

《別譯雜阿含經》之研究

Studies in Āgama Literature

With Special Reference to the
Shorter Chinese Saṃyuktāgama

Marcus Bingenheimer



DDBC 法鼓佛教學院特叢

Dharma Drum Buddhist College Special Series 1

Studies in *Āgama* Literature

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Shorter Chinese
*Samyuktāgama***

Marcus Bingenheimer

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

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Huimin Bhikshu, President

Dharma Drum Buddhist College

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Among our earliest epigraphic evidence for Buddhism are inscriptions dedicating the building of a stupa or the carving of an image to one’s parents. If the study and translation of these early sutras has indeed generated merit, I wish to dedicate it to my father, who passed away last year.

1 INTRODUCTION

There are three translations of *Samyuktāgamas* in Chinese. By far the largest is the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T.99) (ZA) with 1362 sutras¹ in 50 fascicles. It was translated between 435 and 443 by Guṇabhadra (394-468) and Baoyun 寶雲 (376-449) in Jiankang (today Nanjing).² Alongside that we have the 364 sutras collected in the *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 (T.100) (BZA) in 16 fascicles; this text is the main topic of the studies in this book. The BZA, by an unknown translator (-team?) has been convincingly assigned to the period between 385-431.³ Finally, there is an even earlier partial translation of a *Samyuktāgama* in one fascicle, again called *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T.101), which contains 27 short sutras.⁴ As is the case with the other three Chinese *Āgamas*, there exist a number of independent translations of single sutras. In the Taishō edition, these

1 What counts as a sutra is sometimes not clear-cut. One of the reasons for the larger number of sutras in the SN as compared to the ZA is that the ZA does not count *peyyāla* versions for a text.

2 On the exact location and the question whether the translation was done from a manuscript brought to China by Faxian, see Shiiō (1935: 72-73), Glass (2008 (2010)), and Anālayo (2010a: 67-69). After the reconstruction of the original structure of the ZA, on which more below, and research on the attribution and transmission of the ZA (Bando (1982), Mizuno (1988), Enomoto (2001)), the history of this text is now much better understood than 50 years ago. Another important contribution is the growing corpus of identified Sanskrit parallels to ZA passages. See here especially Enomoto (1994) and Chung (2008).

3 See Mizuno (1970: 486).

4 On this text see Hayashi (1937), Harrison (2002) and Lin (2005).

individual translations of *Samyuktāgama* sutras are assigned the numbers 102-124.

We know very little about the BZA, which appears to be a partial translation of a larger Indian *Samyuktāgama* now lost. The BZA contains two divisions: a **Samgīta-varga* (Section of collected verses) and a **Buddha-bhāṣita-varga* (Section [of Sutras] spoken by the Buddha).⁵ It does not appear in the earliest extant catalog, the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (dated 515) by Sengyou 僧祐 (435-518), but is first mentioned by Fajing 法經 (d.u.) in his *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 (dated 594).⁶

This book is a collection of studies on and translations from the *Samgīta-varga* of the BZA that grew out of a larger project concerning a digital edition of the BZA.

1.1 THE BIEYI ZA AHAN PROJECT

The challenge of editing and translating Āgama literature is that nearly all texts exist in several versions. We are dealing not with individual texts, but with more or less complicated *text-clusters* consisting of parallel versions of the same text. The web of text-clusters is extremely difficult both to disentangle conceptually and to represent physically. To solve this and other, more technical, problems we conducted the Bieyi za ahan Project at the Chung-hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies and later Dharma Drum Buddhist College during the years 2005 through 2008 with the support of the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation. The project had several goals, all of which were successfully met. We

5 On the reconstruction of these names see below.

6 CBETA/T.55.2146.130b19. The BZA is simply listed here. For the first catalog which contains actual bibliographic information see the section on the dating of the BZA below.

created:

- a “best” text of the BZA in digital form with new punctuation and improved apparatus
- a detailed and improved comparative catalog of the 364 text clusters of the BZA
- a database of all related texts enhanced with XML/TEI markup resulting in an aligned corpus
- an online interface to view and query the text clusters conveniently

As of 2010, the digital texts are available at the project website at <http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/BZA/> either via the interface or as an archive. The comparative catalog can be found online at:

<http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/BZA/bzaComCatWeb.html>

and in Appendix 1 below.

1.2 DATING OF THE TEXT

The current dating of the text is based on one single character that appears in BZA 326. A gloss to the name of the nun *Vīryā*⁷ says: *qin yan xiong ye* 秦言雄也 “In the language of [our] Qin this means ‘powerful.’”

The gloss had been noticed already by Zhisheng 智昇, the author of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (dated 730), the sutra catalog

⁷ On this name see section 5.2, below.

which contains the earliest bibliographical information on the BZA. Zhisheng says concerning the BZA:

Translator(s) unknown. The sutra contains the character *qin* 秦; though we do not know the name of the translator, he must have lived under the three Qin, [therefore] here we include the BZA in the Qin [section of our] catalog. Although the order of the BZA is not quite the same as the sutra discussed above [i.e., the ZA], if one reads it carefully, its content does not exceed the former. It is but a selection. Therefore it is called ‘the other’ translation. (CBETA/T55.2154.610c).

During the chaotic situation in North China during the fourth and early fifth century there were three Qin dynasties to which the character 秦 might refer: the Former Qin 前秦 (351-394); the Yao (-family) or Later Qin 姚秦 / 後秦 (384-417); and the Western Qin 西秦 (385-431). All three were considered ‘barbarian’ dynasties by Confucian historiography and we have much less information on them than on the dynasties that ruled South China during the same period. Mizuno (1970: 46-47) has shown convincingly, to my mind, that the dynasty referred to in the BZA gloss is the Western Qin and the BZA was therefore translated between 385 and 431 – his main argument is that the sutras translated in the Former and Later Qin, which were ruled from Chang’an, are generally included in the *Chu sanzang jiji*, which was itself written in Chang’an. In the *Chu sanzang jiji* the character 秦 refers invariably to the Former or the Later Qin and, as mentioned above, the *Chu sanzang jiji* does not mention the BZA. The only sutra from the Western Qin that is mentioned in the *Chu sanzang jiji* is described as dating from the time of Song Wudi (420-422), and the location given is the kingdom south of the river under the rule of the Qifu 乞伏 family (CBETA/T.55.2145.13c15-6). It must be assumed that sutras

translated in the Gansu corridor under the rule of the Xianbei Qifu 鮮卑乞伏, whose dynasty came to be known as the Western Qin, were not well known in Chang'an in the early 6th century when Sengyou compiled the *Chu sanzang jiji*. Only after the reunification of China under the Sui in 581 were catalogers, such as Fajing 法經 or Fei Changfang 費長房, able to list texts that originated in regions that before had been difficult to access.

The dating based on the occurrence of a single character is precarious and has sometimes been doubted. Hōdo 法幢 (1740-1770), a Japanese scholar monk, whom we will meet again below in the discussion of the attribution of the BZA, doubts the accuracy of the passage in the BZA. He suggests that *qin* 秦 might be a scribal error for *jin* 晉 (in their Japanese pronunciation the two characters sound alike). Hōdo writes:

If we now consider the translation style [of the BZA], it should rather belong to the Wei Jin dynasty [the Western Jin (265-317)]. Nothing in it is of the kind of language used after the Eastern Jin [317-420]. Concerning the character *qin*, it appears only in the twelfth fascicle [of the 20 fascicle edition], where it says ‘[The name] Pili 毘梨 [Vīryā] in the language of [our] Qin means “powerful.”’ One *qin* character is hardly enough evidence! Who knows, perhaps it was confused with the sound for *jin* 晉?⁸

This guess seems not to be well founded. Firstly, the sounds of *qin* and *jin* (**dzin* and **tzin* around 400 CE (Coblin 1994: No.796)) were and are distinct enough to the Chinese ear. Secondly, there is no reason for an author in the Jin dynasty to confuse *jin* with *qin* and vice versa. Thirdly, phonetics do not matter much for

8 今檢譯文體裁。蓋在魏晉之間。全非東晉以下語氣。且秦言字獨見經十二。曰毘梨秦言雄。一箇秦字惡足徵哉。或晉字音誤亦不可知。(SAT/T.64.2252.446a27-b1).

the manuscript transmission and a scribal error is not likely, considering that the shapes of the characters are quite distinct. Fourthly, Hōdo obviously got the dates mixed up. Since the Western Qin and the Eastern Jin were broadly contemporary, there is no reason why the translation should contain ‘the kind of language used after the Eastern Jin.’ Hōdo’s argument from style is as difficult to contradict as it is to prove, since few researchers would venture a guess to the date of translation based on style alone. Shi Yinshun agrees with Hōdo that judging from style alone ‘there is no reason why the BZA should not have been translated before the Western Jin’ (1983: 4). However, despite the dangers of disagreeing with the most erudite Chinese scholar-monk of the 20th century, I personally do not think that doubting the Western Qin dating for the translation of the BZA makes much sense. Clearly the style of the BZA is somewhat more archaic, perhaps more literary, and the terminology used is less consistent than in the ZA, but many reasons for this might be posited: lack of revision or editorial oversight, for instance. Considering how vastly style can differ between translators of the same era⁹ and how, on the other hand, the style and terminology of one time is often imitated by another, I tend to be cautious of any argument from style without quantitative stylometric evidence. And although stylometric analysis might offer answers here in the future, its methods, especially when applied to Buddhist texts, are still under development.¹⁰

We are left with evidence that points to the translation of the BZA occurring between 385-431 CE in the Gansu corridor, on the basis of one single gloss.¹¹

9 See, for instance, the differences between the ascertained translation corpora of An Shigao and Lokakṣema (Nattier 2008: 38-89).

10 See Hung, Bingenheimer, Wiles (2009).

11 This is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the transcriptions of names make most sense when using Coblin’s (1994) reconstruction of what he calls “Old Northwest Chinese” (ONWC). In particular the rendition of

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT

The structures of all three *Samyukta*-type collections – the ZA, the BZA and the short *Samyukta* anthology T.101 – are in disarray in most printed editions of the Chinese canon. While the structure of the ZA and of T.101 got entirely mixed up before the texts were first printed in the 10th century, for the BZA two structurally different versions are found in the printed editions.

Fortunately, it is possible, for all these texts, to reconstruct the original order with a high degree of certitude. An approximation to the original order of the 27 sutras of T.101 has been reconstructed on the basis of a list preserved in Dao'an's catalog (Harrison (2002: 22), based on Shio (1935: 13-14 [75-76])).

Regarding the the original order of the ZA, a large number of scholars in the 20th century have labored to arrive at ever better reconstructions. Anesaki (1908), Lü (1923), Shio (1935), Hanayama (1954) (and based on him Mayeda (1964)), Shi Yinshun (1983) and Mukai (1985) have offered reconstructions of the text, with the main outline agreed on since Hanayama.¹² The remaining discrepancies between the reconstructions of Hanayama, Yinshun and Mukai are small and concern the original position of today's fascicles 31 and 41 and the position of two fascicles assumed to be missing.

Less agreement exists on the scope and number of *vargas*, the top-level divisions, which group *samyuktas*, which in turn group sutras. The *vargas* in the ZA are not marked in the printed editions, where the text is simply structured in 50 fascicles. In six places in the text, however, markers indicating the *vargas*

Sakka's name Puraṃda(n)da (discussed in the chapter on Sakka, section 6.2, below) points to the Gansu corridor as a possible place for the translation.

12 Glass (2006: 27) has a helpful comparative table of these reconstructions.

have survived (Mayeda (1964: 649-650)), yielding four names and positions.

Based on these, we know that the ZA translation contained a *Ṣaḍ-āyatana-varga*, a *Nidāna-varga*, a *Śrāvaka-vyākhyāna-varga* and a *Mārga-varga*, in this order.

Relying on comments on the structure of the *Samyuktāgama* in the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* (T.1451.407b21-28) and the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (T.1579.772c9-15), as well as on the contents of the text itself, Hanayama (1954b: 317) infers the existence of two more *vargas*: a *Skandha-varga* at the beginning, and a *Geshō* 偈誦 (‘verse *varga*’) at the end after the *Mārga-varga*. His reconstruction is therefore grouped in six *vargas* (song 誦). Yinshun (1983) divides the text into five top-level *varga* divisions, subsuming the *Buddhabhāṣita-varga* and the *Śrāvaka-varga* in divisions 3 and 5. This order is accepted in the Foguang edition of the *Samyuktāgama*.¹³ Mukai (1985), counting both the *Buddhabhāṣita-varga* and the *Śrāvaka-varga* as top-level divisions, arrives at seven *vargas*.¹⁴

As for the BZA, it has long been recognized that the 20 fascicle version (BZA/20) is in better order than the 16 fascicle version (BZA/16) and it has been used to reconstruct the original order of the ZA. A recent study by Roderick Bucknell (2008) has retraced the transpositions that happened in the change from BZA/20, which is present in most Chinese versions of the canon,

13 The *Foguang dazangjing ahan zang* 佛光大藏經—阿含藏 (Taipei: Foguang shan 佛光山. Printed edition 1983, electronic version 2002) is a new edition of the four major Chinese *Āgama* collections with new punctuation, and text-critical notes. For Yinshun’s research on the structure of the ZA and the connection with the Foguang edition see also Su (2009b).

14 In his reconstruction Mukai (1985: 18) uses *nipāta* for top-level divisions. To avoid confusion I will use *varga/vagga* for top-level, and *samyukta/samyutta* for second-level divisions throughout. Chung (2008) also presents his material in this reconstructed order.

to BZA/16. The latter, clearly inferior, version was included in the Taishō canon, which is largely based on the Tripitaka Koreana.

Bucknell, contrary to the information contained in modern comparative catalogs, further argues that the BZA/16 was already present in the Kaibao canon. It appears the compilers of the first version of the Kaibao made the mistake of using an inferior version of the BZA and consequently, via the first and second editions of the Tripitaka Koreana, this became the most widely used edition in the 20th century because of its inclusion in the Tashō. We owe it to Sugi 守其 (fl. 1230-40), the editor of the second edition of the Tripitaka Koreana, that the text of BZA/16 is at least complete. We know from his editorial notes that the *Brahmā-saṃyukta* was not included in the Kaibao or the first Tripitaka Koreana, and he supplemented it from the Khitan/Liao canon. The Khitan/Liao canon (before 1068 (Chikusa 2000: 95-97)) that was still available to Sugi is now lost but we know, again because of Sugi's notes, that it contained BZA/20. One of the reasons why the Liao canon is largely lost is that the Liao were annihilated by the Jurchen/Jin in 1125, soon after the canon had been completed. The Jurchen moved on to destroy the Northern Song by sacking its capital at Kaifeng in 1127. During the so-called "Jingkang incident" the imperial library, presumably including the woodblocks of the Kaibao edition, was ransacked and moved north. The Jin edition of the canon is modeled on the Kaibao and consequently contains BZA/16. There exists, however, at least one minor difference between the BZA/16 in the Kaibao and the BZA/16 of the Jin canon.¹⁵

15 The block of sutras 132-142 is where it should be according to the BZA/20 edition (Bucknell (2008: 45)). This discrepancy might be due to the corrections undertaken by five learned monks on orders of the emperor after 1181 (see the note on the creation of the Jin canon in a stele text of 1194 rediscovered by Li Jining (2007: 12)).

However, even the orderly BZA/20 contains irregularities that must have occurred during the manuscript transmission. BZA/20 lacks sutras BZA 258 to 267, its fascicles 13 and 14 are conspicuously shorter than the rest, and the last *saṃyukta* seems to be misplaced, a fact that is noted by Mayeda (1964: 660). Bucknell (2008: 35-36, 43-44), with great ingenuity, accounts for all of these differences and reconstructs a nearest common ancestor of the two extant versions (*ibid.*: 41 and especially 49 (Table 5)). I accept his reconstruction as the earliest knowable form of the BZA. The comparative catalog in the appendix references the order of that reconstructed version. Like Bucknell, however, I use the current Taishō numbering for sutras when referencing a BZA sutra. It would be impractical to ask readers to deal with a new numbering system.

The value of Bucknell's reconstruction is immediately apparent. The *saṃyuktas* in the two *vargas* are in a logical order, and all sutras and *uddānas* are accounted for, as are the differences with the ZA and the Pāli *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (SN). According to Bucknell the nearest common ancestor of BZA/16 and BZA/20 had the following structure:¹⁶

Sutra Numbers (from the Taishō)	<i>Saṃyukta</i> (according to Bucknell)	<i>Varga</i>
1-22	<i>Bhikṣu</i>	<i>Saṃgīta-varga</i>
23-32	<i>Māra</i>	
33-52	<i>Śakra</i>	
53-73	<i>Kosala</i>	
74-91, 258-268, 92-100	<i>Brāhmaṇa</i>	
101-110	<i>Brahmā</i>	
214-223	<i>Bhikṣuṇī</i>	

¹⁶ For a more elaborate table taking account of the *uddānas* see Bucknell (2008: 49).

Sutra Numbers (from the Taishō)	<i>Samyukta</i> (according to Bucknell)	<i>Varga</i>
224-230, 250-257	<i>Vaṅgīsa</i>	
132-142, 231-249, 161-189, 269-297	<i>Devatā</i>	
298-317	<i>Devaputra</i>	
318-329	<i>Yakṣa</i>	
351-364	<i>Vana</i>	
111-121	<i>Mahākāśyapa</i>	
122-131	<i>Grāmaṇī</i>	
143-151	<i>Aśva</i>	
152-160	<i>Mahānāma</i>	
330-350	<i>Anamatāgra</i>	
190-198	<i>Avyākṛta</i>	
199-213	<i>Pravrājaka</i>	

Based on the evidence we have, the above should be considered the best ascertained order. Nevertheless, two more conjectures should be mentioned here.

First, in an earlier article Bucknell (2007) discusses the *Sagāthavarga* of the SN and the ZA. The two main results from his analysis are the ability to posit a “pre-Sarvāstivādin sequence” for this *saṃyukta* and to confirm the link between the *Sagāthavarga* and the set of “eight assemblies.”

The “pre-Sarvāstivādin sequence” is based on a number of text-historical, comparative and text-internal reasons and posits a transposition of the two *saṃyuktas* of *Māra* and *Śakra* with the *Bhikṣuṇī*- and *Vaṅgīsa-saṃyuktas*. In this constellation the order of *saṃyuktas* proceeds from humans as main protagonists (monks, nuns, the poet-monk *Vaṅgīsa*, the King of Kosala, various *brāhmaṇas*) to non-human actors (*brahmās*, *Māra*, *Śakra*,

devas, “junior *devas*,” *yakṣa*-demons, and forest spirits). Although Bucknell presents good reasons for the pre-Sarvāstivādin sequence of *saṃyuktas*, this order predates the translation of the BZA and the ZA, which both have the *Māra*- and *Śakra-saṃyuktas* following directly on from the *Bhikṣu-saṃyukta*.

Another point that deserves our attention when imagining possible pasts for the BZA is that the evidence for the current order of its two *vargas* is weak. Bucknell (2008: 40) notes that the BZA/16 shows evidence of two separate numbering systems. Next to the numbering in *juan* the text preserves incompletely a numbering seemingly based on two *song* 誦 divisions. Only BZA/16 contains seven headings that are aligned with the *juan* divisions in the BZA/20 version. We find 初誦第一 before BZA 1, 初誦第二 before BZA 23, 初誦第三 before BZA 43, 初誦第四 before BZA 63, and 初誦第五 before BZA 84. Immediately before BZA 111, at the beginning of the *Buddhabhāṣita-varga*, BZA/16 has 二誦第一, marking the short 14th *juan* of the BZA/20 version, and before BZA 122 二誦第二 as the final remnant of this curious count.

This will enable us to solve one problem with the BZA in either version. Why is it that, in spite of the order of the *saṃyuktas* being evidently parallel to that found in the ZA, the two *vargas* seem reversed, with the *Samgīta-varga* preceding the *Buddhabhāṣita-varga*?

If the *varga* order were reversed, the BZA would be completely parallel to the latter part of the ZA as reconstructed by Mukai (and, with some minor differences, by Yinshun). That such a reversal took place is likely, considering the manuscript evidence.¹⁷ In a manuscript containing excerpts from the BZA

17 Only two larger fragments of a Dunhuang BZA are available: Beijing Dunhuang No. 6776 and Pelliot 2301. BD 6776 stems probably from the 7th-8th centuries. P2301, too, is probably a Tang manuscript. Prof. Fan Guangzhang kindly informed me that more fragments of the BZA are

(Pelliot Dunhuang collection P 2301) the top-level divisions are not called 誦 *varga* at all but ‘case’ or ‘container’ (*zhi* 帙).¹⁸ If the character 誦 is indeed a later substitution and in the Tang the top-level division was still perceived as *vargas* contained in cases 帙 containing *juan*, it is quite likely that the two *vargas* changed places and the *Samgīta-varga*, as the larger one, came out first. In this scenario the 20 scrolls of the two *vargas* were kept numbered in separate unnamed cases. There would have been no inherent reason to believe the one to precede the other. The manuscript evidence is further strengthened by the catalog tradition. The *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (CBETA/T.55.2149.307c28) and two more Tang dynasty catalogs have the BZA in 20 fascicles in “two cases (二帙)”. There is therefore no reason to assume the *Samgīta-varga* preceded the *Buddhabhāṣita-varga* in the Indian original of the BZA. The current order of the two *vargas* is probably simply an accident of transmission.

Establishing the Indian names of the two top-level divisions contained in the BZA is not straightforward. The larger division (fascicles 1-12 and 20 of BZA/20) corresponds to the Pāli *Saḡātha-vagga*. There is, however, evidence for the Sanskrit *Samgīta* as the name for this division in the northern tradition.

preserved in the St. Petersburg Dunhuang collection. (Nos.: 07610, 09511, 12313, 14877, 16559, 16986, 17016, 17044, 17048, 17065, 17067, 17068, 17082, 17097, 17109, 17117, 17130, 17132, 17135, 17141, 17144, 17162, 17175, 17182, 17196, 17211, 17217, 17235, 17247, 17251, 17254, 17262, 17266, 17270, 17287, 17298, 17313, 17314, 17316, 17320, 17321, 17331, 17338, 17341, 17342, 17343, 17345, 17349, 17357, 17359, 17362, 17364, 17398, 17400, 17417, 17422, 17424, 17431, 17938). Facsimiles of these fragments are published in Menshikov & Qian (1992). On closer inspection only a few of these fragments belong to a manuscript, the others belong were part of an early print edition of the canon.

18 P2301 line nos. 1, 72 and 232. A facsimile of P2301 is available through the International Dunhuang Project (idp.bl.uk). The best print facsimile of BD 6776 is found in Ren (2005), vol. 93. The passage containing the numbering of the BZA in the Tang is found in P2301.

Wogihara (1938: 440-442) has pointed out that, in spite of the Pāli commentaries, the word *sagātha* is probably not a compound derived from prefixing *sa-* ‘with’ to *gātha* ‘verse,’ but a noun formed by the contraction of *saṃ-* and \sqrt{gai} ‘sing.’ Wogihara, however, does not take this to mean ‘recited together,’ but suggests taking *saṃgīti* / *saṃgīta* as simply ‘collection of verses.’ This is also the way *sagātha* should be understood, rather than the traditional ‘[collection of sutras] with verse.’ He supports this with Xuanzang’s translation of *saṃgīti-paryāya* as 集異門¹⁹ ‘collection of variant opinions,’ the *saṃgīti* simply taken as 集.

The more general meaning of *saṃgīta* as ‘collection, assembly, gathering’ allows the accommodation of the fact that the sutras in this division have a link with the ‘eight assemblies’ (*aṣṭau pariśadaḥ*) as well as that they contain verses. If one accepts an etymology from *saṃ-* and \sqrt{gai} it is preferable to reconstruct **Saṃgīta* for this division as Enomoto (1994) and Mukai (1985) have done.

Moreover, according to Enomoto (1986: 29n50), [sa] (ṃ)gī[ta]varga is attested in SHT (V: 1107).²⁰ He supports his reading with the transcription *sengqiduo* 僧耆多 at CBETA/T.02.99.143a9.²¹

Nevertheless, while in the ZA the term *nipāta* (here: *chu* 處) seems to have been used for the top-level divisions (Chung 2008: 20), we do not know for sure if the *song* 誦 of the BZA represents *nipāta* or *varga*.

19 In the title of the Abhidharma work *Saṃgītiparyāya-śāstra*, T.1536, 阿毘達磨集異門足論.

20 Waldschmidt (1968b: 39) reads the *akṣaras* [sa]g[ī]o-tavarga. See also Chung (2008: 209n1).

21 One could adduce the occurrence of 僧耆多 in the dictionary *Fanfan yu* 翻梵語 (CBETA/T.54.2130.984a22), where the term is defined more clearly. The final 多 clearly points to *-ta* not *-ti* for the Indian title of the *varga*.

For the other division, the designation *Buddhabhāṣita* is well attested (Pischel 1904: 810) and to be preferred over *Buddhavyākhyāna* as used, e.g., by Mukai (1985) who seems to have relied on Honjo's (1984: 103) reconstruction.

With the understanding that slightly different names might have existed for these divisions we will, in the following, use *Samgīta-varga* and *Buddhabhāṣita-varga*, as the most likely originals for the two top-level divisions in the BZA.

As shown above the order of all *samyukta*-type collections in the canon was in disarray by the 10th century, and no serious efforts were made to reconstruct the original order until the advent of modern scholarship in the 20th century. This is because *Āgama* literature was not considered all that important in Chinese or Japanese Buddhism. The current prominent position the *Āgama* sutras, as volumes one and two in the Taishō canon, reflects the concerns of Buddhist studies in Japan (and Europe) at that time. In Taiwan in recent years, partly through the influence of the works of Yinshun, there has been growing interest in the Chinese *Āgama* literature and a number of scholars are working on *Āgama* related topics.

1.4 UDDĀNAS

*Uddānas*²² are a feature of early Buddhist literature, especially of

22 In Chinese the *uddānas* were referred to as *lu song* 錄頌 by Daoan (e.g. at CBETA/T.2.125.549.a23) or transcribed in various ways e.g. as *wentuonan song* 唵陀南頌 or 唵陀南頌 in the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra* (CBETA/T.30.1579.772c16). In his preface to the *Ekottarikāgama*, Daoan seems to want to preserve the *uddānas* and mentions his attempts to recreate them where the old ones were lost. Other traditional translations and transcriptions include *yutuonan* 鬱陀南, *zong song* 總頌, *jie song* 結頌, and *shesong* 攝頌. 結頌 and 攝頌 are also used for *uddāna* in modern Chinese

the Saṃyukta-type, and examples can be found in Pāli and Chinese as well as in the Sanskrit fragments.²³ The mnemonic verses were inserted after groups of shorter sutras, usually a decade or a dozen,²⁴ thereby splitting them into units in order to make sure no sutra was lost and the order of the unit was preserved. However, mnemonics are culture-specific, and, like other mnemonic devices, *uddānas* did not have the same usefulness in the Chinese context, which relied mainly on writing, and were therefore often left untranslated or lost.²⁵ The Chinese *Dīrghāgama* does not contain *uddānas* (in contrast to the Sanskrit ms. discovered in the 1990s), whereas the 222 sutras of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* are all referenced in their respective *uddānas*. Only 27 *uddānas* – 49 counting the special *uddānas* attached to single sutras in the third *juan* – remain in the Chinese *Ekottarikāgama*. Similarly, in the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* only 15 *uddānas* remain in five out of fifty *juans*.²⁶

The BZA *uddānas* found at the end of most sutra decades and their relationship with the sutras they are supposed to index are complex. Fortunately Ken Su (Su Jinkun) took up that topic in two essays, partly inspired by a seminar with Roderick Bucknell that was organized under the auspices of the BZA project.²⁷ In the following I will summarize and discuss some of his findings.

The BZA contains 31 *uddānas*²⁸, out of a probably earlier total of

(Su 2008a: 10).

23 On the types of *uddānas* used by the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins see Skilling (1994: 91). On the *uddānas* in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* see Panglong (1979) and Clarke (2002).

24 See the *Ekottarikāgama* commentary *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (CBETA/T.25.1507.32b2-3)

25 For more on the fate of repetition in translation see Bingenheimer (2010).

26 On the *Ekottarikāgama* *uddānas* see Su 2010a, on the *Saṃyuktāgama* *uddānas* see Su 2009b. For the spelling of the reconstructed form *Ekottarikāgama* see Allon (2011: 11f).

27 Su 2008a: 8. Su presents his findings in Su 2008a and Su 2008b.

28 30 *uddānas* in the BZA/20 version, because it lacks a sutra decade (BZA 258

37. These were helpful for the reconstruction of the original order of the ZA (or an approximation to it), while the reconstructed form of the ZA in turn helped to realign the BZA and to understand the structural changes that have been discussed in the previous chapter.

The position of the *uddānas* is attested for the manuscript tradition. P 2301 contains the *uddānas* found after BZA 297, 307 and 317. BD 6776 contains the first two half-lines of the *uddāna* after BZA 32. Character variants in the *uddānas* of P 2301 show that this manuscript is an ancestor of the stemma of Chinese editions referenced in the Taishō with the sigla 宋元明 and not of the Tripitaka Koreana - Qisha - Taishō stemma.

As in the case of the *Ekottarikāgama*, there are a number of discrepancies between the BZA *uddānas* and the sutra text. These can be categorized as follows:

1. The text contains sutras which are not referenced in the *uddānas*. 58 of the 364 BZA sutras are not mentioned in the *uddānas*.²⁹ 51 of these are because the *uddānas* are missing entirely from the text. In 7 cases individual sutras are missing from existing *uddānas*.
2. On the other hand, there are sutras that are mentioned in the *uddānas*, but not found in the text. Altogether there are three references in the *uddānas* to sutras that are not found in the BZA. In all three cases, however, we do have a ZA version of the sutra referenced in the BZA *uddānas*.³⁰ It is not clear, why or at what stage the three

to BZA 268).

²⁹ These are BZA 84-91, 101-110, 142, 159, 161-169, 224, 231-239, 260, 269-277, 302, 333, 335, 336, 360-364 (Su 2008a: 23).

³⁰ *Uddāna* No.13 (after BZA 151) references a sutra with the keyword 調乘, but such a sutra does not exist between BZA 148 and 149 or elsewhere in that *saṃyutta*. In the ZA parallel to this *saṃyutta*, however we find a sutra

BZA sutras were lost.

3. Textual errors in the *uddānas*. Su (2008a: 33+64) identifies five interesting mistakes that point to unresolved problems in the relationship between the *uddānas* and the sutra text – e.g. the name of the monk in one BZA *uddāna* is not mentioned in either the BZA or the ZA. In the SN parallel he is named Samiddhi. The BZA *uddāna* following BZA 22 references this sutra with the transcription of a name: *sandaozha* 散倒吒. Here 倒 must be considered a scribal mistake for mi 彌 (the original being perhaps *Samiddha); the handwritten forms of the two characters are easily confused. Since the name is not mentioned in the text, once the mistake was made, there was no way to become aware of it. The question of how the *uddāna* can reference a sutra by a name that is not mentioned in the text is answered by Bucknell (forthcoming 2011), who proposes that the name of the protagonist was lost at the stage when the Indian originals of the ZA and the BZA were still one single text.

4. The order of sutras in some decades does not match the order indicated in the *uddānas*. Since the function of the *uddānas* was to preserve the integrity of the text in content and structure, it is significant that the BZA *uddānas* deviate in at least five instances from the order

corresponding to the reference (ZA 923) between ZA 922 (parallel to BZA 148) and ZA 924 (parallel to BZA 149). *Uddāna* No.14 references a sutra between BZA 157 and BZA 158 with 十二. Yinshun (1971: 669) has already pointed out that 十二 refers to ZA 933. Our catalog lists ZA 933 together with ZA 932 as parallels for BZA 157. This is because although the direct parallel to BZA 157 is ZA 932, ZA 933 is similar in structure and content and in lieu of a direct parallel should be read against BZA 157. The third missing sutra is between BZA 253 and 254 where the *uddāna* references a text with the keyword 龍驪. This corresponds to ZA 1219.

of the sutras in the text (Su 2008a: 62).

These discrepancies might be explained by the hypothesis that the BZA was translated from an oral recitation of the text and the *uddāna* were translated before the text as a separate part and only later divided and appended to their respective decades.

During our own translation of the Chinese text we found a number of irregularities in the BZA that are unlikely to have occurred during the manuscript transmission and that must therefore be attributed to the translation process. There are different spellings for the same name within a sutra, or across two adjacent sutras (BZA 30, BZA 39-40); the imperative *tiṭṭha* is rendered first 住 then 止 in the same sutra (BZA 48); and *Grḍhrakūṭa* is rendered 靈鷲山 and 耆闍崛 in the prose part of the same sutra (BZA 52, BZA 329). We cannot exclude the possibility that these variations represent a conscious effort to avoid repetition. Chinese writers were fond of structural parallelism but generally disliked literal repetition. In the case of transcribed Indian names, however, variation as a result of a conscious stylistic decision makes no sense. Names could be abbreviated, but there was no motivation to transcribe them with different characters in the same text. We have to conclude that the BZA was never seriously redacted after the first translation into Chinese.³¹

The *uddānas* too appear to have been translated carelessly. As with the verse parts of the BZA in general (see data in Appendix 2), the number of characters to the half-line in the BZA *uddānas* is variable. Most have the pentasyllabic half-line, but there are also *uddānas* with seven, four or even eight characters to the half-line. Moreover, the number of half-lines is sometimes four, sometimes five, and sometimes seven.

31 Another indication towards this is the confused order of the *gathas* in BZA 328 (Su 2009c: 113).

Su (2008a: 61) believes that the discrepancies between *uddānas* and text outlined above are a result of the translation being done not from a written manuscript but from an oral recitation. I generally agree with this hypothesis. A probable scenario is that the reciter of the text first wanted to recall the series of *uddānas*, a procedure not unlike going through the table of contents before reading a book. The *uddānas* were quickly translated and jotted down in Chinese with little care for details: after all, the main task was still ahead. In the following days and weeks the actual sutra text was translated. There was no incentive for the Indian reciter to check the Chinese draft translation of the *uddānas*, since he would make use of the original Indian *uddānas* in his head as he went along. The translator and/or scribe too would have had little reason or time to recheck the earlier translation of the *uddānas*, as long as the reciter provided him/them with a steady stream of sutras.

The translation came to an end – for whatever reason – after one and a half *vaggas*, and only at a later point was the list of *uddānas* divided and inserted into the text, without making further changes.

This scenario would not only explain the discrepancies between the BZA text and its *uddānas*, but might also make sense of the many differences in wording between the BZA and the ZA, texts that belonged to a common stemma and had a common ancestor (see §2.4.). In each individual case, however, it is difficult to assess if the difference originated at the stage of the Indian / Central Asian transmission or was caused by a problem in the translation process.

One further anomaly deserves mention. The Jin canon, which represents the main stemma from which the Taishō text of the BZA is derived and contains the oldest printed edition we

possess of the BZA,³² contains two alternative *uddānas* (after BZA 223) for the *Bhikṣuṇī-saṃyukta*. The one that was accepted into the second printing of the Tripitaka Koreana, and from there into the Taishō, lists the names of the nuns more or less as they appear. An alternative *uddāna* is found in the Chinese 宋元明 editions. For some reason it was inserted after the first *uddāna*, and references the content of each sutra with four characters. Su (2008a: 66) suggests that the existence of this second *uddāna* might lead us to conclude that there was a second set of *uddānas* for the BZA.³³ However, judging from the regular, four character per sutra, intelligible voice of this second *uddāna*, it rather gives the impression of a singular later addition that was made during the period of manuscript transmission. This is proved by the characters 十九末 (“end of [sheet] nineteen”) after the first and before the additional *uddāna* in the Qisha canon (Xinwenfeng edition No.669, p.479b7). In the early days of printing (10th to 12th centuries), printed sheets were pasted together, fitted with rollers and turned into *juan* scrolls, because this was the manuscript-era format that readers were familiar with. Concertina-style folding, string-bound books and other formats appeared only later. In the Qisha canon, as opposed to the Jin canon,³⁴ the original numbering of the sheets that were pasted together for each *juan* is preserved. From the position of the sheet number we can see that the second *uddāna* was indeed not

32 It will be remembered that the Jin canon is the earliest witness for the 16 fascicle order of the BZA. The text today is incomplete. Four out of sixteen fascicles are missing (fascicles 3, 7, 14, and 16).

33 Su traces this additional *uddāna*, which is found in the three Chinese editions referenced by the Taishō, back to the Jin canon (using the *Zhonghua dazangjing* edition). The appearance in the Jin canon is interesting, because it would mean that Sugi, the editor of the second Tripitaka Koreana, deliberately omitted the second *uddāna*, also judging it spurious.

34 The BZA text in the Jin canon references the Liao canon edition at the beginning of fascicle 12, saying, “in the Liao edition [the following starts] at fascicle 6, sheet 12,” but it does not preserve the sheet numbers in the text.

part of the original sheet and therefore of the text proper, but belonged, together with the phonetic glosses,³⁵ to the back-matter at the end of the scroll. In all likelihood it was added at the end of a manuscript scroll sometime before the 11th century.

35 Phonetic glosses are typical of the lineage of canonical editions that the Qisha belongs to. They were first introduced with the Fuzhou editions in the 11th century (Zachetti 2005: 111).

2 ATTRIBUTION

During the last hundred years, the BZA has been attributed to the Kāśyapīya¹, Dharmagupta or Mahīśāsaka², and (Mūla)sarvāstivāda³ schools. In what follows I would like to assess these attributions one by one. We will see that the attributions to the Kāśyapīya, Dharmagupta and Mahīśāsaka cannot be substantiated, while the evidence pointing to Mūlasarvāstivāda literature is strong. Beyond summarizing and clarifying a convoluted discussion, the examination of this aspect of research history is instructive because it illustrates different methodological approaches in textual scholarship.

2.1 THE CASE FOR ATTRIBUTION TO THE KĀŚYAPĪYA SCHOOL

In the face of good evidence that the BZA belongs among Sarvāstivādin literature, one might consider a refutation of the Kāśyapīya attribution superfluous. For two reasons, however, it is worth the effort.

First, if the text could indeed be shown to belong to the Kāśyapīya school, it would make it the only known surviving

1 Akanuma (1939: 49); and based on this, Shi Yinshun (1971: 696; 1983: 3-5).

2 Mizuno (1970).

3 Waldschmidt (1980, esp. 146ff); Enomoto (1980, 1984a, 1984b); Hiraoka (2000, 2003).

sutra text of this school;⁴ a precious witness, perhaps offering hitherto undiscovered clues to doctrinal differences. The little we know about the Kāśyapīya has been transmitted in the doxographical histories (the *Kathāvatthu*, Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* etc.), which Walleser (1927), Bareau (1955), Warder (1970) and others have summarized.

Secondly, the attribution to the Kāśyapīya school is the earliest known attribution of the BZA. It was first proposed by Hōdo (1740-1770) in his commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*, the *Abidatsuma kusharon keiko* 阿毘達磨俱舍論稽古 (T.64.2252.446a). Later Akanuma (1939: 48-50) commented on and qualified Hōdo's remarks, and Yinshun (1983: 3-5) in his extensive study and re-edition of the ZA considers a Kāśyapīya source for the BZA 'more likely' than a Dharmaguptaka or Mahīśāsaka one. Considering Yinshun's influence on contemporary Chinese Buddhist scholarship, it is worth rectifying even minor mistakes to prevent the propagation of errors.

Let us first consider the reasons Hōdo proposed for his attribution of the BZA to the Kāśyapīyas, as found in the *Abidatsuma kusharon keiko*. Hōdo's *Kośa* commentary is relevant to Āgama studies because he was the first commentator to analyze the Āgama citations found in the *Kośa*.⁵ Creative as he

4 We have the *Prātimokṣa* of the Kāśyapīyas in Chinese (T.1460). There are also a few rare quotations from Kāśyapīya texts in later works – see Skilling (1993: 171), for one such quote in the Tibetan canon.

5 In a preface, the abbot Kaiben 快辨 of the Kongosanmai In, one of the main temples on Koya mountain where Hōdo worked on the *Kusharon keiko*, writes:

In his desire for learning, he [Hōdo] first studied the *Abhidharmakośa*, the Abhidharma text with the deepest meaning. But he did not value the later commentators and traced the way back to the *Vibhāṣā*, the *Nyāyānusārasāstra*, and the *Jñānaprasthāna* and the other seven basic works of the *Abhidharmapiṭaka*. [...] Still this was not enough for him, he

may have been, Hōdo was, however, far from perfect in his attributions. His claim that the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* belongs to the Mahīśāsaka school, for instance, is now clearly discredited and the consensus attributes the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* to the Dharmaguptaka school.⁶

According to Akanuma (1939 [1981]: 49), Hōdo cites three reasons why he believes the BZA might be a Kāśyapīya text. Akanuma finds the first two to be persuasive and the third completely mistaken. It should be noted that none of the three points raised by Hōdo is related to what is found about the Kāśyapīya in doxographical literature as summarized by Walleser or Bareau.

2.1.1 THE SEVEN REBIRTHS OF THE STREAM-ENTERER

Hōdo makes his first point in a comment on a *Kośa* passage concerning the seven rebirths of the Stream-enterer. Here the question is whether the seven rebirths occur across both *deva*

delved into the canon to research the sutras from the four *Āgamas* that were transmitted separately. His knowledge does therefore not come only from the [*Kośa*]śāstra. [...] [Hōdo] worked like someone tracing back the source along the bends of a river, in order to understand where what flowed forth came from, and never to doubt again. [...] Here now he has extracted the differences and sources of passages in the [*Kośa*]śāstra as found in the *Sūtra*- and *Vinayaṭīka* and decided on the name *keiko* 稽古 ‘collating the ancient.’ [...] It is astounding that though this śāstra was translated more than a thousand years ago, and many hundreds, even thousands have studied it, not one has ever followed it back to the ocean of the *Āgamas*. (T.65.2252.440a-b).

6 Bareau (1966). For a general summary of the consensus regarding attributions of *Āgama* literature see Mayeda (1985: 97). To be fair, Hōdo was not far off the mark: for all we know there were few doctrinal differences between the Dharmaguptaka and the Mahīśāsaka.

and human realms, or seven times in each realm (making fourteen rebirths in all). The passage contains the only quotation in the *Kośa* that is ascribed to a Kāśyapīya sutra. The *Kośa* passage reads:

How to prove that the seven births take place seven each among humans and *devas*, and not seven in both realms together? The [*Samyuktāgama*] sutra says: ‘[Among] *devas* seven [times] and among humans’. The [equivalent] sutra of the Kāśyapīya school distinguishes more clearly saying ‘in the human and in the *deva* realm *each* seven rebirths.’⁷

Hōdo comments:

The shorter version of the *Samyuktāgama* [i.e., the BZA] says: ‘among humans and *devas* seven births and seven deaths, they attain the final end of suffering;’ I therefore hold this to be the ‘Kāśyapīya sutra.’ How could it be otherwise? The likes of Puguang and Fabao all cite the evidence of these two references wrongly [i.e., they assume the references are equivalent]. Concerning ‘The *Samyuktāgama* says: “[Among] *devas* seven [times] and among humans[...].”’ – this passage says there is scriptural evidence, but the texts recited by the

7 Hōdo generally comments on the *Kośa* as translated by Xuanzang, but occasionally discusses Paramārtha’s translation as well. Xuanzang’s translation of the passage in question is: 以何證彼於人天中各受七生非合受七以契經說天七及人飲光部經分明別說於人天處各受七生 (CBETA/T29.1558.123b17-20). cf. Paramārtha’s translation: 經說於人天道。唯有七返。云何得知此義。七返人道。七返天道。由經言。七返於人及於天。迦尸比部說。(CBETA/T29.1559.275.b20-22). cf. also the Sanskrit – first quotation: *saptakṛtvāḥ paramaḥ saptakṛtvo devāṃś ca manuṣyaṃś ca* (Pāsādika 1989: No. 422); quotation from the Kāśyapīya Sutra: *saptakṛtvo devān saptakṛtvo manuṣyān iti* (Pāsādika 1989: No. 423).

Sarvāstivādins do not distinguish the matter clearly. Therefore the Kāśyapīya text is cited to provide evidence.⁸

What Hōdo says here is that the Kāśyapīya sutra and the BZA are one and the same because they both assert that the Stream-enterer is reborn seven times in each of the *deva* realm and the human realm (together amounting to fourteen rebirths). While Hōdo is right to consider the quotation from a Kāśyapīya sutra in the *Kośa* to be a clarification of the previous quotation – this is evident from the Sanskrit, to which we now have access – his reading of the passage in BZA 160 於人天中七生七死 is problematic and has been disputed from early on. Another Japanese commentator of the Tokugawa period, Kaidō 快道 (1751-1810),⁹ was the first to pick up on this. He does not believe Hōdo is correct in identifying the BZA as the Kāśyapīya work referred to in the *Kośa* and disagrees with his reading of the passage in question. Kaidō says:

There is not only one problem with this [Hōdo's] account; there are seven mistakes. The text in the BZA does not contradict the meaning that the seven rebirths occur among *devas* and humans [together]. Among humans and *devas* together seven births and deaths, because if there is a birth there must be a death. Mentioning 'seven deaths' is not a proof. The above [passage in the BZA] says only that there are seven births among humans and *devas* [my emphasis, M.B.]. To miss that meaning is the first mistake. To assert misleadingly that [the BZA] was

8 小本雜含曰。於人天中七生七死得盡苦際。餘斷以為飲光部經者。豈不然乎。普光。法寶輩皆調引二經證謬矣。以契經說天七及人二句。言有依據。而有宗所誦本不分明故。援飲光部經以為確證。(SAT/T.64.2252.460a).

9 Kaidō's *Abhidatsuma kusharon hōgi* 阿毘達磨俱舍論法義 (T.2251), with 30 fascicles, is a much more detailed work than Hōdo's *Keiko* (2 fascicles).

recited by the Kāśyapīya is the second mistake...¹⁰

I believe Kaidō is right here and the passage in BZA 160 於人天中七生七死 does not imply that seven rebirths have to take place in each of the two realms.¹¹ It is not proved that the passage in BZA 160 is the sutra referred to in the *Kośa* as ‘a Kāśyapīya sutra.’ With this finding Hōdo’s whole case is lost already, because his second argument is circular, as we will see below, and the third point he makes has already been refuted by Akanuma.

2.1.2 THE TEN DIRECTIONS

In one passage the *Kośa* mentions different ways of counting directions. Some Buddhist texts mention the four cardinal directions, some add above and below, still others include the intermediate directions (NE, SE etc.) and arrive at ten directions. In Xuanzang’s translation of the *Kośa* we find the passage:

A sutra in the *Samyuktāgama* says: ‘Like a rain drop or [the turning of] a chariot’s axle. Without interruption, without breaks [the rain] falls from the sky. In the same way to the East, without gaps, without interruptions, uncountable worlds arise and perish. What is true for the East is also true for the South, the West and the North.’ Above and below are not mentioned here. But some also count above and below, therefore sutras of other schools

10 此辨其誤非一也。即有七失。彼小本文全不有害人天合七生義。人天中總七生死故有生必有死。七死言亦非證。故彼上一左二左唯云。說言七生人天。是失所指是一以自謬妄談爲飲光部所誦是二失 ... (SAT/T.64.2251.336a).

11 See also Mizuno (1970: 48-49), who cites two interesting examples from other sutras which indeed assert seven rebirths *each* in the human and the *deva* realm.

speak of ten directions [four cardinal + four intermediate directions + above + below].¹²

Hōdo, here and throughout, takes 餘部經 (‘sutras of other schools’) as ‘a sutra of another school’ and claims that this sutra is the BZA.

[Concerning the *Kośa* passage] ‘Sutras of other schools [(taken by Hōdo as ‘a sutra of another school’)] speaks of ten directions.’

In fascicle seventeen the smaller *Samyuktāgama* [i.e., BZA 347] says: ‘[...] In the East [there are innumerable worlds...] the same is true for South, West, and North, the intermediate directions, and above and below’. [...] The *Dazhidu lun*, when discussing the ‘[myriad] worlds of the ten directions’ also cites this sutra.¹³ I once read the BZA and hold it to be a text recited by the Kāśyapīyas. [...] What is called the ‘other school’ is the Kāśyapīya school. [The Tang-dynasty commentator] Puguang thinks the ‘sutra from another school’ means a sutra from the Dharmaguptakas. I do not know why or where he got that from.¹⁴

12 Again, following Xuanzang’s translation: 契經言 譬如天雨滴如車軸 無間無斷從空下澍。如是東方無間無斷無量世界或壞或成。如於東方。南西北方亦復如是。不說上下。有說亦有上下二方。餘部經中說十方故。(CBETA/T.29.1558.42a4-8).

13 I was not able to confirm Hōdo’s reference. The ten worlds are mentioned many times in the *Dazhidu lun*, but in the only instance I found where the number is defined (CBETA/T25.1509.209a9-13), the sutra cited is clearly not BZA 347. The *Dazhidu lun* passage says that the text cited appears in ‘numerous sutras.’

14 餘部經中說十方小本雜含十七曰。[...]東方[無量世界...]南西北方四維上下亦復如是。[...]智度論證有十方世界。亦引此經。余嘗讀別譯雜含。而斷為飲光部所誦本。蓋有微有義。可以其說已。所謂餘部言指飲光部。普光

Hōdo correctly remarks that the count of directions in BZA 347 is congruent with the opinion of the ‘sutras of other schools’ in the *Kośa* quotation. It is, however, only because Hōdo is already convinced that the BZA is a Kāśyapīya sutra that he states that the BZA is a Kāśyapīya work. The *Kośa* does not mention the Kāśyapīyas here; in fact it does not discuss the affiliation of the ‘sutras of other schools’ at all.

Though the Kāśyapīyas are not mentioned, Hōdo attempts to tie the passage to the BZA and identify ‘the other school’ – as he reads 餘部. His argument is further weakened by the fact that Paramārtha’s *Kośa* translation does not refer to ten directions at all, but merely notes that some sutras include zenith and nadir among the directions: ‘A sutra [i.e., the Sarvāstivādin SĀ] says: “[...] Like this in the East, the South, the West and the North.” It does not say above and below. Another sutra does [or ‘other sutras do’] mention “above and below.”¹⁵

Besides all this, the expression ‘[all] ten directions’ is exceedingly common in Buddhist literature and it is highly unlikely that it can be shown to have emerged from one single school.¹⁶ It seems Vasubandhu never intended the number of directions to be a means of distinguishing schools, and so cannot be invoked to substantiate the attribution of texts.

2.1.3 POTUOLI THE BRĀHMAṆA

This point raised by Hōdo concerning the BZA has already been refuted by Akanuma (1939 [1981]: 49) and a summary of it will

曰餘部經者法密部經。未知何據。且不言何經出。(SAT/T.64.2252.446a6-17)

15 如東方南方西方北方亦爾。不說有上下方。於別部經言有上有下。(CBETA/T.29.1559.199a27-28).

16 It appears, for example, in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (T.1.26.493b8).

suffice. Here Hōdo does not directly tie the BZA to the Kāśyapīya, but does try to establish it as a source for the *Kośa*.

There is a *Kośa* passage where the Buddha addresses a *brāhmaṇa* whose name is transcribed by Xuanzang as Potuoli 婆陀梨.¹⁷ In the *Kośa* the quotation is said to be from the *Ḳṣudrāgama*, a name Xuanzang translates as 雜阿笈摩 and Paramārtha as 少分阿舍. Hōdo misreads Xuanzang as rendering not *Ḳṣudrāgama* but *Samyuktāgama* and interprets Paramārtha's 少分阿舍 (literally 'small(er) part *Āgama*') wrongly as the 'smaller' BZA. He then asserts that Potuoli is the same as Bojiali 薄迦梨 whose name appears only in the BZA (BZA 151), not in the ZA.¹⁸ He thus

17 At CBETA/T.29.1558.154b22. In the earlier translation of the *Kośa* Paramārtha has 波遮利 (CBETA/T.29.1559.0306a07). According to the etymology for the name given in Puguang's commentary (CBETA/T.41.1821.443.a6-8), the source for Xuanzang's translation must have had something like *Bādari or *Bādare. Poussin has 'Badari' and mentions that Stcherbatsky reads "*Bādarayana" [sic] (Poussin 1923-31 [1980] vol. 5: 249n4).

Pruden, in his translation of Poussin, seems to have checked against the Sanskrit text (Pradhan 1967, 466), found 'Daridra' for the *brāhmaṇa*'s name and silently corrected it, thereby perhaps introducing a mistake (Pruden 1988-1990 vol. 4: 1325). Pāsādika, the most reliable source in this matter, does not mention 'Daridra,' but gives 'Badare' following Poussin, and notes even more variants ('Svādare,' 'Vādare') (Pāsādika 1989: No.509). The name *Bādari 婆陀梨 appears in the *Mahāvibhāṣa* (e.g., CBETA/T.27.1545.679b3).

I believe Poussin's citation of Stcherbatsky (which I was not able to trace) provides an important hint and want to suggest that the interlocutor of the Buddha in this passage is the same figure as the Bādari mentioned in the *Brahma Sūtra* (I, 2.30), who might or might not be identical with Bādarāyaṇa, the putative author of the *Brahma Sutra*. If this holds true, it is interesting, because it again illustrates that while sutra literature at times makes references to the *Upaniṣads*, the redactors of the - presumably somewhat later - Abhidharma literature used material from the *Brahma Sutra*. Both were in dialogue with contemporary non-Buddhist Indian texts.

18 世尊於雜至不可得，見小本雜舍十六。其為長行為異，按今論，所載經文。多出雜舍。而特標曰雜阿笈摩說者。蓋雜舍有大小二本。而此文沒於大本。僅見於小本。故標經名以別。舊論曰少分阿舍。最為審。是又予之

argues that what the catalogers call the ‘other’ (別 別) translation, i.e., the BZA, is nothing but the ‘small(er) part Āgama’ mentioned in the *Kośa*. The whole chain of Hōdo’s argumentation here is completely untenable. First of all, the *Kośa* passage in question does not refer to the *Samyuktāgama* or the BZA at all. Potuoli and Bojiali should not be taken as the same person, the phonetics do not match. Potuoli is a *brāhmaṇa* and Bojiali a monk. Finally, the contents of the verses spoken to Potuoli in the *Kośa* and to Bojiali in the BZA differ completely.

In none of the three cases discussed so far has Hōdo succeeded in proving that the Indian original of the BZA was a source for the *Kośa* or that it was a *Kāśyapīya* text, and we cannot help but side with Kaidō:

[The attributions that Hōdo made] based on citations found in the *Kośa* are more or less correct. However, that the BZA belongs to the *Kāśyapīya* is really a complete mistake.¹⁹

2.2 THE CASE FOR ATTRIBUTION TO THE DHARMAGUPTAKA AND MAHĪŚĀSĀKA SCHOOLS

In two short studies Mizuno Kōgen (1969 and 1970) argues that the BZA should be attributed to either the Mahīśāsaka or the Dharmaguptaka school. Having rejected Hōdo’s *Kāśyapīya* attribution, he bases his argument on three considerations: the content of the *SĀ*, as described in various sources; the *dvādaśāṅga-dharmapravacana* list of the twelve genres of

所以稱所謂別譯雜阿含而爲小本者也。(SAT/T.64.2252.0465c6-12).

19 此據俱舍所引立義。則粗有其理。然別譯爲飲光部者。實是妄也。(SAT/T.64.2251.1b). As mentioned above, Hōdo’s attribution of the *Dirghāgama* is also considered wrong today.

scripture found in the BZA; and the original language of the BZA as seen through the transcription of names.

Concerning content categories, Mizuno analyses what later texts have to say about the contents of the SĀ. Existing content outlines for the SĀ, as cited in various *Vinayas*²⁰ and other works, can be grouped into three types. The first type is found in the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* (*Sifenlü* 四分律, T.22.1428.968b) and the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* (*Wufenlü* 五分律, T.22.1421.191a). The SĀ mentioned in these *Vinayas* organizes sutras according to the audiences for whom the sutras were spoken, i.e., *bhikṣus*, *devas*, or *yakṣas*. The *Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya* (*Mohesengqiliū* 摩訶僧祇律, T.22.1425.491c) contains a second way of arranging the content of the SĀ, in which the SĀ sutras are grouped in categories according to doctrine, such as *indriya*, *bodhi-aṅga* etc. A *Vinaya* text belonging to the Mūlasarvāstivādins (T.25.1451.407b) and the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (T.30.1579.772c) mention a third, mixed type that contains both organizing principles: audience and points of doctrine. Both the Pāli SN and the Chinese ZA belong to this third type.

However, since the sutras of the BZA are mostly grouped by audience, not by doctrine, Mizuno concludes that the BZA belongs to the first type, as described in the *Vinayas* of the Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka schools.

This is an interesting argument, but it rests on the premise that the BZA is a complete translation from one of the early schools.²¹

20 Attribution of *Āgama* sutras is often based on comparison with *Vinaya* texts, because the latter can usually be clearly attributed to one school. See the attribution of the ZA and the BZA to Sarvāstivādin literature by Enomoto (1980) and Hiraoka (2000 and 2003). Schmithausen (1987: 305, §0.4) understands the term ‘school’: “mainly in the sense of a monastic unit that subscribes to the same redaction of the canon especially the *Vinaya*, and not, or not in the main, as a group of people who subscribe to the same dogmatic positions or even a school in the philosophical sense.”

21 Both Mizuno (1970: 486) and Hirahara (1986: 105) do assume, but not prove

As the discussion of the structure above has shown, the original order of the *Samgīta-varga* and the *Buddhabhāṣita-varga* of the BZA lines up closely with the final part of the reconstructed ZA. If the *Buddhabhāṣita-varga* indeed came before the *Samgīta-varga* in the Indian original, we must assume a partial translation of a longer text that resembled the ZA closely. As it is, the BZA does not seem well edited. We find different translations for the same term, incomplete sentences, and different character variants within the same sutras. These and other indications may lead us to infer that the text was not revised after its first translation, perhaps because the translation itself was never completed. The complete text, either lost or never translated in the first place, would have contained the other *vargas* in which the sutras were grouped under doctrinal concepts (*skandha*, *dhātu* etc.). In short, this part of Mizuno's argument does not hold if the BZA is an incomplete translation from a larger work, as we have to assume based on its original structure.

Regarding the attribution to the Mahīśāsaka, Mizuno draws attention to the list of the twelve genres of teachings (*shi'er fen jiao* 十二分教 *dvādaśāṅga-dharmapracāna*) found in BZA 113, which according to him is “extremely close” to that found in the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*.²² On further investigation, we find that the *dvādaśāṅga* order of the BZA and the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* differ in one place (position 11 and 12 are reversed), while the BZA and the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* differ in two places.

this. Waldschmidt (1980: 146), on the other hand, sees the BZA as an ‘incomplete translation’ of a SĀ.

22 Mizuno (1969: 433). The exact relationship of this very common list, the earlier version of which has only nine items, to the structure of early Buddhist literature has never been explained in a generally accepted way. As von Hinüber says regarding the ninefold list: “Die Buddhismusforschung hat sich dieser Reihe mehrfach angenommen und seit Nāgārjuna und Buddhaghosa erfolglos versucht, die überlieferte, bekanntlich völlig anders gestaltete Einteilung der buddhistischen Literatur mit diesen neun Begriffen in Einklang zu bringen.” (1994a: 121).

BZA (T.100, sutra 113)	Mahīśāsaka Vinaya 五分律²³	Dharmaguptaka Vinaya 四分律²⁴
1. 修多羅 <i>sūtra</i>	修多羅 (= 1)	契經 (= 1)
2. 祇夜 <i>geya</i>	祇夜 (= 2)	祇夜經 (= 2)
3. 授記 <i>vyākaraṇa</i>	受記 (= 3)	授記經 (= 3)
4. 說偈 <i>gāthā</i>	伽陀 (= 4)	偈經 (= 4)
5. 優他那 <i>udāna</i>	憂陀那 (= 5)	句經 (= 5)
6. 尼他 <i>nidāna</i>	尼陀那 (= 6)	因緣經 (= 6)
7. 伊帝目多伽 <i>itivṛttaka</i>	育多伽婆 ²⁵ (= 7)	本生經 (= 8) <i>jātaka</i>
8. 本生 <i>jātaka</i>	本生 (= 8)	善道經 (= 7) <i>itivṛttaka</i>
9. 毘佛略 <i>vaipulya</i>	毘富羅 (= 9)	方等 (= 9)
10. 未曾有 <i>adbhūta</i>	未曾有 (= 10)	未曾有經 (= 10)
11. 優波提舍 <i>upadeśa</i>	阿婆陀那 (= 12)	譬喻經 (= 12) <i>avadāna</i>
12. 本事 <i>avadāna</i>	憂波提舍 (= 11)	優波提舍經 (= 11) <i>upadeśa</i>

According to Mizuno, the *dvādaśāṅga-dharmapracāsa* list in the

23 CBETA/T.22.1421.1c14.

24 CBETA/T.22.1428.569b4-7.

25 This is one the rare cases where Chinese labials (*p/b*) are used for velars (*k/g*) in Sanskrit or Pāli. Karashima (1994: 16) has already remarked on this and explained how *-k-* changes to *-y-* which then is realized as a glide consonant *-v-*.

ZA (which differs in two places from the one found in the BZA) reflects the Sarvāstivādin order. Unfortunately, he does not give his source, but he may be referring to the list in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, which differs only in one place, and is morphologically close to the ZA list.

ZA (T.99, sutra 1138)	<i>Vibhāṣā</i> ²⁶
1. 修多羅 <i>sūtra</i>	修多羅
2. 祇夜 <i>geya</i>	祇夜
3. 伽陀 <i>gāthā</i>	婆伽羅那 <i>vyākaraṇa</i> (= 4)
4. 受記 <i>vyākaraṇa</i>	伽他 <i>gāthā</i> (= 3)
5. 優陀那 <i>udāna</i>	優陀那
6. 尼陀那 <i>nidāna</i>	尼陀那
7. 阿波陀那 <i>avadāna</i>	阿波陀那
8. 伊帝目多伽 <i>itivṛttaka</i>	伊帝目多伽
9. 闍多伽 <i>jātaka</i>	闍陀伽
10. 毘富羅 <i>vaipulya</i>	毘佛略
11. 阿浮多達摩 <i>adbhūta-dharma</i>	阿浮陀達摩
12. 優婆提舍 <i>upadeśa</i>	優婆提舍

The difference between the *dvādaśāṅga* in the ZA and the BZA is noteworthy, but the argument regarding the attribution of the BZA to the Mahīśāsaka carries little force.

26 CBETA/T.28.1546.2b1-5 (translated by Buddhavarman, early 5th century). The list in Xuanzang's translation (mid-7th century) is in the same order, but uses different transcriptions of course (CBETA/T27.1545.2a20-22).

The fact that the BZA *dvādaśāṅga* list is “extremely close” to the one found in the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* is not persuasive. Firstly, exactly the same structural difference exists between the list in BZA 113 and in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (T.24.1451.398c25-27), so it might as well be argued that the BZA is a *Mūlasarvāstivāda* text. The more fundamental problem, however, is methodological. Can the *dvādaśāṅga* list be used to ascertain school affiliations at all? Considering that the list appears rather often in the canon, different versions are to be expected and both difference and identity between two sets might well be coincidental. As Nattier (2004: 189f) has pointed out after comparing a large number of *dvādaśāṅga* sets:

[...] while the idea of twelve *āṅgas* clearly came to be widely accepted, there is little evidence that any particular sequence of the twelve items ever gained widespread status as orthodox. [...] the Chinese data point to the strong possibility that no single version of the *dvādaśāṅga* list ever succeeded in becoming the single accepted standard even within a specific *nikāya*. [...] Given [the] immense variety ... the possibility of associating each of these *dvādaśāṅga* sequences with a specific *nikāya* seems quite remote.

It follows, then, that the argument for attribution of the BZA to the *Mahīśāsaka* based on the *dvādaśāṅga* list is not valid.

Mizuno’s third argument concerns the language of the text (Mizuno 1970: 50-51). It is not made with great confidence and is more a suggestion than an assertion on his part. Based on an analysis of the transcription of personal names, he judges the language of the original text to have been neither Sanskrit nor Pāli. He gives a number of examples, which I will repeat here with some information added:

- a) 迦據多 [迦梅延] (CBETA/T.02.100.391c15) (unique in the canon: ZA has 迦羅拘陀 迦梅延) is neither Pāli Pakudha nor Sanskrit Krakudha.
- b) [尼乾陀] 闍提弗多羅 (CBETA/T.02.100.391c15-16) (identical in the ZA) is neither Pāli Nātaputta nor Sanskrit Jñātaputra. Mizuno suggests Prakrit Jātiputra.
- c) 求迦尼²⁷娑 (CBETA/T.02.100.468b28) (unique in the canon: ZA has 拘迦尼娑) is neither Pāli nor Sanskrit Kokanadā.
- d) 迦孫 [如來] (CBETA/T.02.100.488c14-15) (ZA has 迦羅迦孫提佛) is neither Pāli Kakusandha nor Sanskrit Krakuchanda.
- e) 僧鉗 (CBETA/T.02.100.376b22) (ZA has 僧迦藍) is neither Pāli Saṅgāmaji nor Sanskrit Saṅgrāmajit.

Though there is more to be said about the examples above, Mizuno is right in that the sources of these and many other names were neither in Pāli nor in classical Sanskrit.

Example (c) is problematic because Kokanadā as a name for the daughters of Pajjunna (the Vedic rain god Parjanya) seems not to be attested in Sanskrit Buddhist literature. In Sarvāstivādin literature the name ‘Kokanadā’ is used for a wandering ascetic, and a palace (SWTF: s.v.). In the Pāli corpus, Pajjunna’s daughters, (both called ‘Kokanadā’ - a synonym for *paduma*, the red lotus) do appear only once to speak an Āryā-verse (SN I 29f).²⁸ It is possible that their name was different in the Northern tradition.

Regarding examples (d) and (e), I propose they follow a translation habit peculiar to the BZA. The BZA sometimes tries

²⁷ Mizuno has a typo here (尸 for 尼).

²⁸ For a reconstruction and analysis of the few Āryā verses in the canon see Alsdorf (1968).

to render proper names both phonetically and semantically, though neither method is followed through consistently. As in modern transcriptions in advertisements (e.g., 可口可樂 for the Coca-Cola brand), the translators let themselves be inspired by the Indian sound while trying to produce a name that made sense in Chinese. The semantics of the resulting Chinese term are not, however, necessarily related to the Indian name.

Examples (d) and (e) above follow this pattern of semantic transcription: other examples are 桃河 ‘peach river’ for the place Dhavajālika in BZA 16; 求惠/求德 ‘striving for virtue’ for the monk Godhika in BZA 30; 盧樓/盧留 ‘dark house, remain in darkness (?)’ for the Raurava hell in BZA 47; and 石室 ‘stone room’ for the nun Selā in BZA 218. 迦孫 ‘Descendant of Jia’ is essentially an abbreviation of the longer 迦羅迦孫提佛 found in the ZA, but the fact that the abbreviation was chosen to resemble a Chinese term is typical for the BZA. In the same way, it is impossible to reconstruct the original Prakrit from the shortened 僧鉗 ‘monk clamp,’ but the term appears more Chinese than the ZA equivalent 僧迦藍, where the Indian provenance is immediately obvious.

Mizuno continues with his discussion of the original language of the BZA and concludes:

[...] we wonder if the original language [of the BZA] was not close to the Gāndhārī Prakrit used in Northwest India. This was the language of the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, which is also believed to be the original language of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* of the Dharmaguptaka school. However, judging from the transcriptions in the BZA, its original language was probably even more corrupted (*kuzurete*) than that of the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada*. This can also be said of the language of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama*.

Considering the various aspects cited above it is probable that the BZA is the *Samyuktāgama* transmitted by the Dharmaguptakas or Mahīśāsakas active in Northwest India.

The final conclusion here is not supported by the evidence. As we have seen, neither the argument from the typology of SĀ “tables of contents” nor that from the similarity of the *dvādaśāṅga* lists withstands closer scrutiny. With regard to the original language, a perceived similarity to the Gāndhārī Prakrit is clearly not enough to prove a Dharmaguptaka affiliation. As Karashima, in his study of the language of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (1994: 51), has shown, its original was not simply Gāndhārī, as Mizuno himself admits. We have no comparable analysis for the BZA and the relative distance of its original language from both the Gāndhārī corpus and the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* still awaits further research. Methodologically, the identification of Gāndhārī as the original language for any Chinese translation is extremely difficult to prove for a variety of reasons (see Boucher 1998). Moreover, even if a linguistic analysis of the transcriptions were to point unanimously to a Gāndhārī original, an attribution to the Dharmagupta school would still be tentative; because, although it is beyond doubt that the Dharmaguptakas used Gāndhārī for their texts, not all Gāndhārī texts can be assumed to be from the Dharmaguptaka school (Salomon 1999: 170f).

We must therefore conclude that there is no evidence to attribute the BZA to the Dharmaguptakas or Mahīśāsakas.

2.3 THE CASE FOR ATTRIBUTION TO (MŪLA)SARVĀSTIVĀDIN LITERATURE

Let us now take a step back and ask another question: what

would it take to attribute BZA to any school? What, under the circumstances, would constitute proof? If we bear in mind how closely related the tenets of the Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka and Kāśyapīya schools were, and how little is known about them, it seems highly unlikely that their subtle scholastic points of divergence could have entered their sutra literature in such a way as to allow us to attribute a text beyond all doubt on that basis. Schisms, in general, led to the establishment of different *Vinayas*²⁹ and it is here that we have texts that are clearly attributed to schools. These do not often, however, give much information about doctrinal differences. Such doctrinal differences as there were would have been elucidated in *Abhidharma* literature, which by all accounts evolved later and did not necessarily influence the *Sūtrapiṭaka*.

If doctrinal clues cannot serve as reliable indicators for sutra attribution, we should look to linguistic considerations for our primary evidence. The solution lies in an approach sketched in two volumes edited by Heinz Bechert, namely to base school attribution on the presence or absence of distinctive terms, known to have been employed by those schools.³⁰ This method does present special challenges in the field of Chinese translations where the Indian original often cannot be reconstructed with complete certainty. Nevertheless, concentrating on particular expressions and terminology has produced interesting results, as can be seen from the studies discussed below.

In a short but important article, Fumio Enomoto (1980) approaches the question of the school attribution of the ZA, the

29 See, for example, Prebish (1975 [1996]) for a comparison of the Mahāsāṃghika and the Sarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣas*.

30 See Bechert (1980, 1985+1987), especially the contributions by von Hinüber, von Simson and Sander. Their research shows that certain word forms and expressions are school-specific. For an application of this approach see Hartmann's contribution in Bechert (1985).

BZA and the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (T.26) based on the relative chronology of *Udānavarga* recensions presented by Schmithausen (1970, s. a. 1987: 379ff). Schmithausen was able to show that there are distinct groups of *Udānavarga* recensions. These contain many verses also found in the *Samyuktāgama*. Enomoto compares the ZA and BZA versions of these verses with their Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels and concludes that both the ZA and the BZA agree only with the wording of the later group of recensions (those transmitted in the Tibetan *Udānavarga* and in quotations in the *Yogācārabhūmi*), and differ from the earlier *Udānavarga* recensions and the Pāli *Suttanipāta*. The relevant passages in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*, on the other hand, agree with the earlier recensions and differ from the later texts.

Enomoto considers the earlier stratum of texts, which includes the manuscripts found in eastern Turkestan and the original of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*, to belong to the Kashmiri Sarvāstivādins (1984a: 1073). The later stratum, to which the ZA and the BZA are parallels, includes texts of the so-called Mūlasarvāstivāda. Enomoto also points out one BZA passage that does not agree with its parallel in the *Dharmagupta Vinaya* and therefore concludes that an attribution to that school is unlikely. He employs the same method with the same result in a second article (Enomoto 1984b), where he presents a BZA passage that is literally equivalent to its parallel in the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* but differs from the version found in the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*. He concludes that the BZA belongs not to the Dharmagupta or Mahīśāsaka schools, but to the earliest stratum of Mūlasarvāstivādin literature (ibid.: 102).

The exact relationship of the labels ‘Sarvāstivāda’ and ‘Mūlasarvāstivāda’ is one of the big unresolved questions in Buddhist studies. We know that the name ‘Mūlasarvāstivāda’ must have evolved later, probably after the end of Kuṣāna power (Willems, Dessein, Cox (1998: 125)), which supported the

Kashimiri Sarvāstivādin. Enomoto (2000 and 2004) denies any substantial difference between Mūlasarvāstivādin and Sarvāstivādin and asserts that ‘Mūlasarvāstivādin’ is a ‘self-honorific’ employed by the Sarvāstivādin since at least the seventh century.³¹ This does not conflict with the conclusion reached by Dessein that the term ‘Sarvāstivāda’ appears to be a “general name, embracing, among others, the Dārṣṭāntika-Sautrāntika, the Vaibhāṣikas and the Mūlasarvāstivādins.” (ibid.)

Further evidence for attribution to the Sarvāstivādin has been adduced by Hiraoka (2000). Hiraoka remarks that the evidence presented by Enomoto is sufficient only if it can be shown that a passage parallel to that in the BZA/ZA and the (Mūla)sarvāstivāda corpus is not also present in a text of any other school, at least in so far as texts are available (ibid.: 506). He is able to show for the curious passage of Anāthapiṇḍika “having goose flesh” (lit. “body-hair standing up” 身毛為豎) on hearing the Buddha’s name for the first time, that this particular description appears only in Sarvāstivādin literature and is missing in all other known recensions of the story (ibid.). He focuses on the *Vinaya*, but his argumentation can be strengthened further, since the “goose flesh” passage also occurs in the Sarvāstivādin *Madhyamāgama* (CBETA/T01.26.459c22-23). It appears that this emphatic description was used early on by the Sarvāstivādin and can be used to attribute texts where sufficient parallel versions are available.

The phrase 身毛為豎, 身毛豎 or 身毛皆豎 indeed appears several times in the BZA and the ZA: only in the ZA in clusters 99, 117, 313, and 323; only in the BZA in clusters 53, 167, and 337; in both BZA and ZA as a parallel in clusters 20, 129, 186 and 130. Unfortunately, this distribution does not yield a significant trend that might differentiate the ZA from the BZA.

31 On Enomoto’s opinion see also Skilling (2002: 374-376) and Fumi (2007).

Hiraoka (2003) uses this and three other passages to further refine his argument. He is able to show that in all four cases the ZA is closer to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, in either its Chinese or its Sanskrit version, than it is to the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*. A BZA parallel is available for only two cases but the results point in the same direction. This confirms Enomoto's findings that both ZA and BZA seem to belong to the earliest stratum of *Mūlasarvāstivāda* literature, a corpus of texts that gradually took shape within the larger *Sarvāstivāda* tradition.

Although further evidence would still be welcome, for the time being, the attribution of the BZA to (Mūla)sarvāstivādin literature must be considered well established, both by itself and by the lack of competing theories that can be substantiated. Considering that there probably never was a clear-cut difference between the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* and *Sarvāstivāda*, it is for now best to regard the BZA and the ZA as two different *Samyukta* collections belonging to *Sarvāstivādin* literature in the wider sense. Considering the geographic spread of the (Mūla)sarvāstivādins and their long influence on the history of Buddhist thought, different lines of textual transmission within this school are possible, even probable.

Methodologically, it should be noted that valid evidence was gained by focusing not on certain doctrinal points, as Hōdo attempted to do, or on content structure and the order of lists, as Mizuno did, but on comparison of fairly innocuous terms and passages concerning "goose flesh", "putting down a water jar", or the metaphor of a "burning roof" (ibid). This illustrates again that comparative philology, today sometimes regarded as outdated, is still able to make genuine contributions to our knowledge.

2.4 TEXTUAL HISTORY

One of the problems the BZA project set out to solve was to understand the relationships among the SN, the ZA and the BZA. Is it possible to describe the stemmatic relationships among these three collections?

It seems likely, though hard to prove, that there was a single oral ‘Ur-text.’ Because of the vast number of similarities both on the macro level, the organization into *vargas* and *saṃyuktas*, and on the micro level, where countless passages in SN, ZA and BZA are literally equivalent, we know that the three collections have developed from a common oral tradition. It cannot be assumed, however, that this oral text was completely fixed at any time before the first century BCE, and there is plenty of evidence for structural changes before and after the translation into Chinese.

In the first century BCE a large collection of Buddhist texts, almost certainly including the SN, was committed to writing in Sri Lanka. At the same time we have the first manuscript evidence for Buddhist texts in north India and Afghanistan. It makes sense to speak of a northern and a southern tradition with the caveat that - at least until the fourth or fifth century - mutual inter-sectarian influences, ‘cross-pollination’, may well have taken place.

In the early fifth century Faxian found a Sarvāstivādin *Saṃyuktāgama* manuscript in Sri Lanka and brought it to China, where it was probably used to produce the ZA. The fact that a *Sarvāstivādin* scripture was available in Sri Lanka in the late fourth century is not surprising. Many schools are attested in Sri Lanka in the early centuries before the Mahāvihāra Theravāda orthodoxy became dominant to the degree that the presence of these other schools was purged from the historical record.³²

³² The presence even of Mahāyāna Buddhism in early Sri Lanka is well

Nevertheless, its dominance led to the southern tradition being fairly clearly demarcated: the early Singhalese commentaries and variant texts were unified into the corpus of Pāli texts we have today.

The picture we have of early Sutra and *Vinaya* literature in the northern tradition is more complex owing to a greater variety of witnesses. Alongside fragments of Prakrit texts from northern India, Afghanistan and Central Asia, we have quotations in Sanskrit texts from Nepal and Tibet, some Tibetan translations and a large amount of Chinese translations. The northern tradition was perhaps more in flux owing to its greater geographical spread and the greater number of languages involved. We know that *Samyukta*-type sutras were excerpted and anthologized.³³ Thanks to the analysis of Gāndhārī fragments, we know of the existence of a Dharmaguptaka *Samyuktāgama*, which Glass (2006: 65) believes to have ‘split from the Pāli’ together with the original of the Chinese ZA and BZA. Unfortunately, the remains of the Dharmaguptaka *Samyuktāgama*, discussed by Glass, do not include any parallels to BZA sutras.³⁴ For us the important question is: Did the Indian originals of the ZA and the BZA split off independently, or was there one single text that forked from the main branch and later split again into two lines of transmission?

In other words is there evidence that the BZA and the ZA did indeed have one common ancestor, beyond the general closeness in wording in the majority of sutras; and further, are

attested and studied. See the entry “Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sri Lanka” in Deegalle (1997).

33 This is evinced by the second century Chinese translation of selected *Samyukta* sutras (T.101) and the *Samyukta* sutras from the Gāndhārī corpus (Glass (2006)).

34 A Gāndhārī *Vana-Samyutta* is preserved in the Senior Collection (Glass 2006: 15). This is the only Gāndhārī fragment known to me that contains sutras from both the ZA and the BZA (ZA 1331-1344 / BZA 351-364).

there differences in content that cannot be explained except by assuming a time of independent development for the BZA?

One obvious reason to assume a common ancestor for the ZA and the BZA is the identical sutra order of the reconstructed versions for both texts. Agreement on this scale cannot be accidental. As Bucknell (forthcoming 2011) has shown the BZA and the ZA share even a number of irregular, unexpected placements of sutras, when compared with the SA.³⁵

Another piece of evidence is the presence of an interesting mistake concerning the term “eater of anger” (*kodhabhakkho*) (see footnote 45 on page 203 below). The fact that both the ZA and the BZA reflect the same mistake proves the existence of a common ancestor that mistook *bhakkha/bhakṣa(ka)* ‘eater’ for *pakṣa* ‘friend.’ The nature of the mistake (*bh > p*) suggests the split occurred in the oral period of transmission, i.e., probably before or not long after the turn of the era.

Drawing on evidence from the *uddānas* Bucknell (forthcoming 2011) shows that the *uddāna* reference for BZA 17 preserves the name of a protagonist, the monk Samiddhi, which in the sutra text has been lost. Samiddhi’s name is also missing from the ZA. From the existence of the name in the *uddāna* and the SN we can infer that it must have been lost in the sutra text when the ZA and the BZA were still one single (Indian) text.

One last piece of evidence concerns another discrepancy between the southern and the northern tradition, again in a sutra on Sakka (see the discussion of names in section 6.2, *The*

³⁵ BZA 167 and ZA 583, featuring the *devaputta* Candimā, for instance, are found in the BZA/ZA *Devatā-saṃyutta* and not in the *Devaputta-saṃyutta*, where the Candimā sutra is found in the SN. (*Devatās* are usually unnamed, while *devaputtas* are identified.) The fact that both the BZA and the ZA share this irregularity points to a common ancestor. For more examples see Bucknell (forthcoming 2011).

Names of Sakka). Both the ZA and the BZA have *punaḥ punar* against the SN *pure pure*. The latter is probably the older version because it connects the etymology with the ‘original’ epithet of Indra, ‘Puraṃdara.’ Here, too, this coincidence can only be explained if we assume a common ancestor for ZA and BZA which forked from the Pāli.

Furthermore, there is evidence that the Indian original of the BZA indeed underwent a period of development independent from the Indian original of the ZA and contains later additions.

One difference already mentioned is that ZA and BZA have different *dvādaśāṅga* lists. This alone, however, could be the result of a minor mistake in the transmission.

A more substantial difference between the ZA and the BZA is the mention of the ‘ninety-six schools’ *jiushiliu zhong dao* 九十六種道 (Skt. *ṣaṅ-ṇavatiyo pāṣaṇḍāḥ*). These are mentioned three times in the BZA (BZA 52, BZA 223 and in a *gāthā* at BZA 325), but do not appear at all in the ZA. In the other Chinese Āgamas the ninety-six schools are rarely mentioned (as far as I can see, only once in T.68, a single *Madhyamāgama* sutra, and once in the *Ekottarikāgama* (CBETA/T.02.125.651c29)). Since the term is used several times in the BZA, including in a *gāthā*, it is not likely that it was inserted as a gloss during the translation process. The whole (Indian) text of the BZA must therefore have been redacted after the formation of the *abhidharmic* concept of the ninety-six teachings. Here is a clear example of Abhidharma influence on Āgama literature and evidence that material continued to be added to the Indian BZA at a point when the ZA text had already found closure.

The reference to the ‘ninety-six’ schools is especially helpful, because there are two major ways of explaining the figure ninety-six. In the first explanation, which is the one followed by the BZA, all ninety-six sects are non-Buddhist. The number is

arrived at by assuming that the traditional six teachers contemporary with the Buddha each had 15 students, and that each of these founded his own school ($6 + (6 \times 15) = 96$). The second, of which there are several versions, takes the figure ninety-six as including the Buddhist *sāsana*, whilst the remaining ninety-five are considered non-Buddhist renunciant schools. The ‘ninety-six’ appear in the *Vinayas* of the Mahīśāsakas, the Mahāsaṃghikas, the Sarvāstivādins, and the Mūlasarvāstivādins.³⁶

Another piece of evidence for an independent development of the BZA has been discovered by Su (2010b), who has been able to show that the *gāthās* in BZA 140, 141 and 311 resolve what in their SN and ZA parallels are presented as riddles.³⁷ It does not seem that the answers were inserted into the text during or after the translation, but rather that the *gāthās* themselves had been changed from their early form as riddle and came to incorporate their solutions. This is again evidence for a later development that took place in the BZA, but not in the ZA.

The above shows that the Indian originals of BZA and ZA once had a common ancestor, which was different from the SN and later forked into two different lines of transmission that eventually led to the ZA and BZA. Various examples show that the Indian ZA, which was transmitted to China from Sri Lanka, found closure earlier, while the Indian BZA, which presumably came to China via Central Asia, had continued to absorb elements from the Abhidharma and underwent changes after it had split from the ZA branch.

³⁶ See also Anālayo (2009: 227n)

³⁷ In BZA 140 and BZA 311 the Buddha replies to a question posed by a *deva* about “what to cut off what to abandon”: “One should cut off five, abandon five” 斷五捨於五 (ZA 1312) / *pañca chinde pañca jahe* (SN (I 3) Katichinda). In the BZA, however, it is made clear what is meant by “five”: “One should cut off the five *skandhas*, cut off the five desires” 能斷於五蓋 // 棄捨於五欲 (BZA 140).

We do now know that there existed a common ancestor of ZA and BZA, a ‘Sarvāstivāda Proto-*Samyuktāgama*,’ which split from the main branch. Then, within Sarvāstivāda literature, the text forked again and the Indian originals of the ZA and the BZA evolved as close relatives, but with discernible differences. The Indian original of the ZA was probably close or even identical to the ‘Sarvāstivāda Proto-*Samyuktāgama*’ and had undergone less change. The original of the BZA, on the other hand, seems to have developed independently for some time, perhaps within the group that later called itself Mūlasarvāstivādins.

These findings tally well with both the observations of Enomoto and Hiraoka concerning the attribution of ZA and BZA as well as with the studies of Glass and Allon concerning *Samyukta*-type sutras among the Gāndhārī fragments.

3 STUDIES ON AND TRANSLATION OF THE *BHIKKHU SAṂYUTTA*

3.1 ON THE TRANSLATION OF *FENGXING* 奉行¹

With the exception of BZA 16 and 19, all the sutras of the BZA *Bhikkhu Saṃyutta* end with the closing formula *huanxi fengxing* 歡喜奉行; and, indeed, the vast majority of Chinese *Āgama* collections use this expression in the closing formula for most of their sutras. This research note tries to answer the question what exactly was meant by *fengxing* in *Āgama* literature. While *huanxi* “to be pleased, to rejoice” is uncomplicated, the term *fengxing* is polysemous in a way that raises problems for the translator, and, if only for its frequency, merits a more detailed discussion.

The *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大辭典 (HDC) (s.v.) gives two meanings for the word: Firstly, *zunzhao shixing* 遵照實行 “to respectfully act in accordance [with what one has been told]”. This meaning is attested by a passage in the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語, and the term in this sense is well known in Chinese literature since the Han. Secondly, in a definition referring explicitly to the

1 This section originated from an email exchange with Bhikkhu Anālayo and Rod Bucknell, both of whom have contributed to the argument outlined below.

Buddhist usage, the HDC says: 佛經末尾流通分中，多用以表示聽眾服膺之意 “In the ending formula of Buddhist sutras it [*fengxing*] is often used to express that the listeners bear in mind / remember (*fuying* 服膺) [what they had heard].”

The influential *Foguang fojiao cidian* 佛光佛教辭典 (s.v.) combines these two meanings when it defines *fengxing* as 奉持佛陀教法而修行之，稱為奉行 “upholding (*fengchi* 奉持) the teaching of the Buddha and practicing it, is called *fengxing*.”

Is the word now best understood as “to practice/act in accordance” or as “to remember/bear in mind”?

In recent years more and more Chinese Āgama sutras have been translated and many translators, including the author, have opted to emphasize the first meaning given in the HDC.² Along the same lines, the online *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* explains *fengxing* as “to practice with sincerity and reverence for the Buddha, for the teachings, etc.”³

“To uphold and practice accordingly” is obviously closer to the literal Chinese meaning of the characters and it is what a reader of modern Chinese would understand at first glance. However, in the following I will argue that, at least for Āgama literature, *fengxing* is better understood as “to remember, to bear in mind”, and perhaps best rendered by a compromise such as “remember and act accordingly”. Here are the reasons:

2 To name but a few examples for translations *fengxing*: Anālayo (2008a: 259) “acted in accordance;” Bingenheimer (2006: 29 *et passim*) “practiced accordingly;” Choong (2004: 9 *et passim*) “put into practice;” Meisig (1988: 188) (equating with *abhinandati*) “ehrfürchtig (nach den Worten des Buddha) handeln”.

3 *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* (www.buddhism-dict.net. Accessed Jan. 2010).

3.1.1 THE CASE FOR “TO REMEMBER, TO BEAR IN MIND”

1. Though the Pāli does not generally employ a cognate to *huanxi fengxing* as closing formula, we often find *fengxing* in the Chinese where the corresponding Nikāya discourses have *dhāreti* “to bear in mind”, e.g., in the frequent phrase *Bhagavato sutvā bhikkhū dhāressantī*, which Bodhi (2000: 664 *et passim*) renders “having heard it from the Blessed One, the *Bhikkhus* will remember it.”
2. Correspondingly, in the Northern tradition we find *bhagavataḥ śrutvā bhikṣavo dhārayiṣyanti* in the Sanskrit text of the *Āyuhparyantasūtra* (Matsumura 1989: passage 36). For this passage, which is not the closing formula, we have a parallel in both the ZA and the BZA. While in the ZA *dhārayiṣyanti* is rendered *fengxing*, the BZA has *yichi* 憶持.⁴ This clearly shows that *fengxing* was used to express the meaning “remember” rather than “to practice”.

Perhaps the choice of *feng* in *fengxing* was also influenced by the verb *udgrah-* in the expression “(*dharmaparyāyam*) *udgrahīṣyanti, dhārayiṣyanti*”, which is found in such popular sutras as the *Vajracchedika*⁵ the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*,⁶ and others. More references can be found in SWTF (s.v. *dhārayitavya*).

3. The related term *fengchi* 奉持, which the definition in the *Foguang fojiao cidian* cited above uses to explain *fengxing*, is also attested in translating verbs from \sqrt{dhr} .

4 ZA at CBETA/T02.99.351c21-22, BZA at CBETA/T.02.100.470b10-11. The BZA closes on 奉行 and may have translated the same Indian term in two different ways, but this kind of inconsistency is not unusual for the BZA.

5 Conze (1958: 50): “[they] will take up this discourse on Dharma, bear it in mind, ...”

6 Lamotte (1965: 126): “il le prend (*udgrhñāti*), le retient (*dhārayati*).”

For the Lotus Sutra, for instance, Karashima (1998 and 2001, s.v.) glosses “bears in mind (or memory) with all respect”.

4. There are cases where the closing formula follows a story, a prophecy, or an utterance in a dialogue. Here too *fengxing* is better understood as “to remember”, since there is little “to practice”. For example, sutra No. 66 of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* contains a prediction (perhaps interpolated) of the coming of Metteyya, and then Māra appears and engages in his customary exchange of verses with the Buddha. This ends with:

[...] Then King Māra thought: “The World-honored One knows me. The Well-gone One has seen me.” Anxious, worried, grieved, and unable to remain there, he suddenly disappeared from that place.

This is what the Buddha said. Having heard the Buddha’s words, Metteyya, Ajita, the venerable Ānanda, and the [other] monks were delighted and *fengxing*.⁷

In Sutra No. 29 of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*, *fengxing* appears in Sāriputta’s answers to Mahā Koṭṭhita and here too is better rendered as “remember.”⁸

“On hearing this, the venerable Sāriputta exclaimed: ‘Very good! Very good, friend Mahā Koṭṭhita!’ Having exclaimed thus, the

7 於是。魔王復作是念。世尊知我。善逝見我。愁惱憂感不能得住。即於彼處忽沒不現。佛說如是。彌勒·阿夷哆·尊者阿難及諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行。CBETA/T.01.26.511c9-12.

8 尊者舍梨子聞已。歎曰。善哉。善哉。賢者大拘絺羅。尊者舍梨子歎已。歡喜奉行。CBETA/T.01.26.461c9-11.

venerable Sāriputta was delighted and remembered [Koṭṭhita's words] well.”

Here and in many other sutras nothing is presented according to which one could “respectfully practice”.

Again, in sutra No.8, of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* there is the passage 諸弟子等設有具足奉行法者 (CBETA/T.01.26.429b19) where at first glance “practice” would make sense. However, the passage, which appears six times in T.26, is always followed by 修四梵室 where “practice” is clearly expressed by *xiu* 修, and the meaning “remember” for *fengxing* therefore seems preferable.

5. How did the early Chinese commentators understand the term? Tanluan 曇鸞 in the early 6th century mentions *fengxing* in his notes on Vasubandhu's **Amitayus-sutropadeśa* and says: 末言奉行表服膺事已⁹ “The closing word *fengxing* means to bear in mind (*fuying* 服膺).” His paraphrase *fuying* for *fengxing* was probably the basis for the corresponding definition found in the HDC (s.v.). *Fuying*, in turn, the HDC defines as 銘記在心 “to engrave in one's mind,” i.e., to remember carefully.

Another commentary from the late 6th century on the compendium *Dazhidulun* says: 此中言奉行為受不失曰持義亦相同也 “*fengxing* means to retain and not lose; it is the same as *chiyi* ‘to retain the meaning (of the sutra).’”¹⁰

9 CBETA/T.40.1819.844a29-b1.

10 CBETA/X.46.791.840b15-16.

3.1.2 CONCLUSION

The overwhelming evidence on the use of *fengxing* in Āgama literature points to an understanding close to the English “remember, bear in mind”. This does not preclude that most Chinese readers throughout the centuries could have understood the term in a more active sense, which could be translated as “respectfully practice” or “practice accordingly”; but it does seem that, at least in most cases, the intention of the Indian original was to express the semantics of “retain/remember/uphold” rather than “practice/fulfill/act upon”.

This still leaves us with the question why and how the *huanxi fengxing* formula came to be nearly universally accepted by most Āgama translators, a question which, I admit, at the present I am unable to answer. Also, there are hints of a use of *fengxing* in Mahāyāna texts where its interpretation veers more towards the “practice/fulfill/act upon”-pole in the semantic field,¹¹ but to follow these would take us further from the Āgamas than I wish to venture here.

3.2 THE TEXTS

As can be seen from the comparative catalog in Appendix 1, each of the BZA sutras of this first fascicle has a parallel in the ZA. Of these BZA/ZA clusters, only two (BZA 19 and BZA 21) have no parallel in Pāli. The most ‘popular’ sutras, those with the most parallels, are BZA 13 (Uruvela Kassapa performs miracles),

11 Cf. the explanations given for *fengxing* in the *Shunquan fangbian jing* 順權方便經 (CBETA/T.14.565.928b17-18), the *Da'ai jing* 大哀經 (CBETA/T.13.398.419c27) and perhaps the **Mahāratnakūṭasūtra* 大寶積經 (CBETA/T.11.310.669b14).

BZA 3 (Devadatta and Ajātasattu), BZA 14 (Mettiya and Mettiyā slander Dabba), and BZA 16 (Aṅgulimāla). While the narrative structures of the BZA and the ZA sutras are usually identical, the BZA account is generally shorter and less detailed, except in BZA 8, where the text turns uncharacteristically verbose. The Pāli text is somewhat removed from both Chinese versions both in language and in content-structure, though there are enough parallels on both levels to show their common origin.

3.3 TRANSLATION

This and the other translations collected in this volume are, to my knowledge, the first translations from the BZA into any western language.¹² The aim was to produce correct translations in plain English, avoiding both archaic and colloquial registers in the hope that they will still be readable in fifty years. As the intended readership is likely to be more familiar with the Pāli parallels to these texts, Pāli names and terms are in general preferred to Sanskrit ones, though the more familiar Sanskrit terms *stūpa* and *Nirvāṇa* are used. I use *brāhmaṇa* rather than Brahmin since the English range of meaning does not square well with how the term is used in Āgama literature. The aim is to provide a translation that can satisfy the needs of both the scholar and the general public.

In the prose parts I try to be as literal as possible, to translate every character and keep additions to a minimum. The same is true for the *gāthās*, though here it was often necessary to be more flexible in order to produce intelligible English. Stylistic choices were therefore limited even beyond my own narrow range and I ask the reader for patience with sentences that a native English writer might have rendered more efficiently and elegantly.

12 The only translation into a modern language, that I am aware of, is the one into Korean, produced by the team at Dongguk University, Seoul, which unfortunately I am not able to read sufficiently (Dong'guk yŏk'kyong wŏn 1995). I am not aware of any translation into modern Chinese or Japanese. In the huge Japanese translation project that resulted in the *Kokuyaku issai-gyō* 國譯一切經 (1928-1935) the ZA was translated but not the BZA. A modern Taiwanese Āgama edition by Foguang shan (佛光大藏經 (阿含藏); Digital Edition 2002), which provides new punctuation for the Chinese Āgamas, also does not include the BZA.

3.3.1 BZA 1 – SUJĀTA IS PRAISED¹³

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha stayed in a mango grove¹⁴ in the country of Mithilā.

At this time the Venerable Sujāta had just gone forth and shaved off his hair and beard. He came to the Buddha, paid homage by touching the Buddha's feet and sat down to one side. The Buddha told the other monks: 'This son of a good family, Sujāta, is splendid¹⁵ in two ways: First, his appearance is of extraordinary beauty, his features exceptionally handsome.¹⁶ Second, he was able to shave off his hair and beard and clothe his body with the Dharma robe. Feeling deeply that family life¹⁷ was all too ephemeral, he went forth and pursued the way. He ended all afflictions, is filled with purity, has liberated his mind [from desire], has attained liberation [from ignorance] by wisdom.¹⁸

13 All Sutra titles added by the author.

14 The *Foguang* Dictionary gives 菴婆羅園 as a variant for 菴沒羅園, which it says was the park of the courtesan Āmra (Pāli: Amba) near Vaiśālī. Ambapālī indeed donated a park to the *Sarigha*, however, 菴婆羅園, 菴羅園, 菴婆園, and 菴羅林 are commonly used for mango (*amba*) groves. Here it simply means a mango grove in Mithilā, probably the one belonging to Maghadeva (MN 83, MN 91) = 大自在天 (T.27.1545.429b23)/ 大天 (T.01.0026.511.c24 & T.01.0026.687.c15)/ 摩訶提婆 (T.28.1546.322c25).

15 *duanyan* 端嚴 *śobha/sobhaṇa*. Shining, splendid. The ZA (端嚴) and the Pāli (*sobhati*) use the same term.

16 *tingte* 挺特 can translate *visuddha* (Hirakawa 1997: 548). Here, however, the term is used according to its Chinese usage meaning 'excellent' or 'extraordinary' when describing appearance (HDC: s.v.).

17 *jiafa* 家法 *kula-dhamma*. Both the Indian term and the Chinese term have several shades of meaning within their respective cultures. In effect, it denotes those customs and lore that are passed down within an extended family or clan. 家法 also means life in society, among families, in general (e.g., T.02.0100(362).0491b26-27).

18 *xinjietuo* 心解脫 *ceto-vimutti*; *huijietuo* 慧解脫 *paññā-vimutti*. The use of these terms in the early sutras seems to imply two different stages of attainment. See de Silva (1978) and Anālayo (2003: 89f). Translating from Chinese, it might be better to treat both compounds equally, and render 'mind-

In this very body he has attained the unconditioned, forever ended [the cycle of] life and death. Established in the pure life, he will not have to endure another existence.’

Having said this, the Buddha spoke this verse:

The monk, always calm and concentrated / cuts off desire and abandons life and death;
he abides in his final body / he can defeat Māra’s armies,
training his mind, he breaks all fetters / his uprightness¹⁹ is without equal.

When the Buddha had finished this discourse, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.2 BZA 2 – THE UGLY MONK

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the World-honored One was teaching surrounded by a huge crowd,²⁰ when a monk approached him, his face gaunt,²¹ not in the least impressive. The monk paid homage to

liberation’ and ‘wisdom-liberation’. For the two kinds of liberation see also the passage in ZA 710 (T.02.0099.190b16-18): ‘One whose mind is tainted by greed has not attained [freedom from desire] and no happiness. One whose mind is tainted by ignorance, his wisdom can not be pure. Therefore, o monks, someone who is free from greed and desire has mind-liberation. Someone who is free from ignorance has wisdom-liberation.’ 貪欲染心者，不得、不樂；無明染心者，慧不清淨。是故——比丘！——離貪欲者，心解脫；離無明者，慧解脫。(and similar: ZA 1027 (T.02.0099.268b19-21)).

19 *duanzheng* 端正 *rju/uju*. The Pāli verse has *ujubhūta*.

20 *wu yang shu* 無央數 *asaṃkhyā, asaṅkheyya*. Lit. ‘an innumerable number of beings’.

21 *qiao cui* 憔悴 here implies an emaciated, lean quality, possibly brought

the Buddha's feet, raised his hands with palms together [in salutation] to the other monks and sat to one side. There the monks all had this thought: 'How is it that this monk looks so wasted, not in the least impressive?' The World-honored One, now, knew what they were thinking and said to them: 'Monks, have you seen the monk who just saluted me?' The monks answered the Buddha: 'Yes, World-honored One, we have seen him.' Then the Buddha further said: 'You must not think that he is inferior. Why? This monk has done what is to be done, attained Arahātship, cast off the heavy burden, ended all bonds of becoming [that lead to rebirth],²² found true liberation. You should not allow yourselves to think disparagingly of him. Once you have attained my level of insight, you may attempt to judge him. If you judge him presumptuously, you harm yourselves.'

Then the World-honored One spoke a verse:

The peacock, though his body may be endowed with beautiful colors / cannot soar as high as the swan.

Outward appearance may be beautiful / but not as worthy as the merit of ending one's defilements.

Now this monk has the activities of his mind / well trained and controlled, as one would a good horse.

He has cut off desire, destroyed all fetters, gone beyond birth and death / he wears his final body (and) has vanquished Māra's armies.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

about by intense ascetic practice.

22 *jin zhuyoujie* 盡諸有結 Skt. *parikṣīṇa-bhava-saṃyojana* (Hirakawa, No.2490). PED (p.499b) has 'fetter of rebirth' for *bhava-saṃyojana*. Soothill (p.215a) gives 'bond of existence' for 有結.

3.3.3 BZA 3 – DEVADATTA AND AJĀTASATTU

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Kalanda.²³

At that time Devadatta reached the fourth *jhāna* [stage of meditation. After his experience] he had this thought: ‘Who in this country of Magadha is the most powerful?’ And again he thought: ‘These days Ajātasattu has inherited the throne. How if I were to bring him under my influence - I could control everybody in the kingdom.’ Devadatta having thought thus, went to Ajātasattu’s place, assumed the form of an elephant treasure, entered through the door and left without using the door.²⁴ Next he assumed the form of a horse treasure and did likewise. Then he turned back into a monk, entered through the door and left flying through the air. Then he turned into a small child adorned with jewels, pearls and jade, his body beautiful and he sat on Ajātasattu’s knee. There Ajātasattu fondled him, crooned to him and kissed him, and [it so happened that] some of his spittle drooled into Devadatta’s mouth. Because Devadatta desired gain and profit, he swallowed the spittle. Then Devadatta changed from his child form back to his own body. When Ajātasattu saw all this, he developed the wrong view that Devadatta’s magical skill in changing his form surpassed that of the World-honored One. He began to venerate Devadatta deeply. Every day he sent 500 chariots of food as a gift to him and Devadatta and his 500 followers all partook of these offerings.

23 *jialantuo* 迦蘭陀, *kalanda* (-ka). In the Pāli tradition the place name *kalandakanivāpa* is easily understood to mean “squirrels’ feeding ground” (C.A.F. Rhys Davids), “squirrels’ sanctuary” (Bhikkhu Bodhi). This interpretation also shows in some Chinese translations – however, there is another tradition in Chinese and Tibetan that takes *Kalandaka*/*Kalantaka* as the name of a person (which is derived from the name of a bird). Chinese readers through the ages would have read 迦蘭陀 as a proper name; nothing would have implied ‘squirrel’ for them.

24 Elephant treasure and horse treasure are two of the seven treasures of the wheel-turning king, the early Buddhist ideal of rulership.

A number of monks, having put on their robes and taken their begging-bowls, entered the town to beg for food. Having eaten, they went to the Buddha and told him: ‘World-honored One! When we entered the town to beg for food, we saw Devadatta gathering people from far and near and receiving great offerings.’ The Buddha said to the monks: ‘You should not develop a covetous mind, as Devadatta has done. Why not? This Devadatta will harm himself for the sake of gain and profit. He is just like the banana plant which dies after bearing fruit, like the reed and the bamboo [after flowering], and the mule after getting pregnant. He is just like these. Devadatta receiving gain is not different from these. Devadatta is ignorant, without knowledge, does not know this rule, and will suffer because of this in the long night [of rebirths in ignorance]. Therefore, seeing how Devadatta harms himself for the sake of gain, you should give up all greed and craving and reflect carefully. You should understand this: do not crave for gains.’

Then he spoke this verse:

The banana plant dies after bringing forth fruit / it is the same with
bamboo and with reeds.²⁵

Likewise, those craving for gain / are bound to harm themselves.²⁶

Those who have attained gain / will find decrease and decline.

Childishly busying themselves about gain / they harm the pure and
good,

like the palm tree [when bearing too many fruits] / they break and
become barren.

When the Buddha had finished this discourse, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and

²⁵ *lu* 蘆 and *wei* 葦 are generic terms for reeds.

²⁶ The Sanskrit (Enomoto, No. 1064) and the Pāli have singular here (*satkāraḥ puruṣaṃ hanti/sakkāro kāpurisaṃ hanti*). The Chinese of the BZA, however, allows the gender-neutral plural in English.

remembered it well.

3.3.4 BZA 4 – MONK ‘ELEPHANT-HEAD’

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. At that time, when the hour to go on almsround had come, a number of monks put on their robes, took their begging bowls and entered the town to beg for food. There the monks heard that the monk ‘Elephant-head,’²⁷ a member of the Sakya clan, had fallen ill in the town and died. Having finished the meal they returned, went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet and sat to one side. They said to the Buddha: ‘World-honored One, this morning we put on our robes, took our begging bowls and entered the town to beg for food. There we heard that the monk ‘Elephant-head’ had died. May the World-honored One explain to us where the monk ‘Elephant-head’ will be reborn, what karmic fruit he will obtain.’

27 *biqiu xiangshou* 比丘象首. The ZA has 手比丘 ‘Monk Hand’. This curious difference has been noticed by Waldschmidt (1968) in his description of a Sanskrit fragment from a *Samyukta Āgama*. The fragment contains a line from the *uddāna*: ‘///..ko devadattaś=ca hasta na[m]○///.’ The *hasta* here is in agreement with the ZA translation 手. However, in the ZA the *uddānas* were not translated and the *uddāna* of the BZA has 象首. Waldschmidt renders 象首 as ‘Elefantenhäuptling’ and tentatively reconstructs *hastin*, probably according to the meaning ‘the chief or best of its kind’ (MW, p. 1295c). The idea is that the translators of the BZA mistook *hasta* 手 for *hastin* 象, and added 首 to clarify the nuance ‘chief among elephants.’ The problem, however, is complex, and there are a number of other relevant passages in Chinese that cannot be treated in full here. The root of the difficulty consists in a double interference – one semantic between 象 and 手 as *hasta* or *hastin*, the other phonetic i.e. the homophony of 手 and 首. For the passage above it is safe to assume that 象首/ 手 denote the monk whose name in Pāli is Hatthaka and who appears in Vin 4.1. This must be the same monk who is cited as an example of falsehood and evasiveness in two passages in the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (T.23.1435.255c21, T.23.1435.412b9).

The Buddha said to the monks: ‘Those that cause the three negative factors to increase must, after the body fails and life comes to an end, fall into hell. What are the three negative factors? They are known as the increase of greed, of ignorance and of hate. Now this monk was guilty of the three negative factors. Understand, monks, that he will fall into hell.’

At that time the Buddha spoke this verse:

If one gives rise to an unwholesome mind / developing greed,
hatred, and ignorance,
(and) does evil with one’s body / one will harm oneself,
just as the banana plant when bearing fruit / harms its own body

The absence of greed, hatred and ignorance / is called wisdom.

Those who do not harm their own bodies / are called victors.

Therefore, one should cut off / the great suffering of greed, hatred,
and ignorance.

There the monks, having listened to what the Buddha had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.5 *BZA 5 – NANDA 1 – NANDA IS REPROACHED*²⁸

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the elder Nanda²⁹ was [always] wearing new and

28 The Nanda cluster is especially complicated and comprises at least nine different texts: three in Pāli (AN VIII 9, AN IX 4, SN 21.8) and six in Chinese (BZA 5 and 6; ZA 275, 1066 and 1067; EA 18.6).

29 That Nanda is called elder 長老, might be a mistake either by the translator or in the source, because the events related here must have taken place before Nanda’s rise to prominence (see BZA 6). More likely however this is

spotless robes and carrying the best alms bowls.³⁰ He gave himself airs and with an arrogant attitude thought himself superior to others. Trying to advance himself, he was saying haughtily: ‘I am a younger brother of the Buddha, the son of his maternal aunt.’³¹ Thereupon a number of monks went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet, sat to one side and said to the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! The monk Nanda is always wearing new and spotless robes, is carrying the best bowls. Calling himself ‘younger brother of the Buddha’ and saying he is ‘the son of the maternal aunt,’ he is giving himself airs and treating others haughtily.’ When the Buddha heard this, he sent a monk to fetch Nanda. As ordered by the Buddha, the monk went to Nanda and said to him: ‘The World-honored One calls you!’ When Nanda heard this he went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet and stood to one side. The Buddha said to him: ‘Is it true that you are wearing new and spotless robes, carrying the best bowls, saying you are my younger brother, the son of my maternal aunt, and behaving haughtily towards others? Is this the case?’ Nanda said: ‘It is true, World-honored One!’ The Buddha said to him: ‘You should not do this. From now on, enjoy living in the forest, among graves, under trees, in worn-out robes, begging for food. If you are my younger brother, born of my maternal aunt, you should practice in these

a typical inconsistency for the BZA that shows in other places as well (e.g., BZA 8 and BZA 11).

30 In the SN version, Nanda is even putting on make-up (*akkhīni añjeti* refers to a darkening of the eye-lids and/or the eye-brows with kohl). The ZA emphasizes that Nanda liked his robes dyed, well laundered and of rich color. Several *Vinaya* stories relate how a monk called Upananda committed various transgressions because of his attachment to robes. According to the *Dharmagupta Vinaya*, Nanda and Upananda were relatives and members of ‘the gang of six monks’ (六群比丘), who are often mentioned as being guilty of *Vinaya* offenses. The names of the six vary however from *Vinaya* to *Vinaya*, and Nanda and Upananda are not included among the Pali *chabbaggiyā bhikkhū*.

31 He was the son of Suddhodana and Mahāpajāpatī, i.e., Gotama’s half-brother.

ways, work in this way.’

At that time the World-honored One spoke a verse:

When will I see / Nanda enjoying the practice of ascetics,
Living like them in forests / sitting among graves, begging for food,
in mountains and forests retiring to silent places / letting go of
desire, entering meditation?

When the Buddha finished speaking this verse, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.³²

3.3.6 BZA 6 – NANDA 2 – NANDA IS PRAISED³³

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the venerable Nanda went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet and sat to one side. There the World-honored One said to the monks: ‘Among those teaching the *Dhamma*, Nanda is the best. Among those of good family, upright, endowed with pleasant appearance, he is the best. When it comes to cut off strong desire, Nanda is the best. When it comes to harnessing the senses, to knowing when one has had one’s

32 In the ZA version the verse is addressed directly to Nanda, and consequently in the closing part it is Nanda, not ‘the monks,’ who is ‘happy and remembered it well.’ This peculiar difference between the BZA and the ZA also can be found in BZA 6 and 7.

33 The language in BZA 6 is especially terse. Some inconsistencies in the wording (得最上念覺 vs. 修最上念覺), the reduction of the chariot simile to a point where it becomes unintelligible and the inclusion of several other items under ‘Nanda knowing his fill’, all point to deficient handling of the text.

fill, to practicing the path diligently throughout the night,³⁴ striving for enlightenment, constantly aware of the present, in these Nanda is the best.

What is meant by saying Nanda harnesses the senses? He does not get attached to any visible form, sound, scent, taste, touch, or any mental phenomena, this is what is meant by saying he harnesses his senses.

What is meant by saying Nanda knows when one has had one's fill? He eats merely to stop hunger, not because he wants to be attractive or strong. In order to practice the path, he restrains himself and is contented. [Eating is but] like greasing a chariot.³⁵ It is also like treating a skin disease; one does not do it because one wants to be attractive, to look glossy and strong. This is what is meant by saying Nanda knows when one has had one's fill.

What is meant by saying Nanda practices the way diligently throughout the night? By day he wanders about calmly, by night he sits in meditation, dispelling the hindrances³⁶ in his mind. In the first part of the night, having washed his feet, he sits upright, his mind focused in front of him,³⁷ he enters the stages of concentrative meditation (*jhāna*). In the middle part of the night he lies down on his right side, leg resting on leg. His mind is focused on clarity, practicing mindfulness. When the last part

34 *chuhouye* 初後夜, lit. 'the first and the last parts of the night'; but what is meant, as becomes clear below, is the whole night (Hirakawa, No. 271 accordingly has both *pūrva-rātrāpara-rātra* and *prathama-madhyama-pāścād-rātra* for 初夜後夜).

35 In the characteristic terseness of the BZA, the simile is only touched on here. It is elaborated in the ZA parallel.

36 *yin'gai* 陰蓋 *nīvarana* (Hirakawa, No. 4011).

37 *jinian zaiqian* 擊念在前, a mistake in the Taishō edition. 擊 should be *xi* 繫. 繫念在前 is the common translation for what in Pāli is *parimukhaṃ satim upatthapetvā*. In stilling meditation attention is often focused on the nose or the upper part of the lip to observe the breath.

of the night begins, he again sits upright, his mind focused in front of him. This is how Nanda, with firm mind practices evenly³⁸ throughout the night. Sons of good family, Nanda has attained highest enlightenment. The mind of the monk Nanda is focused, not distracted, like seeing clearly in every direction: east, south, west, and north. With focused mind he practices insight, does not allow himself to become distracted. Pleasant sensations, unpleasant sensations, or sensations neither pleasant or unpleasant, he knows they are all dependently arisen. He knows the arising and passing away of all these sensations sometimes takes longer, sometimes happens sooner. He also knows that the arising and passing away of all thoughts is according to this or that reason or circumstance, that all mental states are based on this or that reason or circumstance.

May all you monks practice like this, may you harness your senses, know your fill with eating and drinking, throughout the night practice diligently and strive for enlightenment like Nanda.'

The Buddha said to the monks: 'I now instruct you to emulate Nanda's way of practice. [And] if there should be a monk whose way of practice is just like Nanda's, then I now instruct you to emulate that also.'

Then the World-honored One spoke this verse:

If one can harness one's senses well / concentrate one's mind and
eat and drink with restraint,

then I call this person a wise person / knowing well the nature of the
arising of the mind;

for this I commend Nanda / you [too] should train like this.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it

38 *dengwuyouyi* 等無有異 *sama, īdrśa* (Hirakawa, No. 2726).

well.

3.3.7 BZA 7 – TISSA IS REPROACHED³⁹

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time there was a monk named Tissa, who was a son of the Buddha’s paternal aunt. Relying on his kinship with the Buddha, he often harbored arrogance, did not respect the elder and virtuous monks, and behaved without conscience and shame.⁴⁰ He often talked a lot, but when the other monks said little in return, he became angry. Some monks having observed this a few times, went to the Buddha, holding their hands with palms together [in salutation] paid homage at his feet and sat to one side. They told the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! Tissa often harbors arrogance, says of himself: “I am the son of the Buddha’s paternal aunt.” He thinks little of the elder monks. He often talks a lot and when the other monks say little in return, he becomes angry.’ The Buddha told the monks: ‘Go now and call monk Tissa.’ As ordered by the Buddha they went and summoned Tissa. When he received the summons, he went to

39 Among the numerous transcriptions of the common name *Tiṣya*/*Tissa*, *zhīshī* or *diéshī* 宰師 is unique in the canon. The story at SN 21.9 that is cited as a parallel by Akanuma develops quite differently: there Tissa complains about the other monks first, but is reprimanded by the Buddha. This sutra of Tissa, the Buddha’s cousin (his mother was Amitā, the sister of Gotama’s father), is clearly a pendant to the story of BZA 5, both in form and in content. In reprimanding both Nanda and Tissa, the Buddha emphasizes that especially because they are kin their behavior should be flawless. Also, as in BZA 5, the closing part of the ZA differs from that of the BZA in that it mentions only Tissa himself, not the monks in general.

40 *cankui* 慚愧 *hryapatrāpya/hiriottappa*. The nuances of *hiri* and *ottappa* are notoriously difficult to render in English. They are explained for the Pāli tradition at Vism. XIV.142. For the Chinese see e.g., the definition in the *Chengweishi lun* 成唯識論 (T.31.1585.0029b19).

the Buddha, and having paid homage at his feet, sat to one side. The *Tathāgata* then said to Tissa: ‘Is it true that when meeting the elder monks, your mind is without respect, without conscience and shame? Is it true that you are talking a lot and when the other monks say little in return, you become angry?’ Tissa answered: ‘It is true, World-honored One!’ The Buddha told Tissa: ‘Especially since you are the son of my paternal aunt, you should generate deep respect towards the venerable and virtuous elders and all monks, and your demeanor should be conscientious and with a sense of shame. You should speak less, listen to what others say, and be tolerant.’

At that time the Buddha spoke a verse:

Always practice the good, never generate anger / whatever
generates anger cannot be called good.

Tissa, now that you are here with me / cut off your anger and
arrogance;

practice all that is good and live a pure and chaste life / I am happy
for those who do so.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.8 BZA 8 – VISĀKHA PREACHES WELL⁴¹

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

41 This is the only sutra in the first fascicle where the BZA text is longer than its ZA parallel. The passages praising the style of the *Dhamma* talk seem unusually prolix for the BZA and some repetitions may have entered the text during the translation process. Perhaps the person who recited the sutra repeated himself for clarity, rephrasing what he remembered or read, the repetitions then leaking into the translation.

At that time the renunciant Visākha, son of Pañcāla,⁴² had assembled a number of monks in the *Dhamma* hall and preached the *Dhamma* for them. His words were perfect and what he said was flawless. He was able to delight and comfort his audience, letting them listen without getting bored, and understand his meaning right away. The monks, on hearing him, were so happy they could hardly sit still; they listened whole-heartedly, reverently, with undivided attention they listened to him teaching the *Dhamma*. [He spoke] not in order to gain offerings or fame. His arguments were compelling and far-reaching, and he caused his listeners to remember well what he had said.

At that time a great number of people heard him teaching in this way. A number of monks went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet and stood to one side. They told the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! The monk Visākha, son of Pañcāla, preaches to a large number of people in the *Dhamma* hall, not in order to gain offerings nor to acquire fame. His arguments are compelling and far-reaching. He is able to make his listeners remember what he says and not forget it.’ The Buddha told the monks: ‘Go and call this Visākha, son of Pañcāla.’ Having received the order, the monks went to summon Visākha. When he received the summons, he went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet and sat to one side. The Buddha asked Visākha: ‘Is it true that you assemble the monks and preach *Dhamma* to them and that they listen whole-heartedly? Is this a fact?’ Visākha answered: ‘It is true.’ Then the Buddha praised him: ‘Very good, very good, Visākha. You assembled the monks in the *Dhamma* hall, preached the *Dhamma* for them, and not in order to gain offerings or fame. Your words were perfect, the listeners

42 Visākha was called Pañcālaputta, son of Pañcāla, because his mother was a daughter of the Pañcāla king (also Pañcālīputta, Pañcālī referring to his mother). While the BZA calls Visākha first a *samaṇa* 沙門 then a *bhikkhu*, ZA, SN and AN have *āyasmant* 尊者. Irregularities concerning the honorific titles of monks are common in the BZA. This suggests that the translation was poorly edited.

delighted and you reached their hearts. From now on keep on teaching the *Dhamma* in this way, generously for [their] benefit.⁴³ And you, monks, no matter if many of you [are gathered in one place] or only a few, you should practise two things:⁴⁴ First, you should talk about the principles of *Dhamma*. Second, if you have nothing to say [about the *Dhamma*], be silent. Do not discuss all kinds of secular topics. Now, do not make light of this silence; silence has great benefits.’

At that time the Buddha spoke a verse:

Gathered in a crowd / the foolish and the wise are mixed together.

If nothing is said / the difference between them cannot be known.

If something is said / then the difference can be told.

This is why you now / should talk about the principles of the
Dhamma;

let the flame of the Dhamma burn brightly / hoist the banner of the
sage:

all Arahats / take the wondrous Dhamma as their banner

all sages / take well-spoken speech as their banner.⁴⁵

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

43 The BZA does not say explicitly for whose benefit, but the ZA states clearly that the benefits are created for the sake of the listeners.

44 This latter part and the praise of silence is not found in the ZA or the SN and AN versions of the *Visākha Sutta*.

45 The translation of this *gāthā* in the BZA is much less polished than that in the ZA. Both, however, are based on a single original that must have been different from the Pāli verse ‘*Nābhāsamānaṃ jānanti...*’. (which is identical in the SN and AN); e.g., the Pāli *amatam padaṃ* has no equivalent in the Chinese versions, and while in the Pāli the banner is clearly that of an *isi* the Chinese versions have twice *isi* 仙 and once *arahant* 阿羅漢.

3.3.9 BZA 9 – A YOUNG MONK DOES HIS WORK

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

It happened that at that time a great number of monks had gathered in the *Dhamma* hall, and all were making robes. At that time there was one young monk,⁴⁶ who had only recently gone forth and had just received the precepts. He sat among the monks, but was not making robes. The monks, once finished with the robes, went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet and sat to one side. They told the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! We monks were sitting in the *Dhamma* hall, stitching our robes and this young monk sat between us, not doing anything to make robes for the community.’ The Buddha said to the young monk: ‘Is it true that you did not help with the robes?’ The monk answered the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! I too was striving to do my part of the monk’s work.’ The World-honored One knew what the monk was thinking and told the other monks: ‘You should not reprimand this young monk for not working. This monk has done what is to be done, attained Arahatsip, ended all defilements, cast off the heavy burden, and found right knowledge. His mind is liberated.’

At that time the Buddha spoke a verse:

This *nirvāṇic* truth of mine / is not something those
 lazy and without knowledge / can attain.
 Like a good horse / the best [practitioner]
 breaks the fetter of attachment / ends all defilements,
 gives up the fourfold clinging / attains Nirvāṇa,

46 *nianshao biqiu* 年少比丘 in the SN version is *navo bhikkhu*, which Rhys Davids (Kindred Sayings Vol.II, p.187) translates with ‘novice.’ The ZA and especially the BZA, however, clearly state that he is a monk who has received full ordination (受具戒).

can defeat Māra's armies / wears the final body.⁴⁷

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.10 BZA 10 – THERA LIVES ALONE

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time there was a monk called Thera, who lived alone, and praised living alone. At one time some monks went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet, sat to one side, and told the Buddha: 'World-honored One! This monk Thera praises living alone, wandering alone, sitting alone.' The Buddha told the monks: 'Summon this monk Thera.' Then one monk went to Thera's place and said to him: 'The World-honored One calls you!' Having received the summons, monk Thera went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet, and stood to one side. The Buddha said to Thera: 'Is it true that you live alone and praise sitting alone to practise the *Dhamma*?' Thera answered the Buddha: 'It is true, World-honored One.' The Buddha said: 'How, now, do you enjoy living alone, how do you praise it?' And Thera said: 'World-honored One! Alone I enter the villages [for the alms-round], alone I leave them, alone I sit [in meditation].' The Buddha said to him: 'There is a way of living alone, which is superior to yours. What is this way? [One in whom the residue of] past desire has dried up,⁴⁸ future desire will not arise, and

47 Unlike the verses in the ZA and the SN versions (which here are almost literal parallels of each other) the BZA has the simile of the good horse (the mind) tamed by its rider. It lacks, however, a subject for the final lines, which in the ZA (此賢年少者) and the SN (*ayañca daharo bhikkhu*) is the young monk.

48 i.e., the negative karmic potential of past desire is exhausted.

present desire does not create [karmic formations] - [such a person] is called a *brāhmaṇa*. Without 'me' and 'mine,' having cut through the fetter of doubt, keeping great distance from the sensual world, he has extinguished his defilements.'

At that time the Buddha spoke a verse:

All the worlds / I know them all.

Letting go of every thing / ending the fetter of attachment,
this is the victorious teaching / called living alone.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.11 BZA 11 – SAṄGĀMAJI AND HIS FORMER WIFE

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the elder⁴⁹ Saṅgāmaji had travelled to Sāvattḥī from Kosala and gone to the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. At that time Saṅgāmaji's former wife learned that he had come to Sāvattḥī. She got dressed, put on her jewelery, took their son with her and went to Saṅgāmaji's place. When Saṅgāmaji came out to walk about⁵⁰ in the open, she approached him and said: 'Our son is too small to sustain himself, therefore I have come to

49 Saṅgāmaji is called both an elder 長老 and a venerable 尊者 in the BZA, while the ZA has only venerable.

50 *jingxing* 經行 *caṅkrama* (Hirakawa, No. 2830), to walk about. To walk up and down (or in a circle) in a certain place. The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* says 經行 is beneficial in five ways: Practicing it one can walk far, has time for reflection, prevents illness, digests one's meals better, and when attaining concentration is able to extend the time of abiding in it. (T.22.1428.1005c28-29)

see the venerable one.’ Although he saw her, he did not speak with her. She addressed him a second and a third time, but though the Venerable Saṅgāmaji stood facing her, he did not look at her nor speak. His former wife then said to him: ‘I came to see you, but you will not speak with me. Here is your son, raise him yourself!’ Placing the son in his father’s path, she left him there and went back. Some distance away she stopped and looked back. The venerable still did not speak to his son. There the former wife thought to herself: ‘This renunciant has well attained liberation, he has been able to cut off the fetter of attachment. The cutting off, which the seer [the Buddha, has accomplished], he too has attained completely.’ Her wish unfulfilled, she went back, took the child, and carried him back home.

At that time the World-honored One, with his pure divine hearing surpassing human hearing, heard what Saṅgāmaji’s former wife had said and spoke this verse:

To see them coming and not rejoice / to see them leaving and not be
sad,

one who has cut off all attachment and desire/ is the very best
brāhmaṇa.

When they come, one does not rejoice / When they leave, one is not
sad,

getting rid of defilements, practicing in purity / this is called a wise
brāhmaṇa.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.⁵¹

51 The ZA says Saṅgāmaji was very pleased with the verse. This must be a narrative slip, since the verse was spoken in his absence (otherwise the Buddha would not have had to use his divine hearing.)

3.3.12 BZA 12 – ĀNANDA AND THE THREE KINDS OF SCENT⁵²

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha on the mountain Isigili.

At that time the Venerable Ānanda was in silent seclusion, when this thought came to him: ‘Once the World-honored One spoke about three kinds of scent: The scents of roots, stalks and blossoms; and about how there are no better scents than these. However [he said] these three can [only] be sensed⁵³ with the wind, and cannot be sensed against the wind.’ Having had this thought, Ānanda rose from his seat, went to the Buddha, and having paid⁵⁴ homage at his feet stood to one side. He said to the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! Just now, while I was in silent seclusion, this thought came to me: “Once the World-honored One has spoken about three kinds of scent: The scents of roots, stalks and blossoms; and about how these are the best among all scents. However [, he said,] these could [only] be sensed with the wind and not against the wind.” World-honored One, is there a scent that can be sensed both with and against the wind?’

The Buddha said to Ānanda: ‘There is, there is. In this world there is a good scent that can be sensed both with and against the wind. And what scent? If there is, in a village or town, a man or woman who practices restraint, does not kill, does not steal, does not engage in sexual misconduct, does not lie, and does not drink alcohol, then all *devas* and all those who have attained divine sight will praise this person. Thus, if in a town or village a man or a woman keeps the five precepts, the scent of the

52 The sutra has been reconstructed in Sanskrit by Ernst Waldschmidt (Waldschmidt 1968: 20-23).

53 In Chinese the translator(s) use 聞 which means both to smell and to hear. This is advantageous in a verse where the subject is both scent and fame. In the AN (III, 8.9) the scent ‘goes’ *gacchati* with and against the wind.

54 For the BZA, a unique use of 畢 to translate the gerund. Usually the translator(s) used 已.

precepts is sensed with and against the wind.’

At that time the Buddha spoke this verse:

Sandal and aloeswood⁵⁵/ roots, stalks and blossoms:

these scents are sensed with the wind / no one senses them against
the wind.

The great man keeping the precepts / his fragrance pervades the
world,

his fame fills the ten directions / it is sensed both with and against
the wind.

Sandal and aloeswood / the water lily⁵⁶ and jasmine;⁵⁷

these scents are inferior. / Unlike the scent of the precepts,

those scents / do not reach far;

the scent of the precepts, however, reaches everywhere / better
even than the heavenly scents.

One who keeps the pure precepts / untiringly as the basis of his life
abides peacefully without defilements / by correct insight attains
liberation.

Though the demons try to find him / they do not know his abode;

this is called the path to peace / this is the purest path,

forever leaving the many realms / abandoning the *saṃsāric* worlds.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having

55 *chenshui* 沈水 *aguru/agalu*. Also 沉香. Fragrant aloes- or agarwood (*Aquilaria agallocha*).

56 *youpoluo* 優鉢羅 Skt. *utpala*. The Blue Lotus or any kind of water lily. In the contexts of scents also a fragrant species of sandalwood (MW s.v.).

57 *bashi* 拔師. Unique in the CBETA/Taishō edition of the canon, stands for *varṣika/vassikā* (PED, p. 606a: *Jasminum sambac*), an especially aromatic type of jasmine. The ZA too has ‘jasmin’ there however as *malikā* (*moli* 末利, also *molijia* 末利迦, or *molijiahua* 末利迦華 (Hirakawa, No. 1682)). Other transcriptions for *varṣika* are: *polishijia* 婆利師迦, 婆師迦花 and 婆師羅花 (Ogihara). Waldschmidt (1968: 22), also reconstructs *vārṣika*.

listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.13 BZA 13 – URUVELA KASSAPA PERFORMS MIRACLES

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was wandering in Magadha accompanied by a thousand monks who had formerly been virtuous elders among the *brāhmaṇas*,⁵⁸ but who had attained Arahatsip, stopped all defilements, ended all bonds of becoming [that lead to rebirth], done what was to be done, cast off the heavy burden, reaped their reward. The *Tathāgata* went to the Suppatiṭṭha *deva*-shrine⁵⁹ in the Laṭṭhivana forest.

When king Bimbisāra heard that the Buddha was staying in the Laṭṭhivana he immediately set out with 18,000 cavalry, 12,000 palanquins and chariots,⁶⁰ surrounded on all sides by a huge number of *brāhmaṇas* and lay-men. When he arrived, he left the elephants, horses and chariots behind and took off his jewelry. On approaching the Buddha, he knelt and holding his hands with palms together [in salutation] addressed the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! I am Bimbisāra, king of Magadha!’ Three times he said this. The Buddha replied: ‘Very well, Bimbisāra, king of Magadha.’ Bimbisāra paid homage to the Buddha’s feet

58 *xian shi boluomen qijiu youde* 先是婆羅門耆舊有德. Here 耆舊有德 describes 婆羅門. Both the ZA and the Pāli say clearly that those in the Buddha’s company were former ascetics, followers of Uruvela.

59 *tiansi* 天寺. An uncommon, perhaps mistaken, translation for *cetiya*. The usual equivalent is *deva-kula* (Ogiwara: s.v. *deva-kula* and Hirakawa: no. 737). The ZA has the more common rendering *zhiti* 支提 (*cetiya*). Other Chinese rendering of this place name have *ta* 塔 (*cetiya* or *stūpa*) or *sudubo* 窣堵波 (*stūpa*). That the place was connected to *stūpa* worship is evinced by Xuanzang who reports a *stūpa* there (purportedly built by King Asoka) and tells the story of the layman Jayasena, who had been mass-producing small *stūpa* -reliquaries with his followers at the site (T51.2087.0920a).

60 *nianyu checheng* 輦輿車乘. The palanquins (輦輿) exist only in the BZA. The ZA and the Sanskrit (Enomoto 1994: no. 1074) have only 車/ratha.

and sat to one side and the *brāhmaṇas* and elders of Magadha [too] paid homage to the Buddha's feet and one by one came before him and sat down. Sitting down, some raised their hands [in greeting], some sat down in silence.

At that time Uruvela Kassapa was present and the people of Magadha began wondering: 'Is the Buddha the teacher here, or Uruvela Kassapa?' The Buddha knew what the people of Magadha were thinking deep inside and he asked Kassapa with a verse:

At Uruvela you / for a long time practiced the fire sacrifice;
for what reason now / have you ceased, given up this practice?

And Uruvela Kassapa answered with a verse:

I once practiced fire sacrifice / desiring a taste of beauty
and the objects of the five sensual pleasures. / However these are all
impure,
therefore I have given up / fire sacrifices, the way of offerings to
fire.

Then the Buddha spoke another verse:

We know you do not find happiness / in the five sensual pleasures,
[their] form and taste;
what you do treasure now / make it known to men and gods.

And the venerable Uruvela Kassapa spoke another verse:

Once I was ignorant / did not know the most true Dhamma,
made fire offerings, practiced asceticism / and held this to be the
cause of liberation.
I was like someone born blind / not seeing the path to liberation.
Now I have met the great dragon among men / who has taught me
the correct view of the Dhamma.

Now I have started to perceive / the traces of the truly
Unconditioned.

For the benefit of all / to train us and lead us to liberation
the Buddha has appeared in the world / teaching the absolute truth,
he leads sentient beings of every kind / so they may all perceive the
light of wisdom.

Then the Buddha spoke another verse:

Now you have well arrived / have obtained what you longed for,
you have the power of good thought / and can discern the supreme
Dhamma.

Now you should consider / the minds of these people here
and display some miracles / to engender deep respect⁶¹ in them.

At this the venerable Uruvela Kassapa at once entered concentration and using his magical powers, rose up into the air, [in various postures] sitting, then lying, then walking about. Appearing in the east, walking, standing, sitting, lying, in all four postures, he let water rush out of his upper body and fire from his lower body; [then] he let water rush out from his lower body and fire from his upper body, [then] he entered the fire-blaze *samādhi* and emitted rays in various colors. Having displayed his magical powers in the east, he did the same in the south, the west and the north. When he was finished, he went before the Buddha, paid homage at his feet and said holding his hands with palms together [in salutation]: ‘The great sage, the World-honored One is my teacher, from now on I am a student of the Buddha.’ The Buddha said: ‘Very well, you shall learn from me, be my student.’ And he ordered him: ‘Return to your seat now.’

At that time King Bimbisāra of Magadha, having heard what the Buddha had said, was happy and remembered it well.

61 *jingxin* 敬信 (*gaurava/gāra*va). Respect for a person, especially a teacher.

3.3.14 BZA 14 – METTIYA AND METTIYĀ SLANDER DABBA⁶²

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Kalanda.

At that time there was the monk Dabba Mallaputta. When the World-honored One put him in charge of provisions and lodgings, Dabba, having received the order, served as manager.⁶³ One time, later, it was the turn of a monk called Mettiya to receive an invitation [from a donor], according to the order among the monks. According to the order among the monks, Dabba sent Mettiya to partake of the food at the donor's place. When Mettiya went there, however, the food was extremely unpalatable. After this had happened three times, Mettiya felt extremely sorry for himself and consequently was greatly distressed. He told his sister, the nun Mettiyā: 'Whenever Dabba sends me [to a meal], every time I get extremely unpalatable food! What misery!' And he said to the nun Mettiyā: 'Sister, Dabba has afflicted me three times with bad food. Couldn't you now use some 'skillful means' to revenge my anger?' Mettiyā said: 'But how could I help you?' The monk Mettiya: 'I have a plan. Go to the Buddha and say: "Dabba once sexually harassed me." And I will bear witness and say: "It is true, it is true."' The nun Mettiyā said: 'But wouldn't it be slander to accuse someone who has been pure in keeping the precepts?' Thereupon Mettiya said: 'Sister! If you don't do this for me, then from now on I won't speak to you again any more.' The nun said: 'If you insist, I will do as you say.' The monk Mettiya: 'Sister, let me go first, you follow later.'

Mettiya went to the Buddha and, having paid homage at his feet,

62 In the *Cūlavagga*, it is not Mettiya and his sister alone who slander Dabba, but a clique of followers of him and Bhummajaka, another notorious monk. See Clarke (2008) for the differences between various versions of this text in Sutra and *Vinaya* literature and the legal issues involved.

63 *dianzhi* 典知 *senāsanam paññāpaka*.

sat to one side. Then the nun Mettiyā came to the Buddha and, having paid homage at his feet, stood to one side and said: ‘World-honored One! How comes it that Dabba Mallaputta has sexually harassed me?’ And the monk Mettiya: ‘It is true! World-honored One!’

At that time the monk Dabba was among those present. The Buddha asked him: ‘Did you hear this?’ And Dabba answered: ‘World-honored One! The Buddha knows me.’ The Buddha said: ‘In this case you cannot say it like this. If you have done it you should say: “I remember;” if you have not done it, you should say: “I do not remember.”’ He answered the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! I truly do not remember this.’

Here Rāhula⁶⁴ said: ‘World-honored One! This monk Dabba has sexually harassed the nun Mettiyā and the monk Mettiya has borne witness saying ‘I have seen how Dabba sexually harassed Mettiyā.’ What [else] is Dabba supposed to say?’⁶⁵ The Buddha said to Rahula: ‘If you were slandered by the nun Mettiyā, if she were to say: “Rāhula has sexually harassed me” and the monk Mettiya had also testified: “I have seen how Rāhula sexually harassed Mettiyā.” What would you say?’ Rāhula answered: ‘World-honored One! Slandered, I would only say: “The *Bhagavant* knows me, he himself is witness [to my innocence].”’ The Buddha said: ‘Even you know this. How could Dabba, pure and innocent, fail to say it.’

The Buddha told the monks: ‘You can recite the *Vinaya* together with Dabba.’⁶⁶ The nun Mettiyā has been undone by her own

64 His sudden appearance in the dialogue is somewhat unusual for the genre. The ZA, however, explains that Rāhula has been fanning the Buddha during the conversation.

65 The BZA text is unclear here. Perhaps the intended meaning was: ‘If Dabba has really harassed Mettiyā, wouldn’t that just be what he wanted to say [i.e., “I am innocent”]?’ In the ZA the passage is much clearer.

66 i.e., he is innocent.

words.’

The monks having received the Buddha’s order, sternly interrogated Mettiya: ‘Where did you see Dabba harassing Mettiyā? Did you alone see it, or were others with you?’ When questioned in this way, Mettiya could not reply. Only then did he concede his slander: ‘When Dabba sent me to accept donors’ invitations, three times I have received spoiled food! Out of greed, hatred and ignorance I have slandered him.’

When [later] the World-honored One emerged from his silent abode and sat on the prepared seat in front of the assembled monks, the monks told him: ‘World-honored One! We have recited the *Vinaya* with Dabba and expelled Mettiyā. Through interrogating Mettiya we have learned that Dabba was falsely accused.’

Then the Buddha spoke this verse:

If all one has accomplished / is merely lies
has thrown away his future / there is no evil that he will not do.⁶⁷

67 若成就一切 / 所謂虛妄語 則為棄後世 / 無惡而不造。In light of the parallel passages given below, I strongly suspect that 一切 is a copyist error for 一法. The ZA has: “If there is one thing to abandon, know that it is lying [A liar] does not care about his future lives, there is no evil that he will not do” 若能捨一法 知而故妄語 / 不計於後世 無惡而不為 寧食熱鐵丸 如熾然炭火 / 不以犯禁戒 而食僧信施。

This is closer to the Sanskrit version listed by Enomoto (1994: no. 1075): “If someone transgresses one law, [that against] telling lies, he gives up his future lives, there is no evil he would not do.” *ekadharmam atītasya | mṛṣāvādasya jantunaḥ || vitirṇaparalokasya | nākāryam pāpam asti yat ||*. (Udv. 9.1f) (cf. Pāli Dh. 176). Nevertheless there are two problems. The translators of the ZA seem to have (mis-?) understood **atītasya* (< *aty-eti*) as ‘overcome, pass by’ in the sense of ‘give up’ (捨), rather than of ‘overstep, transgress,’ which is how the Pāli commentarial tradition reads the *atīta*. *Atīta* has indeed both meanings (SWTF: s.v.). Moreover they seem to have seen not *jantunaḥ* (some variants have the synonym *dehinaḥ*), but an imperfect akin to the Pāli *jānātha*.

One should rather with this body / swallow a hot iron ball
than, having broken the precepts, / accept offerings made in pure
faith.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.15 BZA 15 – DABBA ENTERS NIRVĀṆA

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Kalanda.

At that time the monk Dabba went to where the Buddha was. Among a great number of people, he paid homage at his feet and said: ‘World-honored One! I am to enter *Nirvāṇa* now. Please allow me to do so [in your presence].’ Having been asked in this way three times, the Buddha answered: ‘Enter *Nirvāṇa* then. I do not hinder you.’ Then the monk Dabba displayed the eighteen kinds of miraculous transformation. He rose up in the air, appeared in the east in all four postures, and turning various colours: green, yellow, red, white etc. One moment he appeared like water, then like a mass of fire. [He made] his upper body emit water and his lower body fire, [then he made] his upper body emit fire and his lower body water. One moment his body appeared huge, covering the sky, then it appeared minute. He walked on water as if on land, he passed through earth as if through water. In the south, west and north he did the same. Having finished this, while still hovering in the sky, he entered the fire-blaze *samādhi*. Bursting into flames in a great mass of

Other Chinese versions can be found at: T.2.120.523b16-15; T.17.721.46b18-19; T.12.376.881c29; T.17.728.484a17; and T.23.1442.761a02.

fire he entered *Nirvāṇa*, leaving nothing behind.⁶⁸ It was like fine oil burning cleanly away without remainder.

There the World-honored One spoke this verse:

As from a glowing piece of iron / struck by a hammer sparks fly up;
looking for them, once dispersed, extinguished / no one knows
where they have gone.
Attaining true liberation / is just like this:
once rid of afflictions, / the quicksand of desires,
no one knows / whither he went.⁶⁹

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.16 BZA 16 – THE CONVERSION OF ANĠULIMĀLA⁷⁰

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was traveling in the Tao-he forest in Magadha.⁷¹

68 The Pāli has ‘not even ashes or soot were to be seen’ (*neva chārika paññāyittha na masi*).

69 ZA is again slightly different and closer to the Sanskrit (Enomoto 1994: no. 1076). cf. the mention of *acalam padam* / 不動跡.

70 For a translation of the ZA version of this sutra see Anālayo (2008b).

71 *taohe shulin* 桃河樹林. This is the only time this place is mentioned in the Chinese canon. The ZA has the (also unique) *tuoposhelijia lin* 陀婆闍梨迦林 which is explained by the glossary *Fan fan yu* 翻梵語 (T.54.2130.1047a04) as: 應云 陀婆闍梨介 譯曰 陀婆者 子澤 闍梨介者 火. The explanation of 陀婆 as ‘little swamp’ or ‘little thicket’ 子澤 is unclear. (Later the same work has 平譯 instead of 子澤, either of which might be a scribal error. (譯曰陀婆者平譯 闍梨燒也 (T.54.2130.1047b03)). Giving ‘fire’ *huo* 火 (later ‘blaze’ *shao* 燒) for 闍梨 the *Fan fan yu* seems to derive from Skt. *√jval* / Pāli *√jāl*).

I suggest that 陀婆闍梨迦林 is Dhavajālika, which appears in some Ms. readings of AN VIII, 1.8 (*Uttaravipatti Sutta*), a sutra that is otherwise

[On his way there] he met a herdsman⁷² who said: ‘In this forest lives the bandit Aṅgulimāla, who might harm you.’ The Buddha told the herdsman: ‘The bandit is unlikely to harm me,’ and went along. He met another herdsman who told him the same and the Buddha answered as before. This happened three times, and the Buddha said: ‘This evil person will not harm me!’ When he had entered the forest, Aṅgulimāla saw him coming from afar and, scabbard in the left hand, sword in the right, charged

unrelated to the Aṅgulimāla material. There it says: *ekaṃ samayaṃ āyasmā uttaro mahisavatthusmiṃ viharati saṅkheyyake pabbate vaṭṭajālīkāyaṃ*. The reading of *vaṭṭajālīka*, a unique place-name, is doubtful. Other Mss. have *dhavajālīkāyaṃ*, *dhvajālīkāyaṃ*, *vaṭṭajālīkāyaṃ*, *dhuvalīkāyaṃ* etc. In a footnote to his translation, E.M. Hare (Woodward & Hare 1932-1936: Vol. IV, p. 110) explains: “Mahisavatthu means ‘buffalo ground.’ Of Dhavajālīkā, Comy. observes that this was the name of a monastery, and it was called so because it was built in a Dhava grove.” Akanuma (1954: 169b) suggests *Dhavajālīka* is a village. Neumann again translates ‘Dhavadickicht’ (Dhava-underwood) and glosses: “Der Name eines Klosters, das in einem Dhavadickicht gelegen war. Gemäß Clough, Sinhalese Dictionary ist *dhava* identisch mit dem ceylonesischen Malita (auch Mayila), einem Strauch, der beständig schöne rote Blüten hat” (“The name of a monastery situated in an underwood of Dhava. According to Clough, *Sinhalese Dictionary*, *dhava* is identical with the Ceylonese Malita (or Mayila), a bush with beautiful red blossoms in all seasons”). In all likelihood therefore 陀婆 transcribes *Dhava* (*Anogeissus latifolia* or *Grislea tomentosa*, Roxb.), a tree found throughout India in dry deciduous forests. The 桃河 of the BZA almost certainly transcribes the same syllables as 陀婆. Another problem is the name of the country where the Dhavajālīka is supposed to be situated. While the BZA has 摩竭陀國 ‘Magadha’, the ZA has 央瞿多羅國 ‘Aṅguttarāpa’ and the Pāli the unique ‘buffalo ground’ Mahisavatthu.

Hartmann (1998: 358) identifies a Sanskrit fragment of this text where the placename is attested as *dhavajākāvana*. This Prakrit form, however, was probably not the direct original of the ZA 陀婆闍梨迦林 because of the missing [li] sound represented by 梨. On the other hand, Dhavajākāvana could well have been the original for the abbreviated transcription 桃河 in the BZA. Hartmann’s restoration of the country name to “*magadhēṣu* or *magadhakeṣu janapadeṣu*” is based on the BZA.

72 *muren* 牧人. The Chinese does not specify what kind of animal is tended here. The Pāli has *gopālakā pasupālakā*. The plural is also possible in Chinese here.

forward. But though he was running quickly and the Buddha calmly walked along, he could not catch him. When Aṅgulimāla became exhausted, he called to the Buddha: ‘Stop! Renunciant, stop!’ The Buddha replied: ‘I have already stopped, it is you who have not stopped.’

Then Aṅgulimāla spoke a verse:

This renunciant keeps on walking / but says: ‘I have already stopped.’

I now have stopped / and he says I have not.

Why does he say he has stopped / and I have not?

Then the Buddha spoke a verse:

For long have I abstained / from treating others with violence.

You trouble them / persist in your evil ways.

Therefore I say I have stopped / and you have not.

I have abandoned causing, out of spite and evil / harm to all endowed with form.

It is you who do not cease your evil ways / always doing unwholesome deeds.

Therefore I say I have stopped / and you have not.

I have abandoned all forms of harm / towards living beings.

You harm the living / have not abandoned the dark deeds.

Therefore I say I have stopped / and you have not.

I enjoy my state⁷³ / the mind concentrated tirelessly.

You do not see the four truths⁷⁴ / and nowhere do you stop.

73 *jifa* 己法. *sva-dhā* ‘own state or condition or nature’ (MW: 1278a) or *sva-dharman* ‘abiding in one’s own customs’ (MW: 1276a).

74 *sidi* 四諦. This reading found in all Chinese editions and the ZA is to be preferred over the variant 四部 of the Tripitaka Koreana - Taishō stemma. On the omission of ‘noble’ in reference to the four noble truths see Anālayo (2006a).

Therefore I say I truly have stopped / and you have not.

There Aṅgulimāla spoke a verse:

Long have I dwelt in this wilderness / never have I seen such a man;
the Bhagavānt has come here / to teach me the good *Dhamma*.

Long have I followed evil ways / today I will abandon them.

Now that I have heard you speak / I follow the *Dhamma* and cut off
all evil.⁷⁵

[Having spoken thus he] sheathed the sword / and cast it into a
deep pit

and bowed his head to pay homage / and took refuge in the World-
honored One

filled with deep faith / he set his mind on going forth.

Then the Buddha let compassion arise / for the benefit of all [beings
in the] world

invited him: 'Come!' / so he became a renunciant.

There Aṅgulimāla, a son of good family, shaved off his hair and beard, put on the robes and went forth. [From then on] he dwelt in empty, silent places, his mind striving tirelessly, focused on his practice, diligent in his efforts, by concentration he focused his mind in true insight. He practiced supreme abstinence, reached the end of suffering and attained realization within this present world, within his own very body. He clearly understood his nature. He knew: for me birth is ended, the holy abode is established, done is what had to be done, there will be no further rebirth [for me]. When the venerable Ahimsaka⁷⁶

75 From here, in both the BZA and the ZA, the text continues in verse although Aṅgulimāla's speech has ended.

76 According to some accounts, Aṅgulimāla's birth name was Ahimsaka (One who does not Harm). Here the BZA uses Ahimsaka as his *Dhamma* name implying, like the *gāthā* below, that he reclaimed the name after his conversion. See the *Yanjuemo jing* 鶯掘摩經 (T.02.118.0510a17): 吾今名無害

became an *Arahat* and attained the joy of liberation he spoke this verse:

My name is Ahimsaka [one who does no harm]⁷⁷ / but later I
committed great cruelties.

Now however my name has come true / truth is not to harm.

Now I abstain from doing harm with body / speech and mind.

Who never harms others / is truly called Ahimsaka.

I was steeped in blood / so they called me Aṅgulimāla.

[I was like one] carried away by a strong current. / Therefore I have
taken refuge in the Buddha.

I received ordination / and attained the three knowledges;⁷⁸

fully understanding the teachings of the Buddha / I respect and
practice it.

In this world, [usually,] those who tame / or control, do so with
violence,

with iron hooks and whips and bridles / dealing out cuffs and blows.

The World-honored One, the great tamer / has done away with evil
methods,

has abandoned violence. / This is the true way of taming.

To cross water, one needs a bridge or a boat; / to straighten arrows,
one needs a fire;

(“now I call myself Ahimsaka”). Also the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 (我本名無害 (T.2.125.721b09)) and the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 (彼時去國界不遠，有梵志子，名曰無害 (T.4.212.703a25-26)).

77 *wo jin zi wuhai* 我今字無害 ‘Now’ (今) is often inserted in the Chinese as a fill-word with little meaning. In this passage to take the 今 too seriously would lead to a mistake in the narrative structure of the text. Other versions like the ZA (本受不害名) or the *Zengyi ahan* (我本名無害) have 本 ‘originally’ which seems to allude to the legend mentioned in the previous note.

78 *sanming* 三明 *trividya/tivijā*. The knowledge of one’s own former lives, the knowledge of where others will be reborn (if they are to reappear), and the knowledge of the cessation of defilements. The term appears again in BZA 20.

the carpenter needs an adze, / the wise develop themselves by wisdom.

A person who at first committed evil / then stops, doing so no more:
he shines upon the world / like the moon when the clouds have disappeared.

A person who was slothful at first / then stops being lazy:
whole-heartedly he abandons thorns and poison / focusing on crossing to the other shore.

Once evil deeds are done / one is bound to be reborn in evil realms.

Meeting the Buddha purged my guilt / I escaped [the fruit of] my evil actions.

All those who grasp what I say / will liberate their minds from the bonds of hatred,

through patience will attain pure vision. / Victory without fighting is the teaching of the Buddha.

3.3.17 BZA 17 – A DEVA TEMPTS A MONK AND IS GRANTED AN INTERVIEW WITH THE BUDDHA⁷⁹

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Kalanda.

At that time a monk, in the last light of the day, went to the riverbank, folded his clothes, put them aside and entered the river to bathe. He came naked out of the water and let his body dry on the riverside.⁸⁰ There a *deva*, emitting rays and illuminating the riverbank, addressed him: ‘You have not long gone forth. Your body is strong and your hair is lovely. Why

79 In addition to the parallel texts given in the list of text clusters above, there is ZA 1099 which employs a similar motif and terminology: the narrative is quite different however.

80 Both the ZA (1078) (被一衣) and the SN (*ekacīvaro*) have him modestly covered with one cloth.

don't you enjoy the five sensual pleasures? Haven't you gone forth at the wrong time?

The monk answered: 'I have gone forth at the right time, to attain the timeless.'⁸¹ The *deva* said: 'What does it mean to "have gone forth at the right time, to attain the timeless"?' The monk replied: 'The Buddha, the World-honored One, has explained how the five sensual pleasures are bound to time, the *Buddhadhamma*, however, is not bound to time. The five sensual pleasures bring very little pleasure, but multiply our sufferings, accumulate our worries. In the *Buddhadhamma* I have found certainty within this very body, with no more troubling passions. In everything we do, regardless of the time, when we sow even a little karmic seed, we will obtain the full fruit of its results.'

Again the *deva* asked: 'Why does the Buddha say the five sensual pleasures are bound to time, why does he say the *Buddhadhamma* is not bound to time?' The monk said: 'I am still young and have not long gone forth. My learning is still shallow. How could I expound the wide and deep aspects of the utmost truth of the *Tathāgata*? The *Bhagavant* is staying near here in the Bamboo Grove of Kalanda. You can go and put your questions to him yourself.'

The *deva* replied: 'The Buddha is served by many powerful and virtuous *devas* gathered around him left and right. I, weak and lowly as I am, will not be allowed to see him. Go and speak to the World-honored One on my behalf. If the *Tathāgata* out of compassion graciously agrees to listen, I will go and seek his counsel to dispel my doubts.' The monk: 'Come along then, I will inform the World-honored One that you seek counsel.' The *deva*

81 The Chinese original has a pun here that I am unable to reproduce. 'Wrong time' in the *deva*'s question, the 'timelessness' in the answer, and 'not bound to time' below are all *feishi* 非時, Pāli *akāliko*.

said: 'I will follow you to the World-honored One.' There the monk went to where the Buddha was staying, and having paid homage at his feet, stood to one side and put the *deva's* questions to the World-honored One.

There the World-honored One spoke a verse:

Whoever says that the signs⁸² / arising from name-and-form do truly exist,
 know that this person / is on the road of death.
 Perceiving in name-and-form / emptiness and absence of self-nature
 this is called to respect the Buddhas / for ever free from the realms
 of existence.

The Buddha asked the *deva*: 'Did you understand that?' The *deva* replied: 'Not yet, World-honored One.' Then the Buddha spoke another verse:

The conceit of being better [than others], the conceit of being equal / and the conceit of being inferior [to others];⁸³
 those with these three conceits / are apt to have arguments;
 those who have done away with them / are called of unmovable mind.

And the Buddha asked the *deva*: 'Did you understand that?' The

82 *xiang* 相 *lakṣana/nimitta*.

83 *man* 慢 *māna*. Commentarial literature distinguishes several sets of 慢 (pride, conceit or arrogance). There are the 3, 7, 8 or 9 慢. The 'three conceits' are profoundly explained in the *Samgītiparyāya-sāstra* 阿毘達磨集異門足論 T.26.1536.384.c09-21: 'There are three kinds of conceits. The first is the conceit of "I-am-superior". The second is the conceit of "I-am-equal". The third is the conceit of "I-am-inferior". What is the conceit of "I-am-superior"? There someone has these kinds of thoughts: "My clan, my physical appearance, my actions, my work, my status and my vigor, all or some of these are superior to that of others". From this arises conceit, and once conceit has arisen, the mind becomes elated and the mind becomes dejected. This is what is called the conceit of "I-am-superior". [And similarly for the other two types]'.

deva replied: ‘Not yet, World-honored One.’ Then the Buddha spoke another verse:

By cutting off attachment to name-and-form / one extinguishes the
three conceits,

avoids all desires / extinguishes hate and anger.

[In one who] pulls out the poisonous root / all mental
discrimination, wishes and desires cease;

those who are able to do this / cross over the ocean of birth and
death.

The *deva* said to the Buddha: ‘Now I understand.’ The monks, having listened to what the Buddha had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.18 BZA 18 – THE PARABLE OF THE SMOKING BURROW⁸⁴

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Kalanda.

At that time a monk⁸⁵ went to the river in the early morning hours, undressed, and bathed. When he came out to dry his body on the riverside, there was a *deva* there, emitting rays and illuminating the riverbank. The *deva* addressed him [with a riddle] saying: ‘Monk! There is a burrow,⁸⁶ from which smoke arises at night, but which is ablaze with fire during the day. A *brāhmaṇa* having seen this, [had it] broken open and dug up.

84 On this sutra see the study by Grohmann (aka 高明道) (1991).

85 As in the previous sutra, the BZA and the ZA versions do not identify the monk. The Pāli version names him Samiddhi in the BZA 17 parallel and Kumārakassapa for BZA 18. The *Zengyi Ahan* version of BZA 18 has 童真迦葉 which renders Kumārakāśyapa/Kumārakassapa, ‘Kassapa the Boy’.

86 *chaoku* 巢窟. Nest, den, lair. ZA: *qiuzhong* 丘塚 (grave mound); *Zengyi Ahan*: 舍 (abode). Only T.95, the *Yiyu jing* 蟻喻經, which was translated relatively late (1008-1009 CE), agrees with the Pāli *vammika* (ant-hill).

There was a clever man [doing the digging], who told the *brāhmaṇa*: “Digging with the blade I found a tortoise” And the *brāhmaṇa* said: “Bring this tortoise out!” Again he said: “Digging up the ground I found a viper,”⁸⁷ and [the *brāhmaṇa*] ordered him to catch it. Again he said: “Digging up the ground I found a piece of meat,”⁸⁸ and [the *brāhmaṇa*] ordered him to pull it out. Again he said: “Digging up the ground I found a slaughter-house.”⁸⁹ The *brāhmaṇa* said: “This is a slaughter-house” and ordered him to take it out. Again he said: “Digging up the ground I found the *laṅgiman* poisonous insects,”⁹⁰ and [the

87 *fushe* 蝮蛇. Probably translates Pāli *āsīvisa* (poisonous snake). The *qúlí/qúdóu* 黐黐 (blanket) of the ZA, might be a transcription of the first syllable of *uddhumayika* (toad) that the Pāli text has at this position.

88 *rouduan* 肉段 *māṃsapesi*.

89 *daoshe* 刀舍, ZA: 屠殺處. It seems the translator of the ZA understood the Pāli *asisūna* (M. 23) better. 刀舍, which is unique in the canon, does not convey ‘slaughter-house’ in Chinese. 刀 translates *asi*, of course, but 舍 is not a good solution for *sūnā*.

90 *lengqimang duchong* 楞祇芒毒蟲. Probably an attempt to render Skt. *laṅgiman* = Dhūrta (MW: 895a). Dhūrta is ‘thorn-apple’ or ‘night-shade’ (MW: 518c), a poisonous plant (cf. also *lāṅgalika* ‘a vegetable poison’ (MW: 900a)). The character 芒 was well chosen, on the phonetic level it transcribes [man], on the semantic level it denotes a poisonous plant (HDC: s.v., no. 9). The ZA has only *lengqi* 楞耆, a unique transcription, which was probably never clear to readers. Grohmann (1991: 64) has observed the intriguing phenomenon that the things dug out in the BZA, have become insects in T.95, a separate, later version of the Anthill sutra. In this case, however, it seems what is *laṅgī* in Pāli has been ‘insectified’ in the BZA. In Pāli this item in the riddle is *laṅgī*, a rare word, which the commentary glosses with *paligha* ‘bar, bolt’. According to the PED (s.v.), *laṅgī* is at times used metaphorically for ignorance, this definition relies, however, strongly on the above occurrence in the MN. It seems that at one point in India the semantics of *laṅgiman* and *laṅgī* were confused, perhaps owing to a word-play in the verse. In the verse below the BZA has 楞祇, the ZA 楞耆. Since in this context the word appears as a metaphor for *avijjā*, it is likely that ‘bolt’ is what is meant here. It seems, however, that at least in China translators and commentators did not understand 楞祇/楞耆 as ‘bolt’, in either the riddle or the verse. A glossary to the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* identifies the 楞祇芒毒蟲 with the animal called *yuzhoulongjia* 鬱周隆伽 or *weizhoulingjia* 慰周陵伽 (CBETA/X44.744.437c16-17). The 鬱周隆伽 is

brāhmaṇa] ordered him to dig them out. Again he said: “Digging up the ground I found a forked path,”⁹¹ and [the *brāhmaṇa* said:] “Out with it!”. Again he said: “Further digging up the ground I found a heap of stones”⁹² and [the *brāhmaṇa*] ordered him to take out the stones. Again he said: “Digging up the ground I found a cobra.”⁹³ The *brāhmaṇa* said: “Do not disturb it” and knelt before the cobra.”

The *deva* said to the monk: ‘Don’t forget my words! Ask the Buddha [about this] and remember all he says! Why? Because I see no-one, whether *deva*, demon, or *brahmā* with the ability to analyse this, no-one who could explain this riddle, but the Buddha and his disciples, the monks.’

Then the monk went to the Buddha, paid homage at his feet and stood to one side. He told the Buddha what the *deva* had said [and asked:] ‘World-honored One! What is this burrow that emits smoke at night and is on fire at day? Who is the *brāhmaṇa*? Who is the clever person? What is the blade? What does it mean “to dig”? What is the tortoise? What is the viper? What the piece of meat? What the slaughter-house? What the *laṅgiman* poisonous insects? What the forked path? What the heap of stones? What is the cobra?’

The Buddha replied: ‘Listen carefully! Listen carefully! I will tell you. The burrow is the body. Conceived through the essences of father and mother, made up from the four elements, sustained

described at CBETA/X40.720.502c22 as a hairy insect with many feet, similar to a caterpillar. In the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* the bite of a 慰周陵伽 is one of the five causes for an erection (CBETA/T22.1428.975a28).

91 *erdao* 二道 in both the BZA and the ZA. The Pāli has *dvidhāpatha* ‘a two fold way, a crossing’ (PED: 334a) ‘fork’. Neumann translates ‘Zweizack’ (two-pronged javelin).

92 *shiqi* 石聚. A mistake for 石聚, which appears below in the solution of the simile (and in the *Chuyaojing* 出曜經 (T.04.0212.695a17) among others).

93 All four Chinese versions have 龍. *Nāga* here means simply cobra, not the mythical race. On the cobra as metaphor for the Arhat see Katz (1982: 49f).

by clothing and food – by these a body comes to be. But in the end the body will fail, swell up, become worm-eaten and break up. The smoke that arises at night is the various kinds of thoughts.⁹⁴ The fire of the day is the karma engendered by body and speech. The *brāhmaṇa* is the *Tathāgata*. The clever man is the disciple (*sāvaka*). The blade is a metaphor for wisdom, and digging means diligent effort. The tortoise stands for the five hindrances, the viper for hatred and harming. The piece of meat means stinginess, greed and jealousy. The slaughter-house is the five sensual pleasures. The *laṅgiman* poisonous insects are a metaphor for ignorance, and the forked path stands for doubt. The stones are for arrogance, and the cobra is the *Arahat*, who has ended all bonds of becoming [that lead to rebirth].’

Then the Buddha spoke this verse:

A burrow is the body / coarse and subtle thought is the smoke,
 deeds are like the fire / the *brāhmaṇa* is the *Tathāgata*,
 the clever person is the *sāvaka* / the blade is wisdom,
 digging stands for diligent effort / the five hindrances are like the
 tortoise,
 hatred is like the viper / greed and jealousy are like the piece of
 meat,
 the five sensual pleasures are like the slaughter-house / stupidity is
 like the bar,
 Doubt is like the forked path / belief in a self like the heap of stones.
 But do not disturb the cobra / the cobra is the true *Arahat*
 To answer these questions well / is only for the Buddha, the World-
 honored One.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

94 *juequan* 覺觀 *vitarka-vicāra/anu vitakketi-anu vicarati*.

3.3.19 BZA 19 – THE BUDDHA SEES A DISTRACTED MONK 1⁹⁵

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at the Deer Park [near] Vārāṇasī, the dwelling-place of sages.⁹⁶

At that time the World-honored One put on his robe, took his begging bowl and entered Vārāṇasī [to beg for food]. There he saw a monk, whose mind⁹⁷ was not concentrated, whose senses were distracted. When this monk saw the Buddha coming in the distance, he hung his head in embarrassment. After the Buddha had finished his alms-round and washed his feet he entered the dwelling-places of the monks and entered his silent abode.⁹⁸ When he came out of his silent abode again, he sat among the monks and said to them: ‘This morning I saw a monk, whose senses were not reined in. When he saw me coming in the distance, he became embarrassed, hung his head and reined in his sense-doors.⁹⁹ Who was this?’ Then the monk rose from his seat, arranged his his outer robe on his left shoulder, and placed his palms together [in salutation] said to the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! I was the one who was without concentration, whose senses were distracted.’ The Buddha said: ‘Very good, monk! You were able to rein in your senses and focus your thought when you saw me. Whenever you see a monk, a nun, a lay-man or a lay-woman, you should do likewise. Control your senses and focus your thought, as if you were seeing me. This

95 BZA 19 and 21 have no clear parallels in Pāli. BZA 19, however, seems to be a shorter variant of BZA 20.

96 Isipatana, the site of the Deer Park near Vārāṇasī, is usually left untranslated as place name.

97 The text here has 身 body. This is a mistake; both the BZA in the *gāthā* below and the ZA have 心 mind. The mistake is found in all editions of the Chinese canon.

98 See footnote on *jing shi* 靜室 in BZA 24 below.

99 *jianqing* 檢情. A relatively rare expression, it appears in two sutras of the BZA and in a few other places (e.g., *Buddhacarita* 佛本行經 (T.04.0193.054c24)). The object of control (檢/斂/斂) is the sense doors (情 = 六情 = 六根).

will bring you happiness and gain in the long night [of *saṃsāric* existence].⁷

The the monk spoke this verse:

A monk went begging, entered the town / his mind distracted,
confused and unstable;

when he saw the Buddha, with diligent effort he reined in his
senses / therefore the Buddha said ‘Well done!’

3.3.20 BZA 20 – THE BUDDHA SEES A DISTRACTED MONK 2 – THE SIMILE OF
THE FLIES

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at the Deer Park [near] Vārāṇasī, where in former times the sages dwelt.

At that time the World-honored One put on his robe, took his begging bowl and entered Vārāṇasī to beg for food. At a *deva* shrine [he saw] a monk, his thoughts filled with evil, his mind desiring sensuality.¹⁰⁰ Then the Buddha, the World-honored One said to the monk: ‘Monk, monk! You are planting the seeds of suffering, extremely vulgar and defiled,¹⁰¹ your senses stained with evil. Where there are juice stains, flies are bound to gather.’ At that time the monk heard what the Buddha said and understood that the Buddha, the World-honored One, had read his thoughts. Fear arose in him and he hurried away, his hairs standing on end.

After the Buddha had finished his alms-round, eaten his meal, and washed his feet, he returned to the monks’ quarters, where he entered his dwelling to meditate. When he came out again he

100 *shiyu* 嗜欲 **paribhoga-kāma*. The expression appears in the BZA (6 times), in the ZA (twice) and in various *Udānavarga* texts (T.210, T.211, T.212), pointing again to a common tradition for these texts.

101 *bihui* 鄙穢. In Āgama literature this expression appears only in the BZA.

took his seat in front of the assembled monks. The Buddha addressed them: ‘Today, when I went into the town on my alms-round, I saw a monk next to a *deva* shrine, his thoughts filled with evil, his mind desiring sensuality. So I said: ‘Monk, monk! You are planting seeds of suffering, extremely vulgar and defiled, your senses stained with evil. Where there are juice stains, flies are bound to gather.’ When the monk heard what I said, fear arose in him and he hurried away, his hairs standing on end.’ When the Buddha had finished saying this, one monk rose from his seat, and holding his hands with palms together [in salutation] said to the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! What is called “the seeds of suffering,” what is “vulgar and defiled,” what is “stained with evil,” what is meant with “flies gathering?”’ The Buddha answered: ‘Listen carefully, listen carefully! I will explain this: Anger and hatred is called “to plant seeds of suffering,” the mind indulging in the five sensual pleasures is called “vulgar and defiled.” When the six senses are not controlled in moral practice, this is called “stained with evil.” That which causes the persistence of affliction and the arising of ignorance, arrogance, brazenness and shamelessness; that which causes the arising of the fetters is called “flies gathering.”’

Then the Buddha spoke this verse:

When one does not control the senses / one strengthens desire and attachment, and plants seeds of suffering,

vulgar and defiled actions produce a constant stream / of related desirous, malevolent, and violent thoughts.¹⁰²

If in a village or in an empty [uninhabited] place / one always keeps one’s heart free from transient pleasures,

and with one’s very body practices right meditation / cultivates supernormal powers, and attains the three knowledges,¹⁰³

102 *yujue naohaijue* 欲覺惱害覺 **kāma vitakka vyāpāda vitakka vihiṃsā vitakka*.

103 See BZA 16.

then one attains happiness, sleeps peacefully / and can vanquish the thought-flies completely.

Through practice one becomes firmly established / is able to follow the noble way to the good realm(s).

Having attained the way of right knowledge, one will never turn back / [but] enter into *Nirvāṇa* and the bliss of silent extinction.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.21 BZA 21 – A FOREST SPIRIT ADMONISHES A MONK – THE SIMILE OF THE ULCER¹⁰⁴

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time a certain monk put on his robes, took his begging-bowl and entered the town to beg for food. When he had eaten and returned, he washed his feet, took up his sitting mat and went into the Forest of Regained Sight.¹⁰⁵ Having spread out grass beneath a tree he sat down [to meditate]. [But] evil thoughts arose [in his mind], desire for the five sensual pleasures. The spirit of the Forest of Regained Sight knew the monks thoughts and saw that they were impure. ‘In this forest one should not have evil inclinations,’ the spirit thought, ‘I will wake him up.’ And he said: ‘Monk, monk, why do you have an ulcer?’ The monk answered: ‘I will bandage it.’ The forest spirit

104 SN,II,268-270 (Nāgo).

105 *deyan lin* 得眼林 *andhavana*. While the ZA transcribes *antuolin* 安陀林, the BZA renders the title in allusion to the legend of the five hundred bandits, who, after a lost battle, were blinded by a king. Later the Buddha took pity on them and healed them (see, e.g., the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 T51.2087.900c08).

spoke again: ‘Your ulcer is as big as a pot. How will you bandage it?’ The monk answered: ‘I will bandage my ulcer with [right] thought.’ The forest spirit praised him, saying: ‘Very good, very good! This monk knows well how to bandage his ulcer, how truly to bandage his ulcer.’ The Buddha, with his divine hearing, heard the exchange between the forest spirit and the monk.

At that time the World-honored One spoke this verse:

Worldly desires / are born of evil thoughts.
Once an ulcer has grown / it nurtures swarms of flies;
desire is this ulcer / thought and reflection are the flies.
Because of greed, arrogance / pierces our heart.
Because of greed for fame and profit / we are caught in doubts,
do not know how to escape / One whose mind is trained in
concentration
trained in the supernormal powers / does not grow ulcers
but in peace and stability beholds the Buddha / and attains *Nirvāṇa*.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

3.3.22 *BZA 22 – A MONK MAKES AN UNTIMELY VISIT TO A VILLAGE –
PARABLE OF THE ELEPHANT AND THE LOTUS ROOTS*

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī in the Jeta Grove, the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time a large group of monks put on their robes, took their begging-bowls and entered the town to beg for food. There was a young, newly ordained monk who entered the village at

an inappropriate time.¹⁰⁶ The monks noticed this young, newly ordained monk in several places and said to him: ‘You have just begun training and do not yet know the discipline. What are you doing among the families?’ The newly ordained monk said to the other monks: ‘The venerable Elders all visit the families. Why should I be denied this and not visit the families?’

Then the monks, having eaten what they had received on their alms-round, put away their robes and begging-bowls, washed their feet, and went to the Buddha. Having paid homage at his feet, they sat to one side and said. Then they said to the Buddha: ‘World-honored One! When we entered the town to beg for food, we saw a young, newly ordained monk, who did not visit the families at the appropriate time. We said to him: “You have just begun training and do not yet know the discipline. Why do you visit the families at an inappropriate time?” He answered us: “The elder monks as well have come to the families. Why should I alone be denied this?”’

At that time the Buddha said to the monks: ‘In a vast wilderness there was a large lake. A number of full-grown elephants used to enter the lake and with their trunks pull out the lotus roots that were growing there. After giving them a shake, they cleaned them in the water and ate them. Their bodies became fat and full, and they grew extremely strong. Some juvenile elephants also ate of the lotus roots, but did not know how to shake them and clean them in the water. They ate them together with the mud and became weak and thin, they did not grow strong. Some died, some almost died.’¹⁰⁷

106 The ZA implies that the monk did not follow the planned order of the alms-round. The Pāli has *ativelam* indicating that the monk lingered in the village, stayed longer than necessary (Woodward translates ‘spent too much time’ (*Kindred Sayings* II: 180); Geiger et al. has ‘zu später Stunde’).

107 The ZA has 緣斯致死或同死苦 which is a close parallel to the Pāli: *Tatonidānaṃ maraṇaṃ vā nigacchanti maraṇamattaṃ vā dukkhaṃ* (‘For this reason they died or suffered as if they were dying’).

At that time the World-honored One spoke a verse:¹⁰⁸

When full-grown elephants enter a lake / and pull out lotus roots
with their trunks,¹⁰⁹

they shake them and wash off the mud / and only then eat them.

Those monks who / practice the unsullied *Dhamma*,
when receiving alms / are not tainted by any fault.

Them I call practitioners / who are like the full-grown elephants.

[Those] who do not well understand skillful means / suffer later for
their faults,

they suffer later pain and distress / like the juvenile elephants.

The monks, having listened to what the Buddha had said, were
happy and remembered it well.

108 The translation given here follows a version shared by Rod Bucknell
(personal communication, May 2010) with only minor modifications.

109 The same parable is found in the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* (CBETA/
T.22.1428.910c01) and the *Kāśyapīya Vinaya* (CBETA/T24.1464.858c21).

4 STUDIES ON AND TRANSLATION OF THE MĀRA SAṂYUTTA

4.1 THE TEXTS

The ten sutras on Māra in the BZA (BZA 23 - BZA 32) are the equivalent to the *Māra Saṁyutta* of the Pāli canon and to ten sutras on Māra in the ZA. The *Māra Saṁyutta* in the SN contains 25 short sutras (SN I 103-127), while the ZA has 20 sutras (ZA nos.1084-1103) on Māra.

Māra makes another prominent appearance in the *Bhikṣunī Saṁyukta* of SN, ZA and BZA. This indicates that Māra was the main protagonist and interlocutor in two *saṁyuttas* (his 'own' and the one on nuns) from an early stage.

Two more sutras on Māra, the *Brahmanimantanika Sutta* and the *Māratajjanīya Sutta*, are included in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (MN). The *Brahmanimantanika Sutta* (MN 49), where Māra poses as a member of the retinue of Brahmā Baka, has its Chinese versions in the *Madhyamāgama* (T.26 (78)).

The *Māratajjanīya Sutta* (MN 50) has three Chinese versions: one in the *Madhyamāgama* (T.26 (131)) and two single translations, the *Mo raoluan jing* 魔嬈亂經 (T.66) and the *Bimo shi mulian jing* 弊魔試目連經 (T.67). Both T.66 and T.67 were translated before c.

250 CE. The entertaining opening of the sutra with Māra hiding in Moggallāna's belly, and the story of Māra having been Moggallāna's nephew in a former life, obviously appealed to the early translators and their audiences. The four versions share a nearly identical narrative structure; a philological comparison has, to my knowledge, not been done so far.

In another sutra, the *Mo ni jing* 魔逆經 (*Mañjuśrīvikurvāṇaparivarta*) (T.589, also translated relatively early; attributed to Zhu Fahu 竺法護; active 265-313), Māra is debated with and, of course, defeated by Mañjuśrī and other disciples in the presence of the Buddha.¹ In style and content, however, T.589 is clearly an early Mahāyāna sutra and belongs to a stratum of Buddhist literature later than the sutras mentioned above. For a comprehensive overview of Māra's appearances and interactions with the Buddha and his disciples in the Chinese Āgamas see Seo (1987).

Here is a (Pāli-Chinese) overview of the relationship between the Chinese and Pāli *Māra Saṃyuttas* (for a Chinese-Pāli comparative table see Appendix 1).

1 cf. Mitsukawa 2000.

SN Māra Saṃyutta (sutra titles and numbering as in the PTS edition. SN I 103-127)	ZA 1084-1103 T.vol.2, no.99, pp.284-290	BZA 23-32 T.vol.2, no. 100 pp.381-384	Comments
1.1 <i>Tapo kammaṇ ca</i> “Austere Practice” SN I 103	ZA 1094		
1.2 <i>Nāgo</i> “The King Elephant” SN I 103-04			<i>Gāthā</i> identical with the first part of the <i>gāthā</i> in 1.3
1.3 <i>Subhaṃ</i> “Beautiful” SN I 104	ZA 1093	BZA 32 – Māra changes into beautiful and ugly people	The story in the BZA is slightly different. The BZA also lacks a <i>gāthā</i> .
1.4 <i>Pāsa</i> (1) “(Māra’s) Snare” SN I 105			<i>Gāthā</i> similar to the <i>gāthā</i> in 1.5
1.5 <i>Pāsa</i> (2) “(Māra’s) Snare” SN I 105-06	ZA 1096		
1.6 <i>Sappo</i> “Serpent” SN I 106-07	ZA 1089	BZA 28 – Māra turns into a snake	
1.7 <i>Suppati</i> “Sleep” SN I 107-08	ZA 1087	BZA 26 – Māra disturbs the Buddha’s rest	
1.8 <i>Nandanam</i> “He Delights” SN I 107-08	ZA 1004	BZA 142	In the ZA and BZA the exchange of <i>gāthā</i> is between Buddha and a Devaputta, not Māra

SN Māra Saṃyutta (sutra titles and numbering as in the PTS edition. SN I 103-127)	ZA 1084-1103 T.vol.2, no.99, pp.284-290	BZA 23-32 T.vol.2, no. 100 pp.381-384	Comments
1.9 Āyu (1) “Life Span” SN I 108	ZA 1084	BZA 23 – Māra disturbs a teaching on impermanence	
1.10 Āyu (2) “Life Span” SN I 108-09	ZA 1085	BZA 24 – Māra says life is eternal	
2.1 Pāsāno “The Boulder” SN I 109	ZA 1088	BZA 27 – Māra throws a boulder	
2.2 Sīho “The Lion” SN I 109-10	ZA 1101		
2.3 Sakalikaṃ “The Splinter” SN I 110-12	ZA 1090	BZA 29 – Māra disturbs the Buddha’s rest	
2.4 Patirūpaṃ “Suitable” SN I 111	ZA 1097		
2.5 Mānasaṃ “Mental” SN I 111	ZA 1086	BZA 25 – Māra disturbs the Buddha in meditation	
2.6 Pattāṃ “Almsbowls” SN I 112	ZA 1102		

SN <i>Māra Saṃyutta</i> (sutra titles and numbering as in the PTS edition. SN I 103-127)	ZA 1084-1103 T.vol.2, no.99, pp.284-290	BZA 23-32 T.vol.2, no. 100 pp.381-384	Comments
2.7 <i>Āyatana</i> “Bases for Contact” SN I 112-13	ZA 1103		
2.8 <i>Piṇḍaṃ</i> “Alms” SN I 113-14	ZA 1095		
2.9 <i>Kassakaṃ</i> “The Farmer” SN I 114-16			The <i>gāthā</i> is repeated in 3.4.
2.10 <i>Rajjaṃ</i> “Rulership” SN I 116-17)	ZA 1098		
3.1 <i>Sambahulā</i> “A Number” SN I 117-18	ZA 1099		
3.2 <i>Samiddhi</i> “Samiddhi” SN I 119-20)	ZA 1100		Exceptionally, <i>Māra</i> tries to scare a monk here.
3.3 <i>Godhika</i> “Godhika” SN I 120-22	ZA 1091	BZA 30 – Godhika commits suicide	
3.4 <i>Sattavasāni</i> “Seven Years” SN I 122-24 3.5 <i>Dhītaro</i> “(<i>Māra</i> ’s) Daughters” SN I 124-27	ZA 1092	BZA 31 – The daughters of <i>Māra</i>	In Chinese, 3.4 and 3.5 are combined in one sutra. This is the largest cluster in this group, with many other versions in Chinese and Pāli.

As can be seen, basically all the texts exist in both Pāli and Chinese. Only two narrative passages in Pāli have no corresponding Chinese version: the appearance of Māra as an elephant in 1.2 and as an ox-herd in 2.9. However, the verse part of both of these sutras appears again elsewhere, indicating that the narrative may have been added later. The short sutras Pāli 1.4 and 1.5 are structurally identical, their verses differ only slightly from each other. Māra here is not mentioned in the prose part, but appears rather abruptly to say his *gāthā*. There are other cases where prose and verse are but feebly connected, and in a comparative study these must carry less weight than better-integrated and better-connected sutras.

With regard to content the ZA sutras are in general closer to the SN material than are the BZA sutras. The BZA sutras in this *saṃyutta* are generally shorter, and the verse often differs from the versions found in the ZA or SN.

There seems to be little connection concerning the arrangement of the material in the Pāli and in the Chinese, except two short parallelisms:

- i) The two sutras where Māra disturbs a teaching on impermanence (Pāli 1.9/ZA 1084/BZA 23 precedes Pāli 1.10/ZA 1085/BZA 24). This parallelism makes it probable that, though similar in structure and content, both sutras were indeed transmitted as discrete units and in this order from an early stage.
- ii) The last two sutras in the Pāli are remembered as only one in the Chinese versions. Judging from the narrative flow, it is perfectly possible that the Pāli version too was formerly one sutra. It seems that the separation into two sutras took place later, perhaps to obtain a more symmetrical numbering for the third *vagga* in the *Māra*

Saṃyutta (the third *vagga* now contains exactly five sutras, half of the ten sutras of the first and second *vaggas*). Another clue that the sutra material was split in the Pāli tradition, rather than combined in the Chinese, is that Pāli 3.5 lacks the opening section and starts *in medias res* with *atha kho*, which, for this *saṃyutta* at least, is exceptional (more on sutra BZA 31 below).

4.2 THE FIGURE OF MĀRA

The figure of Māra in Buddhist literature is comparatively well researched. Since the first monograph *Māra und Buddha* by Ernst Windisch which was published in 1895 (and promptly forgotten by most of later scholarship)² we have a large number of monographs and articles on this figure.³ However, none of the monographs – Windisch (1895), Ling (1962), Boyd (1975) or the thesis by Clark (1994) – makes use of Chinese sources.⁴ Only Seo's insightful, but unpublished, *these de doctorat* (Seo 1987) takes the Chinese sources into account.

Arguably, the Chinese sources do not contribute much to the understanding of Māra in *Āgama* literature. As we have seen in the above overview, the Chinese *Māra Saṃyuttas* offer no new

2 With the exception of Ling (1962) and Seo (1987), it seems no one else has made use of Windisch's groundbreaking work. Often he is not even mentioned in bibliographies.

3 See the bibliography, in which I have tried to include all major Western research on Māra. For this I have used (and added to) the results of a question on Māra on the e-list H-Buddhism and the resulting summary by Stuart Sarbacker.

4 Little research has been done on the role of Māra in East Asian Buddhist thought, an exception being the brilliant article by Iyanaga (1996), who discusses the confusion of Māra with Īśvara/Maheśvara in China and Japan, the role of Māra as the King of the Sixth Heaven, and the influence of the Māra legend on medieval Japanese mythology.

narrative content beyond what is known in Pāli.

On the most general level, Māra is the lord of death and desire, and all *saṃsāric* existence is his dominion (*māra-dheyya* or *māra-visaya*).⁵ Since early Buddhism was in the main a quest for a way out of *saṃsara*, Māra tries to disturb the practice of meditation and the preaching of the *Dhamma*, to keep the practitioners within his realm, viz. the *kāmaloka*. He attempts to achieve this by changing his shape, making noises or involving those he disturbs in an argument. Though he is imagined as a powerful physical being, in the early sutras contained in the *Samgīta-varga* he never touches anybody. And, of course, he cannot do so: his symbolic valence is mental. Māra is a personification of all those mental attitudes that Buddhism considers obstacles to practice. It is remarkable that in all the sutras where he appears, he never seems to succeed.

In the later commentarial tradition, the figure of Māra, like that of the Buddha, was multiplied and we find the Five (Pāli) or Four (Indo-Tibetan) Māras.⁶ Māra is given minor roles in Mahāyāna sutras such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and others. In the *Āgama/Nikāyas*, however, Māra is generally the main interlocutor to the hero – the Buddha himself in the *Māra Saṃyuttas*, the various nuns in the *Bhikṣuṇī Saṃyuktas/Bhikkhūṇī Saṃyuttas*, and Mogallāna in MN 50/MĀ 131.

In the *Māra Saṃyukta* of the BZA Māra tries to disturb the Buddha while he is teaching (BZA 23, 24, 32), meditating (BZA 25,

5 Windisch (1895: 192-196), Seo (1987: 262-267)

6 The Pāli commentarial tradition mentions *khandha-māra*, *kilesa-māra*, *abhisāṅkhāra-māra*, *maccu-māra* and *devaputta-māra* – *māra* in the sense of the aggregates, defilements, constructing activities, death, and a deity (Malalasekera 1974: vol.II, 611). In the later Indian and Tibetan scholastic tradition, the most common concept of *māra* is fourfold (*catvārimāra*): *skandha-māra*, *kleṣa-māra*, *maraṇa-māra*, *devaputra-māra*; the *abhisāṅkhāra-māra* is apparently included in the *skandha-māra*. The Tibetan tradition knows further subdivisions and categories (Clark 1994: 9-14).

29), and resting (BZA 26). He tries to injure him by hurling a boulder (BZA 27), to scare him by turning into a huge snake (BZA 28), and finally tries to persuade him not to teach the *Dhamma*. When he fails, his daughters try their luck and attempt to seduce the Buddha. Māra also tries to prevent the ‘escape’ of Godhika from his *saṃsāric* grip (BZA 30). There is a climactic progression within the order of the sutras (with the exception of BZA 29 and 32), ranging from simple disturbances, through frightening shape-changes, to the final battle shortly after the enlightenment.

In the BZA Māra is commonly referred to as ‘King Māra’ (*mowang* 魔王).⁷ In the ZA, on the other hand, this title is mentioned only once (in ZA 1252) and there not in the *Māra Saṃyukta*, but as part of a set phrase within a sutra otherwise unrelated to Māra.⁸ The appellation ‘King Māra’ also appears in the MĀ and the *Ekottarikāgama*⁹ and is common in later Chinese Buddhist texts. However, among the many names of Māra that Malalasekera (1974) lists for the Pāli tradition, the candidates for an Indian equivalent for 魔王 are few and are all found in the commentarial layer. The equivalent of 魔王 in the original may have been a Prakrit form of *marādhipati* or *mārapajāpati*, epithets

7 31 times in the BZA *Māra Saṃyukta* and 18 times in the BZA *Bhikṣuṇī Saṃyukta*. For another statistic about the names of Māra in the ZA and the BZA see Seo (1987: 37).

8 魔王波旬不得其便 (CBETA/T.2.99.344b19) ‘So that King Māra the Bad does not overwhelm him/her.’

9 One passage in the *Ekottarikāgama* explains the term as 我復語波旬曰汝本作福唯有一施今得作欲界魔王 (CBETA/T.2.125.761a19-21) ‘Again I told the Bad One: “you have formerly accumulated merit. Through only one single act of *dāna* you have now become King Māra of the Realm of Desire”. The implication is that Māra is the rightful ruler of the Realm of Desire (*kāma-dhātu*) on account of his former merits. Moreover, the common use of the title ‘King’ seems to imply a more fully developed and populated cosmos than epithets like ‘Bad One’ or ‘Slayer’. Moreover, it should be remembered that the Chinese word for ‘king’, *wang* 王, does not, like the Indian *rājā/narapati* etc., denote the most potent ruler of the realm, but is a secondary title often bestowed by a higher suzerain.

that again are extremely rare in the Pāli *saṃyuttas* on Māra. Another candidate, *māra-rājā*, is not mentioned at all in the early literature.¹⁰ Māra's most common epithet in Pāli is *pāpimā(n)*. This is strangely transcribed into Chinese as *boxun* 波旬, which is widely used in the Chinese *Āgamas*. Pelliot, after refuting previous attempts to resolve the transcription, suggests the Prakrit form *Pāvēn (< Skt. Pāpīyān) as the original for 波旬 (1933: 90).

4.3 NOTES ON THE *GODHIKA SUTTA* (BZA 30)

Among the sutras on Māra, the *Godhika Sutta*, in which Māra appears playing the *vīṇā*, or harp,¹¹ is especially interesting. It uses several literary devices that are comparatively rare in the usual formulaic emplotment of the *Āgama* narratives. First the narrative structure of the *Godhika Sutta* contains more elements – and more sophisticated ones – than the surrounding sutras: there are several place changes, one instance of synchronicity, and interior monologue. The canon knows other examples for these, of course, and the genre has formulaic ways of dealing with them, but here they appear concentrated in a relatively

10 In my dataset (based on the VRI edition) the term is indexed only once and this for a later work the *Paṭṭhānuddesa dīpanīpāṭha* (Chapter: *Namakkāraṭīkā*).

11 I have earlier (Bingenheimer 2007), followed the lexicographical tradition and translated *vīṇā* as 'lute.' Recently, I have come to believe that this conveys a wrong picture. The word 'lute' in English usually refers to a short-necked chordophone, that is played with one hand plucking the strings and the other controlling the length of the vibrating strings. Though long-necked lutes are attested in ancient cultures, in ancient India *vīṇā* was used a generic term for string-instrument and the iconographic evidence for early Buddhist art points clearly to a *bow harp* rather than a lute (see e.g. Coomaraswamy 1928: 32 Fig.1 and Fig.4; or Krishna Murthy 1977: 180ff). (Harps differ from lutes in that the strings are perpendicular to the sounding board and of fixed length.)

short sutra and the ability of the genre to cope with these elements is at its limits. On the content level, too, there are several unusual topics: suicide,¹² the presence of the *vīṇā*, and Māra looking in vain for the mind of the deceased.¹³ All these are topics that seem to demand further explanation, but the sutra does not elaborate on these elements.

As the following overview shows, these structural and content elements are found in all three versions, though their order varies.¹⁴

4.3.1 ELEMENTS OF THE GODHIKA SUTTA IN DIFFERENT VERSIONS

BZA: Godhika practices in his cave in the Black Rock, attains temporary liberation six times, he decides to kill himself on the seventh time.

ZA: as BZA.

SN: as BZA (in some Ms. versions Godhika decides to kill himself, right away after having fallen back a sixth time).

12 There are a few other passages that mention the suicide of monks: that of Channa (MN III 263 and SN IV 55), that of Vakkali (SN III 119), and that of more than 30 monks as a consequence of a teaching on impurity of the body (SN V 320). Both are discussed in Keown (1996). For Vakkali see also Delhey (2009), for Channa see Anālayo (2010a).

13 This also appears in the *Vakkali Sutta* (SN III 119) and its parallel in the *Ekottarikāgama* (CBETA/T.2.125.642.b29). While the Pāli passages as well as the BZA and the ZA describe Māra's search for the consciousness of Godhika and Vakkali very similarly, in the *Ekottarikāgama*, Māra's appearance is described quite differently. Instead of a 'cloud of smoke' or 'darkness,' Māra manifests himself as 'loud noises and strange lights' (CBETA/T.2.125.643a5).

14 The story is summarized in the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 T.4.212.647b5, but the account is too short to include it in this comparison.

BZA: Māra discerns his thoughts and is afraid he will escape his sphere of influence.

ZA: as BZA.

SN: Māra discerns his thoughts.

BZA: Māra, plucking the harp, sings a verse to alert the Buddha.

ZA: as BZA.

SN: Māra addresses the Buddha with a verse.

BZA: The Buddha answers.

ZA: as BZA.

SN: Godhika kills himself and the Buddha answers Māra by pointing out the fact.

BZA: Māra drops the harp and returns to his palace (prose).

ZA: Māra drops the harp and vanishes (verse).

BZA: The Buddha orders the monks to follow him to the Black Rock where they find Godhika's corpse.

ZA: The Buddha tells the monks that Godhika has killed himself and orders them to follow him to the Black Rock where they find Godhika's corpse.

SN: The Buddha and the monks go to the Black Rock and find Godhika dead.

BZA: The Buddha explains the smoke as Māra looking for Godhika's mind (心識, later as 神識).

ZA: The Buddha explains the smoke as Māra looking for Godhika's 識神.

SN: The Buddha explains the smoke as Māra looking for Godhika's *viññāṇa*, but that it is unestablished (*appatitṭhitena*) anywhere and he has attained Nirvana (is *parinibbuto*).

BZA: Māra appears as young man and asks about Godhika's whereabouts (verse).

ZA: Māra (his form not mentioned) asks the Buddha about Godhika's whereabouts (verse).

SN: Māra as a young man holding a harp asks the Buddha about Godhika's whereabouts (verse).

BZA: The Buddha answers that Godhika is not to be found (prose).

ZA: The Buddha answers (verse).

SN: The Buddha answers (verse).

SN: Māra drops his harp and vanishes (verse).

One difference between the Pāli and the Chinese is worth pointing out, because it shows how the Pāli commentarial tradition has provided solutions for problems that do not arise in other versions. The difference is that in the Chinese (BZA, ZA and *Chuyao jing* 出曜經), Godhika decides to kill himself after having attained temporary liberation (*shi jietuo* 時解脫, Pāli *sāmāyika*¹⁵ *cetovimutti*) for the seventh time, i.e., in some state of

15 *Sāmāyika* in the new PTS SN edition by Somaratne (1999: 265). The version by Feer (1884) has, wrongly, *sāmādhikaṃ*. (Thanks to Peter Harvey for bringing this to my attention).

mental freedom.¹⁶

Although *sāmāyika cetovimutti* did not equal the attainment of Arhatship in early Sutra literature, the Chinese versions seem to imply that dying in a state of temporary liberation leads to Nirvana. Why else would Māra be afraid that Godhika will escape his realm when he says in the BZA: “When the monk Godhika attains [temporary liberation] for the seventh time, he will certainly kill himself, and leave the world of Māra [i.e. attain enlightenment]?” Similarly in the ZA, where Godhika’s thinks: “I have already regressed 6 times and regained [temporary liberation of the mind]. I shall not regress a seventh time. I would rather kill myself with a knife. I shall not regress a seventh time.”¹⁷ And clearer still in the *Chuyao jing*: “There was the Buddha’s disciple Godhika, who regressed from the Arhat fruit six times. When he experienced an awakening for the seventh time, he ended his life with a sharp knife, because he feared he would regress again.”¹⁸

This might be an expression of a later interpretation that is made explicit in the *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣa-śāstra*: “There are two types of non-learners (*asekha*). Firstly, [those having

16 Peter Harvey kindly provided the following: “MN III 110-11 contrasts the *ceto-vimutti* that is ‘temporal and pleasing (*sāmāyikā kantā*)’ with that which is ‘not temporal, unshakeable (*asāmāyikā akuppā*).’ *Paṭi* II 40 defines the first as the four *jhānas* and formless states, and the latter as the four paths, four fruits and *nirvāṇa*. Other passages support the idea that *ceto-vimuttis* are of various kinds, and do not necessarily imply Arahatsip. MN I 297-8 refers to *ceto-vimuttis* through pervading the world with the four *brahma-vihāras*, through attaining the third formless state, through contemplation of phenomena as empty of Self, and through attaining the signless (*animitta*) *samādhi*, with none of these necessarily being the ‘unshakeable (*akuppā*)’ *ceto-vimutti* (e.g., AN IV 78, MN III 108): attaining the *animitta-samādhi* is not the same as Arahatsip.”

17 我已六反退，而復還得，莫令我第七退轉。我寧以刀自殺，莫令我第七退轉 CBETA/T.2.99.286a15.

18 時佛弟子名拘提。於羅漢果六反退還。至第七頭自覺得證。即求利劍復恐退還自害其命 CBETA/T.4.212.647b04.

attained] temporary liberation of the mind (*shi xin jietuo* 時心解脫). Secondly, [those having attained] non-temporal liberation of wisdom (*feishi hui jietuo* 非時慧解脫). Those having attained temporary liberation of the mind comprise the five types¹⁹ of Arhats, those having attained non-temporal liberation of wisdom are the [sixth type called the] immovable Arhats. The former have cut off desire and attained mind-liberation; the others have cut off ignorance and attained wisdom-liberation'.²⁰ The difference between an immovable (*budong* 不動, *akuppa*) Arhat and the five other types is that the former cannot regress. However, the others too are Arhats and fully liberated, if only temporarily and would not be reborn if they died in their Arhat state. This points to the well-known difference between the Sarvāstivādin and the Theravādin *abhidhammic* conceptions of Arhatship. In the Theravāda tradition Arhats never regress. They are always 'able to remain in the natural purity of the mind's resting place.'²¹

The question if Godhika killed himself before, during, or after he attains *sāmāyika cetovimutti* a seventh time is obviously important for the interpretation of the story. The Chinese versions of the story see him killing himself while in his

19 The six types of Arhats, or perhaps rather six stages of Arhatship, are mentioned several times in the *Vibhāṣā*. The difference between the first five and the sixth is explained at CBETA/T28.1546.379c6-10 thus: 'With temporary liberation there is increase and decrease. The five types of Arhats are temporarily liberated. Increasing means they progress, decreasing means they regress. With non-temporary liberation there is no increase and no decrease. The singular type, the immovable Arhat has attained non-temporary liberation. He knows no increase and no progress, no decrease and no regress' 時解脫法。有增有減故。五種阿羅漢。是時解脫。增者是勝進。減者是退。非時解脫。無增減故。一種不動法阿羅漢。是非時解脫。無增者無勝進。無減者無退。

20 無學復有二種。一時心解脫。二非時慧解脫。時心解脫者。謂五種阿羅漢是也。非時慧解脫者。不動阿羅漢是也。此即是斷欲心得解脫。此即是斷無明慧得解脫。CBETA/T28.1546.113, c5-8

21 Harvey (1995: 174 §10.32).

experience (clearly so in the ZA and the *Chuyao jing*, less clear in the BZA). In the Pāli tradition two versions seem to have circulated. In some manuscript traditions of the Pāli canon, Godhika kills himself right after having fallen back a sixth time.²² However, both PTS and VRI, the currently most popular editions, follow the Burmese Ms. tradition of the Godhika Sutra where, as in the Chinese versions, Godhika attains temporal liberation a seventh time²³ and only then kills himself. This might be an interpolation, considering that the formula for the sixth time is fully spelled out already, indicating that the series originally stopped here.

In the commentary Buddhaghosa provides an explanation for Godhika's *Nirvāṇa* by stating that Godhika attained arahatship at the time of death because he was able to check and overcome his agony.²⁴ If Buddhaghosa worked from a text that saw Godhika killing himself during his attainment, his explanation would be proof that he did not consider *sāmāyika cetovimutti* a sufficient condition for entering *Nirvāṇa*. If the text he worked from had Godhika dying after falling back for the sixth time, i. e. outside of *sāmāyika cetovimutti*, the need for an explanation of Godhika's *Nirvāṇa* would have been even more obvious.

22 See the note 1 by Feer at SNI 121.

23 **Sattamampi kho āyasmā godhiko appamatto ātāpī pahitatto viharanto sāmāyikaṃ cetovimuttiṃ phusi.** (The PTS alerts the reader in a footnote that this is found in the Burmese manuscript tradition only).

24 *Uttāno nipajjivā satthena galanāliṃ chindi, dukkhā vedanā uppajjimsu. Thero vedanaṃ vikkhambhetvā taṃyeva vedanaṃ pariggahetvā satim upaṭṭhapetvā mūlakammaṭṭhānaṃ sammāsanto arahattaṃ patvā samasīsī hutvā parinibbāyi.* (MN-a, vol.1, p.184, from the VRI CD). There are other canonical passages, e.g., in the *Sīla Sutta* (SN V 70), where the Buddha talks about the possibility of 'succeeding (*ārādheti*)' at the time of death (*maranākāle*) (and immediately after) (Thanks to Peter Harvey for this reference).

4.4 THE HARP

The presence of music is a rare occurrence in the *Āgamas* and the image of Māra playing the (bow-) harp (*vīṇā*)²⁵ is strangely attractive. If one follows Malalasekera (1974) and assumes that the earliest stratum of the texts concerning Māra is the *Padhāna Sutta* in the *Suttanipāta* (vv. 425-48), then the harp belonged to Māra already at his first appearance, where he is still characterized as a *yakkha*. The *vīṇā* is mentioned only in the last verse (v. 449) when Māra drops it and disappears.

The writers of the commentaries felt a need to provide a story regarding the fate of the *vīṇā* (*Dhp-a* III 195). According to them, the harp was picked up by Sakka and given to a *gandhabba* named Pañcasikha. The *gandhabbas* are demigods that are associated with music, the ‘heavenly musicians’ of Indian mythology. Pañcasikha, equipped with Māra’s *beluva-pañḍuvīṇā*, appears again ‘later’ in a sutra in the *Dīghanikāya*.²⁶ There, Sakka asks him to play and sing to draw the Buddha out of his meditation, because Sakka wants to ask him questions about the *Dhamma*. The love song of Pañcasikha blends worldly love and religious sentiment, which is somewhat unexpected in this context.²⁷ By saying that Pañcasikha owns Māra’s harp, the commentarial tradition connects two remarkable passages.²⁸

25 In Chinese the harp is made of or perhaps is decorated with beryl (琉璃/ Pāli *veluria*). In Pāli Māra plays a ‘yellow-hued harp of vilva wood’ (*beluvapañḍuvīṇā*).

26 DN II 263 (*Sakkapañha Sutta*). On the depiction of the story in early Buddhist art see Coomaraswamy (1928).

27 Walshe (1987: n. 585) comments on the ‘extreme oddity of its occurrence.’ In one depiction of the story some listeners cover their ears (Krishna Murthy 1977: 181).

28 It should be noted that in some contexts (e.g., MN I 265-66), *gandhabbas* are connected with the process of rebirth, though the term may there refer to the between-life state of a being (see Harvey 1995: 105-07). As Māra wishes to keep beings within the round of rebirth, there is a conceptual

Carter (1993) offers some insights into the position of music in the southern tradition of Buddhism. He outlines the guarded attitude of Buddhism to what it sees as a potentially dangerous ‘beguiling art.’ On the other hand, music is considered ‘religiously supportive’ or at least harmless under certain circumstances, as in Pañcasikha’s love song. I generally agree with Carter’s arguments. The topic of Māra and the harp is not further developed in the textual tradition. Presumably, scholastic Buddhism would not allow for ambiguity within the figure of Māra. The personification of evil as witty and intelligent ‘underdog,’ as found in *Paradise Lost* or *Faust*, is a product of modernity. In Buddhism there is nothing sophisticated or ambiguous about Māra, though I believe the harp and certain other passages, e.g., the dialogue between him and his daughters, hint at a road not taken in the development of Māra’s character within the textual tradition. Once Māra dropped his harp, he was never allowed to take it up again. The *vīṇā* drifted out of the discourse of conflict, temptation and death, into the lighter realms of Sakka and heavenly musicians.

4.5 NAMES OF DESIRE – MĀRA’S DAUGHTERS

Sutra BZA 31 is the central Māra story in the Āgamas and the longest Māra sutra in the BZA. The story is about Māra’s final challenge to the Buddha either shortly before or shortly after the enlightenment. There are many versions of this story, most of them told with considerably more flourish.

Malalasekera (1974) reckons the *Padhāna Sutta* in the *Suttanipāta* represents the oldest stratum of this text. There Māra says he had followed the Buddha for seven years (*satta vassāni bhagavantam, anubandhiṃ padāpadam*) and the commentary

connection between Māra and the *gandhabba*.

interprets this as a leap in narrated time, i.e., what is narrated in the verses that follow this statement happens seven years later.²⁹ In the SN, however, the same verse mentioning seven years appears at the beginning of the text and the commentary to the SN explains the seven years as six years before and one year after the enlightenment.³⁰

According to the BZA and the ZA, the dialogue between Māra and Buddha and the subsequent attempt of Māra's daughters to seduce the Buddha all take place shortly after the enlightenment, while he is still sitting under the Bodhi tree. In another strand of the tradition, as for example in the *Buddhacarita*, the defeat of Māra represents the final battle just *before* the enlightenment. In the account of the *Buddhacarita*, however, the daughters are mentioned (as are three sons) but do not play a major role as they do in the *Āgama* versions.

The daughters' names appear in a number of passages; however, it seems that at one point a mistake has been introduced in the tradition.³¹ The (*Māra-*)*Dhītaṛo Sutta* in the SN (SN I 124-27) has Taṇhā, Aratī/Arati, and Ragā and there are other, similar sets in Pāli and Sanskrit.³² In these sets Aratī or Arati is something of an odd-one-out. It is generally taken as *arati* 'unhappiness, discontent' by the commentarial tradition and modern translators.³³ But why should one of the maidens be named 'Discontent', while her sisters are called 'Desire' and 'Passion'? Although for a Buddhist monastic 'discontent' and 'desire' were closely associated, in a list of Māra's daughters they seem

29 Malalasekera 1974: 615, and Sn-a II 391.

30 SN-a I 185: *satta vassānīti pure bodhiyā chabbassāni, bodhito pacchā ekaṃ vassaṃ.*

31 Akanuma (Dictionary of Buddhist Proper Names, 413) tabulates their names as found in 17 different texts (Pāli, Chinese and Sanskrit).

32 e.g., *Jā* I 78 (*Santikenidānakathā*): Taṇhā, Aratī, Ragā, or in the *Buddhacarita* (ch. 13): Arati, Prīti, Tṛṣṇa.

33 Both Rhys Davids (1917) and Johnston (1936) translate 'discontent.'

mutually incompatible. Since they are presented as one group without further contrasting attributes, one expects synonymy, not contrast. The explanation usually given is that the names of the daughters were derived from the names of three of Māra's ten armies, of which the second one is indeed called *arati*.³⁴

In other places³⁵ in the Indic corpus, however, *Arati* is found as *Rati*,³⁶ which belongs to the same semantic field as *rāga*, *taṇhā*, and *prīti* and which is the term that must be assumed for the original of the Chinese translations. All Chinese versions agree that the three names are derived from the same semantic field:³⁷ lust, love, desire, pleasure etc. Clearly the originals for these translations had *Rati* instead of *Arati*. Probably a mistake was made in resolving a *sandhi*, perhaps between *taṇhā* and *rati*. This mistake is likely considering how closely linked the two concepts of *taṇhā* and *arati* must have been in the minds of the redactors. In any case, in light of the internal semantics of the naming of Māra's daughters and the evidence from the Chinese, *Arati* should be corrected to *Rati*.

34 Malalasekera (1974: 616). This is again based on the *Padhāna Sutta* (Sn. v. 436). Another possible explanation is perhaps that *arati* here denotes the special “discontent with living as a recluse.”

35 Edgerton (p. 450) gives Prakritic forms from the *Mvu* III 286, 6 and the *Lalitavistara* 378.4.

36 Next to the usual meanings ‘love, attachment, pleasure,’ *Rati* is the name of the wife of Kāma the god of love.

37 In addition to 極愛，悅彼，適意 in the BZA, and 愛欲，愛念，愛樂 in the ZA, the following are also found:

過去現在因果經 (CBETA/T.3.0189.0639c28): 一名染欲二名能悅人三名可愛樂;

修行本起經 (CBETA/T.3.0184.0470c11): 一名恩愛二名常樂三名大樂;

太子瑞應本起經 (CBETA/T.3.0185.0477a21): 一名欲妃二名悅彼三名快觀;

觀佛三昧海經 (CBETA/T.15.0643.0652a19): 長名悅彼中名喜心小名多媚;

普曜經 (CBETA/T.3.0186.0519a25): 一名欲妃二名悅彼三名快觀;

佛所行讚 (CBETA/T.04.0192.0025a16): 第一名欲染…次名能悅人…三名可愛樂;

佛本行經 (CBETA/T.4.0193.0076a23): 第一女名愛…第二名志悅…第三名亂樂.

4.6 TRANSLATION³⁸

4.6.1 BZA 33 – MĀRA DISTURBS A TEACHING ON IMPERMANENCE

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying [north of] Rājagaha in the Sītavana forest. At that time the Buddha told the monks: ‘Human life is short, it is bound to end. You should make an effort to follow the path and practice in purity and celibacy. Therefore do not be lazy; practice right conduct. You should train yourselves in the [right] meaning of the *Dhamma* and true conduct.’

At that time the Demon King Māra,³⁹ having heard what was said, thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is expounding the principles of the *Dhamma* for his disciples in the Sītavana forest at Rājagaha. I should go there and disturb them.’ Having thought thus, he transformed himself into a young man and went to the Buddha. He paid homage at his feet and stood to one side. Then he spoke a verse:

Human life is long // without any cares or worries.

[For those] always at ease⁴⁰ // there is no path for death.

38 Seo (1987: 78-214 *in passim*) translated some *gāthās* of the parallel ZA sutras.

39 *mo wang* 魔王. The character 魔 was created by Buddhist translators by combining *mo* 摩 (for the sound) and *gui* 鬼 ‘ghost, demon, spirit’ (for the meaning) in order to transcribe the first syllable of ‘Māra’ and the second syllable of ‘Yama.’ The new character was in common use by the first half of the fifth century (Kamitsuka 1996: 31).

40 Here one can observe a typical constellation of difference among the versions. The Pāli (SN I 108) has for this half-verse: *careyya khīramattova // natthi maccussa āgamo* (let him act like one who is milk-drunk // death has no coming). Since it is not immediately clear how one can be inebriated with milk, the commentary explains the metaphor: ‘Just as a baby..., after drinking milk, ..., falls asleep.’ (Geiger *et al.* (1997: 169) disagree with Buddhaghosa and read *khīramatta* simply as contrasting with *ādittasīsa* in

The Buddha thought: ‘Māra the Bad⁴¹ has come to confuse and disturb us.’ And he spoke this verse:

Human life hurries quickly away // filled with confusion and trouble;

make haste to practice the good // as if your head were on fire,

and know the Bad One // has come to disturb.⁴²

Then King Māra, having heard the verse, thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama knows my intentions.’ And he became depressed and dispirited and felt deep regret. He made himself invisible and returned to his heavenly palace.

the following verse, but this is a minor issue.) The metaphor was perhaps not quite clear to the translators of the ZA either, or it may be that they were translating a slightly different expression. In any case, the ZA does not mention ‘milk’: 迷醉放逸心 亦不向死處 (even if confused, drunk, with lazy mind // he won’t go to death’s realm). (處 here probably as equivalent of Pāli *maccudheyya*). This is still close to the Pāli, but in the BZA: 常得安隱 無有死徑 the first half-line is clearly different from both the Pāli and the ZA. I elaborate on this, because this pattern of relative differences is typical for the clusters we are dealing with. The BZA and the ZA have a close affinity, but of the two the ZA is usually closer to the SN.

41 *boxun* 波旬, *pāpima*. (On the transcription see Pelliot (1933)). Usually translated as ‘Evil One’, ‘Wicked One’. Boyd (1975: 157-61) argues that ‘evil’ for *pāpa* is not a good solution since it neglects the fact that the so-called ‘evil’ one is himself miserable (as Māra invariably becomes at the end of each sutra). I generally agree with this. Although there might be the danger of projecting our current perceptions of Buddhism as peaceful and non-aggressive into the texts, I nevertheless consider that to call *pāpima* the ‘Evil One’ in English is to translate too absolutely, too biblically. The monotheistic concept of an absolute Evil as something exterior and hostile, the mirror image of something perfectly good and truthful, does not square with Buddhist doctrine. It is therefore probably better to call Māra ‘Bad,’ in the sense that he is at the same time wicked, inferior and deeply miserable himself.

42 *naochu* 惱觸. In the main Āgamas, this expression appears only in the BZA (18 times).

4.6.2 BZA 24 – MĀRA SAYS LIFE IS ETERNAL

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying [north of] Rājagaha in the Sītavana forest. At that time the Buddha told the monks: ‘All compounded things are impermanent. Relentlessly, they quickly pass away. We cannot rely on them as they are bound to decay. You should make haste and leave the realms [of *saṃsāric* existence] to follow the path of liberation.’ At that time the Demon King Māra, having heard what was said, thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is expounding such a *Dhamma* for his disciples in the Sītavana forest at Rājagaha. I should go there and disturb them.’ Having thought thus, he transformed himself into a young man, went to the Buddha, stood to one side and spoke this verse:

Night and day are eternal // lives will forever come and go,
turning like a wheel on its axle⁴³ // spinning around endlessly.

The Buddha knew King Māra had come to disturb them and spoke a verse:

One’s life - its days and nights do end // and life itself is filled with
sorrows and troubles:

it is like, having fallen into a river, // being quickly carried away
without a trace.

This is why you, Bad One, // should not disturb us.

There Māra thought: ‘The Buddha knows my intentions.’ And he became depressed and dispirited and felt deep regret. He made himself invisible and returned to his heavenly palace.

43 命常迴來 如輪軸轉. In the ZA (壽命當來去 猶如車輪轉) and its close parallel in the Pāli (SN I 109: *āyu anupariyāyati, maccānaṃ nemīva rathakubbaram*), the metaphor is arranged in one couplet and clearly refers only to ‘lives.’ In the BZA the arrangement is slightly different and the metaphor of ‘turning’ applies to ‘lives’ and ‘night and day.’ Again an example of the fact that the verses of the ZA and the Pāli are closer.

4.6.3 BZA 25 – MĀRA DISTURBS THE BUDDHA IN MEDITATION

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Kalanda. At that time the Buddha spent the latter part of the night practicing walking meditation in the forest. In the morning, having washed his feet, he sat upright and focused his attention in front of him. At that time King Māra had this thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is in Rājagaha. During the latter part of the night he practiced walking meditation in the forest. In the morning, having washed his feet, he entered his silent abode;⁴⁴ he is [now] sitting upright and focusing his attention in front of him. I should go and disturb him.’ Having thought thus, he suddenly transformed himself into a young man, stood before the Buddha and spoke a verse:

My mind can weave // a net pervading every space;
Renunciant, where I am // you never will be free.

The Buddha thought: ‘Māra has come to disturb me,’ and spoke a verse:

The world holds five sensual pleasures⁴⁵ // and the foolish are bound
by them;
if these desires can be cut // all suffering ends forever.
I have cut off these desires // my mind is undefiled.

44 *jing shi* 靜室, *leṇa*, *vihāra* (Hirakawa: No. 4091). This appears only in BZA 14, 19 and 25. This and *jing fang* 靜房 in BZA 20 and 28, I translate ‘silent abode’ though the Prakrit original probably did not emphasize the ‘silent.’ What is meant is the dwelling, cave, or shelter within the *sīmā* of the *vihāra* that the Buddha used for meditation.

45 *wuyu* 五欲, **pañca kāma*. The prevalent term in Pāli, *pañca kāma-guṇā*, is well attested in the Chinese Āgamas, as *wu yu gongde* 五欲功德, with over 200 occurrences, but none in the BZA. The term 五欲 appears 46 times in the BZA, though never, as far as I can see, followed by something which might mean *guṇā*. 五欲 does not in itself specify whether what is referred to is pleasurable sensory objects or the mental response to these.

The Bad One should know: // I tore apart desire's net⁴⁶ long ago.

Then, having heard this verse, King Māra, his wish unfulfilled,⁴⁷ became depressed and dispirited. He made himself invisible, left and returned to his heavenly palace.

4.6.4 BZA 26 – MĀRA DISTURBS THE BUDDHA'S REST

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Kalanda. At that time the World-honored One [had been practicing while] sitting, lying and walking, since the end of the first watch of the night.⁴⁸ At dawn he washed his feet, entered his abode, and lay down on his right side, one leg resting on the other. He focused his mind on clarity and, practicing mindfulness,⁴⁹ directed his thoughts towards rising⁵⁰ [after the rest].

There King Māra the Bad had this thought: ‘The renunciant

46 *yu wang* 欲網. To my knowledge this term, which appears 61 times in the Chinese canon, does not yet appear in Chinese Buddhist lexicography. I suggest *kāmajāla*, which is attested in *Th* v. 355, as a Pāli equivalent.

47 *bu guo suo yuan* 不果所願. The usage of 果 as a verb, which has all but vanished in modern Chinese, can be found early in Classical Chinese literature (HDC gives Hanfeizi as *locus classicus*). In Buddhist scriptures it seems this usage of 果 is generally found in combination with 願, 志, or 欲 (‘to have one’s wish/intentions/desires (not) fulfilled’) and often negated. The negation of 果 with 不 appears twice in the BZA (here and in BZA 31) and is prominent in the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125) and the *Chuyao jing* (T.212). Its relatively frequent use in certain scriptures may reflect vernacular usage as a set phrase in the fourth to fifth centuries.

48 *chuye houfen* 初夜後分. *prathamayāmāvasāne/pañamayāmāvasāne*. i.e., since the late evening.

49 *ji xin zai ming xiu yu nian jue* 繫心在明修於念覺. The corresponding Pāli formula for going to rest has *sato sampajāno* in this position; the original Prakrit seems to have been quite different.

50 *sheng qi xiang* 生起想. The usual formula in Pāli is: *uṭṭhānasaññam manasi karitvā*.

Gotama is in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Kalanda. He [had been practicing while] walking, sitting and lying down. At dawn he washed his feet, entered his abode, and lay down on his right side, one leg resting on the other. He focused his mind on clarity and, practicing mindfulness, directed his thoughts towards rising [after the rest]. I should now go and disturb him.’

Having thought thus he transformed himself into a young man, stood in front of the Buddha and spoke a verse:

Why are you sleeping? // Why are you sleeping?

Is falling asleep // ‘entering *Nirvāṇa*?’

Is this [‘having] done what had to be done?’ // And falling quietly asleep,

even with the sun rising // you go back to sleep.

The Buddha knew that Deva Māra had come to disturb him and he spoke this verse:

All living beings⁵¹ are caught in the web of desire // which pervades everywhere.

I now have torn it apart // the desires are forever ended.

[When] all things arisen have ended // [I] calmly abide in *nirvāṇic* joy.⁵²

You Bad One // what can you do to me?

When King Māra heard this verse he became depressed and dispirited. He made himself invisible, left and returned to his heavenly palace.

51 *zhuyou* 諸有. Here taken as Skt. *sarvaṃ bhavam* (Hirakawa: No. 3505).

52 一切有生盡，安隱涅槃樂. Again the verse part in the BZA is somewhat removed from the ZA and the Pāli. The subject in both ZA and Pāli is the Awakened One 佛/*buddha*. ZA: 一切有餘盡，唯佛得安眠 /SN I 107: *sabbūpadhiparikkhayā buddho soppati*.

4.6.5 BZA 27 – MĀRA THROWS A BOULDER

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa Mountain. The sky was covered with clouds. It rained lightly and lightning flashed brightly everywhere. At that time the World-honored One was walking in the open⁵³ at night. There King Māra the Bad had this thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is staying in Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa Mountain; the sky is covered with clouds, it is raining lightly, and lightning is flashing brightly everywhere. While he is walking in the open at night, I should go and disturb him.’ Having thought thus, King Māra went up that mountain and pushed a large boulder down to hit the Buddha. The boulder [however] shattered by itself. At that time the World-honored One spoke a verse:

You [might] destroy Gijjhakūṭa Mountain⁵⁴ // turn it to dust;
 [you might] break apart // the vast continents and the immense
 ocean.
 [However,] to inspire fear // in someone who has attained true
 liberation,
 to make his hair stand on end // will never be possible.

At that time King Māra thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama knows my thoughts.’ He became depressed and dispirited, made his body invisible and returned to his heavenly palace.

53 *lōdi* 露地. Used to translate *abhyavakāśa/abbhokāśa* ‘in the open, outside.’

54 Here in the common translation *lingjiushan* 靈鷲山 for *Ṛḍhrakūṭa/Gijjhakūṭa* (clearly a ‘vulture peak’ in India, though in classical Chinese 鷲 overlaps semantically with ‘eagle’). *Ṛḍhra/gijjha* is transcribed phonetically as *qi she* (or *du*) 耆闍 in the prose part of the sutra; here in the verse part the translators use meaning-translation, probably for metrical reasons (it may have been a better fit in the pentasyllabic half-line). In BZA 52 and BZA 329 too translation and transcription are both used in the same sutra (in both cases, however, in the prose part). In BZA 32 *Gijjhakūṭa* appears as *lingjiushan* 靈鷲山 in the opening passage.

4.6.6 BZA 28 – MĀRA TRANSFORMS HIMSELF INTO A SNAKE TO FRIGHTEN THE BUDDHA

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa Mountain.

At that time, in the middle of the night, the World-honored One was practicing walking meditation in the open. Having washed his feet, he entered his silent abode, sat upright and focused his attention in front of him.⁵⁵ Then, King Māra the Bad had this thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama⁵⁶ [staying] in Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa Mountain is practicing walking meditation in the open. I should go and disturb him.’

At that time King Māra changed into a huge snake⁵⁷ that was long and thick like a large boat. With a pair of eyes glittering brightly like a [bronze] bowl from the land of Kosala,⁵⁸ tongue flicking in and out like lightning and breath heaving like thunder, it stood before the Buddha and coiled its body around him. Then, it bent its neck forward, and lowered its head on to the head of the Buddha. The Buddha, who knew that this was Māra [trying] to disturb him, spoke this verse:

I live in complete solitude // the mind focused in true liberation,

55 This formula appears here by mistake. In the following narrative the Buddha meets Māra outside.

56 *ju tan sha men* 瞿曇沙門. This inversion of the expected word order can be found throughout the Chinese canon. While 沙門瞿曇 is clearly the preferred order (2146 occurrences in the whole canon, 222 in vols. 1-4), 瞿曇沙門 nevertheless does occur 286 times in vols. 1-52 of the Taishō canon (96 times in vols. 1-4). In Pāli canon the two words always seem to appear in the order *samaṇo gotamo*.

57 *mang she* 蟒蛇. Any kind of constrictor snake. The ZA has 大龍 (large dragon/snake), the Pāli *mahanta sapparāja*.

58 *jiao sa luo bo* 矯薩羅鉢. ZA: *tong lu* 銅鑪 (bronze oven). Pāli: *kosalikā kaṃsapāti* (bronze bowl from Kosala). One of the few instances where the BZA is closer to the Pāli than the ZA. However, the transcription 矯薩羅 for Kosala is unique in the canon.

in quiet meditation and physical cultivation // according to the teaching of the former Buddhas.⁵⁹

Poisonous snakes, fierce and violent // of terrifying appearance,
 constrictor snakes and vermin: // all these disturbances //
 cannot stir even one hair [on my body] // much less frighten me.
 If the sky broke apart // or the great earth⁶⁰ shook,
 all beings // would feel great terror;
 [but] to frighten me // is not possible.
 Even if you aimed a poisoned arrow // at my heart,
 the moment the arrow struck // I would not seek protection;
 nevertheless⁶¹ the poisoned arrow // cannot penetrate.

When King Māra heard the Buddha speak this verse he thought: 'The Gotama renunciant knows my mind!' and he became deeply afraid. Depressed and dispirited, he made himself invisible and returned to his heavenly palace.

59 This verse differs from both the ZA and the SN.

60 Following the reading of the 宋 and 聖 editions, which have *da di* 大地 (instead of Taishō *tian di* 天地).

61 *ran fu* 然復. *api ... punaḥ* (Hirakawa: No. 2156) / *api ... pana*. 然復 is used prominently in the BZA, the *Ekottarikāgama* and the *Chuyao jing* (T.212). The meaning varies, however; depending on the context 然復 can mean 'nevertheless,' 'therefore' or 'moreover'.

4.6.7 BZA 29 – MĀRA DISTURBS THE BUDDHA’S REST

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha in the Maddakucchi Park.⁶² During the first watch of the night, the Buddha [practiced while] sitting in meditation and [while] walking. When the first watch ended, he washed his feet and entered his abode, lay down on his right side, one leg resting on the other and, focusing his mind on clarity, directed his thoughts towards rising [again after the rest].

King Māra the Bad, understanding the Buddha’s mind, had this thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is in Rājagaha in the Maddakucchi Park. During the first watch of the night, he [practiced while] sitting in meditation and walking. When the middle watch of the night began, he washed his feet, entered his abode, and lay down on his right side, one leg resting on the other and, focusing his mind on clarity, he directed his thoughts towards rising [again after the rest]. I should now go and disturb him.’

Thereupon, King Māra transformed himself into a young man, [stood] in front of the *Tathāgata* and spoke a verse:

Do you have nothing else to do // that you take a nap,
peacefully slumbering, not waking up?⁶³ // Passed out as if drunk,

62 *man zhi lin* 曼直林. A rare case where the BZA agrees with the SN (*maddakucchismim migadāye*). In the ZA the action takes place at mount Vebhāra near the Sattapaṇṇi Cave (*qiye shulin shishi* 七葉樹林石室), where the first council later took place.

63 *jiaowu* [寤-吾+告]寤. This curious compound, for which the BZA seems to be the earliest witness, appears three times in the BZA (No. 21, 26, 353) and not in any other early text. The first character is not included in any of the major dictionaries or even in the Unicode character set. I use the CBETA way of representing it here. The eleventh century work *Xu yiqie jing yinyi* 續一切經音義 (CBETA/T.54.2129.947b4) gives its sound as *jiao* 教 and the meaning as *jue* 覺 ‘awaken.’ Assuming, therefore, that [寤-吾+告]寤 is synonymous with 覺寤, its meaning can be understood as ‘awaking from a drowsy, dreamy state of mind or slumber.’

a person without wealth and property⁶⁴ // how can he sleep untroubled?

[Only] those with great wealth and property // pleased and happy fall asleep.

Then the World-honored One knew that Māra had come to disturb him and spoke this verse:

I sleep, not because I lack things to do // neither am I drunk.

It is because I have no worldly wealth // that I can sleep now.

It is because I have gained great *Dhamma* wealth⁶⁵ // that I can sleep peacefully.

In my sleep // in every breathing in and breathing out there is benefit // nothing is lost.

Awake, there are no doubtful thoughts; // there is nothing to fear in slumber.

There are those that have troubles as if a poisoned arrow // has pierced their heart,

afflicted with many sufferings and pains. // If even those can sleep,

Why should I who have pulled out the poisoned arrow // not find sleep?

On hearing this, Māra thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama knows my mind,’ and sad and dejected he returned to his palace.

4.6.8 BZA 30 – MĀRA PLAYS THE VĪṆĀ - GODHIKA

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha on Vebhāra Mountain, in the Sattapaṇṇi Cave.

64 *caiye* 財業. Karashima (1998: 31).

65 *facai* 法財, *dharma-sambhoga* (Hirakawa: 1966).

At that time, there was a monk called Godhika⁶⁶ who lived alone in a cave on Isigili mountain, at the Black Rock. Living in the wilderness, he made diligent efforts, and through his tenacity cut through the view of self⁶⁷ and attained temporary liberation,⁶⁸ having experienced [all] stages of *jhāna* meditation.⁶⁹ Then he regressed and lost [the experience of liberation]. [This happened] a second time, a third time ... altogether six times. Always he regressed. Then the monk thought: 'Now, living alone

66 While the ZA transcribes 'Godhika' unproblematically as *qu di jia* 瞿低迦, the transcription of 'Godhika' in the BZA as given in the existing editions of the canon is somewhat problematic.

In the Taishō edition of the BZA, 'Godhika' on first mention appears as *qiu de* 求惠 then as *qiu shen/zhen* 求慎 (the latter character in a variant with the heart-radical below the 眞). At first one assumes a mistake in the first version 求惠 which is used only once. Consequently, the CBETA edition suggests a correction of 惠 to *shen/zhen* 慎 (慎 in the common variant view), which is cognate to *shen/zhen* 慎 (heart-radical below) (真 or 眞 being equivalent character-components in this case). This correction is based on the Tripitaka Koreana and the Zhonghua edition, which both have 惠 for all cases. The problem is of course that 惠 cannot transcribe *-dhi-*.

To a degree, the difficulties can be resolved with the help of Coblin's (1994) reconstruction of Old Northwest Chinese (ONWC). ONWC was used around 400 CE in the Gansu corridor, which is just when and where the BZA was probably translated (see the discussion of the dating of the BZA above). The first reading found in the Taishō – *de* 惠 – which is a variant of 德 can be reconstructed as ONWC **tək*, which would well render Indic *-dhi-* followed by a diminished final *-ka*. This is supported by the Qisha Edition. Here 'Godhika' appears as 求德 (Qisha Edition: p.448c).

It seems that as in the place name *taohe* 桃河 (see BZA 16) the translators of the BZA have opted for a two-character rather than a three-character compound and were trying to transcribe and at the same time allow for a meaningful Chinese reading. The intended meaning for 求惠 could have been 'striving for virtue,' but also 'striving for attainment' (Morohashi (No. 10724) lists both 德 'virtue' and 得 'to attain' as cognates for 惠). (Incidentally, there is one more passage where *de* 惠 is confused with another character. In the *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 a gloss on the character 惠 says: 叱人反,字書云:正作"惠". 顧野王云: 惠謂恚也 (CBETA/T.54.2128. 874b17). It is clear from the *fanqie* transcription and the quote from Gu Yewang (519–581) that *de* 惠 here is a mistake for *chen* 謹.)

and making diligent efforts, I have regressed six times. If I regress again, I will kill myself with a knife.’

King Māra the Bad knew that the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa Mountain in the Sattapaṇṇi Cave. He also knew that a disciple of the Buddha called Godhika was staying near Rājagaha, on Isigili Mountain, at the Black Rock. There, making diligent efforts with tenacious mind, Godhika had attained temporary liberation, had personally witnessed [the truth], but after each of the six attainments had regressed. At that time King Māra had this thought: ‘When the monk Godhika attains [temporary liberation] for the seventh time, he will certainly kill himself, and leave the world of Māra.’⁷⁰

Having thought thus, he took his harp of beryl and went before

In another, shorter version of the story (*Chuyao jing* 出曜經 T.4.212.647b5), Godhika is transcribed *juti* 拘提. Coblin (1994) lists no occurrence supporting a consonant final for *ti* 提 (ONWC **dēi*), which was, as in this case, commonly used to transcribe dentals on *-i* and *-e*. Here the final *-ka* was dropped completely, probably already in the Indic original.

67 *wojian* 我見, *satkāya-dṛṣṭi* or *ātma-dṛṣṭi* (Hirakawa: No. 1307). *Satkāya-dṛṣṭi*, the kind of self-view overcome at stream-entry, is commonly translated *jianshen* 身見 and appears as such seven times in the BZA. 我見 appears 12 times, but only three times (BZA 114, BZA 170, and BZA 222) as possible translation of *satkāya-dṛṣṭi*.

68 *shijietuo* 時解脫, *samaya-vimukti* (Hirakawa: No. 1615).

69 *zishen zuozheng* 自身作證. ZA: 自作證. Probably rendering the equivalent of *kāya-sakkhin*. I translate following Cone (2001, s.v.). Another possibility would be *kāyena sacchikaroti* “full realization” or “leibhaftig erreichen” (as suggested by Ven. Anālayo, Personal communication Dec. 2010).

70 *mojingjie* 魔境界, Pāli *māradheyya* or *māraṅgaya* (Hirakawa (No. 4263) has *māra-maṇḍala*, which does not seem to appear in any Pāli sources). cf. BZA 31, where Māra complains that the Buddha had left his world, his sphere of influence, already, because he is unmoved by desire. *Māradheyya* is therefore both the world of desires, and the world of death (cf. *maccudheyya*). The two sides of Māra as a deity of sensual desire and death, noticed early by Przyluski (1927: 120), converge in the use of 魔境界 in the BZA. For the connection of Māra to the concept of death see Wayman (1959).

the Buddha. Plucking his harp he composed this verse:

You⁷¹ endowed with great wisdom and great strength // with great magical powers,

having attained freedom in the Dhamma // your majestic radiance shines brightly.

Now your *sāvaka* disciple // wishes to kill himself.

You, best among men // should restrain him.

How could he who rejoices in your teaching // die while still learning it?

When King Māra had spoken this verse, the Buddha said to him: ‘Bad One, you have always been a great friend of the slothful.’⁷² What you said just now was spoken for your own sake, not for the sake of that monk.’

At that time the World-honored One spoke this verse:

If one is not easily frightened // [and] persistently practices diligently,

one can always enjoy meditation // [and] day and night practice the good.

[Godhika] has ended the propensity for lust and desire⁷³ // [and] defeated your armies.

[He] has now cast off his final body // [and] entered *Nirvāṇa* forever.

There King Māra became sad and dispirited, dropped his harp of beryl and sadly and regretfully returned to his palace.⁷⁴

71 The vocative in the Pāli (*mahāvīra*, *mahāpañña*...) allows us to determine the subject.

72 *zhu fangyizhe zhi daqinyou* 諸放逸者之大親友. Skr. *Pramattabandhu*, one of Māra’s epithets.

73 *ganjie aiyu shi* 乾竭愛欲使. *Shi* 使 here for *anusāya/anusaya*.

74 This stock-phrase leads to a mistake on the narrative level. Since Māra appears again below he would not have returned home from here. The ZA says only that he vanished (即沒而不現). The Pāli is silent about the departure of Māra after the first exchange.

The Buddha ordered the monks to [follow him to] Godhika's place at Isigili. [There] they saw something like smoke gathering to the east of Godhika's corpse. The Buddha said to the monks: 'Do you see the smoke gathering?' The monks said: 'Yes, World-honored One, we see it.' [Then the smoke] gathered likewise towards the south, the west and the north [of Godhika's body]. The Buddha said to the monks: 'This is the Bad One; his form is hidden and he is surrounding Godhika looking for his consciousness.'⁷⁵ The Buddha said to the monks: 'The monk Godhika has entered *Nirvāṇa*; there is no consciousness [to be found]; there is no destination.'⁷⁶ At that time, King Māra changed into a young man and spoke this verse:

Above and below and in the four directions // I have searched for
Godhika's consciousness.

75 *xinshi* 心識, below *shenshi* 神識, Pāli *viññāṇa*. The ZA has 識神. 識神 and 神識 were used equally to translate *viññāṇa*. For a typical use of the former see CBETA/T.1.0001.44a22. 神識 was preferred by the *Zengyi ahan jing* and the *Chuyao jing*. In the *Zengyi ahan jing* Māra is looking for the 神識 of Vakkali after Vakkali's suicide (CBETA/T.2.125.642b29). The Pāli commentary (SN-a, PTS, I 184) glosses *viññāṇa* with the abhidhammic notion of *paṭisandhiccitta*, 'the relinking consciousness' that connects two lives.

76 *wuyou shenshi wu suo zhi fang* 無有神識，無所至方。Here 無所至方 'there is no destination / has not gone to any place.' 至方 perhaps from *deśāntarasthāna-gamana* (Hirakawa: No. 3083). Most versions describe the consciousness of Godhika after he died in negative terms: *appatitṭhitena* 'not established' (SN I 122), 無有神識 'not having consciousness' etc. However, as Harvey (1995: 208-210) points out, for the Pāli sutras, consciousness being 'not established' may well be different from having no consciousness at all.

The *Chuyao jing* 出曜經, one of the Chinese *Udānavarga* versions, contains a remark in which Godhika's state after death is connected with 'emptiness': 世尊告曰。拘提比丘已取滅度神識處空與空合體 (CBETA / T.4.212.647b9). 'The Buddha said: "The monk Godhika has already attained extinction. His consciousness dwells in emptiness, has merged with emptiness."' Judging from the *Chuyao jing* and the Abhidharma sections cited above, it seems that the Chinese Sarvāstivādin sources interpret Godhika's state of mind prior to death differently from the Theravāda commentaries.

Does no one know his destination // where his consciousness abides?

At that time the Buddha said to the Bad One: ‘Thus the wise and steadfast one⁷⁷ has vanquished your armies and entered *Nirvāṇa*.’

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having heard what he said, were happy and remembered it well.

4.6.9 BZA 31 – THE DAUGHTERS OF MĀRA⁷⁸

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in the village of Uruvelā near the river Nerañjarā, under the Bodhi tree. This was not long after he had attained Buddhahood.⁷⁹ At that time King

77 *jianfu* 健夫, Pāli *dhīra*. The ‘fluctuation of connotation’ between ‘firm’ and ‘wise’ that the PED (p.341, s.v.) notes for *dhīra*, shows in the Chinese translations as well. (The fluctuation is due to the fact that *dhīra* is derived sometimes from *dhi* and sometimes from *dhṛ*). For this passage the ZA has ‘steadfast man’ *jian gu shi* 堅固士, the SN *yo dhīro dhitisampanno*. 健夫 appears again in a verse in BZA 66 (現利他世利 解知二俱利 是名為健夫 明哲之所行). The ZA parallel for this (ZA 1239) has only ‘wise one’ 智者. The corresponding SN passage (SN I, p.87) has both *dhīra* and *paṇḍita* (*atthābhisamayā dhīro, paṇḍitoti pavuccatī* (Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000): ‘The steadfast one, by attaining the good, is called a person of wisdom’)). See also the two definitions in the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 fasc. 12: 健夫者謂立根得力 已入賢聖境怨恨悉怒永息不生內外清徹猶天琉璃 ‘Someone is called 健夫, who by the force of his determination has entered the state of the wise and the holy. Hatred and anger have ceased forever, will not arise again. Inwardly and outwardly (such a person) is clear like heavenly beryl.’ (CBETA/T.4.212.674a5-6). And in fasc. 21: 能滅三界結使。根本永盡無餘名為健夫 (CBETA/T.4.212.723a7-8).

78 In the Pāli tradition, this narrative was split into two consecutive sutras (*Sattavassānubandha* and *Māradhītu*). For possible reasons, see 4.1. See Seo (1987: 162-173) for a translation of the ZA version.

79 In some versions of the story – e.g., the *Buddhacarita* (Johnston 1972: 188) and its Chinese versions (e.g., CBETA/T4.192.25a22), which have become very influential for its depiction in art – Māra appears immediately before

Māra had this thought: ‘The Buddha is staying in the village Uruvelā near the river Nerañjarā, under the Bodhi tree. He has just attained Buddhahood. I should go there and try to mislead him.’

He went to the Buddha and spoke this verse:⁸⁰

You live alone in the wilderness // unspeaking, always silent.
Of radiant countenance⁸¹ and with celestial body // all senses
[perceiving] happiness,
like someone who had lost his fortune // and later regained it.
You are idling your time away in the silence of meditation // and the
enjoyment that comes with it.
Since you have been able to discard public honors // and do not
desire status and profit,
why do you not with others // form close friendships?

At that time the World-honored One answered with a verse:

For a long time I have attained meditative concentration // where
the mind is always still.
I have defeated your armies of desire // [and] attained the highest
fortune.
My senses are always quiet and happy // In my mind I have attained
silent extinction.
Defeating your armies of desire // practicing the way I feel joy,

the enlightenment. Māra and his daughters disturb the *Bodhisattva*, not the Buddha. Some Pāli parallels, state that the events narrated here happened five weeks after the enlightenment (*Jā* I 78-79 and *Dhp-a* III 195-98). The same is true for the Sanskrit parallel at *Mvu* III 281-86. Nakamura considers that many sutras of this *Saṃyutta*, including *Dhītaṛo*, relate incidents from before the enlightenment (Nakamura 2000: 155-169).

80 This verse is remarkably different from the Pāli version in the *Sattavassānubandha Sutta* (SN I 123).

81 Used in the BZA elsewhere to describe a *deva* (CBETA/T.2.100.474c27 or CBETA/T.2.100.479a17). That is, Māra compares the Buddha to a *deva*.

[I live] alone, apart from the hustle and bustle [of others] / What use have I for close friends?

At that time King Māra spoke this verse:

Now, since you have attained the true way // you can rest in *Nirvāṇa*.

Since you have reached the wonderful *Dhamma* // you should keep it forever in your bosom.

Uprightly face and understand it alone; // why should you teach the manyfolk?

At that time the World-honored One answered with a verse:

Humankind does not belong to you. // If someone asks me about the teaching that leads to the other shore,

I will correctly explain // the truth to let them attain extinction.

Stopping their mind without giving up; // Māra will not overpower them.

At that time King Māra spoke this verse:

It is as if there were a large white boulder // its color like that of fat.

A flock of crows⁸² cannot distinguish [the two] // they perch on it and peck away,

but do not get the taste [they wanted] // and with bruised beaks take off again into the air.

I myself am like this // having come in vain, there is nothing more to do.

Then King Māra, having spoken this verse, became depressed and dispirited and felt deep regret. He went to an empty place where he crouched alone and, drawing [figures] on the ground with an arrow, tried to think of a way⁸³ [to prevent the Buddha

82 Reading *wu* 烏, attested in all Chinese editions against the Taishō, which has 'bird' *niao* 鳥. Both ZA and the SN have crow (烏/*kāko*). BZA in the Qisha and Zhonghua editions too has 烏.

83 *si zuo fang ji* 思作方計. This sentence is unique in the BZA. While in the ZA

from teaching]. Māra had three daughters; the first was called Desire, the second Passion, and the third Pleasure.⁸⁴ Māra's daughters came to his side and addressed their father with a verse:

Father, you are called "Great Lord," // why are you so depressed?
 We will with the snare of desire // bind him [the Buddha] as one
 catches a bird,
 and bring him to you, father, // to make you feel at ease.

King Māra answered with a verse:

This man is good in cutting off desire // he is not moved by it.
 He has left the world of Māra already // this is why I am sad.

Then, Māra's three daughters changed their appearance, becoming extraordinarily beautiful. They went to the Buddha, paid homage to his feet and sat to one side. The three daughters said together with one voice: 'We have come to worship you and be at your service.' But the World-honored One [had already attained] the final cutting-off of desires and did not even look at them. They addressed him like this a second and a third time. The Buddha did not look at them. Then, Māra's three daughters retreated and discussed the matter: 'It is in the nature of men that they like different types [of women]. Some like [their women] young, some like them middle-aged and some mature.' Upon [saying] that, each daughter changed into six hundred women, some of them small girls, some teenagers, some of them already married women, and some not yet married, some of them had given birth already and some had not yet given birth. Having thus transformed themselves into a multitude of women, they all went to the Buddha and said to him: 'World-honored

and the Pāli (from here on the *Māradhītu Sutta* is the main source) he seems to have given up, in the BZA he keeps on scheming.

84 極愛,悅彼, and 適意. For the Indic equivalents of these names, see §4.5 *Names of desire - Māra's Daughters*, p. 124 above.

One! We have come to worship the World-honored One and be at his service. We will serve [the World-honored One] in every way.⁸⁵

The Buddha did not look at them. They addressed him like this a second and a third time. The Buddha did not look at them at all. Then, Māra's daughters retreated and conferred again: 'He must have attained the final cutting-off of desire, the supreme liberation. Otherwise he would have looked at us and become mad, spitting blood. It might even have torn his heart apart. Let us go to him and debate with him in verse.'

Māra's daughter Desire asked in a verse:

The body upright, one hand cupped within another, you sit under the tree // alone in complete solitude, contemplating.

Like someone who has lost a fortune // and desires to find a great treasure.

In the cities and villages // your mind is without passion or attachment.

Why is it that among all those people // you have made no close friends?

At that time the World-honored One answered in a verse:

I have already attained the great treasure // attained quiet extinction in the mind.

I have destroyed the host of passion and desire // am not attached to wonderful forms.

I dwell alone sitting in meditation // experiencing the ultimate joy.

For this reason // I do not desire close friends.

85 *gei shi shou zu* 給侍手足. This is a unique expression in the canon and hints at the physical nature of the offer made. Considering the Pāli has *pāde te*, (*samaṇa*), *paricāremā* the Chinese probably means 'To serve your hands and feet [i.e. the entire body]'. Geiger (Geiger et al. 1997: 193) notes that *paricāreti* also means 'amüsieren' ('to please, to entertain').

Māra's daughter Passion spoke this verse:

Dwelling in which state, oh monk, // have you crossed the five
currents [of sense-pleasures],
as well as the sixth [i.e., the mind] // in what meditation do you
abide?
That you attained the crossing from the shore of great desire //
forever free from the bondage of becoming?

At that time the World-honored One spoke a verse:

The body has obtained subtle, gentle joy // the mind has attained
good liberation.
The mind abstains from action // consciousness will never again
regress.
Having attained the method of cutting off discursive thought⁸⁶ //
having achieved total abandoning of hatred and desire;
if one can abide in this state // [one] can cross the five currents,
and the sixth as well // If one can sit in meditation like this,
one can cross from the great fetter of desire // and leave the
relentless flow of becoming.⁸⁷

Māra's daughter Pleasure said in a verse:

Having cut off the fetter of desire // having abandoned what most
people are attached to,
crossing over the currents of many desires // crossing from the fatal
shore of many desires;

86 *duan jue guan fa* 斷覺觀法. Unique in the canon. 覺觀 is *vitakka-vicāra*. The meaning of 斷覺觀 is clear in CBETA/T.8.223.406c5 and CBETA/T.32.1648.400c12.

87 *you she liu* 有攝流. A unique and problematic term; the translation is tentative, though the general meaning is clear enough. It is difficult to decide whether the reading is 攝 or *ge* 楯 as in other editions. Should 楯 'yoke' be correct, it could stand for *bhava-yoga* (Hirakawa: No.1672 s.v. *you e* 有輓), 流 rendering *anu-√vrt*. In this case the passage would mean 'to stop following the yoke of becoming.'

only the wise // can cross against these difficulties.

At that time the World-honored One spoke this verse:

By great effort the *Tathāgata* extracts himself // [and] crosses with the help of the true *Dhamma*.

Liberated by the *Dhamma* // the wise have no reason to be unhappy.

The three daughters, their wish unfulfilled, returned to their father. King Māra scolded them by speaking a verse:

My three daughters, you thought you could destroy him // with your appearance [stunning] as lightning.

Advancing on the [one of] great energy // [you were scattered by him] like tufts of grass in the wind;

[You acted as if you could] tear down a mountain with your fingernails // and bite through iron pellets with your teeth;

foolish children [trying] with lotus fibers// to suspend⁸⁸ a great mountain.

The Buddha has already crossed beyond all attachment // desiring to argue with him

[is like wanting to] catch the wind with a net // like wanting to take down the moon from the sky,

[or like wanting] to scoop the ocean with one's hands // in the hope of bailing it dry.

The Buddha has already left all attachment behind; // desiring to go and argue with him

[is like] lifting one's foot to stride over Mount Sumeru // [or] to find solid earth [to step on] in the great ocean.

88 Here ZA has *xuanzhuān* 旋轉 to 'spin around', perhaps as in the children's game of spinning a top. Rod Bucknell suggests that since 懸 and 旋 are homophones this could be a case of accidental homophone substitution in copying the Chinese BZA (personal communication, May 2010). If so, the mistake must have occurred relatively early, all printed versions as well as the Dunhuang manuscript (Beijing 6776) available for this passage have 懸.

The Buddha has already abandoned all attachment, // yet you go
and argue with him!

King Māra, sad and regretful, vanished and returned to his
heavenly palace.

4.6.10 BZA 32 – MĀRA CHANGES INTO BEAUTIFUL AND UGLY PEOPLE

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa⁸⁹ Mountain. At that time the Buddha was extolling the teaching of *Nirvāṇa* for the monks. King Māra thought: ‘The Buddha is staying near Rājagaha extolling the teaching of *Nirvāṇa* for the monks. I should go and disturb them.’ Having thought this, he changed into a hundred people, of whom fifty were extremely beautiful and fifty extremely ugly. At that time the monks were all surprised and astonished. ‘What is happening now? Such beauty, and again, such ugliness?’ The Buddha knew that Māra had come to disturb the gathering. At that time the World-honored One addressed the Bad one:⁹⁰

In the long night of [*saṃsāric*] birth and rebirth,
you assume all these forms, beautiful and ugly.

How now do you attain deliverance from the shore of suffering?

What is the use of all these shape-changes?⁹¹

If someone is attached to [the characteristics of a] man or woman,

89 Here as *lingjiushan* 靈鷲山, not transcribed *qi she jue* 耆闍崛 as in the opening passage of BZA 27 or BZA 28.

90 This seems to be in verse, like the corresponding section in ZA and SN. However, the Taishō does not format it as such, perhaps because it is not introduced with the set phrase 而說此偈, perhaps because the main text-base was the Tripitaka Koreana (K.19.651.0014b12), where the passage is also not printed as verse.

91 Up to this point BZA, ZA and SN (*Subha Sutta*) are fairly close; from here on the BZA verse is unique.

you might [with benefit] change into these forms.

I, however, do not [give significance to] the characteristics of a man or woman.

What use is it changing into these shapes?

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and practiced accordingly .

5 STUDIES ON AND TRANSLATION OF THE *BHIKKHUNĪ SAṂYUTTA*

5.1 THE NEGLECTED SAṂYUTTA

At first glance the modern reader is tempted to take the *Bhikkhunī Saṁyutta*/*Bhikṣuṇī Saṁyukta* (below, referred to simply as the *Bhikkhunī Saṁyutta*), the group of sutras on nuns, as corresponding to the group on monks. However, neither the position of the sutras on nuns within the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (as *saṁyutta* no. 5) or the *Saṁyukta Āgamas*, nor their content, shows that the redactors of the canon(s) thought of the *Bhikkhunī Saṁyutta* as a pendant to the *Bhikkhu Saṁyutta*.¹ The former is rather related to the *Māra Saṁyutta*/*Saṁyukta*. All its sutras consist of a dialogue following a short introduction. The dialogue is generally in verse following a prose introduction. The basic narrative structure is the same in all the sutras: Māra tries unsuccessfully to confuse a nun. It seems that all the early redactors of the canon wanted to say about nuns, was that they successfully resisted temptation. However, the reduction to a pattern, while certainly a gesture of restriction, is not done bluntly. Since the sutras of the *Bhikkhunī Saṁyutta* are structurally parallel to those in the *Māra Saṁyutta*, the nuns play

1 This is true for both the current and the inferred earlier arrangements of the SN or SĀs.

the part that the Buddha plays in the *Māra Saṃyutta*. They are the interlocutors of Māra, who appears to them in the form of a ‘young man.’ A difference in nuance is that while in the *Māra Saṃyutta* the emphasis is on distraction (Māra tries to prevent the Buddha from meditation), in the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* the language is that of temptation. There is a sexual undercurrent in several sutras of the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* where the phrasing insinuates that Māra tries not only to disturb the nuns, but to seduce them.

Another point of reference for the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* is the *Therīgāthā*, which contains many verses that are also found in the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta*. As far as the southern, Pāli tradition is concerned (we have no collections of elders’ verses for the northern tradition), we find that, although the text has been studied thoroughly by eminent scholars, there are a number of unresolved questions regarding the exact form of the SN-*Therīgāthā* parallels.² Commentarial information on the nuns, too, is considerably less detailed than for the monks of the *Bhikkhu Saṃyutta* and the *Theragāthā*. Why, for instance, is there no information on Vijayā and Vajirā³ in the SN commentary?⁴ Why is Vijayā’s verse in the SN completely different from her verses (vv. 169-174) in the *Therīgāthā*, while most others have a significant overlap? These and many other questions about nuns in early Buddhism will probably never be answered; though, as we will see below, comparison with the Chinese suggests in

2 For instance, Rhys Davids (1909-1913: 186), Norman (1971: 96), and Bodhi (1997: 2 and 2000: 428) mention the fact that the attribution of the verses of the three sisters Cālā, Upacālā, and Sīsupacālā differ considerably between the SN and the *Therīgāthā*.

3 Rhys Davids (1917: 170) points out how strange it is that Vajirā, though her verse was cited widely in other works, a) was not included in the *Therīgāthā*, b) is hardly mentioned in the commentary, and c) has no legend about her.

4 The *Therīgāthā* commentary too gives only minimal information about Vijayā. The *bhikkhunī* she approaches in her verse ‘is said to have been the elder Khemā’ (*bhikkhuninti khemātheriṃ sandhāya vadati*).

some places at least probable solutions. It should be remembered that if we know little about these first-generation nuns, we know even less about their successors. While the nuns in *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* live on in stereotyped narratives, the *bhikkhunī* of later periods were – with few exceptions – largely ignored by the record-keepers of Buddhism.

5.2 THE NUNS' NAMES

In the following we will take a detailed look at the names of the *bhikkhunīs* to see what can be learned from a comparison of the Indic and Chinese forms.⁵ As usual, we find that the BZA sometimes translates the names, while the ZA almost always transcribes them phonetically.⁶ In the case of Vajirā I suggest that this name is a mistake for Vīra and that the nun in the SN is identical to the Vīra mentioned in the *Yakkha Saṃyutta* (X, 11). Comparison with the Chinese allows one to decide that the name of the nun in SN X,11 is indeed Vīra and not Cīra as some editions have it. A simplified list of textual correspondences for the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* is as follows:⁷

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- 5 With a few exceptions this discussion is limited to the forms found in the *Sutta-piṭaka*. The term 'Indic' is deliberately vague. We do not know enough about the original to offer a more precise description of its language. We know for sure that it was neither Pāli nor Sanskrit, but closer to the latter.
 - 6 In the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* the BZA translates the complete name four out of ten times, while the ZA has only one mixed translation (優鉢羅色 for Uppalavaṇṇā).
 - 7 For a detailed list see *Appendix 1: Comparative catalog*.

BZA	ZA	SN
214. 曠野	1198. 阿臈毘	1. Ālavikā
215. 蘇摩	1199. 蘇摩	2. Somā
216. 翅舍憍曇彌	1200. 吉離舍瞿曇彌	3. Kisāgotamī
217. 蓮華色	1201. 優鉢羅色	5. Uppalavaṇṇā
218. 石室 (= Selā)	1202. 尸羅 (= Selā)	10. Vajirā
219. 鼻唎 (= Vīra)	1203. 毘羅 (= Vīra)	9. Selā
220. 毘闍耶	1204. 毘闍耶	4. Vijayā
221. 折羅	1205. 遮羅	6. Cālā
222. 優波折羅	1206. 優波遮羅	7. Upacālā
223. 動頭	1207. 尸利沙遮羅	8. Sīsupacālā

BZA 214: 曠野 / 阿臈毘 / Ālavikā

Kuang ye 曠野, a common term meaning ‘outside, wilderness, forest,’ was used to translate a term close to Skt. *aṭavī*, ‘a place to roam about’ (MW: s.v.), which corresponds to the Pāli place name Ālavī. The ZA transcription *a la pi* 阿臈毘 omits the final *-ka*.

BZA 215: 蘇摩 / 蘇摩 / *Somā*

The BZA and the ZA use the same characters for this unproblematic transcription.

BZA 216: 翅舍憍曇彌 / 吉離舍瞿曇彌 / *Kisāgotamī*

The name of *Kisāgotamī* – *Gotamī* the Lean – is transcribed twice, and both transcriptions are unique, i.e., appear only in these sutras. The *chi she* 翅舍 part of the BZA 翅舍憍曇彌 is used elsewhere to render *kesa/keśa*. As Coblin (1994: 39-42 and No. 277) notes, 翅 was widely used by ONWC translators to render *k*- initials and might transcribe *kr*, *ke*, *kye*, or *ki*.

The *li* 離 in ZA 吉離舍瞿曇彌 shows that the name the translators saw or heard must have been close to or identical with Skt. *Kṛśāgautamī*. *Ji* 吉 (ONWC: **kiit*; STCA: **kīr* (Coblin 1994)) alone was here not sufficient to render *kr*. Whoever read or recited the original pronounced *kr* distinctly enough to distinguish two phonemes *ji li* 吉離 (ONWC : **kiit le*, STCA: **kīr li* (*ibid.*)). The same principle is used in the transcription of *Kṛśāgautamī* in the *Ekottarikāgama* (CBETA/T02.125.558c25) where her name is rendered 機梨舍瞿曇彌.

BZA 217: 蓮華色 / 優鉢羅色 / *Uppalavaṇṇā*

The name *Uppalavaṇṇā* – ‘Lotus-colored One’ (i.e., fair of skin) – indicates beauty. It is translated in the BZA, while the ZA has a combination of transcription and translation.

BZA 218: 石室 / 尸羅 / *Selā*

Though the text corresponds with the Pāli sutra on Vajirā, both BZA and ZA clearly transcribe a name close to Pāli *Selā*, Skt. *Śailā*.

Again the ZA transcribes phonetically, while the BZA opts for translation or perhaps a combination of translation and transcription as it sometimes does. 石室 is a relatively common term meaning ‘cave.’ 石 was able to transcribe *si* or *sil*,⁸ however, 室 *śit*, *śjet* (Coblin: No. 826) for *la* or *lā* is impossible. The BZA translation is obviously derived from Pāli *sela* ‘rock, stone, cliff’ (Mizuno 1975: s.v.) / Skt. *śaila* ‘rigid, stone-like; a rock, crag, hill, mountain’ (MW: s.v.).

BZA 219: 鼻嚟 / 毘羅 / *Vīrā*, *Vīryā*, *Vīrī*

The second character used to transcribe *Vīr(y)ā*’s name in the BZA differs slightly among the editions, the Taishō edition has a variant character not in Unicode, almost certainly pronounced *li*.⁹ However, most other witnesses for this passage print 嚟. The name occurs again in BZA 326 as *bi li* 鼻嚟, where it is glossed as *xiong* 雄 ‘heroic, powerful, mighty.’ The original was therefore certainly a Prakrit form of Skt. *vīryā* / *vīrā* / *vīrayā*, which is confirmed by the ZA *pīluo* 毘羅 (*vīrā*). As well as *Vīrā*, Akanuma (1930: 726) suggests *Vīrī* for 鼻嚟.¹⁰

8 Coblin (1994) reconstructs *śit* (No.1085a) for ONWC.

9 The character is not fonted. CBETA approximates it with [口+(利/余)].

10 Though *Vīrī* sounds most likely, this is not necessarily so, since (as finals) 嚟, 梨 etc. were in rare cases used for *-ryā*. Coblin (1994: No. 323, cf. No. 258) gives mainly *-li* and *-rī* for 梨, but notes Dharmakṣema’s use of *-rya*. An example for this might be e.g., 訶梨 for Haryaṃkakula (CBETA/T04.192.20b6). See also *chan ti bo li* 羸提波梨 for Skt. *kṣānti-pāla* in the

What now is the corresponding name in the Pāli canon for 鼻
嚙 and 毘羅?

Although there is no *Vīrā* in the SN *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta*, a nun called *Vīrā* is mentioned in the *Yakkha Saṃyutta* (X, 11). This sutra is the parallel of BZA 326 and indeed her name is rendered 鼻嚙 (BZA) and 毘羅 (ZA). Again, little or nothing is known about this *bhikkhunī* and even the spelling of her name was (until now) uncertain. The Pāli manuscript tradition has *Vīrā* or *Cīrā*. Geiger et al. (1997) and Bodhi (2000) opt for *Cīrā*, Rhys Davids (1917: 275) thought *Vīrā* to be more likely. The evidence from the Chinese shows the reading preferred by Rhys Davids to be correct.

The connection of text and protagonist in this sutra is tenuous. Comparing cluster BZA 218 and BZA 219, we find that the northern and southern traditions differ in the attribution of speaker and verse:

- Cluster BZA 218: BZA/ZA have *Selā* as protagonist, but the textual parallel in the SN is the sutra on *Vajirā*.
- Cluster BZA 219: BZA/ZA have *Vīr(y)ā* as protagonist, but the textual parallel in the SN is the sutra on *Selā*.

I suggest the following solution:

1. The verses now ascribed to *Vajirā* in the SN were originally spoken by *Selā*,¹¹ as suggested by the

Xianyu jing 賢愚經 (CBETA/T.04.202.359c24), a sutra translated around the same time and perhaps in the same region as the BZA. More research is needed on this, however, and the possibility of vowel weakening from *-ryā* to *-rī* in the Prakrit cannot be excluded (Brough attests this weakening of the final vowel for the *Gāndhārī* Prakrit (1962: §24)). See also the footnote on a *li ye* 阿梨耶 below.

11 There is reason to believe that *Selā* and *Āḷavikā*, ‘the one from *Āḷavī*’ (BZA

witnesses of the northern tradition. This would resolve the difference between the Chinese and the Pāli.

2. There never was a nun called Vajirā, the name is a mistake for Vīr(y)ā. This name is attested for the Pāli (SN X, 11) and would fit with the transcriptions of both BZA and ZA in the clusters BZA 219 and 326. It also explains why the commentary ‘provides no personal identification [for Vajirā], and no verses in her name have come down in the *Therīgāthā*.’¹²

Could these two changes – exchanging the protagonists of the sutras and misspelling/mishearing a name – have happened in the northern tradition instead? That is, could the Sarvāstivādins have transmitted Vīr(y)ā instead of an original Vajirā? In theory yes, but in this case the odds are that the changes happened on the way south. First, we have three witnesses¹³ for the northern tradition and even if these

214), were the same person, mainly because two verses ascribed to Selā in the *Therīgāthā* are ascribed to Āḷavikā in the SN. The commentary too, asserts Selā and Āḷavikā were identical (see Bodhi 2000: 424+429). This does not, however, concern the argument above.

- 12 Bodhi 2000: 430. Admittedly, we do not know much about Vīrā either.
- 13 Further to the BZA and the ZA, the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* ascribes the verse starting ‘Why do you think of a “being”? Marā, do you hold this view?’ to Selā/Śailā (*manyase kiṃ nu sattveti māra dṛṣṭigataṃ hi te* – Skt. quoted in Enomoto 1994: No. 1202; SN (here ascribed to Vajirā): *Kiṃ nu sattoti paccesi, māra dīṭṭhigataṃ nu te*). Evidently, the *Kośa* is quoting the Sanskrit SĀ here and is therefore not an independent witness, but the fact that there was no disagreement in the northern tradition (BZA, ZA, and *Kośa*) about who spoke this verse, strengthens its position versus the southern tradition. In the Pāli, none of the verses that the SN attributes to Selā or Vajirā appear in the *Therīgāthā*, and although the chariot simile contained in the *Vajirā Sutta* was cited later, there is no reference to Vajirā other than in the *Milindapañha* (vv. 27–28) and this should be regarded as interpolation. There are two reasons for this: *Miln* 27–8 has *bhāsitaṃpetam, mahārāja, vajirāya bhikkhuniyā bhagavato sammukhā* (Thus it was said by the Bhikkhuni Vajirā, in the presence of the Buddha). Vajirā is indeed mentioned here, but the problem is that the verse is spoken to Māra not

belong to the same branch of the stemma, it must at least be admitted that the northern version of the sutra is better attested. Second, there are numerous disagreements in the attribution of verses between the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* and the *Therīgāthā*, which point to some insecurity in the transmission of the elder nuns' verses in general. Thirdly, the argument from silence: since neither Vajirā nor Vīrā is mentioned by the generally very thorough commentaries, we have to assume that some information was lost at an early stage. It therefore seems reasonable to accept the northern version that there was only one nun called Vīr(y)ā.

There exists a Sanskrit fragment of the *uddāna* to the original Sanskrit *saṃyukta* of either the ZA or the BZA,¹⁴ in which six Bhikkhunī names are mentioned. Unfortunately, the names of Uppalavaṇṇā, Selā and Vīrā are represented in this verse by keywords from the sutras: (*supu*)-*ṣpitāgra* (fully blossomed), *satva* (being), *biṃba* (puppet). The *uddāna* cannot, therefore, help to decide the question of the spelling of Vīrā/Vajira's name.

BZA 220: 毘闍耶 / 毘闍耶 / *Vijayā*

As in 215, BZA and ZA use the same characters to transcribe this name.

the Buddha. Obviously the person who made the reference did not remember the context clearly. Moreover, the reference does not exist in either of the (partial) Chinese versions (T.1670A and T.1670B) of the text, where Nāgasena only mentions “a Buddhist sutra”: 那先言佛經說 (CBETA/T.32.1670A.696, b1) & 那先言佛經說之如 (CBETA/T.32.1670B.706, b11-12).

14 See the discussion by Waldschmidt (1980: 144ff).

BZA 221: 折羅 / 遮羅 / *cālā*

BZA 222: 優波折羅 / 優波遮羅 / *Upacālā*

BZA 223: 動頭 / 尸利沙遮羅 / *Sīsupacālā*

The names of Sāriputta's sisters *Cālā* and *Upacālā* are transcribed unremarkably. *Sīsupacālā*, however, was rendered with the unusual term *dongtou* 動頭, 'moving/nodding/shaking head.' Stylistically a doubtful choice, but, as we have seen before, the translator(s) of the BZA were not overly concerned with style. 動頭 is derived from 'head' (Skt. *śīrasa*, Pāli *sīsa*) and 'to shake' (*calati*). Both this translation and the transcription 尸利沙遮羅 in the ZA parallel suggest that the name of the youngest sister in the northern tradition may have been not the Skt. equivalent for *Sīsupacālā*, but a form close to **Sīrṣa-cālā*.¹⁵

My conclusion is that at some point early in the redaction of the *Sutta-piṭaka* it was felt that all that was worth recording about the nuns contemporary with the Buddha was that they successfully resisted *Māra*.¹⁶ Once the sutras concerning nuns were bound to a narrow pattern, the connection between verses and speakers became fragile. Since all sutras in the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* were restricted to one schema, it must have been more difficult to memorize who said what. Mistakes became more likely, except where the verses themselves allude to the protagonist, as in the sutras on *Kisāgotamī* or *Uppalavaṇṇā*. Compared with the *Māra Saṃyutta*, the prose text in all three

15 Waldschmidt (1980: 146) too has noticed this. Unfortunately the fragment with the *Uddāna* breaks off at *sīrṣa*.

16 One important exception to this rule is the *Dhammadinnā Sutta* (MN 44). See Anālayo (forthcoming 2011).

versions of the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* is significantly more formulaic, and the BZA and ZA add a closing formula to the *gāthās*, thus leveling even the verse parts. The presence of this formula as well as the mentioning of ‘ninety-six non-Buddhist teachings’ in BZA 223 suggests that the northern version underwent at least one major redaction that did not happen in the southern tradition.

In a scholastic tradition that takes pride in its highly developed commentarial corpus, it is somewhat surprising that even the very names of the nuns – what identifies them as individuals – were liable to be forgotten, or remembered differently in different versions.¹⁷ Was it *Cīrā* or *Vīrā*, *Sīsūpacālā* or *Sīsaccālā*? Was there a *Vajirā* and a *Vīrā*, or only one *Vīrā*? Above I have offered tentative answers to some of these questions, but even if accepted, the amount of information gained is tiny compared with what has been lost. The sutras on nuns stand reduced in a way that foreshadows the neglect of the history of Buddhist women by Buddhist historiography.

5.3 TRANSLATION

What follows is, to the best of my knowledge, the first translation of the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta* from Chinese. There are several translations of the Pāli version, the earliest being a translation into German by Ernst Windisch (1895). The most widely cited English translations are by Caroline Rhys Davids & F.L. Woodward (1917–1930) and Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000).

17 The same forgetfulness – in a tradition that otherwise takes pride in the reliability of its oral transmission – is applied to the wife of Śākyamuni Buddha (Bareau 1982).

5.3.1 BZA 214 – ĀḶAVIKĀ

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī, in the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time there was a nun called ĀḶavikā. Early one morning she took her robes and her begging bowl and entered the town to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, and decided to enter the Andhavana forest [to meditate].

At that time King Māra the Bad¹⁸ thought: ‘Gotama the renunciant is now staying at Sāvattthī in the Andhavana forest.’¹⁹ His disciple the nun ĀḶavikā entered the town [Sāvattthī] to beg for food. Having finished her meal and cleaned her bowl, she has gathered her seat and wants to enter this forest. I shall disturb her!’ Thereupon the Bad One transformed himself into a young man. Standing by the wayside, he asked ĀḶavikā: ‘Where are you going?’ The nun answered: ‘I am going to a secluded place.’ On hearing this, the young man spoke a verse:

In all the worlds // there is no liberation

You are going to a secluded, quiet place // for what?

You are still young and pretty; // if you won’t enjoy the five sensual pleasures [now],

One day you will be old and weak; // don’t have regrets later.

Then the nun thought: ‘Who is this, who wants to disturb me? What a deceiver!’²⁰ Is he a human or a non-human being?’ Having

18 For the translation of *pāpima* as ‘Bad’ instead of ‘Evil’ or ‘Wicked’ see above. More arguments are found in Windisch (1895: 19), who shows the connection between *Māro pāpimā* and the Vedic *Pāpmā Mrtyuḥ*. Windisch clearly states that according to Vedic usage ‘bedeutet *Māro pāpimā* ursprünglich nicht ‘Māra der Böse,’ sondern ‘Māra das Uebel.’

19 *Andhavana* should read *Jeta Grove*. This is almost certainly a mistake in the text. In the ZA version the place mentioned in the opening formula is repeated here. Ditto for BZA 216-223.

20 *qi zha* 欺詐. Skt. *kṛtrima* (Hirakawa: No. 1852), Pāli *kerāṭika*, *kerāṭiya*. This

thought this, she entered concentration and, using her insight, she recognized that it was the Bad One who had tried to disturb her. She spoke a verse:

There is liberation in the world; // I know this through experience.²¹

You, Bad One, ignorant and shallow // do not know its traces.

Sensual pleasure is like a sharp halberd, slashing; // the aggregates are bandits, running after you knife in hand.

You talk of enjoying the five sensual pleasures // but the suffering [caused by] pleasure is to be feared.

Sensual pleasure causes sadness and troubles, // sensual pleasure causes longing.²²

Sensual pleasure causes a hundredfold suffering, // sensual pleasure²³ is the root of all suffering.

[I have] cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance²⁴ is destroyed.

Having reached and witnessed complete cessation,²⁵ // [I] dwell in a state of purity.

exclamation is not found in the Pāli parallels.

21 我今自證知。自 marks the instrumental here. cf. the Pāli *paññāya me suphussitam* ('I have closely touched with wisdom') and the ZA parallel 我自知所得。

22 *zhui nian* 追念. Usually used as VP, here as NP. In the *Āgamas* the term appears prominently only in the BZA. Remarkable also is its relative frequency in the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 (T.212) and the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* (T.1442).

23 This is the last of five occurrences of *yu* 欲 in the verse. I usually render the single character 欲 as 'desire'; however, the topic of this sutra is *kāmarati*. Both the BZA and the ZA have 五欲 (*pañcakāma(-guṇa)*) in places; here, therefore, 欲 is 'sensual pleasure.'

24 *wu ming an* 無明闇. The Pāli here has *tamokhandho padalito* 'the mass of darkness is dispelled,' which is close to the ZA (離一切闇冥). The original for the Chinese of the BZA may have been a Prakrit version of **avidyāndhakāra* (Hirakawa: No. 2153) or **avidyātama*.

25 *jin mie* 盡滅 (in BZA 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 220). Used synonymously with *mie jin* 滅盡 (BZA 216, 221, 222, 223) in this common closing formula. In Buddhist Chinese 滅盡 later became the more common term, but at this relatively early stage the character order was not yet fixed.

At that time the Bad One thought: ‘The nun Āḷavikā knows my mind well!’ Vexed, dispirited, and ashamed, he returned to his palace.

5.3.2 BZA 215 – SOMĀ

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the nun Somā took her robes and her begging bowl and entered Sāvattḥī to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat [for meditation] and went to the Andhavana forest [to meditate].

King Māra the Bad thought: ‘The nun Somā took her robes and her begging bowl and entered Sāvattḥī to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she has cleaned her bowl, and gathered her seat [for meditation] and is now on her way to the Andhavana forest [to meditate].’ Thereupon the Bad One transformed himself into a *brāhmaṇa*, stood by the wayside, and said: ‘My lady,²⁶ where are you going?’ The nun answered: ‘I am going to a secluded place.’ Then the Bad One spoke a verse:

The stage which seers²⁷ attain, // that state is difficult to reach.

With your inferior intelligence²⁸ // you cannot attain that state.

26 *a li ye* 阿梨耶, Skt. *āryā*. This particular transcription is used only once in the BZA. BZA 221 and 222 have 阿利耶, indicating again a lack of ‘editorial oversight’ for the BZA. 阿梨耶/阿利耶 is one of the terms that shows again how distinct the original Prakrit of the BZA was from Pāli. The syllable [rī] that is absent in Pāli *āryā* was obviously audible for the translator(s) and transcribed as 梨. In the ZA (CBETA/T02.99.279c24) 阿梨 is used to transcribe the masculine form (*ārya*).

27 *xian sheng* 仙聖; ZA: *xian ren* 仙人; SN: *isīhi*.

28 *fei ru bihui zhi* 非汝鄙穢智. Here *ru* 汝 ‘you’ should perhaps be emended to *nü* 女 ‘woman’, resulting in ‘The inferior intelligence of a woman.’ The case for an emendation rests on two reasons: intra-textually, the first line of

Thereupon the nun thought: ‘Is this a human or a non-human being, who wants to disturb me?’ She entered [a state of meditative] concentration and, using her insight,²⁹ she recognized that it was the Bad One. She spoke a verse:

The mark of womanhood has nothing to do with it // if only the
mind³⁰ practices meditative concentration
And perceives the highest *Dhamma*; // as long as there are the marks
of man- and womanhood,
One can say that women // are not apt for the *Dhamma*.
Once the marks of man- and womanhood are no more // from where
should distinctions arise?
[I have] cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance is destroyed.
Having reached complete cessation, // [I] dwell in a state of purity.
Therefore understand: // Bad One you are defeated.³¹

At that time the Bad One thought: ‘The nun Somā knows my mind well!’ Depressed, dispirited, and ashamed he returned to his palace.

Somā’s reply would make better sense this way. Inter-textually, this would follow the Pāli parallel (*na taṃ dvaṅgulapaññāya, sakkā pappotumitthiyā*). Against an emendation is the fact that 汝 is used in all consulted editions (CBETA/Taishō, Tripitaka Koreana, Qisha Edition, Zhonghua Edition), and the fact that the ZA has 非彼二指智能得到彼處, which contains the metaphor of the *dvaṅgulapaññāya* ‘two-fingered wisdom’ (s. Bodhi, 2000: 425, n.336), without, however, connecting it to women.

29 *guan cha* 觀察. The Taishō has *guan zhong* 觀眾, a mistake corrected in the CBETA edition.

30 The BZA has *yi* 意, which usually translates *manas*. Both ZA and the Pāli have *xin* 心, / *citta*.

31 *boxun duofuchu* 波旬墮負處. Except in BZA 214, this is the final *pāda* of the verse part in all sutras of the BZA *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta*. Its Pāli equivalent seems to be the phrase *nihato tvam asi antaka*, which, however, does not appear in the *Bhikkhunī Saṃyutta*, but only in the *Māra Saṃyutta*. Instead of *antaka* ‘bringer of death, Deadly One,’ the northern line of transmission obviously had *pāpima* (BZA: 波旬, ZA: 惡魔).

5.3.3 BZA 216 – KISĀGOTAMĪ

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the nun Kisāgotamī took her robes and her begging bowl and entered the town [Sāvattthī] to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat [for meditation], went into the Andhavana forest for the day’s abiding,³² and sat under a tree.

At that time King Māra the Bad thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park, and here is this nun called Kisāgotamī. She took her robes and her begging bowl and entered Sāvattthī to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat [for meditation], and went into the Andhavana forest, [now] she has sat down under a tree for the day’s abiding.’

Having thought this, he changed into a young man, and with the intention of disturbing her, spoke this verse:

What are you doing there now // sitting sadly under a tree,

Sighing and sobbing; // haven’t you lost a child?

Dwelling alone in the forest // aren’t you looking for a man?³³

32 *tian zhu* 天住. The Pāli here has *divāvihāra*, which Bodhi (2000) renders ‘for the day’s abiding’ and which appears in this position several times in the *Bhikkhuni Saṃyutta*. The PED has ‘the day-rest, i.e. rest during the heat of the day.’ In a previous attempt (Bingenheimer 2008: 14) I suggested, based on Nakamura (1981: 981d), that 天住 translated the Prakrit for *dibba-* or *divyavihāra* and should be taken as ‘for [jāna] meditation.’ Discussions of my rendering in Su (2009a: 22-27) and Anālayo (2010c: 45n) convinced me that it is better to follow the Pāli and the ZA version, where *divāvihāra*/(入)書正受 denotes the rest period in the afternoon (cf. PED s.v.).

33 This rather cruel gibe alludes to the well-known story of Kisāgotamī’s loss of her son and her husband.

Then the nun thought: ‘Who is this? What a deceiver! Is he, who wants to cause confusion in me, a human or a non-human being?’ She entered concentration and recognized that it was King Māra. She spoke a verse:

I have cut off craving, // I am without desire, [and] do not think about children.

Sitting upright among the trees, // no worries, no agitations trouble me.

[I have] cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance destroyed.

Having reached complete cessation, // [I] peacefully dwell in a state of purity.

Therefore understand: // Bad One you are defeated.

At that time the Bad One thought: ‘The nun Kisāgotamī knows my mind well!’ Depressed, dispirited, and ashamed he returned to his palace.

5.3.4 BZA 217 – UPPALAVAṆṆĀ

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time one morning the nun Uppalavaṇṇā took her robes and her begging bowl and entered the town [Sāvattthī] to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat [for meditation]. Having washed her feet, she went to the Andhavana forest, and sat upright under a tree, for the day’s abiding.

At that time King Māra thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. The nun Uppalavaṇṇā took her robes and her begging bowl and entered the town [Sāvattthī] to beg for food. Having finished her

meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat, and went to the Andhavana forest. She is sitting upright under a tree, for the day's abiding. I shall disturb her!

Having thought thus he transformed himself into a young man, went to her place and spoke this verse:

Sitting under a Sāla tree,³⁴ // beautiful like its blossoms;

All alone *bhikkhunī*, // is it that you are you meditating?

Without a companion, // aren't you afraid of the ignorant?³⁵

At that time Uppalavaṇṇā thought: 'Who is this who wants to disturb me? What a deceiver! Is he a human or a non-human being?' She entered concentration and recognized that it was the Bad One. She spoke a verse:

A hundred thousand sly and deceitful³⁶ rogues // could all do just as much as you.

They could not move me even an inch, // therefore I stay alone and unafraid.

34 *poluoshu* 婆羅樹. As in the Pāli and the ZA (堅固樹), this is the *sāla* (Skt. *sāra*) tree. See Waku (1979), No. 225.

35 *neng bu wei yu chi* 能不畏愚癡. Or perhaps: 'Aren't you afraid, silly?' This second reading is syntactically unlikely, but the syntax in the BZA *gāthās* is not always regular. In the Pāli Māra seems to call Uppalavaṇṇā 'foolish' (*bāle na tvaṃ bhāyasi dhuttakānan*; Bodhi (2000: 225) translates 'Foolish girl, aren't you afraid of rogues?'). The ZA (不畏惡人耶), like the Pāli, says she should be afraid of evil people (*dhuttaka*/惡人), but does not mention foolishness.

The compliment on Uppalavaṇṇā's beauty is slightly more emphatic in the Pāli (*na catthi te dutiyā vaṇṇadhātu*), while the ZA and the BZA stress her having no companion.

In the Pāli tradition Māra's warning was understood in the context of the assault on Uppalavaṇṇā in the Andhavana, referred to in the *Dhammapada* Commentary (*Dhp-a*, ii.52).

36 *jian wei* 姦偽. ZA: *jian jiao* 姦狡. Taken as a compound 姦偽 means 'sly, cunning, deceitful'; 姦 has sexual connotations.

At that time King Māra again spoke a verse:

I might hide myself // within your belly,³⁷
Between your brows, // unseen by you.

And the nun again replied with a verse:

My mind has attained self-mastery; // I have practised well the
concentration that gives super-natural powers.
Having cut off the great bondages, // I will never be frightened by
you.³⁸
I have cast aside³⁹ all fetters, // have pulled out the root of the three
taints [of attachment, hate and ignorance].
The roots of fear thus gone, // I am not afraid.
I abide here, // [I] have no fear of you.
Bring on your armies all, // I shall not be afraid.
[I have] cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance destroyed.
Having attained complete cessation, // [I] peacefully dwell in a state
of purity.
Therefore understand: // Bad One you are defeated.

At that time the Bad One thought: ‘The nun Uppalavaṇṇā

37 No empty threat for the listeners of those days. The *Māratajjanīya Sutta* (MN 50) tells the story of how Māra hid in the belly of Moggallāna.

38 This passage (我心得自在 善修如意定 斷絕大繫縛 終不怖畏汝) is close to both the *anuṣṭubh* of the Pāli (*cittasmiṃ vasibhūtāmi, iddhipādā subhāvītā; sabbabandhanamuttāmi, na taṃ bhāyāmi āvuso*) and the ZA (我心有大力 善修習神通 大縛已解脫 不畏汝惡魔). Note, however, how the *āvuso* of the southern tradition has been transmitted as *e mo* 惡魔 ‘evil spirit’ (ZA) or simply *ru* 汝 ‘you’ (BZA) in the north.

39 A relatively rare usage of *tu* 吐 as ‘to renounce; to abandon, to part with’ (HDC, s.v.), which has not entered Buddhist lexicography yet. In the BZA for most occurrences (10 of 14) 吐 has the modern meaning of ‘to spit, to vomit.’ It appears as ‘abandon’ only three more times in the BZA (at CBETA/T 02.100.408b4 and 02.100.449a12). For the ZA however the meaning ‘to abandon’ is more common: in 37 occurrences in the ZA 吐 is used only once with the meaning ‘to vomit’ (CBETA/T02.99.105b5).

understands my mind well!’ Depressed, dispirited, and ashamed he returned to his palace.

5.3.5 BZA 218 – SELĀ⁴⁰

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time one morning the nun Selā took her robes and her begging bowl and entered Sāvattthī to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat [for meditation] and went to the Andhavana forest [to meditate]. At that time King Māra thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. And there is the nun Selā who took her robes and her begging bowl and entered Sāvattthī to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat and has gone to the Andhavana forest. I shall disturb her!’ Having thought this he changed into a young man, approached her and spoke a verse:

Who is it that created beings, // by whom were they made?⁴¹

Why are they called beings, // from where do they arise?

That time the nun Selā, having heard the verse thought: ‘Who is this? What a cheat! Is he a human or a non-human being?’ She

40 *shíshì* 石室. See page 170, above.

41 *zhong sheng zao zuo shei* 眾生造作誰. Literally this reads: ‘Who is it that the sentient beings create?’ But in the light of the parallels a reading like 眾生造作[者是]誰 clearly seems more likely (ZA: 誰為其作者 / SN: *kuvaṃ sattassa kāraṅko*). See also the first *gāthā* in BZA 219. This is an example of how easily the Chinese *gāthās* can be misunderstood. As a non-inflecting language, Chinese relies heavily on syntactical position to establish meaning; but this often becomes problematic in the *gāthās*, where the syntax is restricted by the requirement of four, five, or seven syllables per half-line. Note also how the singular in Pāli (*sattassa*) is paralleled by a ‘plural’ term 眾生 in Chinese.

entered concentration and recognized he was King Māra. She answered with a verse:

Māra, you have a wrong view of ‘beings’, // saying and believing they actually exist [as substantial entities].

Conventional, empty they are but compounded [entities] // there are in fact no ‘beings.’

Like when causes and various conditions // converge and yield the use of a ‘chariot’.⁴²

The same with aggregates (*khandhas*), elements (*dhātus*) and spheres (*āyatanas*):// [because of] the convergence of [such] causes and conditions there are beings.

Because of karmic conditions they assemble // because of karmic conditions they disperse.⁴³

[I have] cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance is destroyed.

Having reached complete cessation. // [I] peacefully dwell in a state of purity.

Therefore understand: // Bad One, you are defeated.

At that time King Māra thought: ‘This nun knows my mind well!’ Depressed, dispirited, and ashamed he returned to his palace.

5.3.6 BZA 219 – VĪRĀ

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at

42 譬如因眾緣 和合有車用。Note the differences among the versions here. The Pāli has *yathā hi aṅgasambhārā, hoti saddo ratho iti*, the Sanskrit *yathaiva hy aṅgasambhārāt, saṃjñā ratha iti smṛtā*, the ZA 如和合眾材 世名之為車 does not follow the Skt. very closely here. All versions convey the idea of conventional meaning but use slightly different terms. The Pāli version of the simile is also found in the *Milindapañha* (p. 29) and cited in the *Visuddhimagga* (XVIII, 25).

43 Although the content here is similar, the wording in this first part of the verse differs from that of the ZA, which closely follows the SN.

the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time there was a nun called Vīrā staying in the Rājakārāma Vihāra near Sāvattthī. In the morning she took her robes and her begging bowl and entered the town to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat [for meditation] and went to the Andhavana forest [to meditate]. At that time King Māra thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. And there is the nun Vīrā who took her robes and her begging bowl and entered the town to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat and has gone into the Andhavana forest. I shall disturb her!’ Having thought this, he changed into a young man, and, standing by the wayside, addressed her with a verse:

Who creates this shape,⁴⁴ // who is its creator?

From where did this shape appear, // whither will it go?

At that time Vīrā thought: ‘Who is this, who wants to disturb me? What a deceiver! Is he a human or a non-human being?’ She entered concentration and using her insight, recognized that it was King Māra. She answered him with a verse:

Shapes are neither self-created // nor created by others.

When various conditions⁴⁵ meet, they come into being; // parted from these conditions they dissolve and vanish,

44 *se xiang* 色像. Lit. ‘form-image.’ The ZA uses the more common *xing* 形. Both terms should render a Prakrit equivalent of Skt. *bimba* ‘[reflected] image, picture, type.’ (Rhys Davids (1917: 168), translates Pāli *bimba* (at SN I 134) as ‘human doll’).

45 One of the few cases where a difference in grammatical number between the BZA and the Pāli can be shown clearly. The SN has singular here (*hetuṃ paṭicca / hetubhaṅgā*) while the BZA has plural (*zhong yuan* 眾緣). Assuming that the original was indeed *hetu* ‘cause,’ the ZA translates this as *yin* 因, and the BZA as *yuan* 緣. Though 緣 might be used to render *hetu*, it was more commonly the translation for *pratyaya/paccaya* ‘condition.’

Just as planted seeds // grow in dependence on earth,⁴⁶
so the aggregates (*khandhas*), elements (*dhātus*) and spheres
(*āyatanas*)// together form shapes.
Dependent on suffering [they] grow; // dependent on suffering they
dissolve and vanish.⁴⁷
[I have] cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance is destroyed.
Having attained complete cessation, // [I] peacefully dwell in a state
of purity .
Therefore understand: // Bad One, you are defeated.

At that time King Māra thought: ‘This nun knows my mind well!’
Depressed, dispirited, and ashamed he returned to his palace.

5.3.7 BZA 220 – VIJAYĀ

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at
the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the nun Vijayā left the Rājakārāma Vihāra, took her
robes and her begging bowl, and entered the town to beg for
food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, and
gathered her seat [for meditation]. She went to the Andhavana
forest and sat under a tree, for the day’s abiding. At that time
King Māra thought: ‘The renunciant Gotama is staying at
Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. The nun
Vijayā took her robes and her begging bowl and entered the
town to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her

46 At least one *pāda* seems to have been lost here. Both the ZA and the Pāli
make clear that next to earth other elements are needed as conditions for
growth. Text-internally as well, the enumeration of *khandhas* etc. seems to
demand a parallel in the simile.

47 因苦故生長 因苦故散壞 Here is a significant difference to the ZA and the SN,
which both simply repeat that shapes arise and dissolve dependent on
causes and conditions; cf. the verse of Cālā and its Skt. parallel below.

bowl, gathered her seat and has gone to the Andhavana forest. [Now] she is sitting under a tree, for the day's abiding. I shall disturb her!'

Having thought thus, he transformed himself into a young man and approached her, speaking a verse:

You are full of vigor, // I too am young of years.

Let us enjoy the five sensual pleasures⁴⁸ together, // enjoying ourselves as we may!

Why sit here alone, // why not be with me?

At that time Vijayā thought: 'Who is this who wants to disturb me? What a deceiver! Is he a human or a non-human being?' She entered concentration and using her insight, recognized that it was King Māra. She answered him with a verse:

Enjoyment, taking pleasure in song and dance // enjoyment of the five sensual pleasures:

All this I leave to you; // I don't care for it.

All the pleasures of the human world, // the five sensual pleasures of the heavens:

All this I leave to you; // I am not for any of these.

I have cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance is destroyed.

Having reached complete cessation. // [1] peacefully dwell in a state of purity.

Therefore understand: // Bad One, you are defeated.

At that time King Māra thought: 'This nun knows my mind well!' Depressed, dispirited, and ashamed he returned to his palace.

48 五欲共歡娛. In the ZA (作五種音樂) and the SN (*pañcaṅgikena turiyena, ehayyebhiramāse*) the wording alludes to music, as Māra suggests enjoying the 'pleasures of the five-fold music.' This metaphor is absent from the BZA.

5.3.8 BZA 221 – CĀLĀ

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time there was a nun named Cālā. One morning she took her robes and her begging bowl, and entered the town to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, and gathered her seat [for meditation]. She went to the Andhavana forest for the day's abiding, and sat upright under a tree to meditate. At that time King Māra thought: 'The renunciant Gotama is staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. There is the nun Cālā who in the morning took her robes and her begging bowl and entered the town to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she cleaned her bowl, gathered her seat and has gone into the Andhavana forest for the day's abiding. [Now] she is sitting under a tree. I shall go there and disturb her!' Having thought thus, he transformed himself into a young man, approached her, and said: 'My lady, where do you desire to be reborn?' The nun replied: 'As things stand, I will not⁴⁹ be reborn anywhere.'⁵⁰ At that time the young

49 *dou wu* 都無. For the usage of 都無 by Kumārajīva see Karashima (2001: s.v.). At least in the BZA, however, there seems to be more to the term 都無 than the literal emphatic 'not at all.' Perhaps reflecting vernacular usage of the time, the term in several places strongly suggests: 'not to be interested in (or concerned about) something' (e.g., CBETA/T02.100.394a2-3, CBETA/T02.100.384b6-8, CBETA/T02.100.465c11-12). Both in BZA 221 and 222, 都無 is used to deny a 'do you like...' question. The SN uses *na rocati* and *na...-kāmā* in this passage. Therefore, next to the literal meaning 'As it is, I will not be reborn anywhere,' where Cālā is confirming that she has attained arhantship, another possible solution is 'As it is, I do not care to be reborn anywhere.'

50 Here the versions differ slightly. In the SN Māra asks: 'What is it, nun, that you dislike?' (*kiṃ nu tvaṃ, bhikkhuni, na rocesi*) and Cālā replies: 'It is birth, friend, that I dislike' (*jātiṃ khvāhaṃ, āvuso, na roceṃi*). The ZA, strangely, omits this initial exchange. The question that Māra poses here in BZA 221 is synonymous with the one he asks in the following sutra. In the SN, on the other hand, he asks all three sisters different questions.

man spoke a verse:

Once born we are bound to experience joy // and the five sensual pleasures.

Who has taught you // to say you have no need of further birth?

The nun Cālā replied with a verse:

Whoever is born must die // and is held in bondage by all kinds of suffering.

To cut off all suffering // is not to ask for further life.

The venerable sage, the seer // has explained this truth:

Suffering, the cause for its arising, // all this is to be left behind⁵¹

through practicing the eight-fold noble path, // peacefully we move toward *Nirvāṇa*.⁵²

The World-honored One has taught me, // and I rejoice in his teaching.

I have witnessed and realized this teaching // and therefore have no joy in birth.

I have cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance is destroyed.

Having reached complete cessation, // [I] peacefully dwell in a state of purity.

Therefore understand: // Bad One, you are defeated.

At that time King Māra thought: ‘This nun knows my mind well!’ Depressed, dispirited, and ashamed he returned to his palace.

51 苦因生於苦 皆應捨離之。The ZA (苦苦及苦集 滅盡離諸苦) and the Skt. (*duḥkhaṃ duḥkhasamutpannaṃ || nirodhaṃ samatikramaṃ*) ‘the suffering and the arising of suffering, the end and the overcoming of all suffering.’ cf. the verse in BZA 219.

52 For this *pādayuga*, which is nearly identical in the ZA, there is a Sanskrit parallel: *āryaṃ cāṣṭāṅgikaṃ mārgaṃ || kṣemaṃ nirvāṇagāminam* (Enomoto 1994: No. 1205).

5.3.9 BZA 222 – UPACĀLĀ

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time there was a nun called Upacālā staying in the Rājakārāma Vihāra. One morning she took her robes and her begging bowl and entered Sāvattthī to beg for food. Having finished the alms,⁵³ she cleaned her bowl, washed her feet, gathered her seat [for meditation]. She went to the Andhavana forest for the day’s abiding and sat upright under a tree.

At that time King Māra thought: ‘These days Gotama the renunciant is staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. Here now is this nun called Upacālā, who in the morning took her robes and her begging bowl and entered Sāvattthī to beg for food. Having finished her meal, she washed her feet, gathered her seat and went to the Andhavana forest for the day’s abiding. [Now] she is sitting upright under a tree. I shall go and disturb her!’ Having thought thus he transformed himself into a young man, approached her and said: ‘My lady! In which place do you want to be reincarnated?’ The nun answered: ‘I will not be reincarnated anywhere.’ At that time the young man spoke a verse:

53 The pericope changes here and in BZA 223 from the usual wording *shi qi* 食訖 ‘having finished her meal’ to *qi shi yi* 乞食已 ‘having finished the alms.’ 乞食 should be taken as NP ‘alms-food’ here, though in the preceding sentence it is used as VP ‘to beg for food.’ In the repetition of the pericope by Māra below, the text again has 食訖. In BZA 223 the Taishō edition has 乞食已 in both instances. For the second occurrence of the pericope (as thought by Māra), however, four editions consulted by the editors have 乞食訖 instead of 乞食已. The phrase 乞食訖 ‘to finish the alms’ is possible and attested elsewhere (e.g., in the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 at CBETA/T.04.212.647a21-22). Assuming 乞食已 is correct, it follows that the expressions 乞食已, 乞食訖 and 食訖 were considered equivalent (I have begun developing a Buddhist thesaurus).

The Tāvatiṃsa and the Yama heavens, // the Tusita, the Nimmānarati

And the heaven Paranimmitavasavattin // are realms of great happiness and pleasure.⁵⁴

You should vow to enjoy them // and you will be reborn there as desired.⁵⁵

The nun Upacālā said a verse:

The Tāvatiṃsa and the Yama heaven, // the Tusita, the Nimmānarati

And the heaven Paranimmitavasavattin // [those] in these places experience pleasures [but]

As long as there is no emancipation from the view of self // they are [still] bound by Māra.⁵⁶

All [such] worlds are moving, are in flux: // these too will change and vanish.

The common person cannot // escape from Māra's realm.

All worlds are on fire, // smoke streaming out from all of them.

Away from the tremors, // this place I enjoy.

I have cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance is destroyed.

Having reached complete cessation, // [I] peacefully dwell in a state of purity.

Therefore understand: // Bad One, you are defeated.

54 In the Pāli this verse is clearly about the gods (*devā, devatā*), i.e., the inhabitants of the realms, not the heavens themselves. The BZA translators took the **devā* as place name (the Chinese *tian* 天 is ambivalent). This may have happened because the plural ending *-ā* was lost in the Prakrit, as some Central Asian scripts did not mark vowel-length. As is well known, the notion of *tian* 天 as a place for rebirth became extremely popular in Eastern Buddhism, while the concept of *tian* 天 as 'heavenly being' in the Indian sense proved less influential.

55 *shou yu sheng miao shi* 受於勝妙事. Lit. 'obtain the desired effect.' 勝妙 here for Skt. *praṇīta* (Hirakawa: No.337) or *praṇidhi* (Edgerton: p. 360).

56 *wei mo suo fu* 為魔所縛. The ZA (隨魔自在) is again much closer to the Pāli (*māravasam*).

At that time King Māra thought: ‘This nun knows my mind well!’ Depressed, dispirited, and ashamed, he returned to his palace.

5.3.10 BZA 223 – SĪSUPACĀLĀ

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time there was a nun called Sīsupacālā staying in the Rājakārāma Vihāra. One morning she took her robes and her begging bowl and entered the town to beg for food. Having finished the meal, she cleaned her bowl, washed her feet, and gathered her seat [for meditation]. She went to the Andhavana forest for the day’s abiding, sat upright under a tree.

At that time King Māra thought: ‘Gotama the renunciant is staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park. Here there is this nun called Sīsupacālā, who this morning took her robes and her begging bowl and entered Sāvattthī to beg for food. Having finished her alms, she washed her feet, gathered her seat and entered the Andhavana forest for the day’s abiding. [Now] she is sitting uprightly under a tree. I want to go and disturb her!’ Having thought thus he transformed himself into a young man, approached the nun and said to her: ‘Of the ninety-six [non-Buddhist] teachings,⁵⁷ which one do you like?’ The nun

57 *jiushiliu zhong dao* 九十六種道. Skt. *ṣaṅ-ṇavatiyo pāsaṅḍāḥ* (Hirakawa: No. 31), Pāli *channavuti pāsaṅḍā*. Neither the ZA nor the SN mentions these ‘ninety-six non-Buddhist sects,’ although the SN commentary does mention them. The expression belongs to the *abhidhammic* layer of Buddhist literature and at least in Eastern Buddhism there seem to have been two definitions of these ninety-six: the first includes Buddhist views among the ninety-six different teachings; according to the second all ninety-six are non-Buddhist (cf. Mochizuki: vol.1, p.671). An example of the second type of explanation, which is the one relevant for the BZA, is found in a *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* commentary, the *sapoduo pini piposha* 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙

answered: 'I do not like any of these teachings.' Then the Bad One spoke a verse:

Who taught you to cut off your hair // and call yourself bhikkhunī?
To refuse to enjoy any other teaching, // how silly of you!

Sīsūpacālā said a verse:

These other, different teachings, // they all bind us with heretical views.

Bound by various views, // in the end we are caught in Māra's net.

The great World-honored One of the Sākyas, // without equal,

The conqueror of all // subdued Māra while seated on the seat of enlightenment.⁵⁸

He has surpassed everything, // is liberated from everything,

having totally subdued and ended all finite things. // This Enlightened One has taught me;

For me he is the World-honored One // and I delight in his teaching.

Having understood his [teachings] // I have ended all defilements.⁵⁹

(T.1440). 'Concerning the six teachers [that were active during the time of the Buddha], each had fifteen teachings, which he bestowed on [one] student. Because the teachings differed, different views arose in these students. Thus, one teacher gave rise to fifteen different views, and the teachers themselves each still held another teaching, different from that of their students, so that together, teachers and students, there were sixteen different kinds [of teachings]. Therefore we speak of ninety-six.' 六師者。一師十五種教。以授弟子。為教各異。弟子受行各成異見。如是一師出十五種異見。師別有法。與弟子不同。師與弟子通為十六種。如是六師有九十六。(CBETA/T.23.1440.536.a22-26).

58 *zuo dao chang* 坐道場. Skt. *bodhi-maṇḍa-niṣadana* (Hirakawa: No. 653). Pāli *bodhi-pallaṅka*. This phrase is not at all typical for the Chinese Āgamas and is only mentioned in the BZA. It is relatively common however, in the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka Sūtra*, *beihua jing* 悲華經 (T.157), translated by Dharmarakṣa (c. 385-433), and the Buddha biographies T.186 (translated 308) and T.187 (translated between 676 and 687).

59 我今知彼已盡除諸結漏 Or: 'I know that **he** already // has ended all defilements.' The subject of this clause is unclear. The version I give in the text seems slightly more likely on syntactic grounds and squares with the

I have cut off all craving, // the darkness of ignorance is destroyed.

Having attained complete cessation, // [I] peacefully dwell in a state of purity.

Therefore understand: // Bad One, you are defeated.

At that time King Māra thought: ‘This nun knows my mind well!’
Depressed, dispirited, and ashamed he returned to his palace.

ZA; however, in the Pāli it is the Buddha, who has freed himself (*sabbakammakkhayaṃ patto, vimutto adhisaiṅkhaye; so mayhaṃ bhagavā satthā, tassa rocemi sāsanān*).

6 STUDIES ON AND TRANSLATION OF THE SAKKA SAṂYUTTA

Sakka is the Buddhist name for Indra. As the principal god of the *R̥g Veda*, Indra is one of the oldest and most important gods of the Vedic pantheon and is closely connected to Indo-Aryan religiosity and thought.

Indra was incorporated into Buddhist as well as Jain mythology and co-opted as protector of those religions. He assists the Buddha and Mahāvīra and both traditions adjusted his personality to serve as example in sermons. This assimilation must be understood in the context of the gradual weakening of the Indra's popularity after the early Vedic period. Certainly the gentle and friendly Sakka bears little resemblance to the *soma*-quaffing, demon-beheading Indra of the *Vedas*. The Indra of the *Brāhmaṇas*, however, is much more vulnerable, and is often humbled. While some aspects of Indra's personality have been used in the formation of the image of Śiva (O'Flaherty 1981) there are also indications that Sakka was a source for representations of Avalokiteśvara (Yamamoto 1983).¹ As Grünwedel pointed out some time ago, the iconography of the *Bodhisattva* Vajrapāṇi is probably derived from features ascribed to Indra (1901: 91).

Considering the differences between the Vedic Indra and the

1 For a short typology of motifs in the texts concerning Sakka see Karashima (1984).

Buddhist Sakka, some eminent scholars² have wanted to believe that Indra and Sakka were ‘independent conceptions.’ However, there is overwhelming evidence that Sakka is indeed an assimilation of Indra. The most likely scenario seems to me that the more martial aspects of Indra were incorporated into Buddhism via the figure of the *yakkha* Vajrapāṇi that features prominently as servant of the Buddha in early Buddhist art,³ while Indra as the wise ruler of the gods was gentrified into Sakka, the resourceful protector of the Dharma, who appears frequently in Buddhist Sutra and *Jātaka* literature.

All names in the list of Sakka’s names are also epithets of Indra. Already in the *Ṛg Veda*, where more hymns are dedicated to Indra than to any other god, Indra is called Śakra - the mighty-one.⁴ In spite of his martial prowess – Indra was first of all a war god – he, like Sakka, does not rule absolutely. Vedic literature clearly indicates that he was created rather than creator (Hillebrandt ([1929] 1981: 99). He owes his position to his previous actions, his *karma*, and, especially in later texts, he faces retribution for moral transgressions (O’Flaherty 1976: 100). Indra is far from being invincible. In one myth Kṛṣṇa steals a precious tree from the Tāvatiṃsa realm, and although Indra uses his strongest weapon, the *vajra* thunderbolt, Kṛṣṇa prevails easily (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* V 30).

6.1 THE CONTENT OF THE SAKKA SAṂYUTTA

The *Sakka Saṃyutta* is one of the shortest *saṃyuktas*. The sutras

- 2 T.W. Rhys Davids (1899-1921, vol.2: 297f., and in the PED s.v. *Inda*) and repeated in Malalasekera (1974: s.v. *Sakka*).
- 3 See Konow (1930) for a summary of the early scholarship on this topic. Konow (ibid.: 313 f) also quotes textual evidence for the perceived identity of Indra and Vajrapāṇi among Buddhist authors.
- 4 Rv VII, 104, 20f or Rv X, 43, 6.

on Sakka in the SN, the BZA and the ZA are distributed as follows:⁵

Pāli	BZA	ZA
1: SN I 216–17 (<i>Suvīra</i>)	43	1114
2: SN I 217 (<i>Susīma</i>)	-	-
3: SN I 218–20 (<i>Dhajagga</i>)	-	980, 981
4: SN I 220–22 (<i>Vepacitti</i>)	39	1110
5: SN I 222–24 (<i>Subhāsitaḥajaya</i>)	38	1109
6: SN I 224–25 (<i>Kulāvaka</i>)	49	1222
7: SN I 225 (<i>Nadubbhiya</i>)	48	1120
8: SN I 225–26 (<i>Verocana-asurinda</i>)	50	1119
9: SN I 226–27 (<i>Araññāyatana-isi</i>)		
10: SN I 227–28 (<i>Samuddaka</i>)	44	1115
11: SN I 228 (<i>Vatapada</i>)	33	1104
12: SN I 229 (<i>Sakkanāma</i>)	35	1106
13: SN I 230 (<i>Mahāli</i>)	34	1105
14: SN I 231–32 (<i>Dalidda</i>)	51	1223
15: SN I 232–33 (<i>Rāmaṇeyyaka</i>)	-	-
16: SN I 233 (<i>Yajamāna</i>)	52	1224, 1225
17: SN I 233–34 (<i>Buddhavandana</i>) AN I 142 (<i>Catumahārāja</i>) [AN I 143 (<i>Sakka</i>) ⁶]	46	1117
18: SN I 234 (<i>Gahaṭṭhavandanā</i>)	41	1112
19: SN I 235 (<i>Satthāravandanā</i>)	40	1111
20: SN I 235–36 (<i>Saṅghavandanā</i>)	42	1113
21: SN I 237 (<i>Chetvā</i>)	45	1116
22: SN I 237–38 (<i>Dubbaṇṇiya</i>)	36	1107
23: SN I 238–39 (<i>Sambarimāyā</i>)	47	1118
24: SN I 239–40 (<i>Accaya</i>)		
25: SN I 240 (<i>Akkodha</i>)	37	1108

5 For the distribution mapped to the BZA see *Appendix 1: Comparative catalog*.

6 This is not considered a separate sutra in the Burmese tradition.

While there are 25 sutras on Sakka in the Pāli *Sakka-saṃyutta*, the *Śakra-saṃyuktas* of the BZA and the ZA each contain 20 (BZA 33-52 and ZA 1104-1125). It looks as if the northern tradition is five sutras short, but that impression is wrong. After accounting for the cases where two sutras in one tradition are represented by only one sutra in the other, the Pāli collection is just three sutras ahead.

Furthermore a closer look at the *Susīma Sutta* reveals that it is merely a reduplication of the *Suvīra Sutta*. *Susīma*, like *Suvīra*, is thought to be a son of Sakka: most likely the names got mixed up at some point, and the sutra was duplicated.⁷

The *Rāmaṇeyyaka Sutta* is a very short sutra consisting only of an introduction and one verse. No narrative element connects Sakka with the verse and it is likely that its introduction was merely a way to integrate the verse in the canon.

This leaves the *Dhajagga Sutta* for which we only have two ZA, but no BZA, versions. The reason is that the ZA parallel is not included in the *Śakra-saṃyukta* of the ZA.⁸ This puts it outside the scope of the BZA. If there ever was a ‘complete’ Indian original of BZA, i.e., another version of the SĀ equivalent, but not identical, to the original of the ZA, one might perhaps expect to find a *Dhvajāgra Sūtra* in roughly the same place. There are other peculiarities that make the *Dhajagga Sutta* a special case. The *Dhajagga* is one of the canonical *parittas* (protective spells) listed in the *Visuddhimagga* (XIII, 31).⁹ *Paritta* recitation, as is well known, is still widely practiced in Theravāda countries. With the *paritta* the reciter invokes the protection of various

7 On the duplication of sutras see Anālayo (2006b).

8 In today’s order of the ZA, the sutras on Sakka are split between fascicles 40 and 46. In the original order of the ZA these were adjoining fascicles (see Mayeda 1964: 655, Bucknell 2008, and Chapter 1.3. above).

9 Other sutras that belong to this group are e.g., the *Ātānāṭiya Sutta* (DN 32) and the *Khandha Paritta* (AN 4.67).

gods of the Indian pantheon (as well as the power of the *Dhamma*). Related to the *rakṣā* (protective) function of the *parittas* are the ‘*Mahāsūtras*’ in the Tibetan canon, among which a longer and a shorter version of the *Dhajagga Sutta* are included.¹⁰ Although the narrative of the *Dhajagga Sutta* is linked to Sakka, it had a special importance due to its place in *rakṣā* literature.¹¹ This might have been one of the reasons why it was not included in the *Śakra-saṃyukta* of the northern tradition. Another sutra in which Sakka features prominently is the *Sakkapañha Sutta*; it too exists in many versions, but was not included in *Śakra-saṃyukta*.¹²

Structurally, the narratives of many sutras in this *saṃyutta* are set in a frame in which the Buddha tells the story of Sakka in order to exhort the monks. Here it is interesting that Sakka’s behavior is commended as exemplary for monks – one might expect the figure of Sakka to be an example for lay-people and, in particular, rulers, but in the sutras spoken to Pasenadi or Bimbisāra we hardly ever encounter the king of *devas*. Also the Buddhist or rather pan-Indian image of the ideal ruler, the *cakravartin*, was never linked with Sakka.¹³ It is made clear that Sakka’s position is, in the main, a consequence of his good deeds in previous lives. The image of the *cakravartin*, on the other hand, retains the element of rule by conquest, even if his soldiers do not need to use their weapons. It emphasizes extension and extending the realm, modes of little importance for the ruler of the Tāvātimsa heaven, who is born to his estate.¹⁴

10 See Skilling (1997) for a comparative, critical edition and comprehensive treatment of their textual history.

11 For this term see Skilling (1992).

12 See Shichi (1988) for analysis and remarks on the textual history.

13 The term *cakravartin* is used also in the *Upaniṣads* (*Maitrī Upaniṣad* 1.4) and the concept is discussed in detail in Kauṭilya’s *Arthśāstra* (c. 300 BCE).

14 There are local uses of Sakka in the construction of secular kingship. In Burma Sakka, as Lord Thagya, was held in special esteem and was used to ‘Buddha-ize’ (Spiro 1996: 248) the autochthonous Nat deities. Thagya Min was considered a model for the earthly ruler and architectonic references

As part of the *Sagāthavagga*, which belongs to an early stratum of Buddhist literature, the sutras on Sakka contain a large number of motifs deriving from non-Buddhist Indian literature.¹⁵ Verocana and Sakka asking for knowledge, the Ṛṣis casting a curse, the names of Sakka, and even very generally the submission of Sakka under a human *guru* – all these elements are results of assimilation and there are many more. The early Buddhists took existing stories about Indra and incorporated them into their own narratives. Was this a result of the decline of Indra’s prominence in Brahmanic thought, or did the Buddhist assimilation of Indra encourage the trend that sees him reduced, even gelded, in the later epics? There is still plenty of room for research on the interplay between the stories of Sakka in Buddhist and Jain texts and those of Indra in early Brahmanical literature, but I regret I will have to leave this to scholars who are better prepared to navigate the ocean of Indian literature.

6.2 THE NAMES OF SAKKA

Indian gods usually have many names and this is reflected in BZA 35, the sutra on Sakka’s names. Most of these names have been transcribed in various ways and a schematic overview and some remarks on their philology might be helpful for future research.

to the connection between the king and Thagya Min are attested until at least the 18th century (Charney 2006: 89). In Chinese Buddhist history there is circumstantial evidence that Yao Xing 姚興 (366-416), a king of the Later Qin dynasty, modeled aspects of his rule on Sakka (Li 2000: 114-124, and Zhou 2002).

- 15 Von Hinüber 1994b: 17 and 31ff. Von Hinüber considers the possibility that the Indra/Śakra stories are remnants of a group of “minor epics”, secular pendants to the Vedas, which served as common source for Buddhist and Jain literature as well as later Sanskrit epic literature.

T.100 (BZA 35)	T.99	T.374 大般涅槃經 ¹⁶	Pāli (SN 11.12)	Sanskrit fragment (Enomoto 1994: No. 1106)
1. 帝釋	釋提桓因	帝釋	Maghavā (= 3)	
2. 富蘭但那	富蘭陀羅	橋尸迦 (= 5)	Purindada	
3. 摩佉婆	摩伽婆	婆蹉婆 ¹⁷ (= 4?)	Sakka (= 1)	Maghavā
4. 娑娑婆	娑娑婆	富蘭陀羅 (= 2)	Vāsava	

16 CBETA/T.12.374.563c24. There is another (almost) identical list in the other translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (CBETA/T.12.375.810b8).

17 The 蹉 in *po cuo po* 娑蹉婆 in both versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* is an attempt to transcribe Vāsava. Since this particular transcription appears only in this list, it caused some head-scratching among the compilers of later glossaries, who were not quite sure about the meaning: The *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 (8th century) glosses 娑蹉婆 as ‘meaning “holding the Vajra-treasure (*vajrapāṇi*)”; it also means “beautifully adorned” (*yan shi* 嚴飾)’ (CBETA/T.54.2128.479c04). 蹉 is well attested as *-tsa* in the name *Vatsa* (cf. Coblin 1994: No. 14), but its use for *-jra* in *Vajrapāṇi* is highly unlikely, also considering *vajra* is translated 金剛 in the same list.

Other glossaries, like the *Fahuajing sandabu buzhu* 法華經三大部補注, preserved older information: ‘West-of-the-River [Daolang 道朗 (5th century)] explains 娑蹉婆 as “[He who] likes to adorn. Who in former days liked to donate clothing now receives beautiful clothes” 娑蹉婆河西云翻為好嚴飾昔日好衣布施今得麗服也 (CBETA/X28.586.140.c21-23). Daolang, who collaborated on the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, obviously knew the etymology of Vāsava.

T.100 (BZA 35)	T.99	T.374 大般涅槃經	Pāli (SN 11.12)	Sanskrit fragment (Enomoto 1994: No. 1106)
5. 橋尸迦	橋尸迦	摩佉婆 (= 3)	Sahassakkha (= 7)	Kauśika
6. 舍脂夫	舍脂鉢低	因陀羅 (= 8)	Sujampati	[sujām?](pa)tir
7. 千眼	千眼	千眼	Devānaminda (= 8)	[saha?]srākṣa
8. 因陀羅	因提利	舍支夫 (= 6)		Indra
9. 帝釋		金剛 (not in BZA)		
		寶頂 (not in BZA)		
		寶幢 (not in BZA)		

1. 帝釋 / 釋提桓因 / *Sakka*

The SN parallel explains the name *Sakka* thus: ‘*sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ adāsi, tasmā sakkoti vuccati* (Because he assiduously (*sakkaccaṃ*) made offerings, he is called *Sakka*).’

In the Chinese this explanation by etymology does not work: the meaning of 帝釋 must have been unclear for the Chinese audience. Perhaps this is why the BZA explains ‘*Sakka*’ again at the end of its list saying: ‘能具上七事以是緣故諸天號曰『帝釋』 (He was able to fulfill the seven duties above; for this reason the *devas* call him *Sakka*)’. It is possible that *neng* 能 is an attempt to meet the semantics of *sakka* both as name and in the meaning of ‘able.’

The form *shi dihuan yin* 釋提桓因, which appears in both the ZA and the BZA (e.g., BZA 38), is a contracted transcription of Skt. *śakro devānām indraḥ*.¹⁸

2. 富蘭但那 / 富蘭陀羅 / *Purindada*

In the Pāli tradition there are two versions given for the etymology of *Purindada*. Bodhi (2000: 496) accepts the reading *pure pure dānaṃ adāsi, tasmā purindadoti vuccati* and translates (2000: 330): ‘he gave gifts in **city** (*pura*) **after city**; therefore he is called *Purindada*, The Urban Giver.’ Bodhi also notes, however, that the corresponding name of *Indra* in the Sanskrit tradition is ‘*Puraṃda*’ or ‘*Puraṃdara*’

18 The *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 (CBETA/T54.2128.482c21) says: ‘釋提桓因 [is an acronym derived from] 釋迦提婆因達羅. 釋迦 [*śakra*] is a *Kṣatriya* family name. In Chinese it means ‘powerful’ (能). 提婆 means *deva* (天). 因達羅 [*indra*] means ruler (帝). Together “*Sa*[*kra*] the ruler of gods” (釋中天帝).’

which has a very straightforward meaning: ‘destroyer of strongholds’ (e.g., Rv. V 30, 11).

The other reading for this passage found in the Pāli corpus omits the second *pure*.¹⁹ Accordingly, Burlingame takes the single *pure* as ‘former, previous’ and translates *pure dānaṃ adāsi, tasmā purindadoti vuccati* as ‘who in a **previous** state of existence gave gifts (*pure dānaṃ adāsi*); therefore he is called Purindada’ (Burlingame 1921, I: 314).

The Chinese points to still another reading for this passage. Both BZA and ZA clearly translate something like *punaḥ punar*: ‘Again and again (*shù shù* 數數) he made offerings, therefore the gods called him by the name “富蘭但那/富蘭陀羅.”’ This explanation must have been meaningless for a Chinese audience, because the alliteration got lost in translation. Later Chinese Buddhist lexicographers, however, were undeterred and the glossary *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音譯 (7th-8th century) explains 富蘭陀羅 thus: ‘[The work] “Ancient Sounds” says that *fulan* 富蘭 means “city” and *tuoluo* 陀羅 means “to destroy.”’²⁰

With this we are back to ‘destroyer of strongholds.’ Xuanying 玄應, the author of the *Yiqiejing yinyi*, assumes that 陀羅 transcribes *-dara*, which it generally does. However, 羅 is rarely used for *-ḍa* and *-ṇa* (Coblin 1994: s.v.) making *-dada* a possibility. Moreover, the BZA 富蘭但那 cannot be a rendering of *Puraṃdara*, but only of something close to **Puraṃda(n)da*.²¹

19 Bodhi (2000) refers to the Burmese edition he uses. This version is also the one found at *Dhp-a*. I 264.

20 古音云富蘭云城陀羅云破也 (CBETA/T.54.2128.479c5)

21 Coblin 1994: s.v. 那. That 那 was used to transcribe *-(n)da* is for the time in question only possible in what Coblin calls ‘the Common Shazhou’ (Siglum CSZ) reconstructions of “a number of medieval northwest dialects.” Shazhou is in the vicinity of Dunhuang. This fits again with the

Joining the dots, it is now possible to outline what happened when Puraṃdara – a name emphasizing the bellicose aspect of Indra – was appropriated by Buddhism. Buddhist authors, in their attempt to recast the martial Indra as peaceful, non-violent Sakka, changed the second part of the name from *-dara* to *-dada* to give it a more pacifistic meaning.²² Probably the explanation in the earliest Indian text was indeed something like *pure pure dānaṃ adāsi*, but since ‘Urban Giver’ did not make much sense, one *pure* was dropped in the *lectio facilior* of the Burmese version, resulting in Purindada the ‘Giver in Previous Lives.’

In the north, or on the way through Central Asia, *pure pure* became a Prakrit form of Skt. *punaḥ punar* / Pāli *punapuna(m)* and was translated into Chinese as *shùo shùo* 數數 ‘again and again.’ While the BZA and the ZA transcribe *Puraṃdada, in the Chinese the etymological explanation loses all semantic or phonetic connection to the name. The lexicographers of the Tang dynasty inquired about the meaning of 富蘭陀羅 from other sources, from sources who knew about the names of Indra. This referred them back to the original Puraṃdara, the explanation of which Xuanying duly recorded. The *Yiqiejing yinyi* does not comment on the fact that the definition of 富蘭陀羅 as ‘destroyer of strongholds’ does not tally with the explanation given in the sutra (‘because he gave again and again’). And although Xuanying did not see that the original of ZA 富蘭陀羅 was probably not Puraṃdara, but in fact *Puraṃdada, his explanation points to the very name that the early Buddhists had changed during their assimilation of Sakka as a peace-loving *deva*.

identification of the Western Qin as the place/time where the translation took place. In the Chang’an region 那 for *-(n)da* is attested only for the mid-Tang almost three hundred years later (Coblin *ibid.*).

22 After I had come to this conclusion, I noticed that Grünwedel (1901: 38) had commented on this more than hundred years earlier.

3. 摩佉婆 / 摩伽婆 / *Maghavā*:

This appellation alludes to Sakka's former existence as the *brāhmaṇa* youth Magha, head of a group of thirty-three friends, who later were reborn as the 33 Tāvatiṃsa *devas*. A *Jātaka* tells that Magha is a former existence of Śākyamuni Buddha, before his rebirth as a past Sakka.²³

The transcription 摩伽婆 in the ZA reflects, as usual, standard Sanskrit with 伽 representing *ga*, *gha*. The 佉 of the BZA, however, shows that here the translators are transcribing ***Makhavā**.²⁴

In the Vedic tradition Indra is connected early on with the set of thirty-three *devas*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (III, 9, 2) includes Indra in this group along with the eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Adityas, and Prajāpati.

4. 婆娑²⁵婆 / 娑婆娑²⁶ / *Vāsava*

The etymology of the name *Vāsava* is constructed very differently in the southern and in the northern traditions.

In the Pāli tradition, 'Vāsava' is explained in the story of the

23 *Dhp-a*, I: 265-72; BL I: 315-19; *Jātaka* No. 31.

24 *qu* 佉 is one of the few characters used only in transcription (cf. Pulleyblank 1965).

25 The variant reading *tuo* 妥 in the Shōgozō Mss. (T. siglum 聖) is a mistake.

26 The ZA *shapopo* 娑婆娑 can only be a mistake; the characters are easily confused. The Taishō annotation for this term too is incorrect: 娑婆娑 is not Sahassaka, but simply a scribal or printing error for 婆娑婆.

young *brāhmaṇa* Magha and his friends, who build a guest-house and, because of this and other meritorious deeds, are reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. The *Dhp-a* says: *āvasathaṃ adāsi, tasmā vāsavoti vuccati*: ‘Because he [Sakka] gave a resthouse (*āvasatha*) [in his former life], he is called “Vāsava”’ (*Dhp-a* I 264; BL I: 314).

The northern tradition, however, explains the name very differently, deriving it from \sqrt{vas} in the meaning of ‘to clothe’ rather than ‘to dwell’: ‘Because again and again he [Sakka] offered clothes [**vāsa*] to renunciants and *brāhmaṇas*, for that reason he was called “Vāsava”’ (BZA 35, see below).

Understandably, neither Buddhist tradition mentions the usual Indian etymology for Vāsava. For Indra the epithet Vāsava²⁷ pointed to his connection with the eight Vasus, elemental deities, which Indra seems to lead in some texts (*Rv.* 1, 58, 3).

5. 橋尸迦 / 橋尸迦 / [missing]

This is Skt. Kauśika (SWTF II 130b), Pāli Kosiya, ‘belonging to the Kusika family.’ Kauśika is one of the oldest names for Indra. Malalasekera (1974: s.v.) writes: ‘It is once used of Indra in the *Ṛg Veda*, in what exact sense is not known. Rhys Davids suggests ... that perhaps we have here a survival from the time when Indra was only the god of a Kusika clan.’

27 Earliest occurrence is in *Atharva Veda* (VI 82).

6. 舍脂夫 / 舍脂鉢低 / *Sujampati*

As seen elsewhere, the BZA often renders the name by a sound-meaning compound (舍脂 = Sujā; 夫 = husband), while the ZA tends to transcribe every syllable.

7. 千眼 / 千眼 / *Sahassakkha*

For this name all three texts, the BZA, the ZA, and the SN, offer the same explanation for Sahassakkha ‘The Thousand Eyed’: *Sakko, bhikkhave, devānamindo sahasampi atthānaṃ muhuttēna cinteti*: ‘Sakka, o monks, the ruler of the gods, can think of 1000 things in one single moment.’ In Hindu mythology the explanation for the epithet is quite different.²⁸ After discovering that Indra had slept with his wife Ahalyā, the sage Gautama curses him. As a result Indra was covered by 1000 *yonī*-shaped wounds. Only after he repented were the marks changed into eyes.

8. 因陀羅 / 因提利 / [missing]

The Chinese versions for this list clearly transcribe Indra, not Devānamindam ‘Leader/Lord of the Devas,’ the last item on the Pāli list. However, as mentioned above, the form 釋提桓因 for Sakka Devānaṃ Indra is widely used in both the BZA and the ZA. The Pāli and the Chinese texts prefer using the name Indra within the compound rather than as single term.²⁹ The *Yiqiejing yinyi* glosses 因陀羅 laconically as ‘(heavenly) ruler’

²⁸ One version of the story is found in the *Ramāyaṇa* (Canto XLVIII).

²⁹ 釋提桓因 appears 98 times in the BZA and ZA, while “Indra” is transcribed only 10 times.

(*dizhu* 帝主).³⁰

The detailed comparison with the Chinese has shown once more that difficult terms can sometimes be resolved through comparison. While in the case of *Purindada* the Chinese helps us to reconstruct the correct Indian version for the northern tradition (*Puraṃdara*), comparison with the Indian *Vāsava* lets us correct a hitherto unidentified scribal error in the Chinese.

6.3 TRANSLATION

There are 20 sutras concerning Sakka in the BZA. Two *uddānas*, group them in two sets of ten.

6.3.1 BZA 33 – SEVEN PRACTICES³¹

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvathī, in the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time the Buddha told the monks: ‘Steadfastly maintaining the seven practices³² one is bound to be reborn as [a] Sakka [king of gods]. Why so? In former times, when [any] Sakka was a human being, he set out to cultivate these beginner’s practices.³³ He was obedient to his parents and

30 CBETA/T.54.2128.479c06.

31 cf. SN 11.11.

32 *qi xing* 七行, Pāli *satta vatapadāni*. In the ZA (which speaks of *qi zhong shou zhe* 七種受者) the seventh (not getting angry) is missing. The wording of the BZA here is clearly closer to the Pāli parallel (SN I, 228).

33 *fa chu lü xing* 發初履行. I translate 初履行 according to the passage in the

respectful to the elders of the [extended clan-]family. His speech was gentle. He did not slander others. He was generous, not stingy. He always told the truth, never betrayed others. He did not let anger arise, and whenever hatred arose in him, he strove to extinguish it quickly.’

At that time the World-honored One spoke a verse:

[Whoever] towards their parents // displays filial obedience,
towards their elders // heartfelt deep respect,
always speaks in a manner gentle and friendly, // kindly and good,
abandoning slander, // greed, and hatred,
[of such a one] the thirty-three gods // have this to say:
Such a practitioner // is our better.
He should dwell apart // as king of the gods.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having heard what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.2 BZA 34 – MAHĀLI DOUBTS³⁴

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in the great hall on the shore of the Monkey[-lake]³⁵ near Vesāli. There was a

Chuyao jing 出曜經 (CBETA/T.04.212. 749b25) 初履行人意不堅固 ‘The mind of a person, who has just started to practice, is not [yet] stable.’

34 cf. SN 11.13

35 *mi hou bi an da jiang tang* 彌猴彼岸大講堂 Skt. *markaṭa hrada tīre mahā śālā*. This appears three times in the BZA (including as 彌猴陂岸 in BZA 330). It appears as 彌猴池側重閣講堂 frequently in the ZA and once in the *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (CBETA/T01.1.66a23); and as 彌猴水邊高樓臺觀 several times in the MĀ. In the early Pāli tradition, this place is only called Kūṭāgārasālā, which Bodhi (2000: 330) renders as ‘Hall with the Peaked Roof.’ The names ‘monkey shore’ or ‘shore of the monkey lake’ appear only in the northern tradition. *Markaṭa-hrada-tīre* appears in the *Divyāvadāna*,

Licchavi, by the name of Mahāli, who came to the Buddha, paid homage to his feet and addressed him: ‘World-honored One, have you seen Sakka?’

The Buddha said: ‘I have seen him.’

The Licchavi addressed him: ‘There are *yakkhas* who look like Sakka. Might it be that the World-honored One saw such a *yakkha* instead?’

The Buddha told the Licchavi: ‘I am well acquainted with Sakka’s appearance. I also know that there are *yakkhas* who look like Sakka. I also fully know his deeds in previous lives. When Sakka was a human being, he was obedient to his parents, he respected his elders, his speech was gentle, without slander, he had done away with avarice, he always loved to give, he always spoke truthfully, he had done away with anger, and he did not give rise to hatred.’

At that time the Buddha spoke a verse.³⁶

[Whoever] towards their parents // displays filial obedience,
towards their elders // heartfelt deep respect,
Always speaks in a manner gentle and friendly, // kindly and good,
abandoning slander, // greed, and hatred,
[of such a one] the thirty three gods // have this to say:
Such a practitioner // is our better.
He should dwell apart // as king of the gods.

the *Mahāvastu* and other *Avadānas* (see Edgerton 1953 [1977]: 420a, and Akanuma 1930: s.v. Kūṭāgārasāla). In the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang visited the place. According to a legend he records, the lake was created for the Buddha by a group of monkeys (CBETA/T51.2087.908b14-15).

36 Verse part identical with BZA 33.

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.3 BZA 35 – THE NAMES OF SAKKA³⁷

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time there was a monk who approached, paid homage at his feet, stood to one side and said to the Buddha: ‘World-honored One, where does the name “Sakka” come from? What are the characteristics of Sakka?’

The Buddha told the monk: ‘Originally, when Sakka was still a human being, he generously made offerings, led a pure life, and his mind was faithful. With a faithful mind he made offerings to the poor, renunciants, *brāhmaṇas*, and so on. When he made offerings, he offered drinks and refreshments, all kinds of hard and soft food,³⁸ all kinds of garlands, all kinds of fragrance, incense, perfume,³⁹ riches,⁴⁰ and bedding. For this reason the gods⁴¹ called him Sakka.’

Again the monk addressed the Buddha: ‘Why is Sakka called “Purindada”?’

37 cf. SN 11.12. See St. Petersburg Dunhuang fragment No. 17211.

38 *yao shan* 饒饒. *khādaniya-bhojaniya*, hard and soft food.

39 *tu xiang* 塗香. Here probably translates *vilepana*.

40 *cai bo* 財帛. Literally ‘wealth and silk.’ Hirakawa (No. 3573), however, has *kolāhala-sthavika*. This expression seems to be synonymous with *pātra-sthavika* (Pāli *pattathavikā*) and the original here may have had ‘bag for carrying the begging bowl’ (Edgerton 1953 [1977]: 609b).

41 These are to be understood as the thirty-two friends of Magha [i.e., 33 including him, according to the Dhp-a], who with him were reborn as the Tāvatiṃsa gods.

The Buddha told the monk: ‘When Sakka, in former times, was born as a human being, he untiringly made offerings. Again and again he made offerings, therefore the gods called him by the name “Purindada” [He who gives repeatedly].’

Again the monk addressed the Buddha: ‘And for what reason is Sakka also called “Maghavā”?’

The Buddha told the monk: ‘Sakka was originally a *brāhmaṇa* called “Maghavā.”’

Again [the monk] asked: ‘For what reason is he called “Vāsava”?’

The Buddha said: ‘Because again and again he offered clothes to renunciants and *brāhmaṇas*. For that reason he was called “Vāsava” [the Clothier].’

Again [the monk] asked: ‘For what reason is he called “Kosiya”?’

The Buddha said: ‘Because originally when Sakka was a human being, his clan-name was ‘Kosiya.’ Therefore he is called “Kosiya.”’

‘And why is he called “Sujampati”?’

The Buddha told the monk: ‘Sakka married [Sujā] the daughter of the *asura* king Vepacitti. Therefore he is known as “Sujampati” [Sujā’s husband].’

‘And why is he called “Thousand-Eyed”?’

The Buddha told the monk: ‘When Sakka was a human being, he was extremely intelligent. When he had to make decisions, he could decide a thousand things in a short time. For that reason he is called “Thousand Eyed.”’

‘And why is he called “Indra”?’

The Buddha told the monk: ‘Sakka holds the position of king of gods, he is in charge of their affairs. Therefore he is called “Indra.”’

At that time the World-honored One said to the monk: ‘He was able to fulfill the seven duties [mentioned] above. Because of that, the other gods call him “Sakka.”’⁴²

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.4 BZA 36 – A YAKKHA ON SAKKA’S THRONE⁴³

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time the World-honored One told the monks: ‘There was once a *yakkha*, who was short in stature, whose face was ugly,⁴⁴ and whose complexion was black. People did not like the sight of him. [This *yakkha* once] seated himself on Sakka’s seat. When the thirty-three gods saw the *yakkha* sitting in Sakka’s place, they all became very angry, and insulted him in various ways. Then, the ugly aspects of the *yakkha* slowly diminished, he became attractive and grew taller. The gods abused and cursed him and

42 This seems to be an answer without a question. The text seems faulty here. ‘[Mentioned] above’ refers to the previous sutras BZA 33 and 34, where the seven practices are discussed. As Waldschmidt (1968: 36) points out the Pāli *Vatapada Sutta* combines BZA 33-35 in one single sutra. The seven vows or rules of conduct (*satta vatapadāni*) are enumerated in all versions.

43 cf. SN 11.22.

44 On the description of the *yakkha* in the SN as *dubbaṇṇa okoṭimaka* see von Hinüber (1994b: 17f). The 形狀甚小 in the BZA corroborates (indirectly) the interpretation of the rare *okoṭimaka* as ‘gedrungen.’

became more and more angry. The *yakkha* in turn grew even taller and more beautiful. The gods went to Sakka and told him: ‘There is a *yakkha*, extremely ugly and short, who sits in your place. We, the gods, abused him severely, and the *yakkha*’s form became beautiful, his body grew taller!’ Sakka said: ‘There is this *yakkha*, who on receiving abuse turns beautiful, he is called “On the Side of Anger.”’⁴⁵ Thereupon Sakka went to his seat, knelt with his cloth arranged over one shoulder, folded his hands, offered incense and spoke to the *yakkha*: ‘Great seer! I am Sakka. I am Sakka.’ After Sakka had uttered his name thrice, the *yakkha* became small and ugly again and finally vanished. Sakka resumed his seat and said to the gods: ‘From now on, let none of you generate anger. If there is hostility,⁴⁶ be careful not to add anger to it.’ And he spoke this verse:⁴⁷

If someone comes and utters insults, // let no one return these
insults to him.

Towards those who come to attack and to harm, // let everyone
generate loving-kindness.

Those without anger, without violence, // one should always
befriend.

For they are noble ones, // they are disciples of noble ones.⁴⁸

45 *zhu ren chen* 助人瞋. Here we see an interesting mistake, stemming from the stage of oral transmission that occurred in the northern tradition. 助 probably renders *paṅsa* here. Considering that Hirakawa (No. 915) includes *paṅsa* for 對治, the 瞋恚對治鬼 of the ZA was probably ‘*Yakkha* Anger-friend’ (**krodha-paṅsa yaṅsa?*). The Pāli, however, gives *kodhabhakkho yakkho*, which is ‘anger-**eating** *yakkha*.’ Something went wrong on the way north and *bhakkha/bhaka(ka)* ‘eater’ became *paṅsa* ‘friend.’ This mistake is crucial evidence for the inference that the BZA and the ZA belong to the same stemma; the two texts had one common ancestor, which had split off from the SN branch of the stemma.

46 *e dui* 惡對. *pratidvaṃdva* (Hirakawa: No. 1227).

47 The Pāli verse here is completely different. The difference between the northern (BZA and ZA) and the southern branches of the stemma, is especially visible here. The ZA is an almost literal translation of the *Udānavarga* parallel to this passage (Enomoto 1994: No. 1107).

48 *xian sheng di zi* 賢聖弟子. **ārya-śrāvakāḥ*. Considering the previous half-line

Those with anger and hatred // are blocked by that anger [as if by] a mountain.

But if, when there is anger and hatred, // one can control oneself even a little,

then this is called a wholesome state // like the taming of an unruly horse.’

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Sakka is the king of gods, enjoying all kinds of pleasure. He can control his anger and praises those who control their anger. How much more should you, monks, who, out of faith have gone forth from home into homelessness,⁴⁹ gone forth and pursued the way, you, who have shaved off hair and beard and donned the robes, how much more should you control anger and praise those who control their anger! In this way, monks, you should practice!’

The monks, having listened to what the Buddha had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.5 *BZA 37 – TWO MONKS ARGUE. THE BUDDHA REMINDS THEM OF HOW SAKKA DEALS WITH ANGER*⁵⁰

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time, early one morning, the World-honored One took his robes and his begging bowl and entered the town to beg for food. Having eaten he washed his feet, gathered his seat [for meditation] and went to the Andhavana forest [to meditate].

‘disciples of noble ones’ seems better than ‘noble disciples.’ The ZA has *zhu xiansheng zhong* 住賢聖眾, which tallies with the *vasaty āryeṣu sarvadā* that we have in the Prakrit fragment for this sutra.

49 *xin jia fei jia* 信家非家. Pāli *saddhā aḡārasmā anagāriyam*.

50 cf. SN 11.24. See St. Petersburg Dunhuang fragment No. 17044.

Having looked around [for a good spot], he sat down cross-legged beneath a tree in a secluded place, for the day's abiding.

At that time in the Jeta Vihāra there were two monks who got into an argument during a meeting. One endured in silence, the other became angry and irate. When the one who had become irate saw that he had transgressed, he went to the monk who had stayed silent, wishing to confess.⁵¹ [However,] the monk who had endured in silence did not accept the confession. When this transpired, there ensued a noisy discussion among all the monks. The *Tathāgata* was at that time abiding in meditation, and heard [the clamor] clearly with his *deva*-like hearing, which surpasses human hearing and can discern sounds from far away. He rose from his seat, went to the monks, and sat on the seat prepared in front of them.

The Buddha said to the monks: 'This morning I took my robes and begging bowl and entered the town to beg for food. (... and so on ...) went into the forest, and sitting silently, I heard monks shouting and clamoring. What is the matter?'

Then the monks told the Buddha: 'World-honored One, in the Jeta Vihāra there are two monks who got into an argument during a meeting. One monk endured in silence, the other monk became irate and said a lot. The irate monk knew that he had transgressed and went [to offer an] honest confession. The monk that had endured silently did not accept the other's confession, so it became a public issue and everybody started shouting.'

The Buddha told the monks: 'Why be so stupid and not accept someone's confession? Monks, know that in ancient days Sakka

51 *chan hui* 懺悔. Perhaps 'apology' would be the more natural translation here and below. 懺悔 points, however, to a more formal way of expiation within the context of confession as prescribed in the *Vinaya*.

Devānaṃ Inda,⁵² while in the Sudhamma Hall among the gods spoke this verse:

It is like taking a vessel made from a gourd // and filling it with butter to use as a lamp;

the flame burning, consuming // will burn up the gourd as well.

The angry mind is like this; // it turns on itself and burns one's wholesome roots.

We [should] never harbor annoyance. // Having sought out anger, disperse it.

Don't be drawn in as if in a maelstrom, // endlessly circling around.

And even if there is anger, abstain from harsh speech, // not touching on topics that others wish to avoid.

Deeply respecting others' wish to avoid such topics,⁵³ // we will never harm them.

Taking control of oneself // is of great advantage to oneself.

Those without anger, without violence, // those are noble ones.

They are disciples of noble ones; // those one should always befriend.

Those with anger and hatred // face an obstacle heavy as a mountain

But if, when there is anger and hatred, // one can control oneself even a little,

then this is called good karma // like the taming of an unruly horse.'

The Buddha said to the monks: 'Sakka Devānaṃ Inda reigns over the gods. At ease among them, [though powerful] he can practice patience and praise those with patience. How could you, monks, who have gone forth, disfigured [by shaving off

52 *shi dihuan yin* 釋提桓因. See introductory remarks on the names of Sakka.

53 不觸汝所諱所諱如要脈 literally these two half-lines read '[I] do not touch on your speech-taboo // [consider your speech-] taboos to be like vital organs.'

your hair],⁵⁴ not be patient and praise patience?’

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.6 BZA 38 – SAKKA DEBATES WITH VEPACITTI⁵⁵

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time the World-honored One told the monks: ‘A long time ago Sakka Devānaṃ Inda, leader of the gods,⁵⁶ was about to do battle with the *asuras*. At that time Sakka Devānaṃ Inda said to Vepacitti,⁵⁷ king of the *asuras*: ‘We should not lead our armies to harm each other, but instead should debate, and thus decide who wins and who loses.’ Vepacitti said to Sakka Devānaṃ Inda: ‘Kosiya, if we were to debate, who would determine the winner and the loser?’ Sakka Devānaṃ Inda said: ‘In both our armies there are people who are intelligent, of wise judgment, able to tell good from bad, and to decide who will be the winner and who the loser.’ Vepacitti said: ‘You speak first, Sakka!’ [But] Sakka answered: ‘My turn will come. You are the older *deva*.⁵⁸ You speak first.’ And Vepacitti spoke this verse:⁵⁹

54 *hui xing* 毀形, ‘destroying form.’ Possibly Skt. *vairūpya* (Hirakawa: No. 1899). Perhaps a vernacular expression associated with 剃髮, cf. the definition in the HDC (s.v.) as ‘to hurt one’s body or scalp.’ For connotations of hair cutting see the examples s.v.

55 cf. SN 11.5.

56 The Chinese 將諸天眾 after Sakka Devānaṃ Inda 釋提桓因 might be a gloss that entered the text during the oral translation process.

57 *pi mo zhi duo lou* 毘摩質多羅 transcribes Skt. *Vemacitra*.

58 *jiu tian* 舊天 *pubbadeva*.

59 The exchange below shows how much – or how little, depending on one’s expectations – the BZA, ZA, and SN differ from one another. Although we are clearly looking at essentially the same text, the differences in wording and imagery can only be explained by assuming that all three went

If I were to tolerate transgressions // the foolish would say of my patient manner:

‘His patience is born of fear’ // and deem themselves superior.

In reply Sakka Devānaṃ Inda spoke this verse:

Though the other might call it fear // and [think] he has gained the upper hand,

precious treasures and all benefits // [are for those] invincible ones who are patient when insulted.

Then Vepacitti spoke another verse:

The foolish have no wisdom // they have to be restrained.

[They are] like a cow at the rear // attempting to stampede over those ones in front of it on the path.

The knife and cudgel are necessary // to reign in fools.

Sakka Devānaṃ Inda answered with this verse:

I believe that for restraining the foolish // silent patience is the best.

[When] extreme hatred or anger or rage // is suffered patiently, the other [party] will naturally calm down.

Those without anger, without violence, // those are noble ones,

They are disciples of noble ones; // those one should always befriend.

For those filled with hatred and anger, // their hatred is an obstacle heavy as a mountain.

But if, at a time of hatred and anger, // one can restrain oneself even a little,

then that is called good karma // like reining in an unruly horse.

The wise among the gods and the *asuras* debated this thoroughly, weighing up who had won and who had lost. [They

through a period of independent development before they assumed their present forms.

agreed] that the [king of the] *asuras* had spoken in favor of strife and battle, while Sakka Devānaṃ Inda [had spoken for] ending quarrels, his mind not favoring angry contest. Thus, the *asura* [king] lost and Sakka won.’

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Sakka Devānaṃ Inda, who rules freely in [the Tāvātimsa] heaven, has during the long night [of *saṃsāra*] patiently suffered insults, now extols the way of patience. You too, monks, should bear insults patiently, and extol those who are patient. This is called living the homeless life.’⁶⁰

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having heard what he had said, were happy and bore it well in mind remembered it well.

6.3.7 BZA 39 – SAKKA IS PATIENT IN THE FACE OF INSULT⁶¹

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time the World-honored One told the monks: ‘A long time ago, Sakka Devānaṃ Inda was about to do battle with the *asuras*. When everything had been readied,⁶² he addressed the gods: ‘If we gods should attain victory, we will bind⁶³ [the king of

60 *chu jia fa* 出家法, lit. ‘*dhamma* of those gone forth.’ Skt. *pravrajita* (Hirakawa: No. 258).

61 cf. SN 11.4.

62 *zhi yan yi ban* 治嚴已辦. HDC (s.v.) explains 治嚴 with ‘packing the luggage’ 整理行裝.

63 *yi wu fu xi* 以五縛繫 (ZA: 五繫縛, T.125: 五繫). Pāli: *kaṅṭhaṃcāmehi bandhanehi*. Buddhaghosa explains this in the commentary as binding hands, feet and the neck (*kaṅṭha*). He also adds a comment to the effect that the fetters were based on thought, which Rhys Davids (1917: p. 283) finds ‘curious.’ There is no term for neck in the Chinese SĀ versions, but

the] *asuras* with five bonds, and bring him to our palace.’ The *asura* [king] also addressed his host: ‘If we win, we also will bind Sakka Devānaṃ Inda with five bonds and bring him to the *asura* palace.’

At that time, the gods won, and they bound Vepacitti with five bonds and brought him to their palace. When Vepacitti saw Sakka, he became angry and insulted him, using extremely foul language. When Sakka heard these insults, he stayed silent, did not react. His charioteer Mātali⁶⁴ addressed him with a verse:⁶⁵

Sakka! Husband of Sujā! Maghavā! // Are you afraid? Are you weak?

Vepacitti insults you to your face: // how can you suffer this foul language?

And Sakka answered with a verse:

I let patience arise not because I am afraid // neither is it that I am weak

And therefore suffer Vepacitti’s insults // By my own superior wisdom I have practiced patience.

The foolish person, being of shallow knowledge, lacking wisdom, // constantly argues, quarreling without end.

If I use force to control him, // then I am not different from this fool.

the northern tradition too saw Vepacitti bound by five ropes as an allusion to the five pleasures (*pañcakāma-guṇa*). The *Ekottarikāgama* parallel makes this explicit.

64 *mo de qie* 摩得伽. An interesting transcription. In the following sutra (BZA 39) we find Mātali as 摩得梨伽, and finally in BZA 40 the text settles on 摩得梨. Neither 摩得伽 nor 摩得梨伽 can render Skt./Pāli Mātali. Forms like ‘Māta(li)ga’ or ‘Māta(li)gi’ for this name are not known. It is unclear why the translator(s) transcribed a *-ga* or *-gi* final (Coblin 1994: s.v. 伽) for the first few occurrences of the name, before settling for 摩得梨. Here we find another indication that the BZA translation was not revised beyond the first draft.

65 In this cluster the verses of the ZA are almost a literal version of the Pāli. The BZA verses are slightly different, both in content and in length.

Again the charioteer said:

If one loosens the bonds of the naïve and foolish // they will just go on and on.

[They are] like a cow walking behind // [that suddenly] tries to stampede over those in front of it

A firm one will forcefully // restrain the foolish.

Again Sakka spoke in verse:⁶⁶

I find that for restraining the foolish // there is nothing better than patient silence.

When someone has intense hatred and anger // he is best restrained by patience alone.

What the foolish call strength // is really lack of strength.

The foolish do not distinguish between good and bad; // they have no way to restrain [themselves].

If I can find the courage in me // to patiently endure the foolish and inferior,

then this is called ‘foremost patience,’ // and ‘skill in patience.’

A weak person when facing someone strong // cannot but practice [patience]:

this is called ‘timid patience,’ // it is not true patience.

Those with great strength have the freedom // to counter those who insult [them]

with silence, not reacting: // this is called ‘supreme patience.’

Weakness is afraid of power // it is silent [because] it cannot react.

This is called ‘fear,’ // not ‘practicing patience.’

The naïve and foolish, those without wisdom // afflict others by harming them.

⁶⁶ The verse is about a third longer than its counterpart in the ZA. Some stanzas read like paraphrases of what has been said before and may have entered the text during the translation process.

Seeing the other's silent patience // they believe they are victorious.

A wise and saintly person // knows that patience is victorious.

Thus, among the saintly // the meritorious power of patience is always praised.

Not only for oneself but also for the other, // one does away with hindrances and fears.

Seeing the other full of hatred and anger, // yet being able to practice silent patience,

the other's hatred will vanish naturally, // no need for the power of knife and cudgel.

For the great benefit of both, // benefiting oneself and benefiting others.

What the foolish deem patience out of fear // is praised by the wise and saintly.

We are patient with those superior to us // because we are afraid of being harmed.

Also when struggling with equals // one is patient because one fears harm.

The ability to be patient with those inferior to us // is the highest form of patience.

The Buddha told the monks: 'If Sakka in the heaven of the thirty-three, freely exercising his rulership, can practice and praise patience, how much more should you, monks, who have disfigured yourselves [by shaving off your hair]⁶⁷ and entered the teaching, how much more should you practice and praise patience! Practicing and praising patience is the way of [those who have gone forth into] homelessness.

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

67 See above, note 54, on *hui xing* 毀形.

6.3.8 BZA 40 – SAKKA PAYS OBEISANCE TO THE BUDDHA 1 (BUDDHA)⁶⁸

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time the Buddha told the monks: ‘A long time ago Sakka Devānaṃ Inda wanted to go for a ride and enjoy his parkland. He ordered his charioteer Mātali: ‘Harness the thousand-horse chariot!’ Mātali promptly harnessed the chariot and reported to Sakka: ‘The chariot is ready. [We may leave] whenever you please.’⁶⁹ Thereupon Sakka left the Vejayanta⁷⁰ Palace and, facing east with his palms together, paid obeisance to the Buddha. When Mātali saw him paying obeisance facing east, his mind was filled with fear, and he dropped the whip and reins.

Sakka said: ‘What have you seen that scared you so that you drop the whip and reins?’ Mātali said: ‘Maghavā! Husband of Sujā! I dropped the whip and reins because of the fear that arose in my mind when I saw you paying obeisance facing east with palms together. All beings revere you; all the kings⁷¹ are under your rule. The four [heavenly] kings and the thirty-three gods all respectfully revere you. Who then surpasses you in power, that you stand and pay obeisance with palms together facing east?’ Sakka answered: ‘I am revered by everyone – this may be as you say. [However,] all gods and human beings respectfully venerate the one called Buddha. It is to him that I respectfully pay obeisance.’ At that time Sakka spoke this verse:

68 cf. SN 11.19.

69 *yi zhi shi shi* 宜知是時. SN: *yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasi*. On the Pāli formula see Manné (1993), who after careful analysis recommends translating as ‘When you are ready...’

70 Skt. Vaijayanta. The BZA transcribes as *pi chan yan tang* 毘禪延堂. The ZA translates (a little incorrectly, but perhaps on purpose) as *chang sheng dian* 常勝殿 (“Everlasting-Victory Palace”). The explanatory legend for the southern tradition (*vijaya* + *anta*, “Complete Victory”) is found at Jā I 203.

71 *di zhu* 地主. Here not in any of the usual Chinese meanings (e.g., landowner, farmer, or earth god), but translating Skt. *ṣṭiśvara*.

For the teacher of the world, for him of perfect name:⁷² // for him,
Mātali, you should know,

I have generated great respect and faith // and therefore stand, with
palms together, paying obeisance.

Mātali spoke this verse:

Now [since you] venerate the best of this world,⁷³ // I will follow you
in paying respect.

So saying, they paid obeisance with palms together, mounted
the chariot and went.’

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Sakka is powerful, the king of gods.
If he venerates and pays obeisance to the Buddha, how much
more diligently should you, monks, who have shaved off hair
and beard and left home to train in the path, venerate the
Buddha, as is fitting for a renunciant.’

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to
what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.9 BZA 41 – SAKKA PAYS OBEISANCE TO THE BUDDHA 2 (DHAMMA)⁷⁴

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī in
the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time the World-honored One told the monks: ‘A long
time ago Sakka Devānaṃ Inda wanted to go for a ride and enjoy
his parkland. He ordered his charioteer Mātali: ‘Harness the
thousand-horse chariot!’ Soon Mātali harnessed the chariot,
went to Sakka, and said to him: ‘The chariot is ready. We may

72 *zui da ming* 最大名. SN: *anomanāma*.

73 *shi jian sheng* 世間勝. SN: *setṭhā lokasmīṃ*.

74 cf. SN 11.18 and 19.

leave whenever you please.’ Thereupon Sakka left the Vejayanta Palace and with palms together paid obeisance facing south. When Mātali saw this, his mind was filled with surprise and fear, and he dropped the whip and reins.

Sakka said: ‘What have you seen that you are so scared?’ Mātali said: ‘Maghavā! Husband of Sujā! When I saw you with palms together paying obeisance facing south, my mind became filled with fear and I dropped the whip and reins. All beings revere you; all the kings are under your rule. The four [heavenly] kings and the thirty-three gods all respectfully revere you. Who then surpasses you in power, that you stand and pay obeisance with palms together facing south?’ Sakka answered: ‘I am revered by everyone – this may be as you say. [However,] all gods and human beings respectfully venerate the *Dhamma*. I respectfully pay obeisance to the perfect Discipline and *Dhamma*.’ And Sakka spoke a verse:

Those who have left home // practice relentlessly,
 enter silent meditation for a long time,⁷⁵ // lead the holy life
 perfectly,
 abandon the three poisons // and can attain the *Dhamma* of
 liberation.

To this *Dhamma* // I now pay obeisance.

To all great *Arahants* // who have abandoned desire
 dispelled the darkness of ignorance, // and cut off all fetters,
 as well as to those lay-people who practice good conduct, // and
 abstain from evil,

to all followers of the true *Dhamma* // I now pay obeisance.

Mātali said:

You venerate the very best // I wish to follow you in paying respect.

⁷⁵ *changye ru jiding* 長夜入寂定; ZA: 長夜入正受; SN: *cirarattasamāhite*. 長夜 here as in Pāli *cirarattaṃ* ‘for a long time,’ not *ciraratti* ‘long night [of saṃsāra].’

When Sakka⁷⁶ had spoken thus, he paid obeisance with palms together, mounted the chariot and departed.

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Sakka is powerful among men and gods. If even he pays obeisance to the *Dhamma*, how much more should you, monks, who have shaved off your hair and beard, left home to train in the path, how much more diligent should you be in paying obeisance to the *Dhamma*!’

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.10 BZA 42 – SAKKA PAYS OBEISANCE TO THE BUDDHA 3 (SAṄGHA)⁷⁷

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī in the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time the Buddha told the monks: ‘A long time ago Sakka Devānaṃ Inda wanted to go for a ride and enjoy his parkland. He ordered his charioteer Mātali: ‘Harness the thousand-horse chariot!’ Soon Mātali had harnessed the chariot, went to Sakka, and said to him: ‘The chariot is ready. We may leave whenever you please.’ Thereupon Sakka left the Vejayanta Palace and with palms together paid obeisance facing west. When Mātali saw this, surprise and fear arose in him, and he dropped whip and reins.

Sakka said: ‘What have you seen that you are so scared?’ Mātali said: ‘Maghavā! Husband of Sujā! When I saw you with folded hands paying obeisance facing west, my mind became filled with

76 Subject has to be supplied here. In the SN parallel, only Sakka mounts the chariot (Mātali is already on it); in the ZA parallel, however, both Sakka and Mātali make obeisance and mount the chariot.

77 cf. SN 11.20

fear and I dropped whip and reins. All beings revere you; all the kings are under your rule. The four [heavenly] kings and the thirty-three gods all respectfully revere you. Who then surpasses you in power, that you stand and pay obeisance with folded hands facing west?’ Sakka answered: ‘I am revered by everyone – this might be as you say. [However,] what all gods and human beings respectfully venerate is the *Saṅgha*. I respectfully pay obeisance to the *Saṅgha*.’

Thereupon Mātali spoke a verse:

The human body is filled with pus and sweat, // worse than an
exposed corpse,⁷⁸
always afflicted by hunger and thirst. // Why do you admire these
homeless ones?
Why do you now // venerate them thus?
What beauty do they have // and what virtue?
Please tell me, // I will now listen attentively.

Then Sakka Devānaṃ Inda spoke a verse:

Just because they are homeless, // I admire them.
They own no goods, // no storehouses and no grain.
They have left all tasks and business // to frugally live out their lives
in harmony.
They keep the precepts well, // discuss the wonderful Dhamma.
Brave and firm are they, without fear, // practicing noble silence.
Gods and asuras // fight incessantly,
and as to men, // each harbors anger and ambition.

78 *ju yu lu si shi* 劇於露死屍. The rendering here is tentative. The ZA has the drastic 臭穢胞胎生 神處穢死尸 ‘born from a stinking womb, [their] life-force dwells in a putrid corpse.’ The Pāli has *pūtidehasayā narā nimuggā kuṇṇapamhete*, which Bodhi renders ‘... the humans stuck in a putrid body, those submerged inside a corpse...’ (Bodhi 2000: 336).

I venerate those // who have abandoned knife and cudgel.
Everyone else strives to accumulate [riches]; // they let go of
everything.
What the world holds dear, // their minds have discarded.
I pay obeisance to those // who have abandoned all extremes.
This, Mātali, // you should know.

Then Mātali spoke this verse:

You venerate the very best // I will follow you in paying homage to
them.
What the Maghavā venerates // I too shall venerate.

Having spoken this verse, Sakka mounted the chariot and
departed.

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Sakka is powerful among men and
gods. If even he venerates the *Saṅgha*, how much more should
you, monks, who have left home to train in the path, venerate
the *Saṅgha*.’

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to
what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.11 BZA 43 - SUVĪRA

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī, in
the Jeta Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park.

At that time the World-honored One said to the monks: ‘Once
the *asuras* were gathering the four [kinds of] armies – elephants,
cavalry, chariots and infantry – all well equipped with arms.
They desired to march on the palaces of the Tusita heaven, and
do battle with the gods. At that time Sakka heard that the *asuras*

had equipped the four armies and he told the Suvīra Devaputta:⁷⁹ “I hear the *asuras* have equipped the four armies. You too now equip the four armies, march and meet them in battle!” Suvīra answered: “Very well!” Having said that, he dawdled around, had some fun, and forgot about it. When Sakka heard that the *asuras* had left their city, he ordered Suvīra again: “The *asuras* have left their city already. You should array the four armies and march to meet them in battle.” Suvīra said: “Very well, Kosiya.” But still Suvīra was having fun and did not prepare for battle. When the four armies of the *asuras*, in splendid formation,⁸⁰ had arrived at Mount Sumeru and were preparing to approach [the city of gods], Sakka said again: “I hear the *asuras* are approaching. You command the four armies, go and attack them!” Suvīra said in verse:⁸¹

79 *tian zi* 天子. Skt. *devaputra*. Lit. ‘son of a god,’ at times used for *devas* in ministerial function (PED: s.v. *deva*), therefore treated here as a title. Bodhi (2000: 317) translates *devaputta* consistently as ‘young *deva*’ and defines *devaputta* as ‘newly arisen in their respective heavenly planes’ (ibid.: 75). Bodhi considers Suvīra to be Sakka’s son (ibid.: 489). Geiger et al. (1997: 341n3), however, suggest that Suvīra might be another name for Sakka’s charioteer Mātali. This latter hypothesis might be strengthened by the fact that in both the ZA and the BZA the Suvīra Sūtra follows the three sutras in which Mātali appears. Also, if Sakka had a son, he should have been mentioned elsewhere. On the other hand it is unlikely that Sakka would send his charioteer without going himself. The crown prince, on the other hand, could be expected to handle the matter. If the dialog about being lazy and hanging out instead of working takes place between father and son it adds a comical dimension to the exchange that the audience would have picked up.

In the direct speech below, Sakka addresses Suvīra with *tāta* in Pāli, which the ZA translated as 阿公. If the original was indeed an equivalent to *tāta* the ZA is slightly mistaken. *Tāta* is here not used to address an older male - for which 阿公 would be correct - but rather someone junior (see PED: s.v. *tāta*).

80 *zhuang yan* 莊嚴. 莊嚴 was used to translate a fair number of Indian terms, in this case perhaps *pratimaṅḍita-vyūha*. Above 莊嚴 is translated as ‘to equip (an army).’

81 In the Pāli Sakka starts the exchange in verse. Verses 858 and 860 (Bodhi’s numbering) say the same thing and 858 should be considered a

If there is a nice and easy place without duties // I wish to be granted this place.

And Sakka replied in a verse:

If there were such an easy and happy place // I would wish you to take me there with you.

Suvāra then spoke this verse:

I am lazy, and do not want to rise; // though I have heard and understood you, I did not equip [the armies].

Let the splendor of the heavenly maidens and the five pleasures [they bring] be all around me // Sakka, grant me this wish.

Sakka answered with a verse:

If there were such a place of idleness // where, surrounded by a hundred thousand heavenly maidens,

One could enjoy oneself with the five pleasures: // if you are going there, take me with you.

Suvāra then spoke this verse:

If the king of gods has such a place without duties, // please permit me to enjoy its happiness without suffering.

Sakka answered with a verse:

Suvāra, if you had such a place // I would like to share its happiness with you.

Have you ever seen or heard of someone who, without effort, // attains happiness in life?

If you attain such a state // go there quickly and I will follow you.

If you [really] fear work and prefer a state of ease // you should go and quickly attain *Nirvāṇa*!

reduplication, both in light of its absence from both Chinese versions, and for intra-textual reasons.

On hearing these words, Suvāra gathered the four armies and set out to meet the *asuras* in battle. At that time the *devas* were victorious and the *asuras* retreated. Having repelled the *asuras*, [the *devas*] returned to their palaces in splendid formation.’

The Buddha said to the monks: ‘Sakka is the king of *devas* and has attained great power. If even he makes efforts, and praises making efforts, how could you, who out of faith have left home and donned the robes, how could you not make diligent efforts and praise making efforts. To make efforts and to praise making efforts, this should be the way of those who have left home.’

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having heard what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.12 BZA 44 – SAKKA AND VEPACITTI MEET A GROUP OF SAGES⁸²

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvaththī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the World-honoured One said to the monks: ‘Long ago in a far-away place, some sages (*ṛṣis*) lived in the forest. Near that spot the *devas* and *asuras* were doing battle. At that time Vepacitti, the king of the *asuras*, came to their place adorned with the five [regal] insignia. He wore his crown and held his

82 The sutra has been transmitted as two separate sutras in Pāli. The *Araññāyatana-isi Sutta* relates the visit of the *ṛṣis* to Sakka and their exchange of verses. The *Samuddaka Sutta* relates how the *ṛṣis* petition the *asura* lord Sambara. *Ṛṣis* – neither *samaṇas* nor *devas* – do not fit in the Buddhist scheme of things very well and appear only in relatively minor roles. Importantly, however, they figure in stories connected with Indra in the *Upaniṣads* and *Brāhmaṇas*. As even the Buddhist echo of these stories shows, *ṛṣis* are fairly unforgiving and the protagonist riles them at his peril.

bejewelled chowrie,⁸³ a parasol was held above him; he wore his sword at his side and high boots inlaid with gems. He did not come through the door, but entered through the wall. Moreover, he did not speak with the sages, did not exchange pleasantries, but instead left again through the wall. Then one of the sages said: “This Vepacitti has no respect. Leaving through the wall like this without even exchanging pleasantries with us sages!” Another sage said: “If the *asuras* would show some respect and exchange pleasantries, they might defeat the *devas*. Too bad they don’t.” Another sage asked: “Who was that?” Another said [in reply]: “That was Vepacitti, the king of the *asuras*.” Another sage [added]: “The *asuras* are by nature of shallow knowledge and vision, they are uneducated, without respect, like farmers. Surely the *devas* will win and the *asuras* lose.”

At that time Sakka came to the place of the Sages. He took off the five insignia of a *deva* king, entered through the gate, greeted the sages, looked [politely] around, and spoke to the sages: “Are all of you in peace here, without trouble?” Having thus inquired he left again through the gate. There a sage asked: “Who was that? Inquiring after our health, looking [politely] around, leaving again... Very educated, of pleasant appearance!” Another sage answered: “That was Sakka.” Still another said: “The *devas* know well when to pay respects, their behavior is appropriate. Certainly the *devas* will win and the *asuras* lose.”

When Vepacitti heard that the sages were praising the *devas* and severely criticizing the *asuras* he became very angry. When the sages heard this, they went⁸⁴ to the *asuras* and said: “We hear you are angry.” Then they spoke a verse:

83 *moni fu* 摩尼拂. **maṇi-vāla-vījanī* or **maṇi-cāmara*.

84 The Pāli says that they went magically ‘teleporting’ from their dwelling place to the *asuras*. The same is meant here: on their return, the text below says, ‘the sages rise up in the air and vanish.’

We therefore came ourselves // desiring to ask a boon.

Grant us that we do not have to fear [you] // never again let anger
[against us] arise.

If we are at fault // we ask for instruction and censure.

Vepacitti answered in verse:

I will not grant you fearlessness; // you have slandered me.

Being respectful about Sakka // and criticizing me!

You ask to be free from fear. // I will give you fear!

At that time the sages answered in verse:

Of his own actions // a man gets the fruits.

Acting in a wholesome way, one obtains wholesome [fruits] // acting
in an unwholesome way, unwholesome will be the fruits

It is like planting a seed: // one receives fruit according to its kind.

[If] you plant a bitter seed now // that is what you will certainly get
later.

We asked for freedom from fear // but instead you give us terror.

From this day on // your fear will have no end.

Having said this to the *asura*'s face the sages rose into the air and vanished. During that night Vepacitti dreamed he met Sakka in battle, [woke up] and felt great fear.⁸⁵ This happened a second time. When it happened a third time, Sakka and his armies did indeed come to fight; Vepacitti met them in battle. The *asuras* were defeated and, pursued by Sakka, they retreated⁸⁶ to their

85 This prose passage is a little unclear. The phrasing in the ZA is less ambiguous: 'The same night Vepacitta, the *asura* king, rose three times in terror. With a dire voice he shouted in his sleep: "Sakka and his four armies are fighting with the *asuras*!" He rose in terror and, fearing he would surely be defeated in battle, and retreated to the *asura* palace.'

86 *di shi zhu tui* 帝釋逐退. The Taishō has 帝釋逐進 ('Sakka pursued them and advanced'). I follow the Chinese editions here and read 退 for 進, which is in accordance with the ZA version.

asura palace.

Having gained victory in various battles, Sakka went to where the sages dwelt. They took seats on opposite sides, the sages to the east, Sakka to the west. At that time there was an easterly wind and the sages addressed Sakka in verse:

We have left home long ago, // our armpits stink.

The wind is blowing in your direction // go and sit to the south!

Such foul smells // the *devas* do not enjoy.

Sakka replied with a verse:

Gathering all kinds of flowers, // weaving them into wreaths,

They give off so many scents; // one cannot tire of these!

You sages have left the household life // your scent is like that of
flower wreaths.

We bow to receive it, // experiencing no distaste.

The Buddha said to the monks: ‘Sakka, who is king of the *devas*, always pays respect to those who have left the household life. How much more should you, monks, who out of faith have left the household life, pay deep respect [to all renunciants].’

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.13 BZA 45 – SAKKA VISITS BY NIGHT

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time Sakka Devānaṃ Inda, of beautiful appearance, surpassing human beings and *devas*, came to where the Buddha

was in the middle of the night. He paid homage at the Buddha's feet and sat to one side. At that time the entire Jeta Grove was filled with light brighter than daylight. Sakka Devānaṃ Inda spoke a verse:

Destroying what can one find peace and rest? // Getting rid of what
can one be free of sorrow?

The cessation of what is praised by Gotama? // Please dispel⁸⁷ my
doubts!

At that time the World-honored One replied with a verse:

Destroying anger, one finds peace and rest. // Getting rid of anger,
one is without sorrow.

Pulling out anger's stinging, poisonous root – // this, Sakka, you
should know.

Since anger destroys the good, // those who get rid of it will be
praised.

Having heard what the Buddha said, Sakka Devānaṃ Inda circumambulated him three times, was happy and remembered it well.

87 唯願為我法眾疑. The 法 must be a scribal error for 祛 or 去.

6.3.14 BZA 46 – THE FOUR GUARDIAN KINGS⁸⁸

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the World-honored One said to the monks: ‘On the eighth day of every fortnight⁸⁹ the four guardian kings send out their messengers to walk the earth and observe who in the world practices filial piety, respects elders, makes offerings to renunciants and *brāhmaṇas* and does good, and who does evil. For this reason one should do good, get rid of all evil behavior, and keep the precepts.

Again on the fourteenth day of every fortnight the four guardian kings send out their sons to walk the earth; and on the fifteenth day of every fortnight the four guardian kings themselves walk the earth to observe in the same way.

Having observed [human behavior], the four guardian kings

88 In the Pāli tradition the narrative contained in BZA 46 / ZA 1118 is transmitted in two separate sutras, which are found in different *Nikāyas*. The *Catumahārāja Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (AN I 142) contains the story of the four guardian kings. The *Buddhavandana Sutta* in the SN (I 233) tells the story of the Buddha correcting Sakka’s verse. The actual content of the correction, however, is very different. In the Pāli version the Buddha tells Sakka to include a plea to teach the *Dhamma* (*desassu bhagavā dhammaṃ*) in his verse. In Geiger’s reading (1997: 367) of the passage the correction is made by the Brahmā Sahampati. In the Chinese versions, Sakka is not entitled to speak the verse at all, as made explicit in the ZA. The actual content of the verses, too, differs greatly.

It is not clear which version is earlier. Has the northern tradition combined two sutras, or has the southern tradition split what was originally one narrative into two unrelated sutras?

89 Here *yue* 月 is not ‘month’ but translates *paḥṣa/pakkha* – the two half-months (‘fortnights’ lit. fourteen nights = fifteen days) of the waxing and waning moon (see footnote 90, below). Each month had six fasting days (*liu zhai ri* 六齋日): the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th and 30th (HDC: s.v. 六齋); i.e., the 8th, 14th, and 15th day of each half-month.

ascend to [see] Sakka in the Hall of True *Dhamma*. They report to Sakka and the [other Tāvatiṃsa] *devas*: “In the world there are many human beings who do not observe filial piety, do not respect renunciants and *brāhmaṇas*, do not make offerings to their teachers and the clan elders, and so on...; and not many keep the precepts.” When Sakka and the host of *devas* hear these words, they are sad and unhappy. The gods say: “The host of *devas* will decrease, and the [host of] *asuras* will grow.”

If, however, there are human beings in the world who always practice filial piety, make offerings to renunciants and *brāhmaṇas*, and so on ..., and many who keep the precepts, then the four guardian kings go up and report this to Sakka. Then the *devas* are very much delighted and all say: “The human beings in the world are acting in a wholesome way. They are indeed wise and good and doing what they should do. The [number of] *devas* will grow, and the [number of] *asuras* will decrease.”

Sakka is pleased and speaks a verse:

Those who on the eighth, the fourteenth // and the fifteenth,
as well as during the fortnight when the spirits walk⁹⁰ // keep the
precepts in purity –
they will be reborn in heaven, // their merit equaling my own.’

90 *shen zu yue* 神足月 or *shen bian yue* 神變月 (ZA). Skt. *prātihārika-pakṣa*, Pāli *pātihāriya-pakkha*. Here ‘the fortnight in which the spirits walk on earth’ (using their power to cover large distances in one spirit-step (*shenzu* 神足)). Edgerton (1953: s.v.) points out that the Pāli commentaries offer diverging explanations for the term. According to the HDC, the 神足月 are the first halves of the first, third and fifth lunar month, but this explanation is not applicable in our case. A gloss in the tenth century work *Dasong sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略 explains that 神變月 is the fortnight that starts with the lantern festival on the fifteenth of the first lunar month (CBETA/T.54.2126.254b20-21). The explanation in the seventh century encyclopedia *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (CBETA/T.53.2122.502b16-17) too points to the second half of the first lunar month. Furthermore, to assume a period of fasting after the new year celebrations is reasonable. Probably therefore this is the time the translators had in mind.

The Buddha said to the monks: ‘What Sakka said, cannot be called well-spoken. Why? An *Arahant*, who has destroyed the taints, has done what was to be done, he should speak this verse:

Those who on the eighth, the fourteenth // and the fifteenth,
as well as during the fortnight when the spirits walk, // keep the
precepts in purity –
they will gain supreme victory, // their merit equaling my own.

Buddha[s] and [other] *Arahants* should speak this verse. This is called truly spoken, well spoken.⁹¹

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.15 BZA 47 – VEPACITTI IS ILL

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the World-honored One said to the monks: ‘Long ago the *asura* king Vepacitti was suffering from an illness, was exhausted and too weak to walk.⁹² At that time Sakka Devānaṃ

91 The BZA deviates from the version of this exchange found in the ZA (Sutra 1117) and the AN (I, 143-144). There the Buddha repeats the verse exactly as spoken by Sakka. In the BZA the Buddha seems to disagree with the wording of the verse, saying explicitly that the ultimate gain is not rebirth in heaven but the supreme victory, i.e., *Nirvāṇa*. The prose frame of the verses, however, is identical with the ZA and AN versions and we should assume that the difference between the verses was introduced later. The difference is minor, though, as in all versions the Buddha objects that Sakka exhorts others to become heavenly beings like himself, instead of aiming for *Nirvāṇa*.

92 The (later) variant reading 痿 for 委 (both pronounced *wei*) in some Chinese editions might be preferred here. The *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義, citing an older, now lost, dictionary, says 痿 means ‘not able to walk’

Inda went to him.⁹³ The *asura* said to Sakka: “I wish you would heal my illness, make me healthy again, full-bodied and fresh-looking as before.” Sakka said: “If you teach me the *asura*’s [magical] art of deception,⁹⁴ I will heal your illness and make you happy as before.” The *asura* said: “Wait, I have to consult with the other *asuras*. If it is possible, I will teach you.” And the *asura* king asked the *asuras*. At that time an *asura*, who had mastered the art of deception, said: “Sakka’s behaviour has always been upright and virtuous, without deception. You tell him this: ‘If you learn the *asura*’s art of deception, you will fall into the Raurava Hell.’⁹⁵ He then might say: ‘I am not going to learn this art from the *asuras*. Nevertheless, you [offered to] give it [anyway], so your illness will be healed.’”

Accepting this advice the *asura* king spoke this verse to Sakka:

Thousand-eyed Sakka, husband of Sujā, // those that know the art of
deception must fall

Into the Raurava Hell // and stay there for a *kalpa* to be burnt and
boiled.

(CBETA/ T.54.2128.526c1-2).

93 In the ZA version Vepacitti goes to see Sakka.

94 *huan hua zhi fa* 幻化之法. Pāli (*sambari-*) *māya*. The concept of the *māya*-magic of the *asuras* belongs to the very earliest stratum of Indo-Aryan religion. It is found e.g., in Rv V, 63, 3 and 7 (See Oldenberg 1894: 162ff). The *asura* chief Sambara/Samvara, with whom the *asura* magic is associated in the Pāli tradition, appears neither in the BZA nor the ZA.

95 *lu lou di yu* 盧樓地獄. Unique in the canon. In the *gāthā* the name appears as *lu liu* 盧留. The Ming edition corrects this to 樓, to unify the name in the *gāthā* with that of the prose. But, as so often, later ‘corrections’ are less than helpful and delete important clues. In this case, though the homophony was lost by the time of the Ming, both 樓 and 留 were used to transcribe *-ro* or *-ru*. This gives **rorū* for the Prakrit original. Variants like *Rorū* and *Rorua* are attested for the hell Raurava (Pāli *Roruva*) (Kirfel 1920: 320 and index). Semantically, too, Raurava fits the context well, for this is the hell for liars and deceivers (*ibid.*: 149). Note how again the BZA tries to ‘transcribe semantically,’ i.e. both transcriptions could be read as Chinese words (盧樓 = house of darkness, 盧留 = remain in darkness).

When Sakka heard this he said: “Enough! Enough! I do not need the art of deception!” and he promptly said: “May your illness cease! May you rest without pain!”

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Although Sakka Devānaṃ Inda dwells [as king] among the gods, he does not use deceptions or tricks, he acts with truth and honesty. How much more should you who have left the household life and shaved off hair and beard, how much more should you refrain from using deceptive trickery, and act with sincerity and honesty! To act with sincerity and honesty should be the way of those who have left the household life.’

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and remembered it well.

6.3.16 BZA 48 – *VEPACITTI IS FORCED TO MAKE AN OATH*⁹⁶

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvathī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time Sakka went to the Buddha. When he felt it was time to return, he asked to take a precept. Which precept?

[Sakka said:] ‘On the way back to my palace, if I see anyone who hates me and plans to hurt me, I will not harm this person in

96 The Chinese versions of the sutra differ considerably from the Pāli. In the northern tradition we find elements of oral story-telling, e.g., the rhetorical question in the frame of the BZA version - ‘Which precept?’ - and the dramatic dialogue (abbreviated in the ZA with “and so on” (*naizhi* 乃至)).

The Pāli version, on the other hand, is shortened to the point that the dialogue has become unclear. Depending on the reading, Vepacitti implores Sakka either to give up what he intended or to go through with it (Bodhi 2000: 493n623).

any way.’ Vepacitti, having heard that Sakka had taken this precept, took his sword and waited along the road. When Sakka Devānaṃ Inda heard that the *asura*, with sword in hand, lay waiting for him by the roadside, he shouted to the *asura* from a distance [casting a spell]: ‘Stop! Stop and be bound!’

Vepacitti said to Sakka: ‘From the Buddha you took a precept saying: “On the way back to my palace, if I see anyone who hates me and plans to hurt me, I will not harm this person in any way.” How can you not keep this precept?’

Sakka replied: ‘Although I took a precept, saying to you “Hold!⁹⁷ Hold and be bound!” does not break the precept.’

Vepacitti said: ‘Kosiya! Let me go!’

Sakka said: ‘Swear an oath that you will never act in hatred against me again – then I will let you go.’

And Vepacitti took the oath saying:

For greed, hatred, lies, slander of the wise and noble // May I suffer
the bad results of these deeds [should I commit them].

Having heard this vow, Sakka said to Vepacitti: ‘Be released!’

Sakka Devānaṃ Inda returned to the Buddha, prostrated at his feet, and told him: ‘World-honored One! Vepacitti, having heard that I had taken a precept, took his sword and waited for me along the road intending to overpower me. I shouted at him from a distance [casting a spell]: “Stop! Stop and be bound!” Vepacitti said to me: “From the Buddha you took a precept

⁹⁷ *zhu* 住. Earlier the text had *zhi* 止 (‘stop’). Assuming the Indian original was the same word (most likely a Sanskrit form of *tiṭṭha*) this is an example of the BZA’s characteristic inconsistency, which is either the result of a lack of proper editing, or a conscious attempt to avoid repetition for stylistic reasons.

saying: ‘On the way back to my palace, if I see anyone who hates me and plans to hurt me, I will not harm this person in any way.’ How can you not keep this precept?” I replied: “Although I took a precept, saying to you ‘Hold and be bound!’ does not break the precept.” Vepacitti said to me: “Kosiya! Let me go!” and I told him: “If you take a solemn oath that you will never engender hatred against me again, I will release you.” Then Vepacitti, having heard what I said, spoke an oath saying:

For greed, hatred, lies, slander of the wise and noble // May I suffer
the bad results of these deeds [should I commit them].

On hearing this vow I released him.’

Sakka [then] said to the Buddha: ‘This *asura* swore a solemn oath. Will he, from now on, act without hatred and evil?’

The Buddha told Sakka: ‘[Even] if the *asura* had not sworn this oath, he may not have done evil: how much more so after having sworn it?’

On hearing what the Buddha had said, Sakka jumped up in delight, vanished from his seat and returned to his heavenly palace.

6.3.17 BZA 49 – NESTLINGS

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattḥī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time the World-honored One said to the monks: ‘Once, long ago, Sakka did battle with the *asuras*. At that time the *devas* were inferior and the *asuras* were winning. Sakka, having seen [that the *devas* were] inferior, had his charioteer turn around, and wanted to return to his heavenly palace. On the way he

noticed a withered *sāla* tree,⁹⁸ where a *suparṇa* bird⁹⁹ had built its nest. Sakka said to his charioteer Mātali: “In this nest there are two bird’s eggs. Let’s avoid damaging them. Make a turn and avoid that tree.” Sakka addressed Mātali in verse:

Do you see the nest in this tree? // It contains two eggs.

If the chariot continues its course // it will strike the tree and break
the eggs.

I would rather throw my body // against the host of the asuras
and lose my life // than harm these eggs.

Having spoken this verse, he promptly turned the chariot. When the *asuras* saw Sakka turning around, they all became afraid and said: “Sakka was just faking a retreat! Now that he has turned, he will certainly destroy our army!” Then the *asuras* were routed and the *devas* pursued them all the way back to their city.’

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Sakka Devānaṃ Inda dwells as king among the gods. Just as he is always practicing loving-kindness and patience, so you, monks, should train yourselves likewise.’

The monks heard what the Buddha said, were happy and

98 The Taishō edition has *ku sha luo shu* 苦娑羅樹 ‘withered *sāla* tree.’ All the collated Chinese editions, as well as the Qisha, have *zhan bo lou shu* 菴婆羅樹 i.e., the ‘*champaka* tree.’ One version must be wrong. It seems more likely for a scribe to change 菴婆 into 苦娑 than vice versa, but the matter is difficult to decide. The ZA does not mention the species. The Pāli has *simbali*, the silk cotton tree.

99 The mythical *suparṇa* (Pāli *supaṇṇa*) bird (the Buddhist equivalent to the *garuḍa*) is seen to live in the lower ranges of mount Sumeru. Like the *nāgas*, the *supaṇṇas* have their own short *saṃyutta* in the SN (SN III 246-249). The SN parallel to BZA 49 does not mention the species of the birds explicitly, but the same story is told in the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* (Jā I: 198-203) and here the ‘young birds’ are glossed as *supaṇṇas* (*tattha kulāvakā ti supaṇṇapotakā*). On the use of commentaries in the *Kulāvaka Jātaka*, see von Hinüber (1998: 149).

remembered it well.

6.3.18 BZA 50 – SAKKA AND VEROcana¹⁰⁰

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvattthī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika Park.

At that time Sakka Devānaṃ Inda and the *asura* Verocana came to the Buddha at night. Splendid and radiant, they paid homage at the Buddha's feet and sat to one side. The brilliance of Sakka and Verocana filled the Jeta Grove with light just as if it were daytime. Then Verocana sat to one side and spoke this verse:

People who strive continuously // will certainly attain what they seek.

Having attained the benefits¹⁰¹ they sought // they have peace and happiness.

Sakka also spoke a verse:

People who strive continuously // will certainly attain what they seek.

Having attained the benefits¹⁰² they sought, // practicing patience is supreme.

Then Sakka asked the Buddha: 'World-honored One, was what

100 This encounter between Verocana and Sakka is a Buddhist variation of a story in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (8.7.4). Verocana/Virocana/Vairocana has been part of the Indian pantheon since the *Ṛg-veda* and is associated with celestial phenomena. It seems that in later Buddhism Verocana, who here appears as an *asura*, developed into Vairocana Buddha (Miyasaka 1960).

101 *yi li* 義理. Lit. 'meaning.' Translates *attha/artha*. The ZA consistently has 利 ('gain,' 'benefit') for *attha* throughout this sutra.

102 *shi ye* 事業. Lit. 'career, action, livelihood, what should be done'. Probably also translating *attha*.

we said beneficial or not beneficial?¹⁰³

The Buddha told Sakka: ‘What is well explained is always well spoken. Now hear what I have to say.’ And he spoke a verse:

For the sake of gain,¹⁰⁴ sentient beings // all strive for whatever they desire.

The desire for gains, the wish for happiness: // if people strive with strong effort they will attain what they seek

Once the goal is attained, patience is supreme; // therefore one should practice patience.

Having heard what the Buddha had said Sakka and Verocana paid homage at his feet, vanished from that place and returned to their heavenly palaces.

6.3.19 BZA 51 – A PAUPER IS REBORN IN TĀVATIṂSA¹⁰⁵

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Kalandaka.

At that time in Rājagaha there was a pauper. Extremely poor and pitiable, he [nevertheless] had pure faith in the teachings of the Buddha, could keep the precepts purely, recite the sutras a little,

103 何者利益何者無利。The ZA has: ‘Is it well-spoken?’

104 *li* 利。Lit. ‘gain, benefit.’ Probably also translating *attha*. It is unclear, why the BZA uses three different terms (義理, 事業, and 利), while the ZA has consistently 利, the Pāli consistently *attha*. Perhaps the BZA translators made an attempt to cover the broad semantic spectrum of *attha*, or the different terms were needed for metric reasons. See above, note 95, where two different translation-transcriptions for Raurava are discussed.

105 In the SN (I 231) this sutra is told by the Buddha. This makes sense and follows the pattern of the *saṃyutta*. In the northern tradition the narrative frame was lost and the ZA and the BZA start immediately after the *nidāna* part. This is also the reason why the closing sentence of the BZA does not link back to the opening part.

and even make some small offerings. Upon the breaking up of his body, after his death, he was reborn in Tāvatiṃsa, the most wonderful of all places, as the karmic result of these four things. As a newborn *deva* he was endowed with three superior things. First, he was of superior beauty. Second, he was of superior glory. Third, he was endowed with superior life-span.¹⁰⁶ When the [other] *devas* saw this, they all admired him. They went to Sakka and said to him: ‘There is a newborn *deva*, who is superior to us other *devas* in three ways.’ Sakka said: ‘I saw this newborn *deva* [in his former existence]. Formally, as a human being, he was poor and deprived, extremely wretched. [However,] he straightforwardly held faith in the three jewels, kept the precepts purely, and even made some small donations. Now he is born into this Tāvatiṃsa heaven.’

Then Sakka spoke this verse:

If a person has pure faith in the three jewels, // [if his] mind is stable
and unwavering,

[if he] keeps the precepts he has undertaken, not breaking them://
know that this person should not be called poor.

He [should be] called wise and long-lived. // Through venerating the
unsurpassable three jewels,

He will be reborn in heaven and attain great bliss. // Therefore one
should train in this way.

When the *devas* heard this verse, they were happy, received it in faith, paid their respects and returned to their palaces.

106 *se mao sheng* 色貌勝 *divya-varṇa*. 名稱勝 *divya-yaśa*. 壽命勝 *divya-āyu*. Three of the ten marks of greatness, or heavenly attributes (Pāli *dasa ṭhānāni*) (PED: s.v. *dasa*, *ṭhāna*).

6.3.20 BZA 52 – NON-BUDDHIST TEACHERS¹⁰⁷

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha in the Gijjhakūṭa mountains. At that time there were ninety-six non-Buddhist groups, each praying and making offerings to someone. There were, for instance, donors who had faith in some non-Buddhist wanderer¹⁰⁸ and those said: ‘One should first make offerings to our teacher the wanderer!’ If they had faith in some non-Buddhist wandering ascetic¹⁰⁹ they said: ‘First one should make offerings to our teacher the wandering ascetic!’ If they had faith in the non-Buddhist teacher Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta they all said: ‘First give our teacher Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta a big offering, after that give to the others!’ If they had faith in some non-Buddhist called a fire-worshiper¹¹⁰ they said: ‘One should make offerings to our teacher the fire-worshiper!’ If they had

107 This list of various kinds of non-Buddhist teachers is unique and cannot be mapped to the usual group of the six non-Buddhist teachers (Skt. *tīrthika*, Pāli *titthiya*), who are all *samaṇas*. Some version of this interesting list must have been part of the common ancestor of the ZA and the BZA. Probably the six terms in the BZA are the result of an elaboration from the four mentioned in the ZA. Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta’s name (BZA: 乾陀, ZA: 尼乾子) appears in both sūtras. The other terms denote various groups of religious professionals, from what can be gleaned from the Chinese, in a slightly disparaging tone. The following sūtra (BZA 53) has the ‘common’ list of the names of six non-Buddhist teachers.

108 *zhe le* 遮勒. Skt. *caraka*. ZA: *zheluojiā* 遮羅迦. 遮羅迦 as *caraka* is attested in other sūtras as well (e.g., CBETA/T.02.99.31c18).

109 *po luo po shi* 婆羅婆蹉. Not in the ZA. Unique in the canon. Probably a transcription for Skt. *pārvirājaka*.

110 The text has *san shui* 三水. Ken Su suggested to me that 三水, a term not found in any other Chinese *Āgama* sūtra, is a scribal error for *san huo* 三火 (personal communication, Dec. 2008). This is obviously the best solution, since 三火 in the sense of the Vedic fire-sacrifice is well attested, especially for the *Saṃyuktāgama*. A Buddhist interpretation is given for the triad of sacred fires (*tretāgni*) in the ZA (CBETA/T.02.99.24c23-24) and, in the popular story of his conversion, Mahākassapa is said to have worshiped the three fires before meeting the Buddha (the term is found in sūtras T.185, T.186, T.187, and T.189).

faith in some non-Buddhist elder follower of the *Vedas*,¹¹¹ they said: ‘One should first make offerings to our teacher the elder follower of the *Vedas*!’ If they had faith in some renowned non-Buddhist follower of the *Vedas*¹¹² they said: ‘Make offerings to our teacher the renowned follower of the *Vedas*!’ If they had faith in the Buddha, they said: ‘One should first make offerings to our teacher the *Tathāgata* and the community of monks!’

Sakka Devānaṃ Inda thought: ‘Extremely heretical views have arisen among the people of Rājagaha. Holding heretical views, while the Buddha and the *Saṅgha* exist in the world, is unwholesome.’ With that, Sakka quickly transformed himself into an elder *brāhmaṇa*, of upright appearance, riding on a white chariot pulled by white horses. Surrounded to left and right¹¹³ by young men, he went to the temple district and passed right through it [without stopping]. All the people in Rājagaha thought: ‘Where will this elder *brāhmaṇa* go first? Let’s follow him!’

Then Sakka, knowing what they were thinking, turned his chariot to the south and went to Gijjhakūṭa. Arriving at the place where the chariots had to stop, he stopped among them, got down, entered the precinct, and approached the Buddha.¹¹⁴ Having paid homage at the Buddha’s feet and sat to one side, Sakka spoke in verse:

To the noble king who turns the *Dhamma* wheel, // who can ferry
one across from [the shore of] suffering to the other shore,

where there is neither hatred nor fear, // I bow my head in homage.

If people want to generate merit, // where should they place their
offerings?

Wanting to attain pure merit // one should engender pure faith.

111 *lao sheng wen* 老聲聞. ZA: 老弟子. *jarā-śrutin*?

112 *da sheng wen* 大聲聞. ZA: 大弟子. *mahā-śrutin*?

113 *zai* 在 in this sentence must be a mistake for *zuo* 左.

114 The ZA says he stopped ‘outside the gate.’

One makes offerings today // in order to obtain good results in future lives.

From which field of merit // does one reap great fruits with only a small offering?

Then the World-honored One, there on Gijjhakūṭa, expounded to Sakka what is most worthy of offerings, answering him in verse:

[Those who have attained] the four fruits and the four paths,¹¹⁵ // having fulfilled the practice of meditation,

Their power of merit is deep // like the great ocean.

These are called the truly best, // the disciples of the tamer,

who in the vast darkness [of ignorance] // can light the candle of wisdom.

Always for the sake of sentient beings // preaching the *Dhamma*, showing the way:

this is called the *Saṅgha* field of merit // vast without end.¹¹⁶

Donations made to this field of merit // are called ‘well given.’

Donations made to this field of merit // are called ‘well offered.’

Burning things [in a fire sacrifice] and praying to the gods // is a waste and without benefit.

This is not called ‘well sacrificed.’ // But on a [true] field of merit one makes only a little effort // and reaps great gains.

This is called ‘well sacrificed.’ // Sakka, you should know,

to give to what is called a worthy ‘field of merit,’ // a person within the *Saṅgha*,

later one will certainly attain great fruits. // This is said at the right time,

115 四果及四向, the four fruits (*siguo* 四果 *cattāro phalāni*) of practice (stream-entry etc.) and the stages of assiduously practicing for these (*sixiang* 四向 *cattāro paṭipannā*).

116 *ya* 灑 is to be preferred over the variant reading *yai* 崖 here.

it is said by the Buddha.¹¹⁷ // The Buddha of countless merits
 has praised the *Saṅgha* in hundreds of verses.¹¹⁸ // As the supreme
 [recipient] of offerings,
 Nothing surpasses the *Saṅgha* as a field of merit. // When people
 plant a small seed of goodness
 they reap rewards beyond measure. // A good person,¹¹⁹ therefore,
 should make offerings to the *Saṅgha*. // Those who always uphold
 the *Dhamma*
 are called the *Saṅgha*. // Just as in the great ocean
 there are many precious jewels, // so in the ocean of the *Saṅgha*
 there are many precious jewels of merit.¹²⁰ // To offer to the *Saṅgha*
 jewel
 is to be a worthy person, // one that reaps joy and faith.
 If someone can give out of faith, // know that this person
 is always¹²¹ happy. // Because he is always happy
 he can ferry himself across the three bad destinations, // clean away
 all impurities
 and remove the poisoned arrow of afflictions. // Giving with
 equanimity from one's own hands,¹²²

117 Taking *shishuo* 時說 as *ākālika*. *shi jian jie* 世間解 is Skt. *loka-vid*.

118 This and the preceding verse have no parallel in the ZA. Like the elaboration of the narrative part concerning the non-Buddhist teachers, it seems to be a later interpolation.

119 *shan zhangfu* 善丈夫. Skt. *sat-puruṣa*.

120 The *Ekottarikāgama* parallel expresses the simile differently: there the members of the *Saṅgha* are compared to jewels in the ocean of human beings: 此眾廣無量猶海出珍寶聖眾亦如是 (CBETA/T02.125.575a22). This seems to make better sense, since – even if there are “many jewels in the ocean” – to say that there are “many jewels of merit in the ocean of the *Saṅgha*” still would suggest that there a lot of *Saṅgha* members who are not jewels of merit.

121 It is not clear if *san shi* 三時, Skt. *trikāla*, here denotes the three seasons (hot, rainy, cool = throughout the year) or the three times of the day (morning, noon, evening = throughout the day).

122 淨心手自施. Probably following Indian syntax. cf. the ZA parallel 自手平等

one benefits oneself as well as others. // If one sacrifices like this,
such a person is called // wise among human beings.

Once one's faith is pure // one will reach the abode of the
unconditioned,¹²³

[or] utmost happiness of this world // where the wise attain
rebirth.¹²⁴

When Sakka heard these verses, he leaped up in joy, vanished from his seat and returned to his heavenly palace. Not long after Sakka had returned to his palace, the householders and *brāhmaṇas*¹²⁵ of Rājagaha too rose from their seats, bared their right shoulders, knelt, and with palms together addressed the Buddha: 'May the World-honored One and the community of monks accept a large alms-giving from us tomorrow morning. We happily invite you!'

The *Tathāgata* consented silently. When the householders and *brāhmaṇas* of Rājagaha understood that the Buddha had consented silently, they asked to leave, paid homage at the Buddha's feet and returned to their homes. Having returned to their homes, each prepared fragrant and precious drinks and foods, cleanly arranged. Having done so, in the morning they prepared seats, readied clean water and sent a messenger to Gijjhakūṭa to tell the Buddha: 'The alms-giving is ready.'

與。

123 *wu wei chu* 無為處. **asaṃskṛta-pada* (Hirakawa: No. 2153).

124 The utmost happiness of/within the world 世間之極樂 seems to be presented as alternative here. It would be odd to refer to the *asaṃskṛta-pada* as a rebirth; parts of this verse do seem like an interpolation and have no parallel in the ZA. The Chinese clearly takes the *asaṃskṛta-pada* to be a place, perhaps one imbued with the 'path to the unconditioned,' though in Indic texts the term simply means the 'unconditioned state,' i.e., *Nirvāṇa*.

125 *changzhe poluomen* 長者婆羅門. Following the Korean translation (Dong'guk yŏk'kyong wŏn 東國譯經院 1995: 100), which takes *grhapati-brāhmaṇa* as *dvanda*. For *brāhmaṇa-grhapati* as *dvanda* see Edgerton (1953 [1977]: s.v. *grhapati*).

At that time the *Tathāgata* took his robe and begging bowl and accompanied by a multitude of monks, walking in front of them went to the town where the alms-giving was to take place. Having arrived, he took his prepared seat in front of the monks. The people of the city spread seats for the monks to sit on. When the householders saw that everybody was seated they brought clean water [for hand-washing]. The householders and *brāhmaṇas* served the fragrant, delicious food and drink with their own hands. All the people urged [their guests] to eat and try everything. When the World-honored One saw that the monks had finished their meal, he put his bowl away and gave it to Ānanda [to clean]. Thereupon the people got up and arranged their seats in front of the Buddha. They earnestly paid their respects and asked to hear the *Dhamma*. The Buddha lauded what they had offered and spoke this verse:¹²⁶

Among Brahmanical texts, // those on the fire-sacrifice are the best.

Among texts of non-Buddhists, // the *Sāvitrī*¹²⁷ is the best.

Among people of the world, // the king is the highest leader.

Among the hundred streams and many rivers, // the great ocean is deemed the best.

Among stars, stellar houses, and constellations, // moonlight is deemed the best.

Among lights, // sunlight is the best.

Above, below, and in the four directions, // in the realms of gods and human beings,

126 cf. similar passage in the *Suttanipāta* (v. 568-569).

127 *po bi shi* 婆比室. Unique in the canon. Bhikkhu Anālayo suggested *Sāvitrī* (Pāli *Sāvittī*) to me as a possible candidate (personal communication, Dec. 2008). Since this is also what appears in the *Suttanipāta* parallel (*sāvittī chandaso mukham*), we have to assume the common scribal mistake *po* 婆 for *sha* 娑. The end-vowel *-ī* being dropped, 室 (*śit*, *śjet* (Coblin 1994: No. 826)) must have represented the final *-t*. The *Sāvitrī* or *Gāyatrī Mantra* is still one of the most widely used Brahmanical chants and recited twice a day by orthodox Brahmins.

Among the host of noble ones // the Buddha is the most worthy of veneration.¹²⁸

After the Buddha had in various ways taught the *Dhamma* to the people of Rājagaha, enlightened and instructed them, benefited and pleased them, the people leaped up [happily] from their seats and went back.

When the Buddha had finished speaking, the monks, having heard what the Buddha had said, were happy and remembered it well.

¹²⁸In the Pāli version it is the *Saṅgha*, not the Buddha, which is most worthy of veneration (Sn 569, *saṅgho ve yajataṃ mukhaṃ*).

APPENDIX 1: COMPARATIVE CATALOG

The most widely used comparative tables that map Chinese Āgama texts to their Pāli and Sanskrit counterparts were published back in 1929. Our revised comparative catalog for the BZA is based on the early catalogs by Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善 (1929) and Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 (1908). These tables still work well, but in addition to a number of minor mistakes, important material (e.g., the many Sanskrit fragments published during the last 75 years) is not included. Moreover, as our catalog for the BZA shows, the number of parallels in the Chinese corpus is much higher than the earliest catalogs were able to record. We also consulted the tables included in the Foguang edition of the four major Āgama sutras, and, especially helpful, unpublished material kindly provided by Roderick Bucknell. We confirmed that the texts of one cluster are indeed related and added our own findings to produce a significantly improved comparative catalog for the text-clusters of the 364 BZA sutras.¹

One of the problems in constructing a comparative catalog is that there is no clear-cut, mechanical definition of ‘parallel.’ We had to decide if sutras or passages within them were to be marked as parallel or non-parallel. Our working definition was that two passages are to be considered parallel if a significant amount of their narrative content is cognate, or, in the case of

¹ Unfortunately we were not able to consult Chung (2008), which was published only after our project was concluded.

gāthās, if the wording is clearly similar or equivalent.

I have arranged the table below according to the sutra number in the Taishō edition. The position of the sutra in Bucknell's reconstructed version is given in brackets where applicable.

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 001 <i>Sujāta is praised</i> 善生二種端嚴	ZA 1062		SN,II,278 – <i>Sujāto</i>	
BZA 002 <i>The Ugly Monk</i> 憔悴的阿羅漢	ZA 1063		SN,II,279 – <i>Bhaddi</i>	
BZA 003 <i>Devadatta and Ajātasattu</i> 提婆達多貪利養	ZA 1064	增壹阿含 (12.7) T.02.0125.0570b20 增壹阿含 (23.7) T.02.0125.0614a18 雜寶藏經 (37) T.04.0203.0465b20	SN,II,241 – <i>Pakkanta</i> SN,II,242 – <i>Ratha</i> SN,I,154 – <i>Devadatta (gāthā)</i> AN,II,073 – <i>Devadatta</i> Vin,II,187 (Cv.VII.2.5)	En: 1064 (Saṅghabh 2: 71-73; Uv 13.1f)
BZA 004 <i>Monk “Elephant-head”</i> 象首比丘墮地獄	ZA 1065		SN,I,070 – <i>Puriso (gāthā)</i> SN,I,098 – <i>Loko (gāthā)</i> It,045 – <i>Mūla (gāthā)</i>	cf. Waldschmidt 1968a: 23-26
BZA 005 <i>Nanda 1 - Nanda is reproached</i> 難陀著鮮淨衣	ZA 1067	增壹阿含 (18.6) T.02.0125.0591a08	SN,II,281 – <i>Nando</i>	
BZA 006 <i>Nanda 2 - Nanda is praised</i> 難陀諸善功德	ZA 0275		AN,IV,166 – <i>Nanda</i>	

Bieyi za ahan (T.100)	Za ahan (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 007 <i>Tissa is reproached</i> 窒師恒懷瞋慢	ZA 1068		SN,II,281 – <i>Tisso</i>	
BZA 008 <i>Visākha preaches well</i> 毘舍佉善說法要	ZA 1069		SN,II,280 – <i>Visākho</i> AN,II,051 – <i>Visākho</i>	En: 1069 (Uv 29.43f)
BZA 009 <i>A young monk does his work</i> 年少比丘壞魔軍	ZA 1070		SN,II,277 – <i>Navo</i>	
BZA 010 <i>Thera lives alone</i> 盡諸愛結名獨住	ZA 1071		SN,II,282 – <i>Theranāmo</i>	En: 1071 (Saṅghabh 1: 132; Uv 21.1abc; CPS 10.5)
BZA 011 <i>Saṅgāmaji and his former wife</i> 僧鉗不顧本二	ZA 1072		Ud,005 – <i>Saṅgāmaji</i>	En: 1072 (SHT 5: 1183 (NAWG 1968: 1, 23); Uv 33.21f)
BZA 012 <i>Ānanda and the three kinds of scent</i> 諸香不如戒香	ZA 1073	戒德香經 T.02.0116.0507b14 戒香經 T.02.0117.0508a10 增壹阿含 (23.5) T.02.0125.0613b10	AN,I,225 – <i>Gandha</i>	cf. Waldschmidt 1968a: 16-23 En: 1073 (GanSū; SHT 5: 1183 (NAWG 1968: 1, 23); Uv 6.16-20; Abhidh-k-bh: 168)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 013 <i>Uruvela Kassapa performs miracles</i> 迦葉得遇大龍	ZA 1074	中阿含 (62) 頻鞞娑邏王迎佛經 T.01.0026.0497b04 頻羅娑娑羅王經 T.01.0041.0825a23 方廣大莊嚴經 T.03.0187.0612c06 眾許摩訶帝經 T.03.0191.0962c16 佛所行讚 T.04.0192.0032a14 初分說經 T.14.0498.0766c25 四分律 T.22.1428.0797b03	Vin,I,035 (Mv.I.22)	En: 1074 (CPS 27c1-d12; Saṅghabh 1: 154-157; SHT 3: 967)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 014 <i>Mettiya and Mettiyā slander</i> <i>Dabba</i> 彌多求誣謗陀驪	ZA 1075	雜寶藏經 T.04.0203.0457a06 五分律 T.22.1421.0015a03 摩訶僧祇律 T.22.1425.0280a19 四分律 T.22.1428.0587a25 十誦律 T.23.1435.0022a08 鼻奈耶 T.24.1464.0867b09	Vin,II,074 (Cv.IV.4) Vin,III,158 – <i>Amūlaka-</i> <i>saṅghādiseso</i>	En: 1075 (Uv 9.1f)
BZA 015 <i>Dabba enters Nirvāṇa</i> 陀驪欲入涅槃	ZA 1076		Ud,092 – <i>Dabba</i> -1 Ud,093 – <i>Dabba</i> -2	En: 1076 (MSV 2: 81f.; Uv 30.35f; SHT 5: 1100)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 016 <i>The conversion of</i> <i>Aṅgulimāla</i> 鶡掘魔羅歸命佛	ZA 1077	鶡掘魔經 T.02.0118.0508b20 鶡掘髻經 T.02.0119.0510b17 鶡掘魔羅經 T.02.0120.0512b08 增壹阿含(38.6) T.02.0125.0719b20 賢愚經 T.04.0202.0423b06 出曜經 T.04.0212.0703a23	MN,II,097 – 86. <i>Aṅgulimāla</i> Dhp,026 – <i>Loka-vagga</i> 173 Dhp-a,III,169 – <i>Aṅgulimālattheravatthu</i> Th,080 – <i>Aṅgulimālattheragāthā</i> , vv. 866- 891	En: 1077 (SHT 1: 160; Uv 16.5-10, 17.10; MSV 4: 56 (Nāther: 48)) En: 101 Hartmann 1998 Derge 213 ('phags pa sor mo'i phreng ba la phan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo) cf. Derge Dulva 1:36b cf. Peking 879
BZA 017 <i>A deva tempts a monk and is</i> <i>granted an interview with</i> <i>Buddha</i> 五欲是時佛法非時	ZA 1078		SN,I,008 – <i>Samiddhi</i>	En: 1078 (Ybhūs 2.1-4)
BZA 018 <i>The parable of the smoking</i> <i>burrow</i> 巢窟喻	ZA 1079	蟻喻經 T.01.0095.0918b25 增壹阿含(39.9) T.02.0125.0733b12	MN,I,142 – 23. <i>Vammika</i>	En: 1079 (Abhidh-k-vy 1: 281; Abhidh-k-bh: 127)

Bieyi za ahan (T.100)	Za ahan (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 019 <i>Buddha sees a distracted monk 1</i> 心意不定	ZA 1080			
BZA 020 <i>Buddha sees a distracted monk 2 - The fly simile</i> 苦子喻	ZA 1081		AN,I,279 – Kaṭuviya	
BZA 021 <i>A forest spirit admonishes a monk - The ulcer simile</i> 以念覺覆瘡疣	ZA 1082			
BZA 022 <i>A monk visits the village untimely - Parable of the elephant and the lotus roots</i> 小象食藕後轉羸瘦	ZA 1083	四分律 (藥健度) T.22.1428.0867c11 四分律 (破僧健度) T.22.1428.0910b28	SN,II,268 – Nāgo	
BZA 023 <i>Māra disturbs a teaching on impermanence</i> 人生壽淺	ZA 1084		SN,I,108 – 9.Āyū	En: 1084 (Abhidh-k-vy 2: 465)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 024 <i>Māra says life is eternal</i> 諸行無常	ZA 1085		SN,I,108 – 10.Āyu	En: 1085 (Uv 1.18)
BZA 025 <i>Māra disturbs the Buddha in meditation</i> 佛久壞欲網	ZA 1086		SN,I,111 – <i>Mānasa</i>	
BZA 026 <i>Māra disturbs the Buddha's rest</i> 云何睡眠	ZA 1087		SN,I,107 – <i>Suppati</i>	En: 1087 (Saṅghabh 1: 185; Uv 29.53ab)
BZA 027 <i>Māra throws a boulder</i> 魔推大石害佛	ZA 1088		SN,I,109 – <i>Pāsāna</i>	
BZA 028 <i>Māra turns into a snake to frighten the Buddha</i> 魔變蛇身惱佛	ZA 1089		SN,I,106 – <i>Sappa</i>	
BZA 029 <i>Māra disturbs the Buddha's rest</i> 云何無事務	ZA 1090		SN,I,110 – <i>Sakalika</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 030 <i>Māra plays the Vīṇā</i> 時解脫者自殺	ZA 1091	出曜經 T.04.0212.0647a29 增壹阿含 (26.10) T.02.0125.0642b29	SN,I,120 – <i>Godhika</i> cf. Dhṛ-a,I,431 – <i>Godhikattherapariniḅbānavatth</i> <i>u</i> cf. Dhṛ,8 – no.57 cf. Sn,74 – <i>Padhānasuttaṃ</i> , no.449 SN,III,119 – <i>Vakkali</i>	En: 1091 (Uv 33.59c)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 031 <i>The daughters of Māra</i> 魔王魔女嬈佛	ZA 1092	過去現在因果經 T.03.0189.0639c28 修行本起經 T.03.0184.0470c11 太子瑞應本起經 T.03.0185.0477a21 觀佛三昧海經 T.15.0643.0652a19 普曜經 T.03.0186.0519a25 佛所行讚 T.04.0192.0025a16 佛本行經 T.04.0193.0076a23 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 破僧事 T.24.1450.0123a02 cf. 本行集經 T.03.0190.0782a02	SN,I,122 – <i>Sattavassānubandha</i> SN,I,124 – <i>Māradhītu</i> Jā,I,78 – <i>Santikenidānakathā</i> cf. Dh-p-a,III,195 – <i>Māradhītaravattthu</i> cf. Sn,78 – <i>Padhānasuttaṃ</i> , no.425-448	En: 1092 (Ybhūs 14.1f., 4.1-3; CPS 28f11, 28g5; Uv 21.8) Mvu,III,281 cf. Buddhac, 145
BZA 032 <i>Māra changes into beautiful and ugly people</i> 佛讚歎涅槃法	ZA 1093		SN,I,104 – <i>Subha</i> SN,I,104 – <i>Hatthirāja (gāthā)</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 033 <i>Seven Practices</i> 堅持七行得生帝釋	ZA 1104	雜阿含經 (21) T.02.0101.0497c29	SN,I,228 – <i>Vatapada</i>	
BZA 034 <i>Mahāli doubts</i> 夜叉鬼狀似帝釋	ZA 1105		SN,I,230 – <i>Mahāli</i> Dhp-a,I,263 – <i>Maghavattu</i> cf. Dhp, 005 – <i>Appamādavaggo</i> , v.30	
BZA 035 <i>The Names of Sakka</i> 帝釋名號的緣由	ZA 1106		SN,I,229 – <i>Sakkanāma</i> Dhp-a,I,263 – <i>Maghavattu</i> cf. Dhp, 005 – <i>Appamādavaggo</i> , v.30	En: 1106 (SHT 5: 1107 (JBRS 54 [1968]: 34)) cf. Waldschmidt 1968c
BZA 036 <i>A Yakkha on Sakka's Throne</i> 夜叉善色轉生	ZA 1107	增壹阿含 (45.5) T.02.0125.0772c13	SN,I,237 – <i>Dubbaṇṇiya</i>	En: 1107 (OLZ 54 [1959]: 241; Uv 20.21f)
BZA 037 比丘不受他讖	ZA 1108		SN,I,239 – <i>Accaya</i> SN,I,240 – <i>Akkodha</i> cf. SN,I,237 – <i>Dubbaṇṇiya</i>	En: 1108 (Uv 20.21f)
BZA 038 <i>Sakka debates with Vepacitti</i> 天與阿脩羅決勝負	ZA 1109		SN,I,222 – <i>Subhāsitajaya</i>	En: 1109 (Uv 20.21f)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 039 <i>Sakka is patient in the face of insult</i> 帝釋聞罵聲忍默	ZA 1110	增壹阿含 (34.8) T.02.0125.0697b16	SN,I,220 – <i>Vepacitti</i>	En: 1110 (Uv 20.6f, 9f, 12-14)
BZA 040 <i>Sakka pays obeisance to the Buddha 1</i> 帝釋禮敬佛	ZA 1111		SN,I,235 – <i>Satthāravandanā</i>	Enomoto 1997: 103
BZA 041 <i>Sakka pays obeisance to the Buddha 2</i> 帝釋禮敬法	ZA 1112		SN,I,234 – <i>Gahaṭṭhavandanā</i>	Enomoto 1997: 103
BZA 042 <i>Sakka pays obeisance to the Buddha 3</i> 帝釋禮敬僧	ZA 1113		SN,I,235 – <i>Saṅghavandanā</i>	
BZA 043 帝釋讚嘆精進	ZA 1114		SN,I,216 – <i>Suvīra</i>	
BZA 044 帝釋敬梵行者	ZA 1115		SN,I,226 – <i>Araññāyatana-isi</i> SN,I,227 – <i>Samuddaka</i>	En: 1115 (Divy: 636)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 045 滅瞋恚安隱眠	ZA 1116		SN,I,237 – <i>Chetvā</i>	En: 1116 (Uv 20.3)
BZA 046 天王案行天下	ZA 1117	增壹阿含 (24.6) T.02.0125.0624b19 cf. 持齋經 T.01.0202.0770a16 cf. 齋經 T.01.0087.0910c26 cf. 優婆夷墮舍迦經 T.01.0088.0912a18 cf. 八關齋經 T.01.0089.0913a17	AN,I,142 – <i>Catumahārāja</i> SN,I,233 – <i>Buddhavandana</i>	En: 1117 (SHT 5: 1161)
BZA 047 質直	ZA 1118		SN,I,238 – <i>Sambarimāyā</i>	
BZA 048 帝釋不為燒亂	ZA 1120		SN,I,225 – <i>Nadubbhiya</i>	
BZA 049 帝釋長夜修於慈忍	ZA 1222		SN,I,224 – <i>Kulāvaka</i>	
BZA 050 既得事業忍最勝	ZA 1119		SN,I,225 – <i>Verocana-asurinda</i>	En: 1119 (Uv 16.2ab)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 051 貧人持戒生天	ZA 1223		SN,I,231 – <i>Dalidda</i>	
BZA 052 帝釋引眾歸向世尊	ZA 1224 ZA 1225	增壹阿含 (13.6) T.02.0125.0575a05	SN,I,233 – <i>Yajamāna</i>	
BZA 053 世有四事小不可輕	ZA 1226		SN,I,068 – <i>Dahara</i>	En: 1226 (Saṅghabh 1: 181-183) cf. Gnoli 1977: 181-183 cf. Peking 962 Derge 296 (gzhon nu dpe'i mdo)
BZA 054 生必有死	ZA 1227	波斯匿王太后崩塵土盆 身經 T.02.0122.0545a24 增壹阿含 (26.7) T.02.0125.0638a02	SN,I,096 – <i>Ayyikā</i>	En: 1227 (Ans 3-5, 10-13; Uv 1.23f)
BZA 055 愛己惡己	ZA 1228		SN,I,071 – <i>Piya</i>	En: 1228 (Uv 5.13-17)
BZA 056 護己不護己	ZA 1229		SN,I,072 – <i>Attarakkhita</i>	En: 1229 (Uv 7.11abcd; Abhidh-k-bh: 208)
BZA 057 如魚入密網	ZA 1231		SN,I,074 – <i>Aḍḍakaraṇa</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 058 如鹿入深奔	ZA 1230		SN,I,073 – <i>Appaka</i>	
BZA 059 善健丈夫	ZA 1232		SN,I,089 – <i>Paṭhama-aputtaka</i>	
BZA 060 如影隨形	ZA 1233	增壹阿含 (23.4) T.02.0125.0612c01	SN,I,091 – <i>Dutiya-aputtaka</i>	En: 1233 (Uv 5.20-23)
BZA 061 修諸祀不如信佛	ZA 1234		SN,I,075 – <i>Yañña</i>	En: 1234 (Uv 24.21-23, 26, 30)
BZA 062 戀妻乃真繫縛	ZA 1235		SN,I,076 – <i>Bandhana</i>	En: 1235 (Uv 2.5f)
BZA 063 勝則多怨疾	ZA 1236		SN,I,082 – <i>Paṭhamasaṅgāma</i>	En: 1236 (Uv 30.1; Avś 1: 57) cf. Speyer 1970a: 54
BZA 064 業實有報	ZA 1237		SN,I,082 – <i>Dutiyasaṅgāma</i>	cf. En: 1237 (Uv 9.9) Speyer 1970a: 54-62
BZA 065 善知識者梵行全體	ZA 1238 ZA 0726 ZA 0768	增壹阿含 (44.10) T.02.0125.0768c06 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 雜事 T.24.1451.0398b29	SN,I,087 – <i>Kalyāṇamitta</i> SN,V,002 – <i>Upaḍḍha</i>	En: 1238 (Uv 4.11cd) cf. Peking 966 Derge 300 ('phags pa dge ba'i bshegs gnyen bsten pa'i mdo)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 066 放逸多譏嫌	ZA 1239 ZA 0882	中阿含 (141) 喻經 T.01.0026.0647b18 本事經 T.17.0765.0664c11 增壹阿含 (26.1) T.02.0125.0635b11 增壹阿含 (26.2) T.02.0125.0635b24 增壹阿含 (26.3) T.02.0125.0635c07 增壹阿含 (26.4) T.02.0125.0635c18	SN,I,086 – <i>Appamāda</i> SN,V,043 – 140.Pada- 148. <i>Candima</i> It,016 – <i>Ubhayattha</i> cf. SN,V,041 – 139. <i>Tathāgata</i> cf. SN,V,245 – <i>Appamāvaggo</i>	En: 1239 (Uv 4.24-26) Matsuda 1996
BZA 067 實法無衰老	ZA 1240	增壹阿含 (26.6) T.02.0125.0637a18 無常經 T.17.0801.0745c15	SN,I,071 – <i>Jarāmaraṇa</i>	En: 1240 (Uv 1.28-30)
BZA 068 福田	ZA 1145		SN,I,098 – <i>Issatta</i>	
BZA 069 明闇四種人	ZA 1146	增壹阿含 (26.6) T.02.0125.0636a06 四人出現世間經 T.02.0127.0834c06	SN,I,093 – <i>Puggala</i>	En: 1146 (SHT 5: 1112)

Bieyi za ahan (T.100)	Za ahan (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 070 唯信佛法	ZA 1147		SN,I,098 – <i>Pabbatūpama</i>	En: 1147 (MSV 2: 74-77)
BZA 071 相貌似羅漢	ZA 1148		Ud,064 – 6.2 <i>Sattajaṭila</i> SN,I,077 – <i>Sattajaṭila</i>	En: 1148 (Uv 29.11f)
BZA 072 五欲之中，何者最妙？	ZA 1149	增壹阿含 (33.1) T.02.0125.0681c16	SN,I,079 – <i>Pañcarāja</i>	
BZA 073 波斯匿王身體肥大	ZA 1150		SN,I,081 – <i>Doṇapāka</i>	En: 1150 (Uv 29.14)
BZA 074 善調御	ZA 1151	雜阿含經 (25) T.02.0101.0498b25	SN,I,163 – <i>Asurindaka</i>	En: 1151 (Uv20.19, 21f)
BZA 075 善調乘	ZA 1152		SN,I,161 – <i>Akkosa</i>	En: 1152 (Uv 20.20, 18, 19a)
BZA 076 寂滅安隱眠	ZA 1153		cf. SN,I,161 – <i>Akkosa</i>	En: 1153 (Uv 30.1; Avś 1: 57)
BZA 077 散土還自竺	ZA 1154		SN,I,164 – <i>Bilaṅgika</i>	En: 1154 (Uv 28.9)
BZA 078 佛默無所說	ZA 1155		SN,I,179 – <i>Paccanīka</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 079 無害	ZA 1156	雜阿含經 (26) T.02.0101.0498c10	SN,I,164 – <i>Ahiṃsaka</i>	
BZA 080 佛不為其受	ZA 1157		SN,I,173 – <i>Udaya</i>	En: 1157 (SHT 4: 649b, verso 2)
BZA 081 無有能與佛共論議	ZA 1158		SN,I,160 – <i>Dhanañjānī</i>	En: 1158 (Uv 20.3)
BZA 082 修慈名正祀	ZA 1159		Sn,III,005 – <i>Māgha</i>	
BZA 083 所謂清淨道	ZA 1160		SN,I,165 – <i>Suddhika</i>	
BZA 084 三明	ZA 1161		SN,I,166 – <i>Aggika</i>	En: 1161 (Ads 1ab; Uv 33.47abcd)
BZA 085 不修不得上人法	ZA 1162		cf. SN,I,002 – <i>Upaneyyam</i>	En: 1162 (Uv 17.3f)
BZA 086 歸依處 (一)	ZA 1163		AN,I,155 – <i>Paṭhamadvebrāhmaṇa</i> cf. SN,I,031 – <i>Ādittam</i>	En: 1163 (Abhidh-k-vy 2: 396) Enomoto 1997: 92
BZA 087 歸依處 (二)	ZA 1163		AN,I,156 – <i>Dutiyadvebrāhmaṇa</i>	En: 1163 (Abhidh-k-vy 2: 396) Enomoto 1997: 93

Bieyi za ahan (T.100)	Za ahan (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 088 奉養二親獲無量福	ZA 0088		SN,I,181 – <i>Mātuposaka</i>	
BZA 089 邪盛大會	ZA 0089		AN,II,42 – <i>Ujjaya</i>	En: 0089 (BTKN: 174.) Enomoto 1997: 94
BZA 090 正祀大會	ZA 0090		AN,II,43 – <i>Udāyī</i>	Enomoto 1997: 95
BZA 091 云何得現後世福報	ZA 0091		AN,IV,285 – <i>Ujjaya</i>	Enomoto 1997: 95
BZA 092 婆羅門女喪子	ZA 1178		Thī,136 – <i>Vāseṭṭhūtherīgāthāno</i> , vv.133-138	En: 1178 (Abhidh-k-vy 2: 396) Enomoto 1997: 99
BZA 093 婆羅門失牛	ZA 1179		SN,I,170 – <i>Bahudhītara</i>	
BZA 094 論說	ZA 1180		SN,I,183 – <i>Khomadussa</i>	En: 1180 (Uv 29.43f)
BZA 095 云何淨福田	ZA 1181		SN,I,174 – <i>Devahita</i>	En: 1181 (Uv 33.47abcd)
BZA 096 於林而無林	ZA 1182		SN,I,179 – <i>Navakammika</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 097 採薪	ZA 1183		SN,I,180 – <i>Kaṭṭhahāra</i>	
BZA 098 真淨水	ZA 1185	梵志計水淨經 T.01.0051.0843c11 中阿含 (93) 水淨梵志經 T.01.0026.0575c16 增壹阿含 (13.5) T.02.0125.0574c09	MN,I,39 – 7. <i>Vattha</i>	En: 1185 (Uv 16.15)
BZA 099 佛不受食	ZA 1184		SN,I,167 – <i>Sundarika</i>	En: 1184 (Saṅghabh 1: 193)
BZA 100 斷除髻髮	ZA 1186 ZA 1187		SN,I,165 – <i>Jaṭā</i>	En: 1187 (Ybhūs 8.2; SHT 4: 50a, 26f [cf. Enomoto 1982: 82f])
BZA 101 依止於法	ZA 1188		SN,I,138 – <i>Gārava</i> AN,II,20 – <i>Uruvela</i>	En: 1188 (Uv 21.11f; Abhidh-k-bh: 467)
BZA 102 唯有一道	ZA 1189	雜阿含經 (4) T.02.0101.0494a17 cf. 雜阿含 (607) T.02.0099.0171a09 cf. 雜阿含 (608) T.02.0099.0171a15	SN,V,167 – <i>Brahma</i>	En: 1189 (Uv 12.13-16)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 103 梵主天讚歎佛	ZA 1190		SN,I,153 – <i>Sanañkumāra</i>	
BZA 104 阿練若法	ZA 1191		SN,I,154 – <i>Andhakavinda</i>	cf. Kudara 1990
BZA 105 集會	ZA 1192	大三摩惹經 T.01.0019.0258a14 長阿含 (19) 大會經 T.01.0001.0079b01	SN,I,026 – <i>Samaya</i> DN,II,253 – 20. <i>Mahāsamaya</i> DN,III,194 – 32. <i>Āṭānāṭṭiya</i>	cf. Kudara 1990 En: 1192 (MSJSū 1-3; Divy 195f) cf. Sander 1987: 159-179 (= En) cf. Waldschmidt 1932: 149-206 cf. Waldschmidt 1980a Derge 034 ('dus pa chen po'i mdo) cf. Peking 750 Miyasaka 1970 Skilling 1994: 384-458

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 106 瞿迦梨	ZA 1193	雜阿含 (1278) T.02.0099.0351b12 雜阿含經 (5) T.02.0101.0494b20 cf. 別譯雜阿含 (276) T.02.0100.0470a14	SN,I,148 – 7. <i>Kokālika</i> SN,I,149 – 8. <i>Katamodakatissa</i> SN,I,149 – 9. <i>Turūbrahma</i>	cf. Kudara 1990
BZA 107 二梵欲見佛	ZA 1194		SN,I,146 – <i>Brahmaloka</i>	cf. Kudara 1990 En: 1194 (Uv 8.2-5; Āps 40)
BZA 108 婆迦梵生邪見	ZA 1195		SN,I,142 – <i>Bakabrahma</i>	cf. Kudara 1990
BZA 109 一梵起大邪見	ZA 1196		SN,I,144 – <i>Aññatarabrahma</i>	En: 1196 (Saṅghabh 1: 196)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 110 須跋陀羅	ZA 1197 ZA 0979	cf. 別譯雜阿含 (213) T.02.0100.0453b18 大般涅槃經 T.01.0007.0199a02 長阿含 (2) 遊行經 T.01.0001.0021a02 佛般泥洹經 T.01.0005.0169a10 般泥洹經 T.01.0006.0184c19 佛所行讚 T.04.0192.0046b05 佛本行經 T.04.0193.0106b22 大般涅槃經 T.12.0374.0602b03 大般涅槃經後分 T.12.0377.0900a08 摩訶摩耶經 T.12.0383.1011b23 蓮華面經 T.12.0386.1077c04	SN,I,157 – <i>Parinibbāna</i> DN,II,136 – 16. <i>Mahāparinibbāna</i>	En: 1197 (Avś 2: 197-200; MPS 32.4-10, 44.1-11, 49.23f; Uv 1.3; SHT 1: 184, 684, 694; Ans 14; YL: 171; Abhidh-k-bh: 94; Abhidh-k-vy 1: 182; Ybhūś 15; Ybhūn 2.1.2)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 111 如月初生	ZA 1136	月喻經 T.02.0121.0544b12	SN,II,197 – <i>Candūpama</i>	Hoernle 1916: 40-44
BZA 112 至檀越舍	ZA 1137		SN,II,200 – <i>Kulūpaka</i>	
BZA 113 欲決勝負	ZA 1138	增壹阿含 (31.11) T.02.0125.0673b01	SN,II,203 – <i>Ovāda</i>	
BZA 114 不信者退失善法	ZA 1139		SN,II,205 – <i>Dutiya-ovāda</i>	
BZA 115 自濟拔	ZA 1140		SN,II,208 – <i>Tatiya-ovāda</i>	
BZA 116 讚嘆頭陀功德	ZA 1141	增壹阿含 (12.6) T.02.0125.0570a23 cf. 增壹阿含 (41.5) T.02.0125.0746a21	SN,II,202 – <i>Jiṇṇa</i>	
BZA 117 世尊讚迦葉功德	ZA 1142		SN,II,210 – <i>Jhānābhiñña</i>	
BZA 118 迦葉於尼眾前師子吼	ZA 1143		SN,II,214 – <i>Upassaya</i>	
BZA 119 年少比丘罷道還俗	ZA 1144		SN,II,217 – <i>Civara</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 120 如來死後有無	ZA 0905		SN,II,222 – <i>Paraṃmaraṇa</i>	
BZA 121 正法損減	ZA 0906		SN,II,223 – <i>Saddhammappatirūpaka</i>	
BZA 122 伎人主	ZA 0907		SN,IV,306 – <i>Tālapuṭa</i>	cf. Zhang 2001+2003
BZA 123 善鬪將	ZA 0908		SN,IV,308 – <i>Yodhājīva</i>	cf. Zhang 2001+2003
BZA 124 善調馬師	ZA 0909		cf. SN,IV,310 – <i>Assāroha</i>	cf. Zhang 2001+2003
BZA 125 惡性	ZA 0910		SN,IV,305 – <i>Caṇḍa</i>	cf. Zhang 2001+2003
BZA 126 如意珠頂髮	ZA 0911		SN,IV,325 – <i>Maṇicūlaka</i>	cf. Zhang 2001+2003
BZA 127 王頂髮	ZA 0912		SN,IV,330 – <i>Rāsiya</i>	cf. Zhang 2001+2003
BZA 128 驢姓	ZA 0913		SN,IV,327 – <i>Bhadra</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 129 九事能破居家	ZA 0914		SN,IV,322 – <i>Kula</i>	
BZA 130 三種田	ZA 0915		SN,IV,314 – <i>Khettūpama</i>	
BZA 131 說何等法	ZA 0916		SN,IV,317 – <i>Saṅkhadhama</i>	
BZA 132 阿練若處	ZA 0995		SN,I,005 – <i>Arañña</i>	En: 0995 (SHT 5: 1250b [see Frgm. SĀ (Eno) 90f]; Ds 23; Ybhūs 5.3; SHT 4: 50a, 28f [see Eno 1982, (82)f.]) cf. Enomoto 1985: 90-1
BZA 133 調習橋慢	ZA 0996		SN,I,004 – <i>Mānakāma</i>	
BZA 134 福業增長	ZA 0997		SN,I,033 – <i>Vanaropa</i>	
BZA 135 布施甘露	ZA 0998		SN,I,032 – <i>Kiṃdada</i>	
BZA 136 飲食福隨逐	ZA 0999		SN,I,057 – <i>Serī</i> SN,I,032 – <i>Anna</i>	

Bieyi za ahan (T.100)	Za ahan (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 137 以誰為親	ZA 1000		SN,I,037 – <i>Mitta</i>	
BZA 138 壽命甚短	ZA 1001		SN,I,002 – <i>Upanīya</i> SN,I,054 – <i>Uttara</i>	
BZA 139 當求寂滅			SN,I,003 – <i>Accenti</i> SN,I,062 – <i>Nanda</i>	
BZA 140 比丘度流	ZA 1312 ZA 1002	別譯雜阿含 (311) T.02.0100.0479a16	SN,I,003 – <i>Katichinda</i>	
BZA 141 於睡名寤	ZA 1003		SN,I,003 – <i>Jāgara</i>	
BZA 142 苦惱之本	ZA 1004		SN,I,006 – <i>Nandati</i>	
BZA 143 三種不調之馬	ZA 0917		AN,I,287 – <i>Assakhaḷuṅka</i> AN,IV,397 – <i>Assakhaḷuṅka</i>	
BZA 144 三種良善調順	ZA 0918		AN,I,289 – <i>Assaparassa</i> AN,IV,397 – <i>Assakhaḷuṅka</i>	
BZA 145 三種良馬	ZA 0919		AN,I,290 – <i>Assājānīya</i> AN,IV,397 – <i>Assakhaḷuṅka</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 146 三種比丘如良馬	ZA 0920	馬有三相經 T.02.0114.0506c14	AN,I,244 – <i>Paṭhama-ājānīya</i> AN,I,245 – <i>Dutiya-ājānīya</i> AN,I,245 – <i>Tatiya-ājānīya</i>	
BZA 147 四種良馬	ZA 0921		AN,II,250 – <i>Paṭhama-ājānīya</i> AN,II,250 – <i>Dutiya-ājānīya</i> AN,II,113 – <i>Java</i>	
BZA 148 四種良馬	ZA 0922		AN,II,114 – <i>Patoda</i>	
BZA 149 馬有八種過	ZA 0924	馬有八態譬人經 T.02.0115.0507a10	AN,IV,190 – <i>Assakhaḷuṅka</i>	
BZA 150 八種良馬	ZA 0925		AN,IV,188 – <i>Assājānīya</i>	
BZA 151 迦旃延離垢	ZA 0926		AN,V,322 – <i>Saddha</i>	
BZA 152 優婆塞	ZA 0927		SN,V,395 – <i>Mahānāma</i>	
BZA 153 優婆塞得三果	ZA 0928			
BZA 154 具一切行能自他利	ZA 0929		AN,IV,220 – <i>Mahānāma</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 155 命終時當生何處	ZA 0930		SN,V,369 – <i>Paṭhamamahānāma</i> SN,V,371 – <i>Dutiyamahānāma</i>	
BZA 156 六念	ZA 0931	阿毘達磨集異門足論 (7.2) T.26.1536.0433a02 阿毘達磨法蘊足論 (15.1) T.26.1537.0492c06	AN,III,284 – <i>Mahānāma</i>	
BZA 157 五事并六念法	ZA 0932 ZA 0933		AN,V,328 – <i>Paṭhamamahānāma</i> AN,V,332 – <i>Dutiyamahānāma</i>	
BZA 158 定與解脫	ZA 0934		AN,I,219 – <i>Mahānāmasakka</i>	
BZA 159 四支不壞信	ZA 0935		SN,V,371 – <i>Godhasakka</i>	
BZA 160 鹿手釋者	ZA 0936		SN,V,378 – <i>Dutiyasaraṇānisakka</i> SN,V,375 – <i>Paṭhamasaraṇānisakka</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 161 歡喜園	ZA 0576	增壹阿含 T.02.0125.0672b03	SN,I,005 – <i>Nandana</i>	En: 576 (Uv 1.3; Avś 2; 198; MPS 44.5; SHT 1: 694; Ans 14; YL: 171; Abhidh-k-vy 1: 182; Ybhūś 15)
BZA 162 捨於家業	ZA 0577	別譯雜阿含 (299) T.02.0100.0476b25	SN,I,206 – <i>Sakkanāma</i>	
BZA 163 具慚愧如良馬	ZA 0578		SN,I,007 – <i>Hirī</i>	En: 578 (Uv 19.5)
BZA 164 不善知	ZA 0579		SN,I,004 – <i>Appaṭivīdita</i>	
BZA 165 善調順	ZA 0580		SN,I,004 – <i>Susammutṭha</i>	
BZA 166 羅漢	ZA 0581 ZA 0582	大智度論 T.25.1509.0064a14	SN,I,014 – <i>Arahanta</i>	
BZA 167 阿脩羅手障於月	ZA 0583		SN,I,050 – <i>Candima</i>	cf. Peking 758 Derge 042 (zla ba'i mdo) cf. Peking 997 Derge 331 (zla ba'i mdo) En: 583 (CandraSū.) cf. Waldschmidt 1970

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 168 繫閉	ZA 0584		SN,I,008 – <i>Kuṭṭikā</i>	
BZA 169 佛不憂不喜	ZA 0585		SN,I,054 – <i>Kakudha</i>	
BZA 170 端坐百牟鍤	ZA 0586		SN,I,013 – <i>Satti</i> SN,I,053 – <i>Vāsudatta</i>	
BZA 171 天女侍左右	ZA 0587		SN,I,033 – <i>Accharā</i>	En: 587 (Bil: 12.)
BZA 172 九門四輪轉	ZA 0588		SN,I,063 – <i>Nandivīsāla</i> SN,I,016 – <i>Catucakka</i>	En: 588 (Uv 33.59abc)
BZA 173 結髮	ZA 0599		SN,I,013 – <i>Jaṭā</i> Vism,001 – <i>Nidānādīkathā</i>	En: 599 (Uv 6.8abc)
BZA 174 如龜藏六	ZA 0600		SN,I,007 – <i>Dukkara</i>	En: 600 (Uv 11.6f; Ybhūś 27; Uv 26.1; SHT 6: 1293)
BZA 175 睡臥厭	ZA 0598		SN,I,007 – <i>Niddātandī</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 176 名色盡，池枯竭	ZA 0601		SN,I,015 – <i>Sara</i> cf. <i>Suttanipāta</i> , 198 – <i>Ajitaṃāṇavapucchā</i> , vv.1032- 37 cf. DN,I,223 – 11. <i>Kevaṭṭasuttaṃ</i> , <i>Tīradassisaḷaṇḍapamā</i>	En: 601 (Ybhūs 8.1-3; SHT 4: 50a, 25-27 [cf. Eno 1982: 82f])
BZA 177 伊尼延	ZA 0602		SN,I,016 – <i>Enijaṅgha</i>	En: 602 (SHT 4: 50a, 23f [cf. Eno 1982: 82f])
BZA 178 云何度駛流	ZA 1269 ZA 1316	別譯雜阿含 (315) T.02.0100.0479c17 cf. 別譯雜阿含 (328) T02.0100.0483c17	SN,I,053 – <i>Candana</i> cf. Sn,032 – <i>Ālavakasuttaṃ</i> (<i>gāthā</i>)	En: 1269, 1316 (Ybhūs 10.1-3)
BZA 179 得淨解脫	ZA 1268		SN,I,002 – <i>Nimokkha</i>	
BZA 180 度瀑駛流	ZA 1267		SN,I,001 – <i>Oghataraṇa</i>	En: 1267 (Ybhūs 13)
BZA 181 棄捨一切務	ZA 0596	cf. 別譯雜阿含 (314) T.02.0100.0479c03 cf. 雜阿含 (1315) T.02.0099.0361b09	SN,I,053 – <i>Subrahma</i> SN,I,042 – <i>Bhītā</i>	En: 596 (Ybhūs 5.1-3; Ds 23)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 182 誰得色最勝	ZA 0597		SN,I,052 – <i>Nandana</i>	En: 597 (Ybhūs 6.1-3)
BZA 183 誰能捨欲愛	ZA 0589		SN,I,015 – <i>Mahaddhana</i>	
BZA 184 天神考問商估	ZA 0590			
BZA 185 唯說一欲過	ZA 0591			
BZA 186 須達多長者初聞佛名	ZA 0592	中阿含 (28) 教化病經 T.01.0026.0459c05	SN,I,210 – <i>Sudatta</i>	En: 592 (Saṅghabh 1: 166-71; Śay-v: 14-16; Śay- vw: 115-8; Uv 30.28f)
BZA 187 須達多生天	ZA 0593		SN,I,055 – <i>Anāthapiṇḍika</i> SN,I,033 – <i>Jetavana</i>	
BZA 188 首長者生天	ZA 0594		AN,I,278 – <i>Hatthaka</i>	
BZA 189 七比丘解脫	ZA 0595		SN,I,060 – <i>Ghaṭikāra</i> SN,I,035 – <i>Ghaṭikāra</i>	
BZA 190 火有取則然	ZA 0957		SN,IV,398 – <i>Kutūhalasālā</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 191 默然不答	ZA 0958		SN,IV,395 – <i>Vacchagotta</i> cf. SN,IV,391 – <i>Moggallāna</i>	
BZA 192 如來如實知之	ZA 0959a		SN,IV,395 – <i>Vacchagotta</i> cf. SN,IV,401 – <i>Sabhiyakaccāna</i>	
BZA 193 諸法無有因緣	ZA 0959b	cf. 別譯雜阿含 (194) T.02.0100.0444b03 cf. 雜阿含 (959) T.02.0099.0244c13	SN,IV,401 – <i>Sabhiyakaccāna</i> cf. SN,IV,395 – <i>Vacchagotta</i>	
BZA 194 諸法無有因緣	ZA 0960	cf. 別譯雜阿含 (193) T.02.0100.0444a05 cf. 雜阿含 (959) T.02.0099.0244c13	SN,IV,401 – <i>Sabhiyakaccāna</i> cf. SN,III,258 – <i>Vedanā-aññāṇa</i> cf. SN,III,258 – <i>Saññā-aññāṇa</i> cf. SN,IV,395 – <i>Vacchagotta</i>	
BZA 195 捨離二邊，會於中道	ZA 0961		SN,IV,400 – <i>Ānanda</i>	
BZA 196 如來已斷色	ZA 0962		MN,I,483 – <i>Aggivacchasuttam</i>	
BZA 197 身異命異	ZA 0963		SN,III,257 – <i>Rūpa-aññāṇa</i>	
BZA 198 已報佛恩	ZA 0964		MN,I,489 – <i>Mahāvaccha</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 199 善能分別客舊諸人	ZA 0965		AN,V,193 – <i>Uttiya</i>	
BZA 200 不見眾生之相	ZA 0966			Hosoda 1989a
BZA 201 如墨聚集	ZA 0967		AN,V,196 – <i>Kokanuda</i>	Hosoda 1989a cf. Pischel 1904a: 813 (≡ Hosoda 1989a) cf. Lévi 1904: 300-302 (≡ Hosoda 1989a)
BZA 202 摧諸外道	ZA 0968		AN,V,185 – <i>Kimḍiṭṭhika</i>	Hosoda 1989a cf. Pischel 1904a: 813 (≡ Hosoda 1989a)
BZA 203 長爪梵志	ZA 0969	大智度論 T.25.1509.0061b18 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 T.27.1545.0509b17 cf. 撰集百緣經 T.04.0200.0255a17	MN,I,497 – <i>Dīghanakha</i>	Hosoda 1989b cf. Pischel 1904a: 814 (≡ Hosoda 1989b) cf. Speyer 1970b: 186-96
BZA 204 如野干欲作師子吼	ZA 0970		AN,I,185 – <i>Sarabha</i>	Hosoda 1991: 179 cf. Pischel 1904a: 816 (≡ Hosoda 1991)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 205 為其作弟子	ZA 0971	根本說一切有部毘奈耶 藥事 T.24.1448.0035c10 cf. 增壹阿含 (26.8) T.02.0125.0639a01	Dhp,109 – <i>Brāhmaṇavagga</i> ,v.391	Hosoda 1991: 183 Pischel 1904a: 817 (≡ Hosoda 1991) Peking 1030
BZA 206 三諦	ZA 0972		AN,II,176 – <i>Brāhmaṇasacca</i>	Hosoda 1991: 187 cf. Pischel 1904a: 817 (≡ Hosoda 1991) cf. Lévi 1904: 305-309 (≡ Hosoda 1991)
BZA 207 三毒的過患	ZA 0973		AN,I,215 – <i>Channa</i>	
BZA 208 嬰兒轉大，則離母乳	ZA 0974			
BZA 209 相應不相應	ZA 0975			
BZA 210 學與無學	ZA 0976			
BZA 211 尸葡梵志	ZA 0977		SN,IV,230 – <i>Sīvaka</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 212 怨詐親	ZA 0978		cf. AN,II,002 – <i>Paṭhamakhata</i>	
BZA 213 須跋陀羅	ZA 0979	cf. 別譯雜阿含 (110) T.02.0100.0413a27 cf. 大般涅槃經 T.01.0007.0199a02 cf. 長阿含 (2) 遊行經 T.01.0001.0021a02 cf. 佛般泥洹經 T.01.0005.0169a10 cf. 般泥洹經 T.01.0006.0184c19 cf. 佛所行讚 T.04.0192.0046b05 cf. 佛本行經 T.04.0193.0106b22 cf. 大般涅槃經 T.12.0374.0602b03 cf. 摩訶摩耶經 T.12.0383.1011b23 cf. 蓮華面經 T.12.0386.1077c04	DN,II,148-153 – 16. <i>Mahāparinibbāna</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 214 <i>Ālavikā</i> 魔欲惱曠野比丘尼	ZA 1198		SN,I,128 – <i>Ālavikā</i> Thī,129 – <i>Selātherīgāthā</i> , vv.057-059	
BZA 215 <i>Somā</i> 魔欲惱蘇摩比丘尼	ZA 1199		SN,I,129 – <i>Somā</i> Thī,129 – <i>Somātherīgāthā</i> , vv.060-062	
BZA 216 <i>Kisāgotamī</i> 魔欲惱翅舍橋曇彌比丘尼	ZA 1200		SN,I,129 – <i>Kisāgotamī</i>	
BZA 217 <i>Uppalavaṇṇā</i> 魔欲惱蓮華色比丘尼	ZA 1201		SN,I,131 – <i>Uppalavaṇṇā</i> Thī,145 – <i>Uppalavaṇṇātherīgāthā</i> , vv.230-235	
BZA 218 <i>Selā</i> 魔欲惱石室比丘尼	ZA 1202		SN,I,134 – <i>Vajirā</i>	En: 1202 (Abhidh-k-bh: 465f)
BZA 219 <i>Vīrā</i> 魔欲惱鼻[口(利/余)]比丘尼	ZA 1203		SN,I,134 – <i>Selā</i>	
BZA 220 <i>Vijayā</i> 魔欲惱毘闍耶比丘尼	ZA 1204		SN,I,130 – <i>Vijayā</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 221 <i>Cālā</i> 魔欲惱折羅比丘尼	ZA 1205		SN,I,132 – <i>Cālā</i> Thī,141 – <i>Upacālātherīgāthā</i> , vv.189-195	En: 1205 (Divy: 164; Uv 27.34; Abhidh-k-bh: 217; Abhidh-d: 127; Maitr- vyāk 60; VSthSū 15; SHT 4: 50 [cf. Eno 1982: 84; SHT 5: 271])
BZA 222 <i>Upacālā</i> 魔欲惱優波折羅比丘尼	ZA 1206		SN,I,133 – <i>Upacālā</i> Thī,142 – <i>Sisūpacālātherīgāthā</i> , vv.196-203	
BZA 223 <i>Sisūpacālā</i> 魔欲惱動頭比丘尼	ZA 1207		SN,I,133 – <i>Sisūpacālā</i> Thī,141 – <i>Cālātherīgāthā</i> , vv.183-188	
BZA 224 以月為喻讚歎佛	ZA 1208		SN,I,195 – <i>Gaggarā</i> Th,112 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1252	
BZA 225 以偈讚橋陳如	ZA 1209		SN,I,193 – <i>Koṇḍañña</i> Th,111 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1246-1248	
BZA 226 以偈讚舍利弗	ZA 1210		SN,I,189 – <i>Sāriputta</i> Th,110 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1231-1233	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 227 以偈讚目連	ZA 1211		SN,I,194 – <i>Moggallāna</i> Th,112 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1249-1251	
BZA 228 說讚自恣偈	ZA 1212	解夏經 T.01.0063.0861b14 增壹阿含 (32.5) T.02.0125.0676b28 受新歲經 T.01.0061.0858a14 中阿含 (121) 請請經 T.01.0026.0610a10 cf. 新歲經 T.01.0062.0859a28	SN,I,190 – <i>Pavāraṇā</i> Th,111 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1234-1237	En: 1212 (SHT 5: 1193 [see Frgm. SĀ (Eno): 88]; MR: 38f; SHT 6: 1598) cf. Hoernle 1916: 36-40 (<i>Pravaraṇa</i>) cf. Enomoto 1985: 88
BZA 229 說厭患偈	ZA 1213		SN,I,186 – <i>Arati</i> Th,109 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1214-1218	En: 1213 (SHT 5: 1140)
BZA 230 欲結燋然	ZA 1214	增壹阿含 (35.9) T.02.0125.0701a12	SN,I,188 – <i>Ānanda</i> Th,110 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1223-1224	En: 1214 (SHT 5: 1140; Ybhūs 3.1-5; SHT 5: 1140; Abhidh-k-bh: 284; Abhidh-k-vy 2: 455)
BZA 231 斯業勝聚斂	ZA 1005		SN,I,037 – <i>Vatthu</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 232 慧為第一明	ZA 1006		SN,I,006 – <i>Natthiputtasama</i>	
BZA 233 正覺最為勝	ZA 1007		SN,I,006 – <i>Khattiya</i>	
BZA 234 無明滅為勝	ZA 1008		SN,I,042 – <i>Vuṭṭhi</i>	
BZA 235 六情生諸苦	ZA 1008		SN,I,041 – <i>Loka</i>	En: 1008 (SHT 4: 50a, 28f [cf. Eno 1982: 82f])
BZA 236 意名為一法	ZA 1009		SN,I,039 – <i>Citta</i>	En: 1009 (Abhidh-k-vy 1: 95)
BZA 237 捨欲得解脫	ZA 1010		SN,I,039 – <i>Samyojana</i>	
BZA 238 愛縛於眾生	ZA 1011		SN,I,040 – <i>Pihita</i>	
BZA 239 瞋污染眾生	ZA 1012			
BZA 240 慧命為最勝	ZA 1013		SN,I,042 – <i>Vitta</i>	En: 1013 (Uv 10.3)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 241 信為第二伴	ZA 1014		SN,I,038 – <i>Dutiya</i>	En: 1014 (Uv 10.6)
BZA 242 福財賊不劫	ZA 1015		SN,I,036 – <i>Jarā</i>	
BZA 243 云何常馳求	ZA 1016		SN,I,037 – <i>Dutiyaajana</i>	
BZA 244 苦為大怖畏	ZA 1017		SN,I,038 – <i>Tatiyaajana</i>	
BZA 245 業為大怖畏	ZA 1018		SN,I,037 – <i>Paṭhamajana</i>	En: 1018 (SHT 3: 823 B6)
BZA 246 欲名為非道	ZA 1019		SN,I,038 – <i>Uppatha</i>	
BZA 247 四陰名最勝	ZA 1020		SN,I,039 – <i>Nāma</i>	
BZA 248 偈以欲為初	ZA 1021		SN,I,038 – <i>Kavi</i>	En: 1021 (Abhidh-k-bh: 81)
BZA 249 以幢知王車	ZA 1022		SN,I,041 – <i>Ratha</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 250 欲害善法苗	ZA 1215		SN,I,185 – <i>Nikkhanta</i> Th,109 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1209-1213	En: 1215 (SHT 5: 1140)
BZA 251 輕於出家	ZA 1216		SN,I,187 – <i>Pesala</i> Th,110 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1219-1222	
BZA 252 讚已得三明	ZA 1217		SN,I,196 – <i>Vaṅṅisa</i> Th,112 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1253-1262	En: 1217 (Divy: 164; Uv 27.34; Abhidh-k-bh: 217; Abhidh-d: 127; Maitr- vyāk 60; VsthSū 15; SHT 4: 50 [cf. Eno 1982: 84; SHT 5: 271])
BZA 253 四句偈法	ZA 1218		SN,I,188 – <i>Subhāsita</i> Th,110 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheragāthā</i> , vv.1227-1230 Sn,079 – Mv. 3. suttam vv.451-454	En: 1218 (Uv 8.11-15; Ybhūs 20)
BZA 254 良醫能治四病	ZA 1220			

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 255 尼瞿陀劫賓	ZA 1221		Sn,059 – Cv.12. <i>Nigrodhakappa</i> , vv.343-358 Th,113 – <i>Vaṅṅisattheraḡāthā</i> , vv.1263-1278	
BZA 256 諸大聲聞	ZA 0993			En: 993 (Frgm. SĀ (Eno) 85f (SHT 5: 1120 + 1178))
BZA 257 於最後欲讚佛	ZA 0994			
BZA 258 極慢摩訶	ZA 0092		SN,I,177 – <i>Mānatthaddha</i>	Enomoto 1997: 96
BZA 259 三種火	ZA 0093		AN,IV,041 – <i>Dutiya-aggi</i>	
BZA 260 觀察丈夫如觀月	ZA 0094	雜阿含經 (3) T.02.0101.0493c16		
BZA 261 施持戒者得福多	ZA 0095	雜阿含經 (2) T.02.0101.0493b12	AN,I,160 – <i>Vacchagotta</i> AN,III,211 – <i>Gīhi (ḡāthā)</i>	En: 95 (SHT 5: 1101)
BZA 262 生子太歡喜	ZA 0096		SN,I,175 – <i>Mahāsāla</i>	Enomoto 1997: 96
BZA 263 比丘法	ZA 0097		SN,I,182 – <i>Bhikkhaka</i>	En: 97 (Uv 32.18f)

Bieyi za ahan (T.100)	Za ahan (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 264 耕種而食	ZA 0098		SN,I,172 – <i>Kasibhāradvāja</i> Sn,012 – <i>Kasibhāradvāja</i> , vv.76-82	En: 98 (Ybhūm: 117b1; Bil: 11) En: 97
BZA 265 梵天中梵天	ZA 0099		SN,I,140 – <i>Brahmadeva</i>	En: 98
BZA 266 以是故名佛	ZA 0100			En: 100 (MSV 1: 268; TsP 2: 1121)
BZA 267 千輻輪相	ZA 0101		AN,II,037 – <i>Doṇa</i>	Allon 2001
BZA 268 旃陀羅	ZA 0102		Sn,021 – <i>Vasala</i> , vv.116-142	Enomoto 1997: 99
BZA 269 觀欲空無實	ZA 1270			En: 1270-1274 (Ybhūs 1; Divy: 489, 494)
BZA 270 觀欲空無實	ZA 1271			En: 1270-1274 (Ybhūs 1; Divy: 489, 494)
BZA 271 觀欲性相空	ZA 1273		SN,I,030 – <i>Dutiyapajjunnadhītu</i>	En: 1270-1274 (Ybhūs 1; Divy: 489, 494)
BZA 272 五欲悉虛偽	ZA 1274		SN,I,029 – <i>Paṭhamapajjunnadhītu</i>	En: 1270-1274 (Ybhūs 1; Divy: 489, 494)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 273 不觸者勿觸	ZA 1275			En: 1275 (Uv 28.9)
BZA 274 愚癡造眾惡	ZA 1276		SN,I,057 – <i>Khema</i> Cone 1989: 148	En: 1276 (Uv 9.13-15) cf. Bernhard 1965: 174 Tripāṭhī 1995: 166
BZA 275 不顯己功德	ZA 1277		SN,I,023 – <i>Ujjhānasaññi</i>	
BZA 276 瞿迦梨	ZA 1278	增壹阿含 (21.5) T.02.0125.0603b02 cf. 別譯雜阿含 (106) T.02.0100.0411b24	Sn,123 – <i>Kokāliya</i> , vv.657-678 SN,I,148 – <i>Kokālika</i> SN,I,148 – <i>Katamodakatissa</i> SN,I,149 – <i>Turūbrahma</i> SN,I,149 – <i>Kokālika</i> AN,V,170 – <i>Kokālika</i> – 10.89	En: 1278 (Uv 8.2-4; Āps 40; Āps 36-39, Abhidh-k- bh: 175)
BZA 277 不敬首	ZA 1279		Sn,018 – <i>Parābhava</i>	
BZA 278 小兒弄土	ZA 1280			
BZA 279 遮惡覺觀	ZA 1281		SN,I,014 – <i>Manonivāraṇā</i>	

Bieyi za ahan (T.100)	Za ahan (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 280 云何得善友	ZA 1282			En: 1282 (Ybhūs 7.1f; SHT 5: 1250 [Frgm. SĀ (Eno): 88-90])
BZA 281 集財為四分	ZA 1283		cf. DN,III,180 – <i>Siṅgāla</i>	En: 1283 (SHT 4: 412 (30))
BZA 282 六天女各乘宮殿	ZA 1284		Jā,II,248 – <i>Guttila</i>	
BZA 283 瞋恚起時滅	ZA 1285		SN,I,041 – <i>Chetvā</i>	En: 1285 (Uv 20.2)
BZA 284 證滅最為樂	ZA 1286		SN,I,022 – <i>Nasanti</i> SN,I,025 – <i>Saddhā</i>	
BZA 285 應共善人住	ZA 1287	cf. 別譯雜阿含 (301) T.02.0100.0476c18	SN,I,016 – <i>Sabbhi</i>	
BZA 286 可怖莫過貪	ZA 1288		SN,I,018 – <i>Macchari</i>	
BZA 287 人中師子	ZA 1289		SN,I,027 – <i>Sakalika</i>	
BZA 288 無物廣於愛	ZA 1290			

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 289 福聚火不燒	ZA 1291			En: 1291 (Ds 9, 11, 10, 12)
BZA 290 信為遠資糧	ZA 1292			
BZA 291 樂者無思念	ZA 1294			
BZA 292 捨欲出家難	ZA 1293			
BZA 293 從業出生車	ZA 1295			
BZA 294 陰聚和合苦	ZA 1296			
BZA 295 名色永已滅	ZA 1297			
BZA 296 持戒重於地	ZA 1298			
BZA 297 生天法	ZA 1299			Derge 330 (lha'i mdo nyung du) cf. Peking 996 En: 1299 (Ads 128f)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 298 識依歌羅羅	ZA 1300		SN,I,206 – <i>Indaka</i>	En: 1300 (Abhidh-k-bh: 130, Abhidh-sam-bh: 55)
BZA 299 捨於家業	ZA 0577	別譯雜阿含 (162) T.02.0100.0435a22	SN,I,206 – <i>Sakkanāma</i>	
BZA 300 常學說善偈	ZA 1301			
BZA 301 應共賢聖住	ZA 1302	cf. 別譯雜阿含 (285) T.02.0100.0473a29 cf. 雜阿含 (1287) T.02.0099.0354c06	SN,I,056 – <i>Siva</i>	
BZA 302 如鵠出網羅	ZA 1303		SN,I,051 – <i>Candimasa</i>	
BZA 303 魔不得其便	ZA 1304		SN,I,052 – <i>Veṇḍu</i>	
BZA 304 出家甚寬博	ZA 1305		SN,I,048 – <i>Pañcālacaṇḍa</i>	
BZA 305 舍利弗多聞	ZA 1306		SN,I,063 – <i>Susima</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 306 眾生邊際即是涅槃	ZA 1307		SN,I,061 – <i>Rohitassa</i> AN,II,047 – <i>Rohitassa</i>	En: 1307 (SHT 6: 1534; Abhidh-k-vy 1: 23; SHT 5: 1442; SHT 6: 1404+1411)
BZA 307 六天子說偈讚佛	ZA 1308		SN,I,065 – <i>Nānātitthiyasāvaka</i>	
BZA 308 害嗔安隱眠	ZA 1309		SN,I,047 – <i>Māgha</i>	En: 1309 (Uv 20.3)
BZA 309 唯佛無上明	ZA 1310		SN,I,047 – <i>Māgadha</i>	En: 1310 (Uv 33.74ab)
BZA 310 念作已終訖	ZA 1311		SN,I,047 – <i>Dāmali</i>	En: 1311 (Ybhūs 12.1-4; Śrāv-bh: 341)
BZA 311 比丘度流	ZA 1312 ZA 1002	別譯雜阿含 (140) T.02.0100.0427c11	SN,I,003 – <i>Katichinda</i>	
BZA 312 學者為難作	ZA 1313		SN,I,048 – <i>Kāmada</i>	
BZA 313 從愛至我心	ZA 1314		SN,I,207 – <i>Sūciloma</i>	En: 1314 (Ybhūs 11.1f, 4)
BZA 314 後世都無畏	ZA 1315		SN,I,042 – <i>Bhītā</i>	En: 1315 (Ybhūs 6.1cd, 3cd)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 315 云何度駛流	ZA 1316 ZA 1269	cf. 別譯雜阿含 (178) T.02.0100.0438b08 cf. 別譯雜阿含 (328) T02.0100.0483c17	SN,I,053 – <i>Candana</i> cf. Sn,032 – 10. <i>Ālavaka (gāthā)</i>	En: 1269, 1316 (Ybhūs 10.1-3)
BZA 316比丘勝利	ZA 1317 ZA 1318	別譯雜阿含 (317) T.02.0100.0480a12	SN,I,046 – <i>Paṭhamakassapa</i> SN,I,046 – <i>Dutiyakassapa</i>	
BZA 317 比丘勝利	ZA 1317 ZA 1318	別譯雜阿含 (316) T.02.0100.0480a01	SN,I,046 – <i>Paṭhamakassapa</i> SN,I,046 – <i>Dutiyakassapa</i>	
BZA 318 得正憶念樂	ZA 1319		SN,I,208 – <i>Mañibhadda</i>	En: 1319 (BTKN: 173)
BZA 319 薄俱羅鬼	ZA 1320		Ud,004 – <i>Ajakalāpaka</i>	En: 1320 (Uv 33.68-70, 73)
BZA 320 聽道人誦法句偈	ZA 1321		SN,I,209 – <i>Piyaṅkara</i>	
BZA 321 一切眾生隨於欲流	ZA 1322		SN,I,209 – <i>Punabbasu</i>	
BZA 322 摩尼行夜叉	ZA 1323			En: 1323 (SHT 5: 1138.)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 323 針毛鬼	ZA 1324		SN,I,207 – <i>Sūciloma</i>	En: 1324 (SHT 5: 1138; Ybhūs 11.1f, 4; SHT 5: 1138)
BZA 324 犯戒故遭鬼著	ZA 1325		SN,I,208 – <i>Sānu</i>	En: 1325 (Maitr-vyāk 76; SHT 5: 1161; Uv 11.3-5)
BZA 325 曠野夜叉	ZA 1326	雜阿含 (603) T.02.0099.0161a22	SN,I,213 – <i>Ālavaka</i> Sn,031 – 10. <i>Ālavaka</i> , vv.181- 206	En: 1326 (Uv 10.3; Ybhūs 7.1a, 2a; SHT 5: 1250 [Frgm. SĀ (Eno): 88-90]; SHT 4: 50a, 28f [cf. Eno 1982: 82f]; Ybhūs 10.1-3; Ybhūs 9.1f; Uv 10.5)
BZA 326 行者實是雄	ZA 1328		SN,I,213 – <i>Cīrā</i>	
BZA 327 白淨比丘尼	ZA 1327		SN,I,212 – <i>Paṭhamasukkā</i> SN,I,212 – <i>Dutiyasukkā</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 328 二夜叉共為親友	ZA 1329	cf. 別譯雜阿含 (315) T02.0100.0479c17	Sn,027 – <i>Hemavatasuttam</i> , vv.153-180 Sn, 032 – <i>Ālavakasuttam</i> , vv.183-190	En: 1329 (SHT 4: 50 [see Eno 1982: 84; SHT 5: 271]; Divy: 164; Uv 27.34; Abhidh-k-bh: 217; Abhidh-d: 127; Maitr- vyāk 60; VSthSū 15; SHT 4: 50a, 23f; SHT 4: 50a, 25-29ab [see Eno 1982: 82f]; Ybhūś 8.1-3; Ybhūś 10.1-3; Ybhūś 9.1f; Uv 10.5)
BZA 329 夜叉拳打舍利弗	ZA 1130		Ud,039 – <i>Yakkhapahāra</i>	En: 1330 (Uv 31.49)
BZA 330 生死長遠	ZA 0987		SN,II,187 – <i>Tiṃsamatta</i>	
BZA 331 生死長遠	ZA 0938		SN,II,179 – <i>Assu</i>	
BZA 332 生死長遠	ZA 0939		SN,II,180 – <i>Khīra</i>	
BZA 333 生死長遠	ZA 0940		SN,II,178 – <i>Tiṇakatṭha</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 334 生死長遠	ZA 0941		SN,II,179 – <i>Pathavī</i>	
BZA 335 生死長遠	ZA 0942		SN,II,186 – <i>Sukhita</i>	
BZA 336 生死長遠	ZA 0943		SN,II,186 – <i>Duggata</i>	
BZA 337 前身曾作怨害	ZA 0944			
BZA 338 生死長遠	ZA 0945		SN,II,189 – <i>Mātu</i> SN,II,189 – <i>Pitu</i> SN,II,189 – <i>Bhātu</i> SN,II,189 – <i>Bhagini</i> SN,II,190 – <i>Putta</i> SN,II,190 – <i>Dhītu</i>	
BZA 339 恒河沙諸佛	ZA 0946			
BZA 340 積骨以為聚	ZA 0947	雜阿含經 (11) T.02.0101.0496b14	SN,II,185 – <i>Puggala</i>	
BZA 341 生死長遠	ZA 0948		SN,II,182 – <i>Sāsapa</i>	

Bieyi za ahan (T.100)	Za ahan (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 342 劫之長遠，邊際難得	ZA 0949		SN,II,181 – <i>Pabbata</i>	
BZA 343 生死長遠	ZA 0950		SN,II,182 – <i>Sāvaka</i>	
BZA 344 於此大地無有不是	ZA 0951			
BZA 345 生死長遠	ZA 0952			
BZA 346 天雨速生速滅	ZA 0953			
BZA 347 生死長遠	ZA 0954			
BZA 348 生死長遠	ZA 0954		SN,II,184 – <i>Daṇḍa</i> SN,VI,439 – <i>Daṇḍa</i>	
BZA 349 五輻車輪	ZA 0955			
BZA 350 毘富羅山	ZA 0956		SN,II,190 – <i>Vepullapabbata</i>	

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 351 比丘遊行·天神憂慘	ZA 1331		SN,I,199 – <i>Sambahula</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 352 晝日睡眠	ZA 1332		SN,I,197 – <i>Upaṭṭhāna</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 353 起於惡覺	ZA 1333		SN,I,197 – <i>Viveka</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 354 於欲起清淨想	ZA 1334		SN,I,230 – <i>Akusalavitakka</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 355 於日中心不樂	ZA 1335		SN,I,203 – <i>Majjhahika</i> SN,I,007 – <i>Saṇamāna</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 356 天上本妻來誘惑	ZA 1336		SN,I,200 – <i>Anuruddha</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 357 何用文字	ZA 1337		SN,I,202 – <i>Sajjhāya</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 358 盜花香	ZA 1338		SN,I,204 – <i>Gandhatthena</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 359 獵師不解聖法	ZA 1339		SN,I,198 – <i>Kassapagotta</i>	Senior (RS 11)

<i>Bieyi za ahan</i> (T.100)	<i>Za ahan</i> (T.99)	Other Chinese	Pāli	Sanskrit/Tibetan
BZA 360 獨處謂苦劇	ZA 1340		SN,I,201 – <i>Vajjiputta</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 361 持戒為足，更不求勝	ZA 1341			
BZA 362 好樂家法	ZA 1342		SN,I,200 – <i>Nāgadatta</i>	Senior (RS 11)
BZA 363 諸根馳散	ZA 1343		SN,I,203 – <i>Pākatindriya</i> SN,I,061 – <i>Jantu</i> cf. AN,I,070 – <i>Uttānā</i>	Tripāṭhī 1995: 189, Senior (RS 11)
BZA 364 忍受譏毀	ZA 1344		SN,I,201 – <i>Kulagharaṇī</i>	Senior (RS 11)

APPENDIX 2: SIMPLE QUANTITATIVE COMPARISONS OF THE ZA AND THE BZA

Stylometric analysis, and its use for authorship attribution and a better understanding of textual history, is one of the great promises that linguistic computing holds for Buddhist studies. Because of the complicated nature of textual relationships between different versions of a text in different Indian dialects and Chinese translation idioms, however, the use of quantitative methods has hardly ever been attempted with regard to Buddhist texts.¹ Nevertheless, that something is difficult does not mean that it is impossible, and as we move rapidly into the era of digital text we might at least try to make use of the special advantages of that medium. The following tables are the output of some simple quantitative comparisons between parts of the aligned *BZA* corpus that was created in the *BZA* project described in Chapter 1. Two questions guided the analysis:

1. Do the BZA and the ZA sutras generally differ in size?

It is surprising that one is not able to answer this question by simply reading the *BZA* and comparing it with its parallels. As Mizuno (1970: 49) has noticed already there exist great discrepancies in the length of parallel sutras. Though his language is guarded he conveys his impression that *BZA* sutras are in general longer than their *ZA* counterparts. The

¹ Exceptions are the pioneering attempts of Ishii (2002 and 2003) and Hung, Bingenheimer, Wiles (2009).

quantitative analysis shows that taken as a corpus the aligned *BZA* and *ZA* sutras are of the same length.² There are cases, where the character count differs extremely: *BZA* 257 has 436 characters, its parallel *ZA* 994 has 1276;³ *BZA* 187 has 1136 characters against its parallel *ZA* 593 with 429.

On average the *BZA* sutras happen indeed to be slightly longer in general: In 207 of 364 sutras the *BZA* is longer than its *ZA* counterpart. In spite of this, the average character length of the *ZA* sutras is slightly longer (*BZA* sutras average 385 characters vs. *ZA* 393). The distinction between these two measures shows how statistical averages have to be used with great care when comparing aligned corpora.

We are left with an interesting picture: large differences in single cases with an overall pattern of non-significant differences in character counts.

This output opens up a new direction for further inquiry. Once the parallel sutras which show extreme differences in length are identified, we can study them in greater detail and try to find out how these differences came about. If the Indian originals of the *ZA* and the *BZA* have a common ancestor, as we argued in Chapter 4.2, the differences should have come about in the period of independent transmission.

Focusing on those parallel *BZA* and *ZA* sutras which exhibit a significant difference in length, we can observe that these often occur in the first or last sutra of a 'sutra decade,' marked by *uddānas*.⁴ It is not surprising that sutras at the end or the

2 The algorithm strips whitespace, punctuation and, of course, markup. *Uddānas* are not counted.

3 This is due to a long *gāthā* that is missing in the *BZA*.

4 In only 18 sutra pairs is the difference in length larger than 300 characters. In nine out of these the *BZA* sutras are 'border sutras' which end or start a decade (clusters *BZA* 52, *BZA* 110, *BZA* 131, *BZA* 213 (abbreviated to 11

beginning of a decade are especially susceptible to change, but only through quantitative analysis is it possible to prove this within a reasonable amount of time.

2. Are there meaningful differences in the distribution of verse between the BZA and the ZA?

Verse in the sutra text is marked-up in linegroups containing single lines. Is there any significant difference in the size or distribution of any of these?

As the table shows, the corpus is in balance: Both the number of total linegroups (BZA: 685, ZA: 719) and the total number of lines (BZA: 3257, ZA: 3210) indicate that there is little divergence between the texts. In 305 clusters the number of linegroups in the BZA equals that of its ZA counterpart. This strengthens the assumption that the basic structure, the distribution of prose and verse within the sutras themselves did not change significantly in the period of independent transmission of the Indian originals of the BZA and the ZA. Change there was, however, and the figures might as well be used to illustrate the constant evolution of the texts over time.

The large overlap we see in the amount and distribution of linegroups fits well into the picture we have from the proposed evolution of the text and the other pieces of quantitative information.

Another question concerns the use of different meters in the BZA *gāthās*. In the ZA, one verse line in the Prakrit is always translated by a couplet of penta-syllabic half-lines. The translators of the BZA, however, rendered verse variously with 4, 5, or 7 characters to the half-line. Is it possible that the

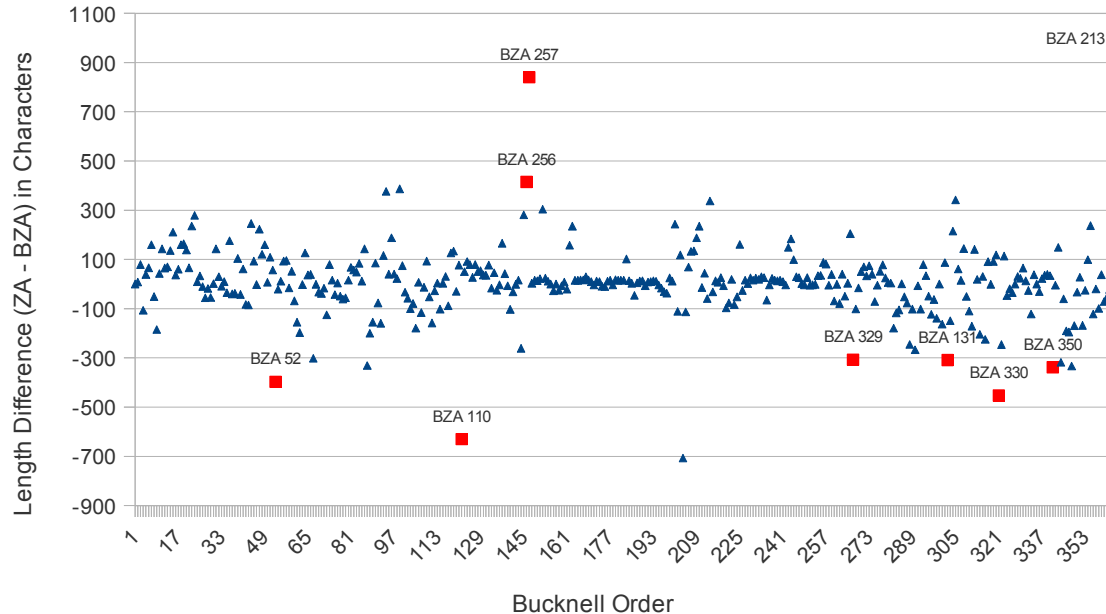
chars), BZA 256 (last complete sutra in the decade), BZA 257 (long *gāthā* missing), BZA 329, BZA 330, BZA 350).

translators tried to imitate the length of the Indian *gāthā* in an impressionistic fashion using 4 or 7 characters to the half-line where the Indian text has fewer or more syllables to the line? Here we arrive at the limits of what can be compared. The character length of a Pāli verse line is hardly a good handle on Indian meter, which could have differed in various ways in the Prakrit original of the BZA. We tried, nevertheless, to compare the verses in the SN with their counterparts in the BZA; but this comparison yielded no conclusive evidence that shorter or longer BZA half-lines correlate with shorter or longer verse-lines in the Pāli parallel. The mean length of the Pāli *gāthā* line is not significantly longer for 7-character BZA *gāthās* than for the 4-character meter.

	BZA	ZA
Number of Texts	364	363
Total Characters	140327	143013
Longest Text	1913	1880
Shortest Text	11	96
Mean Characters per Text	385.51	393.98
Sutra is larger	152	207
Mean Ratio	1.02	1.32
Ratio of Means	0.98	1.02
Total Linegroups	685	719
Most Linegroups	27	33
Least Linegroups	0	0
Mean Linegroups per Text	1.88	1.98
Linegroups are equal	305	

	BZA	ZA
Total Gatha Lines	3267	3210
Most Gatha Lines	81	92
Least Gatha Lines	0	0
Mean Gatha Lines per Text	8.47	8.15
Mean Lines per Linegroup	4.77	4.46
Texts where all Gathas are 四言	9 (3.18%)	0 (0%)
Texts where all Gathas are 五言	232 (81.98%)	280 (99.29%)
Texts where all Gathas are 七言	24 (8.48%)	1 (0.35%)
Texts with mixed Gatha metres	18 (6.36%)	1 (0.35%)

Length Discrepancies between Equivalent Sutras in the ZA and the BZA



Nine of the 18 Sutra pairs showing a significant discrepancy in length between the ZA and the BZA versions fall at the beginning or the end of a Sutra decade in the BZA as reconstructed by Bucknell (2008, p. 49f).

ABBREVIATIONS

- BL *Buddhist Legends*: Burlingame 1921. Translation of Dhṛp-a.
- BZA *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 (T.100)
- CBETA *Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association* 中華電子佛典協會
- CBETA/T CBETA edition of the Taishō canon CD-Version 2005-2010
- Dhṛp-a *Dhammapada* commentary
- DN *Dīgha-nikāya*
- En Enomoto, Fumio 榎本文雄. 1994, *A Comprehensive study of the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama: Indic texts corresponding to the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama as found in the Sarvāstivāda-Mūlasarvāstivāda literature*. Kyoto: Kacho Junior College.
- HDC *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 [Comprehensive Dictionary of the Chinese Language]. 12 vols. Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風 (ed.). Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe 漢語大詞典出版社 出版 1994.
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- Jā *Jātaka*
- MĀ *Madhyamāgama*
- MN *Majjhima Nikāya*

- MN-a *Majjhima Nikāya* commentary
- Mochizuki *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辞典 . 10 vols. Mochizuki Shinko 望月信亨, Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 (eds.). Tokyo: Sekkai seiten kankō kyōkai 世界聖典刊行協會 1954-58.
- Mvu *Mahāvastu*
- MW Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press [Reprint Delhi: Motilal] 1899 [1997].
- NP Noun Phrase
- ONWC Old Northwest Chinese (term used by Coblin (1994) for the Chinese spoken in NW China around 400 CE).
- Pati *Paṭisambhidā-magga*
- PED *Pāli English Dictionary*. T.W. Rhys Davids, William Stede (eds.). Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 1921-25 [Reprint 1999].
- PTS Pali Text Society
- Rv *Ṛg Veda*
- SĀ *Samyuktāgama*
- SAT SAT (Saṃgaṇikīkṛtaṃ Taiśotripiṭakaṃ) Daizōkyō Text Database Committee edition
- Senior (RS 11) Manuscript 11 of the Senior Collection, prepared for publication by Mark Allon.
- Skt Sanskrit
- Sn *Sutta-nipāta*
- Sn-a *Sutta-nipāta* commentary
- SN *Samyutta Nikāya*
- SN-a *Samyutta Nikāya* commentary

- STCA Sui-Tang Chang'an (term used by Coblin (1994) for the Chinese as spoken in Chang'an during the Sui and Tang dynasties).
- SWTF Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden. Heinz Bechert (ed.), Göttingen, 1994-
- T Taishō Edition of the Chinese Canon
- Th *Theragāthā*
- v. verse
- VP Verb Phrase
- VRI Vipassanā Research Institute
- ZA *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T.99)

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