both classes of material have to tell us about the nature and structure of the Gandharan *Madhyama-āgama* that was known to the community that produced the Senior collection.

The second contribution is authored by Bhikkhu Anālayo, who considers theoretical and text-historical aspects involved in determining “The ‘School Affiliation’ of the *Madhyama-āgama*” extant in Chinese translation. The topic is first tackled from a more general perspective on the notions of transmission lineages and the heuristic value of the identification of ‘school affiliation’ in the case of the *Āgamas*. Anālayo explains that the discourses that form part of these canonical collections have historically come into being well before the arising of Buddhist schools which were characterised by discrete text-historical transmissions and identities. To classify an *Āgama* on the basis of its ‘school affiliation’ is for this reason different from pursuing the same classification in the case of exegetical or doctrinal texts, or even *Vinaya* literature. Another methodological consideration is relevant to a proper appreciation of variations among textual collections. The nature of oral transmission and the existence of multiple lineages within a single school—a feature that is especially evident in the case of the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions—make it in his view preferable not to take individual instances of lack of conformity as being invariably a reflection of the influence of the school affiliation on a particular text. He then gives three examples of distinct markers of Sarvāstivāda influence in the *Madhyama-āgama* collection, as well as its general position in terms of similarity and difference vis-à-vis other discourses collections, as indicators of a Sarvāstivāda, or perhaps, more broadly speaking, ‘Greater Sarvāstivāda’, affiliation of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*.

The following study, Roderick S. Bucknell’s “*Ekottarika*-type Material in the *Madhyama-āgama*”, builds on the author’s earlier structural studies of the Chinese *Āgamas* published in the proceedings of our *Ekottarika-āgama* and *Dūṛgha-āgama* seminars (2013 and 2014). This time Bucknell seeks an explanation for the numerical discrepancy observable between the discourses in the *Madhyama-āgama* in Chinese translation and those found in its Pali counterpart, the *Majjhima-*

nikāya. Whereas the majority of the Pali parallels to the *Madhyama-āgama* discourses are located in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, a considerable portion of them are found in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*. Examining the distribution of these discourses within the *Madhyama-āgama* reveals some sizable numerical clusters resembling the divisions of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*. On this basis Bucknell suggests that *Madhyama-āgama* discourses whose Pali parallels are located in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* were transferred into the *Madhyama-āgama* from a Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection.

Next, Jin-il Chung offers an annotated juxtaposition of “The *Śrutāṅṛśamsa-sūtra* of the *Dīrgha-āgama* in Comparison with the *Wende jing* 聞德經 of the *Madhyama-āgama*”. The similarities and variations highlighted by this philological work of comparison between a discourse in the Sanskrit Gilgit manuscript of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, which was transmitted within a Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda lineage, and its Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* parallel leads the author to reaffirm his earlier reassessment of prevailing opinions on the relationship between the textual tradition underlying the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and the Sarvāstivāda tradition in general. This suggestion relates to the same author’s close comparison of a full-length discourse in the fragmentary Gilgit manuscript of an *Ekottarika-āgama* attributed to the Mūlasarvāstivādins with its counterpart in the same Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* published in 2014 as well as to his calling into question of the school affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* as expressed in his earlier *A Survey of the Sanskrit Fragments Corresponding to the Chinese Madhyamāgama* co-published with Fukita Takamichi 吹田隆道 in 2011.

Discussion on the school affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* in fact began in eighteenth-century Japan, where scholars of *Abhidharmakośa* doctrine had a keen interest in the ‘sectarian’—to use a category typically employed in that context—provenance of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. This scholastic tradition is surveyed by Fukita

Takamichi 吹田隆道 in his “Back to the Future of Prof. Akanuma’s Age: A Research History of the School Affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* in Japan”, starting from the view of Hōdō 法幢 (1740–1770), who argued that the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* is connected with the Sarvāstivāda school, based on descriptions of the school’s tenets and canonical quotations embedded in the *Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya*. Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善 identified a number of key elements supporting Hōdō’s view, but also pointed out that the extant Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* diverges from the Sarvāstivāda transmission in various ways. The existence of two Sarvāstivāda traditions—namely the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda—led to the subsequent hypothesis that those portions of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* not in accord with the Sarvāstivāda tradition as witnessed by other texts may have derived from a separate, little understood Sarvāstivāda tradition. Fukita argues that the positing of the existence of such separate traditions does not reflect an accurate interpretation of the variation among the recensions of the discourses as witnessed by the Sanskrit manuscripts nor does it successfully resolve the questions surrounding the provenance of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*.

Another significant matter that has long been disputed in Japanese circles—and beyond them—is the attribution of the Chinese translations of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*, with uncertainty as to whether or not the translatorship of the *Ekottarika-āgama* should also be credited to Gautama Saṅghadeva, the translator of the *Madhyama-āgama*. Hung Jen-jou 洪振洲 and Bhikkhu Anālayo present their research finding on this issue in their article titled “A Quantitative Textual Analysis of the Translation Idiom of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*”. This offers a quantitative textual analysis of the two collections, which goes to complement the picture that emerges from research by Michael Radich in collaboration with Bhikkhu Anālayo also included in this volume.

The analysis deploys a translatorship attribution algorithm as its basic method. The statistical results are further examined to identify the key phrases that cause the translation terminology in *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* to be so different. A comparison of phrases indicates that they do reflect different translation styles and that the variations do not seem to be merely due to differences of content. On the basis of this, one can conclude that the translations of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* do not stem from the same translator or translation team, but are the products of different translators at work.

A linguistic analysis informs the paper to follow, “The Underlying Language of the Chinese Translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*” by Karashima Seishi 辛嶋静志. The Indic original of the *Madhyama-āgama* was recited by a monk from Kashmir named Saṅgharakṣa and was, as already mentioned, translated into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva, who was also a Kashmirian monk. The translation was carried out in AD 397–398. After analysing the Chinese transliterations of Indic terms, Karashima concludes that although the underlying Indic original might have been thoroughly Sanskritised, it still contains elements of Gandhari and other Prakrits. This evidence tallies with the linguistic landscape of the end of the fourth century, when the role of Gandhari and its script, Kharoṣṭhī, had been gradually replaced by that of (Buddhist) Sanskrit and Brāhmī. Karashima’s inspection thus adduces substantial new evidence that builds on earlier suggestions, based on just a few translated words and a couple of transliterations, that the Indic original of the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* may have been transmitted in Gandhari. If the hypothesis of the affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* extant in Chinese to the Greater Sarvāstivāda holds, a tendency to Sanskritisation is only to be expected, Sanskrit being the ‘ecclesiastical language’ of the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda communities.

The issue of the attribution of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and *Madhyama-āgama* translations is the focus of another collaborative contribution, this time by Michael Radich and Bhikkhu Anālayo: “Were the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Madhyama-āgama* Translated by the Same Person? An Assessment on the Basis of Translation Style”. Radich and Anālayo summarise the positions of previous scholars and assess relevant textual evidence. Their research adopts a methodology parallel and complementary to the quantitative assessment provided by Hung and Anālayo. The texts are analysed using TACL, a software tool for comparisons of two or more arbitrarily defined corpora developed by Michael Radich and Jamie Norrish. Most basically, the analysis enabled by this tool extracts all unique n-grams from the texts in each corpus, and finds the differences or intersections between the resulting sets of n-grams. This analysis enables researchers to find numerous and diverse markers of translation style, covering a wide range of phraseology occurring many times in each text. In the present case, the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Madhyama-āgama* consistently and systematically differ from one another in the translation of frequently used proper names, terms, phraseology and doctrinal vocabulary. This leads to the conclusion that the received ascription of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to this translator is incorrect. In other words, Radich and Anālayo contend that the *Ekottarika-āgama* was not translated by the same person or group as the *Madhyama-āgama*. They thus come to the same conclusion reached by Hung and Anālayo, with the two independently executed studies confirming and strengthening each other.

A wide perspective on the text-historical dynamics of transmission is presented by Richard Salomon, who writes “On the Evolution of Written *Āgama* Collections in Northern Buddhist Traditions”. Salomon proposes a four-stage model in the development of written texts and canons in the Buddhism of North India and Central Asia, with particular reference to the discourses—from an original

purely oral stage, via a phase in which individual texts or small groups of texts began to be set down in writing, through a subsequent period of compilation of complete collections in written form, to the eventual recording of complete Sūtra-piṭakas in handwritten or printed form. Such stages of development need not be perceived as mutually exclusive, as the later stages typically supplement but do not replace the earlier ones. Gandhari material is selected by Salomon so as to provide apt illustrations of these processes. In addition to considerations in support of the overall unity and consistency and, thus, ‘authenticity’, of the *Āgama* collections, the author notes also some other patterns suggested by the contents and distribution of early discourse manuscripts in Sanskrit and Gandhari. It would appear that the manuscripts were sometimes intentionally left incomplete, with the beginning of the text or text collection standing symbolically for the whole.

These scriptural assemblages are best understood as ‘symbolic Tripiṭakas’, in the words of Peter Skilling, who contributes the successive study in this volume. In “The Many Lives of Texts: *Pañcatraya* and *Māyājāla Sūtras*”, Skilling looks at these two discourses in terms of prominence, distinction, or lack thereof, throughout their continued transmission in history. The *Pañcatraya-sūtra* is found in the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* as the *Pañcattaya-sutta*, but it is not contained in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, the only other Middle-Length Collection completely available at present. The Mūlasarvāstivādins placed their *Pañcatraya* not in their Middle-Length but in their Long Collection, at least on the evidence of the Gilgit manuscript of the *Dīrgha-āgama* whose *Yuga-nipāta* does not include the *Pañcatraya*. The *Māyājāla* is included in this same *Yuga-nipāta*. However, there is a substantial difference, in that the *Māyājāla* is not found at all in the Theravāda tradition. The evidence suggests that the *Māyājāla* was transmitted by only one school, the ‘Greater Sarvāstivāda’. Skilling reasons that what may be termed the ‘identity’ of a discourse is not

defined by its *Āgama* alone. It can be situated by means of its membership in other textual groupings—in other canons, in other collections—and by its contents and its function. In fact these two discourses shared a long history in India, and in their written or manuscript ‘lives’ they are almost always paired. In the Greater Sarvāstivāda tradition they enjoyed considerable authority and were included, always as a pair and almost always in the same order, in lists of texts like the *Mahāsūtras* and the *Vaipulya*. The essay further discusses the *peyāla* principle and the terminological complexities of *Āgama*, canon, category and authority, arguing for the flexibility of canons as shown through the central Thai functional canons.

The volume closes with a paper that features a great wealth of parallel versions of the same discourse stemming from different transmission lineages. This is “The Indic Versions of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra*: Some Thoughts on the Early Transmission of *Āgama* Texts” by Ingo Strauch. The Bajaur collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts contains a well-preserved manuscript of a Gandhari version of the discourse on Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī’s robe gift to the Buddha, culminating in a detailed description and classification of gifts and their value depending on the status of both giver and recipient. The discourse has complete counterparts in the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* and the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. Other parallels include two small fragments of Sanskrit versions in the Turfan and Schøyen collections and Śamathadeva’s *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* Tibetan quotations from a *Madhyama-āgama*. On the basis of his completed edition of this text Strauch sketches the complex relationship of the Gandhari version to these direct and indirect parallels. The comparative analysis of the textual units and their formal characteristics in the different versions is used to determine the mechanisms that characterised the early formation and transmission of Buddhist canonical texts. The author shows that the versions of this discourse reveal a high degree of variations that evoke more general questions about the relationship

between conservatism and innovation, between uniformity and variation that were typical of the early history of the formation of the Tripitaka.

To conclude this introduction, as the seminar convenor and editor of the present volume of proceedings, I would like to take the opportunity to express my gratitude to the many friends and colleagues who have worked so hard to make the seminar a success or have co-operated in the production of this volume, especially Bhikṣu Zhihan 釋自翰 for his generous support and funding of the event via the Bodhiyāna Buddhist Education Society of Canada, the Fundación Bodhiyāna de la Argentina and the Fundación Instituto de Estudio Budistas de la Argentina. I also thank the reviewers who offered swift and pertinent feedback that has considerably improved the quality of this book; the authors were left free to make their own decisions regarding suggested revisions.

The Āgama Research Group is happy to make available the findings collected in the following pages to the wider academic community of students and scholars of early Buddhist texts beyond our Mountain on a small Island in the East China Sea.

Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā
 Director, Āgama Research Group
 Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts
 20 August, 2016

***Sūtras* in the Senior Kharoṣṭhī
Manuscript Collection with Parallels
in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and/or
the *Madhyama-āgama***

Mark Allon
&
Blair Silverlock
University of Sydney

Abstract

The Senior Kharoṣṭhī manuscript collection includes four discourses (*sutta/sūtra*) whose primary parallels are found in the Pali and/or Chinese Middle-length Collections (*Majjhima-nikāya/Madhyama-āgama*). They are: (1) RS 1 + 3, a Gandhari version of the Pali *Dhammacetiya-sutta* (MN 89) and Chinese *Fa zhuangyan jing* 法莊嚴經 (MĀ 213); (2) RS 10, a Gandhari version of the Pali *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta* (MN 120) and Chinese *Yixing jing* 意行經 (MĀ 168); (3) RS 12, a Gandhari version of the Pali *Cūḷagosiṅga-sutta* (MN 31) and Chinese *Niujiao suoluolin jing* 牛角娑羅林經 (MĀ 185); and (4) RS 4A, which lacks a Pali parallel but most likely represents a Gandhari parallel to the Chinese *Shizhe jing* 侍者經 (MĀ 33). There also appear to be several *uddāna*-like references to Middle-length discourses in the list of fifty-five discourses preserved on scrolls 7 and 8 (RS 7 + 8). In this paper we discuss these four discourses and their parallels, including those in other *Nikāyas/Āgamas*, the entries in the RS 7 + 8 list that appear to reference discourses in a Middle-length Collection, and whether both classes of material tell us anything about the nature and structure of the Gandharan *Madhyama-āgama* known to the community that produced the Senior Collection.

Contents

- I. Brief Overview of the Senior Manuscript Collection
- II. Four Surviving Discourses with Parallels in Middle-length Collections
- III. Entries in the RS 7 + 8 List that May Reference Discourses with Parallels in Middle-length Collections
- Summary
- Conclusion
- Abbreviations
- References

I. Brief Overview of the Senior Manuscript Collection

The Robert Senior Collection of Gandhari/Kharoṣṭhī Buddhist manuscripts has been previously documented in several publications and we will therefore only give the briefest outline of the collection here.¹

The Senior manuscript collection consists of twenty-four birch bark scrolls or scroll fragments containing at least forty-one Buddhist texts written in the Gandhari language and Kharoṣṭhī script. They were found in an inscribed earthenware pot either in eastern Afghanistan or northern Pakistan and it is likely that some manuscripts were lost in the course of their discovery and handling in modern times. All texts were written by the same scribe, probably in one event. According to the inscriptions on the pot the collection was commissioned by a donor called Rohaṇa and interred in a stūpa, probably within a stone chamber. All texts can be classified as canonical of the early schools,² there being no Mahāyāna texts

¹ For more detail the reader is referred to Allon 2007b and 2014.

² We use the term ‘canonical’ based on the fact that the parallels to these texts are found in the *Nikāyas/Āgamas* and *Vinayas* of various schools preserved in Pali, Sanskrit and/or Chinese. It does not imply that the community that produced this collection had a fixed canon, though as argued by Allon in his paper “The Formation of Canons in the Early Indian *Nikāyas* or Schools in the Light of the New Gāndhārī Manuscript Finds” presented at the XVIIth Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Vienna, August 18–23, 2014, it is highly likely that Buddhist communities had stable if not fixed *Āgamas* by the period of these manuscripts, the second century AD. Evidence for this comes from a combination of several factors, including (1) the *Samyukta-āgama* discourses and *Vana-samyukta* in the Senior Collection (see Glass 2007: 49–50 and discussion below); (2) fragments of

as is a feature of the Bajaur and Split collections of Gandhari/Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts.³ It is likely that the Senior manuscripts were produced by monastics of the Dharmaguptaka *nikāya* or school since several of the texts in the collection most closely match the versions found in texts attributed to the Dharmaguptakas preserved in Chinese, namely the Long Collection or *Dīrgha-āgama* and the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, although perhaps it would be better to say that they belong to the same textual lineage as these Dharmaguptaka texts.⁴ Based on the characteristics of the inscription on the pot, which bears a date of an unspecified era, and the results of carbon dating, the collection is likely to have been produced between AD 130 and 140 or at least the bark of the samples tested was cut from the tree at that time.

The majority of the texts (29 out of 41) are short discourses whose primary parallels are found in the Pali and/or Chinese or Sanskrit Connected Collections (*Samyutta-nikāya*/*Samyukta-āgama*) or which, though lacking parallels in other languages, are likely to have been drawn from a *Samyukta-āgama* (3 of the 29) given that they are short discourses dealing with topics that form the basis of

what appears to have been a complete Gandhari *Ekottarika-āgama* from Bamiyan (currently being edited by Jantrasrisalai, Lenz, Lin and Salomon), though this manuscript is probably approximately a century younger than the Senior manuscripts; (3) anthologies of discourses, such as the Senior Collection itself and An Shigao's anthology of *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses (T 150a), which imply larger collections from which the smaller compilations are based; (4) the tradition of oral transmission and group recitation, and particularly the *bhāṇaka* tradition, which require textual stability; and (5) the survival of complete *Nikāyas/Āgamas* that are clearly structured to facilitate memorization and oral transmission and whose constituent texts exhibit compositional features that had the same function (Allon 1997).

³ See Falk and Strauch 2014; cf. Allon and Salomon 2010, esp. 9–10.

⁴ Allon 2014: 22–23.

the arrangement of the Connected Collections. Four further discourses have their primary parallels in the Pali and/or Chinese Middle-length Collections (*Majjhima-nikāya/Madhyama-āgama*). Although surviving versions of the Middle-length and Long Collections show that there is an overlap between these two collections,⁵ it seems likely that they belonged to a Gandharan *Madhyama-āgama* since we have a model for the Long Collection of a Gandharan Dharmaguptaka community in the form of the Chinese *Dūrgha-āgama* (T 1) which lacks these discourses. One discourse (RS 2), the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*,⁶ has its primary parallels in the Long Collections.⁷ The parallels to a further six texts, which are narrative in nature and depict episodes from the Buddha's life, are for the most part found in *Vinaya* literature, an example being RS 24 no. 2 which depicts the merchants Tripuṣa and Bhallika giving the Buddha his first meal after his awakening.⁸ One text, the *Anavatapta-gāthā* (RS 14), or more specifically the *Anavatapta* verses of Mahākāśyapa, is of uncertain classification, but appears to have been classed as a discourse by the compilers of this collection.⁹ Finally, the genre and classification of one text (RS 22 no. 5) are uncertain. In other words, this collection of Gandharan texts that was commis-

⁵ In that discourses found in, say, the Middle-length Collection of one school are found in the Long Collection of another school and vice versa; on this pattern see Bucknell 2014.

⁶ The discourse lacks a title, but for convenience we use the Sanskrit version of the title that is found in Pali and some Sanskrit sources and most likely lies behind the titles of some of the Chinese translations.

⁷ Although parallels are also found in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*, these associations are undoubtedly secondary. For this and the notion of 'primary parallel' see Allon 2014: 24 note 18.

⁸ Allon 2009/2013.

⁹ Salomon 2008: 16–17.

sioned and interred in a *stūpa* in Gandhara in approximately AD 130–140 as a pious act represents a selection or anthology of early discourses, most of which have been drawn from the *Samyukta-āgama* of the Dharmaguptaka community who created the collection,¹⁰ plus a handful of narrative accounts dealing with episodes from the Buddha’s life most likely drawn from their *Vinaya*.

Two manuscripts in the collection, scrolls 7 and 8 (RS 7 + 8), are of a different category to the others in that rather than preserving particular discourses or texts they contain a single list of discourses, a proportion of which has survived among the Senior manuscript collection. The last line of this list (l. 26) states “in all fifty-five, 55, *sūtras*”, *sarvapiḍa sutra pacapacaiśa 55* (= Sanskrit *sarvapiṇḍita- sūtra- pañca-pañcāśat-*), which finds a parallel in similar phrases found in several *uddānas* in the Pali *Apadāna*, examples being *chassatāni ca paññāsa gāthāyo sabbapiṇḍitā*, “six hundred and fifty verses in all”¹¹ and *pañcāsītisatam* (B^e *pañcālīsītisatam*) *vuttā gāthāyo sabbapiṇḍitā*, “in all, a hundred and eighty-five verses were spoken”.¹² And, indeed, there do appear to be fifty-five texts listed on these two scrolls.

This list shares some features in common with the *uddānas* found in Buddhist texts preserved in Pali, Gandhari and Sanskrit (besides Tibetan and Chinese translations of these) in that the entries reference individual discourses or textual units in a collection, but it differs in several important ways from them.

In Buddhist texts *uddānas* generally provide a mnemonic key to or summary of the members of a group of textual units, e.g., a group of verses, discourses, or *vaggas/vargas* (collections of verses or

¹⁰ For further discussion of the *Samyukta-āgama* discourses, see the discussion below based on Glass 2007.

¹¹ Ap 54,12.

¹² Ap 81,14.

discourses).¹³ They usually occur at the end, sometimes at the beginning, of the textual unit, such as the *vagga/varga* or *nipāta*, or at the end of the text itself. They are normally metrical, with some metrical license, with the metre usually being Anuṣṭubh, though other metres are also encountered. Examples of the latter are the *uddānas* of the Gandhari Khotan *Dharmapada*¹⁴ and **Khaḍgaviṣāṇa-sūtra*¹⁵ which are in Triṣṭubh.¹⁶

The list of texts on RS 7 + 8 is not metrical but is laid out as are some Gandhari metrical texts with blank spaces of usually two or more letters or *akṣaras* in width separating blocks of text. In the case of the Gandhari Khotan *Dharmapada* and **Khaḍgaviṣāṇa-sūtra* just mentioned, these blocks of text correspond to *pādas* of the verse.¹⁷ But unlike these Gandhari metrical texts, the spaces on scrolls 7 and 8 do not necessarily correspond to boundaries between entries or groups of entries, with individual words occasionally straddling a space.

Most *uddāna* entries consist of a keyword of the textual unit being referenced or a word encapsulating its main topic, but not always in the same form in which it is found in the text or textual unit that is being referenced; and this word may or may not correspond to the

¹³ Examples of *uddānas* that reference the verses that make up a discourse or text are rare, the *uddāna* of the Gandhari **Khaḍgaviṣāṇa-sūtra* being one of the few examples (Salomon 2000: 33–37).

¹⁴ Verse 223, Brough 1962: 13–14.

¹⁵ Salomon 2000: 35–36.

¹⁶ Some *uddānas* in Buddhist Sanskrit texts appear to be non-metrical, or at least are so as they have come down to us. For example, Hartmann 2004: 120 and 123–125 notes that some of the *uddānas* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* from Gilgit are verse-like while others are prose.

¹⁷ The inclusion of spaces between *pādas* in the text on the Gandhari *Dharmapada* manuscript in the Split collection edited by Falk 2015 is inconsistent and less well defined. Falk 2015 presents the space in his edition by a double underline.

title of the text. For example, the *uddāna* to the *Rāja-vagga* of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya*, which is relevant to the Gandhari text (RS 7 + 8) under discussion, is:¹⁸

ghaṭṭikāro raṭṭhapālo, makhādevo madhuriyaṃ
bodhi aṅgulimālo ca, piyajātaṃ bāhitikaṃ
dhammacetiya-suttaṃ ca, dasamaṃ kaṇṇakathalaṃ

As is common for Pali *uddānas*, this references ten discourses.¹⁹ The entries *ghaṭṭikāro*, *raṭṭhapālo*, *makhādevo*, *bodhi* and *aṅgulimālo* are the names of the main character in the discourse being referenced. *Ghaṭṭikāro* references *Ghaṭṭikāra kumbhakāra*, ‘the potter *Ghaṭṭikāra*’, with the discourse being called the *Ghaṭṭikāra-sutta* (no. 81); *raṭṭhapālo* references *Raṭṭhapāla kulaputta*, the discourse being called the *Raṭṭhapāla-sutta* (no. 82); *makhādevo* references *rāja Makhādeva*, ‘King *Makhādeva*’, the discourse being the *Makhādeva-sutta* (no. 83); *bodhi* references *Bodhi rājakumāra*, the discourse being the *Bodhi-rājakumāra-sutta* (no. 85); and *aṅgulimālo* references *cora Aṅgulimāla*, ‘the bandit *Aṅgulimāla*’, the discourse being the *Aṅgulimāla-sutta* (no. 86).

The fourth entry, *madhuriyaṃ*, is derived from the name of the town, *Madhurā*, in which the monk *Mahākaccāna* lives, the discourse being called the *Madhura-sutta* (no. 84). The entry *piyajātaṃ* is derived from the Buddha’s statement *piyajātikā sokapari-devadukkhadomanassupāyāsā piyappabhavikā*, “sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair are born from those who are dear”, the discourse being called the *Piyajātika-sutta* (no. 87). The entry

¹⁸ The reading in C° MN II 575,16–18 and B° MN II 333,25–27 = VRI° is *ghaṭṭikāro* ... *maghadevo*; E° lacks *uddānas*. We do not list all variant readings here.

¹⁹ On discourses being grouped into lots of ten see for example Bucknell 2014: 73–79.

bāhitikaṃ is derived from the word *bāhitikā*, ‘the foreign cloth’,²⁰ offered by King Pasenadi to Ānanda at the end of their conversation recorded in this discourse, which bears the title *Bāhitika-sutta* (no. 88). The entry *dharmacetiya-suttaṃ* is derived from the Buddha’s statement to the monks after King Pasenadi had departed that they should remember the *dharmacetiyaṇi*, ‘monuments to the Dhamma’, uttered by the king, the discourse being called the *Dharmacetiya-sutta* (no. 89). The tenth (*dasamaṃ*) entry *kaṇṇakattalaṃ* is derived from the name of the town, Kaṇṇakattala, the discourse being called the *Kaṇṇakattala-sutta* (no. 90).²¹ As can be seen from this *uddāna*, there is a close correspondence between the *uddāna* entry and the title of the discourse, a phenomenon that is more common in the *Dīgha-nikāya* and *Majjhima-nikāya* than for the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and *Āṅguttara-nikāya* where, no doubt due to the sheer number of discourses involved, the titles of discourses were less well established.²²

In contrast to this *Rāja-vagga uddāna*, the entries in the *uddānas* of the *Sagātha-vagga* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, which consists of mixed prose-verse discourses, are based on the first word or words, or the first significant word or words, of the first *pāda* of each group of verses in the discourse, while the *uddāna* entries in the Gandhari **Khaḍgaviṣṇa-sūtra* mentioned above consist of a word or a phrase of two or three words which mostly corresponds to the first word or

²⁰ On *bāhitikā* see Anālayo 2011: 505 note 316.

²¹ For a detailed discussion of the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses of the *Rāja-vagga* and their parallels, titles etc., see Anālayo 2011: 441–525.

²² The Asian editions commonly derive a title for the discourses of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and *Āṅguttara-nikāya* from the *uddāna* entries, while the European editions of these two texts merely duplicate the *uddāna* entry as a heading to the discourse. For the *Saṃyutta-nikāya/Saṃyukta-āgama*, see Chung 2008: 27 note 91.

words of the verse being referenced.²³ Occasionally, in Pali texts at least, the *uddāna* entry consists of a phrase from the root text being referenced rather than a keyword. An example is the *uddāna* entry *yo ca na rakkhati*, “and who does not protect”, which is a slightly abbreviated quote of *pāda* b of *Jātaka* verse 10: *yo ca aññe na rakkhati*, “and who does not protect others”.²⁴ Presumably the word *aññe* was omitted in the *uddāna* to allow room for the additional words *tena dasa*, *pāda* d of the *uddāna* reading *yo ca na rakkhati tena dasa*, “and who does not protect’: with that there are ten [*suttas*]”.

Some entries in the RS 7 + 8 list are like those found in *uddānas* in other Buddhist traditions in that they consist of one or two significant words from the text, which often correspond to the title of a discourse known in other traditions. The entries that may reference *Majjhima-nikaya/Madhyama-āgama* discourse discussed below are of this category.²⁵ But many other entries on RS 7 + 8 consist of one or more long sentences quoted from the text, which is very un-*uddāna*-like.²⁶

Finally, the RS 7 + 8 list is similar to many *uddānas* in that it concludes with mention of how many discourses or textual units have been referenced (“in all fifty-five, 55, *sūtras*”).²⁷

²³ Salomon 2000: 35–36.

²⁴ Jā I 141,²⁴ Vol. 1 of the PTS edition of the *Jātaka* and commentary lacks *uddānas*. The references for the *uddāna* in the Asian editions are C^c Jā I 4, B^c Jā I 3 and S^c Jā I 4.

²⁵ A few further examples are given in Allon 2007b: 19.

²⁶ For examples, see Glass 2007: 149, 177, 186 and 194.

²⁷ Further details will be given in Allon forthcoming.

II. Four Surviving Discourses with Parallels in Middle-length Collections

The following four surviving discourses in the Senior Collection have their primary parallels in the Pali and/or Chinese Middle-length Collections.²⁸

1. RS 1 + 3²⁹

The Pali parallel to the discourse preserved on scrolls 1 and 3, which is fragmentary and difficult to read, is the *Dhammacetiya-sutta*, ‘Discourse on the Monuments to the Dhamma’,³⁰ no. 89 of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, for which the *uddāna* entry is *dharmacetiyañ*.³¹ *Āṅuttara-nikāya* no. 10.30 has some elements in common with the *Dhammacetiya-sutta*.³² There are two Chinese parallels. The first is the *Fazhuangyan jing* 法莊嚴經, ‘Discourse on the Ornaments of the Dharma’, no. 213 of the *Madhyama-āgama*, for which the *uddāna* entry is *fazhuang* 法嚴, ‘ornaments of the Dharma’.³³ The second is discourse no. 38.10 of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, for

²⁸ This account is a modification of that given in Allon 2007b.

²⁹ Cf. Allon 2007b: 7–8.

³⁰ Following Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 728 in the translation of the title. Anālayo 2011: 510 gives “discourse on Dharma monuments”.

³¹ MN 89 at MN II 118,1–125,6. The *uddāna* reference is noted above. The discourse is referred to as the *Dhammacetiya-sutta* (or *~suttanta*) in the editions of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, in the commentary to the discourse (Ps III 348,3) and in several further Pali commentaries (Dhp-a I 356,8 and Jā IV 151,29).

³² AN 10.30 at AN V 65,5–69,27. The *uddāna* entry in E° and B° for this and the preceding discourse is *kosalehi pare duve* (E° AN V 70,2 and B° AN III 311,14) on the basis of which B° (AN III 307,24) gives it the title *Dutiyakosala-suttam*.

³³ MĀ 213 at T I 795b17–797c6; *uddāna* on p. 792c7.

which there is no title given.³⁴ The account is also found in both the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.³⁵

There is no Sanskrit parallel.

A detailed comparison of all versions of the discourse is given by Anālayo (2011: 510–519).

The main gist of the discourse is that King Praṣeṇao visits the Buddha, shows respect (extraordinary respect in the Pali) and enumerates his reasons for his showing such respect, which amount to the superiority of Buddha and his monks to other ascetics.

Entry no. 10 in the list of discourses preserved on RS 7 + 8 (line 2) may well reference this RS 1 + 3 discourse. The entry is *pa[sī]* /// or possibly *pa[se]* ///, which may represent the remnant of the name of the king of Kośala who features in the discourse on RS 1 + 3 where the spelling is *Praṣeṇao*.³⁶ The name appears in Pali as *Pasenadi*, Sanskrit as *Prasenajit* and in a Bharhut inscription as *Pasenaji*.³⁷ If *pa[sī]/pa[se]* does represent the remnant of this king's name, then the likely reconstruction would be *paṣi(*ṇao)* or *paṣe(*ṇao)*. Several factors support this identification. They are:

(1) the previous two entries on this line (nos. 8 and 9) are names of kings (*Mahadeva* and *Bibis(*a)r(*a)*);³⁸

(2) most of the entries on the first two lines of RS 7 + 8 appear to be references to discourses found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*/*Madhyama-āgamas*, it therefore being likely that this entry on line 2 also references a *Madhyama-āgama* discourse;

³⁴ EĀ 38.10 at T II 724b28–725b13.

³⁵ All references are given in Anālayo 2011: 510.

³⁶ The spelling is *p[r]aṣen[i]g[e]no* (instr. sg.) in British Library manuscript 12 + 14 (l. 75; see Allon 2001: 304–306).

³⁷ *Rāja pasenaji kosalo*, ‘King Pasenaji of Kosala’; see Cunningham 1879: 134; Lüders 1963: 113, pl. xix B39.

³⁸ See discussions below.

(3) like the parallels to the preceding three entries on this line (nos. 7, 8 and 9) of RS 7 + 8, the Pali and Chinese parallels to this discourse (RS 1 + 3) are found in the ‘Division on Kings’ in the respective Middle-length Collections (P. *Rāja-vagga*, Skt. *Rājasamyuktaka-nipāta*, Chin. *Wangxiangying pin* 王相應品),³⁹ and

(4) the discourse on RS 1 + 3 otherwise lacks a reference in this RS 7 + 8 list.

2. RS 4A⁴⁰

The text on this scroll, which is fragmentary, records the following related events:

(1) the Buddha tells Ānanda of his interaction with various assemblies of people;

(2) the Buddha is in Kusinārā/Kuśinagarī (or goes there) and lies between the twin sal trees; Ānanda laments the Buddha’s impending death;

(3) the Buddha consoles Ānanda and predicts his awakening; and

(4) Ānanda achieves awakening.

This represents a Gandhari version of the *Shizhe jing* 侍者經, ‘Discourse on the Attendant’, no. 33 of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*,⁴¹ which lacks a parallel in the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya*.⁴² There is also no Sanskrit parallel.

There appears to be no reference to this discourse on RS 7 + 8.

³⁹ See below for further details.

⁴⁰ Cf. Allon 2007b: 8–9 and Allon 2014: 25.

⁴¹ MĀ 33 at T I 471c27–475a10. This was identified by Jin-il Chung (private communication 13 September 2009).

⁴² Parallels to these events are found separately in several discourses and *Vinaya* texts preserved in different languages (some are listed in Allon 2007b: 8–9).

3. RS 10⁴³

The text preserved on this manuscript is fragmentary and difficult to read but most likely represents a Gandhari version of the Pali *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta* (v.l. *Saṅkhārupapatti-*),⁴⁴ ‘Discourse on the Reappearance by Aspiration’, no. 120 of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, for which the *uddāna* entry is *uppatti* (v.l. *upapatti*).⁴⁵ A similar discourse, though according to Anālayo (2011: 678–679) one that cannot be considered to be a parallel to the Pali *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta*, is the *Yixing jing* 意行經, ‘Discourse on Aspirations’, discourse no. 168 of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*.⁴⁶

There is no Sanskrit parallel.

A detailed discussion of all parallels is given by Anālayo (2011: 678–681).

In this discourse the Buddha tells the monks that endowed with certain qualities (faith, virtue etc.) a monk can develop the wish to be reborn in a certain state and, because of his aspirations (Pali *saṅkhāruppatti*, v.l. *~upapatti*), will be reborn as such (in the Pali version the states start with rebirth as a *khattiya* and end with rebirth among the *Nevasaññānāsaññāyatanūpagā* gods). Or he can aspire to the destruction of the taints (*āsava*), thereby not reappearing anywhere.

There appears to be no reference to this discourse on RS 7 + 8.

⁴³ Cf. Allon 2007b: 11.

⁴⁴ The title is *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta* according to E^c MN III 103,25 and C^c MN III 256,2; but apparently *upapatti* in the *uddāna*, p. 262,34 (see next footnote), which is adopted by Anālayo 2011: 678, but *Saṅkhārupapatti-sutta* according to B^c MN III 140,12 and S^c MN III 217,1.

⁴⁵ MN 120 at MN III 99,15–103,25; E^c lacks *uddānas*. The reading in B^c MN III 146,14 is *upapatti*. The reading in C^c MN III 262,34 appears to be *upapatti*, but is likely to be a misprint given that the spelling is *up-* in the title and throughout the discourse.

⁴⁶ MĀ 168 at T I 700b24–701b21. Some similarities are seen in AN 8.35 at AN IV 239,4–241,10 and DN 33 at DN III 258,17–260,2 (part of *Saṅgīti-sutta*); see Anālayo 2011: 680.

4. RS 12⁴⁷

This discourse, which is one of the longest in the collection, has been edited, translated and studied by Blair Silverlock for his PhD thesis (2015).

The Pali parallel is the *Cūlagosīṅga-sutta*, ‘Shorter Discourse [set] in the Gosīṅga [Forest]’, no. 31 of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.⁴⁸ The title is derived from Gosīṅga-sālavana-dāya, ‘the park of the Gosīṅga sal-tree forest’,⁴⁹ the name of the place where the Buddha encounters three of his senior monks. The *uddāna* entry for this and the following discourse, the *Mahāgosīṅga-sutta* (MN 32), is the compound *giṇṇjaka-sālavanaṃ*, where *giṇṇjaka-*, ‘brick’, is a reference to the ‘Brick house’ (*giṇṇjakāvasatha-*),⁵⁰ the Buddha’s residence in the *Cūlagosīṅga-sutta*, and *-sālavanaṃ*, ‘sal-tree forest’, is a reference to the Gosīṅga-sālavana-dāya, the place where the Buddha resides in the *Mahāgosīṅga-sutta*.⁵¹

A section of the discourse also forms a part of the *Upakkilesa-sutta* (MN 128) and the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.⁵²

There are two Chinese parallels. The first is the *Niujiaosuoluolinjin jing* 牛角娑羅林經, ‘Discourse [set] in the Gosīṅga Sal-tree Forest’, no. 185 of the *Madhyama-āgama*.⁵³ Here *suoluo* 羅娑 is a transliteration of *sāla* (Pali), *śāla*, *sāla* (Sanskrit), ‘sal tree’. The *uddāna* entry for this discourse is *Niujiao suoluolin* 牛角娑羅林,

⁴⁷ Cf. Allon 2007b: 11–12.

⁴⁸ MN 31 at MN I 205,16–211,35.

⁴⁹ E.g., MN I 205,18–19.

⁵⁰ MN 32 at MN I 205,17.

⁵¹ The discourse is referred to as the *Cūla-/Culla-gosīṅga-sutta* in several Pali commentaries (e.g., Ps II 153,27) or once as the *Gosīṅgasāla-sutta* (B° Ps-pt II 350).

⁵² MN 128 at MN III 155,13–157,23 and Vin I 350,30–352,20.

⁵³ MĀ 185 at T I 729b28–731a28.

‘Goṣiṅga sal-tree forest’.⁵⁴ The second parallel is the *Changshou-jing* 長壽經, ‘Discourse on [King] Long-life’, no. 24.8 of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁵⁵

A Sanskrit parallel to this discourse does not survive, nor is its title recorded in Sanskrit sources.

A detailed comparison of all parallels is given by Anālayo (2011: 203–209).

The discourse on RS 12 is referenced in the list on RS 7 + 8 (line 1) with *goṣigo*, the equivalent of P *goṣiṅga*-, ‘cow-horn’, or possibly with *goṣigo* [*s.l.*] ///, representing the remnants of the pseudo-compound *goṣigo-s(*a)l(*avaṇa)* = P *goṣiṅga-sālavana*-, ‘Goṣiṅga sal-tree forest’, or the like.⁵⁶

The Gandhari begins with a description of some monks who live in harmony (parallel to the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* version) who are presumably the monks Aṇarudha (Pali Anuruddha), Naḍia (Pali Nandiya) and Kibhira (Pali Kimbila), who feature in the remainder of the discourse. The Buddha visits them and asks whether they are well supported and live in harmony. He asks Aṇarudha whether there is an ease of living higher than this and Aṇarudha describes the absorptions (Pali *jhāna*). The Buddha departs and a deity tells the Buddha that it is a gain for the Vajjis that these three monks live in their territory. The Buddha confirms this and states that whoever remembers these three will benefit. The deity’s proclamation is passed on up through the various classes of gods.

⁵⁴ MĀ 184 at T I 724c13.

⁵⁵ EĀ 24.8 at T II 629a15–630a6. MĀ 72 at T I 536a17–c16 is a partial parallel.

⁵⁶ However, in this article and in Allon (forthcoming) [*s.l.*] is taken as the remnant of a separate entry. See also below.

III. Entries in the RS 7 + 8 List that May Reference Discourses with Parallels in Middle-length Collections⁵⁷

The identification of the discourse or text being referenced by an entry on RS 7 + 8 is often speculative. The identification is usually more certain when the discourse being referenced has survived among the Senior manuscripts or, where it has not survived, the entry consists of a quote from a discourse that corresponds to the wording of a discourse attested in Pali, Sanskrit and/or Chinese. An example of the former is *goṣigo* on line 1 discussed above, which must reference the discourse on RS 12 and which is the only certain example of an entry on RS 7 + 8 referencing a surviving discourse whose primary parallel is a Middle-length discourse. Where the entry only consists of one or two words, that is, where the entry corresponds in form to a typical *uddāna* entry, and where there is no obvious referent among the surviving texts, the identification of a possible referent is often based on that entry corresponding to the title and/or *uddāna* entry of a discourse known in another language. As with the entries discussed below, the identification may be bolstered by the identification of the other entries in that section of the RS 7 + 8 list and the *Nikāya/Āgama* to which they belong. For example, the majority of entries on the first two lines seem to reference discourses whose primary parallels are found in the Middle-length Collections, while the entries on line 3 onwards mostly reference discourses whose primary parallels, or possible referents

⁵⁷ Due to space constraints we do not discuss the contents of the possible discourse parallels to the entries taken up here. This information and further details of the entries of RS 7 + 8 will appear in Allon forthcoming.

where the Gandhari text has not survived, are found in the Connected Collections.

The entries on RS 7 + 8 that do not reference a surviving text and that may reference discourses whose primary parallels are found in the Pali and/or Chinese or Sanskrit Middle-length Collections are the following (the numbers refer to the entry number on RS 7 + 8).

No. 1. *śīlakadhe*, ‘section on virtue’ (line 1)

This most likely represents Pali *sīla-kkhandha*-/Sanskrit *śīla-skandha*-, ‘Section on Virtue’. This is suggestive either of the name of a section of the *Dīgha-nikāya*/*Dīrgha-āgama*, *Sīlakkhandha-vagga* in Pali and **Śīlaskandha-varga* or the like in Sanskrit, or of one of the three sections of the noble path.⁵⁸

In the Pali canon the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga* is the first of three *vaggas* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, which consists of thirteen discourses. The corresponding section of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, which is referred to as the *Śīlaskandhanip*(*ā)t(*a) in the *uddāna* of the *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript from Gilgit, is the last section of that *Āgama* and contains twenty-three discourses.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ The three sections of the noble path are (to use the Sanskrit forms) *śīla-skandha*, ‘Section on Virtue’, *samādhi-skandha*, ‘Section on Concentration’ and *prajñā-skandha*, ‘Section on Wisdom’.

⁵⁹ Folio 454v5; see Hartmann 2004, esp. 122–125. A reading of the section of the *uddāna* containing the word *Śīlaskandhanip.t* was given in a handout which accompanied Hartmann’s presentation of the manuscript at the XIIIth International Association of Buddhist Studies Conference, Bangkok, December 9–13, 2002. Hartmann 2000: 365 refers to this section as the “Śīlaskandhikā section” (*Śīlaskandhikā*-Abschnitt) presumably following the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and *Vyākhyā*, but as “Śīlaskandha section” in more recent publications (e.g., Hartmann and Wille 2014: 139). On the positioning of the *Brahmajāla* within the Long Collections see Anālayo 2015.

In his preliminary discussion of RS 7 + 8, Richard Salomon (2003: 83) proposed that this and the following entry, *dukhakadhio*, the first two entries in this list, may refer to sections (Sanskrit *skandha*) of the discourses of this list that deal with the topics of virtue (*śīla*) and suffering (*duḥkha*), respectively. This now seems unlikely given that the discourses in the list for the most part do not deal with these two topics while *dukhakadhio* appears to reference a particular discourse (see below). Further, taking these two entries as references to discourses enables the count of fifty-five—the number of *sūtras* listed on RS 7 + 8 according to the last line of it—to be attained.

As it is, the word *śīlakadha-* does not occur elsewhere in the surviving texts of the Senior Collection, while no text that has survived has virtue (*śīla*) or the *śīlaskandha* components of the Path as its central theme. It therefore appears that this entry references a discourse that has not survived or was never included in the original deposit.

No Pali discourse bears the title *Sīlakkhandha-sutta* or the like, although there are many *Sīla-suttas*,⁶⁰ nor does there appear to be a *Śīlaskandha-sūtra* recorded in Sanskrit literature. Given that most of the entries on the first two lines of RS 7 + 8 seem to refer to discourses whose likely parallels are found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*/*Madhyama-āgamas*, it is possible that this entry may refer to a discourse from this collection also. Although no discourse in the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* has *sīla* in its title, there are three in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* that do.⁶¹ The first is no. 22, the *Chengjiu-jie jing* 成就戒經, ‘Discourse on Accomplishing Virtue’.⁶² *Chengjiujie* 成就戒 is most likely the equivalent of Pali *sampannasīla-*,

⁶⁰ See DPPN, s.v.

⁶¹ We are indebted to Bhikkhu Anālayo for bringing these discourses to our attention.

⁶² MĀ 22 at T I 449c7–450c28.

which is synonymous with *sīlasampanna-*, ‘endowed with virtue’, the first significant word in the Pali parallel to this Chinese discourse, *Āṅguttara-nikāya* no. 5.166.⁶³ The *uddāna* entry for this Pali discourse is *nirodho*,⁶⁴ which must be taken from *saññāvedayita-nirodhaṃ samāpajjeyya*, “he may attain the cessation of perception and feeling”, in the first sentence of Sāriputta’s discourse.⁶⁵ The other two Chinese discourses are nos. 47 and 48, which are both referred to as *Jie jing* 戒經, ‘Discourse on Virtue’.⁶⁶ The Pali parallels are three discourses in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, nos. 10.3–5,⁶⁷ whose *uddāna* entries are *sīlaṃ upanīṣā ānanda-* in the PTS and Ceylonese editions, but *tayo upanīṣā pi ca* in the Burmese and Siamese editions.⁶⁸ No remnants of these *Madhyama-āgama* discourses survive in the Senior Collection. In support of this entry referencing one of these three *Madhyama-āgama* discourses is the fact that they occur in the earlier recitations or sections of this Chinese *āgama*, which, as will be discussed below, is significant. Despite this, *śīlaskandha-* (Gandhari *śīlakadhe*) as the equivalent of *sampannaśīla-/sīlasampanna-* or just *śīla-* seems problematic.

No. 2. *dukkakadho*, ‘[that dealing with] mass of suffering’ (line 1)

This must be a secondary derivative of the equivalent of Pali *dukkha-kkhandha-/*Sanskrit *duḥkha-skandha-*, ‘mass of suffering’, with the suffix *-ka*, *-ika*, *-iya* or with secondary palatalization of *-aka-* (> *-aya-* > *-ia-*).⁶⁹ Such derivative forms are not uncommon as *uddāna* entries

⁶³ AN 5.166 at AN III 192,13–196,9.

⁶⁴ AN III 203,4.

⁶⁵ AN III 192,15.

⁶⁶ MĀ 47 and 48 at T I 486b23–c1 and 486c3–19.

⁶⁷ AN 10.3–5 at AN V 4,4–7,6.

⁶⁸ E° AN V 14,19; C° AN VI 26,20; B° AN III 267,28 = VRI°; and S° AN V 16,7.

⁶⁹ See Allon 2007a: 239–240. For further references to these suffixes,

in Buddhist texts. Pali examples are the *uddāna* entry *anumānika-suttaṃ*⁷⁰ for *Anumāna-suttaṃ* of the title⁷¹ and *āṭānātiyakam*⁷² for *āṭānātiyaṃ* in the *Āṭānātiya-sutta*.⁷³ But the forms Pali **dukkha-kkhandhaka*, *~iya*, Sanskrit **duḥkhaskandhaka* or the like are not recorded in Pali or Sanskrit to our knowledge.

Two discourses in the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* bear such a title: the *Mahādukkhakkhandha-sutta*, ‘Greater Discourse on the Mass of Suffering’⁷⁴ and *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-sutta*, ‘Lesser Discourse on the Mass of Suffering’.⁷⁵ The *uddāna* entries for these two discourses is *mahācūḷadukkhakkhandha[-anumānika]-suttaṃ*, ‘Greater and Lesser Discourses on the Mass of Suffering’, according to B^e,⁷⁶ which is taken from the phrase *ayam pi ... kāmānaṃ ādīnava sandiṭṭhiko/samparāyiko dukkhakkhandho*, “this also ... is a danger in sense pleasures, a mass of suffering here and now/in a future life”, which is repeated throughout both discourses.⁷⁷

The counterparts to these two Pali discourses in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* are both called the *Kuyin jing* 苦陰經, ‘Discourse on the Mass of Suffering’, being nos. 99 and 100, respectively.⁷⁸ The *uddāna* entry for these two discourses is *er kuyin* 二苦陰, ‘two on the mass of suffering’,⁷⁹ which is a reference to the phrase *xianfa kuyin* 現法苦陰, ‘mass of suffering in this life’ (Pali *diṭṭhadhamma-dukkha-*

see Oberlies 2001: 76–78.

⁷⁰ So B^e MN I 172,7 = VR1^e and S^e MN I 247,17; C^e MN I 308,2 has *-anumānā*; E^e omits the *uddānas* throughout.

⁷¹ MN 15 at MN I 100,31.

⁷² DN III 293,2.

⁷³ E.g., DN 32 at DN III 195,21+26.

⁷⁴ MN 13 at MN I 83,30–90,34.

⁷⁵ MN 14 at MN I 91,1–95,5.

⁷⁶ B^e MN I 172,7.

⁷⁷ MN I 85ff.

⁷⁸ MĀ 99 at T I 584c8–586a29 and MĀ 100 at T I 586b2–588a1.

⁷⁹ T I 578b5.

khandha-), found in both discourses.⁸⁰ As noted by Anālayo (2011: 117 note 96) there are two further Chinese versions of the *Mahā-dukkhakkhandha-sutta*. The first is an independent translation while the second is found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁸¹ The former has the same title as the *Madhyama-āgama* version, while the latter has the same *kuyin* 苦陰 as its *uddāna* entry.⁸² There are also two independent Chinese translations of the *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha-sutta*: Taishō nos. 54 and 55.⁸³ Only the latter has *duḥkhaskandha* in its title: *Kuyin yinshi jing* 苦陰因事經, ‘Discourse on the Causal Element/Cause of the Mass of Suffering’.

For a detailed discussion of the Pali and Chinese versions of these discourses, see Anālayo (2011: 117–124).

Majjhima-nikāya no. 13 is similarly referred to without its *mahā*-designation as the *Dukkhakkhandha-sutta* in some Pali commentaries.⁸⁴ There appear to be no Sanskrit attestations of discourses with the title *Duḥkhaskandha-sūtra* or the like.

There are also several discourses in the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* and *Anguttara-nikāya* called the *Dukkha-sutta*, ‘Discourse on Suffering’⁸⁵ while the word *dukkhakkhandha* is quite common as a topic within canonical texts, including several *Samyutta-nikāya* discourses. The word is also found in the common expression *evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo/nirodho hoti*, ‘thus there is the arising/cessation of this entire mass of suffering’ in

⁸⁰ MĀ 99 at T I 585a17 and MĀ 100 at T 586c10.

⁸¹ T 53 at T II 846c5–848a28 and EĀ 21.9 at T II 604c7–606b29.

⁸² According to the variant reading rather than *kuchu* 苦除, ‘free from suffering’, of the Taishō edition (T II 606c28).

⁸³ T 54 at T II 848b3–849b18 and T 55 at T II 849b23–851a18; see Anālayo 2011: 121 note 115.

⁸⁴ E.g., *taṃ dukkhakkhandhasuttapariyāyena veditabbaṃ* (v.l. *dīpetabbaṃ*) (Jā-a II 314,5).

⁸⁵ See DPPN, s.v.

Pali, *evam asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya samudayo/nirodho bhavati* in Sanskrit.⁸⁶

No remnant of the above discourses has been identified among the surviving Senior manuscripts.

Although we cannot be certain that *dukhakadhio* is a reference to one of the two Middle-length Collection discourses rather than to another discourse within which *dukkhakkhandha/duḥkhaskandha* features, such an identification seems likely given that most of the following entries on this scroll reference discourses whose parallels are found in the Pali and/or Chinese *Majjhima-nikāya/Madhyama-āgamas*.

Typically, the Pali and Chinese versions of these two discourses are not identical.

Given that both discourses could be referred to as the *Dukkha-kkhandha-sutta/Duḥkhaskandha-sūtra*, we cannot say which of them is more likely to be referenced by the entry *dukhakadhio*. Although the *Mahā-* version is more frequently quoted in Pali commentaries, suggesting that in this Pali commentarial tradition, at least, the *Mahā-* version was the more popular text, this may not have been so in Gandhara and even if it were, it may not have been what the compiler of this list intended.

No. 3. *agakṣaṇa*, ‘wish’ (line 1)

This would appear to be the equivalent of Pali *ākaṅkhanā*, ‘desire, wish’,⁸⁷ which is only recorded in Pali in the *Paṭisambhidhāmaggā* and some commentaries. The word does not appear to be attested in Sanskrit, including Buddhist Sanskrit.

⁸⁶ Pali and Sanskrit examples are DN 14 at DN II 33,4 and 35,8–9 and *Śaṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: II 209,28–29 and 210,3–4; see SWTF, s.v. *duḥkha-skandha* and BHSD, s.v. *1 skandha* for further references.

⁸⁷ See DP, s.v.

Given that several of the entries on this and the next line (line 2) refer to discourses whose parallels are found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*/*Madhyama-āgamas*, it is quite possible that this entry refers to a Gandhari equivalent of the Pali *Ākaṅkheyya-sutta*, ‘Discourse on [what one] should wish’, discourse no. 6 of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.⁸⁸ The *uddāna* entry for this Pali discourse, which is identical with its title, is *ākaṅkheyya*.⁸⁹ This is taken from the expression *ākaṅkheyya ce bhikkhave bhikkhu*, “monks, if a monk should wish”, that recurs throughout the discourse. An alternative referent is a similar discourse in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, which gives a slightly different list of ‘wishes’ that may occur to a monk (*ākaṅkheyya ce bhikkhave bhikkhu*).⁹⁰ The *uddāna* entry for this discourse is *ākaṅkho*,⁹¹ a word only recorded in Pali in this instance.⁹² If this reading is correct, then *ākaṅkho* as an *uddāna* entry for *ākaṅkheyya* of the text provides a parallel to *agakṣaṇa* corresponding to Pali *ākaṅkhanā* as an *uddāna* entry for what would appear as **agakṣea* (Pali *ākaṅkheyya*) in the Gandhari text.

There are numerous references to the *Ākaṅkheyya-sutta* in Pali commentaries, which is identified as referring to the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse by the various editions when an identification is given.⁹³

The Chinese parallel to the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse is

⁸⁸ MN 6 at MN I 33,1–36,10.

⁸⁹ So B^e MN I 91,10 = VRI^e; C^e MN I 154,11 has *piyagārava-*, which must be a reference to the first wish: *ākaṅkheyya ce bhikkhave bhikkhu sabrahmacārīnaṃ piyo c’ assaṃ manāpo garu*; S^e MN I 127,17 has *-kaṅkha-*; E^e lacks the *uddānas*.

⁹⁰ AN 10.71 at AN V 131,3–133,9.

⁹¹ E^e AN V 151,12; B^e AN III 376,14 = VRI^e; C^e AN VI 266,34; S^e AN V 161,11.

⁹² See CPD, *s.v.*

⁹³ E.g., Sv I 50,27–28 and 123,14; Ps I 15,27 and 176,1; Spk I 19,2; Nett-a 120 [B^e].

the *Yuan jing* 願經, ‘Discourse on Wishes/Wishing’,⁹⁴ which is discourse no. 105 of the *Madhyama-āgama*.⁹⁵ The *uddāna* entry for this discourse is *yuan* 願, ‘wishes/wishing’, which is a reference to *dang yuan* 當願, ‘should wish’, of the discourse.⁹⁶

Comparisons of the Pali and Chinese versions were undertaken by Thich Minh Chau (1964: 223–227) and Anālayo (2011: 45–49).

There is no Chinese parallel to the Pali *Āṅuttara-nikāya* discourse and apparently no Sanskrit parallel to either the Middle-length Collections or *Āṅuttara-nikāya* discourses.

No remnant of this discourse has survived in the Senior Collection.

Although we cannot say with certainty that *agakṣaṇa* is a reference to a Gandhari version of the Middle-length discourse, rather than of the Pali *Āṅuttara-nikāya* discourse, the former association seems the more likely since several of the references on the first two lines of this scroll are to discourses whose parallels are found in the Middle-length Collections, while no entries on this scroll appear to refer to discourses found only in the Numerical Collections (Pali *Āṅuttara-nikāya* and/or Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*).⁹⁷

No. 4. *goṣiga*, ‘Goṣiga [sal-tree forest]’ (line 1)

This entry and the discourse it references on scroll 12 were discussed above.

No. 5. *[s.l.]* /// (line 1); alternative readings: *[s.g.]*, *[r.l.]* and *[r.g.]*

These are the remnants of the last entry on this line. For reasons outlined in Allon forthcoming, this is taken as a separate entry

⁹⁴ Anālayo 2011: 45 note 96 and Thich Minh Chau 1964: 223 give “discourse on wishes” (*Ākaṅkha-sutta*) as the translation of this title.

⁹⁵ MĀ 105 at T I 595c11–596b7.

⁹⁶ T I 578b6 and T I 595c18 respectively.

⁹⁷ Several discourses have ‘secondary’ occurrences in the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* (for details, see Allon forthcoming and comment below).

rather than a continuation of the preceding entry, *goṣigo*, representing the remnants of the pseudo-compound *goṣigo-s(*a)l(*avaṇa)* = Pali *gosiṅga-sālavana-*, ‘Goṣiga sal-tree forest’ or the like. If the reading is [*s.l.*], then examples of possible referents from the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* are the *Sallekha-* (no. 8) and *Sāleyyaka-suttas* (no. 41). Of these, only the *Sallekha-sutta* has a parallel in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*.⁹⁸ The Chinese parallel to the *Sāleyyaka-sutta* is found in the *Samyukta-āgama*. Neither discourse survives in the Senior Collection. Since the reading is not secure and since the possibility of this entry referencing a Gandhari version of one of these two discourses is quite speculative, we will not list here all parallels, their titles and *uddāna* entries.⁹⁹

No. 6. *satarasoame*, ‘simile of the seven chariots’ (line 2)

This is the equivalent of Pali and Sanskrit *satta-rathopama-/sapta-*. This is probably a reference to a Gandhari version of the *Ratha-vinīta-sutta*, ‘Discourse [with the Simile] of the Relay of Chariots’, discourse no. 24 of the *Majjhima-nikāya* in which Sāriputta employs the image of King Pasenadi using seven relay chariots (*satta ratha-vinīta*) to go from Sāvattthī to Sāketa in order to illustrate to the monk Puṇṇa Mantāniputta the seven successive stages of purification leading to *parinibbāna*.¹⁰⁰ The *uddāna* entry for this discourse according to the Burmese edition is *kathipuṇṇaṃ*, ‘the speaker Puṇṇa’,¹⁰¹ which is presumably a reference to the fact that Puṇṇa not only practiced contentment and the like, but encouraged the monks

⁹⁸ MĀ 91 at T I 573b13–574b29.

⁹⁹ For this information the reader is referred to Anālayo 2011: 59–66 and 263–268.

¹⁰⁰ MN 24 at MN I 145,12–151,6.

¹⁰¹ B^e MN I 265 = VRI^c; E^e lacks the *uddānas*; C^e MN I 492 reads *kathi puṇṇa-nivāpā* for this and the next discourse, where B^e MN I 265 = VRI^c has *kathipuṇṇaṃ nivāpo*; S^e MN I 385 has *andhavane kaṭipuṇṇanivāpo*.

to do likewise (*kathin* of the *uddāna* = *kattā* of the text), e.g., *appicchakathaṇ ca bhikkhūnaṃ kattā*, “he speaks to the monks on contentment”.¹⁰² The discourse is referred to as the *Rathavinīta*-(*sutta/suttanta*) in several Pali commentaries and para-canonical texts,¹⁰³ while the simile is referred to as the *rathavinīṭupamā*, ‘simile of the relay of chariots’, in the *Theragātha-aṭṭhakathā*.¹⁰⁴

There is also a discourse in the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* (SN IV 175–177) to which the Burmese edition gives the title *Rathopama-suttam*, ‘Discourse with the Simile of the Chariot’, based on the *uddāna* entry *ratho*, ‘chariot’.¹⁰⁵ This is a reference to *ājaññaratho*, ‘a chariot [pulled] by thoroughbreds’, in the simile.¹⁰⁶ Despite the closeness of the modern title in B^e to our *satarasoame* entry, the latter is more likely to reference a Gandhari version of the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse because we are dealing with a simile concerning seven chariots (Gandhari *satarasa*- = Sanskrit *saptaratha*-) rather than a single thoroughbred-led chariot (Pali *ājaññaratha*-).

The Chinese parallel to the *Majjhima-nikāya*’s *Rathavinīta-sutta* (no. 24) is the *Qiche jing* 七車經, ‘Discourse [with the Simile] of the Seven Chariots’, no. 9 of the *Madhyama-āgama*.¹⁰⁷ The *uddāna* entry is *che* 車, ‘chariots’, which is a reference to the simile which centres on seven chariots.¹⁰⁸ Another Chinese version occurs in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,¹⁰⁹ which has *qiche* 七車, ‘seven chariots’, as its *uddāna* entry.¹¹⁰

¹⁰² MN I 145,20–21.

¹⁰³ E.g., Sv III 1062,25 and Vism 671,23.

¹⁰⁴ Th-a I 40,18.

¹⁰⁵ SN IV 204,1, B^e SN II 384 = VRI^e.

¹⁰⁶ The simile also occurs in several *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses.

¹⁰⁷ MĀ 9 at T I 429c28–431c11.

¹⁰⁸ T I 431a8.

¹⁰⁹ EĀ 39.10 at T II 733c28–735b10.

¹¹⁰ T II 735b12.

Although some Sanskrit fragments of the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse are preserved among the Central Asian (Turfān) finds, they do not include the discourse's title.¹¹¹ A discourse of such a title is not recorded elsewhere in Sanskrit to our knowledge.

A comparison of all versions is provided by Anālayo (2011: 161–167); see also Thich Minh Chau (1964: 144–145).

No remnant of this discourse survives in the Senior Collection.

No. 7. *gaḍikare*, '[the potter] Gaḍikāra' (line 2)

This would appear to be the equivalent of Pali/Sanskrit *ghaṭṭikāra*-, 'potter', which is also a potter's name (see below). It is likely to be a reference to the Gandhari version of the Pali *Ghaṭṭikāra-sutta*, 'Discourse concerning Ghaṭṭikāra', no. 81 of the *Majjhima-nikāya*,¹¹² the *uddāna* entry for which is *ghaṭṭikāro*.¹¹³ This discourse, which is the first of the *Rāja-vagga* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, takes its name from the potter Ghaṭṭikāra (*Ghaṭṭikāra-kumbhakāra*-), the main character of the text. This identification is supported by the fact that the following entry on this line, *mahaḍeva* (entry no. 8), is likely to be a reference to the Pali *Makhādeva-sutta* (see below), the third discourse in the Pali *Rāja-vagga*, while the last entry on this line, the incomplete *pa[sī]* /// (entry no. 10), may be a reference to the Pali *Dhammacetiya-sutta*, the ninth discourse of the *Rāja-vagga* (see below).

The Pali discourse is referred to as the *Ghaṭṭikāra-sutta(ṇṭa)* in several Pali commentaries.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ SHT I 163b,d and VI 1329 (identified in VIII p. 201).

¹¹² MN 81 at MN II 45,1–54,22.

¹¹³ B^o MN II 333,26 *ghaṭṭikāro* = VRI^o; C^o MN II 574,16 *ghaṭṭikāro*; E^o lacks the *uddānas*; S^o MN II 527,17 has *jotisahāyaka*-, which is a reference to Ghaṭṭikāra's friend Jotipāla (*jotipālo nāma māṇavo sahāyo*, E^o II 46,4–5).

¹¹⁴ E.g., Ps II 153,29; Dh-p-a III 251,9; Kv-a 78,2.

The Chinese parallel is the *Pipolingqi jing* 韓婆陵耆經, no. 63 of the *Madhyama-āgama*.¹¹⁵ *Pipolingqi* 韓婆陵耆 is a transliteration of the place name mentioned in the discourse which appears in Pali as Vebhaḷiṅga, Vehaḷiṅga and Sanskrit as Veruḍiṅga, Vebhuḍiṅga, Vaibhiḍiṅgī.¹¹⁶ The *uddāna* entry is *pipolilingqi* 韓婆麗陵耆.¹¹⁷

A Sanskrit *Madhyama-āgama* version of the discourse does not survive, but Sanskrit parallels are found in the *Mahāvastu*¹¹⁸ and *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.¹¹⁹ In the former it is called the *Jyotipāla-sūtra*,¹²⁰ after the brahman youth Jyotipāla, who is the historic Buddha in a former life. As in the Pali, the name of the potter is Ghaṭikāra (*Ghaṭikāra kumbhakāra*). The *Saṅghabhedavastu* version does not bear a title, but the text is referred to as the *Nandīpāla-sūtra* in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the same *Vinaya* because the potter is called Nandīpāla *ghaṭikāra*.¹²¹ According to this latter reference the discourse formed a part of the *Rājasamyukta-nikāya*,¹²² the ‘Division Connected with Kings’, of the *Madhyama-āgama*, parallel to the Middle-length Collection versions being found in the *Rāja-vagga*, ‘Division on Kings’ and

¹¹⁵ MĀ 63 at T I 499a6–503a20.

¹¹⁶ See BHSD, s.v. *Veruḍiṅga*.

¹¹⁷ T I 493a6. Anālayo 2011: 441 note 3 notes that the same story is preserved in a Chinese *avadāna* collection of “ten tales that explain the past causes for misfortunes that befell the Buddha” (T 197 at T IV 172c–174b [story no. 10]).

¹¹⁸ Senart 1882: I 317,4–335,8.

¹¹⁹ *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: II 22,1–30,22, mentioned in Anālayo 2011: 441 and BHSD, s.v. *Ghaṭikāra*.

¹²⁰ Senart 1882: I 335,9.

¹²¹ Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Dutt 1984: I 217,12.

¹²² *Nandīpālasūtraṃ vistaraṇa yathā madhyamāgame rājasamyuktanikāye*; Skilling 1997: 282 note 65 suggests that *-nikāye* may be a wrong reading for *-nipāta* (cf. the references below).

Wangxiangying pin 王相應品, ‘Division Connected with Kings’, respectively.¹²³

A comparison of all versions has been undertaken by Anālayo (2011: 441–451).

No remnant of this discourse has survived in the Senior Collection.

Two identical short verse discourses in the *Devatā-saṃyutta* of the Pali *Saṃyutta-nikāya* depict Ghaṭṭikāra in his subsequent rebirth as a god (*devaputta*) telling the Buddha of his life under Kassapa Buddha and his friendship with Jotipāla.¹²⁴ The *uddāna* entries for these two discourses are *ghaṭṭikaro*¹²⁵ and *ghaṭṭi*,¹²⁶ respectively. There are two Chinese versions of this discourse: discourse no. 595 of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and discourse no. 189 of the second *Saṃyukta-āgama*.¹²⁷ The former lacks an *uddāna*; the *uddāna* entry for the latter is *wufan tian* 無煩天, the name of a heaven.¹²⁸

No. 8. *mahādeva*, ‘[King] Mahādeva’ (line 2)

This must be the equivalent of a king’s name that appears in Pali sources as Makhādeva, Maghadeva, Māghadeva and, possibly, Mathādeva; in a Bharhut inscription as Maghādeva, and in Sanskrit sources as Mahādeva. Lüders (1963: 147) takes Maghādeva as the original form on the basis that it “belongs to that class of names that are formed by adding *deva* to the name of a constellation”. Gandhari *mahādeva* could represent the reflex of any one of these spellings (*Makhā-*, *Maghā-*, *Māgha-*, *Mahā-*).

¹²³ Anālayo 2011: 441 note 2.

¹²⁴ SN I 35,5–36,11 and 60.

¹²⁵ E° SN I 36,17 = SN^N I 79,1; B° SN I 33,17 = VRI°; C° SN I 64,28; S° SN I 49,18.

¹²⁶ E° SN I 67,20 (*ghaṭṭi* SN^N I 156,6); B° SN I 67,20 = VRI° *ghaṭṭi*; C° SN I 128,25 *ghaṭṭi*; S° SN I 97,15 *ghaṭṭi*.

¹²⁷ SĀ 595 at T II 159b4–c18 and SĀ 189 at T II 442b25–443a5, respectively.

¹²⁸ T II 443a5, noted also by Chung 2008: 256 and 326.

This is likely to be a reference to the Gandhari version of discourse no. 83 of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya*,¹²⁹ the *Makhādeva-suttaṃ* according to the reading of the PTS and the Ceylonese editions and *Maghadeva-suttaṃ* according to Burmese and Siamese editions, that is, the ‘Discourse concerning Makhādeva/Maghadeva’.¹³⁰ The *uddāna* entry for this discourse is *makhādevo* (Ceylonese edition) and *maghadevo* (Burmese edition)/*maghadeva* (Siamese edition), the name of the main character of the discourse.¹³¹ The discourse is so called in several commentaries with the same variety of spellings witnessed across the editions.

A Sanskrit version of the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse has not survived, but elements of the discourse are preserved in various Sanskrit texts.¹³² The discourse is referred to as the *Mahādeva-sūtra* in two Sanskrit sources.¹³³ The first is the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, which refers the reader to this *Madhyama-āgama* discourse for the full account of the story at hand: *vistareṇa mahādevasūtre madhyamāgame rājasamyuktakanipāte*.¹³⁴ In contrast, the Tibetan version of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* gives the text in full.¹³⁵ The second occurs in the *Mahākarmavibhaṅgopadeśa*: *yathā Mahādevasūtre uktam*.¹³⁶

There are two Chinese versions of the discourse. The first is the *Datiannailin jing* 大天捺林經, ‘Discourse [set] in Mahādeva’s Grove’,

¹²⁹ MN 83 at MN II 74,15–83,14.

¹³⁰ E^e MN II 83,14 and C^e MN II 452,9; B^e MN II 262,11 ~*sutta*, VRI^e ~*suttaṃ* and S^e MN II 415,11.

¹³¹ C^e MN II 574; B^e MN II 333 = VRI^e; S^e MN II 527; E^e lacks the *uddāna*.

¹³² See Anālayo 2011: 466–474 for references.

¹³³ The king’s name is listed as Mahādeva in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Sakaki 1916: 248 no. 3582.

¹³⁴ Dutt 1984: I 111,20. For further discussion, see Waldschmidt 1980: 143.

¹³⁵ As noted by Anālayo 2011: 466 notes 132 and 135.

¹³⁶ Lévi 1932: 161,14–15.

no. 67 of the *Madhyama-āgama*.¹³⁷ The *uddāna* entry for this discourse is *tiannailin* 天榛林, ‘[Mahā]deva’s Grove’,¹³⁸ which is the setting of the discourse. The second version is found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.¹³⁹ In both texts the king’s name is Datang 大天, a translation of Mahādeva.¹⁴⁰

Like the discourse in the Middle-length Collection discussed in the previous entry (*Ghaṭikāra-sutta*), the Middle-length Collection versions of this discourse are found in the ‘Division on Kings’ in the respective collections.¹⁴¹

A detailed comparison of the surviving versions of the discourse is found in Anālayo (2011: 466–474).

No remnant of this discourse has survived in the Senior Collection.

No. 9. *bibis.r.* (line 2)

This most likely represents the equivalent of Pali and Sanskrit Bimbisāra, the name of a well-known king of Kośāla who was a contemporary of the Buddha and therefore should be reconstructed as *bibis(*a)r(*a)*, ‘[King] Bibis(*a)r(*a)’.

There is no discourse in the Pali canon with the title of *Bimbisāra-sutta* or the like, although there are some discourses in which Bimbisāra occurs.¹⁴² A likely referent for this entry is a discourse which in Sanskrit appears as the *Bimbasāra-* or *Bimbisāra-sūtra*,

¹³⁷ MĀ 67 at T I 511c17–515b2; “Discourse of the Mango-Grove of the Great King” according to Waldschmidt 1980: 143.

¹³⁸ T I 506b6.

¹³⁹ EĀ 50.4 at T II 806c21–810b19. For further partial parallels in Chinese, see Anālayo 2011: 466–474. A version of this discourse found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* is noteworthy because it clearly stems from a distinct transmission and translation lineage compared to EĀ 50.4, see Anālayo 2013.

¹⁴⁰ For other forms of his name in Chinese, see Anālayo 2011: 468 note 143.

¹⁴¹ See Anālayo 2011: 467.

¹⁴² See DPPN, s.v. *Bimbisāra*.

the Central Asian (Turfan) Sanskrit fragments of which were edited by Waldschmidt (1932: 114–148). The colophon to this discourse was reconstructed by Waldschmidt as *bimb(*asāra)sūtram samāptam* on the basis of the king’s name appearing as *bimbasāra* rather than *bimbisāra* throughout these fragments.¹⁴³ This discourse forms part of an anthology of discourses preserved on this manuscript which were selected from different *Āgamas* or canonical collections. The *Āgama* association of this discourse is not stated in the manuscript. Discourse and *Vinaya* versions of the events depicted here, namely, King Bimbisāra’s first encounter with the Buddha after the Buddha’s awakening and his conversion, are preserved in a variety of languages.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka preserves two discourse versions. The first is the *Pinpisuoluowang ying fo jing* 頻鞞娑邏王迎佛經, ‘Discourse on King Bimbisāra’s Visit to the Buddha’,¹⁴⁴ no. 62 of the *Madhyama-āgama*.¹⁴⁵ The *uddāna* entry for this discourse is *mojiewang* 摩竭王, ‘King of Magadha’,¹⁴⁶ where *mojie* 摩竭 is a transcription of an Indic term equivalent to Pali and Sanskrit Magadha. Like the previous two entries on this line (nos. 7 and 8 discussed above) this discourse is found in the *Wangxiangying pin* 王相應品, ‘Division Connected with Kings’, of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. The second version is an independent translation, the *Pinposuoluowang jing* 頻婆娑羅王經, ‘Discourse on King Bimbisāra’.¹⁴⁷ According to Waldschmidt (1932: 115 and 144) the San-

¹⁴³ Waldschmidt 1932: 145; see also BHSD, s.v. *Bimbisāra*.

¹⁴⁴ “Sūtra vom Besuch König Bimbisāras beim Buddha” (Waldschmidt 1932: 115).

¹⁴⁵ MĀ 62 at T I 497b2–499a1.

¹⁴⁶ T I 493a8.

¹⁴⁷ T 41 at T I 825a19–826c21. Waldschmidt 1932: 115 translates the full title 佛說頻婆娑羅王經 as “Vom Buddha gepredigtes Sūtra von König Bimbisāra.”

skrit equivalent of the title of the Tibetan version of the discourse (*mdo chen po gzugs can snying po bsu ba*) is *Bimbisārapratyudgamana-mahāsūtra*, ‘Greater Discourse on Bimbisāra Going out to Meet [the Buddha]’, but Skilling (1994: 58 and 1997: 267, 276–278) proposes *Bimbisārapratyudgamana-nāma-mahāsūtra* (‘Greater Discourse Called ...’) instead.

The canonical Pali version of this story is found in the Theravāda *Vinaya* within the long narrative covering the period after the Buddha’s awakening. Its *uddāna* entry is *bimbisāro*.¹⁴⁸ This is apparently the only entry of *bimbisāra* in a Pali *uddāna*. Further Sanskrit versions are found within larger texts: *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*,¹⁴⁹ *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*¹⁵⁰ and *Mahāvastu*.¹⁵¹

No remnant of this discourse has survived in the Senior Collection.

No. 10. *pa[si]* /// or *pa[se]* /// (line 2)

This was discussed above as a possible reference to the text preserved on RS 1 + 3 of this collection.

No. 29. *dhar[maḍ.śe]* (line 11)

This can be reconstructed as *dharmad(*a)śe* on the basis of the entry *sadha dharmadaśeṇa* on line 26 of this scroll. Here *sadha* is the equivalent of Sanskrit *sārdham*, the entry meaning ‘together

¹⁴⁸ Vin I 35,15–39,22; *uddāna* E° Vin I 136,11; B° Vin III 190; C° Vin I 342.

¹⁴⁹ Waldschmidt 1962: 336–370 [§§ 27c1–f25].

¹⁵⁰ Gnoli 1977: I 154,13–160,32.

¹⁵¹ Senart 1897: III 441–449. The Sanskrit *Saṅghabhedavastu* version and its Tibetan parallels along with the Pali versions and other relevant materials have been edited and discussed by Skilling 1994: 58–145, while Waldschmidt 1932: 114–148 presents an edition of the Central Asian (Turfan) Sanskrit fragments in conjunction with German translations of the parallel portions of the two Chinese discourses and the Chinese *Saṅghabhedavastu* version, plus analysis.

with the *dharmadaśa*'.¹⁵² Gandhari *dharmadaśa*- is most likely the equivalent of Pali *dharmādāsa*-/Sanskrit *dharmādarśa*-, 'mirror of Dhamma/Dharma'.¹⁵³ There are several instances of this word in canonical texts, where it is often linked with Pali *dharmapariyāya*-/Sanskrit *dharmaparyāya*-, 'Discourse on the Dhamma/Dharma', and occasionally functions as a possible title of the discourse. For example, at the end of the *Bahudhātuka-sutta* of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* (no. 115), Ānanda asks the Buddha what the name of the discourse is: *acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante konāmo ayaṃ bhante dhammapariyāyo ti*, "wonderful, venerable sir, marvelous, venerable sir! What, venerable sir, is the name of this discourse on the Dhamma?", to which the Buddha replies *tasmātiha tvaṃ ānanda imaṃ dhammapariyāyaṃ bahudhātuko ti pi naṃ dhārehi catu-parivaṭṭo ti pi naṃ dhārehi dhammādāso ti pi naṃ dhārehi amata-dundubhī ti pi naṃ dhārehi anuttaro saṅgāma vijayo ti pi naṃ dhārehi ti*, "therefore, Ānanda, here you should remember this discourse on the Dhamma as the 'Many Elements'; you should also remember it as the 'Fourfold Cycles'; you should also remember it as the 'Mirror of Dhamma'; you should also remember it as the 'Drum of the Deathless'; you should also remember it as the 'Supreme Victory in Battle'".¹⁵⁴ In other words, although the Pali tradition referred to this discourse as the *Bahudhātuka-sutta*, 'Discourse on Many Elements', because it was the first of five possible titles offered by the Buddha for it, *Dhammādāsa-sutta*, 'Discourse on the Mirror of the Dhamma', would be equally valid as a title. The *uddāna* entry for this discourse is *bahudhātu*.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² See Allon forthcoming for further details.

¹⁵³ See CPD, s.v. *ādāsa* and SWTF, s.v. *dharmādarśa*. The latter takes it as a title of a work: "Titel eines buddhistischen Werkes", with references to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*.

¹⁵⁴ MN III 67,26–32.

¹⁵⁵ So B^e MN III 146,12 = VRI^e; C^e MN III 262,33; S^e MN III 225,14; E^e omits the *uddāna*s.

This Pali discourse has two Chinese parallels. The first is no. 181 of the *Madhyama-āgama*, *Duojie jing* 多界經, ‘Discourse on Many Elements’, which has the same title as the Pali.¹⁵⁶ This is the first of eight possible titles offered by the Buddha, the seventh of which is *Fajing* 法鏡, ‘Mirror of the Dharma’.¹⁵⁷ The *uddāna* entry is *duojie* 多界, ‘many elements’.¹⁵⁸

The second Chinese parallel is an independent translation, which is called the ‘Discourse Spoken by the Buddha on the Fourfold Instruction on the Dharma/Four Categories of the Dharma’ 佛說四品法門經.¹⁵⁹

For further parallels, references and titles to this discourse, see Anālayo (2011: 645).

The other examples in the Pali canon of *dhammapariyāyas* that are called *dhammādāsa* are discourse nos. 8–10 of the *Sotāpattisaṃyutta*, nos. 55.8–10 of the *Samyutta-nikāya*,¹⁶⁰ the first of which is also included in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*.¹⁶¹ The *uddāna* entry for these three discourses is *giṇṇjakāvasatha tayo*, ‘three [discourses set] in the Brick Hall’,¹⁶² because they are all set in the Brick Hall in Nātika. The titles of these discourses according to the Burmese edition are *Paṭhama-*, *Dutiya-*, *Tatiya-giṇṇjakāvasatha-suttaṃ*,¹⁶³ ‘The First Discourse [set] in the Brick Hall’ etc. The titles in the other Asian editions are similar. In all three *Giṇṇjakāvasatha-suttas* the Buddha states *tasmātiḥānanda dhammādāsaṃ nāma dhammapariyāyaṃ desessāmi yena samannāgato ariyasāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā*

¹⁵⁶ MĀ 181 at T I 723a8–724c3.

¹⁵⁷ MĀ 181 at T I 724c1–2.

¹⁵⁸ T I 709a11.

¹⁵⁹ T 776 at T XVII 712b10–714a1.

¹⁶⁰ SN 55.8–10 at SN V 356,19–360,11.

¹⁶¹ DN 16 at DN II 93,14–94,14.

¹⁶² E^c SN V 360,15; B^e SN III 314,6 = VRI^e; C^e SN V(2) 166,16; S^e SN IV 451,19.

¹⁶³ B^e SN III 310–312 = VRI^e.

vā attānaṃ vyākareyya khīṇanirayo ’mhi ..., “therefore, Ānanda, I will here teach (you) the discourse on Dhamma called the ‘Mirror of Dhamma’, endowed with which a noble disciple (so) desiring may explain by himself regarding himself: ‘I am one for whom [the prospect of rebirth in] hell is destroyed’.”¹⁶⁴

The Chinese parallels to the three Pali *Giñjakāvasatha-suttas* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* (nos. 55.8–10) in the *Samyukta-āgama* are discourse nos. 852, 851 and 854.¹⁶⁵ These discourses lack *uddāna* entries.

No remnant of these four discourses (*Bahudhātuka-* and three *Giñjakāvasatha-*) has survived in the Senior Collection. Since the majority of references in this RS 7 + 8 list are to discourses whose parallels are found in the Middle-length and Connected Collections, neither the *Bahudhātuka-sutta*, which belongs to the Middle-length Collections, nor any of the *Giñjakāvasatha-suttas*, which belong to the Connected Collections, have a greater claim to being a likely referent to this entry. The identification of the text referenced by *dharmadaśe* (line 11) and *sadha dharmadaśeṇa* (line 26) therefore remains unresolved.

No. 30. *pu[ṇas.] śoṇavaratiasa* (line 11)

This can be reconstruct as *punaṣ(*a) śoṇavaratiasa*, ‘of Puṇa Śoṇavaratīa’. This must be a reference to a Gandhari version of a discourse which records the Buddha’s instruction to the monk Puṇṇa/Pūrṇa who hails from the Sunāparanta/Śroṇāparanta region.¹⁶⁶

The Pali version is the *Puṇṇovāda-sutta*, no. 145 of the *Majjhima-*

¹⁶⁴ E.g., SN V 357,11–16 = DN II 93,14–20. For Sanskrit equivalents, including the parallel to this passage, see SWTF, *s.v.* *dharmaparyāya*.

¹⁶⁵ SĀ 852 at T II 217a23–b10, SĀ 851 at T II 217a17–22 and SĀ 854 at T II 217b14–c17.

¹⁶⁶ There appears to be only one occurrence of the full name Puṇṇa-Sunāparantaka- in Pali texts (Th-a III 205,34–35), the corresponding form to the Gandhari form Puṇa- Śoṇavaratīa-.

nikāya,¹⁶⁷ which also appears as discourse no. 88 of the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta*, no. 35.88 of the *Samyutta-nikāya*.¹⁶⁸ The *uddāna* entry for both discourses is *puṇṇo*,¹⁶⁹ the name of the main character of the discourse. The Asian editions give the *Samyutta* discourse the title *Puṇṇasuttaṃ*.¹⁷⁰ Puṇṇa's district (*janapada*) is referred to as *Sunā-paranta* and the people from the region as *Sunāparantaka*.¹⁷¹

A Sanskrit version of the discourse forms part of the *Pūrṇāvādāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*,¹⁷² in which the districts (plural) and its peoples are referred to as *Śroṇāparantaka*.¹⁷³

The discourse, which is not found in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, occurs in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* as discourse no. 311, which lacks an *uddāna* entry.¹⁷⁴ There is also an independent Chinese translation, the *Manyuanzi jing* 滿願子經, 'Discourse concerning Maitrāṇīputra', a title which reflects a confusion of Puṇṇa Mantāṇīputta with Puṇṇa from Sunāparanta.¹⁷⁵

For a comparison of the Pali with its parallels in other languages, see Anālayo (2011: 828–831).

This discourse has not survived in the Senior Collection.

¹⁶⁷ MN 145 at MN III 267,1–270,8.

¹⁶⁸ SN 35.88 at SN IV 60,6–63,18.

¹⁶⁹ B^c MN III 352,12 = VRI^c; C^e MN III 624,13; S^e MN III 548,10; E^c of MN omits the *uddānas*; B^c SN II 292,28 = VRI^c; C^e SN IV 150,30; E^c SN IV 69,30; S^e SN III 87,18.

¹⁷⁰ B^c SN II 285,1 ~*sutta* = VRI^c ~*suttaṃ*; C^e SN IV 132,20 ~*suttaṃ*; S^e SN IV 75 does not give a title; E^c repeats the *uddāna* reference of *puṇṇa*.

¹⁷¹ E.g., MN III 268,8 and 268,10, respectively.

¹⁷² Cowell and Neil 1886: 37,5–39,23; see Anālayo 2011: 828 note 44 for the version preserved in the Tibetan and Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.

¹⁷³ E.g., 38,7–9. Chung 2008: 89 (see also 314–317) refers to the parallel to a section of the discourse found in the Sanskrit *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, Dutt 1984: I 48,8–18.

¹⁷⁴ SĀ 311 at T II 89b1–c23.

¹⁷⁵ T 108 at T II 502c4–503a26; see Anālayo 2011: 828 note 43. For Puṇṇa Mantāṇīputta see DPPN, s.v.

Summary

Apart from *goṣigo* (entry no. 4), none of the identifications of the entries on RS 7 + 8 discussed above are certain. In some cases, such as no. 29, we cannot be certain whether the entry references a *Madhyama-āgama* or *Samyukta-āgama* discourse. But given that quite a few of these entries match or are similar to the title and/or *uddāna* entry of Pali and/or Chinese and/or Sanskrit discourses found in the Middle-length Collections, this increases the likelihood of the identification being correct. It is striking and very interesting that quite a few of the above entries in this Gandhari list of discourses, as well as many other RS 7 + 8 entries not discussed here, are the same as or very similar to the title and/or *uddāna* entry of discourses found in Pali and/or Chinese and/or Sanskrit sources. It suggests a degree of stability in the way in which texts were referenced.

In the case of the four surviving discourses in the Senior Collection with parallels in the Middle-length Collections, we cannot be certain that these discourses were found in the *Madhyama-āgama* (if it was so called) of the community who produced this collection, rather than in another *āgama*. As noted above, there is considerable overlap between the *Nikāyas/Āgamas*, particularly the Middle-length and Long Collections, with discourses found in the former of one school but in the latter of another and vice versa. However, as noted, since we have a Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* preserved in Chinese that lacks these four discourses, it seems likely that they were not found in the *Dīrgha-āgama* of the Dharmaguptaka community that produced the Senior Collection,¹⁷⁶ which makes it more likely that they were found in their *Madhyama-āgama*. That some of the surviving discourses and RS 7 + 8 entries discussed here have parallels in the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama*, besides the Middle-

¹⁷⁶ See Allon 2007a: 22.

length Collections, is probably not significant because this *Ekottarika-āgama* has clearly been greatly expanded through the addition of discourses and texts,¹⁷⁷ some very large, that do not naturally sit with the character of the numerical grouping of discourses as exhibited by the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and remnants of a Sanskrit *Ekottarika-āgama*, that is, of short discourses grouped according to a common numerical association, the numbers being one to ten or eleven. That no surviving Senior discourse and no entry on RS 7 + 8 has a parallel in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*/*Ekottarika-āgamas* only, but always the *Majjhima-nikāya*/*Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* (rarely the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*),¹⁷⁸ supports the interpretation that the inclusion of these discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama* preserved in Chinese is secondary.

Further, it is noteworthy that the orthography of the four surviving discourses discussed above that we are proposing were sourced from a *Madhyama-āgama* differs slightly from the orthography of the surviving discourses that were most likely sourced from a *Samyukta-āgama*. This shows that these four discourses were most likely copied from a different manuscript to the *Samyukta-āgama* discourses in the collection, possibly a *Madhyama-āgama* manuscript.¹⁷⁹

In his study of the discourses in the Senior Collection with parallels in the Connected Collections Andrew Glass (2007) showed that it is evident that they were selected from a *Samyukta-āgama* (although not necessarily so called) whose discourses were organized into *saṃyuktas* following the same principles employed for the arrangement of discourses in the Connected Collections preserved in other languages. Scroll 11 (RS 11), which preserves remnants of the same fourteen discourses that make up the *Vana-saṃyutta*

¹⁷⁷ See Allon 2014: 24 note 18.

¹⁷⁸ Or the Connected Collections for those discourses not discussed here (see Allon 2007b).

¹⁷⁹ Silverlock 2015: 175–176 [§ 5.5].

of the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* and a similar division within the Chinese *Samyukta-āgamas*, provides further support for this.¹⁸⁰

If the identification of the five entries on line 2 of RS 7 + 8 is correct, then all five discourses deal with kings:

nos. 6 and 10: G. Praṣeṇao, P. Pasenadi, Skt. Prasenajit, Chin. Bosini 波斯匿;

no. 7: P. Kikī, Skt. Kṛkī, Chin. Jiabi 頻鞞;

no. 8: G. Mahādeva, P. Makhādeva/Maghādeva, Skt. Mahādeva, Chin. Datian 大天;

no. 9: G. Bibisara, P./Skt. Bimbisāra, Chin. Pinbisuoluo 頻鞞娑邏. As noted, of these nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10 (if the reconstruction and identification are correct), that is the latter four of the five entries on line 2 of RS 7 + 8, reference discourses whose parallels are found in the ‘Division on Kings’ (P. *Rāja-vagga*, Skt. *Rājasamyukta-nikāya*,¹⁸¹ Chin. *Wangxiangying-pin* 王相應品) of the Middle-length Collections, so called because the discourses of this division all involve kings. In the table below, these entries are shaded in grey. This suggests that the community that produced the Senior Collection similarly had a collection of discourses organized on this same principle and given that such a division forms a part of the Middle-length Collection preserved or referenced in Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese, this division also formed a part of their *Madhyama-āgama*. That the first entry on this line (no. 6) may also reference a *Madhyama-āgama* discourse that involves a king (Pasenadi/Prasenajit) seems to indicate a separate application of this organizational principle in the Gandhari tradition associated with the Senior Collection. The five discourses referenced on line 2 of RS 7 + 8 might reflect a pre-existing Gandhari ‘Division on Kings’ from which they were selected or could indeed be an individual application of the principle

¹⁸⁰ Allon 2007b: 21–22 and 2014: 25.

¹⁸¹ Or perhaps *Rājasamyukta-nipāta* according to Skilling 1997: 282 note 65.

‘on kings’ used for selecting the texts in the process of composing this RS 7 + 8 list. The former appears more likely given the overlap seen among the Gandhari, Pali, Chinese and Sanskrit ‘Divisions on Kings’.¹⁸²

Although the identifications of many of the entries on RS 7 + 8 remains speculative, as does the conclusion that these and the surviving four discourses with Middle-length Collection parallels were found in the *Madhyama-āgama* of the community that produced the Senior Collection, if we accept that these identifications are correct and that these and the surviving four discourses did form a part of this community’s *Madhyama-āgama*, then, as noted by Silverlock (2015: 52 [§ 1.4]), certain patterns emerge. First, as is evident in the table below, this *Madhyama-āgama* appears to have had a similar overall structure to the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* with discourses grouped into groups of fifty *pañṇāsa* and to a lesser extent with the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* which groups discourses into recitations (*song* 誦). The Pali parallels to the entries on the first line of RS 7 + 8 are found in the First Fifty (*mūla-pañṇāsa*) of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, the five entries on line 2 are found in the First and Middle Fifty (*majjhima-pañṇāsa*), while the two entries on line 11 are found in the Final Fifty (*upari-pañṇāsa*). Not unexpectedly, the Pali discourses exhibit a different ordering within each *pañṇāsa*.

Based on her study of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya*, Manné (1990: 29) observed that one of the functions of this collection is “the presentation of the leader, both as a real person and archetype”, noting the

¹⁸² A study of the themes of the discourses referenced on line 2 of RS 7 + 8 suggests that the Gandhari group of discourses has a closer link to the Pali than the Chinese ‘Division on Kings’ (Silverlock 2015: 57–66 [§ 1.4.2.1–2]). A concern with kings may, in fact, have been behind the decision to include the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* (to use the Sanskrit title recorded in some sources) in the Senior Collection (RS 2; see Allon 2007b: 8 and 23). The *uddāna* entry for the Sanskrit parallel preserved in the *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript from Gilgit is *rājā* (Hartmann 2004: 124).

focus on the “remarkable depiction of the Buddha as a religious leader among other religious leaders” (p. 83). A study of the themes of the discourses of the Senior Collection with links to the *Madhyama-āgama* indicates that this appears to be a similar theme of these discourses.¹⁸³

Finally, although space does not permit us to discuss it in detail here, many of the *Madhyama-āgama* discourses of the Senior Collection show thematic and narrative connections, suggesting underlying intentions or principles in the choice of this group of discourses.¹⁸⁴

Conclusion

In total, fourteen discourses of the Senior Collection, both extant and as referents of entries on RS 7 + 8, may have an association with the *Madhyama-āgama*. This is the second largest group of texts that make up this collection, *Samyukta-āgama* discourses making up the bulk. Although this is a fraction of the size of the extant Middle-length Collections in Pali and Chinese (*Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama*), this group of Gandhari *Madhyama-āgama* texts does allow for some comparative analysis with the Pali and Chinese collections. The discourses referenced on line 2 of the fifty-five discourses listed on RS 7 + 8 demonstrate some links with the organisational principle of the ‘Divisions on Kings’ in the Middle-length Collections, while the three separate lines referring to *Madhyama-āgama* discourses on RS 7 + 8 (lines 1, 2 and 11) also show a connection with the organisational system of the *pañṇāsā*, ‘Fifties’, of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* and, to a lesser extent, with the organization of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. These discourses also show thematic and narrative connections among themselves, revealing some agenda in the selection of *Madhyama-āgama* discourses for inclusion in this list.

¹⁸³ Silverlock 2015: 83–85 [§ 1.5].

¹⁸⁴ Silverlock 2015: 83–85 [§ 1.5]; cf. Allon 2007b: 23–25.

Table. *Sūtras in the Senior Collection Associated with the Madhyama-āgama**

Gāndhārī RS 7 + 8 Reference	RS scroll no.	Pali <i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>		Chinese <i>Madhyama-āgama</i>	
		Parallel Discourse	<i>paññāsa</i> ‘fifty’	Parallel Discourse	<i>song</i> 誦 ‘recitation day’
Line 1 of RS 7 + 8					
[1] <i>śīlakadhe</i>	∅	∅	∅	MĀ 22: <i>Chengjiujie jing</i> 成就戒經 or MĀ 47 or MĀ 48: <i>Jie jing</i> 戒經	first recitation [初一日誦]
[2] <i>dukkhakadhio</i>	∅	MN 13 or MN 14: <i>Cūla- or Mahā- dukkhakkhandha-sutta</i>	first (<i>mūla-paññāsa</i>)	MĀ 99 or MĀ 100: <i>Kuhang jing</i> 苦陰經	second recitation (小土城)
[3] <i>agakṣana</i>	∅	MN 6: <i>Ākañkheyya-sutta</i>	first (<i>mūla-paññāsa</i>)	MĀ 105: <i>Yuan jing</i> 願經	second recitation (小土城)
[4] <i>gosigo</i>	12	MN 31: <i>Cūlagosiṅga-sutta</i>	first (<i>mūla-paññāsa</i>)	MĀ 185: <i>Niujiaosuoluolin jing</i> 牛角娑羅林經	fourth recitation (分別)
[5] <i>s(*a)l(*???)</i>	∅	MN 8 or MN 41: <i>Sallekha- or Sāleyyaka-sutta</i>	first (<i>mūla-paññāsa</i>)	MĀ 91: <i>Zhounawenjian jing</i> 周那問見經	second recitation (小土城)

* Based on Silverlock 2015: 49–51, 56–57; the discourses from the 'Division on Kings' are shaded.

Line 2 of RS 7 + 8					
[6] <i>satarasaoame</i>	∅	MN 24: <i>Rathavinīta-sutta</i> (King Pasenadi of Kosala)	first (<i>mūla-parṇāsa</i>)	MĀ 9: <i>Qiche jing</i> 七車經 (King Bosini of Jusaluo 拘薩羅王波斯匿)	first recitation [初一日誦]
[7] <i>gaḍikare</i>	∅	MN 81: <i>Ghaṭṭikāra-sutta</i> (King Kiki of Kāsi)	middle (<i>majjhima-parṇāsa</i>)	MĀ 63: <i>Pipoling jing</i> 鞞婆陵經 (King Jiabi 頻鞞王)	first recitation [初一日誦]
[8] <i>mahadeva</i>	∅	MN 83: <i>Makhādeva-sutta</i> (Makhādeva of Mithilā)	middle (<i>majjhima-parṇāsa</i>)	MĀ 67: <i>Daiannailin jing</i> 大天捺林經 (King Datan of Misa-luo 大天彌薩羅王)	first recitation [初一日誦]
[9] <i>bibis(*a)r(*a)</i>	∅	∅	∅	MĀ 62: <i>Pinbisuoluowang jing</i> 頻鞞安邏王迎佛經 (King Pinbisuoluo of Mojietuo 摩竭陀王頻鞞安邏 = King Bimbisāra of Magadha)	first recitation [初一日誦]

[10] <i>paṣi</i> (* <i>ṇao</i>) or <i>paṣe</i> (* <i>ṇao</i>)	1 + 3	MN 89: <i>Dhammacetiya-sutta</i> (King Pasenadi of Kosala)	middle (<i>majjhima-paṇṇāsa</i>)	MĀ 213: <i>Fazhuangyan jing</i> 法莊嚴經 (King Bosini of Jusa- luo 拘薩羅王波斯匿)	fifth recitation (後誦)
Line 11 of RS 7 + 8					
[29] <i>dharmag</i> (* <i>a</i>) <i>še</i>	∅	MN 115: <i>Bahudhātuka-sutta</i>	final (<i>upari-paṇṇāsa</i>)	MĀ 181: <i>Duojie jing</i> 多界經	fourth recitation (分別)
[30] <i>puṇas</i> (* <i>a</i>) <i>śoṇavariatiasa</i>	∅	MN 145: <i>Puṇṇovāda-sutta</i>	final (<i>upari-paṇṇāsa</i>)	∅	∅
No entry on RS 7 + 8					
∅	4	∅	∅	MĀ 33: <i>Shizhe jing</i> 侍者經	first recitation [初一日誦]
∅	10	MN 120: <i>Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta</i>	final (<i>upari-paṇṇāsa</i>)	MĀ 168: <i>Yixing jing</i> 意行經	fourth recitation (分別)

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i>
Ap	<i>Apadāna</i>
B ^e	Burmese (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) edition
BHSD	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (Edgerton 1953)
C ^e	Ceylonese (Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka Series) edition
CPD	<i>Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> (Trenckner et al. 1924–2011)
Dhp-a	<i>Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā</i>
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
DP	<i>Dictionary of Pāli</i> (Cone 2001)
DPPN	<i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i> (Malalasekera 1937–1938)
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
E ^e	European (Pali Text Society) edition
Jā	<i>Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā</i>
Kv-a	<i>Kathavatthu-aṭṭhakathā</i>
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
Nett-a	<i>Nettipakaraṇa-attakathā</i>
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī</i>
Ps-pt	<i>Papañcasūdanī-puraṇa-ṭikā</i>
PTS	Pali Text Society
RS	Robert Senior (Collection)
SĀ	<i>Saṃyukta-āgama</i> (T 99)
Se	Siamese (King of Siam) edition
SN	<i>Saṃyutta-nikāya</i>
SN ^N	<i>Saṃyutta-nikāya</i> (new PTS edition)
Spk	<i>Sāratthappakāsinī</i>
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsinī</i>
SHT	<i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> (Berlin)

SWTF	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i>
T	Taishō edition
Th-a	<i>Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā</i>
Vin	(Theravāda) <i>Vinaya</i>
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>
VRI ^e	Vipassana Research Institute edition [= B ^e]

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The ‘School Affiliation’ of the *Madhyama-āgama*

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Abstract

This paper argues that the original employed for translating the *Madhyama-āgama* into Chinese, now extant as entry no. 26 in the Taishō edition, was probably transmitted by Sarvāstivāda reciters. The argument proposes a basic appreciation of the idea of ‘school affiliation’ in the case of *Āgama* collections in general (I), followed by taking up general features of the *Madhyama-āgama* and three distinct markers of Sarvāstivāda influence (II).

Contents

I. Transmission Lineages and ‘School Affiliation’

II. Traces of Sarvāstivāda Influence in the *Madhyama-āgama*

Conclusion

Abbreviations

References

I. Transmission Lineages and ‘School Affiliation’

An important backdrop for discussions of the ‘school affiliation’ of a particular text or a scriptural collection as a whole is the fact that some degree of variation among textual collections transmitted by reciters who belong to a particular transmission lineage is to be expected, in view of the fluctuating nature of oral transmission over centuries. Such recognition helps one to appreciate that individual instances of lack of conformity need not invariably reflect the influence of the school affiliation of the transmitters of a particular text.

In order to demonstrate this point, it seems best to take up an example whose school affiliation is beyond doubt. As the main topic of this paper is the *Madhyama-āgama*, the most suitable example would therefore be its Theravāda counterpart,¹ the *Majjhima-nikāya*. For the purpose of illustration, purely as an imaginary scenario to test out the methodology appropriate for assessing questions of school affiliation, one might imagine what would emerge if the *Majjhima-nikāya* were preserved only in translation and apart from the other Pali *Nikāyas*. Such a scenario would correspond as closely as possible to the situation of the *Madhyama-āgama* extant in Chinese. In such a scenario and on following the usual approach, in order to determine whether the school affiliation of this *Majjhima-nikāya* is indeed Theravāda, one would examine the *Majjhima-nikāya* in the light of corresponding passages in the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Theravāda *Abhidhamma* and Theravāda commentarial tradition.

Such examination brings to light two instances, already discussed in Anālayo (2012: 520–521), where discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* vary from the Theravāda *Vinaya*. One difference concerns the se-

¹ On the term Theravāda see Anālayo 2013.

quence of enumerating the seven ways of settling litigations;² the other difference manifests in the form of a narrative piece that clearly belongs to an episode described in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, but is nevertheless not found in the actual discourse, occurring instead in the Theravāda *Vinaya*.³

In addition to these two, a more substantial difference emerges when comparing the expositions of *satipaṭṭhāna* meditation in the *Majjhima-nikāya* to the coverage given to the same topic in the analysis according to the method of the discourses (*suttantabhājanīya*) in the *Vibhaṅga*, an early work of the Theravāda *Abhidhamma*. Instead of six distinct contemplations of the body and five contemplations of *dhammas*, the *Vibhaṅga* has only a single contemplation of the body (concerned with its anatomical parts) and only two contemplations of *dhammas* (concerned with the hindrances and the awakening factors).⁴

Even the one exercise in common between the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Vibhaṅga*, contemplation of the anatomical parts, is not unproblematic. The actual listing of such parts in the discourse differs from the Theravāda commentarial tradition. Whereas discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* list thirty-one anatomical parts,⁵ the *Visuddhimagga* lists thirty-two, adding the brain to the parts mentioned in the discourse.⁶ The brain is also part of a listing of anatomical parts in a

² MN 104 at MN II 247,19 has decision by majority as the second item in its actual exposition, whereas Vin IV 207,5 has it in fifth position (the introductory listing in MN 104 at MN II 247,8 instead corresponds to Vin IV 207,5).

³ MN 82 at MN II 61,26 to 65,6 and Vin III 148,30 to 148,34.

⁴ MN 10 at MN I 56,11 to 59,10 and 60,7 to 62,33 compared to Vibh 193,17 to 194,24 and 199,12 to 201,41; these differences have already been noted by Bronkhorst 1985.

⁵ See, e.g., MN 10 at MN I 57,15 to 57,20 and MN 119 at MN III 90,14 to 90,19.

⁶ Vism 240,24 explains that its additional reference to the brain should be understood as implicitly covered by the bone marrow, mentioned among the thirty-one parts.

version of the *Girimānanda-sutta* preserved in Tibetan translation,⁷ which as shown by Skilling (1993) is part of a set of Theravāda texts brought by a Sri Lankan monk to Tibet.

Other variations emerge when comparing discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* with the Theravāda commentarial tradition. One of these involves an explicit denial of the transfer of merit in a *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse, which stands in stark contrast to a central doctrine in traditional Theravāda thought and practice.⁸ Needless to say, the notion of merit transfer is of vital importance in ritual daily practice in Theravāda countries in South and Southeast Asia.

Another instance involves a conception of the seventh stage of purification that differs from the *Visuddhimagga*.⁹ The seven stages of purification serve as the basic scaffolding for the *Visuddhimagga* and have in turn acquired central importance in Theravāda insight meditation, so that this difference is surely significant.

References to three influxes (*āsava*) in the *Majjhima-nikāya* contrast with the four influxes recognized in the commentarial tradition.¹⁰ Given that the final goal of Buddhist soteriology is to remove the influxes, differing conceptions regarding what actually needs to be removed are not a minor matter.

Yet another difference concerns the notion of being on the path to the fruition of one of the four levels of awakening, which in a *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse clearly involves a substantial time period,

⁷ D 38 *shes ka* 277a3: *glad pa* or Q 754 *sher tsi* 293b8: *klad pa*; translated in Anālayo 2016b: 102.

⁸ MN 35 at MN I 236,35 to 237,3. This has already been pointed out by Witanachchi 1987: 155 and Egge 2002: 58; see also Anālayo 2010.

⁹ MN 24 at MN I 148,12 compared to Vism 672,4; see in more detail Anālayo 2005, 2009 and 2016c.

¹⁰ See, e.g., MN 9 at MN I 55,10 in contrast to As 369,22, which adds the influx of views (both listings are found in Vibh 364,12 and Vibh 373,33).

but in the commentaries only a single moment.¹¹ This is another issue of considerable doctrinal and practical importance, perhaps even more significant than the differing listings of the influxes.

Two discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* refer to the presence of the *gandhabba* as a necessary condition for conception, a reference that implies some sort of an interim existence. The denial of the notion of an interim existence is a tenet characteristic of the Theravāda tradition.¹² This results in substantially different conceptualizations of the process of rebirth, another doctrine of considerable importance. Continuing with the same topic of rebirth, a *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse and the Theravāda commentarial tradition also disagree as to the realm in which the Buddha's mother was reborn.¹³

In sum, this short survey would hopefully have shown that, on employing the usual methodology for assessing school affiliation, several disagreements and significant variations between discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* collection and other Theravāda texts can be identified. This goes to show that some degree of variation is not in itself a decisive criterion for assessing issues of school affiliation.¹⁴

As pointed out by Boucher (2008: 190) in relation to variations between listings of the *bodhipakṣyadharmas* in discourses in the *Āgamas* and Pali *Nikāyas*:

¹¹ MN 142 at MN III 254,32 to 255,7 and Ps V 72,15; see also Gethin 1992: 131–132 and Anālayo 2012c: 77.

¹² MN 38 at MN I 265,37 and MN 93 at MN II 157,1; for a survey of the Buddhist schools that accepted or rejected the intermediate existence see Bareau 1955: 291.

¹³ MN 123 at MN III 122,3 reports that Māyā was reborn in Tusita; according to As 1,4 she was reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-three; see also Anālayo 2012d: 25–27.

¹⁴ The lack of thorough homogenization of the texts also implies, as I already pointed out in Anālayo 2011: 458, “that it is rather improbable that instances where they agree should be entirely due to a later leveling of texts.”

one might be left to wonder whether the competing lists ... really represent a doctrinally distinctive agenda by which Buddhist “schools” attempted to differentiate themselves. The problem with always seeing *nikāya* as at the heart of these differences is that it occludes other possible explanations ... we might do well to consider explanations for their distinctiveness that goes (sic) beyond our modern proclivity for school affiliation.¹⁵

This pertinent observation holds all the more for textual transmission within the Mūlasarvāstivāda/Sarvāstivāda traditions, spread over a remarkably broad geographical area. In fact in the case of texts on monastic discipline it has by now become clear that we need to think in terms of an “existence of multiple Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayas*”.¹⁶

The comparison with *Vinaya* texts is also significant from another perspective. Kuan (2013: 609) notes that transmitters and translators

of *Āgama* texts and collections never found it necessary to add school names to their texts, and in this regard they notably differed from those who dealt with *Vinaya* texts ... in order to distinguish between *nikāya* lineages and maintain one’s own identity, some Buddhists found it necessary to label the various schools’ *Vinayas* with *nikāya* names.

This difference between *Vinaya* and *Āgama* texts makes it worth reflecting how far the identification of school affiliation actually captures an essential and intrinsically important aspect of an *Āgama* collection. Hartmann (2013: 48) concludes a study of the *Maitreya-samitināṭaka* and the *Maitrisimit* by noting that, if his observations

¹⁵ Fussman 2012: 198 notes that “chaque monastère devait avoir des collections de manuscrits très légèrement différentes de celles des monastères voisins, qu’ils appartiennent au même *nikāya* ou non.”

¹⁶ Clarke 2015: 73.

are correct, then the question of school affiliation pursues something of little, if any, relevance to authors and users of the texts in question.¹⁷ This does not mean that one should turn a blind eye on school affiliation. But it might be worth reflecting how far such issues can be pursued and to what degree they can indeed help us to understand and appreciate the nature of this type of texts or whether they might at times rather obfuscate the complex set of conditions that have influenced their coming into existence. Salomon (2008: 14) queries

how meaningful such supposed 'school affiliations' really are, especially in the contexts of earlier periods for which it is by no means certain that we are dealing with canonically fixed texts associated with specific schools. In other words, one should not automatically assume that a particular version of a text attested in an early manuscript belongs to one and only one school, for we do not know with any confidence that the distribution of recensions of Buddhist texts in early times strictly followed sectarian, as opposed to, for example, geographical patterns.

II. Traces of Sarvāstivāda Influence in the *Madhyama-āgama*

Based on an appreciation of the fact that some degree of variation is the natural result of the oral (and only subsequently written) transmission of *Āgama* texts, if one wishes to pursue the issue of school

¹⁷ The original reads: "wenn die voranstehend vorgetragenen Überlegungen zutreffen, dann geht die Frage nach der Schulzugehörigkeit bei vielen Werken, und dazu zählt auch die *Maitrisimit*, ebenso wie die Frage nach der Hīnayāna/Mahāyāna-Zugehörigkeit einfach ins Leere, dann zielt sie nämlich auf Kategorisierungen, die für Verfasser und Benutzer offenbar keine Wirklichkeit oder zumindest keine praktische Bedeutung besessen haben."

affiliation, the question arises as to what criteria should be employed. In the case of the *Āgamas*, emphasis on these collections as a sort of product of a particular Buddhist school needs to be combined with an awareness that the respective texts have come into being well before the arising of Buddhist schools. Therefore to speak of the ‘school affiliation’ of an *Āgama* is different from applying the same category to exegetical or doctrinal texts; in fact, as noted above, it is even different from the case of *Vinaya* literature.

In the context of *Āgama* studies, distinctions of school affiliation are useful predominantly from a historical perspective and in terms of attempting to discern distinct transmission lineages as a basis for evaluating the significance of correspondences and variations in comparative studies.¹⁸ Similarities between closely related transmission lineages are of lesser weight than similarities between transmission lineages that appear to have been operating independently for a considerable time period, such as, for example, Mahāsāṅghika and Theravāda. It is predominantly in this sense that the issue of determining the school affiliation of a particular *Āgama* can help in appreciating early Buddhist thought and history.

In the case of the *Madhyama-āgama*, for some time in academic writings there has been a consensus that this collection would have been transmitted by Sarvāstivāda reciters.¹⁹ Furthermore Enomoto (1984: 198) argues that the *Madhyama-āgama* preserved in Chinese represents an earlier and less developed version of *Madhyama-āgama* collections preserved by Sarvāstivāda reciters.

Chung and Fukita (2011: 13–34) present a detailed discussion of the school affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* and express their res-

¹⁸ On the significance of correspondences between parallel versions in general see Anālayo 2012a.

¹⁹ See, e.g., Lü Cheng 1963: 242, Minh Chau 1964 [1991]: 27, Waldschmidt 1980: 136, Mayeda 1985: 98, Enomoto 1986: 21, Hirakawa 1987: 513, Oberlies 2003: 64.

ervation concerning the Sarvāstivāda identification, highlighting, among other points, divergences between the *Madhyama-āgama* and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese translation (T 1435). They conclude that “we have considerable difficulty in supporting the view that the *Zhong-ahanjing* derives from the Sarvāstivāda school, at least insofar as we define the term ‘school’ as a community of Buddhist monks who share a common canonical tradition” (p. 33). In reply, in Anālayo (2012b: 516–521) I argue that in view of the nature of oral transmission some divergences are to be expected.

Chung (2014 and 2017) then draws attention to differences between the *Puṇya-sūtra* of the *Ekottarika-āgama* preserved in Gilgit fragments and *Madhyama-āgama* discourse no. 138, 福經, as well as between the **Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra* of the *Dirgha-āgama* preserved in Gilgit fragments and *Madhyama-āgama* discourse no. 147, 聞德經, reiterating the need to reassess the supposed Sarvāstivāda affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation. Chung (2014: 101) notes that “*Sūtras* preserved in the Chinese *Madhyamā-gama* differ considerably in most cases from the corresponding Sanskrit versions known so far.” This is of course a significant point, but such differences need to be evaluated against the background that it is natural for orally transmitted text to exhibit differences. In fact Chung (2014: 100) finds that the *Puṇya-sūtra* and *Madhyama-āgama* discourse no. 138, 福經, “share a similar framework and content, albeit differences in detail are obvious.” That is, the differences in detail occur in the context of similarities in general aspects.

When evaluating such differences, it needs to be kept in mind, as noted by Strauch (2017: 367), that

considerable differences between texts do by no means exclude the possibility that they were used by monks belonging to the same school.

The examples provided earlier from the *Majjhima-nikāya* would hopefully have illustrated the fact that the *Madhyama-āgama* extant in Chinese needs to be appreciated as the final product of centuries of oral transmission, with ample opportunities for the introduction of variations and change, far beyond what would have happened during the transposition from one Indic language to another. Although *Āgama* research inevitably requires working with written texts in manuscript and printed form, the texts themselves have not always been fixed in writing, hence variations are not confined to redactional changes that happened in the written medium.²⁰

Comparable to the need for thinking in terms of multiple Mūla-sarvāstivāda *Vinayas*, it seems best to approach the early discourse collections in terms of multiple *Āgama* traditions. In the context of such multiple *Āgama* traditions, within related transmission lineages maintained by reciters that belong to a particular school we would indeed expect differences in detail alongside general agreement. As pointed out in a different context by Salomon (2008: 14),

the assumption that one school had one and only one version of a given text, and conversely that no two schools shared the same or very similar versions of it, is a dubious one. Although such situations do seem to have developed in later times, after formal closed canons were developed by (at least some of) the schools, there is no good reason to read this situation back into earlier periods, in which this process seems not yet to have taken place or at least not to have been fully elaborated.

Given that the texts that make up the *Madhyama-āgama* are not in themselves products of a particular school, but have come into being

²⁰ On the oral and written dimensions in the stages that can be discerned in the formation and transmission of *Āgama* material see Salomon 2017.

before the arising of a distinct sense of school identity, variations of the type identified by Chung cannot be understood by depending entirely on the alternatives of a single or two separate Sarvāstivāda traditions. This fails to appreciate that such variations could have come into existence earlier and quite independent of any relationship to school identity. The entire trajectory of a particular lineage of *Āgama* transmission goes far beyond the confines of the existence of a specific school.

Since the texts found in an *Āgama* have come into existence before the formation of schools, this in turn has implications for the type of evidence that they can exhibit in matters of school affiliation. Evidence that a particular discourse collection was transmitted by a lineage of reciters who at some point of time came to identify themselves as members of one or the other Buddhist school can only be expected to occur somewhat sporadically. In relation to an already existing textual corpus like an *Āgama* collection, such sporadic influence can be identified in the form of additions or changes that are in line with school tenets or preferences.

In the case of the *Madhyama-āgama* I am aware of three discourses with distinct markers pointing to such Sarvāstivāda tenets or preferences; further research may well bring to light more.²¹ When compared to the evidence that can be adduced in support of the school affiliation of other *Āgamas*, these three distinct markers already make a fairly good case for the school affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama*.

The first of these three markers is the 'Discourse on Explaining the Spheres', 說處經, *Madhyama-āgama* discourse no. 86. The 'Discourse on Explaining the Spheres', which is without a known parallel, reports the Buddha delineating a series of topics that Ānanda should teach junior monks.²² The majority of these topics recur as

²¹ Two of the three markers that I discuss here have already been mentioned by Minh Chau 1964 [1991] (see notes 23 and 26 below) and the third by myself in 2008 (see note 30 below).

²² MĀ 86 at T I 562a19 to 565c26; the identification of this discourse by

chapter headings in the *Dharmaskandha*, an important early work in the Sarvāstivāda canonical *Abhidharma* collection.²³ Since we know that early *Abhidharma* works developed on the basis of and in close dialogue with the early discourses, this shows fairly conclusively that a *Madhyama-āgama* discourse served as the scaffolding for an exposition of Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharma* thought. For a discourse without known parallels to exhibit such a close relationship to a central and early *Abhidharma* treatise offers quite a strong basis for the hypothesis that the *Madhyama-āgama* collection was transmitted within a Sarvāstivāda milieu.

The second such marker occurs in the ‘Discourse on Fields of Merit’, 福田經, *Madhyama-āgama* discourse no. 127, which in agreement with parallels in the *Samyukta-āgama* and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* distinguishes between those who are in training and those who are beyond training, that is, who have become *arhats*.²⁴ Unlike its two parallels, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse provides lists for each of these two types of noble beings. Its listing for those who are beyond training includes an *arhat* liable to fall away from his or her attainment.²⁵ The same notion can be found as part of a listing of *arhats* in a discourse quotation in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*.²⁶ This is another compelling marker in the form of a passage that,

Akanuma 1929 [1990]: 13 as a parallel to MN 148 is not correct; see Anālayo 2011: 838 note 96. Instead MĀ 86 should be reckoned as not having a known parallel.

²³ A survey of these correspondences can be found in Watanabe 1983 [1996]: 54; see also Minh Chau 1964 [1991]: 35–36 and Anālayo 2014: 41–44.

²⁴ MĀ 127 at T I 616a5 to 616c25 and its parallels SĀ 992 at T II 258c11 to 258c20 and AN 2.4.4 at AN I 62,33 to 63,14.

²⁵ MĀ 127 at T I 616a18: 退法.

²⁶ Wogihara 1936: 566,34; this has already been noticed by Minh Chau 1964 [1991]: 26–27. According to the survey of Japanese scholarship on the school affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* by Fukita 2017, the same had already been mentioned by Akanuma in lecture notes published in 1939.

judging from its parallels, appears to have been expanded during transmission.²⁷ This expansion has served to accommodate a Sarvāstivāda tenet which stands in contrast to the early Buddhist position according to which an *arhat*'s attainment of liberation is irreversible.²⁸

The third marker can be found in the 'Discourse on a *Deva* at the Hot Spring Grove', 溫泉林天經, *Madhyama-āgama* discourse no. 165, which has a parallel in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.²⁹ Unlike its Pali parallel, the *Madhyama-āgama* version qualifies sense organs of the past as 'really' existing.³⁰ This apparently later change of the formulation otherwise shared with the *Majjhima-nikāya* version reflects the central tenet that gave the Greater Sarvāstivāda their name; in fact the expression found in this discourse recurs in the **Mahāvibhāṣā*.³¹

For an *Āgama* collection these three markers furnish fairly strong evidence. During the process of transmission, one *Madhyama-āgama* discourse without parallels apparently exerted a determining influence on a central work in the nascent Abhidharma enterprise of the Sarvās-

²⁷ It is particularly noteworthy that such an expansion is not only absent from AN 2.4.4, but also from SĀ 992. This shows that the expansion must have happened at a comparably late point in time, as it did not affect the version of what otherwise is the same discourse in the Mūla-sarvāstivāda *Samyukta-āgama* extant in Chinese translation as T 99.

²⁸ For a survey of the schools that upheld or opposed this tenet see Bareau 1995: 261; see also Miyashita 1981 [1982]. Another instance that might reflect the same tenet can be found in MĀ 178 at T I 719b2, which describes recluses and brahmins who regress not only in relation to their liberation of mind, but also in relation to their liberation by wisdom, 慧解脫衰退. The parallel MN 25 at MN I 156,30 mentions only liberation of the mind; see also Anālayo 2011: 168–169.

²⁹ MĀ 165 at T I 696b26 to 698c1 and MN 133 at MN III 192,1 to 199,17.

³⁰ MĀ 165 at T I 697c20: 實有 ... 過去; see Anālayo 2008: 7. This case seems to be stronger evidence than another such instance noted by Minh Chau 1964 [1991]: 23–24, on which see Anālayo 2011: 806 note 241.

³¹ T 1545 at T XXVII 393a24: 實有過去; see also Bareau 1955: 137 and Cox 1995: 136–137.

tivādins. Two notions held among Sarvāstivādins, namely the assertion that an *arhat* can fall away from his or her level of awakening and the notion that things of the past truly exist, found expressions in two discourses, where comparative study enables the identification of the respective passages as the results of later change. These three instances provide a firm basis for the hypothesis that the *Madhyama-āgama* was transmitted by Sarvāstivādins.

What is perhaps of even more importance, however, is the basic pattern that emerges from comparative studies. These result in a general picture where Pali discourses tend to be close to their *Dīrgha-āgama* parallels as well as to discourse quotations in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* and the **Śāriputrābhidharma*,³² whenever these are extant. Comparable to these two is the relationship between the *Madhyama-āgama* on the one hand and the *Samyukta-āgama* together with discourse quotations in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharma-kośopāyikā-ṭīkā* on the other hand. In spite of some internal distance, this latter group shares elements that make it distant from the former group of the Pali discourses together with the *Dīrgha-āgama*. A line of transmission apart from all of these taken together is represented by the *Ekottarika-āgama*.³³ In this way, the overall picture that emerges from comparative study concords with the hypothesis that the *Madhyama-āgama* was transmitted within a Sarvāstivāda transmission lineage.

Since such general impressions are based on a broad range of detailed studies, in the present context it is not possible to reproduce all the relevant data.³⁴ However, in another article under preparation a

³² On this work see, e.g., Bareau 1950.

³³ On the school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* see Anālayo 2016a: 172–178 and 211–214.

³⁴ This pattern becomes evident in my comparative study of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (Anālayo 2011) in the substantial number of cases that involve a *Madhyama-āgama* parallel.

component of this situation will be taken up in more detail, namely *uddāna* references and discourse quotations in the *Abhidharmakośopāyika-ṭīkā* that are related to the *Madhyama-āgama*.³⁵ These confirm that the *Madhyama-āgama* exhibits minor variations alongside major agreements with Mūlasarvāstivāda texts, as to be expected of a discourse collection transmitted by Sarvāstivāda reciters.

Conclusion

The question of the school affiliation of an *Āgama* collection needs to be posed based on appreciating the nature of such textual collections. Being the product of oral transmission over centuries, it is only natural that within the textual corpus of a particular Buddhist school some variations occur, as evidenced by a comparison of *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses with other Theravāda texts. In light of this, it is not surprising that similar variations should be found among texts associated with the Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda. Such variations reflect the vicissitude of oral transmission, and it would amount to losing sight of the oral nature of the early discourse collections if minor differences were to be construed as in themselves putting into question the school identity of a particular collection.

In the case of the *Madhyama-āgama* extant in Chinese, the general pattern of its discourses, when compared to discourses of other traditions, as well as three specific markers point to the Sarvāstivāda tradition. To the extent to which the school affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* can be identified, the wider Sarvāstivāda is clearly the most straightforward option.

³⁵ See Honjō et al. in preparation.

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i>
As	<i>Atthasālinī</i>
D	Derge edition
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i>
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī</i>
Q	Qianlong (Peking) edition
T	Taishō edition (CBETA digital edition)
Vibh	<i>Vibhaṅga</i>
Vin	<i>Vinayaṭṭhaka</i>
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>

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***Ekottarika*-type Material
in the *Madhyama-āgama***

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Abstract

The *Madhyama-āgama* in Chinese translation (T 26), generally considered affiliated to a Sarvāstivāda textual tradition, comprises 222 discourses (*sūtras*); its Theravāda counterpart, the *Majjhima-nikāya* in Pali, comprises 152. In this study I seek explanations for this big numerical discrepancy. Compiling a table of the Pali parallels to the *Madhyama-āgama* discourses reveals that, while the majority of those parallels are located in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, seventy-four of them are instead located exclusively in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. Examining the distribution of these seventy-four discourses within the *Madhyama-āgama* further reveals some sizable numerical clusters resembling the *nipātas* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. On this basis I suggest that not only these clusters, but possibly all of the *Madhyama-āgama* discourses whose Pali parallels are located exclusively in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, were transferred into the *Madhyama-āgama* from an outside source, namely a Sarvāstivāda *Ekottarika-āgama*.

Contents

- I. Objectives and Previous Work
- II. Overview of the *Madhyama-āgama*
- III. The ‘Decade on Analysis’
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I. Objectives and Previous Work

The *Madhyama-āgama* in Chinese translation (T 26), which is usually considered to be affiliated with a Sarvāstivāda lineage of transmission,¹ comprises 222 discourses. Its Theravāda counterpart, the *Majjhima-nikāya* in Pali, comprises 152. To find explanations for this big discrepancy in the number of discourses making up these two versions of the Collection of Middle-length Discourses is the primary objective of the investigation reported here. A secondary objective is to gain insight into the structure and development of the *Madhyama-āgama*, particularly in comparison with the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

In several respects this paper is a natural sequel to the one which I presented at the same venue two years ago in the seminar on the *Dīrgha-āgama* and which was published the following year.² As in that earlier case, the principal research method employed here is comparison of the composition and structure of two versions (Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda) of the collection in question, making use of available tables of discourse parallels.³ Furthermore, the outcomes of the present study bear some marked resemblances to those reported in that structural study of the *Dīrgha-āgama*. Indeed, as will soon become apparent, such research into the Collection of Long Discourses can hardly be carried out effectively without concurrent research into the corresponding Collection of Middle-length Discourses, and the converse of this is also true. It is therefore appropriate at this point to review the principal findings of that earlier study.

¹ On the school affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* see Anālayo 2017 and Chung 2017, both in this volume.

² Bucknell 2014. For convenience I use Pali terminology when giving the Indic equivalents of Chinese terms, chapter titles etc.

³ This is not the place to discuss the many difficulties associated with identifying discourse parallels; for a general discussion, see Anālayo 2008, which includes some relevant examples from the *Madhyama-āgama*.

The two versions of the Long Collection that I compared are: (a) the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* (as published by the Pali Text Society 1890–1910), which belongs to the school customarily referred to as Theravāda; and (b) the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* from Gilgit (as reported by Hartmann 1992, 2004 and 2014), which is generally considered to be affiliated with either the Sarvāstivāda or the Mūlasarvāstivāda lineage of transmission. As had already been found by Hartmann (1992: 30), comparison of these two versions of the Long Collection inevitably leads to comparison of the corresponding versions of the Middle-length Collection, namely: (a) the Theravāda *Majjhima-nikāya* in Pali, and (b) the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation as *Zhong ahan* 中阿含. This natural extension of the scope of the comparison was a consequence of the following findings.

Of the thirty-four discourses that make up the Long Collection in Pali (*Dīgha-nikāya*), twenty-four have readily recognizable parallels in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* in Sanskrit; however, the remaining ten (those now numbered DN 15, 17, 21–23, 25–27, 30 and 31), do not have parallels in the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* but do have parallels in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. On the basis of this finding and further analysis, I concluded that the ten specified *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses had formerly been located in the corresponding Middle-length Collection (of which the remainder is preserved in Pali as the *Majjhima-nikāya*), but were subsequently transferred to their present location in the *Dīgha-nikāya* at some early time.

Similarly, of the forty-seven discourses that make up the Long Collection in Sanskrit, eleven (now numbered as DĀ (Skt) 7, 10–12, 17, 19–22, 38 and 43) are found to have their Theravāda parallels not in the *Dīgha-nikāya* but in the corresponding Middle-length Collection (the present *Majjhima-nikāya*). My conclusion was that those eleven had formerly been located in the Sarvāstivāda Middle-length Collection but were subsequently transferred to their present location in the *Dīrgha-āgama* at some early time.

That is, I argued that a group of ten discourses had been transferred from the Middle-length Collection to the corresponding Long Collection within the Theravāda line of transmission, and a different group of eleven discourses had been similarly but independently transferred from Middle-length to Long within the Sarvāstivāda line. To explain why the discourses thus transferred are not now located together as a continuous block, but instead are slightly scattered, I demonstrated that those discourses had been partly rearranged in order to produce more coherent decades, namely: a decade of ‘paired discourses’ and a decade of discourses whose titles have, in many cases, the prefix *mahā*-.

In support of the notion that groups of discourses had been transferred in this way, I made two points. First, as is well known, the discourses that make up a *nikāya/āgama* are usually found grouped into sets of ten, or some number close to ten. Such a set is called *vagga* in Pali, *varga* in Sanskrit, and *pin* 品 in Chinese, for all of which I adopt the term ‘decade’. Second, I cited the following two cases from the two versions of the Middle-length Collection.

(a) In the Theravāda *Majjhima-nikāya*, the last decade of discourses (MN 143–152), titled *Salāyatana-vagga* (‘Decade on the Six sense-bases’), shows clear signs of having been transferred into this collection from the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.⁴

(b) In the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama*, the first decade of discourses (MĀ 1–10), titled *Qi fa pin* 七法品 (‘Decade on Seven *Dharmas*’), shows clear signs of having been transferred into this collection, possibly from the Sevens of a Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection.

⁴ One of the ‘clear signs’ is that the preceding decade (*Vibhaṅga-vagga*) actually comprises twelve discourses, not the usual ten. Since an irregular decade of this kind is normally the last one in its *saṃyutta* or *nipāta* or *nikāya*, this strongly suggests that the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* was formerly the last *vagga* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, and hence that the *Salāyatana-vagga* is a subsequent addition.

The above is essential background to the present study of the Middle-length Collection, mainly because it mentions inferred early processes of change that resulted in the two present versions of that collection: the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

II. Overview of the *Madhyama-āgama*

The first step in this investigation is to present a broad overview of the composition of the *Madhyama-āgama*. This is done in Table 1, below, which lists the 222 discourses of this collection alongside their principal parallels in Pali or in Chinese.⁵

Table 1. Discourses of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26) with their Parallels in the Four Pali *Nikāyas* and the Four Main Chinese *Āgamas*

MĀ Discourse No. and Title	Parallel(s) in Pali or Chinese		
I. Sevens		8. 七日	AN 7.62, EĀ 40.1
1. 善法	AN 7.64, EĀ 39.1	9. 七車	MN 24, EĀ 39.10
2. 晝度樹	AN 7.65, EĀ 39.2	10. 漏盡	MN 2, AN 6.58, EĀ 40.6
3. 城喻	AN 7.63, EĀ 39.4	II. Karma	
4. 水喻	AN 7.15, EĀ 39.3	11. 鹽喻	AN 3.99
5. 木積喻	AN 7.68, EĀ 33.10	12. 愁破	AN 4.195
6. 善人往	AN 7.52	13. 度	AN 3.61
7. 世間福	EĀ 40.7	14. 羅云	MN 61
		15. 思	AN 10.206–208

⁵ This table is based on the following sources: Akanuma 1929 (the *Madhyama-āgama* table being on pp. 7–25, the *Majjhima-nikāya* table at pp. 163–171), the Foguang 佛光 edition of the *Madhyama-āgama* (the relevant table being at IV 1–22), Anālayo and Bucknell 2006, the SuttaCentral website (at suttacentral.net/ma and [/mn](http://suttacentral.net/mn)) and some recent unpublished updates by myself and Bhikkhu Anālayo.

16. 迦藍	AN 3.65
17. 迦彌尼	SN 42.6
18. 師子	AN 8.12
19. 尼乾	MN 101
20. 波羅牢	SN 42.13

III. Sāriputta

21. 等心	AN 2.4.5
22. 成就戒	AN 5.166
23. 智	SN 12.32
24. 師子吼	AN 9.11, EĀ 37.6
25. 水喻	AN 5.162
26. 瞿尼師	MN 69
27. 梵志陀然	MN 97
28. 教化病	SN 55.26, SN 10.8*
29. 大拘絺羅	MN 9, SĀ 344
30. 象蹟喻	MN 28
31. 分別聖諦	MN 141, EĀ 27.1

IV. Extraordinary

32. 未曾有法	MN 123, AN 4.127*
33. 侍者	
34. 薄拘羅	MN 124
35. 阿修羅	AN 8.19, EĀ 42.4
36. 地動	AN 8.70, EĀ 42.5
37. 瞻波	AN 8.20, EĀ 48.2
38. 郁伽長者	AN 8.21, AN 8.22
39. 郁伽長者	
40. 手長者	AN 8.24
41. 手長者	AN 8.23

V. Conditions

42. 何義	AN 11.1, AN 10.1*
43. 不思	AN 11.2, AN 10.2*

44. 念	AN 8.81
45. 慚愧	AN 7.61
46. 慚愧	AN 7.61
47. 戒	AN 11.3, AN 10.3*
48. 戒	AN 5.168, AN 10.4, AN 11.4, SĀ 495
49. 恭敬	AN 5.22
50. 恭敬	AN 5.21
51. 本際	AN 10.61*, AN 10.62*
52. 食	AN 10.62, AN 10.61*
53. 食	AN 10.62, AN 10.61*
54. 盡智	
55. 涅槃	SN 12.23
56. 彌醯	AN 9.3
57. 即為比丘說	AN 9.1

VI. Kings

58. 七寶	SN 46.42, SĀ 721– 722, EĀ 39.7
59. 三十二相	DN 30
60. 四洲	
61. 牛糞喻	SN 22.96, SĀ 264
62. 頻鞞娑邏王 迎佛	
63. 鞞娑陵耆	MN 81
64. 天使	MN 130, AN 3.35, DĀ 30.4, EĀ 32.4
65. 烏鳥喻	
66. 說本	
67. 大天捺林	MN 83, EĀ 1, EĀ 50.4
68. 大善見王	DN 17, DĀ 2
69. 三十喻	

70. 轉輪王	DN 26, DĀ 6
71. 蟬肆	DN 23, DĀ 7

VII. King Long-life

72. 長壽王本起	MN 128*
73. 天	AN 8.64
74. 八念	AN 8.30, EĀ 42.6
75. 淨不動道	MN 106
76. 郁伽支羅	SN 47.3*
77. 娑雞帝三族 姓子	MN 68
78. 梵天請佛	MN 49
79. 有勝天	MN 127
80. 迦絺那	
81. 念身	MN 119
82. 支離彌梨	AN 6.60
83. 長老上尊睡眠	AN 7.58A
84. 無刺	AN 10.72
85. 真人	MN 113, EĀ 17.9
86. 說處	

VIII. Defilements

87. 穢	MN 5, EĀ 25.6
88. 求法	MN 3, EĀ 18.3
89. 比丘請	MN 15
90. 知法	AN 10.24
91. 周那問見	MN 8
92. 青白蓮華喻	
93. 水淨梵志	MN 7, SĀ 1185, EĀ 13.5
94. 黑比丘	AN 10.87
95. 住法	AN 10.53
96. 無	AN 10.55

IX. Causes

97. 大因	DN 15, DĀ 13
98. 念處	MN 10, DN 22, EĀ 12.1
99. 苦因	MN 13, EĀ 21.9
100. 苦因	MN 14, EĀ 41.1
101. 增上心	MN 20
102. 念	MN 19
103. 師子吼	MN 11, EĀ 27.2
104. 優曇婆邏	DN 25, DĀ 8
105. 願	MN 6, AN 10.71
106. 想	MN 1*, EĀ 44.6

X. Forest

107. 林	MN 17, AN 9.6, EĀ 45.3
108. 林	MN 17, AN 9.6, EĀ 45.3
109. 自觀心	AN 10.54
110. 自觀心	AN 10.51
111. 達梵行	AN 6.63
112. 阿奴波	AN 6.62
113. 諸法本	AN 8.83, AN 10.58
114. 優陀羅	SN 35.103
115. 蜜丸喻	MN 18, EĀ 40.10
116. 瞿曇彌	AN 8.51

XI. Great (i)

117. 柔軟	AN 3.38
118. 龍象	AN 6.43
119. 說處	AN 3.67
120. 說無常	SN 22.76
121. 請請	SN 8.7, SĀ 1212, EĀ 32.5

122. 瞻波	AN 8.10, AN 8.20
123. 沙門二十億	AN 6.55, SĀ 254, EĀ 23.3
124. 八難	AN 8.29, EĀ 42.1
125. 貧窮	AN 6.45
126. 行欲	AN 10.91, AN 5.41*
127. 福田	AN 2.4.4, SĀ 992
128. 優婆塞	AN 5.179
129. 怨家	AN 7.60
130. 教曇彌	AN 6.54
131. 降魔	MN 50
132. 賴吒何愁羅	MN 82
133. 優婆離	MN 56
134. 釋問	DN 21, DĀ 14
135. 善生	DN 31, DĀ 16
136. 商人求財	
137. 世間	AN 4.23, EĀ 894*
138. 福	AN 7.58B
139. 息止道	
140. 至邊	SN 22.80*, SĀ 272*
141. 喻	SN 45.141–148, SĀ 1239

XII. Brahmins

142. 雨勢	AN 7.20, EĀ 40.2
143. 傷歌邏	AN 3.60
144. 算數目捷連	MN 107
145. 瞿默目捷連	MN 108
146. 象蹟喻	MN 27
147. 聞德	
148. 何苦	
149. 何欲	AN 6.52, EĀ 37.8
150. 鬱瘦歌邏	MN 96

151. 阿攝耆	MN 93, EĀ 40.9
152. 鸚鵡	MN 99
153. 鬚閑提	MN 75
154. 婆羅婆堂	DN 27, DĀ 5, EĀ 40.1
155. 須達哆	AN 9.20, EĀ 27.3
156. 梵波羅延	
157. 黃蘆園	AN 8.11
158. 頭那	AN 5.192
159. 阿伽羅訶那	
160. 阿蘭那	AN 7.70
161. 梵摩	MN 91

XIII. Analysis

162. 分別六界	MN 140
163. 分別六處	MN 137
164. 分別觀法	MN 138
165. 溫泉林天	MN 133
166. 釋中禪室尊	MN 134
167. 阿難說	MN 132
168. 意行	MN 120*
169. 拘樓瘦無諍	MN 139
170. 鸚鵡	MN 135
171. 分別大業	MN 136

XIV. Mind

172. 心	AN 4.186
173. 浮彌	MN 126
174. 受法	MN 45
175. 受法	MN 46
176. 行禪	
177. 說	
178. 獵師	MN 25

179. 五支物主	MN 78
180. 瞿曇彌	MN 142
181. 多界	MN 115

XV. Pairs

182. 馬邑	MN 39, EĀ 49.8
183. 馬邑	MN 40
184. 牛角婆羅林	MN 32, EĀ 37.3
185. 牛角婆羅林	MN 31, EĀ 24.8*
186. 求解	MN 47
187. 說智	MN 112
188. 阿夷那	AN 10.115 & 116
189. 勝道	MN 117
190. 小空	MN 121
191. 大空	MN 122

XVI. Great (ii)

192. 家樓烏陀夷	MN 66
193. 牛犁破群那	MN 21
194. 跋陀和利	MN 65
195. 阿濕貝	MN 70
196. 周那	MN 104
197. 優婆離	
198. 調御地	MN 125
199. 癡慧地	MN 129
200. 阿梨吒	MN 22
201. 嗟帝	MN 38

XVII. Potaliya	
202. 持齋	AN 3.70, AN 8.43, EĀ 24.6, SĀ 861–863, SĀ 1117
203. 瞢利多	MN 54
204. 羅摩	MN 26
205. 五下分結	MN 64
206. 心穢	MN 16, EĀ 51.4
207. 箭毛	MN 77
208. 箭毛	MN 79
209. 鞞摩那修	MN 80
210. 法樂比丘尼	MN 44
211. 大拘絺羅	MN 43

XVIII. Examples

212. 一切智	MN 90
213. 法莊嚴	MN 89, EĀ 38.10
214. 鞞訶提	MN 88
215. 第一得	AN 10.29
216. 愛生	MN 87, EĀ 13.3
217. 八城	MN 52, AN 11.17
218. 阿那律陀	
219. 阿那律陀	
220. 見	
221. 箭喻	MN 63
222. 例	

In the left column of this table are listed the 222 discourses of the *Madhyama-āgama* with their Chinese titles. In the right column are the parallel discourses found in either or both of two locations:⁶ (a)

⁶ Cases of partial correspondence are flagged with an asterisk. Usually such

the four principal Pali *Nikāyas* (DN, MN, SN, AN) as published by the Pali Text Society, and (b) the four extant *Āgamas* preserved in Chinese translation (DĀ, MĀ, SĀ, EĀ) and published in the first two volumes of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (1924).⁷

The numbered English headings indicate the grouping of the discourses into ‘decades’ (*pin* 品), some of which actually consist of more than the usual ten discourses—for example, MĀ 142–161, which unites two consecutive sets of ten. The items in the right column are intentionally so arranged that for any given *Madhyama-āgama* discourse the Pali parallels precede the Chinese, and MN (*Majjhima-nikāya*) precedes AN (*Aṅguttara-nikāya*). I adopt this arrangement in recognition of the fact, evident even at a casual glance, that in most cases the Pali parallel is (as might be expected) in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, but that in a substantial number of cases it is instead in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*—and occasionally in both.

A more objective picture of the distribution of the Pali parallels among the four *Nikāyas* can be gained by doing a count of the different locations specified in the right column. Such a count reveals, first of all, that twenty-four of the 222 *Madhyama-āgama* discourses have no known parallel in any of the four *Nikāyas*. For the remainder the percentage-wise distribution of the parallels is found to be approximately as follows: *Majjhima*: 50%, *Aṅguttara*: 40%, *Dīgha*: 5%, *Samyutta*: 5%.

That most of the Pali parallels to *Madhyama-āgama* discourses are

partial parallels are included in the table only if no full parallel is known.

⁷ Because the primary concern here is with the distribution of the discourses among the *Nikāyas/Āgamas*, the table omits individual Chinese translations (e.g., T 27 to T 98) and discourses contained in *Khuddaka* texts, *Vinayas*, or biographies, or extant as fragmentary remains, or preserved in languages other than Pali or Chinese. Also omitted are parallels in the ‘Other’ *Samyukta-āgama* (T 100). These omitted details can be sought in specialized reference works such as Chung and Fukita 2011 and Honjō 1984 or at SuttaCentral.net/ma.

in the *Majjhima-nikāya* hardly needs explaining. What does need explaining is why so many of the parallels are in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* instead.

As a first step toward answering this question, I now consider the case of the first decade of the *Madhyama-āgama*, MĀ 1–10, mentioned above as having been discussed already in my *Dīrgha-āgama* paper (2014). To convey the relevant data, I reproduce here the table that appeared in this connection in that paper.⁸

Table 2. *Madhyama-āgama* Discourses 1 to 10 and their Parallels in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and *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

A remarkable feature of this table is the close correspondence between the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and *Ekottarika-āgama* columns (headed AN and EĀ), particularly as regards the sequence of the discourses near the beginning of the series. This closeness appears to go against the frequently made comment that these two collections have little in common other than their numerically based structure.⁹

⁸ Table 2 is also a modified replica of the first decade of Table 1, above.

⁹ For example, Harrison 1997: 279–281. EĀ 33.10 is exceptional, being in

All but one of the eight listed *Āṅuttara-nikāya* parallels are located in the ‘Book of Sevens’ (*Sattaka-nipāta*), a fact that accords well with the title of this *Madhyama-āgama* decade: *Qi fa pin* 七法品 ‘Decade on Seven *Dharmas*’. The one exception is AN 6.58, the *Āṅuttara-nikāya* parallel to MĀ 10, which is instead located in the Sixes. This discrepancy is probably attributable to later developments, for the following reasons.¹⁰ There is a second Pali parallel here, namely MN 2. The exceptional AN 6.58 closely resembles it in both content and wording, but with one difference: 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 those seven. From this it appears likely that AN 6.58 and MN 2 are divergent derivatives of a single ancestral discourse that named seven ways of abandoning the *āsavas*.¹¹ Once this is acknowledged, the first *Madhyama-āgama* decade is seen to be consistently composed of sets of seven items. It thus possesses all of the properties that one would expect to find in a decade of discourses on sevens contained within a numerical collection.

This situation found in the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama* bears a broad resemblance to the one noted earlier in the Theravāda *Majjhima-nikāya*, whose last decade, titled ‘Decade on the Six Sense-bases’, possesses properties resembling those of the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* (‘Connected with the Six Sense-bases’) of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. There is, however, a significant difference between the two cases. Whereas the Theravāda *Saṃyutta-nikāya* actually exists, and can therefore reasonably be identified as the likely source of the ‘Decade on the Six Sense-

the Fives rather than the Sevens.

¹⁰ Cf. Bucknell 2014: 82–85.

¹¹ AN 6.58 probably developed as a variant of MN 2 through accidental loss of the first item in the list of seven ways, followed by transfer of the diminished version from the Sevens of the *Āṅuttara-nikāya* to the Sixes.

bases’, there does not exist an explicitly identified Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection that could be pointed to as the likely source of the *Madhyama-āgama* ‘Decade on Seven *Dharmas*’. Of the expected four *Āgamas* of the Sarvāstivāda only three are extant as such: a *Dīrgha-āgama* partially preserved in Sanskrit, a *Madhyama-āgama* in Chinese translation (T 26), and a *Samyukta-āgama* in Chinese translation (T 99). One is led, therefore, to suspect that the Decade on Seven *Dharmas* may have formerly been a part of a Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection, a part that subsequently found its way into the Sarvāstivāda Middle-length Collection.

A broadly similar situation is found further down in the *Madhyama-āgama*: for the discourses numbered MĀ 35–41 the Pali parallels are all in the Eights of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, as shown in the following table.

Table 3. *Madhyama-āgama* Discourses 35 to 41 and their Parallels in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*

MĀ	AN
35	8.19
36	8.70
37	8.20
38	8.21 & 8.22
39	
40	8.24
41	8.23

The content of the left column looks as if it could be a block of consecutive discourses from the Eights of a Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection. Here it is noteworthy that, while the Sevens group discussed above constitutes the first *Madhyama-āgama* decade (MĀ 1–10), this Eights group constitutes the greater part of the fourth such decade (MĀ

35–41).¹² Thus, the Sevens are followed—though not immediately—by the Eights, as would be expected in a numerically based collection.

Scanning through Table 1 also reveals a few cases of smaller numerically uniform clusters. As shown in the composite table below, there are six cases where two consecutive *Madhyama-āgama* discourses have parallels located in the same *nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, and there is also one case similarly involving three consecutive *Madhyama-āgama* discourses.

Table 4. Consecutive *Madhyama-āgama* Discourses Having Parallels in the Same *nipāta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*

MĀ	AN
42	11.1
43	11.2
MĀ	AN
49	5.22
50	5.21
MĀ	AN
56	9.3
57	9.1
MĀ	AN
73	8.64
74	8.30

¹² One might have expected the fourth decade to be numbered MĀ 31–40. This anomaly is occasioned by the fact that the preceding third ‘decade’ actually comprises eleven discourses, an issue that will be discussed later.

MĀ	AN
94	10.87
95	10.53
96	10.55

MĀ	AN
109	10.54
110	10.51

MĀ	AN
111	6.63
112	6.64

Most commonly, however, discourses having *Āṅguttara* parallels are either scattered among ones that lack *Āṅguttara* parallels, or else grouped in clusters within which the numbers represented appear randomly distributed. The most striking example of the latter situation is the block of nine discourses MĀ 122–130, whose *Āṅguttara* parallels represent the numbers 8, 6, 8, 6, 10, 2, 5, 7, 6—seemingly a completely random distribution. Another noteworthy distributional feature is that the occurrence of *Āṅguttara* parallels, of any kind and regardless of any clustering, is most frequent near the beginning of the *āgama*, while tapering off sharply toward the end. Thus, if one mechanically divides the 222 *Madhyama* discourses into three consecutive lots of seventy-four, then the numbers of *Madhyama* discourses in those three lots that have *Āṅguttara* parallels are 41, 29 and 8.¹³

It now has to be asked whether the above-noted characteristics are consistent with the hypothesis that I have informally broached several times already. Are they consistent with the proposition that *Madhyama-āgama* discourses that have *Āṅguttara-nikāya* parallels are remnants

¹³ The three mechanically generated lots are MĀ 1–74, 75–148 and 149–222.

of a formerly complete and discrete Sarvāstivāda *Ekottarika-āgama*? This proposition presupposes a scenario significantly different from the one inferred for the *Dīrgha-āgama*.¹⁴ In that earlier case I concluded that a single decade of discourses had been transferred from the Middle-length Collection to the Long Collection in two different and independent cases: one within the Theravāda transmission, the other within the Sarvāstivāda transmission.

In the *Dīrgha-āgama* study consideration of the corresponding question was complicated by one very evident fact. In each of the two versions examined there, the data indicated that an entire decade of discourses had been transposed; yet, in the composite collection that had resulted from this alleged transposition it was not the case that the ten (or eleven) discourses in question were all located together as a single block. While showing clear evidence of clustering, they were also partly scattered. The proposed interpretation became viable only when a sound reason for this partially scattered distribution had been identified.¹⁵ In the present case the tentative hypothesis would be self-evidently confirmed if all of the occurrences of *Aṅguttara* parallels were together as a continuous block located at the beginning of the *āgama*. That condition is not fulfilled. The hypothesis would, nevertheless, become viable if explanations could be found for some, at least, of the observed departures from this imagined clear-cut distribution.

A full-scale examination of this issue would go well beyond the scope of the present study. It must suffice here to make do with examining two sample decades of the *āgama*, decades selected from Table 1 as representative of the two alleged sources of the components of the present *Madhyama-āgama*. One such sample has been examined already, namely the ‘Decade on Seven *Dharmas*’ discussed above. With all of its

¹⁴ Cf. Bucknell 2014.

¹⁵ According to my findings, the newly imported discourses were moved about in order to produce a complete set of discourse pairs—the *Yuga-nipāta* of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*; see Bucknell 2014: 86–91.

component discourses having parallels in the Sevens of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* and/or of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, this decade can be regarded as representative of the corpus of discourses that (according to the hypothesis) were imported into the ancestral Sarvāstivāda Middle-length Collection from a Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection.

The second sample, which will now be examined, is selected as being representative of the Sarvāstivāda Middle-length Collection as it was (according to the hypothesis) prior to that importation of material from the Numerical Collection. For this purpose the best available candidate is the thirteenth decade, MĀ 162–171, this being the only one of the eighteen decades for which every one of the Pali parallels is in the *Majjhima-nikāya*. Titled ‘Decade on Analysis’ (*Fenbie pin* 分別品), this is a “natural decade”, the type of decade whose title is an accurate indicator of its contents: each of its ten component discourses contains an analysis of some doctrinal point.¹⁶ It is unusual in that the Pali parallels are similarly together as a recognized decade—actually (as mentioned earlier) a set of twelve discourses rather than ten. In the Theravāda transmission this set is called *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, again ‘Decade on Analysis’. Thus, the *Madhyama-āgama* ‘Decade on Analysis’ has a near counterpart within the *Majjhima-nikāya*, a feature that makes it even more appropriate as the second sample for this investigation. The purpose of the following examination of the ‘Decade on Analysis’ in both its versions is to gather further data that may provide a basis for evaluating the hypothesis. Initially the discussion may seem to have little to do with the topic of this study, *Ekottarika*-type material in the *Madhyama-āgama*; the connection with that topic will, however, become apparent later on.

¹⁶ Translators render *vibhaṅga/fenbie* 分別 variously as ‘analysis’, ‘distinction’, ‘discerning’, ‘exposition’. I opt for ‘analysis’, while recognizing that in the Chinese case the syntax usually points instead to ‘analysing’. In MN 131–142 the status of each discourse as an analysis is made explicit. In MĀ 162–171 the same is true except in two cases, MĀ 166 and MĀ 167, but for each of these the *Majjhima* parallel is indeed an analysis.

III. The ‘Decade on Analysis’

How the ten-membered Sarvāstivāda ‘Decade on Analysis’ compares with its twelve-membered Theravāda counterpart is shown in the two halves of the following table.

Table 5. The ‘Decade on Analysis’ in its
Madhyama-āgama and *Majjhima-nikāya* Versions

MĀ → MN		MĀ ← MN	
162	140		131
163	137	167	132
164	138	165	133
165	133	166	134
166	134	170	135
167	132	171	136
168	120 ?	163	137
169	139	164	138
170	135	169	139
171	136	162	140
		31	141
		180	142

The left half of Table 5 shows the correspondences from *Madhyama-āgama* (first column) to *Majjhima-nikāya* (second column). It is a simplified replication of the section of Table 1 that presents the thirteenth decade, the Decade on Analysis. The right half shows the correspondences in the reverse direction, from *Majjhima-nikāya* (fourth column) to *Madhyama-āgama* (third column). Consequently, while the discourse numbers in the first and fourth columns of Table 5 are in simple numerical order, those in the second and third columns are in seemingly random order. MN 131, the first of the twelve discourses

of the *Majjhima-nikāya* version (fourth column), is the only one in the table that has no known parallel. In the case of MN 120, there is some debate about its status as a parallel to MĀ 168 (hence the query mark); but this does not affect the discussion that follows.¹⁷

Of the ten correspondences listed in the left half of the table nine are replicated in the right half, and the converse of this is also true. For example, MĀ 162 = MN 140 at the top of the left half is replicated in the third item up from the bottom in the right half. There are, however, three cases (shaded) where a correspondence shown in one half of the table is not replicated in the other half. These three exceptional cases now claim attention.

I begin with MĀ 168 = MN 120 in the left half. Both MĀ 168 and MN 120 report the Buddha as delivering a teaching on how rebirth in the various heavenly realms results from the practising monk's aspiration and meditative endeavour; hence its Pali title, *Saṅkhārupa-patti-sutta*, 'Discourse on Rebirth by Aspiration'. As to why the correspondence MĀ 168 = MN 120 does not also appear in the right half of the table, the reason is simply that MN 120 is not located within the Pali 'Decade on Analysis' (*Vibhaṅga-vagga*).

My reason for shading MN 120 but not MĀ 168 is that the number 120 stands out as exceptional within its column of the table (the second of the four columns). This column lists ten MN discourse numbers, namely: a set of nine running from 132 to 140 (though not in numerical order), together with 120, which lies outside of that set. MN 120 is a misfit numerically, while MĀ 168 is not; hence the shading of MN 120. The same numerical rationale explains the two shaded items in the right half of the table: both 31 and 180 appear out of place among the other numbers in their column.

¹⁷ Anālayo and Bucknell 2006: 230 and 242 note 56 point out some substantial differences between MĀ 168 and MN 120 and on this basis reckon these two as partial parallels. Hence the asterisk on MN 120 in Table 1.

I now turn to the second highlighted correspondence, MĀ 31 = MN 141. This refers to the ‘Discourse on Analysis of the [Four] Noble Truths’ (*Fenbie shengdi jing* 分別聖諦經, MĀ 31, and *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*, MN 141).¹⁸ MN 141 is located, appropriately, in the Pali ‘Decade on Analysis’ (*Vibhaṅga-vagga*), along with other Pali discourses of the *vibhaṅga* type; however, its Sarvāstivāda parallel, MĀ 31, also a discourse of the *vibhaṅga* type and also containing in its title the word *fenbie* 分別 (analysis/analyzing), is located far away in the third decade of the *Madhyama-āgama*, which bears the title ‘Decade Connected with Sāriputta’ (*Shelizi xiangying pin* 舍梨子相應品) and is made up entirely of discourses featuring the monk of that name.¹⁹ That a large physical distance separates MĀ 31 from the Sarvāstivāda ‘Decade on Analysis’ is reflected in the large arithmetical difference between the number 31 and the serial numbers of the discourses making up this decade, which run from 162 to 171 (first column). The text of MĀ 31, ‘Analysis of the Truths’, indicates that most of its content was spoken by Sāriputta, which means that this discourse would have appeared, to reciters of the *Madhyama-āgama*, to be equally at home in either the ‘Decade Connected with Sāriputta’ or the ‘Decade on Analysis’.²⁰

The immediate reason why MĀ 31 appears out of place when shown (in Table 5) alongside its Theravāda parallel, MN 141, has already been mentioned: it lies outside of the series of nine unshaded numbers that precede it in its column. Those numbers are 162–167

¹⁸ The Chinese title is inconsistent in sometimes including either ‘four’ or ‘noble’. For simplicity I will usually include neither.

¹⁹ The text highlights Sāriputta’s role, reporting that the monks had sought him out after the Buddha had introduced the topic of the four noble truths but not provided the expected detailed analysis of them.

²⁰ In Table 1 MĀ 31 is also shown as a partial parallel to DN 22, in recognition of its reappearance in that discourse as a sequel to the account of the four *satipaṭṭhānas*, which in turn replicates MN 10 = MĀ 98.

and 169–171 (though not in that order). The expected number 168 is conspicuously missing from the set. Now, the number 168 is present in the first column of the table, where it is understood to represent the ‘Discourse on Rebirth by Aspiration’, whose Pali parallel is shown (with a query) as being MN 120 (*Saṅkhārupapatti-sutta*). And, as noted already, MN 120 is also a misfit, since the number 120 is sequentially remote from the other nine numbers in its column. We have here, then, a cluster of anomalies involving MĀ 31 and MN 120.

Yet another anomaly emerges when one examines the context within which MĀ 31 is actually located. As shown in Table 1, MĀ 31 is the last of the eleven discourses (MĀ 21–31) that constitute the ‘Decade Connected with Sāriputta’. As such, MĀ 31 is the first source of irregularity in the *Madhyama-āgama* series of decades; each of the two decades that precede this one (MĀ 1–10 and MĀ 11–20) has the regular ten discourses, and so too does the one that follows it (MĀ 32–41). Were MĀ 31 not present here, the structure would be completely regular throughout the first four decades of the collection.²¹ This suggests that the present location of MĀ 31 may reflect a modification introduced into what had hitherto been a series of four regular decades. That is, it suggests that MĀ 31 may be a relatively recent arrival in this part of the collection.

The Sarvāstivāda ‘Discourse on Analysis of the Truths’ (MĀ 31) has thus been shown to be associated with several interrelated anomalies. A likely explanation for this situation is now becoming apparent: this discourse has been moved about within the *āgama*. The data

²¹ In the *Majjhima-nikāya* the decades uniformly consist of the expected ten discourses, with the single exception of the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, which has twelve. In the *Madhyama-āgama*, however, such irregularity is not uncommon. Of the eighteen decades only eleven actually have ten discourses; there are two with eleven discourses and one each with fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, twenty and twenty-five. This irregularity appears to be a secondary development, but researchers have yet to work out the details of how it came about.

indicate that it was formerly located within the Decade on Analysis, but was later transferred to its present location in the ‘Decade Connected with Sāriputta’, perhaps in response to a perception that this was a more appropriate place for it.

Following through with this line of interpretation, one may now seek to identify the spot in the ‘Decade on Analysis’ that MĀ 31 formerly occupied. The number 31 in the third column of Table 5 represents its present location; what, then, was its former location? Among the anomalies noted above is that the set of numbers in this third column lacks the expected number 168. Perhaps, then, this gap in the series marks the former location of the discourse that later became MĀ 31. Seemingly counting against this suggestion is the fact that the notation MĀ 168, present in the first column of Table 5, apparently represents a different discourse, ‘Rebirth by Aspiration’, which has MN 120 as its Pali parallel. Let us, nevertheless, observe the effect of experimentally supposing that at some earlier time the notation MĀ 168 did denote the discourse that is now denoted by MĀ 31. In that case the seeming change in number, from 168 to 31, would represent a change in the location of the discourse, ‘Analysis of the Truths’.

In the right half of the table, replacing MĀ 31 with MĀ 168 (in effect returning ‘Analysis of the Truths’ to its inferred earlier location) has two significant outcomes: first, it completes the set of ten MĀ numbers running from 162 to 171; and second, it yields the correspondence MĀ 168 = MN 141. Returning now to the left half of the table, one needs to implement this newly formulated correspondence by replacing MN 120 with MN 141, which again yields MĀ 168 = MN 141. This has the effect of completing the set of ten MN numbers running from 132 to 141. What has just been done amounts to the following.

In the right half of the table, the shaded number 31 has been replaced by the unshaded number 168 copied from the left half of the table; and in the left half, the shaded number 120 has been replaced by the unshaded number 141 copied from the right half.

Making these experimental changes has the effect of removing all of the previously noted discrepancies associated with the discourse MĀ 31.²² The freedom from discrepancies that characterizes the resulting arrangement (including the absence of the irregularity occasioned by an eleventh item in the ‘Decade Connected with Sāriputta’) is, I submit, good evidence that the reconstruction just proposed is correct: the experimentally applied changes have indeed restored the discourses in question to their former arrangement.

How this inferred former arrangement of the *Madhyama-āgama* ‘Decade on Analysis’ could have developed into the present partly confused arrangement is now suggested (along with some speculative hints about possible motives) as follows.

It all began when some unidentified Sarvāstivāda group of *Madhyama-āgama* reciters decided that the discourse called ‘Analysis of the Truths’, hitherto located in the ‘Decade on Analysis’, would be more appropriately located in the ‘Decade Connected with Sāriputta’. This discourse was moved accordingly, thus becoming the eleventh in the now irregular Sāriputta decade. Its transfer created a gap in the ‘Decade on Analysis’, which the reciters decided to fill by moving another discourse into it. For this purpose they chose the ‘Discourse on Rebirth by Aspiration’, which, although lacking the typical form of an analysis (*vibhaṅga*), does contain an explicit statement that it is indeed an analysis.²³ The result was a new and superficially regular Sarvāstivāda ‘Decade on Analysis’.

²² In Table 5 there remain the discrepancies occasioned by the unpaired MN 131 at the top of column 4 and the shaded MĀ 180 at the bottom of column 3, both of which lie outside the central block of ten discourses composed of MĀ 162–171 or MN 132–141. At this stage I can throw no light on either of these.

²³ *Wei fenbie yixing jing* 調分別意行經, MĀ 168 at T I 700b29. This statement may be a secondary addition, but that would only add weight to the suggestion that the presence of this discourse in the ‘Decade on Analysis’ is itself a secondary development. The former location of this substituted discourse remains unknown at this stage of the investigation.

Here it is appropriate to mention a small but significant technical detail. In the above discussion the *Madhyama-āgama* discourses have, of necessity, been referred to in terms of the set of numbers 1 to 222, these being the numbers they bear in the Taishō edition. However, this straightforward numbering system was certainly not in use at the time when the inferred transposition of discourses occurred. It is already used by Nanjio Bunyiu 南条文雄 in his *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*,²⁴ but, as far as I am aware, it does not appear in the texts themselves until the publication of volume I of the Taishō edition in 1924.²⁵ In earlier editions the sequence of the discourses is recorded only for each decade, not for the *Madhyama-āgama* as a whole. The sequence within each decade is recorded in the *uddāna*, the versified table of contents that precedes that decade. For example, ‘Analysis of the Truths’, which is now labelled MĀ 31, was earlier identified only by the closing words of the *uddāna* for the third decade, which read: “‘Analysis of the Four Truths’ as the last”, understood to mean “... as the last discourse of this decade.”²⁶

This point needs to be acknowledged when evaluating the above interpretations in terms of transposition of discourses, for example the claim that MĀ 31 was transferred to the end of the third decade from an earlier location in the thirteenth decade. Had the present 1-to-222 numbering system been in use, such a transfer would hardly have been possible; but with the old decade-based system it could easily have occurred. Updating of *uddānas* in response to such changes would have been easy and evidently was common practice.²⁷ Consequently, the fact that each discourse was listed in the relevant *uddāna* would have been no obstacle to the transposing of discourses.

²⁴ Nanjio 1883: 127–133.

²⁵ I have not had the opportunity to examine editions that might disprove this assumption.

²⁶ T 26 at T I 448c18: 分別四諦最在後.

²⁷ Replacing a decade-based numbering system with a continuous *āgama*-

Of the three anomalies identified (by shading) in Table 5, two have now been accounted for in terms of transposition of a discourse from one location to another and subsequent compensatory rearrangement. For the third anomaly, I have not as yet found an explanation.

The main lesson to be learned from the case of MĀ 31 is that movement of individual discourses from one location to another within the *Madhyama-āgama* could and did occur. The implications of this for the wider investigation into *Āṅuttara*-type material in this *āgama* will now be considered.

III.1 Relevance for the Hypothesis

The discourses that make up the *Madhyama-āgama* ‘Decade on Analysis’ (MĀ 162–171) have their Pali parallels in the *Majjhima-nikāya*; the ones that make up the Decade with Seven *Dharmas* examined earlier (MĀ 1–10) have their Pali parallels almost exclusively in the *Āṅuttara-nikāya*. Thus, these two sample decades accord well with the hypothesis that the contents of the present *Madhyama-āgama* have come from two main sources: the original Sarvāstivāda Middle-length Collection (exemplified in the ‘Decade on Analysis’), and a Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection (exemplified in the ‘Decade with Seven *Dharmas*’).

However, these two sample decades are extreme cases; most of the decades of the *Madhyama-āgama* present a mixed picture, with the Pali parallels of their component discourses being found sometimes

based system is a modern development that is becoming increasingly widespread. Further examples of this change-over are found in the *Samyukta-āgama* in the Taishō edition (1924); the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the Foguang edition (1987); and the *Sagātha-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* in Somaratne’s new PTS edition (1999). Alongside its obvious advantages, this change-over has the disadvantage of entrenching and concealing any earlier sequential disarrangement.

in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and sometimes in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*—and, rarely, in either the *Dīgha-* or the *Samyutta-nikāya*.

It is natural to expect that a large-scale importation of discourses such as that postulated here would result in a visually evident division of the composite collection into two blocks: one larger block representing the collection as it was before the importation and another, smaller block representing the imported material. Traces of such a division are indeed discernible, though with some difficulty, in the overall distributional pattern of the 222 component discourses. Discourses with *Majjhima-nikāya* parallels are, in general, clustered near the end of the collection; those with *Āṅguttara-nikāya* parallels are clustered near the beginning, indicating addition of the new material at the beginning of the growing composite collection.

As to why the distinction between the two component groups is now so blurred, it is instructive to consider the ‘Decade Connected with Sāriputta’, which, as seen above, appears to have been augmented by transferring into it the ‘Analysis of the Truths’ (MĀ 31). In its present form this decade comprises eleven discourses and, as seen in Table 1, the Pali parallels of those eleven are a mixed lot: five of them are in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, four in the *Āṅguttara*, and two in the *Samyutta*. It has been demonstrated that MĀ 31, one of the five that have a *Majjhima-nikāya* parallel, is likely to have been intentionally moved to this spot from an earlier location in the ‘Decade on Analysis’. It is also relevant to note here that the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* has no decade on Sāriputta. Taken together, these facts indicate that this *Madhyama-āgama* ‘Decade Connected with Sāriputta’ is a Sarvāstivāda redactional assemblage, a result of bringing together discourses that featured the monk Sāriputta, regardless of their origin. This, then, is probably the reason for its mixed composition.

Similar comments are applicable for other ‘natural’ decades, decades whose titles are an accurate indicator of their contents.²⁸ One may consider, for example, the ‘Decade of Pairs’ (no. 15, MĀ 182–191). All of its ten component discourses have their Pali parallels in the *Majjhima-nikāya* except for MĀ 188, which has it in the *Aṅguttara*. It appears likely that MĀ 188 was formerly located among other *Aṅguttara*-related discourses near the beginning of the composite collection but was then moved down to its present position so that it could be paired with the doctrinally related MĀ 189, thereby completing the set of five pairs.

Some of the above observations resemble the findings presented in my *Dīrgha-āgama* paper. That paper includes an analysis of the process whereby, within the Sarvāstivāda transmission, a set of eleven discourses was moved from the Middle-length Collection into the Long Collection.²⁹ The analysis entailed addressing the question why the discourses thus transferred are not all together as a continuous block within the resulting composite collection (the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*) but instead have a partly scattered distribution. The answer arrived at is that, after the transfer, nine of the eleven discourses were intentionally interspersed among nine discourses of the original Long

²⁸ Contrasting with the ‘natural decade’ is the ‘mechanical decade’, whose title is derived mechanically from the first (or, rarely, the last) of its ten component discourses. *Madhyama-āgama* examples of this second category are: (7) ‘King Long-Life’, (10) ‘Forest’, and (17) ‘Potaliya’. Creation of a natural decade would usually have necessitated extensive selective transposition of discourses. Creation of a mechanical decade would often have entailed nothing more than bringing together any ten discourses from the pool of discourses left over after the natural decades had been produced. On the two types see Bucknell 2014: 78.

²⁹ Bucknell 2014; see the table on pp. 62–63 and the discussion on pp. 86–89. Altogether eleven discourses were transposed, nine of which, referred to here, ended up in the *Yuga-nipāta*. For reasons unknown the remaining two of the eleven discourses went to the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*.

Collection in such a way as to yield a set of nine pairs, which together became the ‘Section with Pairs’ (*Yuga-nipāta*) of the resulting expanded *Dīrgha-āgama*. The process just inferred for the *Madhyama-āgama* ‘Decade of Pairs’ resembles this closely, though on a smaller scale.

The *Dīrgha-āgama* case is again relevant here in incidentally providing an explanation for an otherwise puzzling feature of Table 1: the presence of ten *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses among the Pali parallels to the components of the *Madhyama-āgama*.³⁰ This phenomenon is simply a consequence of the process mentioned at the beginning of the present contribution, whereby a decade of discourses from the Theravāda Middle-length Collection was moved into the corresponding Long Collection.³¹ Those ten amount to ten *Majjhima-nikāya* parallels disguised as *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses, a complication that further contributes to the blurring effect seen in Table 1.³²

Summary and Conclusion

Beginning from the observation that roughly one third of the discourses of the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama* have their Pali parallels in the *Anguttara-nikāya* rather than in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, I have proposed, and then appraised, the hypothesis that this situation has resulted from large-scale importation, into the *Madhyama-āgama*, of discourses that formerly belonged to a Sarvāstivāda Numerical Collection. A large part of the discussion has been devoted to the question why this postulated importation of *Anguttara*-related material is not

³⁰ Namely the parallels to MĀ 59, 68, 70, 71, 97, 98, 104, 134, 135 and 154 in Table 1.

³¹ See Bucknell 2014: 65, where the right column of the table lists the same ten discourses.

³² For example, in the 6th decade, ‘Kings’ (MĀ 58–71), the four occurrences of DN obscure what would otherwise appear as a clear predominance of MN parallels.

reflected in a clear division of the content of the present *Madhyama-āgama* into two corresponding blocks of discourses. Why is the boundary between *Anguttara*-related discourses and *Majjhima*-related discourses in fact blurred, as if the discourses had been, to some extent, moved about within the *āgama*?

To ascertain whether movement of discourses within the *Madhyama-āgama* is likely to have occurred, I have examined one specifically chosen sample case (based on MĀ 31). This has demonstrated that movement of discourse material within the *Madhyama-āgama* did indeed occur. More than that, there was an intentional transposing of discourses based on editorial perceptions of what constituted a satisfactory arrangement of the discourses, given the decade-based structure of the collection. Though such intentional rearrangement has been directly demonstrated only in this sample case, it is clearly likely to have happened throughout the collection, in a widely applied process of grouping (and regrouping) the 222 discourses in order to yield coherent decades.

Throughout the discussion I have pointed out various respects in which the postulated importation of *Ekottarika*-type material into the *Madhyama-āgama* resembles the smaller-scale transfer of material discussed in my study on the Sarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* (preserved in Sanskrit). There the movement was of a single decade of discourses from one *āgama* to another within the Sarvāstivāda line of transmission; in the present case it is of seventy-odd discourses from an unknown source; but otherwise the two cases are very similar in nature. Just as in the *Dīrgha-āgama* case, a crucial issue in the present instance has been how to account for the apparent blurring of the boundary between (a) the newly transposed discourses and (b) the discourses of the recipient collection as it was before the transposition. And, again as in the earlier study, it has been shown that the blurring is probably due to rearrangement of the imported discourses in order to produce a maximally coherent set of decades.

In retrospect, this close agreement is unsurprising, since it is only natural that reciters of the *Madhyama-āgama* should have handled their text in much the same way as reciters of the *Dīrgha-āgama* handled theirs.

Overall, the present study has, I maintain, provided support for my general hypothesis that seventy-odd *Āṅguttara*-related discourses were imported into the *Madhyama-āgama* from some outside source at some early time.

Postscript

Shortly after the conclusion of the seminar on the *Madhyama-āgama* at which I delivered the above paper (Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts, October 23 and 24, 2015), my attention was drawn to a doctoral dissertation that I had not been aware of. It was Nathan McGovern's *Buddhists, Brahmans, and Buddhist Brahmans* (2013) and it contained (in Chapter IV, sections 2.2 to 2.5) detailed structural analyses of the four *Nikāyas/Āgamas*. On reading the section on the *Majjhima-nikāya/Madhyama-āgama* (pp. 429–454) I found that some of McGovern's findings closely resembled those presented in my paper, and that some of his interpretations offered seemingly viable alternatives to mine. I jumped to the conclusion that McGovern had got in two years ahead of me (2015), and on this basis I communicated my intention to withdraw my paper from possible publication in the proceedings of the seminar.

That this move was ill-considered began to become apparent shortly afterwards, when I went on to read McGovern's study of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* and *Ekottarika-āgama* (pp. 454–461). There (pp. 459–460) he discusses, with full acknowledgement, an interpretation that I had formulated twelve years earlier (in 2003) regarding the structure of the *Āṅguttara* Book of Ones. In a footnote to his discussion (note 841 on p. 460) McGovern explains: "Bucknell's argument here

is as yet unpublished, but it has been cited and summarised in Sujāto, *History of Mindfulness*, 89–90.” Now, this book by Bhikkhu Sujāto (dated 2005), is cited in McGovern’s thesis fifteen times, often on the subject of the *Nikāyas/Āgamas* and their structure and development. Also relevant is that the two authors met and discussed such matters at the AAR conference in Atlanta in 2010 (p. 217). Clearly, then, *A History of Mindfulness* was an abundant and influential resource for McGovern’s thesis. To complete this emerging picture it now remains to explain how it is that my otherwise unpublished interpretation of the *Aṅguttara* Book of Ones comes to be in Sujāto’s book.

In 2002 and 2003 I drafted a set of four reports on my on-going research into the structure of the four Pāli *Nikāyas* and their Chinese *Āgama* counterparts. These ranged in size from 2500 words for the *Majjhima-nikāya/Madhyama-āgama* to 6000 for the *Aṅguttara-nikāya/Ekottarika-āgama*. Certain portions of some of them would subsequently yield published articles; others remain to this day as unpublished drafts. At that time, being in communication with Sujāto regarding my findings and ideas on the *Nikāyas/Āgamas*, I sent him copies of the four essays. A few years later he presented me with a copy of his newly published *History of Mindfulness* (2005). To my surprise I found that various sections from my four essays were cited in it. Also included was a lengthy quotation from the one on the *Aṅguttara-nikāya/Ekottarika-āgama*, for which the corresponding footnote reads: “Bucknell, unpublished essay” (pp. 89–90 and note 130). The main content was my interpretation of the Book of Ones, which serves to explain how that interpretation comes to be discussed in McGovern’s thesis.

Of my four essays the one on the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* gained the least coverage in Sujāto’s book: just two pages (pp. 78–79). My draft, despite being relatively short, covered much the same ground as does its descendent, the present paper delivered at the 2015 *Madhyama-āgama* seminar. It nevertheless failed to attract Sujāto’s attention. This explains why McGovern does not cite it. Although he

had access to *A History of Mindfulness*, he clearly did not have direct access to the content of my four essays themselves, so could not know of the *Madhyama-āgama* research that I had done twelve years earlier.

Taken together, the above factors have led me to reconsider my earlier decision to withdraw my paper. Also relevant is that I still possess, on a USB stick, an early version of the draft report on my *Madhyama-āgama* research. Under the heading ‘Date modified’ it has ‘12/05/2005’. My feeling is that, despite the tardiness of its actual appearance, my present paper deserves to be regarded as, at the least, contemporaneous with McGovern’s thesis; also that it does, after all, make contributions additional to, and significantly different from, those made by the thesis.

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i>
DĀ	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (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>
PTS	Pali Text Society
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99)
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
T	Taishō edition

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**The *Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra*
of the *Dīrgha-āgama*
in Comparison with
the *Wende jing* 聞德經
of the *Madhyama-āgama***

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Abstract

The unexpected finds of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscripts from Gilgit at the end of the last millennium and recent results of research on the manuscripts allow us to make direct comparisons of two full-length sūtras with their counterparts in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經, T 26). A close comparison between the *Puṇya-sūtra*, the ‘Discourse on Meritorious Deeds’ of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Fu jing* 福經 on the one hand and between the *Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra* ‘Discourse on the Merits of Listening [to the Buddha’s Teachings]’ of the *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Wende jing* 聞德經 on the other, illustrates differences and similarities in the respective texts. These comparative studies might further contribute to a reassessment of prevailing opinions on the relationship between the tradition underlying the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and the Sarvāstivāda tradition in general.

Contents

I. Preliminaries

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I. Preliminaries

Among the *Dīrgha-āgama* sūtras published by Gudrun Melzer (2010) on the basis of a manuscript from Gilgit in a private collection in Virginia (USA) there is a sūtra which praises the benefits of learning the Buddha's teachings, namely the **Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra*.¹ This is the thirty-ninth sūtra within the *Dīrgha-āgama* from Gilgit,² and corresponds, as Melzer surmised with reference to an English summary by Bhikkhu Thích Minh Châu in his comparative study of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Majjhima-nikāya*,³ to the *Wende jing* 聞德經 of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*.⁴

I have previously reported that among the *Ekottarika-āgama* sūtras published by Chandrabhāl Tripāṭhī (1995) on the basis of a manuscript from Gilgit preserved in Ujjain and Delhi, there is a sūtra corresponding to the *Fu jing* 福經 of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, namely the *Puṇya-sūtra*.⁵ That is to say, the *Fu jing* and *Wende jing* belong to the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, the former to the first of the two *Mahā-nipātas* (大品)⁶ and the latter to the *Brāhmaṇa-nipāta* (梵志品),⁷ whereas the *Puṇya-sūtra* is included in the 'Chapter of the Ones' (一法品), i.e., in the *Eka-nipāta* of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and the **Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra* in the 'Chapter on Morality' (戒蘊品), i.e., in the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* which forms the third chapter of the *Dīrgha-āgama*.

¹ Melzer 2010. On this manuscript find, see Hartmann and Wille 2014.

² DĀ (Skt) 39 (*udāna: śrutam*). For a general overview of the structure and contents of the *Dīrgha-āgama*, see Melzer 2010: 7–9.

³ Minh Chau 1964: 353.

⁴ MĀ 147 at T I 658a29–659b14.

⁵ Tripathi 1995: 167–171, sūtra 18.6 and MĀ 138 at T I 645c14–646c7; see Chung 2014.

⁶ *Nipāta* XI (sūtras 117–141) and *Nipāta* XVI (sūtras 192–201).

⁷ *Nipāta* XII (sūtras 142–161).

The *Puṇya-sūtra* and the *Fu jing* have the same topic, namely *puṇya*, and share a similar framework and content, although differences in detail are obvious. This is even more evident when comparing the **Śrutāṅśaṃsa-sūtra* and the *Wende jing*. Both *sūtra* versions have the same topic, namely *śrutāṅśaṃsa*, but the first lists eight kinds of benefits of learning the Buddha's teachings—partly abridged—whereas a full fourteen kinds of such benefits are itemised in the second. Also the sequence and wording of the benefits differ from each other to a considerable extent.

II. On the School Affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama*

As we can observe in the case of the *Puṇya-sūtra* vis-à-vis the *Fu jing* and the **Śrutāṅśaṃsa-sūtra* vis-à-vis the *Wende jing* as well as other known instances,⁸ it appears that the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* stems from an *Āgama* tradition different from the one represented in most of the manuscript remains of the *Āgama* texts from Gilgit and Eastern Turkestan (present-day Xinjiang).

Furthermore, the *Vinaya* texts from Gilgit and the Tibetan and Chinese equivalents make occasional reference to a *Madhyama-āgama* which reveals clear differences in comparison to the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, both in terms of the selection and arrangement of the *sūtras* and in terms of the framework and wording of a particular *sūtra*.⁹

It remains therefore at least questionable as to whether these differences between the two *Āgama* traditions simply reveal a transposi-

⁸ On this topic see Chung and Fukita 2011: 25–26.

⁹ On the relationship between the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and Sarvāstivāda works see Chung and Fukita 2011: 15–29.

tion process from a Prakrit to Sanskrit, or an evolutionary process within one and the same *Āgama* tradition. In this case the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* would represent the stage before the transposition from a Prakrit into Sanskrit.¹⁰ That being the case, it would have to be assumed that the Indic original of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* also must have undergone significant redactional changes in connection with the transposition into Sanskrit. Indeed, we do not have any solid basis for this assumption.

Thus, the affiliation of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* to any specific tradition, including the Sarvāstivāda—a hypothesis launched by Japanese scholars in an early stage of the Buddhist studies¹¹ and more recently repeatedly reiterated by Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄¹²—needs to be reviewed.

¹⁰ In this respect cf. von Hinüber 1982.

¹¹ The Sarvāstivāda affiliation has been accepted by general consensus among Japanese scholars since Hōdō 法幢 (1740–1770), a scholar monk of the Edo period. Ui Hakuju 宇井伯寿 and Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善 thought that the *Madhyama-āgama* might belong to a subsidiary school of the Sarvāstivādins from the area around Gandhara, whereas the *Samyukta-āgama* to the orthodox school of the Sarvāstivādins of Kashmir. For a survey of Japanese studies on this topic see Mayeda 1985 and now Fukita 2017 in this volume.

¹² See, e.g., Enomoto 1980, 1984a, 1984b and 1986. Enomoto drew attention to some *gāthās* in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* having parallels in the *Udānavarga*, and conjectured that they might reflect a recension of an earlier stage of Sanskritisation, as the parallel *gāthās* cited in the *Apitan piposha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 (T 1545) and the *Biposha lun* 鞞婆沙論 (T 1547) seem to do. He also drew attention to some doctrinal aspects of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* which are supposed to be specific to the Kashmiri Sarvāstivādins. Thus, he inferred that the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* might stem from the Sarvāstivādins settled in Kashmir, from where the Indic original of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, as well as those of the *Apitan piposha lun* and *Biposha lun*, supposedly stem.

Further sporadic scholarly attempts launched so far, in my opinion, fail to establish a direct link between the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and any other Indic *Āgama* tradition.¹³ Following all previous discussion, it seems a pressing issue to settle the use of the term Sarvāstivāda with regard to the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*.

As can be observed also in the present study, most of the *Āgama* texts from Eastern Turkestan, which are in general assigned to the Sarvāstivādins, are very similar to, or almost the same as those from Gilgit. On the other hand, the clear differences between the *Āgama* texts from Eastern Turkestan and the parallel *sūtras* in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, which have likewise been assigned to the Sarvāstivādins, cannot be overlooked. If the Sarvāstivāda hypothesis with regard to the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* holds true, then we will continue to have two different *Āgama* traditions both deriving from the same designation. It would seem difficult to endorse this position without first ascertaining the precise relationship between the two traditions. As yet, I am unaware of any such compelling supportive evidence in this regard. In this circumstance, it would seem to be essential to collect as much detailed evidence as possible which might contribute to the clarification of the relationship of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* to the other *Āgama* traditions and, eventually, to the affiliation of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* to one specific textual tradition.

In the following pages the reader will find a juxtaposition of the two Sanskrit manuscripts of the **Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra*, namely folios 426 verso 2–427 verso 5 of the Gilgit *Āgama* and SHT 495 fragments e recto 1–d recto 1, with the *Wende jing*, which may demonstrate the similarities and differences between the two versions of the discourse.

¹³ The position on a Sarvāstivāda affiliation has been recently reaffirmed by Anālayo 2012: 516–521 and 2017 in this volume.

The reading of the Gilgit manuscript of the **Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra* is basically the same as Melzer's except for a few minor corrections and modifications. The division of the text into paragraphs is undertaken anew in order to facilitate comparison with the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*.

III. Juxtaposition

<i>Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i>
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	聞德經
I		
1	ś[r]āvastyā(m)	我聞如是。一時 佛遊舍衛國。在 勝林給孤獨園。
2	(atha jāt)[i](śro)[ṇ]o brāhmaṇo ¹⁴ yena bha[ga]vāms tenopasaṃkrāntaḥ [upa]saṃkram[y]a bhagavatā sārđham [yāvad ¹⁵ e]kāntaniṣaṇṇo jā[t]i[śr]oṇo b[r]āhma[ṇo bh](agavantam) [i](da)(426v2)[m] (a)vocat*	爾時。生聞梵志 中後彷徨。往詣 佛所。共相問 訊。却坐一面。 白曰。
3	∅	瞿曇。我欲有所 問。聽乃敢陳。 ¹⁶

¹⁴ Ms: °a.

¹⁵ Cf. DĀ (Skt), Melzer 2010: 306,5–7 [§ 37.2]: *bhagavatā sārđham saṃ-
mukhaṃ sa(m)modanīm saṃraṃjanīm vividhāṃ kathāṃ vyatisāryai-
kānte niṣaṇṇaḥ*.

¹⁶ Sanskrit: *vayaṃ bhavantam gautamam prcchema kaṃ cid eva pra-
deśaṃ saced avakāśaṃ kuryāt praśnasya vyākaraṇāya | prccha N.N.
yad yad evākāṃkṣasi* (with minor variations); cf. DĀ (Skt), Melzer 2010:
260,13–17 [§ 36.11], 270,12–16 [§ 36.30], 272,8–10 [§ 36.34] and 288,21–26
[§ 36.82]; *Kāyabhāvanā-sūtra*, Liu Zhen 2010: 127 [§§ 20.8–9]; *Bodha-
sūtra*, Silverlock 2009: 112,12–13+113,5 [§§ 21.42–43]; *Saṅghabhedā-*

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
4	ø	世尊告曰。梵志。恣汝所問。 ¹⁶
5	kimar[th]aṃ bhava[t]o g[autamas]ya [ś]rāvākāḥ śrutam udgr̥hṇanti śrutam ca paryavāpnuvanti yāvad [e]va brāhmaṇa ātmadamārthaṃ ātmaśamārthaṃ ātmaparinirvāṇārtham	生聞梵志即便問曰。沙門瞿曇弟子或有在家。或有出家學道。以何義故博聞誦習耶。
6	<i>abr.; see above § 5</i>	世尊答曰。梵志。我弟子或有在家。或出家學道。所以博聞誦習。欲自調御。欲自息止。自求滅訖。
7	ø	梵志。我弟子或有在家。或出家學道。以此義故博聞誦習。
II.i		
1	asti nu [bho g](autama śru)(3)te viśeṣaḥ śrute ānṛśamsaḥ ¹⁷	生聞梵志復問曰。瞿曇。博聞誦習有差別耶。

vastu, Gnoli 1977–1978: II.219,24–26; *Nidāna-saṃyukta*, Tripāṭhī 1962: 172,5–7+10–11 [§§ 20.7–8]; cf. also 107,8–13 [§§ 6.4–5] and 187,23–188,1 [§§ 23.4–5]; **Veṇukātyāyanasagotrī-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1980: 72,7–8 [§ 1]: ... *prccha N.N. śrutvā te vedaiṣyāmi* (Chinese 仁者且問。知者當答 / 汝今宜問。當為汝說).

¹⁷ Ms: *anṛ*^o.

<i>Śrutāṅṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i>
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	聞德經
		博聞誦習有功德耶。
2a	asti brāhmaṇa	世尊答曰。梵志。博聞誦習而有差別。博聞誦習則有功德。生聞梵志復問曰。瞿曇。博聞誦習有何差別。
2b	ø	有何德 ¹⁸ 耶。
3a	śruta[v]ām b[r]āh[m]añāryaśrāvako dharme[ṇa] bhogām <saṃ>haraty asāhasena ¹⁹	ø
3b	sa ²⁰ dharmeṇa bhogān saṃhr̥tyāsāhasenātmānaṃ ¹⁹ samya[k] su(khena prī)(4)ṇayati mātā[p]i[ta]rau putradāraṃ dāsīdāsakarmakarapauruṣeyaṃ mitrāmātyaj- ñātisālōhitam	ø
3c	kālena ca kālaṃ śramaṇabrāhmaṇebhyo dakṣiṇām pratiṣṭhāpa[yat]y ūrdhvaṃg[ā](m)[i](nīm) (5) saubhāgi[k]ī<ṃ> sukhavipākām āyatyām svar- gasamvarttanī<yām>	ø
4a	yad ²¹ brāhmaṇa śrutavān āryaśrāvako dharme[ṇa]	(er1) ///d brā(hma)n(a) śr(utavā)n āryaśrāvako ø

¹⁸ v.l. 功德。¹⁹ Ms: °sahas°.²⁰ Ms: sa[ha].²¹ Ms: ya.

<i>Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
bh[og]ān saṃharaty asāhase- na pūrva[va]d y[ā]vad āya- tyāṃ sva[r]ga[sa]m[vart]ta- [n]ī[ya]m a[y](a)m (b)[rāh- m](a)(6)ṇa ²² śrute vi[ś]e[śaḥ śru]t[e ā]nṛśaṃsaḥ [1/8]	dharmen.///	
4b <i>abr.; see § 4a; cf. § 3b</i>	(r2) dh(a)rm(e)ṇa bhogāṃ saṃhṛtya asāha/// ... ///. ātāpitaraṃ putradāraṃ dāsīdāsakarmakarapau- (r)u/// ... (r3)(ta)m	ø
4c <i>abr.; see § 4a; cf. § 3c</i>	kāle(na kā)laṃ ś(ra)ma- ṇabr./// ... ///minīm sau- bhāsi(kā)m sukhavipākām āyatyāṃ svarga /// ... (r4)śrute ānuśaṃsaḥ	ø
II.ii		
a[s]mād bho gautama śrute viśeṣāc chrute ānṛśaṃsād		
1 asty anyo 'pi śrute viśeṣaḥ śrute ānṛśaṃsa<h>	a///	ø
2 asti [b]rāhmaṇa	<i>not preserved</i>	ø
3a śrutavān āryaśrāvako dha[r]- m(e)(7)ṇa [bh]o[g]ān [s]aṃ- hṛtyāsāhasena ²³ karmāntāṃ prayu[n]kte ²⁴	///bhogāṃ saṃharati asā- ha(sena) ²⁴	世尊答曰。梵 志。多聞聖弟子 晝日作業。欲得 其利。

²² Ms: °a[h].

²³ Ms: °tva sāhas°.

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
3b <i>summarised in § 3a</i>	sa dha(rme)ṇa bhogāṃ saṃhṛ/// ²⁴	<i>summarised in § 3a</i>
3c [ta](s)ya [te] karmāntāḥ <pra- yuktāḥ> saṃpadyante 'pi [vi- pa]dyante 'pi	<i>not preserved</i>	彼所作業敗壞不 成。
3d vipanneṣu karmānteṣu na śoca[t]i na klāmyati na pari- devati noras tādāyati na kran- dati na <saṃ>m[o](8)[ham ā](padyate)	(r5) ///.y(a)ti na paridevati noras (t)ādāyati na k(r)an- dati na saṃmo///	彼所作業敗壞不 成已。然不憂 感・愁煩・啼 哭。不推身 ²⁵ 懊 惱。亦不癡狂。
3e [sa]mpannā<m> karmā(n)- [t]ā(n ara)[k](ta)[h] (par)[i]- bhūṃkte asakto 'grddhaḥ agrathita(ham)[ū](r)cch[i- ta]ḥ anadhyavasito 'nadhya- va(s)[āyam] ā[pa]nna[h] ād[i]- navadarśi ²⁶ nissara[ṇa]ṃ prajā(naṃ pa)[ribhu](m)k[t]e	(v1) ///paribhu(m)kte/// ///.yavasāyam āpannaḥ ādīnavadarśi nissaraṇaṃ prajāna(m)///	ø
4a (427r1) yad ²¹ brāhmaṇa [śr](u)[ta]vān āryaś[r]ā- [va]k[o dha]rmeṇa [bh]o- gān ²⁷ saṃhṛtyāsāhasena	(v2) + āryaśrāvako {sa} dharm. .. + ²⁸	梵志。若多聞聖 弟子晝日作業。 欲得其利。

²⁴ SHT 459 reads conjecturally: (*śrutavāṃ āryaśrāvako dharmēṇa*) *bhogāṃ saṃharati asāha(sena |) sa dha(rme)ṇa bhogāṃ saṃhṛ(tya asāha-sena karmāntāṃ prayuṃkte)*.

²⁵ v.l. 推身。

²⁶ Ms adds: *nis[s]a[raṇa]ṃ pratijāna*.

²⁷ Ms: *bhośān*.

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
karmāntān (p)[r](a)[y](u)m-[kte] ²⁸		
4b <i>summarised in § 4a</i>	///gām saṃhrtya asāhasena karmāntām prayu(m)kte ²⁸	<i>summarised in § 4a</i>
4c tasya te karmāntā<ḥ> pra- yuktāḥ sampa[d]yante '[pi] vipa[d]ya[n]t[e] 'pi pūrvavad yāvan [n]issaraṇaṃ prajā- na<m>paribhūṃkte	tasya te + ///	彼所作業敗壞不成。
4d <i>abr.; see § 4c; cf. 3d</i>	(v3) sa vipanneṣu karmān- teṣu na śoca /// + yati na krandati na saṃmoham āpadyate	彼所作業敗壞不成 已。然不憂感・愁 煩・啼哭。不椎身 ²⁵ 懊惱。亦不癡狂者。
4e <i>abr.; see § 4c; cf. 3e</i>	sa saṃpannām /// ... (v4) + 'grddhaḥ agrathitaḥ amūrcchita /// ... /// nnaḥ ādīnavadarśī nihsaraṇaṃ pra(jā)naṃ paribhūṃkte///	ø
4e a[ya]m [b]r[ā]hmaṇa (2) śrute vi[śeṣ](a)[h] śrute ānṛśamsaḥ [2/8]	<i>not preserved</i>	梵志。是謂博聞 誦習而有差別。 有此功德。[1/14]
II.iii		
1 asmād bho g[auta]ma śr[u]te viśeṣā śrute ²⁹ ānṛśa(m)[sā]d	<i>not preserved</i>	ø

²⁸ SHT 459 reads conjecturally: (yad brāhmaṇa śrutavām) āryaśrāvako {sa} dharm(eṇa bhogān saṃharaty asāhasena | sa dharmeṇa bho)gām saṃhrtya asāhasena karmāntām prayu(m)kte.

²⁹ Instead of viśeṣā chrute.

<i>Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
a[s]ty [a]nyo 'pi <śrute viśe- ṣaḥ> śrute ānṛśaṃsaḥ		
2 asti brāhma[ṇa]	<i>not preserved</i>	ø
3 śruta[v]ān brāhmaṇārya- śrāvakaḥ ³⁰ priyāṇāṃ jñāti- nāṃ vipariṇāmā ³¹ anyathī(3)- bhāvā ³² na śocat[i] na klām- [y]ati na paridevati noras tā- ḍayati na krandati na saṃmo- ham āpadyate	(v5) ///.ny(a)thī ... n(a) śo(cati) na klāmyati na pari///	復次。梵志。多 聞聖弟子所有愛 念。異無散解。 不復相應。與別 離已。然不憂感· 愁煩·啼哭。不 椎身 ²⁵ 懊惱。亦 不癡狂。
4 yad brahmaṇa śrutavān āryaśrāvakaḥ priyāṇāṃ jñā- tīnāṃ vipariṇāmād anyathībhāvān ³³ na śoca[t]i (4) yā- [va]n [n]a saṃ[mo]ham [ā]pa[d]yat[e] [a]yaṃ brāh- maṇa śrute viśeṣaḥ śruta ānṛśaṃsaḥ [3/8]		梵志。若多聞聖弟 子所有愛念。異無 散解。不復相應。 與別離已。然不憂 感·愁煩·啼哭。不 椎身 ²⁵ 懊惱。亦不癡 狂者。梵志。是謂 博聞誦習而有差 別。有此功德。 [2/14]
II.iv		
1 asmād bho gautama śrute viśeṣāc chrute ānṛśaṃsād asty anyo ³⁴ 'pi śrute viśeṣaḥ śrute ānṛśaṃsaḥ		ø

³⁰ Ms: *brāhmaṇa śrāvakaḥ*.³¹ Cf. below, § II.iii.4: °*ād*.³² Cf. below, § II.iii.4: °*ān*.³³ Ms: *anyathā*°.³⁴ Ms: *ato*.

<i>Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
2	asti brāhma[ṇa]	ø
3	(ś)[ru](ta)(5)vān āryaśrāvakaḥ svayam eva spr̥ṣṭaḥ śārīrikābhir vedanābhir duḥkhābhis tīvrābhiḥ kharā- bhiḥ kaṭukābhir amanāpābhiḥ prāṇahāriṇībhir ³⁵ na <śocati na> klāmyati na parideva[te] (nora)(6)s tāḍ- ayati na krandati na <sa>mmoham āpadyate	see below § II.vii.3
4	yad brāhmaṇa śrutavān āryaśrāvakaḥ svayam eva spr̥ṣṭaḥ śārīrikābhir vedanābhir duḥkhābhis tīvrābhiḥ kharābhiḥ kaṭukābhir amanā[p]ābhiḥ prāṇa[hā](r)- [i](n)[ī](bhiḥ) (7) pū[rva]vad yāvan na saṃmoham ā- padyate ayaṃ brāhmaṇa śrute [v]i[śe]ṣaḥ ś[r]ute ānṛ- śaṃsaḥ [4/8]	see below § II.vii.4
II.v	a(s)mād bho gautama śrute viśeṣāc chrute ³⁶ ānṛśaṃ- sād ³⁷ asty anyo 'pi śrute viśeṣaḥ śrute ānṛśaṃsaḥ	ø
2	asti brāhmaṇa ³⁸	ø
3	śr[ut](a)[v](āṃ b)[rāhm](a)[ṇ]ā(8)rya[ś]rāvako bhogān anityataḥ [c]i[n](ta)[ya]ti tu[l](a)[y](at)[i] (upapar)ī- [k]ṣate sa bhogān ani[tya]taḥ c[i]ntayitvā tulayi[tvā u]paparīkṣya pravrajyāyā<ṃ> cetayate	復次。梵志。多 聞聖弟子知所有 財物皆悉無常。 念出家學道。
4	yad brāhmaṇa śrutavān ārya[ś]r[āva]k[o] bhogān a[n]i- [t]ya[ta](ś) [ci](ntayitvā tula)(v1)y[i]tvā pūrvavad yāvāt pravrajyā[y]āṃ cetayate [aya]ṃ [br]āhmaṇa [ś]r[ut]e v[i]śeṣaḥ śrute ānṛśaṃsaḥ [5/8]	梵志。若多聞聖 弟子知所有財物 皆悉無常。念出 家學道者。梵志。

³⁵ Ms: °hāriṇībhir vedanābhir.

³⁶ Ms: viśeṣa śrute.

³⁷ Ms: °śaṃsaḥ syād.

³⁸ Ms: °aḥ.

<i>Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
		是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。[3/14]
II.vi		
1	asmād [bho] (g)autama śrut[e] v[i]śeṣāc chrute [ā]nṛ- śaṃsād asty an[y]o 'pi śrute viśeṣaḥ ³⁹ śrute ānṛśaṃsaḥ ³⁹	Ø
2	asti brā[h](ma)ṇa	Ø
3	[ś]r[utav]ā<m> (2) brāhmaṇa āryaśrāvako 'lpaṃ vā bho- gaskandham prahāya <prabhūtaṃ vālpam vā jñātipari- vāram prahāya prabhūtaṃ vā> ⁴⁰ keśaś[maśrv a]vatārya kāśāyāṇi vastrāṇy ācchādya [sa]myag eva śraddhayā ag[ā]rād anagārikāṃ pravrajati ⁴¹ sa evaṃ pravrajita<h> sa<m> cchīlav[ān] v[i]ha[ra]<ti> ⁴²	復次。梵志。多聞 聖弟子知所有財物 皆悉無常已 ⁴³ 。剃 除鬚髮。著袈裟 衣。至信。捨家。 無家。學 道。
4	<i>abr.; cf. below § II.xvi</i>	梵志。若多聞聖 弟子知所有財物 皆悉無常已 ⁴⁴ 。剃 除鬚髮。著袈裟

³⁹ Ms: °ā.⁴⁰ For the restitution, cf. DĀ (Skt) folios 361r4 and 369v1 (reference from Klaus Wille).⁴¹ Ms: °jitaḥ.⁴² Cf. *Śaṅghabhedā-vastu*, Gnoli 1977–1978: II 232,4–7; cf. further *Śrāvaka-bhūmi*, ŚSG 1998: I 16,17: *sa tathā pravrajitaḥ śīlavān viharati*; *Avadāna-śataka*, Speyer 1906–1909: I 207,2: *sa evaṃ pravrajitaḥ san* jñātibhiḥ saha saṃmṛṣṭo viharati*.⁴³ Cf. above § II.v.3: *śr[ut](a)[v](āṃ b)[rāhm](a)[ṇ]ārya[ś]rāvako ... bho-gān ani[tya]taḥ c[i]ntayitvā tulayitvā u)paparikṣya pravrajyāyā<m> cetayate*.⁴⁴ Cf. above § II.v.4: *yad brāhmaṇa śrutavān ārya[ś]r[āva]k[o] bhogān a[n]i[t]ya[ta](ś) [cī](ntayitvā tula)(v.1)y[i]tvā pūrvavad yāvāt*.

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
		衣。至信·捨家· 無家·學道者。梵 志。是謂博聞誦習 而有差別。有此功 德。[4/14]
II.vii		
1	<i>see above</i> § II.iv.1	ø
2	<i>see above</i> § II.iv.2	ø
3	<i>see above</i> § II.iv.3	⁴⁵⁻ 復次。梵志。 多聞聖弟子能忍 飢渴·寒熱·蚊 虻·蠅蚤。風日 所逼·惡聲捶杖 ⁴⁶ 亦能忍之。身遇 諸疾。極為苦痛。 至命欲絕。諸不可 樂皆能堪耐。 ⁴⁷

⁴⁵⁻ ⁴⁵ Cf. MĀ 82 at T I 557b8–c11: 如是修習念身·如是廣布者。當知有十八德。云何十八。比丘者。能忍飢渴·寒熱... 如是修習念身·如是廣布者。當知有此十八功德; MN 119 at MN III 97,15–99,10: *kāyagatāya bhikkhave satiyā āsevitāya ... ime das' ānisamsā pāṭikaṅkhā. katame dasa? ... kāyagatāya bhikkhave satiyā āsevitāya ... ime das' ānisamsā pāṭikaṅkhā ti.*

⁴⁶ v.l. 搖杖。

⁴⁷ Cf. *Śrāvakabhūmi*, SSG 1998: I 216,8–12 and 288,11–14: *kṣamaś ca [or kṣamo] bhavati śītasyoṣṇasya jighatsāyāḥ pipāsāyā ... sārīrikāṇāṃ vedanāṇāṃ duḥkhāṇāṃ tīvrāṇāṃ kharāṇāṃ kaṭukāṇāṃ amanaāpānāṃ prāṇahārīṇāṇāṃ kṣamo bhavaty adhivāsana-jātīyaḥ*; MN 119 at MN III 97,23–27: *khamo hoti sītassa uṇhassa jighacchāya pipāsāya ... sārīrikāṇāṃ vedanāṇāṃ dukkhāṇāṇāṃ tippāṇāṇāṃ kharāṇāṇāṃ kaṭukāṇāṇāṃ asātāṇāṇāṃ amanaāpāṇāṇāṃ paṇaharāṇāṇāṃ adhivāsaka-jātiko hoti.*

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i>
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	聞德經
4	<i>see above § II.iv.4</i>	梵志。若多聞聖弟子能忍飢渴・寒熱・蚊虻・蠅蚤。風日所逼・惡聲捶杖 ⁴⁶ 亦能忍之。身遇諸疾。極為苦痛。至命欲絕。諸不可樂皆能堪耐者。梵志。是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。 ⁴⁷⁻⁴⁵ [5/14]
II.viii		
1	Ø	復次。梵志。多聞聖弟子堪耐不樂。生不樂已。心終不著。 ⁴⁸
2	Ø	梵志。若多聞聖弟子堪耐不樂。生不樂已。心終不著 ⁴⁸ 者。梵志。是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。 [6/14]
II.ix		
1	Ø	復次。梵志。多聞聖弟子堪耐恐怖。生恐怖已。心終不著。 ⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Cf. MN 119 at MN III 97,19–20: *arātiratisaḥ hoti, na ca taṃ aratī saḥati, uppannaṃ aratīṃ abhibhuyya abhibhuyya viharatī.*

⁴⁹ Cf. MN 119 at MN III 97,20–22: *bhayaḥbheravasaho hoti, na ca taṃ bhayaḥbhe-*

<i>Śrutāṅśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
2	ø	梵志。若多聞聖弟子堪耐恐怖。生恐怖已。心終不著<者>。 ⁴⁹ 梵志。是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。[7/14]
II.x		
1	ø	復次。梵志。多聞聖弟子若生三惡不善之念。欲念・恚念及害念 ⁵⁰ 。為此三惡不善念已。心終不著。
2	ø	梵志。若多聞聖弟子若生三惡不善之念。欲念・恚念及害念 ⁵⁰ 。為此三惡不善念已。心終不著者。梵志。是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。[8/14]
II.xi		
1	<i>abr.; see below § II.xvi</i>	⁴⁵ 復次。梵志。多聞聖弟子離欲・離惡不善之法。至得第四禪成就遊。 ⁵¹

ravaṃ sahati, uppannaṃ bhayaḥ bhavaṃ abhibhūya abhibhūya viharati.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Saṅgīti-sūtra*, Stache-Rosen 1968: 65,17–18 [§ III.5] (*trayo 'kuśalavīṭṭikāḥ*).

⁵¹ Cf. *Saṅgīti-sūtra*, Stache-Rosen 1968: 94,41–95,22 [§ IV.4]; *Arthavinīścaya-*

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i>
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	聞德經
2	<i>abr.; see below § II.xvi</i>	梵志。若多聞聖弟子離欲・離惡不善之法。至得第四禪成就遊 ⁵¹ 者。梵志。是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。[9/14]
II.xii		復次。梵志。多聞聖弟子三結已盡。得須陀洹。不墮惡法。定趣正覺。極受七有。天上・人間七往來已。則得苦邊。 ⁵²
1	Ø	
2	Ø	梵志。若多聞聖弟子三結已盡。得須陀洹。不墮惡法。

sūtra, Samtani 1971: 17,3–11; *Mahāvīyutpatti*, Sakaki 1916–1925: 112–113, nos. 1478–1481; *Dharmasaṃgraha*, Max Müller and Wenzel 1885: 50,33–51,2 [§ 72]; *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1932–1936: 50,8–11 (*catvāri dhyānāni*); for further parallels, see Melzer 2010: 17–18.

⁵² Cf. *Śrāvakabhūmi*, ŚSG 2007: II 12,15–19: *trayāṇāṃ saṃyojanānāṃ prahāṇāt ... srotaāpanno bhavati | avinipātadharmā niyataḥ sambodhiparāyaṇaḥ saptakṛdbhavaparamaḥ saptakṛtvo devāṃś ca manuṣyāṃś ca saṃdhāvya saṃsṛtya duḥkhasyāntaṃ karoti*; *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1932–1936: 554,5–7: *srotaāpanno bhavann avinipātadharmā niyataṃ sambodhiparāyaṇaḥ saptakṛtvahparamaḥ saptakṛtvo devāṃś ca manuṣyāṃś ca saṃdhāvya saṃsṛtya duḥkhasyāntaṃ karoti*; cf. also *Cīvara-vastu*, Dutt 1939–1959: III.ii 86,11–14; *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1950–1951: 168,1–6 [§ 9.16]; *Dīvyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 534,3–6.

<i>Śrutāṅśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
II.xiii		定趣正覺。極受七有。天上·人間七往來已。則得苦邊 ⁵² 者。梵志。是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。[10/14]
1	ø	復次。梵志。多聞聖弟子三結已盡。婬·怒·癡薄。得一往來。天上·人間一往來已。則得苦邊。 ⁵³
2	ø	梵志。若多聞聖弟子三結已盡。婬·怒·癡薄。得一往來。天上人間一往來已。則得苦邊 ⁵³ 者。梵志。是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。[11/14]
II.xiv		
1	ø	復次。梵志。多聞聖弟子五下分結盡。生彼間已。便

⁵³ Cf. *Cīvara-vastu*, Dutt 1939–1959: III.ii 87,1–3: *trayāṇāṃ saṃyojanānāṃ prahāṇād rāga dveṣa mohānāṃ ca tanutvāt saṅgāgāmī bhaviṣyati | saṅgāgāmī lokam āgatya duḥkhasyāntaṃ kariṣyati*; cf. also *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 533,28–534,2; *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1950–1951: 166,22–25 [§ 9.15].

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i>
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	聞德經
		般涅槃。得不退法。不還此世。 ⁵⁴
2	ø	梵志。若多聞聖弟子五下分結盡。生彼間已。便般涅槃。得不退法。不還此世 ⁵⁴ 者。梵志。是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。 [12/14]
II.xv		
1	ø	復次。梵志。多聞聖弟子有息解脫。離色得無色 ⁵⁵ 。如其像定 ⁵⁶ 。身作證成就遊 ⁵⁷ 。慧觀斷

⁵⁴ Cf. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1950–1951: 166,15–19 [§ 9.14]: *pañcānām a(varabhāgīyānām saṃyojanān)āṃ prahāṇād aupapādukās tatra parinirvāyīṇo 'nāgāmino 'nāvṛttidharmāṇaḥ punar imaṃ lokam; Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 533,24–26: *pañcānām avarabhāgīyānām saṃyojanānām prahāṇād upapādukāḥ | tatra parinirvāyīṇo 'nāgāmino 'nāvṛttidharmāṇaḥ punar imaṃ lokam*; cf. also *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1950–1951: 166,1–4+6–8 [§§ 9.12–13]; *Cīvara-vastu*, Dutt 1939–1959: III ii 87,7–8.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pāsādika 1989: 31 [no. 58]: *ye 'pi te bhikṣavaḥ śāntā vimokṣā atikramya rūpāṇy ārupyā iti*; 119 [no. 483]: *ye te śāntā vimokṣā atikramya rūpāṇy ārupyāḥ*.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Sanḥhabheda-vastu*, Gnoli 1977–1978: I 7,4–5 and II 61,1–2 *et pas.*: *tad-rūpaṃ samādhim samāpanno yathā samāhite citte ...*; DN I 13,13–14 and 14,23–24 *et pass.*: *tathārūpaṃ cetosamādhim phusati yathā samāhite citte ...*

⁵⁷ Cf. *Śrāvakahūmi*, ŚSG 2007: II 20,6–7+10–11 *et pass.*: *kāyena sāksātkṛtvopasampadya viharati*.

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
		漏而知漏。 ⁵⁸
2	ø	梵志。若多聞聖 弟子有息解脫。 離色得無色 ⁵⁵ 。如 其像定 ⁵⁶ 。身作證 成就遊 ⁵⁷ 。慧觀斷 漏而知漏 ⁵⁸ 者。梵 志。是謂博聞誦習 而有差別。有此 功德。 ⁴⁵ [13/14]
II.xvi		
1	⁵⁹ [yā]va sa(3)dr̥ṣṭāntakah śī- laskandho ⁶⁰ dhyānenābhijñāyā ca ⁶¹ [va]ktum ⁵⁹	for śīla- and dhyāna-skandha, see §§ II.vi and xi above
2	ayaṃ brāhmaṇa ⁶² śrute viśe- ṣaḥ śrute ānṛśamsaḥ [6–8/8]	ø

⁵⁸ Cf. MN 70 at MN I 477,26–29: *ye te santā vimokhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā te kāyena phassitvā viharati paññāya c’ assa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti.*

^{59–59} Cf. the *antaroddāna* in DĀ (Skt) fol. 427v6 pāda e–f: *śīlaskandha<h> sa-dr̥ṣṭānto vācyo*; DĀ (Skt), Melzer 2010: 306,23–24 [§ 37.7]: *yāvad dhyānenābhijñāyā ca vaktavyaṃ*. For the abridged passages, which are expected to appear here along with the instances or examples (*sadr̥ṣṭānta-*, °*aka-*) illustrating *trayaḥ skandhāḥ* (i.e., *śīla-*, *samādhi-* and *prajñāskandhaḥ*), cf. the *Saṅghabheda-vastu*, Gnoli 1977–1978: II 230,11–251,13 and, e.g., MĀ 146 at T I 657a12–658a17.

⁶⁰ Ms: °e.

⁶¹ Or possibly: *dhyāne dhyāne abhijñāyām abhijñāyām ca*. Ms *dhyāne tā abhijñāyām abhi[j]ñā[yā]*; cf. Melzer 2010: 20–21 (“Textbelege der Abkürzungen”), e.g., DĀ (Skt) 29: *dhyānāny abhijnās ca sadr̥ṣṭāntāḥ*; DĀ (Skt) 34: *dhyāne dhyāne abhijñāyām abhijñāyām ca*; and DĀ (Skt) 42: *sadr̥(ṣ)ṭ(ānta)k(ā)ni catvāri dhyānāni ... sadr̥ṣṭānta<h> ṣaḍ abhijñā.*

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i>
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	聞德經

II.xvii

復次。梵志。多聞聖弟子如意足・天耳・他心智・宿命智・生死智。⁶³諸漏已盡⁶⁴。得無漏。心解脫・慧解脫。於現法中自知自覺。自作證成就遊。生已盡。梵行已立。所作已辦。不更受有。知如真。⁻⁶³

1 *abr.; see above § II.xvi*

梵志。若多聞聖弟子如意足・天耳・他心智・宿命智・生死智。

2 *abr.; see above § II.xvi*

⁶² Ms: °aḥ.

⁶³–⁶³ Skt.: āsravāṇāṃ kṣayād anāsravāṃ cetovimuktiṃ prajñāvimuktiṃ dṛṣṭa eva dharme svayam abhijñāya sākṣīkṛtvopasaṃpadya pravedayati (or svayam abhijñāya sākṣīkṛtvopasaṃpadya pravedayate) kṣīṇā me jātir uṣiṭaṃ brahmacaryaṃ kṛtaṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparam asmād bhāvaṃ prajānāmi; cf. *Daśabala-sūtra* (1), Waldschmidt 1932: 223,11–17+18–24 [§ 10]; *Daśabala-sūtra* (3), Chung 2009: 16,2–7 [§ 15.10a]; and *Daśabala-sūtra* (4), Chung 2009: 25,17–22+23–27 [§ 5.10a–b]; *Sanḥhabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1977–1978: II 143,22–25 and 145,11–14+23–26.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Sanḥgūti-sūtra*, Stache-Rosen 1968: 170,4–7 [§ VI.19]; *Mahāvīyutpatti*, Sakaki 1916–1925: 18–19, nos. 201–209; *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya*, Tatia 1976: 128,16–25 [§ 159] and 134,13–15 [§ 179]; *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, Wogihara 1932–1936: 654,1–3 (ṣaḍ abhijñāḥ); for further parallels, see Melzer 2010: 18.

<i>Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
		⁶³ 諸漏已盡 ⁶⁴ 。得無漏。心解脫。慧解脫。於現法中自知自覺。自作證成就遊。生已盡。梵行已立。所作已辦。不更受有。知如真 ⁶³ 者。梵志。是謂博聞誦習而有差別。有此功德。[14/14]
III		生聞梵志復問世尊。此博聞誦習有此差別。有此功德。頗更有差別。更有功德。最上·最妙·最勝耶。 ⁶⁵
1	ø	
2	āsravakṣayam uktvā ⁶⁶ asmād brāhmaṇa śrute viśeṣāc chrute ānṛśaṃsā ⁶⁷ nāsty anyac chru[t]e [v]i[śe](śa)[h] (4) śrute ānṛśaṃ- saḥ uttare 'tikrāntataraś ca pra- nītataraś ca	āsr(a)v(a)kṣ(a)y(am u)ktvā//
3	«tathyaṃ [bho] (g)[aut](am)[ā](s)- (r2) ///bho gautama	世尊答曰。梵志。此博聞誦習有此差別。有此功德。更無差別。更無功德。最上·最妙·最勝者。

⁶⁵ Cf. Skt. §§ II.ii–iv.1 and v–vi.1.

⁶⁶ Cf. Skt. § II.xvi and Chin. §§ II.xvii.1–2 with note 63–63.

⁶⁷ Instead of °ān.

<i>Śrutānṛśamsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
mā(c) chru[t](e v)[i](śeṣāc chruta ānṛsaṃ)[s]ā ⁶⁷ nāsty anyac chrute [v]i[śeṣa]ḥ śrute ānṛ- śamsaḥ uttare 'tikrāntataraś ca praṇītatarāś ca»	asya śrut(e) vi///	
4	ø	生聞梵志白曰。 世尊。我已知。 善逝。我已解。 世尊。我今自歸 於佛法及比丘 眾。唯願世尊受 我為優婆塞。從 今日始。終身自 歸。乃至命盡。 ⁶⁸
IV		
1	hanta bho g[au]tama gamiṣyā- mo bahukṛtyā smo ⁶⁹ bahukara- ṇīyā ⁷⁰	not preserved ø

⁶⁸ Sanskrit: *abhikrānto 'ham bhadantābhikrāntaḥ. eso 'ham bhagavantam śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi dharmam ca bhikṣusaṅgham ca. upāsakam ca māṃ dhārayādyaḡreṇa yāvajjīvaṃ prāṇopetaṃ śaranagatam abhiprasannam* (with minor variations); cf. *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1952–1960: 370,2–7 [§ 27f.22]; *Bimbāsāra-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1932: 143,14–20; *Nidāna-samyukta*, Tripāthī 1962: 176,2–7 [§ 20.17]; *Śakrapraśna-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1932: 111,20–25; *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, Dutt 1939–1959: III.i 54,5–7 and 70,3–5; *Cīvara-vastu*, Dutt 1939–1959: III.ii 46,21–47,1; *Saṅghabheda-vastu*, Gnoli 1977–1978: I 160,23–26; *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 71,27–72,3, 75,27–76,1 and 462,13–16.

⁶⁹ Ms: *sma*.

⁷⁰ Similarly in a manuscript of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1950–1951: 68,6–7 [fol. 26v2]; DĀ (Skt) fol. 413v6: *haṃta bho Gauta-ma gamiṣyāmo bahukṛtyā smo bahukaraṇīyā yasyedānīm ...* Cf., e.g., MĀ 795 at T I 795b11: 瞿曇。我今多事。欲還請辭。

<i>Śrutānṛśaṃsa-sūtra</i>		<i>Wende jing</i> 聞德經
DĀ (Skt) 39 (Gilgit)	SHT 495 (Central Asia)	
2	yasyedānīm brāhmaṇa kālāṃ manyasa ity ⁷¹	<i>not preserved</i> ø
3	atha jātīśroṇo brāhma(ṣ)ṇo ⁷² bhagavato bhāṣitam abhina- dyānumodya bhagavato 'ntikāt prakrāntaḥ	(r3) ///tam abhina(m)- dyānumodya bhagav./// 佛說如是。生聞 梵志聞佛所說。 歡喜奉行。

Editorial Conventions

[]	damaged <i>akṣara</i>
()	restored <i>akṣara</i>
< >	omitted <i>akṣara</i>
{ }	superfluous <i>akṣara</i>
« »	interlinear <i>akṣara</i>
..	illegible <i>akṣara</i>
.	single element of an illegible <i>akṣara</i>
+	lost <i>akṣara</i>
///	leaf broken off here
'	<i>avagraha</i> , not written in manuscripts
*	<i>virāma</i>
	punctuation mark
	punctuation mark
<u>h</u>	<i>jihvāmūlīya</i>
ø	unknown/not extant

⁷¹ Cf., e.g., MĀ 795 at T I 795b11: 世尊答曰。大王。自當知時。

⁷² Ms: *atha jātīśroṇo brāhma{ṇaḥ kālāṃ manyasa ity atha jātīśroṇo brāhma}ṇo*.

Abbreviations

DĀ (Skt)	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (Sanskrit manuscript, Gilgit)
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
SHT	<i>Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> (Berlin)
ŚSG	Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group
T	Taishō edition

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**Back to the Future
of Prof. Akanuma's Age**
**A Research History of the School
Affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* in Japan**

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Abstract

Japanese scholars of *Abhidharmakośa* doctrine have long been interested in the sectarian provenance of the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*. A prominent view was that of the Shin priest Hōdō 法幢 (1740–1770), who argued in his *Abidatsuma kusharon keiko* 阿毘達磨俱舍論稽古 that the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* is connected with the Sarvāstivāda school, based on descriptions of the school's doctrines and quotations from its *sūtras* found in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. After the advent of modern Buddhist studies, Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善 identified a number of key points supporting Hōdō's view, but also argued that the extant Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* diverges from the Sarvāstivāda transmission in various ways. Beyond this, however, he drew no further conclusions. Not long afterwards research suggested the existence of two Sarvāstivāda traditions, which were referred to as the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda schools. This led many scholars to believe that those portions of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* not in accord with the Sarvāstivāda tradition may have derived from a separate, little understood Sarvāstivāda tradition. More recently, however, Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄 has identified weaknesses in the 'two Sarvāstivāda schools' hypothesis. Indeed, comparing the Sanskrit Sarvāstivāda manuscripts unearthed in East Turkestan with those found in Gilgit and Bamiyan, it can be seen that the differences between them are limited to the type of variation expected in the same tradition over the course of time and in different geographical locations. I thus believe that the possibility of there being two separate Sarvāstivāda traditions, each with its own canon, is exceedingly small, and therefore that positing the existence of such separate traditions cannot resolve the questions surrounding the provenance of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. The future of this field lies in returning to Akanuma's more circumspect philological approach, with a thorough examination all the manuscripts, materials and research that modern scholarship has made available to us.

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I. Traditional Views in Philological Garb

Despite the significant contributions made by Japanese scholarship to the field of modern Buddhist Studies, in certain cases it has also advanced positions that, though they lent a firm lamination of scholarly objectivity by layers of philological argument, are in fact re-packaged statements of traditional Japanese Buddhist views. With regard to philosophical issues such views often have much to add to the discussion, but when it comes to historical studies the traditional positions sometimes require critical re-evaluation. The present topic—the school affiliation of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*—is a case in point, where, like an onion, layers of traditional scholarship surround a center that has no substantial core.

Beginning with the early Chinese Buddhist tradition, the first mention of the *Āgamas*' provenance is by Huiyuan 慧遠 (AD 523–592) of the Sui 隋 period, in his *Dacheng yizhang* 大乘義章:

The claim that the *sūtras* are all the same is based on the clear fact that the fundamental teaching of the Buddha is the same. We thus do not differentiate between the Four *Āgamas*.¹

In this way, Huiyuan made no attempt to see the different traditions of the *Āgamas* as the work of separate Buddhist schools.

A slightly more nuanced stance is seen in the *Miaofalianhua jing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄贊, fascicle 1, by Cien Dashi 慈恩大師 (also known as Kuiji 窺基, AD 632–682),² and the *Huayan jing shuchao xuantan* 華嚴經疏鈔玄談, fascicle 8, by Chengguan 澄觀 (AD 737–

¹ T 1851 at T XLIV 483b3–4: 言經同者。據佛本教同顯。在於四阿含中無別部黨。On the notion of 'Four *Āgamas*' in the Chinese Buddhist canon cf. Zacchetti 2016: 82–83.

² T 1723 at T XXXIV 657a14: 舊四阿含及僧祇律大眾部義。

838),³ both of which attributed all four *Āgamas* to the same tradition, the Mahāsāṅghika school.

Influenced by this current of thought, the Japanese monk Ryōsan 良算 (AD 1202–?)—the final compiler of the *Jōyuishiki ron dōgaku-shō* 成唯識論同學鈔—argued that the Mahāsāṅghika *sūtras* mentioned in Kuiji's *Miaofalianhua jing xuanzan* were edited by monks who had not participated in the First Buddhist Council.⁴

However, scholar monks of *Abhidharmakośa* doctrine already had their doubts about this traditional explanation long before the advent of modern Buddhist Studies in Japan. The Ōtani-school Jōdo Shin priest Hōdō 法幢 (AD 1740–1770) disagreed with the above-mentioned view advanced by Kuiji, arguing in his *Abidatsuma kusharon keiko* 阿毘達磨俱舍論稽古 that both the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama* are connected with the Sarvāstivāda school, based on descriptions of the various schools' doctrines and quotations from the *sūtras* found in the *Apidamojushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論 (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*).⁵

Kaidō 快道 (AD 1751–1810), commenting on Kuiji's position in his *Abidatsuma kusharon hōgi* 阿毘達磨俱舍論法義, fascicle 1, notes that the *Fanwang liushierjian jing* 梵網六十二見經 is identical to the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and that the *sūtras* cited in the first fascicle of the *Bingposha* 鞞婆沙 (*Vibhāṣā*)

³ X 232, vol. V, 822c3: 四阿含僧祇律大眾部義。

⁴ T 2263 at T LXVI 236c10–12: 今論云薩婆多部經者、界內結集經也。玄贊云「大眾部經」者、界外結集也。東漢現行之本、即大眾部經也。Ryōsan's view can be seen as a combination of the views in Kuiji's *Miaofalianhua jing xuanzan* and *Dacheng foyuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章 (T 1861 at T XLV 270a1–7).

⁵ T 2252 at T LXIV 440c15–20: 稽之他經律與阿毘達磨、可以知己、余別有考。是編所徵。中・雜二阿含爲主、是其薩婆多家所誦本也。學者不知所誦各殊。概謂之小乘經。何其粗也。謂四阿含皆大眾部所誦本者、其誤亦本於窺基。

identified in an inserted note as the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama*.⁶ Kaidō therefore concludes that Kuiji was mistaken in associating the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* with the Mahāsāṅghika school. Like Hōdō, Kaidō suggests the possibility of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*'s connection with the Sarvāstivāda school,⁷ based on the fact that Saṅghabhūti (僧伽跋澄), the translator of the *Bingposha*, was a native of Gandhara/Kashmir,⁸ home of the *Vibhāṣā*.

More recently, the Meiji-era scholar Sakurai Hōrin 櫻井寶鈴, in his *Kusharon kōgi* 俱舍論講義 (1898), revived the notion that the Four *Āgamas* are part of the Mahāsāṅghika transmission,⁹ but, with this exception, the scholars of that era were of the school of thought, prevalent since the time of Hōdō, that linked the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* with the Sarvāstivāda school. The result was much comparative research in the area of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma studies, attempting to verify this position.

Thus Maeda Eun 前田慧雲, in his *Daijō bukk'yōshi ron* 大乘佛教史論, expanded on the views of Kaidō,¹⁰ while Ui Hakuju 宇井伯寿, though also rejecting Kuiji's association of the *Āgamas* with the Mahāsāṅghika school, argued that the school affiliation of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* was unclear.¹¹ He suggested that:

⁶ Kaidō may have understood this inserted note as an auto-commentary by Saṅghabhūti.

⁷ T 2251 at T LXIV 1b11–15. Kaidō writes: 基判非證。彼梵網六十二見經與中阿含梵動經同本。又鞞婆沙初卷契經子註指中・雜等阿含。彼罽賓三藏僧伽跋澄譯。毘婆沙本國人也。又俱舍所證經出今四含。有人(法幢)云中・雜二含薩婆多部所誦本也。

⁸ Enomoto 1993.

⁹ Hōrin Sakurai (1898: 250) argued for this position in the *Kusharon kōgi*, fascicle 6: “‘*Sūtras*’ refers to the above-mentioned *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama*. The extant Four *Āgamas* are Mahāsāṅghika *sūtras*.”

¹⁰ Maeda 1903: 29–30.

¹¹ Ui 1925: 135–137.

although the translator of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, Saṅghadeva, also translated the *Apitanxin lun* 阿毘曇心論 and the *Sanfadu lun* 三法度論 and is a scholar of the Sarvāstivāda school in the Gandhara tradition, [in the case of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*] the actual transmitter of the text was Saṅgharakṣa, so that it is not certain that the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* was part of the Sarvāstivāda school transmission.¹²

Ui, however, went on to say that

since Saṅgharakṣa, too, was a scholar of the Sarvāstivāda school in the Gandhara tradition, the identity of the transmitter suggests that the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* was associated with the Sarvāstivāda transmission.¹³

He continued:

... with regard to content as well the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* is not necessarily in conflict with Sarvāstivāda doctrine. In particular, positions such as not asserting that the Eightfold Holy Path is *asaṃskṛta* are in line with those of the Sarvāstivāda school, and so can probably be seen as part of the Sarvāstivāda transmission.¹⁴

However, he concluded:

I think that some degree of clarity regarding [the provenance of] the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama* would result from comparing quotations from the *Apida-*

¹² Ui 1925: 136.

¹³ Ui 1925: 136.

¹⁴ Ui 1925: 136.

modapiposha lun 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 and the *Apidamo-jushe lun*, but since I cannot do that now there is no choice other than to await future research.¹⁵

Ui thus mentioned a number of possibilities regarding the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*'s Sarvāstivāda affiliation, but avoided taking any definite position of his own on the matter.¹⁶

Subsequent studies by Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善 provided a good bit of the 'future research' that Ui had hoped for.

II. Akanuma's 'Future Research'

Beginning in 1925, Akanuma delivered a series of lectures at Ōtani University (Ōtani Daigaku 大谷大学) on the history of Buddhist *sūtras*. In 1939, two years after his death, his lecture notes were edited and published as the *Bukkyō kyōtenshi ron* 佛教經典史論 (volume 3 of the *Akanuma Chizen ronbunshū* 赤沼智善論文集); section 1.2 of the book *Genzon gobu shiagon no buha setsuzoku* 現存五部四阿含の部派撰属 includes research on the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*.¹⁷

Akanuma, building on the contents of the *Abidatsuma kusharon keiko* and the *Abidatsuma kusharon hōgi* from the standpoint of modern Buddhist Studies, reevaluated Hōdō's and Kaidō's association of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* with the Sarvāstivāda transmission via a survey of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and the Pali *Nikāyas*, of the *sūtras* and doctrines cited in the Sarvāstivāda literature, and of Nāgārjuna's quotes from the *Āgamas*.

¹⁵ Ui 1925: 137.

¹⁶ Although not primarily concerned with the theme of the sectarian associations of the extant *Āgamas*, Baiyū Watanabe 渡辺惺雄 in his *Butta no kyōsetsu* 仏陀の教説 (1935) provides a succinct summary of the thinking on this issue from Hōdō to Ui (p. 115).

¹⁷ Akanuma 1939: 41–46.

Akanuma started by setting forth seven points that he saw as supporting Hōdō's linking of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* with the Sarvāstivāda school. In evaluating Akanuma's work, we must keep in mind that in his time the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Sarvāstivāda *Āgamas* had, for the most part, not been found and thus, in his comparative research on the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, he was limited to the Pali *Nikāyas*. Below I summarize as faithfully as possible Akanuma's findings and conclusions, with necessary additions and corrections presented in footnotes.

1. The Sarvāstivāda school speaks of the six types of *arhat*, the seven types of *arhat*,¹⁸ the nine types of *śaikṣa* and the eighteen types of *śaikṣa*, concepts found in the *Apidamodapiposha lun*, fascicles 62 and 7,¹⁹ and the *Apidamojushe lun*, fascicle 25.²⁰ These concepts are also mentioned in the *Futian jing* 福田經 (MĀ 127),²¹ although this *sūtra* is not found in the Pali *Nikāyas*.

¹⁸ The seven types of *arhat*, 七種阿羅漢, are the six types of *arhat*, 六種阿羅漢, with the fourth level, the *arhat* of immovable liberation, 不動阿羅漢, further divided into the two levels of the *arhat* of immovable liberation and the *arhat* of non-retrogression, 不退阿羅漢; cf. AK-bh 379,16–380,2: *ta ete ṣaḍ evārhanto nava bhavanti | indriyabhedāt | katham kṛtvā | dvau buddhau śrāvakāḥ sapta navaita navadhendriyāḥ || 6.62 || katame sapta śrāvakāḥ | parihāṇadharmādayaḥ pañca | akopyadharmā ca dvividha uttāpanāgata āditaś ca tadgotrah*.

¹⁹ T 1545 at T XXVII 319c8–9: 阿羅漢有六種。一退法。二思法。三護法。四安住法。五堪達法。六不動法; T 1545 at T XXVII 33b4–5: 各有六種種性差別。謂退法種性、思法、護法、住法、堪達、不動法種性。

²⁰ T 1558 at T XXIX 129a24–26: 論曰。於契經中說阿羅漢由種性異故有六種。一者退法。二者思法。三者護法。四安住法。五堪達法。六不動法。

²¹ T 26 at T I 616a11–19: 云何爲二。一者學人、二者無學人。學人有十八、無學人有九。居士云：何十八學人。信行、法行、信解脫、見到、身證、家家、一種、向須陀洹、得須陀洹、向斯陀含、得斯陀含、向阿那含、得阿那含、中般涅槃、生般涅槃、行般涅槃、無行般涅槃、上流色究竟。是謂十八學人。居士云：何九無學人。思法、昇進法、不動法、退法、不退法、護法、

2. The understanding of the ‘body-witness’ *kayasākṣin/kāyasakkhin* (身證) in the Sarvāstivāda school is different from that in the Theravāda school. Whereas in the Sarvāstivāda school the term refers only to the *anāgāmin* (不還果), the non-returner,²² in the Theravāda school it covers all stages of the sage from the stream-enterer to the *arhat*.²³ (Akanuma appears to have based this assertion on what he regarded as the definition of the *kāyasakkhi* found in the *Kīṭāgiri-sutta* (MN 70), “some person, having physically contacted the [eight] liberations that are immaterial transcending forms, does not live [therein]”,²⁴ as compared to what he regarded as that in the *Ashibei jing* 阿濕貝經 (MĀ 195), “[an individual,] having physically contacted the eight liberations, lives in perfection.”²⁵)

3. The *Apidamojushe lun*, fascicle 1, states that “the *Duojie jing* 多界經 distinguishes 62 *dhātus*.”²⁶ The *Duojie jing* 多界經 (MĀ 181)

護則不退、不護則退、實住法、慧解脫、俱解脫。是謂九無學人。

²² T 1558 at T XXIX 126a17: 得滅定不還、轉名為身證; AK-bh 363,12: *nirodhalābhy anāgāmi kāyasākṣī punar mataḥ*; Up 6046, Honjō 2014: II 748–751; cf. Hōdō 460b.

²³ Cf. Ps III 189,1–4: *phuṭṭhantaṃ sacchikarotīti kāyasakkhī. yo jhānaphasam paṭhamam phusati, pacchā nirodham nibbānam sacchikaroti, so sotāpattiphalatṭham ādiṃ katvā yāva arahattamaggaṭṭhā chabbidho hontī ti veditabbo*.

²⁴ MN I 478,4–6: *idha bhikkhave ekacco puggalo ye te santā vimokhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā te kāyena phassitvā viharati. paññāya c’ assa divā ekacce āsavā parikkhīṇā hontī*. However, the Pali passage quoted by Akanuma, *te na kāyena phassitvā viharati*, is in the negative, and thus cannot refer to the *kāyasakkhin*. It appears that Akanuma has confused it with the *diṭṭhipatta* in the entry just after it (478,18–21).

²⁵ MĀ 195 at T I 751b29: 八解脫身觸成就遊; Akanuma’s inference is based on the misunderstanding cited in note 24 above.

²⁶ T 1558 at T XXIX 6c2: 又多界經說界差別。有六十二; AK-bh 18,7: *evam bahudhātuke pi dvāṣaṣṭir dhātavo deśitāḥ*; Up 1032, Honjō 2014: I 113–121; cf. Hōdō 442b.

also speaks of 62 *dhātus*.²⁷ However, the *Bahudhātuka-sutta* (MN 115) mentions only 41 *dhātus*.²⁸

4. The *Apidamojushe lun*, fascicle 2, contains the line: “if it is so, then it differs from the *sūtra*’s teaching that ‘he does not lose any [bodily] parts, nor does he lose any of his sense organs’.”²⁹ The line quoted from “the *sūtra*” roughly corresponds to the passage in the *Poluopotang jing* 婆羅婆堂經 (MĀ 154) that reads: “if a *sattva* is born in the Ābhāsvara heaven, there he gives rise to a wondrous body and mind possessing every physical part and sense organ.”³⁰ This does not correspond with what is found in the *Aggañña-sutta* (DN 27).³¹

5. A line from the *Zhangmazu jing* 掌馬族經 (**Āśvalāyana-sūtra*) quoted in the *Apidamojushe lun*, fascicle 8,³² corresponds to the line in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*’s *Ashehe jing* 阿攝禪經 (MĀ 151) reading, “(he) came from East, from the South, West and North.”³³ There is no corresponding line in the *Assalāyana-sutta* (MN 93).

6. The *Apidamojushe lun* quotes the *Gusi jing* 故思經.³⁴ This is the

²⁷ MĀ 181 at T I 723c12–13: 阿難。見此六十二界知如真。

²⁸ MN 115 at MN III 62,8–63,15.

²⁹ T 1558 at T XXIX 7c22–23: 若爾便違契經所說：彼無支缺、不滅諸根；AK-bh 21,13–14: *sūtram tarhi virudhyate avikalā ahīnendriyā iti*; Up 1034, Honjō 2014: I 121–122; cf. Hōdō 442b.

³⁰ MĀ 154 at T I 674b17–18: 若有衆生、生晃昱天、彼於其中、妙色意生、一切支節諸根具足。

³¹ DN 27 at DN III 84,28–31: *sattā Ābhassara-samvaṭṭanikā honti. te tattha honti manomayā pīti-bhakkhā sayampabhā antalikkha-carā subhaṭṭhā-yino ciram dīgham addhānaṃ tiṭṭhanti*.

³² T 1558 at T XXIX 45a1: 復云何釋掌馬族經。如彼經言；AK-bh 121,25: *yady evam Āśvalāyanasūtram katham nīyate*; Up 3017, Honjō 2014: I 298–301; cf. Hōdō 447a.

³³ T 1558 at T XXIX 45a3–4: 爲東方來。爲南西北；AK-bh 121,26–122,1: *yadi vā pūrvasyā diśa āgato yadi vā dakṣiṇasyā paścimāyā uttarasyā*; MĀ 151 at T I 666a14–15: 爲從東方、南方、西方、北方來耶？

³⁴ T 1558 at T XXIX 84b4: 故思經中說；AK-bh 237,17: *Samcetanīyasūtre*

same as the *Si jing* 思經 (MĀ 15). In the Pali tradition this text appears in an entirely different collection, the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.³⁵ Furthermore, the passage quoted in the *Apidamojushe lun* does not fit what is in the Pali.

7. The *Pinpipoluo jing* 頻毗娑羅經 (*Bimbisāra-sūtra*) quoted in the *Apidamojushe lun*, fascicle 29,³⁶ is the same as the *Pinbisuoluo-wangyingfo jing* 頻鞞娑邏王迎佛經 (MĀ 62).³⁷ This text is not found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

After enumerating these points Akanuma comments:

[b]ased on these comparisons one might conclude that the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* belongs to the Sarvāstivāda transmission. However ...

He then proceeds to list nine points that he feels do not support Hōdō's linking of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* with the Sarvāstivāda school. Of course, various findings by later researchers have put a number of Akanuma's assertions into question,³⁸ but in order to show the state of Buddhist scholarship at the time Akanuma spoke, I will present his points as they are.

1. The *Jianyu jing* 箭喻經 (MĀ 221) mentions 10 types of *avyākṛta* (置答記) or indeterminate points;³⁹ the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* (DN 9),

vacanāt; Up 4081, Honjō 2014: II 593–596; cf. Hōdō 455b.

³⁵ AN 10.207–208. For translations of MĀ 15 and Up 4081 and comparative study in relation to the Pali parallels, see Anālayo 2009, Martini 2012 and Dhammadinnā 2014.

³⁶ T 1558 at T XXIX 29 154b13–14: 頻毘娑羅契經亦說; AK-bh 465,20: *Bimbisārasūtre cōktam*; Up 9013, Honjō 2014: II 892; cf. Hōdō 465bc

³⁷ Cf. Chung and Fukita 2011: 264–293 (Appendix).

³⁸ See, for example, Enomoto 1988: 107–110. For the purposes of the present article I limit myself to summarizing Akanuma's points and do not consider the criticism voiced against them.

³⁹ MĀ 221 at T I 804a25–28: 世尊捨置除却不盡通說。謂世有常。世無有常。

Samyutta-nikāya (SN 31.1), *Majjhima-nikāya* (MN 63 and 72), *udāna* VI.4 etc., also mention 10 types of *avyākata*.⁴⁰ However, the Sarvāstivāda collection in the *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 962) refers to 14 types of *avyākṛta*,⁴¹ as does Nāgārjuna.⁴² In the *Buzhapolou jing* 布吒婆樓經 (DĀ 28), 16 types of *avyākṛta* are mentioned.⁴³

2. The order in which the twelve categories of the Buddhist teachings (*aṅga*/十二分教) are listed in the *Alizha jing* 阿梨吒經 of the *Madhyama-āgama*⁴⁴ differs from the order that appears in the *Samyukta-āgama*: the sixth category, *udāna*, is found as the fifth in the *Samyukta-āgama*

世有底。世無底。命即是身。爲命異身異。如來終。如來不終。如來終不終。如來亦非終亦非不終耶。

⁴⁰ *Paṭṭhapāda-sutta*, DN 9 at DN I 187,20–188,31; *Aññāṇā-sutta*, SN 31.1 at SN III 258,3–8; *Cūlamālunkya-sutta*, MN 63 at MN I 426,12–18; *Aggi-vacchagotta-sutta*, MN 72 at MN I 484,5–485,7; Ud VI.4 at Ud 67,2–22.

⁴¹ SĀ 962 at T II 245c10–19: 佛告婆蹉種出家。若作是見。世間常是則真實。餘則虛妄者。此是倒見。... 婆蹉種出家。若作是見。世間無常。常無常。非常非無常。有邊。無邊。邊無邊。非有邊非無邊。是命是身。命異身異。如來有後死。無後死。有無後死。非有非無後死。此是倒見; cf. Up 3057, Honjō 2014: I 395–398.

⁴² T 1509 at T XXV 74c8–14: 問曰。十四難不答。故知非一切智人。何等十四難。世界及我常世界及我無常。世界及我亦有常亦無常。世界及我亦有常亦非無常。世界及我有邊。無邊。亦有邊亦無邊。亦非有邊亦非無邊。死後有神去後世。無神去後世。亦有神去亦無神去。死後亦非有神去。亦非無神去後世。是身是神。身異神異。若佛一切智人。此十四難何以不答。答曰。此事無實故不答。

⁴³ DĀ 28 at T I 111a3–14: 我世間有常此實餘虛。我世間無常此實餘虛。我世間有常無常此實餘虛。我世間非有常非無常此實餘虛。我世間有邊此實餘虛。我世間無邊此實餘虛。我世間有邊無邊此實餘虛。我世間非有邊非無邊此實餘虛。是命是身此實餘虛。命異身異此實餘虛。身命非異非不異此實餘虛。無命無身此實餘虛。如來終此實餘虛。如來不終此實餘虛。如來終不終此實餘虛。如來非終非不終此實餘虛。佛告梵志。世間有常乃至如來非終非不終。我所不記。

⁴⁴ MĀ 200 at T I 764a14–15 *et passim*: 調正經、歌詠、記說、偈他、因緣、撰錄、本起、此說、生處、廣解、未曾有法、及、說義。

sequence, whereas the fifth category, *nidāna*, corresponds to the sixth in the *Samyukta-āgama* sequence.⁴⁵ The *Samyukta-āgama* order is the same as that appearing in the *Apidamodapiposha lun*.⁴⁶

3. The *Qingqing jing* 請請經 (MĀ 121) is identical in all respects to a *sūtra* found in the *Samyukta-āgama* (SĀ 45.15).⁴⁷ It is highly unlikely that the exact same *sūtra* would appear in both the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama* if both *Āgamas* were associated with the same school.

4. The *Apidamodapiposha lun*, fascicle 126, and the *Apidamo-shunzhengli lun* 阿毘達磨順正理論, fascicle 44, both mention the *zhangpiyu* 長譬喻 in their explanation of the *avadāna* (阿波陀那) as one of the twelve categories of the Buddhist teachings.⁴⁸ The *zhangpiyu*, which, according to the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論, fascicle 33, are known as the *zhang abotuona* 長阿波陀那 in the *Madhyama-āgama*,⁴⁹ are not found in the extant *Madhyama-āgama*.

5. The *Dazhidu lun*, fascicle 33, in its explanation of the *avadāna* category mentioned above, refers to the *Yier abotuona* 億耳阿波陀那 (*Koṭṭikārṇa-avadāna*),⁵⁰ which appears in the *Carma-vastu* 皮革鞣度 of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (根本說一切有部毘奈耶皮革事) as

⁴⁵ T 99 at T II 300c5-8: 汝等持我所說修多羅、祇夜、受記、伽陀、優陀那、尼陀那、阿波陀那、伊帝目多伽、闍多伽、毘富羅、阿色多達摩、優波提舍、等法。

⁴⁶ T 1545 at T XXVII 659c8-12: 契經、應頌、記說、伽他、自說、因緣、譬喻、本事、本生、方廣、希法、論議。

⁴⁷ Cf. Chung and Fukita 2011: 323-327 (Appendix).

⁴⁸ T 1545 at T XXVII 660a17-18: 譬喻云何。謂諸經中所說種種衆多譬喻。如長譬喻、大譬喻、等; T 1562 at T XXIX 595a14-16: 言譬喻者。爲令曉悟所說義宗。廣引多門比例開示。如長喻等契經所說。

⁴⁹ T 1509 at T XXV 307b8-10: 阿波陀那者與世間相似柔軟淺語。如中阿含中長阿波陀那經。

⁵⁰ T 1509 at T XXV 307b8-11: 阿波陀那者與世間相似柔軟淺語。... 毘尼中億耳阿波陀那、二十億阿波陀那。

well as in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (十誦律).⁵¹ However, it also appears in the extant *Madhyama-āgama*,⁵² which indicates that *avadāna* was not included in the *Madhyama-āgama* available to Nāgārjuna, since if it had been Nāgārjuna would have quoted directly from this text rather than from the *Koṭikarṇa-avadāna* in the *Vinaya*.

6. In the *Shizhupiposha lun* 十住毘婆沙論, Nāgārjuna cites the *Wuweiwangzi jing* 無畏王子經, without giving the source for this citation.⁵³ The *Wuweiwangzi jing* corresponds to the *Abhayarajakumāra-sutta* (MN 58), so if Nāgārjuna was quoting from a *Madhyama-āgama*, it was from a different tradition from that which was translated as the present *Madhyama-āgama*, which does not include the *Wuweiwangzi jing*.

7. The *Apidamojushe lun*, fascicle 19, mentions the *Liuliu jing* 六六經,⁵⁴ which the *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 45, quotes in greater detail as stating: “the *sūtra* says, ‘If contact gives rise to the sensation of pleasure, welcomes it, attaches to it and remains holding

⁵¹ T 1447 at T XXIII 1048c5–1053c5 and T 1435 at T XXIII 178a18–182a21; cf. *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neill 1886: 1,1–24,8; Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Dutt 1950: III iv.159,4–193,20.

⁵² In fact, in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* there is no *sūtra* corresponding to the *Koṭikarṇa-avadāna*. Akanuma appears to have confused this with the *Shamenershiyi jing* 沙門二十億經 (MĀ 123). This would mean that the corresponding *avadāna* appears in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, not in the *Carma-vastu*; cf. Chung and Fukita 2011: 294–315.

⁵³ T 1521 at T XXVI 79b4–8: 又無畏王子經中說。無畏白佛言。佛有所說能令他瞋不。佛言。王子是事不定。佛或憐愍心故。令他人瞋得種善因緣。如乳母以曲指鉤出小兒口中惡物雖傷無患。

⁵⁴ T 1558 at T XXIX 99a12–13: 若爾六六契經相違。經說於樂受有貪隨眠故; AK-bh 273,1–2: *yat tarhi sūtre kleśa evānuśaya uktaḥ ṣaṣṣatke so 'sya bhavati sukhāyāṃ vedanāyāṃ rāgānuśaya iti*; Up 5003, Honjō 2014: II 644–645; cf. Hōdō 456c. Cf. also Up 3059, Honjō 2014: I 400–402; cf. Hōdō 449a.

to it, then the underlying tendency to lust is there.”⁵⁵ This corresponds closely with the following passage in the *Chachakka-sutta* (MN 148): “as a result of contact [a feeling] felt as pleasant or painful (or neither-painful-nor-pleasant) originates.”⁵⁶ When one contacts a pleasant feeling, if one continues taking delight in it, welcomes it and remains holding to it, then lust lies latent within one.”⁵⁷ However, this passage is not preserved in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, fascicle 13,⁵⁸ which is the parallel to the *Chachakka-sutta* (MN 148); the passage is also missing in the similar *sūtra* in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, *Shuo-chu jing* 說處經 (MĀ 86). Therefore the extant Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* is not a translation of the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama*, the *Liuliu jing* 六六經 of which does contain the passage in question. The *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 4, also cites the *Liuliu jing*.⁵⁹

8. The *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 35 states: “because of the teaching in the *Xiangjiyu qijing* 象迹喻契經 that there is matter (*rūpa*) contained in the field of mental objects (*dharmāyatana*), the *sūtra* says: ‘venerables, within this (*dharmāyatana*) there are mental objects

⁵⁵ T 1562 at T XXIX 598b14–15: 如契經言。若觸樂受便生欣悅。慶慰耽著堅執而住。即於樂受有貪隨眠。

⁵⁶ The section in brackets appears in the *sūtra*, but not in Akanuma’s quotation of the Pali text or his Japanese translation.

⁵⁷ MN 148 at MN III 285,4–8: *phassapaccayā uppajjati vedayitaṃ sukhāṃ vā dukkhāṃ vā adukkhamasukkhāṃ vā. so sukhānaṃ vedanāya phuṭṭho samāno abhinandati abhivadati ajjhosāya tiṭṭhati; tassa rāgānusoṇaṃ anuseti.*

⁵⁸ The reference given by Akanuma is to fascicle 13, *sūtras* nos. 22–29 [= T II 91c1ult]. There seems to be some confusion regarding these numbers. Based on the page number cited by Akanuma, the *sūtra* numbers should be 322–329. However, the *sūtra* that actually corresponds to the *Liuliu jing* mentioned in the *Apidamojushe lun* (T 1558 at T XXIX 99a12–13) is probably the *Liuliufa jing* 六六法經 (SĀ 304).

⁵⁹ T 1562 at T XXIX 348c22–24: 六六經中說眼觸生受想思等。非不許彼與眼觸等俱時而生。是故不應作如是釋。

(*dharmas*) as matter.⁶⁰ They are only objects of mind cognition (*mano-vijñāna*), but in nature they are the agglomeration of matter (*rūpa-skandha*) contained in the field of mental objects (*dharmayatana*), invisible and immaterial (not having material or physical sensory input).” This corresponds to the following passage in the *Xiangjiyu jing* 象跡喻經 (MĀ 30): “venerables, through [the interaction of] the internal field of mind (*manāyatana*), mental objects and mind cognition one perceives external mental objects as matter.”⁶¹ This is associated with the aggregate of matter.”⁶² This passage does not match the one from the *Apidamoshunzhengli lun* and is in fact quite different. This is evidence that the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* is not part of the Sarvāstivāda traditions.

9. The *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 41, and the *Apidamo-jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論, fascicle 16, contain the passage: “in the *Dakong jing* 大空經, the Buddha told Ānanda of the qualities of *asaikṣa*, genuinely good, genuinely pure and utterly free of sin.”⁶³ However, this passage is not found in the *Dakong jing* (MĀ 191).

⁶⁰ T 1562 at T XXIX 540b19–21: 象迹喻契經中說、有法処色故。彼經言：具寿、此中有諸色法、唯意識境、体是色蘊、法処所攝、無見無對；see also note 61 below.

⁶¹ The passage in this *sūtra* that immediately precedes the one quoted here, and that describes the case of the eye and the object of the eye, reads 内眼処及色、眼識知外色、是属色陰. In this case the text has just 色, not 色法. The intention in using 色法 in the passage quoted in (8) is to clarify that the dharma referred to is the object of the mind; thus the term has been translated as “mental objects as *matter*.”

⁶² MĀ 30 at T I 467a15–16: 諸賢、内意處及法、意識知外色法、是屬色陰.

⁶³ T 1562 at T XXIX 573c1–3: 佛亦於彼大空經中告阿難陀諸無學法。純善、純白、一向無罪 and T 1558 at T XXIX 83c11–12: 佛於彼大空經中告阿難陀諸無學法。純善、純白、一向無罪; AK-bh 234,16–17: *uktaṃ tu bhagavatā mahatyaṃ śūnyatāyaṃ asaikṣān dharmān ārabhya ime te ānanda dharmā ekāntakuśalā ekāntānavadyā iti*; Up 4075, Honjō 2014: II 590–591; cf. Hōdō 455b.

Akanuma then proceeded to list six *sūtras* that the *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 46, identifies as lost, but that are found in the extant Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, indicating that the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* is not in the Sarvāstivāda transmission.

10. The *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 46, identifies as lost the *Qubojia jing* 瞿博迦經;⁶⁴ this *sūtra* exists as the *Qumomujianlian jing* 瞿默目健連經 (MĀ 145) and the *Gopakamoggallāna-sutta* (MN 108).⁶⁵

11. The *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 46, identifies as lost the *Shengzhehuo jing* 聖者護國經;⁶⁶ this *sūtra* exists as the *Laizhaheluo jing* 賴吒和羅經 (MĀ 132) and the *Raṭṭhapāla-sutta* (MN 82).

12. The *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 46, identifies as lost the *Geiguduyuqu jing* 給孤獨於趣經; this *sūtra* exists as EĀ 51.8 (without a title being supplied) and the *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* (MN 143).⁶⁷

13. The *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 46, identifies as lost the *Potuoli jing* 婆陀梨經;⁶⁸ this *sūtra* exists as the *Batuoheli jing* 跋陀和利經 (MĀ 194) and the *Bhaddāli-sutta* (MN 65). The passage cited

⁶⁴ T 1562 at T XXIX 605a2–5: 又兩相外道於瞿博迦經作如是言。我憶往昔曾見釋氏喬答摩尊。住那地迦城都市迦林內。讚靜慮等一切法門。彼經今時亦沒不現。

⁶⁵ Cf. Up 8003, Honjō 2014: II 844–856.

⁶⁶ T 1562 at T XXIX 605a10–14: 又彼聖者護國經中。彼言。大王。有四厭道。唯薄伽梵正見正知。雖諸如來應正等覺曾廣宣說。而諸世間不能精勤修厭離行。當知定是渴愛馱娑。彼經今時亦已隱沒。

⁶⁷ This entry has nothing to do with the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. Akanuma appears to have included it since there is a corresponding *sūtra* to the *Geiguduyuqu jing* in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, but the editors of Akanuma's volume question whether it is appropriate to mention it in this list.

⁶⁸ T 1562 at T XXIX 604c11–14: 證多契經今已隱沒。如佛於彼婆陀梨經告婆陀梨。我於往昔爲苾芻衆。宣說少年賢良馬法。爾時汝類於此法門少不實有。彼經今者已沒不現。

appears to correspond to a passage in the *Batuoheli jing*.⁶⁹ The fact that the *Potuoli jing* associated with the Sarvāstivāda transmission had been lost suggests that the extant Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* is not of this tradition.

14. The *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 46, identifies as lost the *Kuyun jing* 苦蘊經;⁷⁰ this *sūtra* exists as the *Kuyin jing* 苦陰經 (MĀ 100) and the *Cūladukkhakkhandha-sutta* (MN 14).

15. The *Apidamoshunzhengli lun*, fascicle 46, identifies as lost the *Qingxidakong jing* 慶喜大空經;⁷¹ this *sūtra* exists as the *Xiaokong jing* 小空經 (MĀ 190) and the *Cūlasuññatā-sutta* (MN 121).⁷²

On the basis of these fifteen points upon which the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and the Sarvāstivāda literature differ, Akanuma surmises:

the presence of these differences suggests the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* might be associated with a school (such as the Kāśyapīya or Sautrāntika schools) whose *sūtras* are the closest to those of the Sarvāstivāda school.⁷³

Akanuma then lists the *sūtras* from the *Madhyama-āgama* that are cited in the *Dazhidu lun*, as reproduced in the following table.

⁶⁹ MĀ 194 at T I 746b18–749b29.

⁷⁰ T 1562 at T XXIX 604c15–18: 又佛於彼苦蘊經中。爲釋種大名說。我於往昔一時住在王舍大城遊廣脇山。見諸離繫皆高舉手。自苦求常。便告之言。乃至廣說。彼經今者已沒不現。

⁷¹ T 1562 at T XXIX 604c18–22: 又彼慶喜大空經中作如是言。我於往昔佛一時住釋種大城。居彼所營大客館內。時告我曰。汝阿難陀。我所住空汝欲知不。我便請問。佛爲我說。我尋解佛所說義趣。彼經今者亦已隱沒。

⁷² MN III 104,2–109,18.

⁷³ Akanuma 1939: 44; Enomoto 1988: 107–110 provides counterarguments to a number of Akanuma's points.

Table. *Madhyama-āgama Sūtras* Cited in the *Dazhidu lun* and the *Shizhupiposha lun* (Akanuma 1939)

Reference in the <i>Dazhidu lun</i> and the <i>Shizhupiposha lun</i>	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i>	Other Chin. Parallel	Pali Parallel
1. 頻婆娑羅王迎經 (T 1509 at T XXV 192c21–25)	頻婆娑羅王 迎仏經 (MĀ 62)	<i>Shisong lü</i> : 12th of 18 <i>Mahāsūtras</i> ⁷⁴	
2. 大空經 (T 1509 at T XXV 192c26–193a3)	大空經 (MĀ 191)	SĀ 297 ⁷⁵	MN 122
3. 放牛譬喻經 (T 1509 at T XXV 73b19–74b17)		SĀ 1249	MN 33
4. 多持經 (T 1509 at T XXV 125b16–28)	多界經 (MĀ 181)		MN 115
5. 福田經 (Shu. case 往. 2.8*) ⁷⁶	福田經 (MĀ 127)		AN2.4.4
6. 富樓那彌帝隸耶尼子經 (T 1509 at T XXV 79b3–c2)		SĀ 311 (?)	MN145(?)
7. 難陀迦經 (T 1509 at T XXV 82c23–83a15)		SĀ 276 ⁷⁷ (?)	MN146(?)
8. 毒蛇喻經 (T 1509 at T XXV 145b9–c3)	阿黎吒經 (MĀ 200)	<i>Shisong lü</i> : 8th of 18 <i>Mahāsūtras</i> ⁷⁸	MN 22

⁷⁴ T 1435 at T XXIII 174b23–24; cf. Skilling 1994: 58–111 and Chung and Fukita 2011: 264–293.

⁷⁵ Cf. Skilling 1994: 188–262.

⁷⁶ Cf. T 1509 at T XXV 224a9–11: 問曰如佛告給孤獨居士。世間福田應供養者有二種。若學人若無學人。學人十八無學人有九。

⁷⁷ Akanuma 1939: 45 has a reference to *sūtra* 275 in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* followed by a question mark, “(275)?”, but the *Majjhima-nikāya* reference he provides indicates that it should be “(276)?”

⁷⁸ T 1435 at T XXIII 174b21.

Reference in the <i>Dazhidu lun</i> and the <i>Shizhupiposha lun</i>	<i>Madhyama- āgama</i>	Other Chin. Parallel	Pali Parallel
9. 箭喻經 (Shu. case 往. 1.97*) ⁷⁹	箭喻經 (MĀ 221)		MN 63
10. 羅睺羅教誡經 (Shu. case 往. 1.89*) ⁸⁰	羅云經 (MĀ 14)		MN 61
11. 枳喻經 ⁸¹ (T 1509 at T XXV 295b29–c1)	阿黎吒經 (MĀ 200)	<i>Shisong lü</i> : 8th of 18 <i>Mahāsūtras</i> ⁸²	MN 22
12. 長爪梵志經 (T 1509 at T XXV 254b10–29)		SĀ 969	MN 74
13. “Śakradevendra attains <i>srotāpatti</i> mentioned in the <i>Madhyama- āgama</i> ” (T 1509 at T XXV 456b11) ⁸³			
14. “the Buddha prophesies to Maitreya bodhisattva that ‘you will become a Buddha by the name of Maitreya’, quoted from the <i>Benmo jing</i> 本末 經 in the <i>Madhyama-āgama</i> ” (T 1509 XXV 57c29–58a2) ⁸⁴	說本經 (MĀ 66)		

⁷⁹ Cf. T 1509 at T XXV 170a1–2: 譬如有人身被毒箭。親屬呼醫欲爲出箭塗藥。

⁸⁰ Cf. T 1509 at T XXV 158a12: 復次如佛子羅睺羅。

⁸¹ Akanuma 1939: 45 identified the *Zhiyu jing* with MĀ 221 and MN 63, but it is possible that he confused it with the above-mentioned *Jianya jing*.

⁸² T 1435 at T XXIII 174b21.

⁸³ T 1509 at T XXV 456b11: 中阿含中說釋提桓因得須陀洹, corresponding with the *Shiwen jing* 釋問經, MĀ 134 at T I 632c27–638c6, cf. 638a18–19: 我[i.e., Śakra]今定得須陀洹. *Śakraprasna-sūtra*, Waldschmidt 1932: 109 also has *srot(ā)pan(n)o ’smi bhagavaṃ | srotāpanno ’smi (tathā)gata*.

⁸⁴ 佛記彌勒菩薩汝等來世當得作佛號字彌勒; Akanuma 1939: 45 does not give a reference.

Reference in the <i>Dazhidu lun</i> and the <i>Shizhupiposha lun</i>	<i>Madhyama-</i> <i>āgama</i>	Other Chin. Parallel	Pali Parallel
15. 無畏王子經 (T 1521 XXVI 79b4–8)* ⁸⁵			MN 58

Akanuma then concludes:

Based on the above, [and evidence] such as the fact that the *Futian jing* 福田經 cited in the *Dazhidu lun* speaks of the eighteen types of *śaikṣa* and the nine types of *āśaikṣa* as well as the quotation from the *Samyukta-āgama* that I will cite in the section after this,⁸⁶ I believe that the *Madhyama-āgama* cited by Nāgārjuna was, in fact, a text of the Sarvāstivāda school.⁸⁷

He also comments that if in the *Shizhupiposha lun* Nāgārjuna

cited the *Wuweiwangzi jing* 無畏王子經 as a *sūtra* from the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama*, this would mean that in Nāgārjuna's time the Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama* incorporated the *Wuweiwangzi jing*.

One may read into this comment Akanuma's view that the extant Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* cannot be definitively assigned to the Sarvāstivāda tradition.

⁸⁵ The asterisk indicates that the *sūtra* is mentioned in Akanuma's notes, but that the editors of Akanuma's work were unable to identify it, and thus it remains unconfirmed.

⁸⁶ Akanuma 1939: 46–48.

⁸⁷ The relationship between the *Dazhidu lun* and Kumārajīva is presently undergoing re-evaluation by scholars, but at the time Akanuma wrote the phrase “cited by Nāgārjuna” would have been considered synonymous with “cited in the *Dazhidu lun*.”

In this way Akanuma's research demonstrated that the extant Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, while in many ways close to the Sarvāstivāda transmission, does not match it in various aspects, and he draws no conclusions beyond this circumspect stance. Nevertheless, not long afterwards research indicated the existence of two Sarvāstivāda traditions, the Sarvāstivāda school and the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, suggesting that those portions of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* that are not in accord with the Sarvāstivāda tradition as we know it may in fact derive from this entirely separate, little understood Sarvāstivāda tradition.

III. Looking Ahead: Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda

I will not review the debate concerning the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda school, but I should mention that at the time Akanuma's work was published (1939) the two schools were not differentiated, as indicated by the entry for the Sarvāstivāda school in the contemporaneous *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* 望月仏教大辞典:

[the Sarvāstivāda school] is known in full as the Āryamūlasarvāstivāda school, transliterated as *Aliyemulusapoxidiotuo* 阿離耶暮攞薩婆悉底婆拖 ...⁸⁸

At the time the only division recognized in the Sarvāstivāda was between the associated two *Vinayas*, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (十誦律) and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (根本有部律). Owing to the contemporary lack of any perceived division in the Sarvāstivāda tradition, Akanuma was able to entertain doubts that the extant Chinese

⁸⁸ *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* 1936: III 2926a.

Madhyama-āgama is part of the Sarvāstivāda transmission, judging from the various examples of mismatches between the two.

However, in 1949 the Japanese Buddhist scholar Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 mentioned the existence of an ‘old Sarvāstivāda school’ and a ‘new Sarvāstivāda school’ within the Sarvāstivāda tradition. His article was probably the first time in Japan that such a division had been suggested. In the article Takakusu wrote:

The Sarvāstivāda tradition should probably be regarded as having two schools. That is, (1) the old Sarvāstivāda school, the school generally known as the Sarvāstivāda with its *Vinaya*, the *Shisong lü*; and (2) the new Sarvāstivāda school, the so-called Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition transmitted by Yijing 義淨 with its new *Vinaya* replacing the older Four-Part *Vinaya* (四分律) and the *Shisong lü*.⁸⁹

The combination of this view with the perception by Abhidharma researchers of two strains of Abhidharma commentators in separate geographical areas reinforced the notion of two distinct schools of Sarvāstivāda thought. Since Abhidharma research was at the center of this development, a tendency to equate the Vaibhāṣikas of the Sarvāstivāda school with the Sarvāstivāda school itself has surely influenced scholarly views on this subject.

More recently, Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄 has identified weaknesses in the ‘two Sarvāstivāda schools’ hypothesis.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Takakusu 1896: xxi–xxiii (“Preliminary Remarks (The Mūlasarvāstivāda School)”). At the time when Takakusu translated the *Nanhai gui nei fa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 into English, the Mūlasarvāstivāda was not regarded as a separate school from the Sarvāstivāda.

⁹⁰ Enomoto 2000. I would like to thank Dr. Shizuka Sasaki 佐々木 閑 for informing me of Tokuoka 1960, an article expressing a viewpoint similar to that of Enomoto.

I, too, believe that, based on what we know of the Sanskrit Sarvāstivāda literature, the possibility that there were two separate Sarvāstivāda traditions, each with its own canon, is exceedingly small. Comparing the Sanskrit Sarvāstivāda manuscripts unearthed in East Turkestan (present-day Xinjiang) with those found in Gilgit and Bamiyan (the area known as Greater Gandhara), it can be seen that the differences between them are limited to the type of variation expected in the same tradition over the course of time and in different geographical locations. For this reason I believe that we should set aside attempts to resolve the questions surrounding the provenance of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* by positing the existence of a separate Sarvāstivāda school. The future of this field lies in returning to Akanuma's philological approach, with a thorough examination of all the manuscripts, materials and research that modern scholarship has made available to us.

This article is a natural by-product of the research involved in producing the monograph Chung and Fukita 2011. It involved a constant exchange of views with Jin-il Chung; my name is on the paper as author only because the subject matter made it easier for me, as a Japanese, to obtain and review the necessary materials. The translation into English was made with the help of friends, Thomas Yūhō Kirchner and Catherine Ludvik, to whom I would like to express my thanks. I am also grateful to Tanaka Hironori 田中裕成, a PhD candidate at Bukkyō University, for his invaluable help with the research involved in this paper and with the collection and verification of the source materials.

Abbreviations

AK-bh	<i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> (Pradhan 1967)
AN	<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i>
DĀ	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (T 1)
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
Hōdō	<i>Abidatsuma kusharon keiko</i> 阿毘達磨俱舍論稽古 (T 2252)
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī</i>
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99)
Shu	<i>Dainihon koutei Shukusatsu daizōkyō</i> 大日本校訂縮刷大藏經
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
T	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新脩大藏經
Up	<i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā</i>
X	<i>Shinsan dainihon zokuzōkyō</i> 新纂大日本統藏經

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**A Quantitative Textual Analysis
of the Translation Idiom
of the *Madhyama-āgama* and
the *Ekottarika-āgama***

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Abstract

The attribution of the Chinese translations of the *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經, T 26) and the *Ekottarika-āgama* (增一阿含經, T 125) is debated, with uncertainty as to whether the translatorship of the *Ekottarika-āgama* should also be credited to Gautama Saṅghadeva, the translator of the *Madhyama-āgama*. The present article offers a quantitative textual analysis of these two collections, to complement the picture that emerges from traditional philological research.

We took the digitised text of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* from the CBETA corpus, removed all punctuation marks, and tokenized the texts into grams with the help of an n-gram extraction algorithm. We then selected the grams appearing in a significant number of documents and calculated the frequency of these grams to identify variations between T 26 and T 125. This involves PCA (Principal Component Analysis), a statistical procedure that transforms a number of possibly correlated variables into a smaller number of uncorrelated variables called ‘principal components’. With a small number of components, it is easier to quantify the variations between documents.

The PCA results already convey a fairly strong impression that the translation style of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* are quite different from each other. To provide fuller evidence in support of this conclusion, the results of the PCA were further examined with a view to identifying the key phrases that cause the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* to behave so differently. A comparison of these key phrases indicates that these do reflect different translation styles; the variations do not seem to be merely due to differences of content. Therefore, it seems justified to draw the conclusion that the translations of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* do not stem from the same translator, but are the products of different translators at work.

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Introduction

The present article offers a quantitative textual analysis of the Chinese translations of the *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經, T 26) and the *Ekottarika-āgama* (增一阿含經, T 125). As discussed in more detail in Radich and Anālayo's contribution (2017), the translatorship attribution in the case of these two collections is debated, with uncertainty as to whether the translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* should also be credited to Gautama Saṅghadeva, the translator of the *Madhyama-āgama*.¹

I. Quantitative Analysis Procedure

To test the translatorship attribution, the digitized text of the *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26) and the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) as found in the 2014 version of the CBETA corpus in TEI/XML format were transformed into plain text, the appendices and footnotes were removed, and the following procedure was applied to prepare the data for analysis.²

1. For performing the statistical analysis, fascicles were used as the basic unit. In this way, each fascicle in T 26 and T 125 was treated as an independent document, as a result of which the T 26 group consists of 60 samples, whereas the T 125 group consists of 51 samples.
2. All punctuation marks were removed, whereby the text became one long string of (Chinese) characters.

¹ As discussed by Anālayo in Radich and Anālayo 2017: 218, in the case of the *Madhyama-āgama* it seems safe to conclude that the one in the translation team responsible for the choice of translation terminology would have been Saṅghadeva himself.

² A count of the text file transformed from the XML source files in CBETA 2014 DVD results in 518,058 characters (without punctuation) in T 26 and 364,092 characters (without punctuation) in T 125.

3. With the help of an n-gram extraction algorithm the texts were tokenized into grams.³ These grams then were the basis for calculating style features.

4. In order to generate better feature sets for analysis, at first all possible grams from the texts were generated (instead of using fixed-length grams), i.e., all bi-grams, tri-grams, quad-grams and so on up to the longest possible n-gram. Then all non-significant grams were removed from the feature set. The significance of a gram is based on deciding on a specific number of documents,⁴ referred to as ‘D’, within which a gram must appear as a threshold to merit inclusion in the feature set.

II. Principal Component Analysis

Once the feature set had been generated, the frequency of the grams of the feature set in the altogether 111 fascicles (60 fascicles of T 26 plus 51 fascicles of T 125) could be calculated and further examined to identify variations between T 26 and T 125. This involves PCA (Principal Component Analysis), a statistical procedure that transforms a number of possibly correlated variables into a smaller number of uncorrelated variables called principal components. With a small number of components, it is easier to quantify the variations between documents.

It is important to keep in mind that the PCA analysis is based on what could be called ‘unsupervised learning’, in that we do not instruct the program as to which characteristics we are looking for or

³ 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 just be part of a meaningful word.

⁴ Here a document means a single fascicle.

expecting to be singled out. Instead, the program itself will offer ‘random’ results, relations between items with certain features represented on a bi-dimensional diagram. Such a relational model of analysis does end up highlighting the relationship between points, but this is not due to an input on our sides regarding what we expect to find. In short, the procedure is not deduction-based and is un-directed.

II.1 PCA Results and Discussions

This section presents the PCA analysis results of the 111 fascicles in the *Madhyama-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* groups. To obtain best results, analyses with different values of D were performed. This serves to avoid using highly content-dependent grams as stylistic measurements in the analysis.⁵ As the value of D increases, the algorithm will choose only those grams that appear in a large number of different documents for stylistic measurements. This will reduce the probability of including content-dependent grams in the feature set. However, a problem here is that 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. In order to avoid unduly influencing the results through a particular setting of D, a progressive analysis series with different settings of D seems an ideal solution. Thus, to begin with, D was set at a value of 20, about 18% of the total number of documents. Then the value of D was increased in steps of 20 until it reached 100, with a final analysis done with D set at the maximum of 111, corresponding to the total number of fascicles of the two texts compared.

⁵ For an illustration and discussion of the problem that can arise because of the influence of content-related grams cf. Hung 2014.

II.1.1 PCA Analysis with D Set to 20

Figure 1 illustrates the first and second principle components generated by the PCA analysis with D set to 20. In this chart, black triangular symbols (▲) represent the documents from the *Madhyama-āgama* group (T 26) and hollow circles (○) represent the documents from the *Ekottarika-āgama* group (T 125).

Figure 1. PCA Result with D = 20

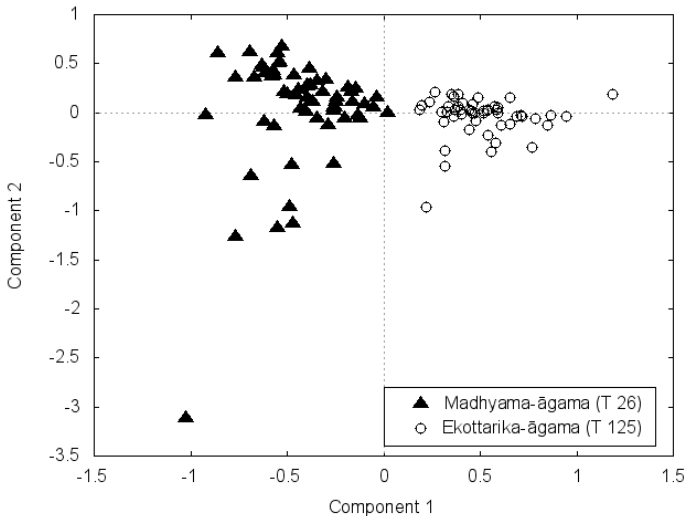


Figure 1 shows the analysis result with the value of D set to 20, which means that the set of stylometric measurements only contains grams that appear in more than 20 documents. The figure clearly shows that the two groups are in very different places compared to each other. Most of the *Madhyama-āgama* points, with only one exception, are located to the left side of the origin, whereas all of the *Ekottarika-āgama* points lie to the right side of the origin. Moreover, the two groups do not overlap on the component 1.

Already this first analysis conveys a fairly strong impression that the translation style of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* are quite different from each other.

II.1.2 PCA Analyses with D Set to 40 and 60

The next step involved raising the value of D to 40 and 60, in order to observe whether this results in a different behaviour of the researched texts. Figures 2 and 3 show that the results of PCA analyses with D set to 40 and 60 exhibit the same trends as shown in figure 1 when the value of D was set to 20. The points of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* continue to be located on different sides of the x-axis in distinct clusters. In this way, their grouping behaviour continues to be very clear even when the value of D is raised from 20 to 40 and 60.

This further confirms the impression that the translation styles of the two collections is different.

Figure 2. PCA Result with D = 40

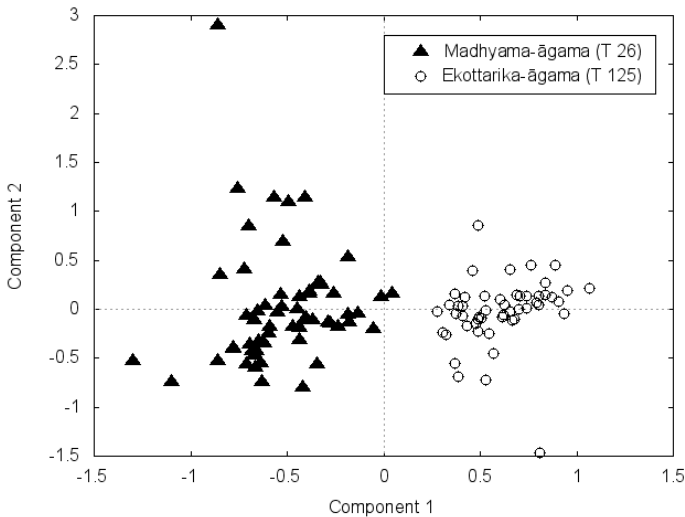
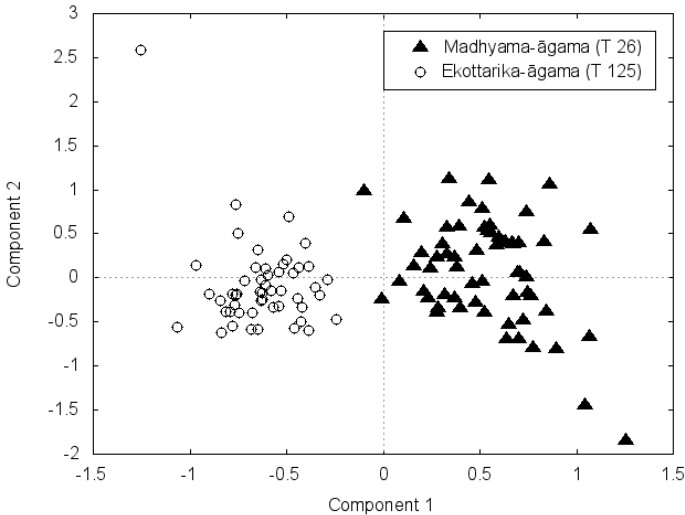


Figure 3. PCA Result with D = 60



II.1.3 PCA Analyses with D Set to 80, 100 and 111

To check the analysis result when the document threshold is set to a very high value, the value of D was increased to 80, then to 100 and finally to 111. The following figures 4, 5 and 6 show the results of the corresponding PCA analyses. Compared to the results evident in figures 1 to 3, it is noticeable that the points of the *Madhyama-āgama* texts move from the right-hand side of the coordinate plane to the top part; whereas the points of the *Ekottarika-āgama* texts move from the left-hand side to the bottom. The reason for this change would be due to the fact that the values of D in the three analyses are larger than the number of actual documents in each of the two groups: the *Madhyama-āgama* has 60 and the *Ekottarika-āgama* 51 documents (= fascicles). Therefore grams that are only used in one group but never occur in another group will no longer function as stylometric measurements, as they do not reach the threshold of D.

As a result, the difference between the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* texts will inevitably be reduced and the location of points can also be subject to change.

As evident in figures 4, 5 and 6, the expectation that due to the increase in D the distance between the two groups decreases is confirmed. Nevertheless, even when the threshold is set at such a high value, still the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* texts are grouped in different locations in the coordinate plane. Even when the value of D is raised to 100, only few overlaps occur. Moreover, when D is raised to the absolute possible maximum of 111, which means that only those grams that occur in every single fascicles of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* will be used, still these two groups do not show much overlap with each other.

This clearly confirms that the translation phrases employed in the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* are very different from each other.

Figure 4. PCA Result with D = 80

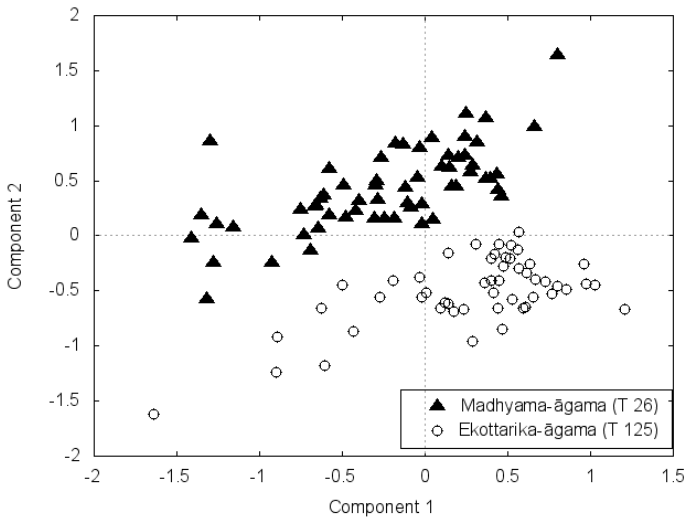


Figure 5. PCA Result with D = 100

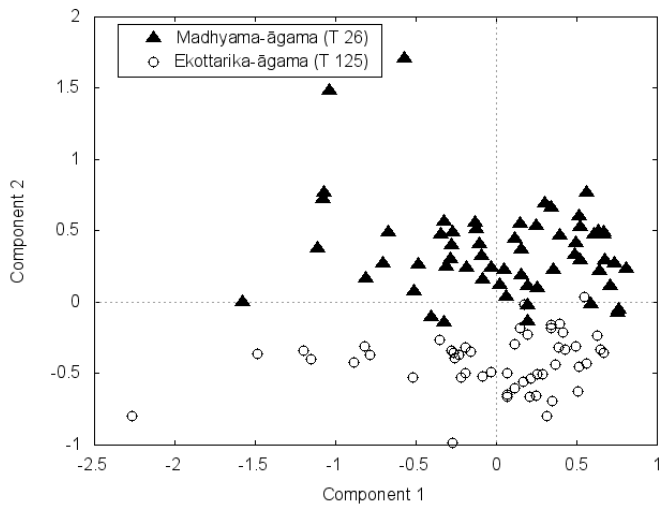
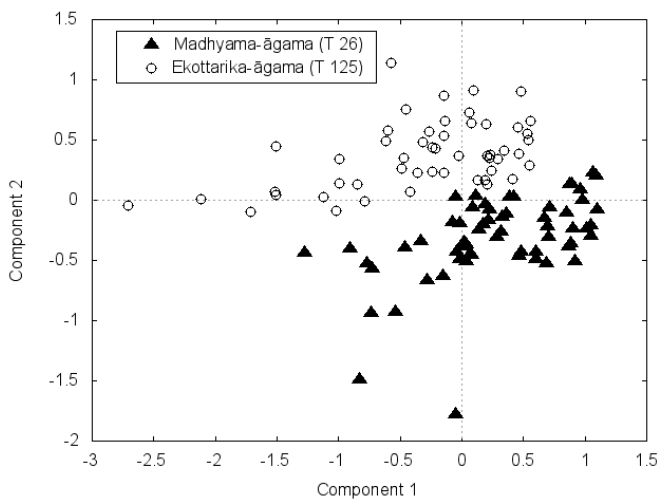


Figure 6. PCA Result with D = 111



II.2 Summary of PCA Analysis

From the above analyses it can confidently be concluded that the translation styles of the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* are substantially different from each other, although both clearly belong to the same genre of scripture and their Indic originals can safely be assumed to have had considerable terminological overlap. It seems highly improbable that the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* could be from the same translator.

In order to provide the full evidence to support this conclusion, in what follows the result of the PCA analysis are further examined with a view to identifying the key phrases that cause the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* to behave so differently.

II.3 Gram Analysis of the PCA Results

By way of further defining the difference between the *Ekottarika-āgama* group and the *Madhyama-āgama* group, we examined the grams that are only used in one of the two collections. As the above analysis results show, right from the outset with D set to 20 the points corresponding to the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* respectively are located differently. This is already significant, since with D set to a lower value more grams will be selected, which means that more information will be processed compared to when D is set to a higher value. Therefore, in what follows we take the PCA result with D set to 20 as the basis for examining the significant and distinctive features of the *Ekottarika-āgama* group and of the *Madhyama-āgama* groups.

Table 1 lists the grams only found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* group. The first two columns give the gram, followed by the number of matches of the gram in the *Ekottarika-āgama* groups. The next column, ‘Average Matches per Fascicles in EĀ’, presents the results of

dividing the number of matches given in the previous column by the number of fascicles in the whole *Ekottarika-āgama*, which is 51. The last column, ‘Average Matches per Characters in EĀ’, then presents the results of dividing the same number of matches by the number of characters in the whole *Ekottarika-āgama*, which is 364,092.

Table 2 proceeds in the same way, this time instead taking up the grams only found in the *Madhyama-āgama* group. In this case, then, ‘Average Matches per Fascicle in MĀ’ are the results of dividing the number of matches by the number of fascicles in the whole *Madhyama-āgama*, which in this case is 60, and ‘Average Matches per Character in EĀ’ gives the results of dividing the same number of matches by the number of characters in the whole *Madhyama-āgama*, which is 518,058.

Table 1. Grams that Appear in More than 20 Fascicles of the *Ekottarika-āgama* but Are Never Used in the *Madhyama-āgama*

Phrase	Matches in EĀ	Average Matches per Fascicle in EĀ	Average Matches per Character in EĀ
所以然者	483	9.47	0.0013
聞如是一時佛在	441	8.65	0.0012
舍利弗	411	8.06	0.0011
祇樹給孤獨園	377	7.39	0.0010
白佛言	241	4.73	0.0007
白世尊言	191	3.75	0.0005
在一面坐	174	3.41	0.0005
便說此偈	168	3.29	0.0005
釋提桓因	150	2.94	0.0004
更不	130	2.55	0.0004
之類	125	2.45	0.0003

Phrase	Matches in EĀ	Average Matches per Fascicle in EĀ	Average Matches per Character in EĀ
沙門婆羅門	112	2.20	0.0003
羅閱城	108	2.12	0.0003
是故諸比丘當	105	2.06	0.0003
亂想	98	1.92	0.0003
出現於世	96	1.88	0.0003
當求方便	94	1.84	0.0003
彼云何名為	91	1.78	0.0002
諸比丘對曰	91	1.78	0.0002
之是時	89	1.75	0.0002
所在	85	1.67	0.0002
如實知之	83	1.63	0.0002
退而去	83	1.63	0.0002
生此念	82	1.61	0.0002
四部之眾	80	1.57	0.0002
是謂名為	79	1.55	0.0002
由旬	78	1.53	0.0002
便退而去	76	0.92	0.0001
如來至真等正覺	74	1.45	0.0002
阿須倫	73	1.43	0.0002
是時諸	70	1.37	0.0002
人民之	65	1.27	0.0002
臥具病瘦醫藥	63	1.24	0.0002
鬼神	63	1.24	0.0002
歡喜踊躍不能自勝	63	1.24	0.0002
得法眼淨	62	1.22	0.0002

Phrase	Matches in EĀ	Average Matches per Fascicle in EĀ	Average Matches per Character in EĀ
釋迦文	62	1.22	0.0002
以此因緣	58	1.14	0.0002
如汝所言	54	1.06	0.0001
之想	54	1.06	0.0001
在虛空	54	1.06	0.0001
生死已盡	54	1.06	0.0001
狐疑	53	1.04	0.0001
世之	51	1.00	0.0001
思惟此	50	0.98	0.0001
三惡趣	48	0.94	0.0001
爾時王	47	0.92	0.0001
之行	46	0.90	0.0001
設當	46	0.90	0.0001
到時	44	0.86	0.0001
靡不	44	0.86	0.0001
遊化	42	0.82	0.0001
成阿羅漢	41	0.80	0.0001
諸塵垢盡	40	0.78	0.0001
眾生之類	40	0.78	0.0001
愚惑	39	0.76	0.0001
三法衣	36	0.71	< 0.0001
眾僧	36	0.71	< 0.0001
在閑靜之處	35	0.69	< 0.0001
迦蘭陀竹園	35	0.69	< 0.0001
過去久遠	34	0.67	< 0.0001

Phrase	Matches in EĀ	Average Matches per Fascicle in EĀ	Average Matches per Character in EĀ
比丘從佛受教	33	0.65	< 0.0001
繫念在前	33	0.65	< 0.0001

Table 2. Grams that Appear in More than 20 Fascicles of the *Madhyama-āgama* but Are Never Used in the *Ekottarika-āgama*

Phrase	Matches in MĀ	Average Matches per Fascicle in MĀ	Average Matches per Character in MĀ
成就遊	481	8.02	0.0009
白曰世尊	248	4.13	0.0005
我聞如是一時佛遊	216	3.60	0.0004
多聞聖弟子	206	3.43	0.0004
佛說如是	201	3.35	0.0004
至信	182	3.03	0.0004
捨家無家	180	3.00	0.0003
於是世尊	165	2.75	0.0003
坐一面	163	2.72	0.0003
如意足	162	2.70	0.0003
減道	155	2.58	0.0003
安隱快樂	155	2.58	0.0003
彼一切	147	2.45	0.0003
於是尊者	145	2.42	0.0003
著袈裟衣	142	2.37	0.0003
一向	138	2.30	0.0003
成就歡喜	138	2.30	0.0003

Phrase	Matches in MĀ	Average Matches per Fascicle in MĀ	Average Matches per Character in MĀ
正念正智	136	2.27	0.0003
世尊答曰	136	2.27	0.0003
如是知	134	2.23	0.0003
妙行	132	2.20	0.0003
燕坐	132	2.20	0.0003
說法勸發渴仰	128	2.13	0.0002
無量善	124	2.07	0.0002
梵志居士	124	2.07	0.0002
往詣佛	123	2.05	0.0002
行精勤	115	1.92	0.0002
稽首佛足	115	1.92	0.0002
調御	113	1.88	0.0002
生已盡	112	1.87	0.0002
不更受有	112	1.87	0.0002
無結無怨無恚無諍	111	1.85	0.0002
獨住	107	1.78	0.0002
自知自覺	102	1.70	0.0002
彼諸比丘聞佛所說	101	1.68	0.0002
因此故	99	1.65	0.0002
至惡處生地獄中	93	1.55	0.0002
無事處	89	1.48	0.0002
極廣甚大	89	1.48	0.0002
我今寧可	85	1.42	0.0002
叉手向佛	84	1.40	0.0002
自作證成就遊	82	1.37	0.0002

Phrase	Matches in MĀ	Average Matches per Fascicle in MĀ	Average Matches per Character in MĀ
生喜樂	81	1.35	0.0002
村邑	81	1.35	0.0002
正盡	79	1.32	0.0002
平坦	79	1.32	0.0002
詣佛所稽首	75	1.25	0.0001
離惡不善之法	75	1.25	0.0001
宴坐	73	1.22	0.0001
繞三匝而去	56	0.93	0.0001
無量方便	54	0.90	0.0001
偏袒著衣	54	0.52	0.0001
世尊聞已	53	0.88	0.0001
求安隱快樂	53	0.88	0.0001
我寧可	51	0.85	< 0.0001
慙傷	49	0.82	< 0.0001
求義及饒益	48	0.80	< 0.0001
過夜平坦	46	0.77	< 0.0001
苦減道	45	0.75	< 0.0001
佛法及比丘眾	43	0.72	< 0.0001
斷疑	43	0.72	< 0.0001
蘭哆園	41	0.68	< 0.0001
於晡時從	40	0.67	< 0.0001
自歸乃至命盡	40	0.67	< 0.0001
敷尼師檀	40	0.67	< 0.0001
天及魔梵	39	0.65	< 0.0001
從今日始終身	38	0.63	< 0.0001

Phrase	Matches in MĀ	Average Matches per Fascicle in MĀ	Average Matches per Character in MĀ
受我為優婆塞	37	0.62	< 0.0001
至得第四禪	37	0.62	< 0.0001
受教而聽	36	0.60	< 0.0001
苦如真	33	0.55	< 0.0001
善受善持	31	0.52	< 0.0001

A comparison of the expressions in the above two tables gives the impression that these reflect different translation styles, the variations found do not seem to be merely due to differences of content.

Conclusion

The above results make it safe to conclude that the indications already evident from the figures representing the PCA analysis find confirmation on closer inspection of the grams on which they are based. It seems therefore justified to draw the conclusion that the Chinese translations of the *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26) and the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) do not stem from the same translator, but are the products of different translators at work.

Abbreviations

CBETA	Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association
D	Document threshold
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
T	Taishō edition (CBETA, 2014)

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**The Underlying Language
of the Chinese Translation
of the *Madhyama-āgama***

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Abstract

The Indic original of the *Madhyama-āgama* presently included in the Chinese Buddhist canon (中阿含經, T 26) was recited in an Indic language by a monk from Kashmir, and then translated into Chinese by another Kashmirian monk in AD 397–398. An analysis of the transliterations found in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* points to the conclusion that the Indic original might have been much Sanskritised, though containing elements of Gandhari and other Prakrits.

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- I. The Indic Original
- II. Preliminary Survey of Transliterations
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 - II.3 Sanskritisms
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- Abbreviations
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I. The Indic Original

Oskar von Hinüber (1982 and 1983) and Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄 (1984 and 1986) assume that the Indic original of the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經, T 26) may have been transmitted in Gandhari, a conclusion based on a few translated words¹ and on two transliterations.² However, as Jin-il Chung (in Chung and Fukita 2011: 31–32) rightly points out, it is still not clear whether and to what degree those examples actually reflect the original language.

According to the colophon to the *Madhyama-āgama*, its Indic original was recited by Saṅgharakṣa, a monk from Kashmir, and then translated into Chinese by another Kashmirian monk by the name of Gautama Saṅghadeva (fl. 383–398) in AD 397–398.³ By the fourth century, the role of Gandhari and its script, namely Kharoṣṭhī, seems to have been gradually replaced by that of (Buddhist) Sanskrit and its script, namely Brāhmī.⁴ It is therefore quite probable that the Indic original of the *Madhyama-āgama* was already Sanskritised to a certain degree. Around the same period, in AD 413, the *Dīrgha-āgama* of the Dharmaguptakas was translated by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念, based on the recitation by a Kashmirian monk, Buddhayaśas.

By analysing the transliterations—around five hundred in all—found within this *Dīrgha-āgama* (長阿含經, T 1), I have demonstrated that its original text was a mixture of elements of Sanskritisation, Prakrit, and local dialects as well as Gandhari.⁵ In the same way, we

¹ E.g., T 26 at T I 632b6: 斷穢 *prahīṇa* < *pabhiṇṇa* < Pa. *pabhinna*.

² T 26 at T I 685a4: 彌薩羅 **Misalā* < *Mithilā*; T 26 at T I 472a1: 阿攝貝 **Āsṣa'i* < BHS *Āśvajit*.

³ T 26 at T I 809b (esp. 809b21–26).

⁴ See Karashima 2015: 113.

⁵ Karashima 1994.

need to investigate the transliterations that occur in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, before reaching any conclusion about the language of its Indic original.

II. Preliminary Survey of Transliterations

II.1 Prakritisms

According to my preliminary research, there are quite a few instances which show that the original text of the *Madhyama-āgama* contained Prakritisms:

-gh- > -h-

彌鹽 (491a14; **Mehi*) / Pa. *Meghiyā*; Skt. *Meghikā* (*Abhidharmadīpa*, Jaini 1977: 296,2)

-j- > -y-

那利鶩伽 (801b5; **Nāli(y)āṅga*) / Pa. *Nālijaṅgha*; Skt. *Nāḍṭijaṅgha* (MW, s.v.), *Nālījaṅgha* (MW, s.v.), *Nālijaṅgha* (MW, s.v.)

-j- > -y- (?)

阿夷羅婆提 (428b17; *Ayiravatī* or *Ajira-*), 阿夷羅想(v.l. 和)帝 (600c3; *Ayiravatī* or *Ajira-*) / Skt. *Ajiravatī* (cf. *ajira* ‘quick’); Pa. *Aciravatī*
婆夷利 (801c20; **Vayirī* or *Vajirī*) / Pa. *Vajirī* (Skt. **Vajrī*)

-ñc- > -ñj-

般闍羅 (772b15; **Pañjāla*) / Skt. = Pa. *Pañcāla*

-t- > -l⁶

阿邏鞞伽邏 (482c9; **Ālavikāla* ?) / BHS *Āṭavikā*, Pa. *Ālavī*

波羅利 (802a14; **Pālali*) (子) / Skt. = Pa. *Pāṭali-(putra)*

波羅牢 (445a25; **Pālalau* ?) / Pa. *Pāṭali*; cf. *Pāṭalaka* (SWTF 17: 111, s.v.)

-t- > -l-

阿私羅 (665c1; **Asila*) / BHS = Pa. *Asita*

⁶ Cf. Ji 1948.

弗迦邏娑利 (690a21; **Puklasāli*) / Pa. *Pukkusāti, Pukkasāti*; cf. Skt. *pulkasa, pukkaśa, paulkasa*

-th- > -h-

于娑賀 (496b11; **vosaha* or *(v)*osaha*) / Pa. *uposatha*; BHS *upoṣa-dha, upoṣatha*; AMg. *posaha*

-p- > -v-

賴吒想羅 (623a8; **Raṭṭhavāla*) / BHS *Rāṣṭrapāla*; Pa. *Raṭṭhapāla*

阿闍想(v.l. 和)羅 (633b29; **Ajavāla*) / BHS = Pa. *Ajapāla*

瞿婆 (634b9; **Gova*) / BHS = Pa. *Gopaka*

遮想(v.l. 和)邏 (648b25; **Cāvāla*) / BHS = Pa. *Cāpāla*

阿想那 (740c15; **Āvaṇa*) / Pa. *Āpaṇa*

尸攝想(v.l. 和) (525a12, 749c11; **Śisavā*) / Skt. *Śiṃśapā*; Pa. *Siṃsapā*

波和 (752c10; **Pāvā*) / Pa. *Pāvā*; BHS *Pāpā*

-p- > -v- > -m-

瞿默 (653c18ult; **Gomak(a)*) / Skt. = Pa. *Gopaka*

-m- / -v-

般那蔓閼 (536a18; **Pānamaṇṇa*) / Skt. *Prācīnavaṇṇa* (MW, s.v.) / Pa. *Pācīnavaṇṇa*

搖尤那 (428b17; **Yavunā* or **Yaunā*; cf. Pkt. *Jauṇā*) / Skt. = Pa. *Yamunā*

婆想(v.l. 和)菟 (656c21; **Vāvanu*) / Pa. *Vāmanikā*

-lm- > -mm-

劍磨瑟曇 (431c14, 542b5; **Kammāṣadamm[a]*) / BHS *Kalmāṣadamma*; Pa. *Kammāsadamma*

II.2 Gandharisms

In addition to the forms 彌薩羅 (**Misalā* < *Mithilā*) and 阿攝貝 (**Aśpa* 'i < BHS *Aśvajit*), which were among the first to be noted as possible instances of Gandhari influence,⁷ there are also several other examples betraying phonetic developments typical of Gandhari:

⁷ Cf. note 2 above.

upa- > *va-*

婆難 (655b15; **Vanann(a)*); Skt. = Pa. *Upananda*

upo- > *vo-*

于娑賀 (496b11; **vosaha* or *(v)*osaha*); Pa. *uposatha*; BHS *upoṣa-dha*, *upoṣatha*; AMg. *posaha*)⁸

-ñj- > *-ññ-*

陀然 (456a22; **Dhanaññ-*) / BHS *Dhanañjaya* / Pa. *Dhānañjani*

鞞蘭若 (475c18; **Veraññā*) / Pa. *Verañjā* (> **Veraññā* >) / BHS *Vairāṇyā*

娑若鞞羅遲 (782a6; **Sañña Velaṭī*) / BHS *Samjayin Vairaṭī-(putra)*; Pa. *Samjaya Belaṭṭhi-(putta)*

薩云然 (784a4; **sarvaññam*) / Skt. *sarvajña*; Pa. *sabbaññū*

Cf. 想 (620c12; **saññī-* ‘perception’) / *Sañjīva*; 想 (793b27; **saññaya* ‘perception’) / *Sañjaya*

-nd- > *-nn-*

周那 (752c8; **Cunna*) / *Cunda*

-śv- > *-śp-*

阿濕貝 (749c1; **Aspa'i*) / *Aśvajit* / Pa. *Assaji*

The developments *-ñj-* > *-ññ-* and *-nd-* > *-nn-* are found in the Gandhari *Dharmapada* from Khotan and the Niya documents.

II.3 Sanskritisms

Besides the just listed examples of Gandhari influence, there are also numerous instances which show Sanskritisation:

-t- is retained

兜率哆 (429b17; *Tuṣita*) / BHS *Tuṣita*, Pa. *Tusita*

優波鞞舍 (431b25; **Upatisśa*) / BHS *Upatiṣya*; Pa. *Upatissa*

娑雞帝 (544b21; *Sāketē*) / Skt. = Pa. *Sāketē* (loc.); BHS *Sāketā*

阿夷羅毖 (v.l. 和) 帝 (600c3; *Ayiravatī* or *Ajira-*) / Skt. *Ajiravatī*, Pa. *Aciravatī*

⁸ Cf. Chung and Fukita 2011: 32 note 107.

阿夷哆雞舍劍婆利 (782a7; **Ayita* or *Ajita Keśakambalī*); BHS *Ajita Keśakambalin*; Pa. *Ajita Kesakambalī*

橋儼鉢帝 (*Gavāṃpati*; 532a25) / BHS *Gavāṃpati*; Pa. *Gavaṃpati*
-*p-* is retained

優簸遮羅 (560b26; *Upacāla*) / Pa. *Upacāla*

-*śv-* is retained

阿攝怱(v.l. 和)邏延多那 (663c5; **Āśvalāyantana*) / Skt. *Āśvalāyana*, Pa. *Assalāyana-sutta*

-*sk-* is retained

摩息迦利瞿舍利 (782a5; *Maskari Gośalī*) / BHS *Maskarin Gośālī-(putra)* / Pa. *Makkhali Gosāla*

As in Sanskrit (and Gandhari), the clusters -*kr-*, -*dr-*, -*pr-*, -*kṣ-* and -*st-* are retained:

-*kr-*

覺礫拘苟 (620c8; *Krakusanda*); BHS *Krakuchanda*, *Krakucchanda*, *Krakutsanda*, Pa. *Kakusandha*

-*dr-*

優陀羅 (603a3; **Udra*) / BHS *Udraka*, Pa. *Uddaka*

鬱陀羅羅摩(子) (776c6; **Udra Rāma*)(*putra*) / BHS *Udraka Rāma-(putra)* / Pa. *Uddaka Rāma(putta)*

-*pr-*

摩訶簸邏闍鉢提 (721c24; *Mahāprajāpati* [= BHS]) / Pa. *Mahāpajāpatī*

-*kṣ-*

加羅差摩 (738a7; *Kālakṣema* [= *Sanḥabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1977: I 78,10]) / Pa. *Kāḷakhema*

-*st-*

波遮悉多羅那 (617c5; **paccāstarāṇa*), 波遮悉哆羅(v.l.邏)那(541b3, 646a27; **paccāstarāṇa*) / BHS *pratyāstarāṇa*, *paccattharāṇa*

Conclusion

The foregoing survey of reconstructed Indic forms that appear to underlie the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* suggests the preliminary conclusion that the Indic original of this *Āgama*, recited by Saṅgharakṣa at the end of the fourth century, might have been much Sanskritised, though containing elements of Gandhari and other Prakrit(s). However, a comprehensive investigation of transliterations as well as translated words in this *Āgama* remains a desideratum to make the features of its original language clear.

Abbreviations

AMg	Ardhamāgadhī
BHS	a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit word (listed in BHSD)
BHSD	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (Edgerton 1953)
loc.	locative
MW	Monier-Williams 1899
Pa.	Pali
Pkt.	Prakrit
Skt	Sanskrit
SWTF	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i> (Bechert et al. 1973–)
T	Taishō edition

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**Were the *Ekottarika-āgama*
and the *Madhyama-āgama*
Translated by the Same Person?
An Assessment on the Basis of Translation Style**

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Abstract

On the basis of a large set of diverse markers of translation style, this paper argues that the *Ekottarika-āgama* (增一阿含經, T 125) was not translated by the same person or group as the *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經, T 26). We adduce evidence covering a wide range of phraseology, occurring very many times in each text. Overall, the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Madhyama-āgama* habitually and systematically differ from one another in the translation of many common names, terms, phrases and ideas. This leads to the conclusion that the received ascription of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to Saṅghadeva is incorrect.

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I. Research Problem and Method

The Taishō canon ascribes the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* to Gautama Saṅghadeva (瞿曇僧伽提婆), but the Taishō apparatus also reports a conflicting tradition in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the canon, holding that the text was translated by Dharmanandin (曇摩難提).¹ At the same time, our earliest source on Zhu Fonian 竺佛念, the biography in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (T 2145), echoed in the *Gao seng zhuan* 高僧傳 (T 2059) reports that a translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* was made by Zhu Fonian on the basis of a recitation by Dharmanandin in 384.² By contrast, the tradition that Saṅghadeva revised or retranslated the text seems not to be reported prior to Fei Changfang's 費長房 notoriously unreliable *Lidai san bao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (T 2034)³—although Palumbo has recently argued that Fei got this information from Baochang 寶唱 (ca. 466–after 517), who wrote in the early sixth century.⁴

Scholarly controversy over the attribution of this translation dates back almost to the inception of modern Buddhology.⁵ Over recent

¹ T 125 (hereafter EĀ) at T II 549b11; see also note 11 below.

² T 2145 at T LV 111b18–19; T 125 at T II 549a10–14; see also note 17 below. The name of the reciter of the collection is reconstructed as Dharmananda in Palumbo 2013: 5 note 12.

³ Anālayo 2013: 46, Matsumura 1989: 362–365.

⁴ Palumbo 2013: 150–151.

⁵ As Demiéville 1954: 374 note 1 shows, the attribution to “Dharmanandin” (for our purposes, equivalent to the attribution to Zhu Fonian) was championed as far back as Nanjio's catalogue; Nanjio 1883: 133–134. Demiéville summarises subsequent opinions in support of the same attribution from such scholars as Lévi and Chavannes (in 1916), Sakaino (in 1927) and Ono Genmyō (in 1936). By contrast, Demiéville himself sides with the ascription to Saṅghadeva and shows that this ascription was also supported by such scholars as Matsumoto (in 1914), Hayashi (in 1928) and Hayashiya.

decades, scholars have increasingly expressed doubts about the attribution of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to Saṅghadeva, suggesting that the extant text is more likely to be by Zhu Fonian. Most of these scholars have based this suggestion upon the observation that the terminology and phraseology of the *Ekottarika-āgama* differs greatly from that of the *Madhyama-āgama*, Saṅghadeva's most representative work.⁶

By contrast, Mizuno Kōgen, who studied both texts in detail, supported the traditional ascription of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to Saṅghadeva by claiming that the canonical *Ekottarika-āgama* and *Madhyama-āgama* were by the same hand.⁷ The support of a scholar of Mizuno's stature gives the ascription of the *Ekottarika-āgama* to Saṅghadeva great weight, especially considering that he reiterated it three decades after his original study, and also that his earlier study surveyed a wider range of possible stylistic markers than any subsequent author.⁸

⁶ Unebe 1968, Matsumura 1989: 364–367, Legittimo 2005: 3 [258] note 7, Legittimo 2006: 80–81 (cited in Nattier 2010: 233 note 8), Anālayo 2006: 145–146, Nattier 2007: 195–196 note 48, Legittimo 2010: 255–256, Park 2012: 202–203 and Anālayo 2013: 46–47; cf. also Kamata 1990: 111–114, Lin 2009: 130–136 and Palumbo 2013: 79–80. However, Lin's hypothesis is more complex, since he argues that Zhu Fonian himself revised an original translation, working around the year 410. On complications in Palumbo's hypothesis, see below.

⁷ Mizuno 1956, Mizuno 1989: esp. 9–15.

⁸ Previous studies have tended to rely on a fairly small number of stylistic markers. For instance, Nattier 2007: 195–196 note 48 discusses about six markers distinguishing the *Ekottarika-āgama* from the *Madhyama-āgama*; even though it is usually referred to as the most detailed study to date of Zhu Fonian's style, Unebe 1968 builds his argument on a single set of terms (for the members of the eightfold path), which, moreover, are weaker as criteria for the authorship of the *Ekottarika-āgama* than many of the terms we examine below; Unebe 1971 (where Unebe's main aim, however, was not to examine our present question) discusses five terms or sets of terms; Lin 2009 uses approximately nine sets of markers (albeit strong ones). Mizuno 1956: 88–89 ironically studies the largest number

Recently, Antonello Palumbo has revived and further complicated our doubts about the identity and nature of the extant *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁹ Palumbo argues that a Chinese commentary on the *Ekottarika-āgama*, the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T 1507), is clearly based upon the

of markers of any of these authors (37 sets of markers), but only to arrive at an incorrect result (in footnotes to the Tables below, some examples where Mizuno cites some of our evidence, but overlooks its significance, are marked with an exclamation mark). Mizuno's errors may be methodologically instructive. He seems to have been partly misled, first, by external evidence that he read to suggest that the translations of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Madhyama-āgama* which are now lost as integral texts, but witnessed in texts now scattered through the *Āgama* section of the Taishō and in citations in texts like the *Jing lü yi xiang* 經律異相 (T 2121), were the work of Dharmanandin (= Zhu Fonian). Next, as has been typical of studies of internal evidence to date, Mizuno also focuses on 'Buddhist'-looking language—predominantly transcriptions as well as opening and closing formulae. He thus overlooks a wider range of markers, like those that our computer-assisted methods here bring to our attention. Mizuno also compares only T 125, T 26 and the translations of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Madhyama-āgama* lost as integral texts, not controlling his results by reference to other Zhu Fonian works. Even then, however, Mizuno's understanding of the evidence he tabulates is puzzling. Some of the 'markers' he lists have no diagnostic value, either because they are the same in T 26 and T 125, or even in all our texts; or because he lists no equivalent for T 26; or because usage is so mixed across all four texts as to establish no consistent pattern. Mizuno also missed some key evidence, e.g., 16 instances of 迦旃延 in T 125, three instances of 至真 in T 26, or instances of 惡趣 in both. When we set aside these various problematic markers, the most striking pattern left in the evidence that remains is a set of about twelve pairs of markers which consistently align T 125 *against* T 26 and the translations of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Madhyama-āgama* lost as integral texts, alike. If anything, then, the overall conclusion suggested by this limited set of evidence is that T 26 is stylistically unique.

⁹ Palumbo 2013: 9–160 and 267–281.

received *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125). Palumbo dates the *Fenbie gongde lun* itself to 385 and, for him, this means that the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* “must indeed [be] very close to the *Zengyi ahan jing* issued in ... 385”—that is, to the work of Zhu Fonian and his collaborators.¹⁰ At first sight, this might seem merely to add to the evidence that the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* is that of Zhu Fonian. At the same time, however, Palumbo mounts an intricate historical argument that as many as four versions of the *Ekottarika-āgama* once existed in China.¹¹ He also adduces a ‘Preface to the *Madhyama-āgama*’ by Shi Daoci 釋道慈 (fl. 391–401) to support the tradition that Saṅghadeva produced some version of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.¹² Palumbo argues further that there is evidence that the *Ekottarika-āgama* must in fact have undergone some kind of ‘editorial revision’ during the time that elapsed between

¹⁰ Palumbo 2013: 261; cf. also 267–281; for a critical reply to some of Palumbo’s suggestions cf. Anālayo 2015.

¹¹ Palumbo 2013: 36–49, esp. 94–96, 267–281; for Palumbo, the version commented upon by the *Fenbie gongde lun* was probably the third of these four versions.

¹² Palumbo 2013: 68–77. Daoci’s ‘Preface’ is preserved at *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T 2145 at T LV 63c22–64a5. The ‘Preface’ does not mention the *Ekottarika-āgama* by name as a text that Saṅghadeva revised. Instead, it says, referring to a period during which Saṅghadeva was active in Luoyang, that the ‘Abhidharma’ (阿毘曇) and the ‘Discourses’ (廣說, identified by Palumbo with the *Vibhāṣā*) were produced anew and then that “subsequently, *these various scriptures and monastic codes were all* gradually translated [and] corrected [or: they were translated correctly]; only [a list of other texts] had yet to be produced anew”, 自是之後，此諸經律漸皆譯正，唯『中阿鉢』、『僧伽羅叉』、『婆須蜜』、『從解脫緣』未更出耳 (T 2145 at T LV 64a3–5, our emphasis). Palumbo interprets the phrase “these various scriptures and monastic codes ... all” to refer to a list of texts earlier in the ‘Preface’ that were produced by a team headed by Dao’an 道安 during an earlier period in Chang’an 長安. That list includes the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and this is the basis upon which Palumbo takes the preface to state that Saṅghadeva revised or “produced a new [version of]” the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

the version upon which the *Fenbie gongde lun* commented and the fixing of the extant version that has come down to us; and he wants to leave open the possibility that this revision might have been Saṅghadeva's work.¹³ Palumbo also suggests that we may be able to discern contextual motives that led Saṅghadeva to change his terminology and style between his revision or translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and his work on the *Madhyama-āgama*,¹⁴ and that this may account for the stylistic differences between the two texts as extant. For Palumbo, stylistic differences between the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Madhyama-āgama* therefore do not necessarily mean that the *Ekottarika-āgama* is in fact not Saṅghadeva's work, at least in part.¹⁵

Since external evidence thus associates two names most closely with the *Ekottarika-āgama*, namely, Saṅghadeva and Zhu Fonian, any attempt to argue that the text should be attributed to Zhu Fonian should examine two sets of evidence:

1. First, what evidence is there for or against the proposition that the *Ekottarika-āgama* was by the same translator as the *Madhyama-āgama*?
2. Second, what evidence is there for or against the proposition that the *Ekottarika-āgama* was translated by Zhu Fonian?

Before we enter into the details of our analysis of these questions, we must first stipulate several caveats, parameters and definitions.

First, any treatment of stylistic evidence for translatorship in such texts must ultimately keep in view the fact that these texts were of-

¹³ Palumbo 2013: 279.

¹⁴ Palumbo 2013: 78 argues that the *Madhyama-āgama* represents “the maturity of a translation idiom that [Saṅghadeva] had been building from scratch” over the course of a decade.

¹⁵ Palumbo 2013: 82 writes cautiously: “None of the above clearly amounts to evidence suggesting that Saṅghadeva should positively be associated to T 125. It is, however, conceivable that at least portions of the received text, or perhaps its mere internal structure, might go back to the revision that this monk did carry out, probably at Luoyang in 390–391.”

ten produced by groups. This is also true of the texts under study here. The colophon to the *Madhyama-āgama* reports that the translation was undertaken by Saṅghadeva, based on a text read out by Saṅgharakṣa (僧伽羅叉), with Daoci 道慈 acting as scribe, 筆受, assisted by Li Bao 李寶 and Kang Hua 康化.¹⁶ Similarly, the colophon to the *Ekottarika-āgama* reports that the text was ‘issued/produced’, 出, by Dharmanandin and translated, 譯傳, by [Zhu] Fonian, with Tansong 曇嵩 acting as scribe.¹⁷ In situations like this, our received texts could in principle bear the imprint of the style or verbal habits of more than one individual. In addition to the actual translator, the scribe, in particular, could have had a considerable impact on precise details of final wording.¹⁸ Thus, in principle, it is possible that some distinctive features of the *Ekottarika-āgama* may be due to Tansong, as well as Zhu Fonian; and features of the *Madhyama-āgama* to Daoci, as well as Saṅgharakṣa.

However, to date, scholars have had almost no success in distinguishing certainly between features of a text due to the scribe and those due to the translator,¹⁹ and in many cases it may ultimately prove impossible to do so (principally because we have too few points of com-

¹⁶ T I 809b26; cf. also Chen 2005: 612; T 2145 at T LV 64a13, and, for corresponding Uighur fragments, Kudara and Zieme 1990: 144–145. According to a Shōgozō (聖) variant, Kang Hua may also have been called Tang Hua 唐化.

¹⁷ T 125 at T II 549a10–14; cf. note 2 above. On 出, see Chen 2005 and Boucher 2008 [2011], 93–94, with references to earlier discussions by Waley, Link, Robinson and Shih.

¹⁸ On 筆受, cf. e.g., Fuchs 1930: 88, Chen 1960: 181, Shih 1968: 167, Boucher 1996 *passim*, but especially the portions on Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠, e.g., 142, 149, 155–156 and 159–164, Mei 1996 on T 186 and T 606, Zacchetti 2006: 166 note 41, Ishii 2012, Funayama 2013: 75, 92–94 and Tsui 2013.

¹⁹ For endeavours in this direction, see the studies by Boucher, Mei and Ishii cited in note 18 above.

parison). For the purposes of the present study, then, ‘Saṅghadeva’ and ‘Zhu Fonian’ should be taken as terms of convenience, referring to translation groups that produced texts, or groups of texts, distinguishable in style from other texts or groups. To anticipate, we will show that it is possible to detect numerous clear and striking traits characteristic of ‘Saṅghadeva’ and ‘Zhu Fonian’, in this corporate sense. We should also note that in principle, final judgement about the style of either ‘Zhu Fonian’ or ‘Saṅghadeva’ (each taken as a group) must of course await full study of the complete corpus of each group.

In the present case, however, it is worthy of note that the final version of the *Madhyama-āgama*, in particular, arguably shows clear markers of an Indian hand, particularly in the fact that standard pericopes are rendered without introducing variations. In this, the *Madhyama-āgama* differs from the other *Āgamas* extant in Chinese translation, which show evidence of a Chinese hand introducing variations, in line with a tendency described by Zürcher (1991: 288) as follows: “[t]here is a strong tendency to avoid the monotonous effect of ... verbatim repetition ... by introducing a certain amount of diversification and irregularity”, as a result of which “in the same translated scripture we often find various alternative forms and longer or shorter versions of the same cliché.”

The fact that the *Madhyama-āgama* does not evince this tendency seen in the other *Āgamas* extant in Chinese makes it safe to conclude that Saṅghadeva must have played a decisive role in the translation process and that, at least in the present case, the Chinese scribe(s) probably did not exert any large influence on the wording of the final product of their group effort.

In relation to Saṅghadeva this is also significant in so far as, aside from the *Madhyama-āgama*, we have no certain and solid point of comparison. Only three other texts are ascribed to Saṅghadeva in the Taishō. One of these, of course, is the *Ekottarika-āgama* itself (in only some of the editions upon which the Taishō is based); but the attribution of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is precisely the topic at issue

here. A second text, the *Jñānaprasthāna* (阿毘曇八犍度論, T 1543), is ascribed to Saṅghadeva and Zhu Fonian working together. This means that in principle, T 1543 cannot be used to differentiate between the respective styles of each separately. In practice, however, as Radich will show in future work, T 1543 contains many markers characteristic of Zhu Fonian's other works; but on the other side, it shares very little with Saṅghadeva. This suggests that Zhu Fonian had a much greater hand than Saṅghadeva in producing the wording of the present text. This leaves only the *San fadu lun* 三法度論 (**Tri-dharmaka-śāstra* (?), T 1506).²⁰ This text, however, is notoriously difficult. It was reportedly produced in 391 as a retranslation because a first version, T 1505 (produced by Kumārabuddhi (鳩摩羅佛提) at Dao'an's urging in 382),²¹ was regarded as unreliable. While careful comparison of T 1506 with T 26 is indeed an important task for future research, these facts suggest that it would be risky to take the text as a benchmark for a 'pure' Saṅghadeva style. This leaves us with only the *Madhyama-āgama* itself, so that for the purposes of the present study, 'Saṅghadeva' and '*Madhyama-āgama*' must be taken as axiomatically coterminous.

For Zhu Fonian, on the other hand, Radich will show in follow-up studies that features of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discussed below, and many further features, are also part of consistent patterns of usage spanning the whole Zhu Fonian corpus.²²

In the present study, then, we will present a range of new internal evidence demonstrating far-reaching stylistic differences between the extant *Ekottarika-āgama* and the extant *Madhyama-āgama*. We will argue that these differences are too copious and fundamental for the two texts to be by the same person or group.

²⁰ Discussed at length, with partial translations, in Thích Thiên Châu 1999: 33–85; see also Priestly 1999.

²¹ On T 1505, see also Hurvitz 1967.

²² Radich, forthcoming a and forthcoming b.

II. Stylistic Analysis

Our argument, that it is highly improbable that the *Ekottarika-āgama* is by Saṅghadeva, is founded upon numerous instances in which one and the same meaning, or underlying Indic term or phrase, is translated differently in the *Madhyama-āgama* and in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Examples are as follows (drawn from the Table below).

Differences between the two versions are apparent immediately upon the opening of a discourse, where the counterpart to “thus have I heard”, *evaṃ me sutaṃ*,²³ reads 我聞如是 in the *Madhyama-āgama*, but 聞如是 only in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.²⁴ To some extent, this mirrors the situation at the close of a discourse, where the *Ekottarika-āgama* regularly introduces the standard concluding phrase 聞佛所說歡喜奉行 with 爾時, whereas in the *Madhyama-āgama*, the same concluding phrase is not preceded by 爾時.²⁵

Also noticeable are several more differences in the introductory part of a discourse. The standard phrase after *evaṃ me sutaṃ* indicates that “at one time the Blessed One dwelled” at such and such a place, *ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā ... viharati*.²⁶ In the *Madhyama-āgama* this reads 一時佛遊, but in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, 一時佛在.²⁷ A monastic coming to meet the Buddha, wherever the Buddha has been staying, will express respect by putting the robe over one shoul-

²³ In what follows, we provide Pāli equivalents as a convenience to the reader only, on the understanding that the Pāli texts are the most accessible and regularly consulted Indic counterparts to the texts under examination. We intend to imply nothing thereby about the language of the Indic originals behind the Chinese translations themselves.

²⁴ Mizuno 1956: 88(!), Nattier 2007: 195 note 48, Lin 2009: 130 and Palumbo 2013: 79.

²⁵ Lin 2009: 130.

²⁶ For a study of the opening phrase in general cf. Anālayo 2014: 41–45.

²⁷ Mizuno 1956: 88(!) and Lin 2009: 130.

der, *ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karoti*. The *Madhyama-āgama* renders this 偏袒著衣, whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* uses 偏露右肩 or 著衣正服.²⁸ With or without such expressions of respect, a visitor will usually sit down at one side, *ekamantaṃ nisīdati*. The *Madhyama-āgama* expresses this 坐一面, whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* reads 在一面坐.

At times a visitor will inquire whether the Buddha or someone else dwells at ease, *phāsuvihāra*. The *Madhyama-āgama* expresses this in the form 起居輕便, in contrast to 身體輕便 in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Just as in all his activities, the ultimate purpose for which the Buddha gives teachings to a visitor is “for the welfare of many ... of *devas* and human beings”, *bahuno janassa atthāya hitāya ... devamanussānaṃ*.²⁹ The *Madhyama-āgama* regularly employs the expression 為天為人求義及饒益 to convey this, whereas in the *Ekottarika-āgama* we find 多所饒益天人 or the even shorter 多饒益人. A significant purpose of such teachings is to arouse the delight of the listeners, perhaps corresponding to *pāmojja*. Such delight is often referred to in the midst of a discourse, where the *Madhyama-āgama* reads 勸發渴仰, vs. expressions like 勸令歡喜, 勸發令喜, 勸樂令喜 or 勸發令喜 in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

Ideally, such a teaching will inspire someone to go forth from the

²⁸ A related difference occurs in relation to paying respect at the Buddha's feet, *bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati*. In the *Madhyama-āgama* this is translated 稽首佛足, whereas in the *Ekottarika-āgama* the phrase is 頭面禮足. However, the difference between the two collections in this case is not entirely clear-cut, as 頭面禮足 does appear twice in the *Madhyama-āgama*. The same phrase is very copious in other core Zhu Fonian works T 212, T 1428 and T 1464.

²⁹ Another audience could be recluses and brahmins, *samaṇa* and *brāhmaṇa*, which in the *Madhyama-āgama* are 沙門梵志 (448x) but in the *Ekottarika-āgama* 沙門婆羅門 (112x). 沙門婆羅門 never occurs in the *Madhyama-āgama*, but the term 沙門梵志 does feature twice in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, both times in verse.

household out of faith, *saddhā agārasmā pabbajati*, for which the *Madhyama-āgama* uses 至信捨家, whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* uses 以信堅固出家. One who has gone forth is expected to devote time to dwelling in seclusion, *viveka*, which in the *Madhyama-āgama* reads 在遠離獨住 vs. 在閑靜 in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

A central purpose of dwelling in seclusion is of course that one purifies the mind, *cittam parisodheti*, where the *Madhyama-āgama* uses 淨除其心 vs. expressions like 淨其意 or 以清淨之心 in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Purifying the mind takes place by overcoming a host of defilements, one of which is covetousness, *abhiṇṇhā*. This is rendered 增伺 in the *Madhyama-āgama*, whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* uses 貪樂 and at times apparently also 想著 (although this particular pair of characters can also convey other meanings).

For cultivating the *brahmavihāras*, the mind should be free from aversion and free from ill will, *avera* and *avyāpajḥa*. The *Madhyama-āgama* describes such a mental condition with the phrase 無怨無恚, but the *Ekottarika-āgama* uses 心無恚怒. The actual cultivation of a *brahmavihāra* then takes place by way of a radiation in all directions, *sabbāvantam lokam ... pharitvā viharati*, which reads 遍滿一切世間成就遊 in the *Madhyama-āgama*, whereas on the relatively fewer occasions such a radiation is found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, we find expressions like 一切亦一切一切世間, 上下悉滿其中, 一切中一切, 遍滿其中 and 盡於世間.

The meditative progress of insight in turn requires understanding phenomena as they really are. When such an expression occurs in the past tense, corresponding to *yathābhūtam pajānanto*, then the *Madhyama-āgama* employs the phrase 知如真已. An occurrence of this phrase in the past tense is rare in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, but in one instance it appears in the form 已知如真. As with all other examples discussed here, these phrasings are mutually exclusive, that is, the positioning of 已 at the end of 知如真 is only found in the *Madhyama-āgama*, whereas 已 at the beginning of the expression 知如真 occurs only in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

The final goal for the sake of which one goes forth is regularly described by saying, ‘birth is extinguished’, *khīṇā jāti*. In such contexts the *Madhyama-āgama* renders this as 生已盡, but the *Ekottarika-āgama* renders it as 生死已盡.³⁰ Having extinguished the prospect of birth implies that one will not experience future existence, *nāparam itthathāya*, which is 不更受有 in the *Madhyama-āgama* but 更不復受有 in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.³¹

Another difference concerns the seven treasures of a wheel-turning king. One of these is a general with magical abilities, whom the *Madhyama-āgama* calls 主兵臣寶, whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* uses 典兵寶.³² Also in the realm of the fabulous, the *asuras* are represented by 阿修羅 in the *Madhyama-āgama*,³³ but 阿須倫 in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.³⁴

A number of further differences can be found in doctrinal terms. In the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* respectively, the six senses-spheres, *saḷāyatana*, are 六處 vs. 六入,³⁵ bodily contact as one of the five sense-door experiences, *phassa*, is 觸 vs. 細滑,³⁶ and feeling as one of the five aggregates, *vedanā*, is 覺 vs. 痛.³⁷ Again,

³⁰ Lin 2009: 131 and 133.

³¹ Lin 2009: 131 and 133.

³² Lin 2009: 130 and 133. 典藏寶 is almost completely unique to Zhu Fonian (T 309, T 384, T 656); it also appears in T 202. Notably, the *Dīrgha-āgama* also has a list of the seven treasures that does not feature 典兵寶: 何謂七寶? 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 (T 1 at T I 21c11–13).

³³ Palumbo 2013: 80.

³⁴ In the case of Sakka, the ruler of the *devas*, the *Madhyama-āgama* uses 天帝釋 (24x), whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* often uses 釋提桓因 (150x), but on several occasions also employs 天帝釋 (14x). The more frequently used *Ekottarika-āgama* rendering, 釋提桓因, does not occur at all in the *Madhyama-āgama*.

³⁵ Nattier 2007: 196 note 48; cf. also Nattier 2010: 238 note 22.

³⁶ Cf. Unebe 1971: 294–295.

³⁷ Notably, the *Ekottarika-āgama*, T 125 at T II 707b15, explains 痛者名覺,

right intention, *sammā saṅkappa*, is 正志 vs. 正治;³⁸ the four *satipaṭṭhānas* are 四念處 vs. 四意止;³⁹ the awakening factor of tranquillity, *passaddhi-sambojjhaṅga*, is 息覺支 vs. 猗覺意;⁴⁰ and the divine abode of equanimity, *upek(k)hā*, is 捨 vs. 護.⁴¹

The two collections also differ in their rendition of the eightfold noble path, *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*, which is 八支聖道 vs. (賢)聖八品道;⁴² the corresponding noble truth of the path leading to the cessation of *dukkha*, *dukkhanirodhagāminī patipadā āriyasaccaṃ*, is 苦滅道聖諦 vs. 苦出要諦;⁴³ the final result so obtained, i.e., the realization of arahantship, *arahattaṃ pāpuṇati/sacchikaroti*, is 得阿羅訶 vs. either 得阿羅漢 or 成阿羅漢.⁴⁴ Not only the realization of arahantship, but also the term *arahaṃ* as part of the phrase *tathāgato arahaṃ sammāsambuddho* differs: the *Madhyama-āgama* reads 無所著,

thus showing awareness of the other term and the identity in meaning of both. This is an interesting case also because the equivalent term in *Dirgha-āgama* listings of the five aggregates is rather 受. Cf. Unebe 1971: 291–292.

³⁸ Anālayo 2006: 147 note 8.

³⁹ Notably the expression 意止 does occur in the *Madhyama-āgama*, but only for the three *satipaṭṭhānas*, T I 693c23.

⁴⁰ Unebe 1971: 297–298, Lin 2009: 131 and 133–134.

⁴¹ Unebe 1971: 288–289. To these instances the third and fourth immaterial spheres could be added, where 無所有處 in the *Madhyama-āgama* corresponds to 不用處 in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, with just a single reference to 無所有處 in T 125 at T II 779c4 (explained to be equivalent to 不用處). Again, 非有想非無想處 in the *Madhyama-āgama* corresponds to 有想無想處 in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, a rendering that appears twice in the *Madhyama-āgama*, T 26 at T I 543a24 and 609c15.

⁴² Palumbo 2013: 80.

⁴³ Cf. Unebe 1971: 285–286.

⁴⁴ Even with the final goal of *nibbāna*, different renderings can be found. Both collections frequently use 涅槃, but the *Ekottarika-āgama* also employs 泥洹 (16x), which is never found in the *Madhyama-āgama*; see Palumbo 2013: 123 and 216 note 62.

the *Ekottarika-āgama* 至真.⁴⁵ According to tradition it takes a long time to become a *sammāsambuddha*—uncountable eons. To convey the notion of *asaṅkheyya* + *kappa*, the *Madhyama-āgama* employs 無量 + 劫, the *Ekottarika-āgama* instead 阿僧祇劫.

Shifting from the supramundane to the ordinary, the term for village, *gāma*, is 村邑 vs. 村落;⁴⁶ the proper name of the district of Magadha is 摩竭陀 vs. 摩竭(國);⁴⁷ and Jambudīpa is 閻浮洲 vs. 閻浮提.⁴⁸ The Gijjhakūṭa is 鷲巖山 vs. 耆闍崛山; and Vesāli 鞞舍離 vs. 毘舍離.⁴⁹ The names of Buddhist monasteries differ: the Gosīṅgasāla-vanadāya is 牛角娑羅林 vs. 牛師子園;⁵⁰ the Veḷuvana Kalandakanivāpa is 竹林迦蘭哆園 vs. 迦蘭陀竹園;⁵¹ and the famous Jetavana is 勝林 vs. 祇樹 or 祇洹林.⁵² Evidently variations in the rendering of

⁴⁵ Two appearances of 如來無所著等正覺 can be found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Both occurrences are in EĀ 50.4, a discourse that clearly appears to be a later addition to the collection and which also in many other respects varies from the translation terminology used elsewhere in the *Ekottarika-āgama*; cf. Anālayo 2013.

⁴⁶ A difference in the proper name of a town can be found in the *Madhyama-āgama*'s use of 王舍城 for Rājagaha, instead of which the *Ekottarika-āgama* regularly employs 羅閱城. However, 王舍城 occurs once in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, T 125 at T II 575b2; cf. Mizuno 1956: 89(!).

⁴⁷ Mizuno 1956: 89.

⁴⁸ Palumbo 2013: 79.

⁴⁹ The standard measurement for distances between villages and towns, etc., is the *yojana*, which in the *Madhyama-āgama* is 由延 (40x), but never 由旬. The *Ekottarika-āgama* frequently renders it as 由旬 (78x), but also has 由延 a few times (7x). Palumbo 2013: 79 notes that the *Madhyama-āgama* equivalent 由延 also appears in other works by Zhu Fonian (T 212, T 309, T 656, T 1428, T 1464).

⁵⁰ This is in fact from the *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel to the very *Madhyama-āgama* discourse that contains this place name: MĀ 184 = EĀ 37.3 (= MN 32); cf. Anālayo 2011: 209–216, esp. 209 note 32.

⁵¹ Cf. Mizuno 1956: 89(!).

⁵² Mizuno 1956: 89(!), Anālayo 2006: 146 note 7 and Nattier 2007: 195–196 note 48.

place names occur not only in relation to less well-known places, where one might imagine that a translator no longer has clearly in mind the translation used on an earlier occasion. Such would not be possible with places like Jeta's Grove, which is by far the most often mentioned location for a discourse.⁵³

The same holds for the way other proper names are translated in the two collections. Here, the *Madhyama-āgama* renders the expressions Nigantha and Niganthaputta as 尼犍 and 尼犍親子 respectively, whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* uses a single term that differs from both, 尼犍子. For the qualification of the Buddha as the Sakyamuni we find 釋牟尼 vs. 釋迦文. In addition, the two collections differ on such proper names as that of king Ajātasatthu, 未生怨 vs. 阿闍世; or of monks, such as Bhaddāli, 跋陀和利 vs. 跋提婆羅; or Moliyaphagga, 牟利破群 vs. 茂羅破群.⁵⁴ Such differences also occur for well-known monks such as Anuruddha, 阿那律陀 vs. 阿那律, and Sāriputta, 舍梨子 vs. 舍利弗.⁵⁵ As with locations, here too it seems fairly probable that a translator would remember the way the names of these eminent monks had been translated on earlier occasions, so that variations in rendering them could only be conscious, or else, as in the present case, most likely indicate that the two works are by different translators.

⁵³ On the somewhat mechanical assigning of locations cf. Schopen 1997/2004 and Anālayo 2011: 887 note 138.

⁵⁴ Another example is Upāli, which in the *Madhyama-āgama* is 優婆離 (128x), but in the *Ekottarika-āgama* 優波離 (16x). However, two occurrences of 優婆離 can be found in the *Ekottarika-āgama*: in one case it is the name of a layman and thus not of the monk Upāli; in the other case, a variant reading matches the 'standard' *Ekottarika-āgama* translation 優波離.

⁵⁵ Mizuno 1956: 89(!), Anālayo 2006: 146 note 7, Palumbo 2013: 79. However, note that in MĀ 211 the Taishō critical apparatus shows that the variant 舍利弗 for 舍梨子 consistently appears in SYM.

In sum, the differences in translation terminology between the two versions are substantial, ranging from circumstantial phrases, via standard expressions and doctrinal terms, to proper names. It does not seem conceivable that the same translator could have changed his translation terminology to such an extent that one person could be responsible for rendering both collections into Chinese. The present survey thus confirms the finding of Hung and Anālayo that the translations of the *Madhyama-āgama* (T 26) and of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125) must be the work of different translators.⁵⁶

To summarize these findings, the Table below gives a survey of the differences in translation idiom between the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The Table also presents the number of times each term or phrase occurs in the respective text. These counts allow us to see that the terms and phrases in question are not only fundamental to Buddhist discourse in almost all its categories, but also, in many cases, occur very many times in the text, showing that they were extremely frequent and consistent habits of the translators of each text.

⁵⁶ Hung and Anālayo 2017 in this volume.

Table. Differing Terms for the Same Meaning
in the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*

All terms listed for the *Madhyama-āgama* never occur in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and vice versa. Numbers in brackets indicate number of instances (e.g., 73x = ‘occurs 73 times’). Counts are approximate, as always for work relying upon the CBETA CB-Reader.

<i>Madhyama-āgama</i>	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i>
我聞如是 (223x)	聞如是 (454x)
聞佛所說歡喜奉行 (211x)	爾時 ... 聞佛所說歡喜奉 (425x)
一時佛遊 (217x)	一時佛在 (440x)
偏袒著衣 (54x)	偏露右肩 (5x) 著衣正服 (1x)
坐一面 (163x)	在一面坐 (174x)
起居輕便 (43x)	身體輕便 (5x)
為天為人求義及饒益 (26x)	多所饒益天人 (2x), 多饒益人 (4x)
勸發渴仰 (138x)	勸令歡喜 (5x), 勸發令喜 (1x), 勸樂令喜 (1x), 勸發令喜 (1x)
至信捨家 (184x)	以信堅固出家 (23x)
在遠離獨住 (74x)	在閑靜 (51x)
淨除其心 (148x)	淨其意 7x, 以清淨之心 (2x)
增伺 (59x)	貪樂 8x; cf. also 想著 (34x)
生已盡梵行已立 (110x)	生死已盡梵行已立 (52x)
無怨無恚 (111x)	心無恚怒 (4x)
遍滿一切世間成就遊 (86x)	一切亦一切一切世間, 上下悉滿其中, 一切中一切, 遍滿其中, 盡於世間
知如真已 (59x)	已知如真 (1x)
不更受有 (112x)	更不復受有 (27x)
主兵臣寶 (25x)	典兵寶
阿修羅 (54x)	阿須倫 (74x)

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<i>Madhyama-āgama</i>	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i>
六處 (91x)	六入 (45x)
觸 (31x)	細滑
覺 (36x)	痛 (30x)
正志 (26x)	正治 (15x)
四念處 (61x)	四意止 (9x)
息覺支 (1x) ⁵⁷	猗覺意 (8x)
捨 (28x)	護 (27x)
八支聖道 (61x)	(賢)聖八品道 (28x) ⁵⁸
苦滅道聖諦 (7x)	苦出要諦 (10x)
得阿羅訶 (14x)	得阿羅漢 (34x), 成阿羅漢 (41x)
如來無所著等正覺 (210x)	如來至真等正覺 (74)
無量 + 劫 (6x)	阿僧祇劫 (8x)
村邑 (81x)	村落 (38x)
摩竭陀 (63x)	摩竭(國) (25x)
閻浮洲 (80x)	閻浮提 (19x)
驚巖山 (8x)	耆闍崛山 (23x)
韓舍離 (33x)	毘舍離 (48x)
牛角娑羅林 (57x)	牛師子園 (14)
竹林迦蘭哆園 (13x)	迦蘭陀竹園 (35x)
勝林 (131x)	祇樹 (378x), 祇洹林 (1x)
尼捷 (155x) / 尼捷親子 (59x)	尼捷子 (20x)
釋牟尼 (1x)	釋迦文 (63x)
未生怨 (9x)	阿闍世 (91x)

⁵⁷ The term occurs often as part of an abbreviated enumeration, where instead of 息覺支 one just finds 息.

⁵⁸ Also T 212 and T 384. This seems to be a very specific Zhu Fonian marker (rarely found outside the Zhu Fonian corpus).

<i>Madhyama-āgama</i>	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i>
跋陀和利 (80x)	跋提婆羅 (8x)
牟利破群 (25x)	茂羅破群 (13x)
阿那律陀 (377x)	阿那律 (115x)
舍梨子 (631x)	舍利弗 (411x)

Conclusion

The evidence of the Table shows that the style of the extant *Madhyama-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* differs greatly for many names, terms and phrases that occur copiously in both texts—in some cases, hundreds of times. The evidence includes a range of phraseology: proper names, like the names of the Buddha’s contemporaries and place names; formulaic phrases, like those associated with *sūtra* openings and those associated with stereotyped moments in the monastic career or the soteriological path; technical terms for important and common Buddhist categories; and so on. Moreover, many of the terms in question occur an immense number of times in their respective texts, showing that they are recurring and reliable habits of the texts’ translators. This copious evidence makes it safe to conclude that the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* are not by the same translator, which means it is highly unlikely that the *Ekottarika-āgama* is by Saṅghadeva.

This naturally leads to the following question: who, then, is the most likely author of the *Ekottarika-āgama*? In a separate paper, Radich will present similarly plentiful evidence that the actual translator of the *Ekottarika-āgama* is Zhu Fonian.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Radich, forthcoming b.

Postscript on Method

Analysis of texts for the purposes of this paper was greatly facilitated by the use of TACL (‘Text Analysis for Corpus Linguistics’), a suite of computer tools currently being developed by Jamie Norrish in collaboration with Michael Radich.⁶⁰ However, it should be emphasized that the probative significance of all the evidence cited in this paper does not depend upon the operation of this software. Rather, the evidence can be assessed by the reader (and has been assessed by the authors) using the same methods and criteria used in research based upon ordinary digital searches for individually selected terms using CBETA, such as are now common in the field.

We would like to express our thanks to Marcus Bingenheimer and Jan Nattier for their very helpful advice on earlier drafts.

⁶⁰ As applied to the analysis of Chinese Buddhist texts, TACL allows a conceptually simple comparison of the n -grams (strings of length n characters, where n is defined by the user), in two or more texts or corpora of any size, up to and including the entire canon, in either of two ways: 1) What n -grams are found only in A and not in B (or vice versa)? 2) What n -grams are found in both A and B? The tool generates full lists of n -grams matching these criteria, which the researcher can then examine in context, in conjunction with digital searches via the CBETA CBReader. The code repository for TACL may be found at: <https://github.com/ajenhl/tacl/>. For other early results of TACL-assisted research, see Radich 2014 and forthcoming a.

Abbreviations

DĀ	<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (T 1)
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
M	Ming edition (as indicated in the critical apparatus to T)
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
S	Song edition (as indicated in the critical apparatus to T)
T	Taishō edition (as accessed via CBETA 2011)
Y	Yuan edition (as indicated in the critical apparatus to T)

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**On the Evolution of
Written *Āgama* Collections
in Northern Buddhist Traditions**

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Abstract

In light of recently discovered materials in Sanskrit and Gandhari, this paper proposes four steps in the development of written texts and canons in the Buddhism of North India and Central Asia, with particular reference to the *sūtras*: (1) an original purely oral stage; (2) a stage in which individual texts or small groups of texts began to be set down in writing; (3) a stage of compilation of complete *Sūtra-āgamas* in written form; and, finally, (4) the recording of complete *Sūtra-piṭakas* in handwritten or printed form. These stages, however, are not mutually exclusive; the later stages typically supplement but do not replace the earlier ones. Newly discovered and identified *sūtra* manuscripts in Gandhari provide particularly illuminating illustrations of stages 2 and 3. The earlier phase of Gandhari texts, between about the first century BC and the second century AD, typically involve single *sūtras* or small collections of short *sūtras*, representing stage 2. In contrast, the later Gandhari manuscript materials from the Bamiyan region, datable to about the third century AD, have recently been found to include a set of some twenty-five fragments of what is apparently a complete manuscript of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This probably represents the earliest definite specimen of a complete written *Sūtra-āgama*. The contents and distribution of *sūtra* manuscripts in Sanskrit and Gandhari suggest some other interesting patterns. For example, to judge from the surviving fragments, it would seem that the *Ekottarika-āgama* was particularly popular in the far northwest (Gandhara and Afghanistan), in contrast to Central Asia where the *Samyukta-āgama* was much better represented. It also appears that early *sūtra* manuscripts were sometimes intentionally left incomplete, with the beginning of the text or text collection standing symbolically for the whole.

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I. Statement of Purpose

I propose to address in this article a reformulation, which has become possible in the light of recent discoveries, of an old question. The old question is “When, why and how did *sūtra* texts and compilations come to be set down in written form?” This question has in the past typically been addressed as if the recording of the *sūtras* in written form were a single event which took place at a single moment in history. But the study of the surviving early manuscripts (nearly all of them fragmentary) of the *sūtras* shows that the process was gradual and evolutionary, rather than instantaneous. The new approach which I am proposing here therefore addresses the question in a more evolutionary frame, with reference to the physical forms and the scope and contents of the early *sūtra* manuscripts which are now known.

This approach has been rendered feasible by the recent discoveries, especially in the last two decades, of vast quantities of early manuscripts in Sanskrit and Gandhari in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Chinese Central Asia. More specifically, the material in question comes from (1) Gandhara and adjoining areas in northwestern Pakistan and Afghanistan, (2) the Gilgit region of Pakistan, (3) the Bamiyan area of Afghanistan and (4) the Tarim Basin and adjoining regions to the east in the Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region in western China. The first three areas in particular have yielded major new discoveries in recent years, while the ongoing publication and study of the manuscripts from Xinjiang (the so-called Turfan manuscripts), which have been known for over a century, has continued to provide important new information. The result of all this is that we now have far more material evidence for the development of written *sūtra* texts than we had one hundred, or seventy-five, or even twenty years ago. Moreover, some of the material among the recently discovered Gandhari texts brings us

back virtually to the point at which, according to the historical traditions of the Theravāda school, Buddhist texts first began to be written down, namely the first century BC, as has been shown by radiocarbon tests on some of the Gandharan birch bark scrolls.¹

In light of the manuscript material now available, I propose to trace in broad outline the development of the written representations of the four main *Āgama/Nikāya* collections of *sūtras* through the following stages:

1. A (presumed) original stage at which they were preserved in purely oral/mnemonic form.
2. An early phase of written texts in which individual *sūtras* or selective anthologies, rather than complete *Āgamas*, were set down in writing.
3. A later phase in which complete *Āgama* collections were recorded in written form.
4. A final development in which complete *sūtra* collections including all of the (four or more?) *Āgamas* were compiled into single written editions.

I hasten to add that these proposed ‘stages’ are really little more than generalizations and abstractions, rather than distinct and mutually exclusive historical categories. That is to say, they reflect broad and no doubt overlapping developments. It is not a question of each stage replacing the previous one, but rather of supplementing it. For example, as is well known, the oral mode of *sūtra* preservation (stage 1) was never entirely supplanted by written texts; the latter merely provided an alternative and supplementary mode, while the specialist reciters, the *bhāṇakas*, continued to fulfill their traditional role. In the same way, the compilation of complete *Āgama* collections (stage 3) did not at all signal the end of the practice of writing individual *sūtras* or anthologies; rather, the two practices continued to exist side by side.

¹ On radiocarbon dates for Gandharan manuscripts, see Allon et al. 2006, Falk and Strauch 2014: 54 and Salomon 2014: 9.

II. Beginning with the End

With these preliminaries, I begin, perversely enough, with the end of the story. I refer to the evidence for the final phase (stage 4) of development in the region in question, that is, the compilation of complete, multiple-*āgama sūtra* canons in written form. Evidence for this comes in the form of a wood block print text, seventeen fragments of which were purchased in the early twentieth century at Idyikutšari, near Turfan in Xinjiang. I begin at the end in part because, by an odd twist of fate, this very late text happened to be the first item to be published out of the vast collection of Central Asian Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and various other languages which were discovered around the beginning of the twentieth century by Richard Pischel.² The text is printed in Sanskrit written in Central Asian Brāhmī. The folios are marked on the recto with the title, *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (= Skt. *Samyukta-āgama*) and the folio number in Chinese, while the verso has the section title in Sanskrit, *Buddhabhāṣitaḥ*, ‘Spoken by the Buddha’,³ and the folio number in Brāhmī numerals.

Thus it was immediately evident that these fragments belonged to a complete printed text of the *Samyukta-āgama*. But it took more than eighty years for the rest of the story to become clear. The full significance of these fragments was revealed in 1986 by Nakatani Hideaki 中谷英明, who discovered in the Musée Guimet a fragment of what seemed to him to be the same book, on the basis of common features such as an overall similarity in script and presentation, a similar lotus

² Pischel 1904; cf. Hartmann 1999: 110 note 4.

³ The label refers to the sixth of seven major sections (*nipāta*) of the Sanskrit and Chinese *Samyukta-āgamas* (see Chung 2008: 23), which includes the three *sūtras* preserved on these fragments, identified by Lévi (1904: 299) as the *Kokanada-*, *Anāthapiṇḍada-* and *Dīrghanakha-sūtras*, nos. 967–969 in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (T 100 at T II 248b11–250a12).

symbol at the center right of each page,⁴ double pagination in Brāhmī and Chinese, and especially the unusual and distinctive notation of the vowel-less consonant (*virāma*) by means of a point which is indistinguishable from the *anusvāra* sign.⁵ But this fragment was labeled in Chinese as belonging to the *Madhyama-āgama* (中阿含經), rather than to the *Samyukta-āgama* (雜阿含經).⁶ Nakatani therefore concluded that the fragments published by Pischel and himself were part of the same book and that this book was a complete block-print edition of all four *Āgamas* of the Sūtra-piṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school, apparently sponsored by the Uighur rulers of the Turfan region in, most likely, the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries AD.⁷

III. Continuing at the Beginning: Early *Sūtra* Manuscripts in Gandhari

Assuming that Nakatani's interpretation is correct, the tradition of writing *sūtra* texts had by this point reached its final stage, that is, the

⁴ This design is derived from the decorative symbol which was drawn around the string hole in traditional handwritten *poṭhi* manuscripts.

⁵ Nakatani 1986: 308; Pischel 1904: 811.

⁶ In the plate printed by Nakatani the Chinese title in the right margin is barely legible, but his reading is no doubt correct, as the lower right corner of the character 中 is faintly but visibly preserved at the upper right corner of the folio. Moreover, the identification is confirmed by the contents of the fragments, namely the *Upāli-sūtra*, which belongs to the *Madhyama-āgama*/*Majjhima-nikāya* in both the Chinese and Pali canons.

⁷ “On peut penser que ce ne sont pas deux āgama, mais bien les quatre āgama qui auraient fait l'objet d'une impression intégrale. Cela aurait constitué une œuvre importante sans doute accomplie par une grande église, appuyée elle-même par une puissance économique ou politique locale, sinon nationale” (Nakatani 1986: 309). Unfortunately, no further fragments of this edition have been discovered, as far as I am aware, so we cannot be sure whether this enormous undertaking was actually completed.

compilation and promulgation in written form of complete multi-*Āgama* collections. So we must now turn back to the beginning of the story, as far as it is now known, or rather is now becoming known. This side of the story is gradually being illuminated by the recent discoveries of large numbers of Buddhist manuscripts in Gandhari language and Kharoṣṭhī script, including many *sūtra* texts, which in some cases date as far back as the first century BC.⁸

The Gandhari manuscripts can be divided into two distinct, though approximate chronological categories. The earlier type, ranging from about the first century BC to the early to mid-second century AD, comprises the majority of the material, including four large groups, known as the British Library, Robert Senior, Bajaur and ‘Split’ collections. The later type, which can be distinguished from the earlier material on the basis of language, script and physical form, consists mainly of fragments from the Bamiyan area, most of which are now housed in the Martin Schøyen collection in Norway. This later material is generally datable to between the later second century and the late third or early fourth centuries AD.⁹

Among the earlier Gandhari materials we typically find, along with many other genres, manuscripts containing individual *sūtras* set down on separate manuscripts and groupings of several *sūtras* in what seem to be selective compilations or anthologies. Examples of individual *sūtra* manuscripts include the ‘Rhinoceros *Sūtra*’ in the British Library collection and the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* scroll in the Bajaur collection, which contains the Gandhari equivalent of the Pali

⁸ A comprehensive listing of the materials in question will not be presented here, as the relevant information is available elsewhere, most recently and comprehensively in the four articles (Allon, Cox, Falk and Strauch, Salomon) concerned with Gandhari materials in Harrison and Hartmann 2014.

⁹ Allon et al. 2006.

Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.¹⁰ This latter manuscript stands alone as the only *Madhyama-āgama sūtra* in the Bajaur collection.¹¹

Whereas most of the collections of Gandhari manuscripts consist of miscellaneous text of diverse genres including *sūtras*, the Senior collection consists entirely or almost entirely of *sūtras*, some written on individual scrolls, others in groups of two or more—as many as four—on one scroll.¹² For example, of the four *sūtras* on Senior scroll 5,¹³ three have more or less exact parallels in the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* and the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama*, while the fourth has no direct parallel in any of the relevant *Āgama* collections. This pattern is fairly typical of the Senior collection as a whole, which contains forty-one texts in all, twenty-nine of which have direct or indirect parallels in the *Samyutta/Samyukta* literature.¹⁴ Four other Senior *sūtras* have parallels in the *Majjhima-nikāya/Madhyama-āgama*, while only one, the *Śrāmaṇya-phala-sūtra*, corresponds to the *Dīgha-nikāya/Dirgha-āgama* collections.

Thus it is evident that the Senior collection does not constitute an *Āgama* collection as such. Rather, it seems to be a selective anthology of *sūtras* with a strong inclination towards those of the *Samyukta* class. In this respect it resembles, but is not exactly equivalent to, the selective anthologies, preserved in Chinese translation, which contain a

¹⁰ Salomon 2000; Falk and Strauch 2014: 62.

¹¹ I refer to this as a ‘*Madhyama-āgama sūtra*’ in the sense that its parallels in Pali and Chinese occur in the *Majjhima-nikāya* or the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, although, given the flexibility in *Āgama* assignments for *sūtras* in different canonical collections, we cannot be sure that it would have been so classified in Gandhara.

¹² For the details of the contents of the Senior collection, see Allon 2014.

¹³ Published in Glass 2007.

¹⁴ Allon 2014: 24; Falk and Strauch 2014: 57, 61–64.

few dozen *Ekottarika-āgama* and *Samyukta-āgama sūtras*.¹⁵ But an important feature of the *Samyukta sūtras* in the Senior collection is that their selection and arrangement show indirect but significant resemblances to the ordering of their parallels in the complete collections, as explained in detail by Glass.¹⁶ In other words, even though the Senior *sūtra* anthology is very far from a complete manuscript of the *Samyukta-āgama*, it presupposes, or at least implies the existence of an early form of such a complete collection, which at this time was presumably still being learned and preserved primarily in oral form.

Another important set of *sūtras* from the earlier phase of Gandhari manuscripts is a fragmentary scroll in the British Library collection containing three *sūtras*, each treating of a set of four topics or points. In a pattern similar to that of the four *sūtras* on Senior scroll 5 discussed above, two of the *sūtras* have parallels in the *Aṅguttara/Ekottarika* literature, while the third lacks a direct parallel. Thus this manuscript is evidently related in some way to the numerically arranged *sūtra* literature which in all traditions constitutes one of the *Nikāyas/Āgamas*, but it is uncertain whether it comes from a partial selection from or anthology of such a collection, or whether it is a remnant of a complete numerical *Āgama*. The editor of this scroll, Mark Allon prudently declined to make a final judgment on the issue, concluding that:

... although these three G[andhari] sūtras could represent a section of a multivolume Catuska-nipāta, which itself was a portion of a G[andhari] E[kottarika-]Ā[gama], we cannot be certain of this. It could equally have belonged to a multivolume anthology of EĀ sūtras or of mixed EĀ and non-

¹⁵ These have been definitively studied by Harrison 1997 and 2002; see also the discussion in Salomon 2011: 185–188.

¹⁶ Glass 2007: 36–50. A similar pattern was noted by Mark Allon at the seminar, citing Silverlock 2015: 56–57.

EĀ sūtras. Strictly speaking, we can only say that it represents a collection of EĀ-type sūtras with an association with the number 4.¹⁷

In my opinion it is more likely that this scroll was part of a selection of numerical sūtras, rather than of a complete *Āṅguttara*/*Ekottarika* text, in part because it was written by a scribe whose two other manuscripts (the *Dharmapada* and the *Anavatapta-gāthā*) seem to have contained only the initial portions of the texts represented; see the discussion in section V below.

Another interesting component of the British Library collection consists of several individual manuscripts of sūtras or similar texts of the *Kṣudraka* type, including the aforementioned ‘Rhinoceros Sūtra’, *Dharmapada* and the *Anavatapta-gāthā* scrolls.¹⁸ There is no indication among these manuscripts of a compilatory process with regard to the *Kṣudraka-āgama*, except perhaps indirectly in the form of a series of commentaries on miscellaneous verses which have been culled from a wide variety of *Kṣudraka*-type texts.¹⁹ These commentaries seem to imply the existence of some sort of compilation or anthology of verses from various *Kṣudraka* texts, but unfortunately we do not know what this hypothetical compilation was called or how it was formed.

But when we turn to the later phase of Gandhari manuscripts, that is, those from the Bamiyan region, we find indications of a different situation with regard to the compilation of complete *Sūtra-āgamas* in written form. For among the several hundred small fragments in Kharoṣṭhī in this group, at least twenty-five have been identified as belonging to a single manuscript of a sūtra collection of the *Āṅguttara*/

¹⁷ Allon 2001: 24.

¹⁸ On the genre status of the Gandhari *Anavatapta-gāthā*, which seems to have been treated as a sūtra of the *Kṣudraka* category in some canons, see Salomon 2008: 15–18.

¹⁹ Baums 2009.

Ekottarika type.²⁰ But in this case, unlike that of the British Library *Ekottarika*-type scroll, the authors of the edition of these miniscule fragments were able to conclude with reasonable confidence that they originally belonged to a *complete* text of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in Gandhari.²¹ The principal ground for this conclusion is that the fragments correspond to seventeen different *sūtras* belonging to the sixth, ninth, tenth and eleventh *nipātas*, implying that the complete manuscript would have included all eleven *nipātas*.²² Moreover, there are at least four and possibly five cases in which the juncture between two *sūtras* is preserved on a single fragment, and in every one of these cases the *relative* position of the *sūtras* is the same as their sequence in the Pali *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, although they are not necessarily in direct juxtaposition as in the Pali. For example, fragment 76+79 contains the end of the *sūtra* corresponding to AN 10.47 and the beginning of the parallel to AN 10.62. In this case, as in most of the cases in question, the Gandhari sequence skips over several intervening *sūtras* in the Pali parallel (i.e., AN 10.48–61), which might seem to imply that we are dealing with a selective anthology rather than a complete *Āgama* text. But in fact, parallels to two of these ‘missing’ intervening *sūtras* in the Pali version, namely the equivalents of AN 10.58 and 10.59, do occur on another fragment of the Gandhari text. Thus, although the material is sparse, the distribution of the surviving texts and their patterns of correspondence with the Pali parallel make it reasonable to conclude that the twenty-five surviving fragments are the remnants of a complete

²⁰ Jantrasrisalai et al. forthcoming.

²¹ The relevant arguments are presented in detail in Jantrasrisalai et al. forthcoming (§ I.3–4).

²² By a lucky (and ironic) coincidence, one of the Gandhari fragments contains part of a *sūtra* (the equivalent of the Pali *Kimḍiṭṭhika-sutta*, AN 10.93) which is also preserved in one of the fragments of the blockprint *Samyukta-āgama* text published by Pischel in 1904; see Jantrasrisalai et al. forthcoming (§ II.9).

Ekottarika-āgama text whose contents and arrangement were approximately similar to those of the Pali *Aṅguttara*.

Of course, this would mean that the meager fragments would constitute only a very small fraction of the complete manuscript. Indeed, to judge by comparison with the length of the corresponding collections in Pali and Chinese, the complete Gandhari text would have had to have consisted of many hundreds, even thousands of palm-leaf folios. But given the evidence of other manuscripts from slightly later periods at Bamiyan with several hundred folios, this is not as unlikely as it might seem at first blush.

So, if the proposed interpretation of the Bamiyan *Ekottarika* fragments is correct, they would constitute the earliest known example of the proposed stage 3 of development of written canons, that is, manuscripts of complete *Āgamas*. Of course, the existence of complete *Āgama* manuscripts during the later Gandhari period—that is, around the third century AD—does not mean that individual texts or shorter anthologies were no longer being recorded in manuscript form. For this we have, for example, the evidence of the Gandhari *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* manuscript from Bamiyan,²³ as well as the fragments of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* and of several other Mahāyāna *sūtra* manuscripts.²⁴ As mentioned at the outset, the proposed stages are supplementary and cumulative, not suppletive.

IV. *Sūtra* Manuscripts and Collections in Sanskrit: A Brief Sampling

This, as far as we know, is the end of the road for Gandhari and Kharoṣṭhī, since they fell out of use soon after the time of the Bamiyan

²³ Allon and Salomon 2000.

²⁴ See Baums, Braarvig et al. forthcoming; Baums, Glass et al. forthcoming; and Harrison et al. forthcoming.

manuscripts, in or around the third century, to be replaced by Sanskrit and local derivatives of Brāhmī script.²⁵ But it is by no means the end of the Buddhist manuscript tradition in northwestern India and Central Asia, where Buddhist Sanskrit literature is represented by, among other materials, the thousands of manuscript fragments from the ‘Turfan’ collections. These materials constitute a vast reservoir of information on the history of written canons, but also one which is full of uncertainties and complexities. For here again we are dealing in nearly every case with fragments, so that more often than not it is difficult or impossible to be sure whether a given fragment or group of fragments originally belonged to a manuscript of a single text, a partial anthology or collection, or a complete *Āgama* series. In any case, most of the many studies that have addressed the Central Asian manuscripts have tended to focus on the identifications of the texts in the fragments, their relationships to parallel texts in other Buddhist literatures and their scholastic affiliations. But here I propose to focus, in a very preliminary way, on questions of the overall extent, contents and character of the individual manuscripts as physical objects.

An interesting case in point involves fragments of several manuscripts from the Turfan collection which contain a consistent series of *sūtras* in the same or similar order. All or most of these *sūtras* correspond to the *Majjhima/Madhyama* or *Dīgha/Dīrgha* category in other canons, but it remains uncertain whether these manuscripts constitute a *Madhyama-āgama* collection, or (more likely) a *Dīrgha-āgama*—or perhaps even neither; in the words of Lore Sander, “it is also possible that the *Sūtra* collections had been gathered for special monastic or ritual purposes.”²⁶ The problems caused by the fragmentary state of such manuscripts are further complicated by a well-known pattern whereby a given *sūtra* may be located in different *Āgamas* in different

²⁵ Salomon 2008.

²⁶ Sander 1980: 12.

canons, especially with regard to the *Madhyama* and *Dīrgha* on the one hand and the *Samyukta* and *Ekottarika* on the other.

The issue of complete *Āgamas* versus selective anthologies is most abundantly documented by the case of the *Śaṭsūtraka*, a series of six *sūtras* (*Daśottara*, *Arthavistara*, *Saṅgīti*, *Catuspariṣat*, *Mahāvādāna* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa*) from the Sarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* which are extremely prominent among the Turfan remains; for example, according to Hartmann nearly half of the fragments of *sūtra* texts in the Hoernle collection contain these *sūtras*.²⁷ These figures imply that many of the *sūtra* manuscripts in this group, when they were complete, must have consisted of the *Śaṭsūtraka* anthology alone, and indeed there is no evidence, as far as I am aware, of a complete *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript among the Turfan material. To be sure, such manuscripts may have existed; but there is no certain proof of this.

A similar pattern seems to be indicated by the remnants of several manuscripts of a series of *sūtras* from the *Nidāna-samyukta*, which in the Pali canon is the first sub-section (*samyukta/samyutta*) of the second major section (*vagga*), namely the *Nidāna-vagga*, of the *Samyutta-nikāya*. The Turfan material included a relatively complete manuscript, found at Šorčuk, of the twenty-five *sūtras* in question, in nineteen folios,²⁸ plus nearly two dozen fragments of other manuscripts which may have contained the same selection, or some portion(s) thereof. Thus this sub-sub-section seems to have been singled out from the entire (and massive) *Samyukta-āgama* for special attention, perhaps as part of the basic curriculum of the monastic educational system, just as seems to have been the case with the *Śaṭsūtraka* section of the *Dīrgha-āgama*.²⁹

²⁷ Hartmann 1999: 116.

²⁸ S 474/Kat. nr. 381; SHT I: 171; Tripāṭhī 1962: 15.

²⁹ This characterization is based on the assumption that the twenty-five *sūtras* contained in these manuscripts did not constitute the complete *Nidāna-*

Another interesting case is a set of twenty-eight fragments of a manuscript from Khadaliq containing several *Samyukta-āgama sūtras* written in the Gilgit-Bamiyan type 1 variety of Brāhmī, which was identified and published by de La Vallée Poussin.³⁰ According to the parallels presented by de La Vallée Poussin, nearly all of the fragments correspond to the Pali *Khandha-samyutta*, the first sub-section of the *Khandha-vagga*, which is the third *vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*. He notes only two small fragments for which he finds parallels elsewhere: one (the parallel being listed with a question mark) in the *Rādhā-samyutta* which immediately follows the *Khandha-samyutta* and another in the next section, the *Diṭṭhi-samyutta*.³¹ But both of these pieces are very small and fragmentary and the textual correspondences are only approximate, so that the identifications are by no means certain. Thus there is a reasonable possibility that this manuscript too, like the *Nidāna-samyukta* manuscript, originally comprised only a single *samyukta*, namely the *Skandha/Khandha*. Moreover, if this is correct, it is perhaps not coincidental that both of these manuscripts recorded the first sub-section (*samyukta*) of their respective sections (*varga*); for this would be in keeping with the pattern discussed in the following part of this article according to which partial manuscripts of *sūtra* collections and other long texts tend to contain their opening sections. However, given several uncertainties about this manuscript and the problems of interpreting fragmentary texts in general, we cannot rule out the possibility that it originally contained more than just the *Skandha-samyukta*, for example, the entire *Skandha-varga*, or

samyukta sub-section in the *Samyukta-āgama* concerned. This assumption is made on the grounds that the Pali correspondent (*Nidāna-samyutta*) to the *Nidāna-samyukta* contains ninety-three *suttas*, while the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (T 99) has fifty *sūtras* (Tripāṭhī 1962: 9 note 3).

³⁰ de La Vallée Poussin 1913; see also Karashima and Wille 2006: 49 and Chung 2008: 30–32.

³¹ de La Vallée Poussin 1913: 580.

even, conceivably, the entire *Samyukta-āgama*. But in balance, I think it more likely that it contained only the *Skandha-samyukta*.

Particularly interesting in this connection is a set of fragments of *Samyukta sūtras* published in the fourth volume of the *Sanskriithand-schriften aus den Turfanfunden*.³² These fragments comprise *sūtras* corresponding to those numbered 3–9, 73–75, 103, 130–131, 260 and 508–510 in the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* (雜阿含經), out of a total of 1359 *sūtras*.³³ These *sūtras* would belong to the first (*Pañcopādāna-skandhika*), second (*Ṣaḍāyatanika*) and fourth (*Śrāvakabhāṣita*) of the seven *nipātas* of the *Samyukta-āgama* according to the reconstructed original structure as presented in Chung (2008: 23). Their Pali parallels are all located in the *Nidāna*- and *Khandha-vaggas*, that is, in the second and third of the five major sections of the complete collection. Thus these fragments provide a more likely, but still not definite, specimen of a complete manuscript of the *Samyukta-āgama*.

While the results of these samplings of the Central Asian fragments are suggestive, but not entirely conclusive as to the presence of complete *Āgama* manuscripts, an important recent discovery has provided a definite example of a complete *Āgama* manuscript from around the same general period under consideration (i.e., the middle to later centuries of the first millennium), although from a different region. I refer to the now-famous *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript in a private collection in the USA, apparently from the Gilgit region, which has been discussed by Jens-Uwe Hartmann in several publications, most recently (with Klaus Wille) in 2014. That this is a complete *Dīrgha-āgama* is clear, first of all, because in this case we not only have the bulk of the text, in contrast to the fragmentary materials from Turfan

³² Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 74–98 (no. 30 = K 410); further details in Chung 2008: *passim*.

³³ The established text counts 1362 *sūtras*, but three of these do not actually belong to the *Samyukta-āgama*; see Anālayo 2015: 56.

and Gandhara. And if there remained any question about the matter, the internal *uddānas* and final colophon, as analyzed by Hartmann, leave no doubt that the manuscript contained the entire *Dīrgha-āgama*.

V. A Special Case: The *Ekottarika-āgama*

We have already seen one early example of an apparently complete *Āgama* text from the Bamiyan region, namely the *Ekottarika-āgama* in Gandhari/Kharoṣṭhī, datable to the second or third century. Interestingly enough, Paul Harrison has identified several fragments of what are probably one or more—possibly as many as four—complete manuscripts of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, also among the Bamiyan materials, but from the later stratum of Sanskrit/Brāhmī texts.³⁴ The clearest case consists of sixteen fragments of a palm-leaf manuscript, paleographically datable to about the sixth century AD, which preserves *sūtras* from the groups of fours, fives, sixes and sevens, and includes one fragment with the folio number 255. Here there can be little doubt that we are dealing with the remnants of at least one complete text of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

From this information—with the usual words of caution about the dangers of deriving broad conclusions from small scraps of evidence (which is nevertheless what we must do)—one gets the impression that the *Ekottarika-āgama* may have been particularly prominent in the Bamiyan region.³⁵ But this situation presents a striking contrast

³⁴ Harrison 2007 and 2008.

³⁵ Since at least some of the Bamiyan texts appear to be affiliated with the Mahāsaṅghika school (see, e.g., Braarvig 2014: 159), Lü Cheng's 1963: 241b observation that "the Mahāsaṅghikas [sic] preferred the *Ekottarikāgama*" would seem to provide corroboration of this impression. Here Lü Cheng cites the first fascicle of the **Punjabibhaṅga-śāstra* (*Fenbie*

with the Turfan material, where *Ekottarika sūtras* are surprisingly rare in comparison to those of the other *Āgama* collections. By way of example, the summary of fragments arranged according to content (“Übersicht über die Handschriften nach dem Inhalt”) in the most recent volume of the *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* lists twenty-one items for the *Samyukta-āgama* versus none for the *Ekottarika-āgama*.³⁶ Only one fragment is cited as “Wahrscheinlich Fragment aus dem Siebener-Abschnitt (*saptanipāta*) des Ekottarikāgama.”³⁷ The preceding volume (X) of the *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* yields a similar pattern, with twenty items for the *Samyukta-āgama* versus none for the *Ekottarika-āgama*.³⁸ Likewise, the index in the same volume of new identifications of previously published fragments has seven listings for the *Samyukta* and, again, none for the *Ekottarika*.³⁹ These figures are also more or less representative for the earlier volumes of the *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, where fragments identified with the *Ekottarika* are, at best, few and far between. For example, the “Nachträglich identifizierte Texte” in the seventh volume lists seven items for the *Samyukta* versus only one doubtful case (indicated by a question mark) for the *Ekottarika*.⁴⁰

gongde lun 分別功德論, T 1507) without a specific reference, but presumably he alludes to the ranking of the *Ekottarika* there as first among the *Āgamas*, on the assumption that this reflects a Mahāsāṅghika tradition. The possibility is interesting but its significance is far from certain, especially since we cannot be sure that all of the Bamiyan Gandhari fragments are actually Mahāsāṅghika texts.

³⁶ Vol. XI; Wille 2012: 450–451.

³⁷ No. 4542, p. 111.

³⁸ Wille 2008: 445–447.

³⁹ “Nachträglich identifizierte Texte aus früheren SHT-Bänden”, p. 448.

⁴⁰ Bechert and Wille 1995: 307–308. It is true (as was pointed out by Jin-il Chung at the *Madhyama-āgama* seminar) that the paucity of *Ekottarika* identifications among the Turfan fragments can be attributed in part to the extensive divergence of the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* (*Zengyi ahan*

There are nonetheless among the Turfan fragments a (very) few examples of what are definitely *Ekottarika* texts. The clearest case is a series of fragments (described in Waldschmidt 1980: 169–174) which contain remnants of a few *sūtras* from the ones group whose Pali parallels, interestingly enough, come very near the beginning of the entire *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.⁴¹ We find a curiously similar situation at Gilgit, where the *Ekottarika* is represented by a single manuscript of eighteen folios, containing only the ones and the twos.⁴² This pattern raises doubts as to whether such *Ekottarika* manuscripts were ever actually written out in full, or whether these manuscripts, which contain only the early parts of the entire collection, were rather meant to symbolically represent the entire corpus. I propose this idea in light of similar patterns among Gandhari manuscripts, among which we find a startling number of cases, far beyond what would be expected by mere chance, in which only the first part of a text survives. This pattern is very noticeable among long or medium-sized texts written on scrolls, which would have to be divided across several or even many scrolls, given the practical limits on the length of a single scroll. But in the great majority of such cases, it is only the first scroll—that is, the beginning of the text—which has survived; conversely, there

jing 增一阿含經, T 125) from the Pali and Sanskrit versions of this collection, which makes it more difficult to identify *Ekottarika* parallels; this stands in contrast to the relatively close agreement between the Chinese *Samyukta-āgama* and the corresponding Turfan manuscripts. Despite this, it seems to me that the drastic statistical contrast between the *Samyukta* and *Ekottarika* identifications must reflect an underlying difference in their frequency among the Turfan materials.

⁴¹ The parallels indicated in SHT III (Waldschmidt 1971: 232 note 5; 233 notes 9 and 10; 234 note 1) all come between pages 3 to 12 of the first volume of the Pali Text Society's edition of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.

⁴² Tripathi 1995.

are few cases where we have a scroll from a multiple-scroll text which is not the first one.⁴³

This notion of partial or ‘symbolic’ texts may seem counterintuitive at first, but it makes more sense when it is kept in mind that the purpose of setting Buddhist scriptures in writing was not exclusively to communicate information. The act of writing *Buddhavaṇana* was—as we are reminded so frequently and emphatically in Mahāyāna *sūtras*—an exercise in merit-making as much as, or even more than, in communication. In this regard we can compare Buddhist manuscripts, not to scriptural texts as they are conceived in the Abrahamic religions, but rather to the act of ‘prayer’. It is common enough in various religious traditions, both Asian and western, to ‘recite’ a prayer or mantra in a severely abbreviated form, for example just the first line or verse, and then move on to the next prayer or offering, having in effect ‘said’ the previous prayer. Such a notion of drastically abbreviated, symbolic scriptures—indeed of the entire Buddhist canon—is in fact attested for contemporary Buddhist practice in Thailand, where a condensed Tripiṭaka is widely used for ritual purposes. This symbolic canon consists of exceedingly brief extracts from the three ‘baskets’; for example, the entire Sutta-piṭaka is represented by the first paragraph of the first *sutta* (*Brahmajāla-sutta*) of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.⁴⁴

⁴³ For examples and details, see Salomon 2011: 182–183.

⁴⁴ Skilling 2016: 932 and 950–951; see also Skilling 2017. But it must be mentioned that other explanations for this pattern are possible. For example, writing out a complete manuscript of a long text is a difficult, tiresome and expensive undertaking, so that at least some such cases could be dismissed as the product of a project that was left unfinished for lack of resources, time, etc. Nevertheless, the pattern of such incomplete scrolls is more consistent than might be expected on these grounds alone. In some cases the production of abbreviated texts can also be understood in terms of the apotropaic power of Buddhist texts and manuscripts; as

VI. Some Final Thoughts

I have tried here to trace, in very general terms and on the basis of very limited materials—in every case we have only a mere fraction of the entire written corpus that must have existed in the various Buddhist centers—some outlines of the development of written *sūtra* corpora in the northern Buddhist world. Broadly speaking, there seems to be a pattern of gradual coalescence, whereby at the earlier stages manuscripts typically consisted of individual texts or small collections. At a later stage, larger groupings gradually became more prevalent, until finally entire *Āgamas* and, eventually, even entire *Sūtra-piṭakas* were recorded. The earliest evidence of a complete written *Āgama* is provided by the Bamiyan *Ekottarika-āgama* fragments, which seems to be part of a full manuscript of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. This manuscript probably dates from in or around the third century AD, which is an interesting date in view of the fact that the first complete Chinese translations of the four main *Sūtra-āgamas* were made not much later than this, that is, around the late fourth or early fifth centuries AD.⁴⁵ The availability of complete and definitive manuscripts of the *Āgamas* may thus have facilitated and stimulated the Chinese translation project.

As has been pointed out above, however, even in this period and in succeeding centuries examples of complete *Āgama* manuscripts are rare or at least hard to prove, due to the extremely fragmentary condition of most of the material. But even if this is the case, it is consistent with the caveat stated at the outset of this article, namely that the proposed stages of development of written *sūtra* collections are

noted by Braarvig 2014: 159, “a single leaf [of a Buddhist manuscript] may be as potent as a whole text.”

⁴⁵ See, for example, Lamotte 1988: 154, where the range of dates for the texts in question are given as 398 to 443 AD.

cumulative rather than exclusive. That is to say, the introduction of complete *Āgama* texts did not mean that scribes no longer wrote texts of individual *sūtras*, or smaller sub-units of *sūtra* collections, or selective anthologies of *sūtras*, or even abridged ‘symbolic’ representations of entire *Āgamas*. On the contrary, such shorter manuscripts, perhaps serving practical ends for study and teaching, no doubt remained more common than massive manuscripts of complete *Āgamas*, each of which would have involved a major undertaking with considerable cost in time and money.

By way of conclusion, I must stress that most of what I have stated here is merely by way of a preliminary sketch, drawn up on the basis of a selective examination of a large but random body of material that happens to have survived and become available for study. I claim to do little here beyond raising the question of the history of written *sūtra* compilations. As far as I know this overall question has not been directly addressed in the past, since it has become especially relevant and meaningful in light of recent discoveries of new manuscripts and manuscript corpora. I fully anticipate that future discoveries and future studies will prove much (though I hope not all) of the rough sketch presented here to be incomplete, inaccurate, or just plain wrong. In short, this is merely a beginning.

Finally, I would like to express an opinion regarding the ‘authenticity’ or ‘originality’ of the texts and the structures of the Buddhist canons. Some skeptically inclined modern scholars have doubted the antiquity of the Buddhist canons as we know them, on the grounds that we have no written record of them until many centuries after the time of the Buddha. But I feel that there are two major arguments against what I am inclined to see as a hyper-skeptical point of view. First, there is the overall agreement, in broad terms, between the different *Sūtra-āgamas* with respect to their contents and arrangement, or at least their principles of arrangement.⁴⁶ Secondly, it is striking

⁴⁶ Here the Chinese *Ekottarika-āgama* is an anomalous exception which does

that even the earliest representations of *Āgama* collections in written form, in the form of selective anthologies, clearly indicate the prior existence of complete *Āgamas* similar to those which we know from later times. (I refer here in particular to Andrew Glass's finding, described above in section III, about the implications of the *Samyukta sūtras* selected in the Senior anthology.) Thus, when the earliest written texts provide us with ways to peek back into their (unwritten) predecessors, what we see essentially supports the overall unity and consistency and, thus, the 'authenticity', of the *Āgama* collections.⁴⁷

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Abbreviations

AN	<i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i>
SHT	<i>Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i>
T	Taishō edition

not, I think, disprove the overall pattern.

⁴⁷ On the limits of scepticism as deduced from recent epigraphic discoveries, see Salomon and Marino 2014. Harrison 2008 [2010]: 215–216 has come to a similar conclusion with regard to a related Buddhological issue, namely the value of Chinese translations for the study of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit; he concludes that “sometimes scepticism and caution can be taken too far ... Scepticism ... is all very well, but it is no better than blind faith when it chooses not to look at the evidence.”

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The Many Lives of Texts

The *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla Sūtras*

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Abstract

The identity of a sūtra is not defined by its Āgama alone. It can be marked by its membership in other textual groupings—in other canons, in other collections—and by its contents and its function. As an example of multiple membership, I examine a group known as the Mahāsūtras, which once were part of the liturgical life of Indian Buddhism. I focus on two of them, the *Pañcatraya-mahāsūtra* and the *Māyājāla-mahāsūtra*. These two long sūtras shared a long history in India, and in their written or manuscript lives they are almost always paired. In the greater Sarvāstivāda tradition they enjoyed considerable authority and they were included, always as a pair and almost always in the same order, in lists of texts of preference like the Mahāsūtras and the Vaipulya. The paper discusses the *peyāla* principle and the terminological complexities of Āgama, canon, category and authority, arguing for the flexibility of canons as shown through the central Thai functional canons.

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I. Prolegomenon

I.1 The Many Lives of Texts

Every text has its own life. In many and even most cases, a text is filed away with dozens, hundreds, or even thousands of others in one or the other Nikāya or Āgama, and we know nothing more about its biography than “it is in such and such a Vagga, in such and such a Nipāta of such and such a Nikāya or Āgama.” Apart from details about the circumstances of delivery that are embedded in the discourse itself, we do not know its history before it was imported into a Nikāya or Āgama, and we know very little, perhaps nothing, about its subsequent reception by Saṅgha and society. There are, of course, exceptions, and one of the joys of comparative research is how insight into a text’s peregrinations can bring it to life as a meaningful record of Buddhist thought and practice over time and through space.

In this essay I examine the transmission history of two sūtras, the *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla*.¹ The *Pañcatraya-sūtra*, the Sūtra on Five or Three, is found in only one Middle Collection, the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya*, in which as the *Pañcattaya-sutta* it is the second discourse of the *Devadaha-vagga* of the *Upari-paṇṇāsaka* (sutta no. 102 of the *Majjhima-nikāya* as a whole). It is not found in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, the only other Middle Collection available at present, and as far as I have been able to determine it is not cited or quoted as belonging to a Middle Collection anywhere in Buddhist literature outside of the Pali/Theravāda transmission. The Mūla-sarvāstivādins placed their *Pañcatraya* not in the Middle Collection but in the *Dīrgha-āgama*, the Long Collection, at least on the evidence of the Gilgit manuscript of the *Dīrgha-āgama* in which the

¹ A conventional note on conventions used in this article is given at the end, after the acknowledgements.

Pañcatraya is no. 17 of the *Yuga-nipāta*. The *Māyājāla* is included in the same *Yuga-nipāta* as no. 18. But here there is a weighty difference: the *Māyājāla* is not found at all in the Theravāda tradition, and evidence suggests that it was transmitted by only one school, or consortium of schools, the Greater Sarvāstivāda.²

Both the *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla* are long sūtras, and their placement in the Long Collection makes sense. In the Gilgit *Dīrgha-āgama* they are nos. 17 and 18, and we will see that the two sūtras were a prominent pair in the Greater Sarvāstivāda milieu, kept together in the Long Collection and in prestigious collections (or ideal categories) like the Mahāsūtras and the Vaipulya sūtras.³ Outside of the Sarvāstivāda, however, the situation was quite different: as far as I can tell, the *Māyājāla* was not known at all, and the *Pañcatraya* passed its life in relative obscurity. Neither of these long sūtras is found in the (purportedly Dharmaguptaka) Long Collection extant in Chinese translation, and there is no evidence that either sūtra was ever translated into Chinese.

That these two texts do not belong to any known Middle Collections is not a problem. It reminds us that inclusion in this or that Āgama is not straightforward: there are gaps, transpositions, and

² In this essay Sarvāstivāda refers to the school in the broadest sense, the Greater Sarvāstivāda textual tradition, to include the South Asian, Central Asian, Chinese, Tibetan, Mulasarvāstivāda and any other possible incarnations. At present our understanding of this far-flung school is far from perfect. I include under Greater Sarvāstivāda certain of the Gilgit and Central Asian manuscripts; citations in works like the *Abhidharmakośa*, *Abhidharmadīpa* and *Arthavinīścayasūtra-nibandhana* and their commentaries, all preserved in Sanskrit; in the massive compendia that make up the *Yogācārabhūmi* and other Yogācāra texts, preserved in part in Sanskrit and in part in translation; and in texts preserved in Tibetan like Śamathadeva's *Upāyikā-ṭikā* on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, as well as other Śāstras.

³ Skilling 1994a and 1997 (the latter referred to throughout as *Mahāsūtras* II).

crossovers. Almost all of the articles in *Research on the Dīrgha-āgama*, the proceedings of a seminar held at the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts in 2013,⁴ refer to Middle Collection discourses, and this is necessary, since ten (or eleven, or twelve) of the sūtras of the Gilgit *Dīrgha-āgama* have parallels not in the Pali *Dīrgha-nikāya* but in the *Majjhima-nikāya*⁵—that is, ten or more out of a total of forty-seven sūtras. As Jens-Uwe Hartmann points out, “there is no definite criterion for length” between the two collections.⁶ Rod Bucknell states that a key premise of his study is that “for each of the schools in question, the Long Collection cannot be adequately understood unless due attention is paid also to the corresponding Middle-length Collection”.⁷

It is not a key premise of this essay—although it could be a key stipulation—but I choose to insist that, in the scientific study of Āgamas as historical collections, we should consider the full spectrum of available sources: Sūtras in whatever languages, along with Abhidharma, Vinaya, Śāstra and Vaipulya/Mahāyāna-sūtras, and even Tantras. We should carefully examine the relevant evidence, taking into account the intertextual weaves of Buddhist literature. As the ancients might have said, we should “leave no sūtra unturned”. We need also to consider liturgical or Rakṣā sets, such as the Mahāsūtras, the recitation lists of the Avadānas and Vinayas, and curricular sets. Such broad-based studies can help us appreciate the many lives of Buddhist texts.

⁴ Dhammadinnā 2014.

⁵ Different counts: Bucknell 2014: 61 *et passim*, counts twelve; Hartmann 2014b: 142 has “ten (or eleven)” (see his note 7).

⁶ Hartmann 2014b: 142.

⁷ Bucknell 2014: 58–59.

I.2 Canon

The idea of a canon, of a single and orthodox collection of Buddhist scriptures, has caused more trouble than it is worth. In this essay I define canon as an authoritative collection of texts that are socially and historically contingent.⁸ I agree with W.J.T. Mitchell that a canon is “not a closed, absolute system ... but a dynamic, evolving entity that can be reopened, reinterpreted, and reshaped”.⁹

In the study of Buddhism the problem is not that there were no canons, but rather the assumption that there has ever been an official Buddhist scriptural canon, and that this is the Pali canon—a collection of Pali texts that was codified in Sri Lanka by the early centuries AD and is generally seen as closed and fixed. This might seem fair enough: the Pali collection exists, it is well preserved and widely accessible, and it is one of the greatest scriptural resources in Buddhist studies. For me, the problem lies in the manner in which this collection has been privileged as the measure of all Buddhist literature, as the authentic canon of Buddhism as a whole. This has been a widespread assumption since the Victorian era: the Pali canon is not one among equals, not one of the several canons of South Asian Buddhism, but *the* canon, the only true canon. Certainly the Pali canon is the only surviving South Asian Tripiṭaka, but in the historical development of Buddhism there were many Piṭakas and many Tripiṭakas: there was never a canon shared by all Buddhist schools in the sense of a closed and finite master-collection of the Buddhavaṇṇa. There were only canons. If there *was* a canon, it would have been what Vasubandhu calls the root recitation (*mūla-*

⁸ For intelligent reflections on canon, see Salomon 2011, Harrison 2004b and Assmann 2011: 102. For East Asian canons, see the essays in Jiang Wu and Chia 2016. A classic that limits its discussion to Pali sources is Collins 1990.

⁹ Mitchell 2005.

saṅgīti). A cornerstone of Vasubandhu's thought is the fact that the root recitation is lost (*mūlasaṅgīti-bhramśa*, broken up, no longer intact or extant), and that it was lost long before his time.¹⁰ The position of the Theravaṃsa of Sri Lanka seems rather the opposite. The Theravādin chronicle *Dīpavaṃsa* describes how the schismatics (that is, the eighteen schools) “broke up the original redaction (*mūlasaṅgaha*) and made another redaction”, and how they “rejected parts of the profound Sutta and Vinaya and made a different, counterfeit (*paṭirūpa*) Suttavinaya”. The passage also refers to differences of exegesis and of grammar and orthography—that is, of language.¹¹ The Theravaṃsa claims to be the sole non-schismatic school, and to preserve perfectly the first recitation and subsequent recitations as well: “[t]he Pali Canon of Theravāda Buddhism, after two and a half millennia and six major rehearsals, has been generally recognised as the oldest, most original, most complete, and most accurate record of the Buddha's teachings still available today.”¹²

The canons were the work of *saṅgītikāras*, the editors or redactors of the various recitations held at different places by different schools at different times. The *saṅgītikāras* laid the underpinnings of the Āgama traditions; reciters (*bhāṇakas*) and experts or custodians (*dharas*: *vinaya-dharas*, *sūtra-dharas*, *maṭṭkā-dharas* and, finally, *tripiṭaka-dharas*) were responsible for maintenance and circulation. But these divisions of labour were not in any way hard and fast. The *saṅgītikāras*, *bhāṇakas* and the various *dharas* responded to a desire, to a need, for continuity—to enable the Śāsana or the Sad-

¹⁰ See Skilling 2010: 19 and 22. I believe that the idea is found in the earlier *Vibhāṣā* literature, upon which Vasubandhu regularly draws. This notion is taken up by Bhāvivēka in his *Tarkajvālā*; see Eckel 2008: 336,15–18 and 338,24–27 (text), 148 and 152 (transl.).

¹¹ Skilling 2010: 22 and 29. See *Dīpavaṃsa*, chap. 5, vv. 32–38. The passage is cited at the beginning of the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, 3–5.

¹² Payutto 2003: 1.

dharma to last long in this world (as in the aspiration *ciraṃ tiṭṭhatu saddhammo*). The scriptural collections are the products of group efforts to preserve the Saddharma and to ensure that the Śāsana will endure: they are long-term community projects. The accounts of the recitation-convocations (*saṅgīti*) of the schools are the foundations of the identities of the different *nikāyas*, the shared fictions of continuity¹³ that construct group identities. They are not as such rival or competing claims to authority.

I.3 Many Canons

There are other canons, however, apart from those of the Āgama/Nikāya/Tripiṭaka paradigms. Texts and canons—both collections and their contents—are multi-functional and can be put to many ends. When a central Siamese king—whether at Ayutthaya or Bangkok—sponsored a Tripiṭaka, he had everything that was known to exist in Pali copied. The project was divided into four groups: *vineyya*, *sutta*, *paramattha* and *saddā*, that is, Vinaya, Sūtra, Abhidharma and Śabda (Language/Grammar). It included commentaries, subcommentaries, manuals, narratives, apocrypha—everything. I call this kind of collection an *inclusive* Tripiṭaka; it was the rule in old Siam until the end of the nineteenth century. The Ninth Recitation according to the Thai enumeration was held at the behest of King Rāma I in 1788.

The monks gathered in the *ubosot* [*uposatha*] confessional hall of the Phra Sisanphetchayadaram Temple, according to the schedule set by the king. Both the king and the heir apparent went from the Grand Palace to the Temple in a procession, complete with their royal paraphernalia and fanfares of flutes and victory drums. They entered the *ubosot*

¹³ Assmann 2011: 72.

confessional hall and rendered obeisance to the Three Gems. They then asked Phra Phimontham to call upon the deities in the midst of the assembly of Buddhist monks. The power of all the deities was convoked to support the success of the project of the great council.

The monks were divided into four groups. Somdet Phra Sangkharat headed one group whose duty it was to revise the Suttanta Pitaka. Phra Wannarat headed a group whose duty it was to revise the Vinaya Pitaka. Phra Phimontham headed a group whose duty it was to work on the Grammatical Treatises [*satthawiset: saddāviṣeṣ*]. ... Phra Thamtrailok ... was appointed to head a group whose duty it was to revise the Paramattha Pitaka [that is, the Abhidharma]. Arrangements were made for these four groups to work at their revisions of the sacred science separately, each at different quarters of the temple ground. ... The king and his younger brother, the heir apparent, went to the temple twice every day. In the morning they presented food to the monks at the temple's galleries. In the late afternoon they came out again to present drinking water, incense sticks, and candles.¹⁴

Only with King Rāma V's printed edition in the 1890s was, for the first time, a Tripiṭaka project trimmed down to thirty-nine volumes; later, in the reign of King Rāma VII (Prajadhipok, reigned 1925–1935), the Thai Tripiṭaka was fixed at forty-five volumes (Syāmaratṭha edition, 1925–1928). In pre-modern Burmese practice as well, the Tripiṭaka seems to have been an inclusive rather than an exclusive compilation. The extent and contents of the Tripiṭaka was always a question, and kings periodically asked learned monks to clarify the matter. The agonizing of modern scholars as to whether or not the Burmese counted *Milindapañha*, *Nettipakaraṇa*, *Peṭako-*

¹⁴ Translated in Flood 1978: 160–161.

padesa and *Suttasaṅgaha* in the *Khuddaka-nikāya* is a post-Mindon problem with a centuries-long history.¹⁵ The controversy became international in the twentieth century (and it continues today). In his 1911 review of Mabel Bode's *The Pali Literature of Burma* Charles Duroiselle wrote somewhat acerbically,

I can follow Mrs. Bode no further when she tells us (p. 4) that “Burmese tradition adds to the fifteen ancient texts of the Khuddakanikāya four other works – the Milindapañha, the Suttasaṅgaha, the Peṭakopadesa and the Netti or Nettipakarāṇa.” It may be she has not understood her text, or, rather, that she is not yet familiar enough with the Burmese tradition. No educated Burman, lay or monk, ever included these four works among the Piṭaka books of the Khuddakanikāya: they are placed after the books of the Khuddaka because only of their intrinsic value (this applies to the first and last two, the second being merely a collection of Suttas) as a help to the study of the scriptures.¹⁶

But questions of scriptural classification are never quite so simple, and one might wonder whether the urge to fit everything into the right box is not a modern academic obsession. An inscription from Pagan in upper Burma dated AD 1223 mentions a donation that included twenty-nine works of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, followed by “two

¹⁵ King Mindon (reigned 1853 to 1878) held what in Burma is counted the Fifth recitation-convocation and had the approved Pali texts carved on large marble slabs which are stored at Kuthodaw Pagoda at the foot of Mandalay Hill. The slabs include the *Nettippakarāṇa* (slab nos. 693–700), *Peṭakopadesa* (slab nos. 701–709) and *Milindapañha* (slab nos. 710–729). According to the plaques in the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Hall in Yangon, these three texts were included in the fifth recitation session of the sixth council under the heading *Khuddaka-nikāya*. The *Suttasaṅgaha* is not included. I thank Mark Allon (19 April 2016) for this information.

¹⁶ Review of Bode 1909 by Duroiselle 1911: 120–121.

works of (original text in) Pali and *Aṭṭhakathā* of *Nettipakaraṇa* and *Milindapañha*”.¹⁷ The *Visuddhimagga* is listed separately. The contents of a library donated in AD 1442 to a monastery at Arimaddanapura (that is, the same Pagan) by the royal sponsor King Jeyyasūra, King of Taungdwin, and his queen constitute an inclusive Tripiṭaka.¹⁸ The canonical books of the Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma are all included along with their commentaries and subcommentaries as well as manuals and their commentaries. The *Visuddhimagga* is placed in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*. *Peṭakopadesa* and *Milindapañha* are listed later on, after the Piṭakas; *Nettipakaraṇa* and *Suttasaṅgha* are not listed at all. In the *Piṭaka Thamein* (*Piṭakat-tō-sa-muiṇ:*), compiled by U Yan (1815–1892, royal librarian under King Mindon), the *Suttasaṅgha*, *Nettipakaraṇa*, *Peṭakopadesa* and *Milindapañha* are listed after the fifteen titles of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*.¹⁹ Apparently they are not strictly included in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, but the commentaries on *Nettipakaraṇa* and *Suttasaṅgha*, along with those on *Sāratthasaṅgha* and *Visuddhimagga*, are given at the end under the rubric “forty-nine sections of commentary on *Khuddaka-nikāya*”. The contents of the *Khuddaka-nikāya* were, it seems, open to interpretation. *Milindapañha*, *Nettipakaraṇa*, *Peṭakopadesa*, *Suttasaṅgha*: these ancient and venerated works were not part of the Tripiṭaka. Where, then, did they belong? It does not seem that, over the centuries, anyone found a single and conclusive answer, but the *Khuddaka-nikāya* was a favoured candidate.

In the pre-modern Siamese kingdoms of Ayutthaya, Thonburi and Bangkok, from the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries, on the evidence of chanting manuscripts, there was a received ritual canon—a canon by custom, a canon by convention—which included inter alia the following:

¹⁷ Than Tun 1998.

¹⁸ Luce and Tin Htway 1976 (the inscription was also published in Bode 1909: 101–109, as an appendix to chapter 3).

¹⁹ Mañ:-krī:Mahāsiriṇṇaya-sū 2012: 47–48.

Table 1. A Pre-modern Ritual Canon in Siam

<i>7 Tamnan</i>	<i>Cularāja-paritra</i> : Lesser Royal Protection
<i>12 Tamnan</i>	<i>Mahārāja-paritra</i> : Greater Royal Protection
<i>Tripiṭaka</i>	Abridged, Symbolic/Emblematic Tripiṭaka ²⁰
<i>Abhidharma</i>	Abridged, Symbolic Abhidharma
<i>Sahassanaya</i>	Thousandfold Method
<i>Buddhaguṇa</i>	Virtues of a Buddha
<i>Vessantara-jātaka</i>	The Vessantara <i>Jātaka</i>
<i>Phra Malai</i>	Story of Mālaya Thera
<i>Jambūpati-sūtra</i>	Sūtra on King Jambūpati ²¹
<i>Uṇhissavijaya</i>	The Victorious Crown ²²

I do not pretend that this collection was a consciously constructed canon. It would have evolved naturally: texts that enjoyed ritual and social popularity became the texts of choice for recitation. Canon formation is not so much the result of reflection and selection than of functional weight. This active and functional canon would not have replaced or erased the Tripiṭaka. At any time, there would be scholars who were experts in the Tripiṭaka, like Dhammakitti who in fourteenth-century Ayutthaya composed the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*,²³ or like the unknown author(s) who compiled the *Tamra Traipidok* preserved in South Thailand,²⁴ or like the unknown author(s) who compiled the *Piṭakamālā* catalogues in North Thailand.²⁵

In 1857 near Angkor Wat in Cambodia, donors had a set of texts copied and donated to a local monastery. The titles are recorded in

²⁰ See Skilling 2016.

²¹ For the *Jambūpati-sūtra*, see Skilling 2009b: 30–32 and 2014: 360–361.

²² For the Pali *Uṇhissavijaya-sūtra*, see Skilling 2009b: 32–36.

²³ Nedimāle Saddhānanda 1890 (edition) and Law 1963 (translation).

²⁴ Santi Pakdeekham forthcoming.

²⁵ Santi Pakdeekham 2011.

an inscription as “the sacred Tripiṭaka” (in Khmer, *phra traipidok*). Most of them do not belong to the Pali Tripiṭaka; those that do are Jātakas (which are equivocal in terms of canonicity), and the others are extracanonical and apocryphal. de Bernon notes that,

[t]he expression “holy Tripiṭaka” ... is used here to designate the sum total of texts mentioned on the stele, even though it is evident that the titles do not belong to the Tripiṭaka properly speaking. In fact, for Khmer Buddhists the notion of “Trai-piṭak”, the “Three Baskets”, embraces (Buddhist) religious literature in general, whether it is canonical, extra-canonical, apocryphal, or cosmological.²⁶

The culture of Lanna (present-day North Thailand) offers a range of examples of functional or ritual canons. One of these might be described as a calendrical or birth-year canon. A specific text is assigned to each year of the twelve-year animal cycle, so that the individual’s relation to significant texts is defined by his or her year of birth, and the devotee offers his or her text to make merit on appropriate occasions. For example, I was born in the year of the ox; my text is the *Vessantara-jātaka*. The texts in question are short, abbreviated versions not more than a single *phūk* (bundle of palm leaves) long; in the twentieth century they came to be printed on palm leaves rather than inscribed. The twelve-year calendar interacts with texts in other ways: for example, the animal years are associated with the thirteen chapters (*kaṇḍa*) of the *Vessantara-jātaka*, and at a recitation of the Great Life an individual sponsors his or her chapter. Similarly, there is monthly canon; I was born in August, and should sponsor the *Buddha-nibbāna* or the *Vessantara*. There is a weekday canon, in which each day of the (eight-day) week has a text assigned to it, and on one’s birthday one may offer one’s text to the temple.

²⁶ de Bernon 2012: 379.

In one system, the seven texts are the seven books of the Abhidharma. For example, since I was born on a Monday, I should sponsor the *Vibhaṅga* of the Abhidharma—again in a condensed version. There are also *gāthā*, verses, to be recited according to one's day of birth; each day has a numerical power, and also a colour. For the Monday-born, the *gāthā* is *yan dunimittam avamaṅgalaṃ ca*, of which the abbreviated title is *Yandun* (in Thai pronounced *Yantun*). This I should recite fifteen times; my colour is yellow. These practices form a personalized ritual agenda in which the liturgical canon is different according to one's birth.²⁷

In Nepal, the Newar Buddhists also have a weekday canon: a group of *dhāraṇīs* is associated with the seven days (*saptavāra*) of the week, with each *dhāraṇī* being recited on a specific day.²⁸ The oft-mentioned *Navadharma* or Nine Dharmas of Nepal are not, as often suggested, a textual or a literary canon, but a ceremonial canon of texts to be recited, a practice that had its origins in, or was shared with, northern India.²⁹

I have nothing at all against the word or notion of canon—a word is a word—but the term has been invested with such weight in western religious studies, especially in the scholarship of Theravāda, that it has become a solid and impregnable edifice that has naturally existed since the first *saṅgāyanā*: a historical cornerstone of all Buddhism that is synonymous with the Pali scriptures. Bucknell, for example, writes “first writing down of the canon in the 1st century BC.”³⁰ Was there a pre-existing canon, waiting to be written down? Were no redactorial or editorial decisions needed? I would prefer to

²⁷ See for example Nan Techa 2517 [1974]: 286–291 and 306–380. Parittas are assigned to each of the days of the week, but this is different, insofar as it is the *day* that counts, not the individual's day of birth.

²⁸ Bühnemann 2014.

²⁹ See Skilling 2013a: 229.

³⁰ Bucknell 2014: 72 note 13

rephrase the statement as “the first writing down of the Pali scriptural collection, reported to have taken place in the 1st century BC”—or something to that effect. In short, the word canon should be used with caution and should be clearly defined—loose canons should be tied down by close definition.

I.4 Āgama

What, after all, *are* the Āgamas? I suspect that there are many answers.³¹ Āgama means that which has come down: that is, knowledge that has been transmitted in succession from masters to disciples. The term is used broadly in Indian religions, not only in Buddhism, but also in Jainism and Hinduism (Vaiṣṇava-āgama, Vaikhānasa-āgama, Śaiva-āgama, Śākta-āgama), and the literary subdivisions are extremely complex.³² The Buddhist system of four or five Āgamas containing distinct textual classes seems more straightforward, more streamlined. One might call the Buddhist Āgamas a storage system to preserve the Buddhavacana in different containers.

The relationship between the Pali Nikāyas and the Sanskrit Āgamas (and thereby their translations into Chinese or Tibetan, etc.) has been oversimplified as a binary relationship in both academic

³¹ There is already a short entry on Āgama, by no less an authority than T.W. Rhys Davids, in the first volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, published in Edinburgh in 1908. The term has been included in encyclopaedias ever since: see the classical studies by Lü Chêng and Kumoi Shōzen in the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* edited by G.P. Malalasekera (1961); by Paul Harrison in the *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* edited by Robert E. Buswell (2004), by Bhikkhu Anālayo in the *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (2015; see also Anālayo 2016 with reference to previous scholarship).

³² Cf. the entries in the first volume of the *Encyclopedia of Hinduism* produced by the India Heritage Research Foundation (2012), *ss.vv.* Āgama (p. 78); Āgama, Śaiva (pp. 79–82); Āgama, Vaiṣṇava (pp. 82–84).

and popular writing. This has served to perpetuate the notion that Buddhist canons were *either* in Pali *or* in Sanskrit with no other options. But this is by no means the case. There was never a two-track transmission. Buddhist scriptural traditions were not binary: they were multilingual. That the transmission of the Dharma was multilingual seems to have been endorsed by many schools, with the notable exception of the Theravāda, which propounded a theory that Pali was the root or fundamental language. This Theravāda stance first appears in the works of the great master Buddhaghosa (fifth century); it would seem to be unique among Buddhist traditions, but it echoes—or more probably responds to—similar theories of the Brahmins and the Jains.³³ In distinct contrast to the monolingualism of the Lankan Theravāda, by the time of Buddhaghosa and earlier the prevalent paradigm in Northern/Northeastern India was one of four main schools each with its own language.³⁴

The Pali Nikāyas were also known as Āgamas,³⁵ although the term was not widespread, and the question that confronts scholars of comparative scriptural traditions is not “the relationship between *the* Pali Āgamas/Nikāyas and *the* Sanskrit Āgamas”, but rather the inter-relations between a number of Āgamas—a pool of Āgamas—in several languages. These include the Pali Āgamas of the Theravādins, the Sanskrit Āgamas of the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Āgamas of the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Prakrit Āgamas of other schools (many of which are known at best only by name). There are also translations like the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama*—assumed to be a Long Collection of the Dharmaguptakas originally transmitted in Gandhari Prakrit—or the Chinese translation of a *Madhyama-āgama* assumed to have been a Sarvāsti-

³³ See Skilling 2010: 10–15.

³⁴ For these see Skilling 2009d: 67–68; see also von Hinüber 2015: 913–914.

³⁵ This is noted by most if not all of the scholars writing on Āgama; for references see Anālayo 2016.

vāda Middle Collection that was originally redacted in Prakrit or Prakritic Sanskrit.³⁶ For the schools that transmitted them, each set of Āgamas had full authority and did not suffer in comparison to the Āgamas of other traditions. In modern comparative studies, the main difference is that only the Pali Āgamas have been preserved intact. Only parts of the Āgamas of other schools survive; many, indeed most, are known only by name.³⁷

Why do the Āgamas of the different schools differ in contents and arrangement? There must be many reasons for the divergence in the contents and shape of the collections and the contents and shape of the texts themselves, reasons stemming from the recitation lineages of the different schools and the decisions that they made. There must have been many reasons for the gathering of texts to make one or the other Āgama. Hartmann, for example, concludes that

[t]he 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 were] unavoidably competing for the same supporters.³⁸

Be that as it may, an Āgama is, or becomes, a locus of authority, for the word of the Buddha as authorized by a particular tradition. This is seen in the rhetorical disputes recorded in the Abhidharma treatises like the *Abhidharmakośa*. The arrangement has a role in this; the texts are referred to by their location through citing verse tables

³⁶ On the Indic language underlying the *Madhyama-āgama* translation see Karashima 2017 in this volume.

³⁷ Writing at the end of the seventh century, Yijing (635–713) gives the length in *ślokas* of the Tripiṭakas of the four main schools, translated in Li Rongxi 2000: 11. For an overview of the Āgamas see Lamotte 1988: 149–152 (original French 1958: 163–167).

³⁸ Hartmann 2014b: 157.

of contents, the *uddānas*. The *Vyākhyāyukti* points out that the Āgamas of different schools are different.³⁹

I.5 Repetition and the *Peyāla* Principle

The prose Buddhist scriptures are characterized by repetition, a feature that has been much discussed in the literature.⁴⁰ The *repeated repetition* of text modules, formulas, stock phrases, clichés—whatever one chooses to call them—led to a need for abbreviation, and the craft of abbreviation—for so it became—was a major cause of divergence within and across collections. I call this the “*peyāla* principle”. The practice of abbreviation is exemplified by the *peyāla* (Sanskrit)/*peyyāla* (Pali)/*piao* (Gandhari), which facilitated the contraction and expansion of texts, starting, I believe, already in the period of oral transmission.⁴¹ Many questions about the relations between orality and writing, about short and long recensions, about inclusion and exclusion, hinge on the use of the *peyāla* (*peyālam*, uncommonly *peyālena*). The first stage would have been the contraction and expansion of texts during the several centuries when they were transmitted orally, when there were no manuscripts. The practice of *peyāla*, of abbreviation, must have begun during this period. The next point would have been difficult: when the texts were written down for the first time, the redactors would have had to decide how to translate the practice from the oral to the written medium. During the ensuing period of written Dharma, redactors and copyists must have had to accommodate the practice to changing and local condi-

³⁹ This is discussed in chapter 4 of the *Vyākhyāyukti*, see Skilling 2000: 323.

⁴⁰ See especially Allon 1997.

⁴¹ I will use here the Sanskrit form *peyāla*. Note that in Pali the term abbreviates itself by regular contraction to *pe*, *pa*, or *la*. *Pe* is also seen in Sanskrit Buddhist usage; I do not recall having noticed *la*, but that does not mean that it does not exist. For an early list of references in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts, see BHSD 354.

tions. The final stage would be the adaptation of abbreviation to the print and digital mediums.

The use of *peyālas* is prominent in individual long suttas, such as the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. It also runs across whole Vaggas, such as the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga* of the same Nikāya. *Peyālas* pervade the *Samyutta-nikāya*, where entire chapters are reduced to keywords or verse summaries waiting to be expanded. *Peyālas* are a defining mark of Pali literature, but they have been curiously ignored by the modern editors of printed editions, and there seem to have been few attempts to grapple with the problems that they raise.⁴²

The redactorial problem concerns expansion more than contraction: Once a passage or a text has been abbreviated, once it has been contracted, in the absence of a written exemplar, how can it be expanded again, how can it be unfolded? How can formulaic passages be restored, whether in recitation or when a text was written down for the first time? How can a text be returned to its “original” and full form with any certainty? Is it possible that the very idea of a fixed original is an artefact of print technology? Oral texts seem to be rather like web documents, with fluid and flexible links.⁴³ When a formula is abbreviated, how can it be restored? In oral culture, does a text *need* to be restored—does the idea of an absolutely stable text make any sense? Might a single contracted text not be expanded into more than one version through different decisions, through different choices on how to expand it, on which modules to use? Who made the decisions? Who had the authority to abbreviate or to expand? I suspect that the authority, the decision-making, must have been local

⁴² See in general Salomon 2011; for the *Samyutta-nikāya*, see Gethin 2007.

⁴³ I do not refer to the various theories of orality and improvisation that have been advanced with regard to oral performance and folk literatures; these have been reasonably rejected for the early Buddhist context (see Anālayo 2007, especially 9, with reference to a long previous scholarship). I refer to the selection, the choice, of the fixed modules in use by the tradition in question.

and specific in time—to redactions or writings down of texts or sets of texts by *saṅgītikāras* and *bhāṇakas* authorized by their school. After all, there was never a central authority in Indian Buddhism. This brings into relief another point, which I can only mention in passing: decision making. All text transmission entails *decisions*, but we have precious little evidence for the basis for the decisions made by the *saṅgītikāras* and *bhāṇakas* of yore. Different decisions must have been made in response to different target audiences and to the demands of context. The editorial process was oral and consensual, and the redactors did not bequeath us any critical editions with notes, introductions, and appendices. We are left in the hermeneutical dark.

The result of the *peyāla* principle is that Buddhist literature is porous; whether they belong to Sūtra, Vinaya, or Abhidharma, early Buddhist texts are permeated by *peyālas*. The Pāli *Samyutta-nikāya* and *Anguttara-nikāya* have complex *peyālas* that define their structures. The *peyālas* differ in the printed editions (Sinhalese, Burmese, Thai, Roman), and not much effort has been made to compare these editions to see how the *peyālas* compare with each other or, more importantly, with manuscripts. Whole sections of the *Samyutta-nikāya* are mere indications of potential sūtras: if the sūtras were to be expanded in full, the result would be an impossibly large collection. The number of *sūtras* obtained by exchanging one or two key phrases within a single *sūtra* setting can reach the thousands, as in the case of the *Asaṅkhata-samyutta* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*. The manipulation of two variables—thirty-three synonyms of *asaṅkhata* and fifty-six paths to the *asaṅkhata*—gives a total of 1,848 sūtras.⁴⁴ The extensive use of *peyālas*—and sometimes whole Vaggas are *peyālas*—makes it difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct the overall contents of the *Samyutta-nikāya* or to calculate the number of sūtras it is meant to contain.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Skilling 1994b and Gethin 2007: 373–374. See Gethin’s note 14 for earlier miscalculations.

⁴⁵ See especially Gethin 2007.

An example of abbreviation in the Pali *Vinaya* is the *Vassupanāyika-kkhandaka* of the *Mahāvagga*, which presents the cases in which a monk may break the rains-retreat for up to seven days. These are condensed into less than four pages in the Pali Text Society edition, to the point that case relations are sometimes obscured.⁴⁶ The seven books of the Pali Abhidharma, from the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* to the *Paṭṭhāna*, are prime *peyāla* texts. The long Perfection of Wisdom owes its variation in length—*Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā*, *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā*, and *sāhasrikā*—in part at least to the art of expansion and contraction, as does the relation between the long recensions and the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā*.

At the other end of the spectrum stands contraction. Early Gandhari manuscripts record the practice of key *letters* from which key *words* are formed, the Arapacana alphabet. The magic of Thai word-play abounds in abbreviated texts for recitation or for installation in stūpas and statues, like the condensed Tripiṭaka and the condensed Abhidharma.⁴⁷ They can be further contracted by the “heart principle” (in Pali and Thai *hadaya*, Thai *hua jai*, and Sanskrit *hṛdaya*)—condensing the essence of a text into a syllable or string of syllables, to words of power, to be recited as mantras for benefaction and protection. Even the condensed Tripiṭaka and condensed Vinaya can be further contracted:

vi su a for Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma = the Tripiṭaka;
saṃ vi dhā pu ka ya pa = **Sam**gaṇī, **Vib**haṅga, **Dh**ātukathā,
Puggalapaññatti, **Ka**thāvatthu, **Ya**maka, **Pa**ṭṭhāna = the
seven books of the *Abhidhamma*;
saṃ vi su lo pu sa bu bha = the nine Buddhagaṇa, that is,
the *itipiso* formula = *iti pi so bhagavā arahāna sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasambuddho sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathī satthā devamanussanaṃ buddho bhagavā ti*.

⁴⁶ *Vinaya* (PTS) I 139,1–142,7: see Skilling, *Mahāsūtras* II 22 with note 64.

⁴⁷ See Skilling 2016.

The lofty metaphysics of insubstantiality can be condensed into a tightly packed meditation, as in the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*; into a few syllables, as in the *Svalpākṣara-prajñāpāramitā*, or into a single letter, as in the *Ekākṣara-prajñāpāramitā* in which the Perfection of Wisdom is compacted into the letter “a”. As Zacchetti puts it, the *Ekākṣara-prajñāpāramitā* “can be taken to represent the extreme form of textual condensation across the entire scriptural family”.⁴⁸

The Āgama texts that we have today, in all except the verse collections, have been formed and reformed according to the *peyāla* principle.⁴⁹ The *peyāla* (*piao*) is already used in the earliest extant written texts, those written on birch bark in Gandhari Prakrit. The practice goes back to the beginning of the Christian Era and earlier, and it shows that habits of contraction and expansion is in evidence from the dawn of the age of writing—to at least the time of the claimed writing down of the Pali Tripiṭaka in Sri Lanka.⁵⁰ The Gandhari copies of Mahāyāna texts—the Book of Perfect Wisdom and the Bajaur Dharmaparyāya already use the *peyāla* with confidence.

Were the contracted texts ever meant to be fully expanded, in speech or in writing? I think not: the resultant texts would be unmanageable.⁵¹ Much of the Buddhist corpus consists of blueprints and guidelines. The Tripiṭakas are not solid edifices, they are catalogues of potential texts, structures for an ideal and implicitly inconceivable Buddhavacana. The Tripiṭakas and Āgamas are a corpus of potentiality—an ideal literature which seeks to allow for all possible approaches. At the same time, the corpus elaborates on a matrix, a

⁴⁸ Zacchetti 2015: 203.

⁴⁹ See Skilling 2013b: 74 and 122 notes 16 and 17.

⁵⁰ There are other ways to abbreviate, including the use of *yāvat*, *pūrvavat*, *yāvat pūrvavat*, *vistareṇa yāvat* etc., all of them referring explicitly to earlier matter in the same text. All of these merit study in their own right.

⁵¹ An example would be the case of sūtra no. 86 in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, discussed in Anālayo 2014: 47.

matrkā, of the key elements and core values of Buddhist ethics, practice, and insight—it is the Dharma corpus (*dharmakāya*) that always leads back to the source, the teaching of Śākyamuni.

I cannot go into more detail in this paper. I am not certain that there is any other world literature quite like this, and I would like to emphasize that the history, development and nature of contraction and extraction warrant serious consideration.⁵²

1.6 Piṭakas and Aṅgas

At a certain point, Āgamas and other text categories were classified into baskets or Piṭakas. The Three Piṭaka model became widespread, adopted by many schools such as the Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda—we do not have a complete record for all or even most of the eighteen schools.⁵³ The term Tripiṭaka became a commonplace, used in general to signify a Buddha's teachings. The notion that a Buddha should leave behind a Tripiṭaka was read back into past ages and the literature uses the term Tripiṭaka for the teachings not only of Śākyamuni but also for those of previous Buddhas, or, ultimately, of any Buddha of any time period or of any universe. All Buddhas teach the four truths of the noble ones, and all Buddhas teach the Sūtra, the Vinaya and the nine genres, which are equated with the Tripiṭaka. The commentary on the term *sammāsambuddho* in the *Puggalapaññatti* notes that in past lives the *sabbaññuta bodhisattas* (that is, Bodhisattas destined to become full and omniscient Buddhas) master the Three Piṭakas after going forth in the Buddhasāsana.⁵⁴ This idea is taken for granted in later texts, for example in the Pali commentaries, in the Avadānas and in Mahāyāna literature.

⁵² A paper entitled “Humpty Dumpty: An Abbreviated Study of the *peyāla* Principle” is called for, but I leave that for someone else.

⁵³ I use the traditional term eighteen schools for the totality of transmission lineages.

⁵⁴ No. 28 of the Mātikā of the *Puggalapaññatti* (PTS 189,9).

At several places the verses of the *Buddhavaṃsa* (which presents itself as spoken by the Buddha) relate how, when he was the Bodhisatta, Śākyamuni learned “Suttanta and Vinaya, the Teacher’s teaching in nine genres or forms of composition (Aṅga)”.⁵⁵ The Buddha relates how, under Kondañña, the second Buddha in his post-prediction career, he “mastered entirely the Suttanta, the Vinaya, the nine genres of the Teacher’s teachings and elucidated the Conqueror’s religion.”⁵⁶ He repeats the same verse for his tutelage under the eighteenth Buddha, Phussa.⁵⁷ The verses on the fourth Buddha, Sumana, state that “in the city of Mekhala, Sumana beat the drum that announced [the way to] the deathless, accompanied by [the music of] the conch of the Dharma, the nine genres of the Conqueror’s teaching.”⁵⁸ He masters the teaching before his prediction by Kassapa,

⁵⁵ For the Aṅgas, see Anālayo 2016, who describes them as textual types and (p. 19, note 38) quotes other uses like forms of composition, literary types, types of composition and literary styles. I do not think there is, or need be, any single or authorized translation, and I find all of these approximations acceptable. I sometimes use the term genre, and I do not understand why Lamotte 1958: 157–158 rejects it—“ces Aṅga ne sont pas des genres littéraires mais simplement des types de composition concernant la forme des textes” (English translation 1988: 143–144). In English, especially in literary analysis, genre has many shades of meaning, but its basic meaning seems to be precisely textual type, etc. The *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (ed. Pearsall 2001: 766) defines genre as “a category of artistic composition, as in music or literature, characterized by similarities in form, style, or subject matter”. (I am in accord with Anālayo’s main point, which is that the Aṅgas are not actual collections of texts, for which now see Anālayo 2016, especially 19–21.)

⁵⁶ *Koṇḍaññabuddhavaṃso, Buddhavaṃsa* III.23 (PTS 20,15–16): *suttantaṃ vinayañcā ’pi navaṅgaṃ satthusāsanaṃ | sabbaṃ pariyāpunivāna sobhayiṃ jinasāsanaṃ*.

⁵⁷ *Phussabuddhavaṃso, Buddhavaṃsa* XII.16 (PTS 37,33–34).

⁵⁸ *Sumanabuddhavaṃso, Buddhavaṃsa* V.2 (PTS 23,13–14): *so pi tadā amattheriṃ ahanī mekhale pure | dhammasaṅkhasamāyuttaṃ navaṅgaṃ jinasāsanaṃ*.

the twenty-fourth Buddha: “having mastered the Teacher’s teaching, everything that the Buddha had spoken, I illumined the Conqueror’s religion.”⁵⁹

Buddhadatta’s commentary glosses Suttanta, Vinaya and the nine textual types with “the Three Piṭakas”. In the first case, the commentary relates that as Bodhisatta, when he was a Cakkavatti named Vijitāvī, the future Gotama heard the Dharma from the Buddha Koṇḍañña, renounced his kingdom, went forth and learned the Three Piṭakas (*tīṇi piṭakāni uggahetvā*).⁶⁰ In the next case, the commentary states that as Bodhisatta, when he was a Khattiya named Vijitāvī in the city of Arimanda, the Bodhisatta heard the Dharma from Phussa, gained serene faith in the Fortunate One, made huge donations, relinquished a vast kingdom, went forth under the Bhagavat and mastered the Three Piṭakas (*tīṇi piṭakāni uggahetvā*): as a Tripiṭaka master (*tipiṭakadhara*) he taught the Dharma to the masses, fulfilled the perfection of moral conduct (*sīlapāramī*) and received from Phussa the prediction that he would become a Buddha. Similarly, under Kassapa, as the Brahman Jotipāla the Bodhisatta “mastered the Three Piṭakas”.⁶¹

The ideas that past Buddhas should have Tripiṭakas—even when still living, even without the convocation of recitation-councils—and that a Bodhisatta could be a Tripiṭaka Master are part of a process of normalization or levelling in which all Buddhas become the same and the main events in their lives and careers, their virtues and attainments, are all identical. The *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary allows for eight differences between the twenty-five Buddhas: difference in life-span, difference in height, etc. There are four unalterable places

⁵⁹ *Kassapabuddhavaṃso*, *Buddhavaṃsa* XXV.15 (PTS 62,32–33): *yāvatā buddhabhaṇitaṃ navaṅgaṃ satthusāsaṇaṃ | sabbaṃ pariyāpuṇitvāna sobhayiṃ jinasāsaṇaṃ*.

⁶⁰ *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* (PTS) 137,18.

⁶¹ *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* (PTS) 234,5.

for all Buddhas and there are thirty regulations for Buddhas not shared by others. Thus the portrait of a Buddha is framed by a fixed grid, which might be compared to the canons of painting or sculpture, which allow for only limited modulations or variations.

In the *Guttīla-vimāna*, Moggallāna relates to Gotama Buddha how he had gone to the realm of the Thirty-three gods, where he met thirty-six goddesses enjoying immense divine pleasures in thirty-six *Vimāna*. Upon being asked, they describe the karma that they had performed to produce such results. The Buddha told Moggallāna that in a past life, when as Bodhisatta he was a musician named Guttīla, he had questioned the goddesses himself in the same way, and they had responded in the very same way.⁶² In this manner, text, teaching, and narrative become archetypal, recurrent: they enjoy ahistorical existences that can be accessed in any age, by, at least, Buddhas and humans or *devas* with the right level of attainment.

This idea of archetypal teachings is not absent in the Āgamas. The *Bhaddekaratta* is a sūtra (or rather an *instruction*, given in four consecutive sūtras of the *Majjhima-nikāya*) that *devas* and monastics should know—and those who do not know it should learn it.⁶³ It is a verse teaching, a *gāthā*, which existed in past ages: the *Hatthipāla-jātaka* refers to it by title, stating that it was spoken by Hatthipāla, that is to say, the Bodhisatta, the future Sākyamuni, when he was a prince, son of King Esukāri at Varanasi: *evaṃ gopālo bhaddekaratta-suttan nāma kathesi* “and in this way Gopāla taught the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*.”⁶⁴ The existence of complete texts and their titles, including Tripiṭakas, in distant aeons and in far-away universes (the latter for at least some schools), was part of the naturalization of

⁶² See Horner 1974: 64–67.

⁶³ Sutta nos. 131–134 in the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* of the *Upari-pañṇāsa*. For the *Bhaddekaratta*, see Skilling 2009a: 405–406 and Anālayo 2011: 755–767.

⁶⁴ *Jātaka* no. 509 (PTS IV 481,30–482,31 and 482,1; reference from Anālayo 2011: 755).

textual categories like Sūtra and Tripiṭaka. In the same trend, texts could be exalted as “taught by all Buddhas”. These became common tropes in the emergent Vaitulya literature.

Tripiṭaka became a textual institution and an institutionalized category. Today the idea that Buddhist texts are arranged as a Tripiṭaka is often accepted as a given or natural fact. But did the collections of all schools follow the Tripiṭaka model? Information is insufficient to answer this question. Some schools had up to seven Piṭakas,⁶⁵ for example, but no such collections survive, let alone inventories of their internal structures and contents. This limits the scope for research into the evolutions of Piṭakas.

1.7 Multiple Canons, Multiple Authorities

This digression⁶⁶ into kalpas past leads to questions about the meaning of authority. What makes a text authoritative? Does inclusion in a canon, in an Āgama, give it authority? I believe the answer is a qualified yes, but, as we have seen, canons are multiple, fluid, and functional. They are products of consensus and they are specific to needs and situations. More than a single canon can exist side by side—local canons, functional canons, curricular canons, ritual canons, ceremonial canons. All of these canons have their own authority, and the canons are complementary rather than conflicting. The mainstream canons of the Śrāvaka schools drew on the authority of the recitation convocations. These canons were, as Salomon notes, unwieldy. Smaller, more portable collections were needed to fill the didactic and ceremonial gaps. One example of such a collection is the Mahāsūtras.

⁶⁵ Skilling and Saerji 2013: 271. For some of the Piṭakas outside the Tripiṭaka model, see Skilling 2009e.

⁶⁶ “Digressions, incontestably, are the sunshine; — they are the life, the soul of reading” — Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*.

II. Mahāsūtras

The inclusion of a text in this or that collection is a convention. Modern scholars tend to give weight to the Āgamas and Nikāyas as the primary source collections. That is practical and convenient, as long as we recognize that there is no Ur-Āgama and no Super-Āgama: that the Āgamas that we know or know about today have different regional and historical origins (without in any way precluding overlap and exchange). They were produced by different editorial projects that shared similar aims and instituted cognate principles and guidelines, rather like different encyclopaedias; each project went through a series of stages of compilation, standardization and processing, again like the successive editions of an encyclopaedia. But by *different* I do not mean that the projects were isolated, that they were not connected or related. All evidence is that textual transmission was an intricate accomplishment drawing on webs of intertextuality, a human chain of concerted efforts to preserve and promote the dynamics of the Buddha's teachings. I suspect that the different projects were regularly looking over each other's shoulders.

The Āgama system of classification was developed for large-scale transmission through recitation, parcelling texts into structured and linked series. It began as an oral library and was eventually written down. Writing seems to have begun not later than the first century BC.⁶⁷ Some of the birch bark manuscripts in Gandhari Prakrit go back to this date, and the Theravādins claim that the Pali scriptures were written down in the same period.

Beyond the Āgamas, the same texts could also be transmitted under other systems of classification, including compact, portable sets for didactic or ritual purposes, for chanting and recitation (these not being separate or exclusive). One Mūlasarvāstivāda example is the Great Sūtras, the Mahāsūtras.

⁶⁷ For thoughts on early writing see Skilling 2009c.

II.1 The Category Mahāsūtra

Most of our knowledge of Mahāsūtras as a category comes from Tibetan-language sources with earlier Indian antecedents. In the earliest records of Tibetan translations, Mahāsūtra was an independent and free-standing category, equal in status to the great collections like the *Prajñāpāramitā* or the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. This is not a small matter. Today many people will recognize the other categories (see Table 2 [I]–[IV]) but very few indeed will recognize the Mahāsūtras. It is likely that Jinamitra and other representatives of Mūlasarvāstivāda textual practice were responsible for the classification system, but this does not mean that they invented it. In India the Mahāsūtras already existed as a category or set. References may be few, but it is often the case that liturgy and quotidian devotions are left unmentioned; the same is the case, for example, with the Pali Paritta. Texts like the *Vinayas* refer to listening to the Dharma (*dharmasrāvaṇa*) on various occasions, but they do not, as far as I have seen, tell us the titles of the texts in question.

There seems to be no evidence that the Mahāsūtras were ever transmitted as a category of texts in China. In the Land of Snows, on the contrary, where the Mūlasarvāstivāda became the official Vinaya school by imperial decree, the Mūlasarvāstivāda scriptures received central endorsement.

The early ninth-century register of translations, the Lhan dkar catalogue, records the titles of texts translated into Tibetan. According to the enumeration given by Marcelle Lalou in her pioneering work on the subject (1953), since then followed by Herrmann-Pfandt (2008) and others, the first ten categories comprise sūtra translations. Lalou's enumeration is shown in Table 2 (note that the numbers are Lalou's: the Lhan dkar catalogue itself does not assign any numbers).

Table 2. Position of Mahāsūtras in the Lhan dkar Catalogue (Lalou)

[I]	Prajñāpāramitā
[II]	Avatamsaka
[III]	Ratnakūṭa
[IV]	Miscellaneous Mahāyāna sūtras measuring 26 <i>bampos</i> down to 11 <i>bampos</i> in length
[V]	from 10 <i>bampos</i> in length down
[VI]	under 1 <i>bampo</i> in length
[VII]	below 100 <i>śloka</i> s in length
[VIII]	Mahāsūtras ⁶⁸
[IX]	Mahāyāna sūtras translated from Chinese
[X]	Hīnayāna sūtras

Lalou has divided the category of Miscellaneous Mahāyāna sūtras into four by assigning separate numbers to the categories of descending length listed above [IV–VII]. In the Lhan dkar ma itself, these are sub-categories of Miscellaneous Mahāyāna sūtras: that is, they all fall under the broader category, Miscellaneous Mahāyāna sūtras. I therefore prefer to count seven primary classes or categories, with the Mahāsūtras as no. V, as shown in Table 3.⁶⁹

Table 3. Revised Model of the Position of Mahāsūtras in the Lhan dkar Catalogue

[I]	Prajñāpāramitā
[II]	Avatamsaka

⁶⁸ Here and in the following I place the categories or titles discussed in this chapter in boldface type.

⁶⁹ In the following tables, I generally give titles in Sanskrit. For the Tibetan forms, see *Mahāsūtras* II.

- [III] Ratnakūṭa
- [IV] Miscellaneous Mahāyāna sūtras
 from 26 *bāmpo*s down to 11 *bāmpo*s in length
 from 10 *bāmpo*s in length down
 under 1 *bāmpo* in length
 below 100 *śloka*s in length
- [V] **Mahāsūtras**
- [VI] Mahāyāna sūtras translated from Chinese
- [VII] Hīnayāna sūtras
-

II.2 Mahāsūtra Lists in the Tibetan Catalogues

The Lhan dkar catalogue lists nine Great Sūtras in descending order of length in *śloka*s, as shown in Table 4.⁷⁰

Table 4. Titles Classed as Mahāsūtras
 in the Lhan dkar Catalogue

[V] <i>Mdo chen por gtogs pa la</i>	
240. <i>Āṭāṇāṭṭya-mahāsūtra</i>	(350 <i>śloka</i>)
241. <i>Māyājāla-mahāsūtra</i>	(340 <i>śloka</i>)
242. <i>Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra</i>	(300 <i>śloka</i>)
243. <i>Pañcatraya-mahāsūtra</i>	(220 <i>śloka</i>)
244. <i>Mahāśūnyatā-mahāsūtra</i>	(145 <i>śloka</i>)
245. <i>Bimbisārapratyudgamana-mahāsūtra</i>	(140 <i>śloka</i>)
246. <i>Śūnyatā-mahāsūtra</i>	(90 <i>śloka</i>)
247. <i>Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra</i> [I]	(80 <i>śloka</i>)
248. <i>Dhavajāgra-mahāsūtra</i> [II]	(40 <i>śloka</i>)

⁷⁰ I follow the numbering of Herrmann-Pfandt 2008.

The main classes differ somewhat in the second available register, the 'Phang thang ma, but the Mahāsūtras are still no. V (by my count). The 'Phang thang ma lists ten Great Sūtras in descending order by length, with several differences in ascribed length (nos. 255, 256 and 257) and with one new title (no. 259).⁷¹

Table 5. Titles Classed as Mahāsūtras
in the 'Phang thang ma Catalogue

[V] <i>Mdo chen por gtogs pa la</i>	
251. <i>Āṭāṇāṭīya-mahāsūtra</i>	(350 śloka)
252. <i>Māyājāla-mahāsūtra</i>	(340 śloka)
253. <i>Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra</i>	(300 śloka)
254. <i>Pañcatraya-mahāsūtra</i>	(220 śloka)
255. <i>Bimbisārapratyudgamana-mahāsūtra</i>	(150 śloka)
256. <i>Mahāśūnyatā-mahāsūtra</i>	(150 śloka)
257. <i>Śūnyatā-mahāsūtra</i>	(70 śloka)
258. <i>Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra</i>	(80 śloka)
[I. <i>rgyal mtshan dam pa</i>]	
259. <i>Mdo chen po stong pa nyid</i>	(70 śloka)
<i>rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba</i>	
260. <i>Dhavajāgra-mahāsūtra</i>	(40 śloka)
[II. <i>rgyal mtshan mchog</i>]	

A third catalogue of the early period, the Mchims phu ma, is not available.

⁷¹ I follow the numbering of Kawagoe 2005.

II.3 Mahāsūtras Listed in the *Vinayavibhaṅga*

A list of Mahāsūtra titles is given in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*, which is not extant in Sanskrit but is preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translation.⁷² The Mahāsūtras are presented as Rakṣā texts to be recited for protection, against, in the foundational narrative, zombies (*ro lang*).⁷³ Here I follow the Tibetan translation, which lists eight Mahāsūtras.⁷⁴ I add their Āgama affiliations.

Table 7. Mahāsūtras in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavibhaṅga* (Tibetan)

1. <i>Chung ngu stong pa nyid</i>	<i>*Cūḍaśūnyatā</i>	<i>Madhyama</i>
2. <i>Chen po stong pa nyid</i>	<i>Mahāśūnyatā</i>	<i>Madhyama</i>
3. <i>Lnga gsum pa</i>	<i>Pañcatraya</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>
4. <i>Sgyu ma'i dra ba</i>	<i>Māyājāla</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>
5. <i>Gzugs can snying pos bsu ba</i>	<i>Bimbisārapratyud -gamana</i>	<i>Madhyama</i>
6. <i>Rgyal mtshan dam pa</i>	<i>Dhvajāgra</i>	<i>Samyukta</i>
7. <i>Kun tu rgyu ba dang kun tu rgyu ba ma yin pa dang 'thun pa'i mdo</i>	<i>Āṭānāṭiya</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>
8. <i>'Dus pa chen po'i mdo</i>	<i>Mahāsamāja</i>	<i>Dīrgha</i>

The *Vinayavibhaṅga* list corresponds to the nine Mahāsūtras preserved in Tibetan translation, except that the translations include two

⁷² Here I do not discuss the list of eighteen *Mahāsūtras* (*Da jing* 大經) given in the fourth section, On Keeping the Rains Retreat (*anju fa* 安居法, **Varṣāvāsadharmā*) of the ninth chapter, Seven Dharmas (*qifa* 七法, **Saptadharmā*,) of the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, for which see *Mahāsūtras* II 5–6 and 54–55, Table 1. Presumably this list, translated in the first decade of the fifth century, is earlier, but the differences may well be zonal or lineage based.

⁷³ See Skilling 2007.

⁷⁴ The Chinese translation lists only the first six: see *Mahāsūtras* II 56, Table 2.

Dhavajāgra-mahāsūtras, a short and a long, distinguished by different translations of the word *agra*—*dam pa* as against *mchog*.

If we rearrange the Mahāsūtras according to the Āgamas, we get the following list:

Table 8. *Mahāsūtras* Arranged according to the Āgamas

<i>Dīrgha-āgama</i>		
1. <i>Pañcatraya</i>	DĀ (Skt.) 17	<i>Yuga-nipāta</i>
2. <i>Māyājāla</i>	DĀ (Skt.) 18	<i>Yuga-nipāta</i>
3. <i>Ātānātīya</i>	DĀ (Skt.) 23	<i>Yuga-nipāta</i>
4. <i>Mahāsamāja</i>	DĀ (Skt.) 24	<i>Yuga-nipāta</i>
<i>Madhyama-āgama</i>		
5. <i>Cūḍaśūnyatā</i>	MĀ 190	* <i>Yamaka-varga</i> (9)
6. <i>Mahāśūnyatā</i>	MĀ 191	* <i>Yamaka-varga</i> (10)
7. <i>Bimbisārpratryudgamana</i>	MĀ 62	* <i>Rājasamṣyuktaka-nipāta</i>
<i>Samyukta-āgama</i>		
8. <i>Dhvajāgra</i> [I]		
9. <i>Dhvajāgra</i> [II]		

Three Āgamas are represented, to the exclusion of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.

This group of nine Mahāsūtras was transmitted to Tibet and translated about AD 800 by three noted masters: Jinamitra, Prajñā-varman and Ye shes sde.⁷⁵ These are the actual Mahāsūtras that we know today. Among the translators, Jinamitra was especially prolific, a master-translator of Vinaya, Abhidharma, Sūtra, Dhāraṇī and Śāstra. The colophons of eleven of his Vinaya and Vinaya commentary

⁷⁵ As usual, we have no information whatsoever about the provenance of the manuscripts. It is quite possible that the Mahāsūtras, as liturgical or Rakṣā texts, were transmitted orally.

translations state that the translations were executed by royal command, and they describe Jinamitra as a “Vinaya master (*vinaya-dhara*) of the Ārya Mūlasarvāstivādins, an Ācārya of the Kashmiri Vaibhāṣikas”.⁷⁶ Prajñāvarman is described in colophons as an Indian preceptor (*rgya gar gyi mkhan po*). That is all we really know about him. Two Prajñāvarmans mentioned in other sources are possible candidates, one from Kashmir and one from Bengal, but perhaps neither quite fits.⁷⁷ The Tibetan Ye shes sde not only collaborated with Jinamitra and Prajñāvarman on nearly every text that they worked on but also with virtually every other Indian master during the period of early translations.⁷⁸ He was the master editor and a key figure in the transfer of Indian Buddhist knowledge to Tibet.

As noted above, in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* the *Mahāsūtras* are introduced as a collection of texts to be used as Rakṣā, protections. It seems that their use for recitation and ritual did not take hold in Tibet and there is scant evidence of their continued recitation.⁷⁹ Perhaps the increased prestige of the Tantras eclipsed the Mahāsūtras. In any case, by the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries, when the Kanjurs that we know today were compiled, Mahāsūtra was no longer recognized, or at least was no longer treated, as a class of its own. The Great Sūtras were broken up into smaller groups and placed in different volumes of the Sūtra Collection (*Mdo*, *Mdo sde*, *Mdo mang*, *Mdo sna tshogs*), except for two which were moved to Tantra: the *Ātānāṭīya-mahāsūtra* and the *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra*.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ For Jinamitra and his translations see *Mahāsūtras* II 116–125 and 148–161, Table 11, J.1 and J.2.

⁷⁷ For Prajñāvarman see *Mahāsūtras* II 125–129 and 162–166, Table 11, P.1 and P.2.

⁷⁸ For Ye shes sde see *Mahāsūtras* II 129–130.

⁷⁹ The exceptions are ritual manuals (*cho ga*) for the *Ātānāṭīya* and *Mahāsamāja Mahāsūtras* compiled by Bodong Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1375/6–1451); see *Mahāsūtras* II 85–86.

⁸⁰ See *Mahāsūtras* II 78–84.

III. The *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla-mahāsūtras*

In 1994 I published romanised editions of the nine Tibetan *Mahāsūtras* (plus a tenth not included in the lists mentioned above, the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*).⁸¹ In 1997 I followed with an introductory study.⁸² In June 2004 I was awarded a Doctorate at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses en Sorbonne, Paris, for a thesis entitled “Des Mahasutra tibétains aux manuscrits et inscriptions d’Asie du Sud-Est, Considérations sur les Mahasutra des Mulasarvastivādin”.

Two of these Mahāsūtras are the *Pañcatraya* (no. 7 in the edition) and the *Māyājāla* (no. 1 in the edition). In addition to the complete Tibetan versions, I compared and listed the Sanskrit parallels to or fragments of the *Mahāsūtras* that were then available (more fragments have since been identified). For the two Mahāsūtras under discussion, I listed the Sanskrit fragments from the Turfan (Berlin) and Hoernle (British Library) collections, which had been assembled and studied by Hartmann in his unpublished habilitation thesis (1991),⁸³ with some additions. They are fragments in the full sense of the word: not a single complete, or even half complete, folio survives in the two collections.

Early in this millennium, it was announced that a Mūlasarvāstivāda (or (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda, as it has been called) *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript had become available and that it contained several of the Mahāsūtras,⁸⁴ including the *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla*.⁸⁵ This

⁸¹ Skilling 1994a.

⁸² Skilling 1997.

⁸³ Hartmann 1991. For the *Pañcatraya*, see 219–226.

⁸⁴ See most recently Hartmann and Wille 2014. It is to be regretted that the most recent and most accessible description of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*, the entry in *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Buswell

was a momentous discovery—never before had modern scholars had access to *any* Sanskrit Āgama, with the exception of fragmentary portions of an *Ekottarika-āgama* from Gilgit.⁸⁶ Up to that point we had only sketchy information about the structure and contents of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama*, which have now been successfully reconstructed by Hartmann.

In 2002, I had the good fortune to read through two of the Mahāsūtras in Oxford with Somdev Vasudeva and the late Lance Cousins. The *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript, written on large birch bark folios in the script called Proto-Śāradā or Gilgit/Bamiyam Type II, is judged to date to about the seventh century. The Central Asian fragments from the Hoernle collection are also inscribed on birch bark, in North Turkestan Brāhmī, which is earlier, dating to about the fifth or sixth centuries—making them the oldest witnesses of the *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla*. Despite the fact that the Gilgit *Dīrgha-āgama* has been damaged by extreme negligence, it is in much better condition than the Central Asian fragments and it yields reasonably complete versions of both the *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla* sūtras, with, however, inevitable lacunae. The high degree of repe-

and Lopez 2014: 261) is flawed. It gives the source of the manuscript as Afghanistan; the exact find spot is not known, but from the beginning it was reported that the manuscript was from Gilgit in the area of Kashmir under Pakistani administration, and an Afghani provenance has never been suggested. The *Dictionary* states that the first of the three major sections, the *Ṣaṣṭisūtraka-nipāta*, is not preserved at all in the manuscript, when fragments of all six sūtras of the section are in fact preserved. Regrettably, the Mahāsūtras are not mentioned. Admittedly, the Mahāsūtras remain insufficiently known, in no small measure because, deplorably, the promised English translation has failed to emerge even after twenty years.

⁸⁵ Note that when included in an Āgama, the texts are not called Mahāsūtra but simply Sūtra. It is only when they are transmitted as a set, extra-Āgama, that they are called Mahāsūtras.

⁸⁶ Edited by Tripāṭhī 1995 (but, strange to say, somehow generally ignored).

tition in the *Pañcatraya* and *Māyājāla* sūtras in particular allows fairly sustained readings of the two texts. The same may be said for two other *Mahāsūtra* counterparts included in the Gilgit and Central Asian *Dīrgha-āgamas*, which are being prepared for publication by Lore Sander and Siglinde Dietz.⁸⁷

In all cases, the *Dīrgha-āgama* versions and the Tibetan *Mahāsūtras* are very close, almost to the word. One difference is that the Tibetan *Mahāsūtras* give the *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla* in full, without a single abbreviation, while the Gilgit manuscript abbreviates. The *Māyājāla* is structured around the six senses, which are described with similar stock passages. As a result it is heavily abbreviated, so that it might seem to be scarcely either a *Mahāsūtra* or a suitable candidate for inclusion in a Long Collection. We find, however, similar cases of abbreviation with other *Dīrgha-āgama* texts in the *Śīlaskandha-varga* like the *Pīṅgalātreya*, the *Lohitya* II, the two *Maṇḍīśa-sūtras*, and so on, which take only a few folios or even a few lines.⁸⁸

We now enjoy the luxury of having at our disposal not one but two Sanskrit versions of the *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla* from two different zones of textual transmission, Gilgit and Central Asia. There is one drawback: their fragmentary condition.

III.1 The *Pañcatraya*

The *Pañcatraya* belongs to the *Dīrgha-āgamas* of the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins, which were never translated into Chinese. The only complete *Madhyama-āgama* that survives at present is a Chinese translation; this belongs to a Sarvāstivāda tradition,⁸⁹ and

⁸⁷ See Sander 2007 and Dietz 2011.

⁸⁸ For the contents of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama* from Gilgit, see Hartmann 2014a: 140–141.

⁸⁹ See in this volume Anālayo 2017 and, for a different opinion, Chung 2017.

therefore does not include a *Pañcatraya*. There are no independent Chinese translations and no other counterparts are so far known. With no other versions to turn to, we have to rely on the Tibetan and the Tibetan only for a complete text. It is our good fortune that the Tibetan version is up to the highest standards: the team headed by Jinamitra was one of the most accomplished translation teams of the early period.

The Theravaṃsa preserves the only exegetical literature on the *Pañcatraya*: Buddhaghosa's commentary in his *Papañcasūdanī* and the subcommentary in the *Uparipañṇāsa-tīkā*.⁹⁰ References to the *Pañcatraya* in later Theravāda works are few and far between.⁹¹ By far the most significant contribution in modern scholarship is Bhikkhu Anālayo's detailed study of the Pali *Pañcattaya-sutta*, which, as part of his comprehensive work on of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, compares the Pali, the Tibetan, and the Sanskrit fragments then available.⁹² In general, however, the *Pañcattaya-sutta* has been left to slumber quietly in the cave of its Vagga—the normal fate of the majority of sūtras in the overpopulated Buddhist collections.⁹³

I have not found any unambiguous citations of the Sanskrit *Pañcatraya* in any work, but it is referred to by title in several Vinaya and commentarial works within the Sarvāstivāda tradition. It is also included in a sūtra list in a Mahāyāna sūtra, the *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarīka*.⁹⁴

The *Pañcatraya* is a great and grand critique of views (*dṛṣṭi*) that

⁹⁰ *Papañcasūdanī Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā* (PTS) IV 15,15–28,10 and *Majjhimanikāya-tīkā* (B° (CS) 215–235).

⁹¹ *Nettipakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*, B° (CS) 145, *Vibhaṅga-mūlaṭīkā*, B° (CS) 218; *Samgāyana-pucchā Vissajjanā*, B° (CS) II 145; *Sammohavinodanī-aṭṭhakathā*, B° (CS) 475; *Sīlakkhandhavagga-abhinavaṭīkā*, B° (CS) II 348.

⁹² Anālayo 2011: 590–603.

⁹³ A recent article is Hata 2006.

⁹⁴ According to the Tshal pa Kanjur lineage, Tibetan *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarīka* was translated by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde. The Chinese counterpart, *Da bei jing* (大悲經, T 380), was translated by Narendrayaśas (516–589).

complements the *Brahmajāla-sūtra*: it is in these two sūtras that the Buddha deals *in extenso* with views and speculations. They describe views on a variety of subjects that are no longer preserved elsewhere in Indian philosophical literature. In the *Pañcatraya*, the Fortunate One enumerates, defines, and rejects the positions of contemporary śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas, and presents his own position, which is not a view or a theory, but an affirmation of realization and understanding that leads beyond views.

The fact that the Buddhist canons transmitted two long and critical assessments of the very philosophical premises for the formulation of early Indian metaphysics warrants serious reflection. The two discourses—each with its own intricate and elegant architecture—establish a consistent identity for Śākyamuni’s mode of thought vis-à-vis other Indian schools of thought, showing how the early Buddhists situated themselves in the philosophical landscape. As primary documents for the study of early Indian philosophy, they may be seen as among the earliest, if not the earliest, examples of doxographies in Indian literature.⁹⁵

Although the two texts overlap in some places, in general they are quite different in structure and thematic organization. Because some sections of the *Pañcatraya* occur in other, shorter, sūtras, it is difficult or impossible to judge to what degree, if any, the *Pañcatraya* itself influenced the development of Buddhist thought. In the

⁹⁵ Doxography is a modern term, coined by the German classical scholar Hermann Alexander Diels (1848–1922); see “Doxography of Ancient Philosophy” in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (plato.stanford.edu, viewed 31 July 2016). An Indian equivalent (much later than our sūtras) might be *darśana-saṃgraha*. The two sūtras are not conscious *saṃgrahas* or doxographies in either an Indian or a Greek sense, but they seem to me to foreshadow these genres. An important section of the *Savitarkasavicārādibhūmi* of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (ed. Vidhushekara Bhat-tacharya 1957) draws on the presentation of views in these sūtras; see Eltschinger 2013–2014.

Theravāda tradition, the *Brahmajāla* took pride of place, eclipsing the *Pañcattaya* to the point that the latter is almost unknown.⁹⁶ In the Greater Sarvāstivāda tradition, however, the *Pañcatraya* had a life of its own, outside of the *Dīrgha-āgama*. It was transmitted as a Mahāsūtra and as a Vaipulya sūtra, categories which gave it a special status and, in at least some circumstances, entailed ritual recitation. In some lists, such as that of the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* translated into Chinese, the *Brahmajāla* is also counted as a Mahāsūtra, and in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* both of the sūtras are classed as Vaipulya.⁹⁷ Whatever may have been their traditional classifications, and whatever may have been the reasons for these classifications, the *Pañcatraya*- and *Brahmajāla*-sūtras stand as key texts for the study of the Buddhist presentation and criticism of the philosophical other in ancient India. As a cogent analysis of views about past, future and present lifetimes, the *Pañcatraya-sūtra* can be read with profit alongside chapter 27, An Analysis of Views (*Drṣṭiparīkṣā*) of Nāgārjuna's *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā*, or other texts on the subject of views.

III.2 The *Māyājāla*

The *Pañcatraya* is paired with the *Māyājāla* in all lists, and in every case but one the *Pañcatraya* comes first. In the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* list of eighteen Mahāsūtras, preserved only in Chinese, the *Pañcatraya* and *Māyājāla* are numbers 3 and 4.

The *Māyājāla-sūtra* exists in a complete form only in Tibetan translation; there are also Sanskrit fragments from Gilgit and Central Asia. The sūtra has no counterpart in Pali or in any of the Āgamas or independent translations into Chinese, and I have proposed elsewhere

⁹⁶ According to the *Majjhima* commentary, the *Brahmajāla* was spoken earlier, *Papañcasūdanī* IV 25,23: *Brahmajāle pana kathite idaṃ suttaṃ akathitam eva hoti*.

⁹⁷ See *Mahāsūtras* II 54–61, Tables 1, 4 and 6–8.

that it is one of the discourses unique to the Sarvāstivāda transmission.⁹⁸ Only one complete version, the Tibetan translation, survives; since the *Dīrgha-āgama* (or any other Āgama) are not extant in Tibetan, the *Māyājāla* survives through the good fortune of being a Mahāsūtra. Chinese translations are often viewed with more favour than the Tibetan, in part because of the prevalent conceit of antiquity that holds that “old is best”. In some cases, however, the Tibetan, though later, is the only complete version known to survive. An example is the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*. The third-century Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa is not complete, whether because the original was not completely transmitted, or because Dharmarakṣa abridged the text. Gandhari and Sanskrit fragments have recently been identified, but they cover only small portions of the text.⁹⁹ The *Bhadrakalpika* had an enormous ideological influence in India and beyond, and our only source for it is the Tibetan translation.

I would like to repeat that different schools transmitted certain texts entirely their own, texts which are not known to the other traditions available to us. The specificity of text transmission is important to recognize. The fact that a text has no counterpart in Pali is significant in terms of comparative research, but it does not mean much in terms of the reception and utilization of the text in its zones of transmission in antiquity.

Comparative research did begin early—I do not know how early, but critical comparative research is evident in the Pali *Dīpavaṃsa*, the *Mahāvibhāṣā*(s) and the works of Vasubandhu, who, for example, describes some texts as “read by all schools” or “read by ‘such and such’ a school”. But certainly the idea that a text does not count for anything if it is not found in Pali is a modern prejudice, part of a complex of ideas that prioritizes Pali to the extent that it might be called Pali essentialism. The *Māyājāla* and *Pañcatraya* had full authority in at

⁹⁸ See Skilling 2010: 32–35.

⁹⁹ Baums, Glass and Matsuda (forthcoming).

least North India, in the intellectual world of the Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣikas. They are cited or invoked in Śāstras by great intellectuals like Harivarman (third century), Asaṅga (fourth century) Vasubandhu (fourth–fifth century), and Saṅghabhadra (fourth–fifth century).¹⁰⁰ Asaṅga embeds phrases from the *Māyājāla* in his *Yogācārabhūmi* and *Śrāvakabhūmi* as integral, and unreferenced, parts of his exegesis.¹⁰¹ The idea that the *Māyājāla* is a later addition would have been quite *hors de propos* in a north Indian setting.

III.3 Mahāsūtras in the Vaipulya and Other Transmissions

Our two sūtras were not only Mahāsūtras, but in the tradition of the Sarvāstivāda—or at least in some of the treatises associated with that tradition—they were included in still another class, that of the Vaipulya(-āṅga) (see Tables 9 and 10).¹⁰² That is, both the *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla* were Vaipulya sūtras. Vaipulya/Vaidalya/Vaitulya was a significant category in the evolution of early Buddhist thought and the march of ideas that led to the formation of the Mahāyāna.¹⁰³ The details and even outline of this development are by no means clear, but the inclusion of the *Pañcatraya* and *Māyājāla* among the Vaipulya once again reflects their importance and authority. One further example is a sūtra list in the *Mahākaruṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, where the *Pañcatraya* (*Lnga pa dang gsum pa*) is no. 4 of eight titles—but without the *Māyājāla*.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ The dates are, as ever the case, tentative. See Skilling, *Mahāsūtras* II 228–229, for citations of and references to the *Māyājāla*. For references to the *Pañcatraya*, see *Mahāsūtras* II 471–472 (I have not come across any citations of the *Pañcatraya* by title).

¹⁰¹ Skilling 2013a.

¹⁰² See *Mahāsūtras* II 31–42.

¹⁰³ See Skilling 2013b: 84–97 and now Karashima 2015.

¹⁰⁴ *Mahāsūtras* II 42–47; for an excerpt see Feer 1883: 77–80.

Table 9. *Mahāvibhāṣā* (Chinese)¹⁰⁵

-
1. **Pañcatraya*
 2. **Brahmajāla*
 3. **Mayājāla*
 4. **Pañcaskandhaka*
 5. **Śāḍḍāyatana*
 6. **Mahānidāna*
-

Table 10. *Āgamakṣudraka-vyākhyāna* and *Udānavarga-vivaraṇa* (Tibetan)¹⁰⁶

-
1. **Pañcatraya*
 2. **Mayājāla*
 3. **Śakrapraśna*
 4. **Śaḍdhātuvibhaṅga*
-

Envoi

I hope to have shown that the identity of a sūtra is not defined by its Āgama alone, but also by its inclusion in other textual groupings, in other canons, and by its function and use. For this I have examined a group known as the Mahāsūtras, focusing on two of them, the *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla*.

The *Pañcatraya* and the *Māyājāla* are two long sūtras that have shared a long history in India: in their written or manuscript lives

¹⁰⁵ *Mahāsūtras* II 31–32 (available in Chinese translation only: first two of four titles followed by an etc.).

¹⁰⁶ *Mahāsūtras* II 32–35 (available in Tibetan translation only: first two of four titles followed by an etc.).

they are almost always paired (and we know nothing about their oral, pre-writing lives). In the Sarvāstivāda lineage they enjoyed considerable authority and were included, always as a pair and almost always in the same order, in lists of texts of preference—the Mahāsūtras and the Vaipulya. Outside of the Sarvāstivāda, the situation was markedly different. Even though the textual record is incomplete, it is still possible to say that the *Pañcatraya* was not generally prominent in Indian Buddhism, even though it must have been one of the few early compendia of views both in the Buddhist corpus and in Indian philosophical literature. The Pali *Pañcattaya* was eclipsed by the *Brahmajāla*, and the title was rarely raised, not only in Theravāda literature itself, but in the entire corpus of extant Buddhist texts. Did the Sarvāstivādins read it, recite it, and study it? Or did it only have a symbolic significance? The position of the *Māyājāla* in South Asian Buddhism was different from that of the *Pañcatraya* in terms of diffusion and popularity insofar as it seems to have been transmitted by the Sarvāstivādins alone. It circulated for perhaps eight hundred years, paired with the *Pañcatraya*, before being translated into Tibetan as a Mahāsūtra in about AD 800 by Jinamitra, Vinaya master of the Ārya Mūlasarvāstivādins and Ācārya of the Kasmiri Vaibhāṣikas, and others. A text may be high profile in one tradition (one school, one order, one textual transmission)—as for example the *Pañcatraya* or the *Māyājāla* in the Sarvāstivāda. In other traditions the same text may be relatively obscure—like the *Pañcatraya* in the Theravāda and apparently most other traditions. Some sūtras may not exist at all in other textual traditions, so that their titles may be completely unfamiliar—like the *Māyājāla* for the Theravāda and apparently for most other schools.

The *Mahāsūtras* were once part of the liturgical life of Indian Buddhism. For those who decided on the structure of the registers of early Tibetan translations, they were on a par with the Prajñāpāramitā, the Buddhāvataṃsaka and the Ratnakūṭa. To be on the

same footing as the Prajñāpāramitā during the Pāla age, when Lady Bhagavatī was extolled and exalted, is hardly a trifle. With the demise of Buddhist monasticism and the destruction of Buddhist libraries, the Sanskrit Mahāsūtra collections were lost as were other collections, whether Āgamas, curricular canons, or liturgical sets, that might have included them. The Mahāsūtras survived as a corpus only in Tibetan translation, but with the passage of time they lost their identity as a set, and merged into the Sūtra sections of the Kanjurs. It is thanks to their popularity in Central Asia, or rather perhaps to the popularity—doctrinal, curricular, ritual or other—of the *Dīrgha-āgama* in Gilgit and along the Northern Silk Route that Sanskrit fragments of the *Pañcatraya* and the *Mayājāla* have survived. It is thanks to their identity and function as Mahāsūtras—and probably thanks specifically to the Vinaya Master Jinamitra—that the *Pañcatraya* and the *Mayājāla* were introduced to Tibet and have survived in Tibetan translation.

I thank the Āgama Research Group at the Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts for inviting me to participate in the Third Āgama Seminar. I am grateful to all of the participants for the papers and discussions that made the Seminar a valuable and enjoyable event in the study of Buddhist textual traditions. I offer my thanks to Bhikṣu Huimin, guiding light on the Golden Mountain, Bhikṣuṇī Dharmadinnā, Bhikṣu Anālayo, and all those who worked so hard to make the seminar a success. I especially thank Dharmadinnā Bhikṣuṇī for her close attention to this paper which inspired reformulations that I hope are improvements. Śubham.

Conventions

Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own. I use Sanskrit forms for general terms and categories, and Sanskrit or Pali for specific titles or usages as appropriate. When used as broad or abstract categories,

terms for textual divisions and genres are capitalized but not italicized. These include Āgama, Nikāya, Piṭaka, Tripiṭaka, Vagga, Śāstra, Mahāsūtra, Rakṣā, Dhāraṇī, Paritta, Tantra, Vaipulya, Avadāna. I only italicize actual, specific titles. This is an uneasy and not especially satisfactory attempt to resolve the European conventions with the Indic, which have no capitals or italics. My own English translations of titles are provisional. They are not italicized. I use Āgama as a general term for Āgamas and Nikāyas, and otherwise either Āgama or Nikāya for specific texts as appropriate. Given that many, even most, of the Āgama texts were transmitted both as Sanskrit sūtras and Pali suttas, and also as Buddhist Sanskrit or Prakrit versions (rarely extant today), there can be no single or definitive resolution of language choice when making reference to texts or ideas. I believe it is best to be true to the source under reference, and that readers should understand this reality and be able to learn from it. Respecting language diversity avoids non-historical flattening while it highlights the overlap and the multilinguality of early Buddhist textuality. I make use of alternate epithets for the Buddha, such as the Fortunate One, the Bhagavat, Śākyamuni. This is to avoid monotony.

Abbreviations

B° (CS)	Burmese edition (Vipassana Research Institute, Chatṭha Saṅgāyana Tipiṭaka 4.0)
BHSD	see Edgerton 1953
DĀ (Skt)	Sanskrit <i>Dīrgha-āgama</i> (Gilgit)
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
<i>Mahāsūtras</i> II	see Skilling 1997
PTS	Pali Text Society
T	Taishō edition

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**The Indic Versions of
the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra*
Some Thoughts on the Early
Transmission of *Āgama* Texts**

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Abstract

The article investigates the relationship of the Gandhari version of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* to its extant parallels in Indic and other languages. The Gandhari text is part of the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts that contains a large variety of texts from different genres of Buddhist literature in Gandhari language and Kharoṣṭhī script. The version of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* is the only *Āgama* text of this collection. Its relationship to other versions reveals the complex mechanisms that accompanied the genesis of canonical and school-specific versions of *Āgama* texts.

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Introduction

So far, only few of the texts preserved in the extant corpus of literature from ancient Gandhara can be assigned to the *Madhyama-āgama*.¹ The majority of them belongs to the so-called Senior Collection, a collection of birch-bark scrolls that were allegedly put together, deposited in a ceramic water pot and buried in a Buddhist *stūpa*. All these scrolls contain *Āgama sūtra* texts and were written by the same scribe. According to Allon, these manuscripts were most probably conceived of as an integral collection of *Āgama sūtras*, commissioned by one person and intended to be ritually buried in a *stūpa* in order to consecrate the place as a substitute for the Buddha's relics.²

In this regard, the Senior manuscripts represent a rather exceptional case. Most of the other larger collections—such as the British Library, the Bajaur and the Split Collections—seem to hail from a library or a similar monastic context.³ Significantly, these monastic collections contain only very few *Āgama* texts.

Interpreting this evidence is not easy. On the one hand, this could indicate that *Āgama sūtras* played only a marginal role in the daily monastic routine and the intellectual discourses of north-western monasteries. On the other hand, there is good reason to assume that *Āgama* texts—like *Vinaya* texts—were known by heart by a selected number of specialist reciters. Thus there was no particular need to put them in writing—contrary to new genres of texts that were mainly transmitted in this new mode of preservation, as e.g. Mahāyāna *sūtras*, commentarial texts and scholastic (Abhidharma) texts.

¹ See Falk and Strauch 2014: 61–64.

² Allon 2007: 3–4; see also Allon and Silverlock 2017 in this volume.

³ Cf. Strauch 2014b: 797–811.

The Bajaur Collection—discovered in 1999 in the ruins of a Buddhist monastery near the Afghan-Pakistan border in the Bajaur district (Khyber/Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan)—extends the scope of writing in a few cases to older, traditionally oral genres of literature.⁴ Thus it contains two manuscripts with canonical *Vinaya* texts and one manuscript with a Gandhari version of a *sūtra* which is a parallel to the *Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (MN 142).

Contrary to the Senior Collection, which contained several *sūtras* with *Madhyama-āgama* parallels, the context of the Bajaur Collection cannot help to settle the question, whether this *sūtra* was perceived as part of a *Madhyama-āgama* collection or not. The task of evaluating the position of this Gandhari text within the broader context of canonical literature has therefore required researchers to concentrate on the shape of the text itself and its relation to the extant parallels.

The present contribution builds on my presentation given at the XVIth IABS conference at the Dharma Drum Buddhist College in Taiwan 2011 and the extended version of it published in 2014.⁵ There I attempted to establish the relationship of the Gandhari version of this text to its direct and indirect parallels.⁶ Moreover, I have taken a closer look at one specific portion that is frequently discussed with regard to its impact on our understanding of the role of the order of Buddhist nuns.

In the first part of this paper (sections I and II), I sum up the results of this comparative study in brief and apply them to the evidence of the few Sanskrit fragments of this *sūtra* that are preserved among the manuscripts from Central Asia and the Indian North-West.

⁴ For a survey of the Bajaur Collection see Strauch 2007/2008, Strauch 2008 and Falk and Strauch 2014.

⁵ Strauch 2014a.

⁶ A survey and short description of these parallels with more bibliographical information is found in Strauch 2014a: 22–27.

In the second, much shorter part (section III), I concentrate on a few selected passages and the particular wording and phrasing and its underlying terminology.

By addressing these two issues I hope to enhance our understanding of the complex processes that determined the evolution of the literary genre of *Āgama sūtras* in general and of the specific textual shape they received once they became part of a written tradition. Of course, the present study represents findings from an individual case only, whose general applicability has to be ascertained by taking into account a broader textual basis.

I. The Overall Structure of the Text in Comparison to its Direct Parallels

For the purpose of the present paper, I limit my study to the direct parallels of the *sūtra*, i.e. to texts that contain complete or incomplete versions of the same story. In short, the direct parallels comprise the following texts:

Indic Versions

Pali *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* (‘Discourse on the Division of Gifts’), MN 142 at MN III 253–258

Sanskrit Schøyen fragment MS 2379/15, unpublished

Sanskrit Turfan fragment SHT III 979, ed. Waldschmidt 1971: 241–242

Chinese Versions

Qutanmi jing 瞿曇彌經 (‘Discourse to Gautamī’), MĀ 180 at T I 721c21–723a7

Fenbiebushi jing 分別布施經 (‘Discourse on the Division of Gifts’), T 84 at T 903b23–904b23

Tibetan Version

Gau ta ma'i mdo (**Gautamī-sūtra*, ‘Discourse to Gautamī’), Up 4103 at D 4094, *ju* 254a1–257a6 (= Q 5595, *tu* 289a8–293a3)⁷

A special case is represented by the Uighur *Maitrisimit*,⁸ which belongs to the indirect parallels, but contains almost the entire text of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* in the context of Maitreya’s prophecy.⁹

Table 1 below illustrates how these direct parallels relate to the Gandhari version with regard to the overall structure of the texts. The asterisk indicates the hypothetical character of school or group affiliation; within the frame are the complete versions.

If we look at this overall structure, it becomes clear that every single version—as long as it is complete—shares the complete inventory of the text’s main elements, with the exception of the late Chinese translation T 84 that lacks the verses. Some of them, however, change the sequence of some sections. According to this feature, two groups can be distinguished:

1. The first group (A) starts introducing the dogmatic part (beginning with section 4) with the enumeration of the seven *saṅgha*-oriented gifts and continues with the fourteen individual gifts. All versions belonging to this group are commonly considered to be based

⁷ For the title of this version, supplied from Up 4108 at D 4094, *ju* 258a1 (= P 5595, *tu* 293b6), see Dhammadinnā 2016. I quote the Tibetan text after Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā’s preliminary edition of the *Madhyama-āgama* quotations in Śamathadeva’s *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā*. I use this opportunity to thank Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā for making the text of this edition available to me along with her richly annotated translation. I also want to thank Cristina Scherrer-Schaub for her valuable advice on the interpretation of some passages of the Tibetan text.

⁸ Ed. Geng 1988: 191–209.

⁹ See Strauch 2014a: 23.

on Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions.¹⁰

2. The second group (B) shows the reverse order of these elements by putting the fourteen individual gifts first and only then the seven *saṅgha*-oriented gifts. This second group comprises all remaining versions. Thus it seems probable that the specific sequence of group A is a distinctive feature of the Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions.

Table 1. Structure of the Direct Parallels

		Gandhari – Bajaur 1	Theravāda – MN 142	*Mūl – Up 4103	*Sarv – MĀ 180	T 84	Maitrisimit	*Sarv – Turfan SHT III 979	Schøyen fragment
0	<i>Nidāna</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0		
1	The Buddha refuses to accept Gautamī's gift	1	1	1	1	1	1		
2	Ānanda's intervention: the mutual services	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
3	The actions calling for respect	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	

¹⁰ I intentionally use the expression 'based on' instead of 'belonging to', here. For a discussion on the *Maitreyasamitiṇāṭaka* and *Maitrisimit* and the limited value of 'school affiliation' as a category of research, cf., e.g., Hartmann 2013 and Anālayo 2017 in this volume.

4	The fourteen individual gifts	4	4	6	6	4	6	6	4
	4.1–14	4.1–14	4.14–1	6.14–1	6.14–1	4.1–14	6.14–1	6.14–1	4.14–1
5	The fruits of these fourteen individual gifts	5	5	7	7	5	7		
	5.1–14	5.1–14	5.1–14	7.1–14	7.1–14	5.1–14	7.1–14		
6	The seven gifts to the order	6	6	4	4	6	4		
7	The fruits of the seven gifts made to the order	7	7	5	5	*7	5		
8	The four ways of purifying a gift	8	8	8	8	8			8
9	The <i>gāthās</i>	9	9	9	9				
	9.1–5	9.1–5	9.1–5	9.1–6	9.1–6				
Groups		B II	B I	A	A	B II	A	A	*B I

If we narrow down our perspective, further differences become obvious.

1. Some of the versions change the sequence of elements in the part concerning the individual gifts (sections 4+5). This part consists of two lists: The first list enumerates the gifts, the second list repeats the enumeration by specifying the reward which is to be expected from the respective gift. Here, two subgroups can be distinguished: The first of them (I) starts the enumeration with the highest recipient and continues the subsequent reward list in the reverse order. This structure is found in all versions with the exception of the Chinese translation by Dānapāla (T 84) and the Gandhari version, which in-

stead start the enumeration with the lowest recipient. This parallelism, which sets these two versions apart from the others, possibly reflects a local or regional north-western tradition.¹¹

2. The second type of difference consists of varying strategies of enlargement and abbreviation, mainly on the basis of certain stock phrases that are typical of canonical language. There is no consistent pattern among the extant versions. Thus it seems that certain parts of a *sūtra* text were on a microscopic level subject to a rather deliberate treatment which much depended on the individual choice of a reciter or scribe.¹² Alterations of this kind do not significantly affect the sense of the *sūtra*.

3. In certain cases, however, even the content of the *sūtra* is affected, as demonstrated with regard to the way the order of nuns is mentioned among the seven gifts. It is possible that such rather essential redactional changes were motivated by the specific historical and institutional context when this text was finally fixed;¹³ on the other hand, an alternative possible explanation are unintentional errors and variations in oral transmission.

If we were to evaluate the position of the Gandhari version within the extant literary traditions of this *sūtra*, it is most closely related on the structural level to the rather late Chinese translation T 84 with which it shares both the (inherited) sequence of sections 4 to 7 (= Group B) and the changed sequence of the individual gifts in section 4 (subgroup II). Despite this general structural parallelism, both versions are nonetheless rather different from each other on a microscopic level and are not particularly closely related.¹⁴

¹¹ Strauch 2014a: 33–36.

¹² As an example I refer to my analysis of section 3 (actions calling for respect) in Strauch 2014a: 27–33; on abbreviation practices see also Skilling 2017: 287–292 in this volume.

¹³ See Strauch 2014a: 36–45

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., the different treatment of the gifts to the order (Strauch 2014a: 42).

II. The Sanskrit Fragments

As important as translations of *Āgama sūtras* into Chinese or Tibetan are, the language of translation, especially in the case of Chinese, often does not allow a reliable reconstruction of the underlying Indic version on which these translations are based. Thus the translations can provide valuable data for the structure of a text, but the testimony on other levels of the *sūtra* text is rather limited. Therefore, manuscript remains of other Indic versions of an *Āgama sūtra* that represent traditions different from the Pali canon are particularly valuable witnesses for a reconstruction of the textual history of a discourse.

In the following, I try to determine the position of the two small Sanskrit fragments of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* among the parallel versions.

II.1 Sanskrit Fragment SHT III 379

In the case of the Turfan fragment SHT III 979 the picture is rather clear. The manuscript was discovered by the Third Turfan expedition (December 1905–April 1907) in the so-called ‘Handschriften-Höhle’ (‘Manuscripts Cave’) in Šorčuq and is written in North-Turkestan Brāhmī, Type a-b (see Sander 1968: 182–183). Its text corresponds to sections 2–4 of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra*.¹⁵

¹⁵ I quote the text according to Waldschmidt 1971: 241 and the correction made by Wille 2000: 186. I adjusted the labels ‘V’ and ‘R’ of Waldschmidt’s edition to the structure of the text: ‘V’ = recto, ‘R’ = verso. Images of the fragment can be found in Waldschmidt 1971: Tafel 92 and in the database of the International Dunhuang project (<http://idp.bl.uk>).

SHT III 379 recto

- 1 /// ++ (bhaga)[vantam] vījayamānaḥ athā[y]. + ///
 2 /// ++ .. yā bhaga(v)āṃ mā[tu]r=janetryā kā(la) ///
 3 /// [praj]ā[pa]tyā [g]au[ta]myā .. ca ○ ///
 4 /// (ma)[hāp]rajāpatī gau ○ ///
 5 /// [n] .. ritaḥ aham=a[p]y=ā[na]nda ma(hā) ///
 6 /// + + + (g)[au](ta)m[ī] bu[ddh]e a[bhip]rasannā
 dharme ///

SHT III 379 verso

- 1 /// +++ .. nti[kā bu]d[dh]e niṣkāṅkṣā dharm[e] ///
 2 /// [ntī] ya ā[nan]da [p]u[dga]lo=[yam] pu[d]. ///
 3 /// ++ (śara)[na]ṃ [gacchat]i ○ ///
 4 /// (ni)ṣ[k]ā[nk](ṣā) [bhava]ti duḥ[khe s]a ○ ///
 5 /// + .. [ta]sya pu[d]gala[s]ya na sukaram y[a] + ///
 6 /// +++ (sa)ṅghagatā dakṣiṇā[ś=ca]tur[d](aśa) ///

Tables 2 and 3 in the subsequent pages illustrate the relationship of SHT III 979 to the Gandhari and Pali versions and to the Tibetan version to which it is most closely related.

Table 2 and 3. The Text of SHT III 979 in Relation to
the Gandhari, Pali and Tibetan Versions of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra*

SHT III 979 (recto)	BajC1	MN 142	Up 4103
Section 2			
(2) /// ++ (bhaga)[vantam] vījayamānaḥ athā[y]. + ///		(2) evaṃ vutte āyasmā ānando bhagavantam etadavoca: patigaṇhātu bhante, bhagavā mahāpajā- patiyā gotamiyā navam dussayugam	(2) de'i tshe tshe dang ldan pa kun dga' [bo] bcom ldan 'das kyi rgyab logs na rlung yab thogs te bcom ldan 'das la rlung yab gyob cing 'dug par 'gyur to de nas tshe dang ldan pa kun dga' bos bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad ces gsol to
(2.1) /// + + . . yā bhaga(v)āṃ mā[tu] = janetryā kā(la) ///	(2.1) /// (mahaprayava)[ti] go[dami] madu janitri kalagada [e] avaia [poṣi](ga) ///	(2.1) bahūpakārā bhante, mahāpajāpati gotamī bhagavato mātucchā āpādikā posikā khīrassa dāyikā, bhagavantam janetiyā kālakatāya thaññaṃ pāyesi.	(2.1) btsun pa skye dgu'i bdag mo chen mo gau ta ma'i ni bcom ldan 'das la phan pa mang po byed pa ste bcom ldan 'das btsas ma thag tu yum sgyu ma dus las 'das te rang gi nu ma bsnun cing gsos cher

SHT III 979 (recto)	BajC1	MN 142	Up 4103
[pra]j[ā]pa]tyā [g]au[ta]myā .. ca ○ /// (2.2) (ma)[hāp]rajāpatī gau ○ ///	(2.2)	bhagavāpi bhante, bahū- pakāro mahāpajāpatiṃ gotamiyā.	bskyed pa lags kyis bcom ldan 'das thugs brtse bar dgongs te gos sar pa gser gyi mdog lta bu zung gnyis po 'di skye dgu'i bdag mo chen mo las bzhes su gsol
/// [n] .. ritah aham=a[p]y=ā[na]nda ma(hā) ///	(ma)[ha]prayavadi goda- mie bahokaro ta kiṣa hetu ma[ma] ///		(2.2) kun dga' bo de de bzhin te skye dgu'i bdag mo chen mo gau ta ma'i ni nga la phan pa mang po byed pa btsas pa ma thag tu yum sgyu ma dus las 'das te rang gi nu ma bsnun zhing gsos cher bskyed pa yin mod kyi 'on kyang nga yang skye dgu'i bdag mo chen mo la phan pa mang po byed pa ste de ci'i phyir zhe na

SHT III 979 (recto)	BajC1	MN 142	Up 4103
(2.2.1) /// + + + (g)[au]((ta)m[ī] bu[ddh]e a[bhīp]rasannā dharme ///	(2.2.1) --	(2.2.1) bhagavantam bhante, āgama mahā- pajāpatī gotamī buddham saraṇaṃ gatā, dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gatā, saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gatā.	(2.2.1) kun dga' bo dge ba'i bshes gnyen nga dang phrad pas skye dgu'i bdag mo chen mo sangs rgyas la mngon par dad cing chos dang dge 'dun la mngon par dad pa dang
SHT III 979 (verso)	BajC 1	MN 142	Up 4103
Section 2			
(2.2.2) --	(2.2.2) --	(2.2.2) bhagavantam bhante agamma mahāpajā- patī gotamī pānātipātā paṭiviratā, adinnādānā paṭi- viratā, kāmesumicchācārā paṭiviratā, musāvādā paṭi- viratā, surāmeraya-majja- pamādaṭṭhānā paṭiviratā.	(2.2.2) sangs rgyas la skyabs su song chos dang dge 'dun las skyabs su song

SHT III 979 (verso)	BajC 1	MN 142	Up 4103
(2.2.3) /// + + + ... nti[kā bu]d[dh]e niṣkāṅksā dharm[e] ///	(2.2.3) --	(2.2.3) bhagavantam bhante āgama mahā- pajāpatī gotamī buddhe aveccappasādena sama- nnāgātā, dhamme ave- ccappasādena sammānāgātā saṅghe aveccappasādena sammānāgātā, ariyakantehi sīlehi sammānāgātā.	(2.2.3) sangs rgyas la mtha' gcig tu nges chos dang dge 'dun la mtha' gcig tu nges
(2.2.4) --	(2.2.4) /// (panadi)[pa](tade prati)[virata adiṃ]nadanade prativirada (kameṣu michacarade prativirada) (mu)[ṣa]vadade pradivirada suramerea- majapramati[tha](nade prativirada)	(2.2.4) bhagavantam bhante, āgama mahāpajāpatī gotamī dukkhe nikkāṅkhā, dukkhasamudaye nikkāṅ- khā, dukkhanirodhe nikkāṅ- khā, dukkhanirodhagāmi- niyā paṭipadāya nikkāṅkhā. bhagavāpi bhante bahūpa- kāro mahāpajāpatiyā gota- miyāti. evam etaṃ ānanda, evam etaṃ ānanda.	(2.2.4) sangs rgyas dang chos dang dge 'dun la the tshom dang yid gnyis dang bral sdug bsngal dang kun 'byung dang 'gog pa dang lam la the tshom dang yid gnyis dang bral bden pa mthong zhing phyir mi 'ong ba 'i 'bras bu rtogs te

SHT III 979 (verso)	BajC 1	MN 142	Up 4103
Section 3			
(3.1) /// [nū] ya ā[nan]da [p]u[dga]lo=[yam] pu[d]. ///	(3.1) (yo ho anaṃda pugalo) (pu)[ga](o) agamo budha janati [dha]ṃ(ma janati saṃgha janati) (*anaṃda taṣa pugalaṣa na suka)[r](o paḍihato yam ida civara- piṇḍavadaśeṇaṣaṇo- glaṇapraceabheṣaṇo- parikharo	(3.1) yaṃ hi ānanda, puggalo puggalaṃ āgama buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gato hoti, dhammaṃ sara- ṇaṃ gato hoti, saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gato hoti. imaṣṣānanda, puggalassa imīnā puggalena na suppatikāraṃ vadāmi, yad idaṃ abhivādana paccu- ṭṭhāna-añjalikamma- sāmiṭṭikamma-cīvara- piṇḍapāta-senāsana-gīlāna- paccaya-bhesajja-pari- kkhārānuppadānena.	(3.1) kun dga' bo gang zag gang zhig gang zag gang zhig dang phrad pas sangs rgyas la mngon par dang chos dang dge 'dun la mngon par dang
(3.2) /// + + (sara)[na]ṃ [gaccha]ṭṭi o ///	(3.2) yo ho anaṃda pugalo pugalo agamo) /// (...) [anaṃda ta]ṣa [p](u)[g](alaṣa na s)u[karo] paḍihato yam	(3.2) yaṃ hānanda, pugga- lo puggalaṃ āgama. pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti, adinnādānā paṭivirato hoti, kāmesu micchācārā paṭi-	(3.2) sangs rgyas la skyabs su song chos dang dge 'dun la skyabs su song

SHT III 979 (verso)	BajC 1	MN 142	Up 4103
	ida civarapiṇḍavada- śeṇaṣano-gīlanapracea- bheṣajoparikharo	virato hoti, musāvādā paṭi- virato hoti, surāmeraya- majja-pamādatṭhānā paṭi- virato hoti. imassānanda, puggalassa iminā pugga- lena na suppatikāraṃ vadāmi. yad idaṃ abhivā- danapaccuṭṭhāna-añjali- kamma-sāmicikamma- cīvara-piṇḍapāta-senāsana- gilānapaccaya-bhesajja- parikkhārānuppadānena.	
(3.3) --	(3.3) yo ho ananda pugalo pugalo agamya budho nikamkṣo dhammo nikakṣo saṃghe nikamkṣo ? (ananda ta)[śa] pugalaṣa na s(u)[karo] paḍi[ha]to yam i(da) civarapiṇḍavado- śeṇaṣanogīlanapracea- bheṣajapari[kha](ro		(3.3) sangs rgyas la mtha' gcig tu nges chos dang dge 'dun la mtha' gcig tu nges

SHT III 979 (verso)	BajC 1	MN 142	Up 4103
(3.4) /// (ni)ṣ[k]ā[ṇk](ṣā) [bhava]ti duh[khe s]a ○ /// [ta]sya pu[d]gala[s]ya na sukaram y[a] + ///	(3.4) yo ho ananda pugalo pugalo agamya) /// (...) /// (anamda tasa) pugalaśa na (sukaro paḍihato yam)i](da) [civarapimḍava]doś(e)na- sanogilaṇapra[c](e)[a- bhe]ṣajaparikhā[r](e)[na	(3.4) yaṃ hānanda, puggalo puggalaṃ āgama dukkhe nikkañ- kho hoti, dukkha- samudaye nikkāṅkho hoti, dukkhanirodhe nikkāṅkho hoti, dukkhanirodha- gāminiyā paṭipadāya nikkaṅkho hoti. imassānanda, puggalassa iminā puggalena na suppatikāraṃ vadāmi. yad idaṃ abhivādana- paccuṭṭhāna-añjalikamma- sāmicikamma-cīvara- piṇḍapāta-senāsana- gilānapaccaya-bhesajja- parikkhārānuppadānena.	sangs rgyas dang chos dang dge 'dun la the tshom dang yid gnyis dang bral sdug bsngal dang kun 'byung dang 'gog pa dang lam la the tshom dang yid gnyis dang bral bden pa mthong zhing phyr mi 'ong ba 'i 'bras bu mngon par rtogs te gang zag de la gang zag 'dis ji srid 'tsho 'i bar du 'di lta ste chos gos dang bsod snyoms dang mal cha dang stan dang na ba 'i gsos sman dang nye bar byas pa thams cad kyis lan glan par sla ba ma yin no

SHT III 979 (verso)	BajC 1	MN 142	Up 4103
Section 4			
(4) /// + + + (sa)ṅghagatā daksṇā[ś=ca]tur[d](āśa) ///	(4) caṭṭi(daśa iśa) [anam](da) [pa]dipo[galiga dha]kṣiṇa kadara caṭṭaśa iśa anamda	(4) cuddasa kho panim ānanda, pātipuggalikā dakkhiṇā. katamā cuddasa.	(4) kun dga' bo dge 'dun du gyur pa'i yon gnas bdun dang gang zag ni bcu bzhi yod de dge 'dun du gyur pa yon gnas bdun gang zhe na

As this survey shows, SHT III 979 shares an important feature with the texts of Group A (Chinese MĀ 180, Tibetan): the Sanskrit fragment contains an introductory phrase that mentions gifts to the order (*saṅgha*) before enumerating individual gifts. Only the versions of Group A (including the Uighur *Maitrisimit*) share this feature:

SHT III 979

Line 6v /// + + + (*sa*)*ṅghagatā dakṣiṇā[ś ca]tur[d](aśa) ///*

Tibetan Up 4103

*kun dga' bo dge 'dun du gyur pa'i yon gnas bdun dang
gang zag ni bcu bzhi yod de |*

Chinese MĀ 180

不得報恩。復次。阿難。有七施眾。有十四私施。
得大福。得大果。得大功德。得大廣報。

It can therefore be assumed that SHT III 979 followed the same sequence as the other versions of group A. Moreover, in all three versions of Group A, Ānanda is described as fanning the Buddha (section 2). Although this element is not unique in canonical literature,¹⁶ its insertion into the narrative of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* is peculiar to the texts of Group A.¹⁷ None of the other versions shares this specific phrase.

SHT III 979

Line 1r /// + + + (*bhaga*)[*vantaṃ*] *vīṣayamānaḥ athā[y]*. + ///

Tibetan Up 4103

de'i tshe tshe dang ldan pa kun dga' [bo] bcom ldan 'das

¹⁶ E.g., this attribute is found in the versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in nearly all extant versions, including that of the Theravādins (DN 16 at DN II 73,22–23) (see Waldschmidt 1951: II.108); I owe this reference to Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā.

¹⁷ As an exception, the Uighur *Maitrisimit* does not refer to this attribute.

*kyi rgyab logs na rlung yab thogs te | bcom ldan 'das la rlung
yab gyob cing 'dug par 'gyur to || de nas tshe dang ldan pa
kun dga' bos bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad ces gsol to ||*

Chinese MĀ 180

尊者阿難立世尊後執拂侍佛。於是。尊者阿難白曰。
世尊。此大生主瞿曇彌於世尊多所饒益。世尊母命
終後乳養世尊。

Thus the relationship between the Sanskrit fragment SHT III 979 and the Tibetan and Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* versions is rather obvious. In general, the Sanskrit text is nearly identical to the Tibetan translation, including the treatment of the actions calling for respect (section 3) which is otherwise rather heterogeneous and which is also different in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* version (T 26) that also belongs to group A.¹⁸

II.2 Sanskrit Fragment MS 2379/15 in the Schøyen Collection

More complicated is the case of the small fragment from the Schøyen Collection.¹⁹ Although the exact origin of the manuscripts

¹⁸ For further details see Strauch 2014a: 29–33. As the present survey shows, my evaluation of the relation between SHT III 979 and the Tibetan text in Strauch 2014a was not quite correct. It rather seems that the treatment of this topic is nearly identical in both versions, with the sequence: 1) Three Jewels + *abhiprasanna* (Tib. *mngon par dad*), 2) Three Jewels + *śaraṇam gam-* (Tib. *skyabs su song*), 3) Three Jewels + *niḥkāṅkṣa* (≈ Tib. *mtha' gcig tu nges* ‘unwavering certainty’), 4) Three Jewels + 4 Noble Truths + *niḥkāṅkṣa* (≈ Tib. *the tshom dang yid gnyis dang bral* ‘without uncertainty and doubt’).

¹⁹ This fragment was hitherto unpublished. Some years ago, Jens-Uwe Hartmann provided me with the photographs and transliteration of the

belonging to this collection is not entirely clear, they can safely be ascribed to regions in the North-West of the Indian subcontinent, most probably to the area around Bamiyan (Afghanistan).²⁰ According to their palaeographical features, the manuscripts cover the time span from around the second c. AD to the eighth century AD. The *Vinaya* texts of this collection apparently belong to the Mahā-sāṅghika(-Lokottaravāda) school.²¹

The present fragment does not seem to belong to any of the other preserved manuscript remains and is therefore the only remnant of this *sūtra* among the manuscripts of the Martin Schøyen Collection.²² It is written in an early Gupta Brāhmī of the third-fourth century AD.²³ The language is a Buddhist Sanskrit that is still considerably influenced by Middle Indic phonology and grammar (cf. *dānaṃ deti* for Sanskrit *dānaṃ dadāti*, (a)///[ra]hatvaphalaṃ for Sanskrit *arhattvaphalaṃ*, (tira)///[cch]ānugato for Skt. *tiryaggata*, *tiryagyonigata*, *suś-carite* for Sanskrit *sucarite*, probably analogous to *duścarita*).

The preserved text on side A corresponds to section 8 of our *sūtra* that enumerates the four ways of purifying a gift. The text on side B contains the beginning of section 4, the fourteen individual gifts.

fragment. Already in 2002, Peter Skilling identified its text as a parallel to the *Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta*. The fragment was also used by Anālayo 2011: 810–819 in his comparative analysis of this *sūtra*. I want to thank Jens Braarvig and Jens-Uwe Hartmann who allowed me to publish this fragment in this article. The presented text is based on the initial transliteration, which has been improved by my own readings.

²⁰ Braarvig 2000: xiii. For the assumed find-spot, the Zargaran caves 1.2 km east of the Bamiyan Buddhas, see Braarvig 2006: Plates I and II.

²¹ Chung 2002 and 2006, Karashima 2000, 2002 and 2006.

²² Another *Madhyama-āgama* manuscript in this collection is being studied by Vincent Tournier and Gudrun Melzer.

²³ The script is closely related to Sander's Gupta alphabets, group A, e-g (Sander 1968: 85–104, e.g., Tafel 9–20).

Considering the overall structure of the *sūtra* text, Side A is therefore the verso, Side B the recto of the fragment. In the following, I present the images of the fragment and the reconstructed text.²⁴

Figure 1. Fragment MS 2379/15 recto

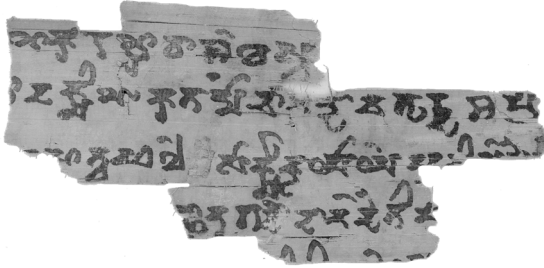
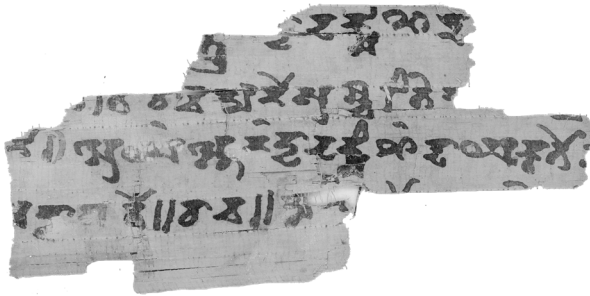


Figure 2. Fragment MS 2379/15 verso



²⁴ I follow here the transliteration conventions of the Series *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*; see Braarvig 2000: xvii. Uncertain reconstructions are additionally marked by an asterisk (*). High resolution images of the fragment can be accessed via Jens Braarvig's *Thesaurus Literaturae Buddhicae* (<https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=library&bid=2>, accessed April 14th, 2016).

MS 2379/15 recto

- 1 /// ṇa k[ā]r.ṇḍavā śaṃkhas[va] ///²⁵
2 /// .. dakṣiṇā katamā cā[na]ndā caturdaśa pr[ā]-
 ///(*tipaudgalikā)
3 (a)///[ra]hatvaphalaṃ { {..} } sāksīkṛyāyaṃ p[r]a[t]i-
 [pa]ṃ[n](*)²⁶e .. ///
4 + + + + (tira)///[cch]ānugato²⁷ dānaṃ deti [a]²⁸ /// +
 + +
5 + + + + + + + /// .i .i + .e .. /// + + +

²⁵ It is presently not possible to give a satisfactory interpretation of the text of line 1 which does not correspond to any of the parallel versions. The preserved *akṣaras* can be reconstructed as *kāraṇḍavā* (see BHSD, s.v. *kāraṇḍava*) and *śaṃkhasvara*. The latter term is related to Pali *saṃkassara* ‘doubtful, wicked’ (see PTSD, s.v.) and is attested in Buddhist Sanskrit in the compound *śaṃkhasvarasamācāra* ‘of vile conduct’. The term is also found in the Mahāvīyutpatti where it is translated by Tibetan *lug pong ltar spyad pa* (ed. Sakaki 1916–1925: no. 9141). Closely related is the following entry *saṃkasusamācāra* = Tibetan *lung rul ba lta bur gyur pa* (ed. Sakaki 1916–1925: no. 9142). Both translations are rather unsatisfactory attempts to represent the Sanskrit original. Cf. also Edgerton’s discussion of this term in BHSD, s.v. *śaṃkhasvarasamācāra*). The preceding term *kāraṇḍava* ‘chaff’ can be used in the sense ‘dirt, impurity’ (PTSD, s.v.). Both terms are perhaps meant to designate a wicked person. It is therefore possible that this line refers to a similar paraphrase in the original text as lines x and z of the verso (see below). In the present case, it is however unclear to which parallel text passage this text can be related.

²⁶ Cf. for this reconstruction the spelling *ānaṃnda* in line y verso.

²⁷ The peculiar form (tira)[cch]ānugato (Skt. *tiryaggata*, *tiryagyonigata*) seems to correspond to Gandhari [ciriṇānuga](da)[śa]. Cf. also Pali *tiracchānagate*, Buddhist Skt. *tiracchāna* (BHSD, s.v.).

²⁸ The remaining traces of this *akṣara* resemble an initial *a/ā* (for *ayaṃ* or *ānaṃndā* ?).

MS 2379/15 verso

w	+++ (a)///tr(ānaṃn)d[ā] dakṣ[i]ṇa(ṃ) d[ā]///(ya- kato)
x	+++ g. v[ā]ca mano suścarite .. /// + + /// .. ///
y	/// [t]. ayaṃ ānaṃndā dakṣiṇaṃ dāyakato [ś]///(*udhyati)
z	(sam)///[ma]n[v]ā[g]ato vāca m[a][no] .. .o + + .e + + ///

Since the fragment is part of a palm-leaf manuscript, it should have been shaped in the long *poṭhi* format that contains about five to six lines of text. On both sides the complete height of only four lines is preserved with a small part of the upper portion of line 5 on the recto. Thus it is impossible to determine exactly the number of lines on this manuscript. Theoretically it should be possible to roughly calculate the length of a line on the basis of the recto side where we clearly read the beginning of the enumeration of the fourteen individual gifts (section 4), followed by the reference to the *arhattva-phalasākṣīkriyāyāṃ pratipanna-* in line 3 and the *tiracchānugata-* in line 4. The preserved text already makes it clear that according to our grouping the fragment belongs to the group of texts that enumerate the individual gifts in a descending order, a feature that is shared by all extant version with the exception of the Gandhari version and T 84. The three lines ought to have contained the entire list down to the animals as its last entry.

The following tables 4 and 5 illustrate the relation of the preserved text of MS 2379/15 to its Indic parallels BajC 1 (here in reverse order according to the structure of MS 2379/15) and the *Dakṣhiṇāvibhaṅga-sūta*.

Table 4. Reconstructed Text of MS 2379/15 Recto, Lines 2–5 in Relation to the Gandhari and Pali Parallels

MS 2379/15 (recto)	BajC 1	MN 142
Section 4		
(4) ///. dakṣiṇā katamā cā[na]ndā caturdaśa pr[ā]///(*tipaudgalikā)	(4) [caū](daśa iśa) [anaṃ](da) [pa]di- po[galigā dha l]kṣiṇa kadara caūdaśa iśa ananḍa (4.14) + + + (taśa)[ga](da)[śa] (araha- daśa samasabu)[dha]śa prac(e)adano det[i] (4.13) (praceabudhaśa pracea- dano deti) (4.12) (arahadaśa praceadano deti) (4.11) (arahadae paḍivaṃne śa pra)[ceadano deti]	(4) cuddasa kho panim, ānanda, pāti- puggalikā dakkhinā. katamā cuddasa (4.1) tathāgate arahante sammāsam- buddhe dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ paṭhamā pāti- puggalikā dakkhinā. (4.2) paccakabuddhe dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ dutiyā pātipuggalikā dakkhinā (4.3) tathāgatasāvake arahante dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ tatiyā pātipuggalikā dakkhinā (4.4) arahattaphalasacchi- kiriya paṭipanne dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ catutthī pātipuggalikā dakkhinā.
(4.4) (a)///[ra]hatvaphalaṃ { { . } } sāksīkriyāyaṃ p[r]a[t]i[p]a[m]n[(*n)]e .. ///	(4.10) (anagamiṣa praceadano deti) (4.9) anaga[m]i[(dae) paḍivaṃne]śa praceada[n](o deti) (4.8) [śaīdagami]śa praceadan[o] deti (4.7) [śaīda]gami- [da] paḍi[vaṃne]śa praceadano deti)	(4.5) anāgāmissa dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ pañcamī pātipuggalikā dakkhinā. (4.6) anāgāmphalasacchakiriya paṭipanne dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ chaṭṭhī pātipuggalikā dakkhinā.

MS 2379/15 (recto)	BajC 1	MN 142
(4.14) + + + + (tira)///[cch]ānugato dānaṃ deti [a] /// + + +	(4.6) (soda)[va]na⟨sa⟩ praceadano deti (4.5) (sodavanadae paḍivamvaṃmeaṣa praceadano deti (4.4) iṣa bahiragaṣa kamehi vidaragaṣa praceadano deti (4.3) śilavam[taṣa] man(u)śahoda[sa] praceadano de[ti] (4.2) duśilaṣa manuśahodaṣa praceadano deti (4.1) ciriṭānugadaṣa praceā[dano] deti	(4.7) sakadāgāmiṣa dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ sattamī pātipuggalikā dakkhiṇā. (4.8) sa- kadāgāmiṣaḥasacchakiriyya paṭipanne dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ aṭṭhamī pātipuggalikā dakkhiṇā. (4.9) sotāpanne dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ navamī pātipuggalikā dakkhiṇā. (4.10) sotāpattiṣaḥasacchakiriyya paṭipanne dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ dasamī pātipuggalikā dakkhiṇā. (4.11) bāhirake kāmesu vītaraḡe dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ ekādasamī pātipuggalikā dakkhiṇā. (4.12) puthujjanaśīlavante dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ dvādasamī pātipug- galikā dakkhiṇā. (4.13) puthujjanadussīle dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ terasamī pātipuggalikā dakkhiṇā. (4.14) tiracchānagata dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ cuddasamī pātipuggalikā dakkhiṇāti.

Even if we concede that the text of MS 2379/15 contained a rather short form of this enumeration by only repeating *dānaṃ deti* (as the Gandhari version does), it is impossible to clearly place the missing text in even portions into these two lines.²⁹ Hence it seems that the text of MS 2379/15 contained an abbreviated version of this list. On the basis of the preserved text, it is not feasible to determine the exact character of this abbreviated version, that is, whether the text may reflect an oral or scribal abbreviation or else it belongs to a different, abridged version.

Unfortunately, the evidence on the verso is not much better. According to the preserved text in line 3, *ayaṃ ānaṃndā dakṣiṇaṃ dāyakāto*, this part must belong to section 8 of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* (four ways of purifying a gift). This phrase occurs in the parallel Indic versions in two different contexts of section 8 (see Table 5, marked as 8b.1 and 8b.4). If our reading of the last preserved letter (ś.) is correct, the preserved phrase should correspond to the entry 8b.1 (Gandhari [*aya anaṃda*] *dhakṣina dayato śujati*, Pali *evaṃ kho, ānanda, dakkhiṇā dāyakato visujjhati*).

²⁹ According to my hypothetical reconstruction of the missing Sanskrit (with the reading *dānaṃ deti* at the end of each entry) text line 2–3 would contain about 53 *akṣaras* and line 3–4 about 130 *akṣaras*. Even without *dānaṃ deti* (= 4 *akṣaras*) it is not possible to establish a reconstructed text that would correspond to the lost portions of the lines. Even if we assumed that the phrase /// + + + (*tira*)[*cch*]*ānugat[to]* *dānaṃ deti* .. + + + /// in line r4 of MS 2379/15 belonged to the subsequent section 5 where the rewards of the respective gifts are listed, this would not solve the problem, since this list starts with this entry. This option is also less probable, because both Indic versions use an absolutive form here (Gandhari *praceadano daiṭa*, Pali *dānaṃ datvā*).

Table 5. The Reconstructed Text of MS 2379/15 Verso
in Relation to the Gandhari and Pali Parallels

MS 2379/15 (verso)	BajC 1	MN 142
Section 8		
Line w: + + + + + (a)//tr(ānam)d[ā] daks[i]ṇa(m) d[ā]//(ya- kato)	catvarime anamda dhakṣiṇa pariśodhi kadara catva[ri (8a.1)]ast[(i) dhakṣiṇa dayado śujati na paḍigahado (8a.2) asti dhakṣiṇa paḍigahado śujati na dayado (8a.3) asti dhakṣi[na] nevi dayado śujati na paḍigahato (8a.4) asti dha[kṣiṇa dayato ca paḍigahato ca śujati	catasso kho imā, ānanda, dakkhiṇā- visuddhiyo. katamā catasso: (8a.1) atthānanda, dakkhiṇā dāyakato visujjhati no paṭiggāhakato. (8a.2) atthānanda, dakkhiṇā paṭiggāhakato visujjhati. No dāyakato. (8a.3) atthānanda, dakkhiṇā neva dāyakato visujjhati nopatiḍgāhakato. (8a.4) atthānanda, dakkhiṇā dāyakato ceva visujjhati paṭiggāhakato ca.

MS 2379/15 (verso)	BaIC 1	MN 142
Line x: + + /// g. v[ā]ca mano suścarite ... /// + + /// ... /// Line y: /// [t]. ayaṃ ānaṃdā dakṣiṇaṃ dāyakato [ś]///(*udhyati)	(8b.1) kaṣa ca anaṃda dhakṣiṇa dayado śujāti na paḍigahato iṣa anaṃda dayao śilava bhoti kalanadhamo paḍigahao duṣilo bhoti [pava]dhamo [aya anaṃda] dhakṣiṇa dayato śujāti na paḍigahato	(8b.1) kathañ cānanda, dakkhinā dāyakato visujjhati no paṭiggāhakato. idhānanda, dāyako hoti silavā kalyāṇadhammo, paṭiggāhakā honti duṣṣilā pāpadhammā. evaṃ kho, ānanda, dakkhinā dāyakato visujjhati no paṭiggāhakato.
Line z: (sam)///[ma]n[v]ā[glato vāca m[a][no] .. o + + .e + + ///	(8b.2) kaṣaṃ ca anada dhakṣiṇa paḍigahato śujāti na dayato iṣa anada paḍigrahao śilava bhoti kalanadhammo dayao duṣilo bhoti pavadhammo aya anaṃda paḍigaheado śujāti na dayato	(8b.2) kathañ cānanda, dakkhinā paṭiggāhakato visujjhati no dāyakato: idhānanda dāyako hoti duṣṣilo papa- dhammo, paṭiggāhakā honti śilavanto kalyāṇadhammā. evaṃ kho, ānanda, dakkhinā paṭiggāhakato visujjhati no dāyakato.

MS 2379/15 (verso)	BajC 1	MN 142
	(8b.3) kasam ca anamda dhakṣiṇa nevi dayato śūjati na paḍigahato iśa anamda [daya]o duṣiḷlo bh(o)ṭi pavadhhammo paḍigahao ve duṣiḷlo bhoti pavadhhammo aya anamda dhakṣiṇa nevi dayato na paḍigahato śūjati	(8b.3) kathaṇ cānanda, dakkhiṇā neva dāyakato visujjhati no paṭiggāhakato. idhānanda, dāyako ca hoti duṣṣiḷlo papa-dhammo, paṭiggāhakā ca honti duṣṣiḷla pāpadhammā. evaṃ kho, ānanda, dakkhiṇā neva dāyakato visujjhati no paṭi-ggāhakato
	(8b.4) kasam ca anamda dhakṣiṇa dayato paḍigahaṭṭi(o) [ca ś]ujati dayago vi śilava bhoti kalanadhammo paḍigahao vi śilava bhoti kalanadhammo aya anamda dhakṣiṇa dayato vi paḍigahato vi śūjati	(8b.4) kathaṇ cānanda, dakkhiṇā dāyakato ceva visujjhati paṭiggāhakato ca: idhānanda, dāyako ca hoti silavā kalyā-ṇadhammo, paṭiggāhakā ca honti silavanto kalyāṇadhammā. evaṃ kho, ānanda, dakkhiṇā dāyakato ceva visujjhati paṭiggāhakato ca. imā kho, ānanda, catasso dakkhiṇāvi-suddhiyo ti.

The preceding text seems to refer to the section before. The preserved *akṣara* [t]r. probably corresponds to Sanskrit *atra*, which can be interpreted as an erroneous Sanskritisation of Middle Indic *atthānanda* (Pali) = *asti ānanda* (Gandhari). After the word *dakṣiṇa* the letter *d*. is clearly discernible. It should be the beginning of a following *dāyakato*. The thus reconstructed phrase (*a*)tr(*ānaṃn*)dā daks[i]ṇa(m) d(*āyakato*) would correspond to the beginning of either section 8a.1 or 8a.4 of the parallels (see Table 5).

The relation between MS 2379/15 and the parallel Indic versions is further complicated by the fact that the text of MS 2379/15 seems to insert elements that are not found in the Indic versions and most of the other parallels.

In lines x and z of the fragment we read the two apparently related text passages:

x	++ /// g. v[ā]ca mano suścarite .. /// ++ /// .. //
z	(sa)///[ma]n[v]ā[g]ato // vāca // m[a][no] .. o ++ .e ++ ///

This text is missing in most of the parallel versions, but a possible suggestion is that it somehow replaced or paraphrased the words that are used in the parallel Indic versions to describe the virtuous giver: Gandhari *śilava*, *kalanadhaṃmo*, Pali *silavanto kalyāṇadhammā*. By doing so, it made use of a different terminology which is also attested in the canonical language where we find the triad (Pali) *kāya*-, *vāci*-, *manosucaritam* ‘good conduct with regard to body, speech and mind’. According to the parallels, these attributes belong to the second part of section 8 (= 8b).

Interestingly, one of Chinese parallels—the late translation T 84—seems to reflect the same terminology and contains in the parallel passages of section 8b the attributes 身業清淨, 口業清淨, 意業清淨,

which clearly translate the underlying Indic original and correspond to the Skt. text of MS 2379/15.³⁰ These attributes are used in all four entries in section 8b, either in a positive or in a negative sense. Since the text in line z is lacking a clear statement in this regard, it could belong to any of the four entries (8b.1–4).

It is difficult to determine the exact amount of missing text on MS 2379/15. On the one hand, the text of line y *ayaṃ ānaṃdā dakṣiṇaṃ dāyakato* [ś]. (8b.1) is preceded by these attributes in line x and separated from them by an entire missing line. On the other hand, an entire line separates the text of line y from the subsequent reference to these attributes in line z. Since the entry 8b.4 would not have been followed by such a further reference, our identification of line y with the entry 8b.1 gets further confirmation. In this case, however, the missing text between line x and y would be rather short, if related to the parallels. Since we have no means to determine the exact wording of the text of MS 2378/15 in this passage, the evidence is not sufficient to reliably establish the missing text and its exact relation to the extant parallels. It cannot even be excluded that the Sanskrit text used a completely different order to the extant parallels.³¹

This uncertainty makes it also impossible to formulate a clear statement about the amount of missing text in one line. Only such a statement, however, would allow us to safely establish whether the text of MS 2379/15 listed the fourteen individual gifts directly before the four purifications—as only the versions of group A do—or

³⁰ Translated in Tsukamoto 1988: 1099; cf. also Anālayo 2011: 818, note 297: “T 84 at T I 904a27 deals with the same topic in terms of purity of bodily, verbal and mental action.”

³¹ Such a ‘corrupt’ treatment is, for example, found in T 84; cf. Anālayo 2011: 818, note 297: “the listing of the four types of purification in T 84 seems to have suffered from some textual error.”

whether the missing portions of the fragment contained the seven gifts to the *saṃgha* between these two sections.

It is obvious that the text of MS 2379/15 does not parallel any of the preserved versions of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra*. This observation can point to two different explanations: Either the text of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* was considerably different in the tradition represented by this manuscript, or the manuscript's text contains a commented version of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* or quotations from the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* in the context of a commentary or scholastic treatise.

III. Differences in Idiomatic and Terminological Usages

The now extant four Indic versions of this *sūtra* (Pali, Gandhari, Buddhist Sanskrit, Sanskrit) together with their parallels in translations and some quotations in other works allow us to examine how the actual *sūtra* was treated on a more microscopic level, leaving aside the structural differences discussed above. In other words: How stable was an *Āgama sūtra* text with regard to its wording?

For the sake of brevity I limit this study to a few examples from sections 4 (fourteen individual gifts) and 5 (rewards of the individual gifts). As Table 1 (above) shows, at least parts of these interrelated sections are preserved in all extant versions, including the four Indic ones.

The first observation concerns the phrase *praceadano/praceadano deti* that is used throughout sections 4 and 5 of the Gandhari version to describe the individual gift. If they contain that phrase at all, all other versions show here *dānaṃ dā-*:

Pali	<i>dānaṃ deti</i>
Tibetan	<i>sbyin pa sbyin par byed na</i>
Chinese	(布)施

Based on Gandhari phonology, there are two different ways to explain the element *praceā* in this phrase. The first possibility would derive Gandhari *praceā* from Sanskrit *pratyeka*. Accordingly, an interpretation of the Gandhari phrase as either *pratyekadānaṃ dadāti* or *pratyekaṃ dānaṃ dadāti*, i.e., ‘gives an individual gift’ or ‘individually gives a gift’ can be suggested.³² On the other hand, the element *praceā* could also represent Sanskrit *pratyaya*. In this case *praceā* could be related to Pali *paccaya* ‘requisites’,³³ hence yielding the translation ‘donation of a [personal] requisite’ (*pratyaya-dāna*). Alternatively, the word could be connected to the postposition *prace* used in Central Asian Gandhari documents in the sense of ‘concerning, with reference to’ (with acc. or gen.).³⁴ The fact that the parallel passage concerning the gifts to the order does not use this or another postposition in order to designate the recipient of the gift and that the term *pratyayadāna* is completely unknown in Buddhist literature might speak in favour of the first explanation that derives the word from *pratyeka*. However, due to the phonological ambiguity involved here and the lacking parallels it seems presently impossible to offer a definite solution for this problem. Whatever

³² Cf. Gandhari *praceabudha* beside *pracegabudha* for Sanskrit *pratyekabuddha*. Due to these two attested forms, the Gandhari evidence can hardly help to settle the question of the origin of this Buddhist term. For attempts to derive this word from older Ardhamāgadhī forms from Old Indian **prāpteyabuddha* or **pratyayabuddha*, see Norman 1983 and von Hinüber 2001: 193, with a reply in Anālayo 2010.

³³ See PTSD, s.v.

³⁴ Burrow 1937: 42; I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer who drew my attention to the interpretations based on *pratyaya*-.

might be the correct interpretation of this expression, it is not found in any of the other versions and can probably be explained as a Gandhari idiomatic usage.³⁵

The Gandhari version differs also with regard to the terms that describe the aspirants to the different levels of awakening. The two preserved Indic versions as well as the Tibetan translation are based on the conventional terminology that uses °*phala*- + an oblique form of *sākṣīkriyā* + *pratipanna*-:

Pali	<i>arahattaphalasacchikiriya paṭipanne dānaṃ deti</i>
Sanskrit	(a)///[ra]hatvaphalaṃ {{..}} sākṣīkriyāṃ p[r]a- [t]i[pa]m[n]([*] n)e
Tibetan	<i>dgra bcom pa'i 'bras bu mngon du bya ba'i phyir zhugs pa</i>

In the Gandhari version, the elements °*phala*- + *sākṣīkriyā* were replaced by an abstract noun on -*tā*, e.g.,

BajC 1	[śaīda]gami[dae paḍivaṃnea](sa praceadano deti)
--------	--

A comparable terminology can be observed in some of the ‘Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*’ texts, e.g. *sakṛdāgāmitāyai pratipannaka*- and *anāgāmitāyai pratipannaka*-.³⁶

³⁵ It must be noted that in its introduction to section 4 the Gandhari version uses also the (inherited) term [pa]ḍipo[galiga dha]kṣina that corresponds to Pali *pāṭipuggalikā dakkhiṇā*. A Sanskrit counterpart was probably used by MS 2379/15: pr. /// line 2 recto).

³⁶ *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* V, ed. Kimura 1992: 154,4-5; *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, ed. Conze 1962: 182,14-15. Instead of *arhattvaphalasākṣīkriyāṃ pratipanna*- both texts use *arhattva-pratipanna*-.

It is possible, but not sure, that this specific terminology is also based on a north-western usage.³⁷

A different case of terminological change is probably represented by the last passage I want to discuss in this context:³⁸

BajC 1 (4.2) *duśiḷaṣa manuśahodaṣa pracea dano deti*
 Pali (4.13) *puthujjanadussiḷe dānaṃ deti, ayaṃ tera-*
samī pāṭipuggalikā dakkhiṇā.

The Pali term *puthujjana* (Skt. *prthagjana*) corresponds to *manuśahoda* (= Skt. *manuṣyabhūta*)³⁹ in the Gandhari version.

The same terminology was also used in the subsequent section 5 where the fruits of these individual gifts are described. Here we observe still another substitution. The noun *dakkhiṇā* “gift” used by the Pali version corresponds to Gandhari *vivao* (Skt. *vipāka*-). In this case, this variant was obviously shared by other versions as the Tibetan equivalent *rnam par smin pa* shows.⁴⁰

³⁷ For the predilection of Gandhari for this type of abstract nouns, see, e.g., the recently published ‘Copper Plates of Helagupta’ (first century AD) with forms like *hidasuhadae* ‘for his own well-being and happiness’ (Skt. *hitasukhatāyai*), *ṇivaṇasabharadae* ‘for the preparation of the *nirvāṇa*’ (Skt. *nirvāṇasambhāratāyai*), *metreasamosanadae* ‘for a meeting with Maitreya’ (Skt. *maitreyasamavadhānatāyai*), etc. (Falk 2014: 5).

³⁸ The Tibetan and the two Chinese versions cannot contribute to our discussion. The Tibetan *skyes bu gang zag* represents rather *puruṣapudgala*. According to the *Mahāvīyutpatti*, Skt. *prthagjana* corresponds to Tibetan *so so’i skye bo* (ed. Sakaki 1916–1925: no. 7125). The Chinese parallels T 26 (施不精進人) and T 84 (二者於破戒人而行布施) only use the character 人 for translating the underlying Indic original.

³⁹ For another occurrence of this term in a Gandhari commentary, cf. Baums 2009: 438.

⁴⁰ The Chinese translations cannot support the reading *vipāka*. They use here the character 福, which corresponds to Skt. *punya* or *dakṣiṇā* (see

- BajC1 (5.2) *duśilaṣa manuśahodaṣa p(r)aceadano dai-*
ta sahaṣaṭṭino vivaṇo paḍiakkidavo
Pali (5.2) *puṭhujjanadussīle dānaṃ datvā sahaṣsa-*
guṇā dakkhiṇā pāṭikaṅkhitabbā.
Tibetan (7.2) *tshul khrims 'chal pa'i skyes bu gang zag la*
sbyin pa sbyin na rnam par smin pa stong 'gyur
du re bar bya'o

Remarkably, a quotation from the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* shows the same two alterations in the text:

tathā hy uktaṃ bhagavatā tiryagyonigatāya dānaṃ dattvā
śataguṇo vipākaḥ pratikāṅkṣitavyaḥ duḥśīlāya manuṣya-
*bhūtāya dānaṃ dattvā sahasraguṇa iti*⁴¹

This evidence could indicate that Vasubandhu was relying on a version of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* whose terminology was closely related to that attested in the Gandhari version of BajC 1. It is not possible to determine whether this was a specific north-western version which was the result of innovations during the process of transmission. It is equally possible that this version preserved some features of an older text, and that the innovations were made on the Pali side rather than by the other extant versions.

Conclusion

The analysis of the different versions of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* yields the following results:

Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/>, s.v.).

⁴¹ *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* IV.117, ed. Pradhan 1967: 270,6-8.

1. On a macroscopic level, the inventory of the main structural units of the text is rather stable. Nearly all of the extant versions contain all the main elements, while certain versions change their sequence. This feature allows the identification of distinct recensions. In the case of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra* the versions that are conventionally ascribed to Sarvāstivāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions (Tibetan, Sanskrit SHT 979, MĀ 180) seem to form a distinct recension of the **Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra*. Among them, the texts of Tibetan and Sanskrit SHT 979 are more closely related to each other than to MĀ 180.
2. The same change of sequence can also be observed on a substructural level. According to this feature, the Gandhari version of BajC 1 and the late Chinese translation T 84 are more closely related to each other than to any of the remaining versions.
3. On a microscopic level, we observe different strategies. In certain passages the wording is nearly identical. In other cases, the text can be expanded or abbreviated by omitting or adding common stock phrases that belong to the ‘canonical language’ and are thus sanctioned by their occurrence in other texts on the same level of authority. Moreover, lexical and terminological material could be substituted by synonyms. Differences and agreements on this level are probably the result of various factors. In most cases, they seem to be based on specific recitation practices that may have been influenced by regional or communal habits. It can be assumed that the text remained relatively fluid on this level allowing for a rather large amount of flexibility with regard to the individual wording and elaboration of a certain passage within the more stable framework of the structure and substructure of the text.

I have intentionally avoided discussing these questions with regard to any assumed school affiliation of this text. In fact, it seems to me it is a more fruitful methodological approach to perceive these representations of a text rather as regional recensions or versions than as school specific variants of a given text. A specific version could of

course have become the authoritative text of a certain school, when this school decided to fix a ‘canonical version’ in a written or oral tradition. There is, however, no reason to assume that this need was already felt at the beginning of the transmission of *Āgama* texts, including the first centuries AD, nor that any of the early versions discussed here were ever perceived as school-specific or as belonging to a complete or closed *Madhyama-āgama* collection of a certain school. In other words, the relation between the literary shape of a given text and its school affiliation is far from certain. Thus the parallelism between the Gandhari version and the Chinese translation T 84 might well be the result of a geographical coincidence rather than pointing to the texts having a common school affiliation. On the other hand, the sometimes considerable differences between texts do by no means exclude the possibility that they were used by monks belonging to the same school.

Despite such a variety, it is however possible to distinguish certain clearly discernible groups of texts that are more closely related to each other than to the remaining parallels. In this regard, it seems useful to apply methods of textual criticism rather than to draw on categories of religious history, such as school affiliation. Such a text-critical approach does not aim at reconstructing an ‘Urtext’ of a given *sūtra* nor sees the establishment of a stemma as a really useful instrument. Given the multitude of agents in the transmission of Buddhist texts, spread throughout a large area over a long period of time, any attempt to reflect the complexity of this development with the help of a stemma will certainly fail. Instead, the strictly text critical approach can help to liberate our view on early Buddhist texts from the too narrow perspective of school affiliation and widen it to equally important factors in the genesis of texts, such as their geographical, linguistic and historical contexts. Processes that are related to the specific modes of text preservation, transmission and

performance, be it in oral, written or in a mix of oral and written ways must have played a decisive role in the genesis of texts. It can be assumed that the change from oral to written modes largely influenced the shape of texts and finally also contributed to the genesis of rather stable and homogeneous literary forms. At the same time, the new support material also allowed a much greater circulation of texts and could promote harmonizing processes between monastic communities in far-away locations all over the Buddhist cultural sphere. It is by then that school affiliation might have become a more determining factor rather than geographical location, by enabling monks to compare their respective versions of *Āgama sūtras* and agree on a commonly accepted, ‘canonical’ shape.

We always need to bear in mind that our evidence is extremely selective—with only relatively few early manuscripts from a very limited geographical area and rather late traditions of ‘canonical’ collections that contain the results of the preceding developments in the form of standardized texts. The value of the early manuscripts from Gandhara lies in the fact that they allow a view into the initial stages of this development when texts were starting to be put in writing and coexisted with oral recitation practices. It probably took centuries of various negotiation processes among these different traditions and modes of transmission until canonical versions were finally fixed. The few preserved manuscripts can give us an idea about the shape of a particular *sūtra* in a specific place at a specific point of time. But they can hardly shed sufficient light on the complex history of these processes.

Abbreviations

BajC	Bajaur Collection, fragment no.
BHSD	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (Edgerton 1953)
DVS	<i>*Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra</i>
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
MS	Martin Schøyen Collection, fragment no.
PTSD	Dictionary of the Pali Text Society
T	Taishō edition
Up	<i>Abhidharmakośopāyayikā-ṭīkā</i>

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