

The Structure and Formation of the *Āṅuttara Nikāya* and the *Ekottarika Āgama*

TSE-FU KUAN¹ AND RODERICK S. BUCKNELL²

1. Yuan Ze University; 2. University Of Queensland

jeformosa@yahoo.com; rodbucknell@yahoo.com

In both the *Āṅuttara Nikāya* in Pali and the *Ekottarika Āgama* in Chinese translation, the suttas are grouped into eleven *nipātas* ('books'), from the *Ekaka-nipāta/Eka-nipāta* (Book of Ones) to the *Ekādasaka-nipāta* (Book of Elevens) — though in the *Ekottarika Āgama* the *nipātas* are not labelled as such. This grouping into *nipātas* is based on the number of doctrinal items dealt with in the component suttas. In the Ones and Twos, it is often the case that a single original sutta has been subdivided so that its component sections become a series of similarly structured derivative suttas superficially appropriate for inclusion in the Ones or Twos. Moreover, material for this process of subdividing has sometimes been provided by multiplying doctrinal sets with formulaic statements. In most of the remaining *nipātas* the phenomena noted in the Ones and Twos are also present, but on a much smaller scale. In view of their Chinese counterparts in the *Samyukta Āgama*, some groups of suttas in the *Āṅuttara Nikāya* with *saṃyutta*-like nature were probably moved from the *Samyutta Nikāya* to the *Āṅuttara Nikāya* within the Pali tradition. Evidence of a comparable movement into the *Ekottarika Āgama* is also available. The artificial suttas created by subdivision and the original numerical suttas shared by the *Ekottarika Āgama* and the *Āṅuttara Nikāya* largely retained their original places at the beginning of each *nipāta*, while some genuine suttas probably earlier located in the *Samyukta Āgama* and *Madhyama Āgama* were added progressively at the end of the growing *nipāta*.

1. Introduction

The *Āṅuttara Nikāya* (AN) of the Pali tradition is stated, in a concluding summary verse (*uddāna*), to contain 9557 suttas.¹ However, PTS editor Hardy (1900, vi) recognises only 2344 suttas, while Bodhi (2012, 18) counts 3872 independent suttas. It will shortly be shown that the number of genuinely distinct suttas is about 1045.

1. AN V 361: *Nava suttasahassāni bhiyyo pañcasatāni ca | sattapañhāsa suttantā Āṅuttarasamāyutā ti ||*. Omitted in Bodhi's 2012 translation.

Keywords: *Āṅuttara*, *Nikāya*, *Ekottarika*, *Āgama*, *nipāta*, pseudo-sutta, artificial sutta

The corresponding *Ekottarika Āgama* (EĀ, T 125) translated into Chinese in 385 CE, usually attributed to the Mahāsāṃghika tradition,² is shown in the Taishō edition as containing 472 suttas. Of those, only about 160 have counterparts in AN; most of the remainder have their counterparts elsewhere in the *Sutta-piṭaka*.³

There exists a second Chinese collection resembling EĀ and AN, namely T 150a,⁴ the core of which is identified as the once lost *Za jing sishisi pian* 雜經四十四篇 (*Forty-four Miscellaneous Sūtras*) from a certain *Ekottarika Āgama*.⁵ This *Ekottarika Āgama*, translated by An Shigao 安世高 (active as a translator from 148 to 170 CE), is probably affiliated with the Sarvāstivādin school (Harrison 1997, 280). We shall refer to it as 'EĀ²'. T 150a contains just 47 suttas, of which three are known to be relatively late additions.⁶ Of the remaining 44 suttas, i.e. EĀ² or the *Za jing sishisi pian* (*Forty-four Miscellaneous Sūtras*), 36 have counterparts in AN, while only five have counterparts in EĀ (Harrison 1997, 276). Proportionally, therefore, there is a much higher degree of correspondence between EĀ² and AN ($36 \div 44 \approx 82\%$) than between EĀ and AN ($160 \div 472 \approx 34\%$).

In both AN and EĀ the suttas are grouped into eleven *nipātas* ('books'), from the *Ekaka-nipāta/Eka-nipāta* (Book of Ones) to the *Ekādasaka-nipāta* (Book of Elevens) — though in EĀ the *nipātas* are not labelled as such. The much smaller EĀ² is similarly arranged but extends only from the Twos to the Fives, together with a single sutta each for the Eights and the Nines. This grouping into *nipātas* is based on the number of doctrinal items dealt with in the component suttas. For example, in AN the Book of Fours includes a few suttas dealing with familiar four-membered sets such as the four trainings (*sīla, samādhi, paññā, vimutti*)⁷ and the four right efforts,⁸ together with a much larger number of suttas featuring unfamiliar or fortuitous groupings of four items, such as four ways of answering questions⁹ and four pairs of things that are far apart (sky and earth, the hither and further shores of the

2. E.g. Bareau (1955, 55–56, 57), Ui (1965, 137–138), Akanuma (1981, 38–39), Bronkhorst (1985, 312–314), Yinshun (1994, 755–756), Pāsādika (2010, 88–90), Kuan (2013a), Kuan (2013b), and Kuan (2013c). Kuan (2013c: 629f.) concludes: 'It is very difficult to identify the sectarian affiliation of the *Ekottarika Āgama* (T 125) in Chinese translation due to the complexities involved. This research cannot prove that the entire collection is affiliated to a certain school, but it has demonstrated that a considerable part of this corpus is likely to be of Mahāsāṃghika derivation, and that the EĀ contains numerous salient features of Mahāsāṃghika doctrine ... the Mahāsāṃghika hypothesis for the school affiliation of the EĀ has been substantially strengthened while the others are shown to be probably untenable.'

3. See Akanuma (1929, 120–156) and SuttaCentral (<https://suttacentral.net/>).

4. T 150a is misleadingly entitled *Fo shuo qi chu san guan jing* 佛說七處三觀經.

5. See Yinshun (1994, 761). Cf. Harrison (1997, 262). The scriptural catalogue by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518 CE), the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (T 2145), states: 'Forty-four Miscellaneous Sūtras in two fascicles — Dao'an said: "from *Ekottarika Āgama*" ... now lost.' T LV 6a: 雜經四十四篇二卷 — 安公云出增一阿含 ... 今闕。

6. The three additions are the suttas now numbered 1, 30, and 31, supposedly *Samyukta Āgama* texts that have been mixed up with the EĀ² collection. See Harrison (1997, 264–265). Cf. Yinshun (1994, 761–763).

7. AN 4.1–2 at AN II 1–2.

8. AN 4.13 at AN II 15.

9. AN 4.42 at AN II 46.

ocean, east and west, and good and bad *dharmas*).¹⁰ This mode of arrangement is the ‘*aṅguttara* principle’, already noted in other parts of the canon though never on such a large scale.

Despite the identical overall structure of AN and EĀ, there is not much agreement between them as regards detailed content. Most of the suttas in AN have their Chinese counterparts in SĀ or MĀ rather than in EĀ, and the converse is equally true. Such wide divergence is as might be expected, given that the split into Sthavira and Mahāsāṃghika traditions (the traditions now represented by suttas that are common to both AN and EĀ) was the very first split to develop within the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. Following their early separation, both the AN and EĀ lines probably underwent much independent evolution.

In both AN and EĀ the suttas of each *nipāta* are mechanically grouped in the now familiar *vagga*/品 (‘chapter’) arrangement. Each *vagga* usually comprises ten suttas; and its title is usually derived from the subject of its first sutta, without regard for the content of the remaining suttas.

In AN, but not in EĀ, the introductory formula, ‘Thus I heard’, is missing from most suttas. Usually this appears to be merely an abbreviatory device, such as is appropriate in a corpus of many small suttas; it is similar to the frequent abbreviation of the introductory formula seen in SN/SĀ. However, it will be argued below that there are also many cases where absence of the introductory formula has a deeper significance. Because of the slight degree of correspondence between them, AN and EĀ will initially be discussed separately.

2. Book of Ones

The Book of Ones (*Ekaka-nipāta*/*Eka-nipāta*) in AN comprises twenty-one *vaggas*. The first is titled *Rūpādi-vaggo paṭhamo* (First *vagga*, on Visible Form etc.). In this case the ten short ‘suttas’ comprising the *vagga* belong together as regards both content and form. In the first of the ten the Buddha says: ‘Bhikkhus, I do not see even one other visible form that so enslaves a man’s mind as the visible form of a woman ...’;¹¹ in the next four he says the same of the sound, odour, taste, and touch (tactile experience) of a woman.¹² In the remaining five he repeats it all but with the words ‘man’ and ‘woman’ interchanged. The wording is otherwise identical in all ten ‘suttas’. What the text identifies as a *vagga*, a collection of ten suttas, actually has the characteristics of a single sutta in ten sections,¹³ which might have been appropriately located in the Fives, or perhaps in the Tens. Now, sutta 55 in the Book of Fives (AN III 67–69) incorporates almost verbatim the first five of these ten ‘suttas’. The relevant passage is as follows:

Bhikkhus, I do not see even one other visible form that is so enticing, desirable, intoxicating, captivating, infatuating and obstructive to achieving the unsurpassed

10. AN 4.47 at AN II 50.

11. AN I 1: *Nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekarūpaṃ pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ purisassa cittaṃ pariyādāya tiṭṭhati yathayidaṃ bhikkhave itthirūpaṃ. ...*

12. AN I 1–2: *Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ ekasaddam ... ekagandham ... ekarasam ... ekaphoṭṭhabbam ...*

13. This is hinted at by Pande (1995, 235).

security from bondage as the visible form of a woman. (The same is said of the sound, odour, taste and touch.)¹⁴

This sutta differs only in adding more detail, placing the lesson in a context, and supplying introductory and closing formulas. This is, therefore, likely to be the source of the first vagga of the Ones. The central portion of the source sutta was lifted out of its context, divided into five sections, and then duplicated by switching ‘man’ and ‘woman’, to yield a set of ten pseudo-suttas, each of which dealt with just one *Dhamma* topic.

The second vagga again comprises ten ‘suttas’ having a constant form. They discuss in turn the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) and the five skilful states that are their antidotes. As before, what is presented as a vagga actually has the characteristics of a single sutta.

Vaggas 3 and 4 present the same situation again, except that here it is the two vaggas together that have the characteristics of a single sutta, a sutta comprising twenty passages rather than ten (all discussing the benefits of a well-trained mind or the converse). This argument is based on the following comparative study. Some Sanskrit fragments of the *Ekottarika Āgama* preserved in the Gilgit manuscripts are attributed to the Mūlasarvāstivādins by Ōkubo (1984). These fragments contain the following passage which is partially parallel to vaggas 3 and 4 of AN:

1. nāham eka-dharmam api samanupaśyāmi yad evaṃ **adā(ntam aguptam arakṣitam asaṃvṛtam abhāvitam)** āyatyāṃ duḥkha-vipākaṃ bhavati yathēdaṃ cittaṃ | cittaṃ hi bhikṣavaḥ **adāntam aguptam arakṣitam asaṃvṛtam abhāvitam** āyatyāṃ duḥkha-vipākaṃ (bhavati | tasmāt tarhy evaṃ śikṣitavyaṃ) yaṇ na naś cittaṃ **adāntam aguptam arakṣitam asaṃvṛtam abhāvitam** āyatyāṃ **duḥkha-vipākaṃ** bhaviṣyaty, evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyaṃ ||
2. nāham eka(dharmam api samanupaśyāmi yad evaṃ su)dāntaṃ suguptaṃ surakṣitaṃ susaṃvṛtaṃ subhāvitam āyatyāṃ sukha-vipākaṃ bhavati yathēdaṃ cittaṃ | cittaṃ hi bhikṣavaḥ **sudāntaṃ suguptaṃ surakṣitaṃ susaṃvṛtaṃ subhāvitam** āyatyāṃ sukha-(vipākaṃ bhavati | tasmāt tarhy evaṃ śikṣitavyaṃ) yaṇ cittaṃ naḥ sudāntaṃ suguptaṃ surakṣitaṃ susaṃvṛtaṃ subhāvitam āyatyāṃ **sukha-vipākaṃ** bhaviṣyaty, evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyaṃ ||
3. yathā **duḥkha-vipākaṃ sukha-vi(pākaṃ** evaṃ anarthāya arthāya) ahitāya hitāya duḥkhāya sukhāya vyasanāya saṃpade vipattaye saṃpattaye asaṃvṛddhaye saṃvṛddhaye apāripūraye pāripūraye (pārihāṇāya apārihāṇāya ||)
4. nāham eka-dharmam api samanupaśyāmi yad evaṃ **adāntam aguptam arakṣitam asaṃvṛtam abhāvitam** saṃrāgāya saṃvart(ta)te yathēdaṃ cittaṃ | cittaṃ hi bhikṣava **a(dāntam aguptam arakṣitam asaṃ)-(v)ṛt(a)m (a)bhāvitam** saṃrāgāya saṃvartate | tasmāt tarhy evaṃ śikṣitavyaṃ yaṇ na naś cittaṃ **adāntam aguptam arakṣitam asaṃvṛta(m abhāvitam** saṃrāgā)ya saṃvartsyati, evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ (śikṣitavyaṃ ||

14. AN III 68: *Nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekarūpaṃ pi samanupassāmi evaṃ rājanīyaṃ evaṃ kamanīyaṃ evaṃ madanīyaṃ evaṃ bandhanīyaṃ evaṃ mucchanīyaṃ evaṃ antarāyakaraṃ anuttarassa yogakkhemassa adhiḡamāya yathayidaṃ bhikkhave itthirūpaṃ. ... ekasaddam ... ekagandham ... ekarasam ... ekaphoṭṭhabbam ...*

5. nāham e)ka-dharmam api samanupaśyāmi yad evaṃ **sudāntaṃ suguptaṃ surakṣitaṃ susaṃvṛtaṃ subhāvitaṃ** asaṃrāgāya saṃvartate yathê(daṃ cittaṃ | cittaṃ hi bhikṣa)va(h) sudāntaṃ suguptaṃ surakṣitaṃ susaṃvṛtaṃ) subhāvitaṃ asaṃrāgāya saṃvartate | tasmāt tarhy evaṃ śikṣitavyaṃ yac cittaṃ naḥ sudāntaṃ suguptaṃ surakṣitaṃ susaṃvṛtaṃ subhā(vitaṃ asaṃrāgāya saṃvartasyati, evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyaṃ ||)

(Tripathi 1995, 122–124, Ōkubo 1982, 113–112. Bolding of words is ours.)

Ōkubo and Tripathi number the above paragraphs in different ways. We number them from 1 to 5. Sutta 9 of vagga 4 in AN reads:

*Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammaṃ pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ **adantaṃ aguttaṃ arakkhitaṃ asaṃvutaṃ** mahato anattāya **saṃvattati** yathayidaṃ cittaṃ. ...* (AN I 7)

Bhikkhus, I do not see even one other thing that, when **untamed, unguarded, unprotected and unrestrained**, leads to such great harm as the mind. ...

(trans. Bodhi 2012, 95)

This corresponds roughly to paragraphs 1 and 4 in the foregoing Sanskrit passage:

[1] *nāham eka-dharmam api samanupaśyāmi yad evaṃ **adā(ntaṃ aguptaṃ arakṣitaṃ asaṃvṛtaṃ abhāvita)**m āyatyāmi duḥkha-vipākaṃ bhavati yathêdaṃ cittaṃ | ...*

I do not see even one thing that, when **untamed, unguarded, unprotected, unrestrained and undeveloped**, has such painful results in the future as the mind. ...

[4] *nāham eka-dharmam api samanupaśyāmi yad evaṃ **adāntaṃ aguptaṃ arakṣitaṃ asaṃvṛtaṃ abhāvitaṃ** saṃrāgāya **saṃvart(ta)te** yathêdaṃ cittaṃ | ...*

I do not see even one thing that, when **untamed, unguarded, unprotected, unrestrained and undeveloped**, leads to such attachment as the mind. ...

It is noteworthy that in vaggas 3 and 4 of AN, there is only one sutta, i.e. sutta 9 of vagga 4 quoted above, that has the phrase *adantaṃ aguttaṃ arakkhitaṃ asaṃvutaṃ*, while the Sanskrit counterpart of this phrase, *adāntaṃ aguptaṃ arakṣitaṃ asaṃvṛtaṃ*, is found in at least two sūtras beginning with *nāham eka-dharmam api samanupaśyāmi* cited above. Moreover, in the Sanskrit passage, the complete phrase that qualifies *eka-dharmam* ‘one thing’ is *adāntaṃ aguptaṃ arakṣitaṃ asaṃvṛtaṃ abhāvitaṃ* (5 words), whereas in the foregoing AN sutta, the phrase that qualifies *eka-dhammaṃ* is *adāntaṃ aguptaṃ arakṣitaṃ asaṃvṛtaṃ* (4 words), with *abhāvitaṃ* omitted. But in fact *abhāvitaṃ* ‘undeveloped’ is employed alone or juxtaposed with a similarly negative word to make another 3 suttas in vagga 3 of AN (I 5–6):

sutta 3: *Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammaṃ pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ **abhāvitaṃ** mahato anattāya **saṃvattati** yathayidaṃ cittaṃ. ...*

sutta 5: *Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammaṃ pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ **abhāvitaṃ apātubhūtaṃ** mahato anattāya **saṃvattati** yathayidaṃ cittaṃ. ...*

sutta 7: *Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammaṃ pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ **abhāvitaṃ abahulikataṃ** mahato anattāya **saṃvattati** yathayidaṃ cittaṃ. ...*

Translation of sutta 3: Bhikkhus, I do not see even one other thing that when **undeveloped** (sutta 5: **undeveloped and unmanifested** / sutta 7: **undeveloped and uncultivated**) leads to such great harm as the mind. ... (trans. Bodhi 2012, 93)

In addition, while the five words *adāntam aguptam arakṣitam asaṃvṛtam abhāvitam* always appear together as one negative phrase in the above Sanskrit passage, the Pali AN not only has one sutta featuring *adantaṃ aguttaṃ arakkhitaṃ asaṃvutaṃ* (sutta 9 of vagga 4) and another featuring *abhāvitam* (sutta 3 of vagga 3), but also has four other suttas that respectively feature *adantaṃ*, *aguttaṃ*, *arakkhitaṃ*, and *asaṃvutaṃ* in vagga 4 (AN I 6–7):

sutta 1: *Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammam pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ adantaṃ mahato anattāya saṃvattati yathayidaṃ cittaṃ. ...*

sutta 3: *Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammam pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ aguttaṃ mahato anattāya saṃvattati yathayidaṃ cittaṃ. ...*

sutta 5: *Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammam pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ arakkhitaṃ mahato anattāya saṃvattati yathayidaṃ cittaṃ. ...*

sutta 7: *Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammam pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ asaṃvutaṃ mahato anattāya saṃvattati yathayidaṃ cittaṃ. ...*

Therefore, it is evident that these four separate suttas were artificially produced. Similarly, while the five words *sudāntam suguptam surakṣitam usaṃvṛtam subhāvitam* appear together as one positive phrase in the above Sanskrit passage, the Pali AN has

1. one sutta that features *dantaṃ guttaṃ rakkhitaṃ saṃvutaṃ* (sutta 10 of vagga 4),
2. one sutta that features *bhāvitam* (sutta 4 of vagga 3),
3. one sutta that features *bhāvitam pātubhūtaṃ* (sutta 6 of vagga 3),
4. one sutta that features *bhāvitam bahulikataṃ* (sutta 8 of vagga 3),
5. and four suttas that respectively feature *dantaṃ*, *guttaṃ*, *rakkhitaṃ*, and *saṃvutaṃ* (suttas 2, 4, 6, and 8 of vagga 4).

Accordingly, two strings of five similar words were arbitrarily placed in different passages, with *abhāvitam* and *bhāvitam* being singled out and each juxtaposed with another word twice, so that more suttas were created. With such methods of sub-division, multiplication and permutation as illustrated above, the redactors of AN managed to create 20 suttas, 10 for vagga 3 and 10 for vagga 4. This is a clear case of the vagga division being applied mechanically with the purpose of producing neat groupings of ten passages or pseudo-suttas.

In a converse way, EĀ has only two parallel suttas, which are sutta 5 and sutta 6 included in the ten suttas of vagga 11. The key sentences of these two suttas are as follows:

sutta 5: 我於此眾初不見一法，不可降伏，難得時宜，受諸苦報，所謂心是。

In this assembly, I do not see even one thing that, when untamed (*adānta*) and hard to fit the proper time, has painful results (*duḥkha-vipāka*) as the mind.

sutta 6: 我於此眾初不見一法，易降伏者，易得時宜，受諸善報，所謂心是。

In this assembly, I do not see even one thing that, when easily tamed (*sudānta*) and easy to fit the proper time, has good results (*sukha-vipāka*) as the mind. (T II 566c)

Therefore, sutta 5 corresponds roughly with paragraph 1 of the foregoing Sanskrit passage, which has *adānta* and *duḥkha-vipāka*. Sutta 6 corresponds roughly with paragraph 2, which has *sudānta* and *sukha-vipāka*. The four negative words, *aguptam arakṣitam asaṃvṛtam abhāvitam*, and the four positive words, *suguptam surakṣitam susaṃvṛtam subhāvitam*, are missing from these two EĀ suttas. There is no way to reconstruct the original form of the text (perhaps one sutta/sūtra), but it is likely that the redactors of AN, EĀ, and the above Sanskrit text divided and/or expanded the original material in various ways in order to produce two suttas, or two vaggas, each of which contained ten suttas, or other kinds of structure that served the purpose.

A variant of the same phenomenon is to be found in vaggas 5 to 8, each of which also contains exactly ten passages or putative suttas. In this case the vagga boundaries do not correspond with the proper sutta boundaries. In vagga 5 the seventh and eighth passages are unique in that they have the formula ‘I do not see even one other thing ... as the mind’¹⁵ as found in vaggas 3 and 4. The remaining eight passages of vagga 5 apparently belong together with the first two of vagga 6; these ten passages together properly constitute a single sutta, whose subject matter is the directed, pellucid and luminous kinds of mind alongside the opposite kinds of mind. As for the remainder of vagga 6, its third, fourth, and fifth passages belong together as a single short sutta since they have exactly the same content except for a wording variation:

Accharā-saṅghāta-mattam pi ce, bhikkhave, bhikkhu mettacittam āsevati / bhāveti / manasikaroti, ayaṃ vuccati, bhikkhave — bhikkhu arittajjhāno viharati satthu sāsanakaro ovādapatikaro, amoghaṃ raṭṭhapinḍaṃ bhuñjati. Ko pana vādo ye naṃ bahulīkarontī ti.
(AN I 10–11)

Bhikkhus, if for just the time of a finger snap a bhikkhu **pursues / develops / attends to** a mind of loving-kindness, he is called a bhikkhu who is not devoid of jhāna, who acts upon the teaching of the Teacher, who responds to his advice, and who does not eat the country’s almsfood in vain. How much more, then, those who cultivate it! (trans. Bodhi 2012, 98)

The sixth and seventh passages of vagga 6 comprise another short sutta on the theme ‘Mind is chief’ (cf. Pali *Dhammapada* verses 1–2). The remaining three passages of vagga 6 belong together with the ten passages of vagga 7 and the first five of vagga 8 as another, longer sutta (on the qualities that bring about unwholesome and wholesome states). The remaining five passages of vagga 8 belong together with the first passage of vagga 9¹⁶ as another unitary sutta (on things of slight account).¹⁷

15. Sutta 7: *ahaṃ, bhikkhave, na aññaṃ eka-dhammam pi samanupassāmi ... yathayidaṃ cittam*. Sutta 8: *Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammam pi samanupassāmi ... yathayidaṃ cittam*.

16. The first passage, i.e. the first sutta, of vagga 9 in the PTS edition is counted as sutta 11 of vagga 8 by Bodhi (2012, 102).

17. The remainder of vagga 9 appears to be a development of vagga 4, building on the same formula ‘Nāhaṃ, bhikkhave, aññaṃ eka-dhammam pi samanupassāmi ...’ This formula also dominates suttas 17–32 of vagga 10 and suttas 1–8 of vagga 17.

In short, in the beginning portion of the *Ekaka-nipāta* genuine suttas of varying length have been subdivided to generate many pseudo-suttas that seemingly feature the number One; and these have been artificially grouped to yield a neatly regular set of vaggas. This process is found to continue throughout the remainder of the Ones of AN. This analysis is to a large extent confirmed by the Chinese EĀ. The correspondences between the existing vagga-passages of AN and those of EĀ and the supposedly original (inferred) suttas that can be seen to underlie them are as shown in Table 1 (opposite).

Our inferred sutta 1 (see Table 1) is represented in EĀ by two consecutive suttas (suttas 7–8 of vagga 9, hereafter EĀ 9.7–8), each of which has the usual introductory and concluding formulas. And these two are immediately followed by another two consecutive suttas (EĀ 9.9–10) corresponding to our inferred sutta 2.¹⁸ It appears that the EĀ tradition added introductory and concluding formulas as seemed appropriate, while the Pali tradition went the other way, deleting almost all such formulas wherever they occurred. In each case the effect was to convert normally structured suttas into groups of related pseudo-suttas. These groups were kept intact, to some extent, by identifying them as vaggas, but this effect was really achieved only in those cases where the original sutta happened to yield ten derivatives. Otherwise the grouping into vaggas merely obscured further the underlying sutta structure.

The *Ekaka-nipāta* appears to be based on just around 30 genuinely distinct suttas (see Table 1), though the numbering used in the PTS edition indicates a total of 512 suttas.¹⁹ The PTS numbering evidently reflects the traditional understanding of the nipāta's composition, because the nipāta closes with the only slightly exaggerated statement: 'The thousand suttas of the Book of Ones are concluded.'²⁰

The biggest contribution to this large number is made by the second to last of the twenty-one vaggas. Vagga 20 differs from the others in structure, being presented as a collection of no fewer than 182 suttas.²¹ Inspection reveals that only the first of them deserves recognition as a genuinely independent entity, a sutta in its own right; all of the remaining 181 belong together as a second independent entity. The first of those 181, i.e. sutta 2 of the vagga, reads:

18. Waldschmidt (1980, 173) says: 'The Sanskrit fragments as well as the Pāli are contrasting the factors "malevolence" and "benevolence", "fickleness" and "tranquillity", etc. This feature is totally absent in the Ts'eng-i-a-han-ching [Chinese EĀ].'

19. More precisely 502 suttas. There are 182 suttas in vagga 20, but the PTS edition mistakenly counts them as 192 suttas. See note 21.

20. AN I 46,²⁷ Ekanipātassa suttasahassaṃ samattaṃ.

21. The PTS edition mistakenly counts 192 suttas. It gives the sutta number 183 on p. 42 and number 192 on p. 43. However, *saddhindriyaṃ bhāveti ... pe ... viriyindriyaṃ bhāveti ... pe ...* in the last two lines of p. 42 and *satindriyaṃ bhāveti...pe... samādhindriyaṃ bhāveti ... pe ... paññindriyaṃ bhāveti ... pe ... saddhābalaṃ bhāveti ... pe ... viriyabalaṃ bhāveti ... pe ... satibalaṃ bhāveti ... pe ... samādhibalaṃ bhāveti ... pe ... paññābalaṃ bhāveti* in the first 8 lines of p. 43 should be combined with the 4 *brahma-vihāras*. Be reads: *mettāsahagataṃ ... pe ... karuṇāsahagataṃ ... pe ... muditāsahagataṃ ... pe ... upekkhāsahagataṃ* *saddhindriyaṃ bhāveti ... viriyindriyaṃ bhāveti ... satindriyaṃ bhāveti ... samādhindriyaṃ bhāveti ... paññindriyaṃ bhāveti ... saddhābalaṃ bhāveti ... viriyabalaṃ bhāveti ... satibalaṃ bhāveti ... samādhibalaṃ bhāveti ... paññābalaṃ bhāveti*. The PTS edition mistakenly adds '... pe ... 183' between *upekkhāsahagataṃ* and *saddhindriyaṃ*. (Words in bold type are our emphasis.)

22. The PTS edition mistakenly counts 182 suttas as 192 suttas. See note in Table 1, opposite.

Table 1. Vaggas and passages in the Ones of AN/EĀ, and their underlying inferred suttas

Inferred sutta	Vagga and passages (pseudo-suttas) in the <i>Ekaka-nīpāta</i> of AN	Vagga and passages (pseudo-suttas) in the Ones of EĀ
1	1.1–10 (AN I 1–2)	9.7–8 (T II 563a–b)
2	2.1–10 (AN I 3–5)	9.9–10 (T II 563b–c)
3	3.1–4.10 (AN I 5–7), 5.7 (AN I 9)	11.5–6 (T II 566c)
4	5.1–6, 9–10 and 6.1–2 (AN I 8–10)	9.5–6 (T II 562c–563a)
5	5.8 (AN I 10)	9.3–4 (T II 562c)
6	6.3–5 (AN I 10–11)	
7	6.6–7 (AN I 11)	
8	6.8–8.5 (AN I 11–15)	
9	8.6–9.1 (AN I 15)	
10	9.2–17 (AN I 16), 10.1–32 (AN I 16–18)	
11	10.33–42, 11.1–10, 12.1–20 (AN I 18–21)	
12	13.1–6 (AN I 22–23)	8.2–10 (T II 561a–562a)
13	13.7	
14	14.1–7 (AN I 23–26)	4.1–7.3 (T II 557a–560c)
15	15.1–9 (AN I 26–27)	
16	15.10–16 (AN I 27–28)	
17	15.17–28 (AN I 28–30)	
18	16.1–10 (AN I 30)	2.1–10 (T II 552c–553c); possibly also 3.1–10 (T II 554a–557a)
19	17.1–4 (AN I 30–31)	
20	17.5–6 (AN I 31)	
21	17.7–8 (AN I 31–32)	
22	17.9–10 (AN I 32)	17.5–6 (T II 583a–b) mislocated in the Twos
23	18.1–4 (AN I 33)	
24	18.5–12 (AN I 34)	
25	18.13–17 (AN I 34–35)	
26	19.1–2 (AN I 35–38)	
27	20.1 (AN I 38)	
28	20.2–182 ²² (AN I 38–43)	
29	21.1–46 (AN I 43–45)	
30	21.47–70 (AN I 45–46)	

Bhikkhus, if for just the time of a finger snap a bhikkhu develops the *first jhāna*, he is called a bhikkhu who is not devoid of jhāna, who acts upon the teaching of the Teacher, who responds to his advice, and who does not eat the country's almsfood in vain. How much more, then, those who cultivate it! (trans. Bodhi 2012, 124)

Sutta 3 replaces the *first jhāna* by the *second jhāna*, and the next two suttas similarly substitute the remaining two *jhānas* in turn. The next four suttas deal similarly with the four *brahma-vihāras*. Then follow, in the same manner, the four establishments of mindfulness, the four right efforts, and so on through the 37 *bodhi-pakkhiyas* to the eightfold path. Next come eight stages of mastery (*abhibhāyatana*), eight liberations (*vimokkha*), ten meditation devices (*kaṣiṇa*), twenty perceptions (*saññā*), and ten reflections (*anussati*) — which brings us to sutta 102. A further eighty suttas are then generated by combining each *jhāna* and each *brahma-vihāra* in turn with each of the five *indriyas* and five *balas* (*saddhā*, *virīya*, etc.): $(4 + 4) \times (5 + 5) = 80$.

The process of multiplication, whereby *jhānas* and *brahma-vihāras* are combined with *indriyas* and *balas* to yield eighty suttas, is manifestly artificial. For the rest, what we have is essentially an enumeration of familiar doctrinal sets according to the *aṅguttara* principle. But each item of each set has been treated as if it were a single entity, which is what made it possible to include this mass of material in the Book of Ones. By the logic of AN/EĀ the four *jhānas* ought to have been in the Fours, the five *indriyas* in the Fives, and so on.

Similar reasoning can be applied to all of the single-item 'sets' found in the Ones. Sets that logically belong in higher *nipātas* (the Fours, Fives, etc.) have been made superficially appropriate for inclusion in the Ones by being subdivided into their individual components. Developments of the sort just illustrated were presumably motivated by a perceived need to produce an *Ekaka-nipāta* comparable to the more natural higher *nipātas*, despite a shortage of genuine doctrinal sets comprising just a single item. As the above analysis has revealed, *none* of the inferred 30 genuine suttas that make up the Book of Ones actually features a doctrinal set comprising one item.²³ In this respect, EĀ², which lacks a Book of Ones, has a more genuine and original appearance. The situation in EĀ, including the technique of subdividing, will be discussed in Section 5.

3. Book of Twos

The AN Book of Twos, *Duka-nipāta*, exhibits phenomena similar to those seen in the Book of Ones, but it does also include some genuine suttas based on sets of two doctrinal items. Examples of the latter type are to be found in the first four of the seventeen *vaggas* that make up this *nipāta*, particularly *vagga* 4. What identifies such genuine suttas is that each of them is self-contained and set in its own par-

23. Although #5.8 and #13.7 in the Book of Ones (see Table 1) look like two single suttas, they do not really feature any doctrinal set. They seem to be extracts from two original suttas. #5.8 reads: 'Bhikkhus, I do not see even one other thing that changes so quickly as the mind. It is not easy to give a simile for how quickly the mind changes.' (AN I 10, trans. Bodhi 2012, 97) #13.7 reads: 'Bhikkhus, I do not see even a single person who properly continues to keep in motion the unsurpassed wheel of the Dhamma set in motion by the Tathāgata as does Sāriputta. Sāriputta properly continues ... [same as above] ... Tathāgata.' (AN I 23, trans. Bodhi 2012, 108)

ticular context; two of them have the introductory *Evaṃ me sutaṃ* ‘Thus I heard.’²⁴ However, more than half of the nipāta is made up of artificially derived pseudo-suttas. A common type is illustrated by the ones labelled 3 and 4 in the first vagga. Sutta 3 discusses two things that cause burning (of one’s conscience), namely the thought of having done bad deeds and the thought of having failed to do good deeds. Sutta 4 discusses two things that do not cause burning, namely the thought of having done good deeds and the thought of not having done bad deeds. Both 3 and 4 lack the introductory and closing formula, and apart from the contrast just mentioned, they are identically worded. Clearly, then, we have here not two suttas but rather two contrasting parts of a single sutta. The same applies for suttas 7 and 8 of the same vagga, which deal with two dark things and two bright things respectively, and it also applies for suttas 5 and 6 of vagga 3.

More developed forms of this phenomenon are found in vaggas 5–17. In vagga 5, titled ‘*Parisā*’ (Assemblies), every one of the ten suttas discusses two different types of assembly: shallow and deep, discordant and harmonious, and so on. Apart from the contrasting pair and a single sentence explaining them, the ten suttas are identically worded. This vagga therefore actually represents a single original sutta, which elaborates on various kinds of assemblies. The same conclusion follows for vagga 7.

A variation on this pattern is found in vagga 10. The twenty ‘suttas’ of this vagga fall initially into ten pairs (1–2, 3–4, etc.), each of which was probably rated as a sutta at the time the vagga was identified as such, since a vagga is normally a grouping of ten rather than twenty. But those ten pairs can then be further recognized as representing just two original suttas, one sutta (#10.1–10) is about the wise and fools while the other (#10.11–20) is about ‘the taints increase’ (*āsavā vaḍḍhanti*) and ‘the taints do not increase’ (*āsavā na vaḍḍhanti*). Conversely, vaggas 13 and 14 together represent a single sutta.

Vagga 6 contains twelve putative suttas rather than ten. The first four seem to constitute a genuinely independent entity, a sutta dedicated to praising the *Tathāgata* and the wheel-turning king. The fifth could be an authentic sutta, which lists two kinds of enlightened person: the *Tathāgata* and the *Paccekabuddha*. The sixth, seventh, and eighth putative suttas apparently constitute another authentic sutta, which is dedicated to praising a *bhikkhu* whose taints are destroyed, that is an *Arahant*. The ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth have topics different from one another, and can be seen as four genuine suttas. In summary, there are possibly seven original suttas in vagga 6.

Vagga 11 contains twelve putative suttas. The first three deal with three distinct subjects and thus seem to be three genuine suttas. The fourth and fifth constitute a contrasting pair, which could have originally been a single sutta. The sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth putative suttas are four similarly worded statements on the two conditions for the arising of passion, hatred, wrong view, and right view respectively. These four statements may well come from a genuine sutta on the

24. #4.5 at AN I 63,¹⁵ and #4.6 at AN I 65,³² in the Book of Twos. A third sutta (#4.7 at AN I 67,²²) has *Ekam samayaṃ* ‘At one time’.

conditions for various negative and positive mental states. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth are all extremely short passages about offences, just giving the names of two contrasting offences. They appear to be excerpts from one single original sutta. In summary, there are possibly six original suttas in vagga 11.

Vagga 12 contains eleven putative suttas. The first four relate to how a devout *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhuni*, male lay follower, and female lay follower should aspire.²⁵ These four are allocated to the Book of Twos, as each of them names two people as paradigms for a devout *bhikkhu*, etc. to emulate. Their Chinese counterparts in EĀ, however, are found in the Ones. These four Pali suttas correspond to the following two Chinese suttas in EĀ. Sutta 1 of vagga 9 reads in brief:

The Buddha told the bhikkhus as follows. A devout female lay follower has only one son, thinking: 'How should I teach him?' She instructs her son thus: 'At home you should be like Citta and Hatthaka. If you go forth into homelessness, you should be like Sāriputta and Moggallāna.'²⁶

Sutta 2 of vagga 9 reads in brief:

The Buddha told the bhikkhus as follows. A devout female lay follower has only one daughter, thinking: 'How should I teach her?' She instructs her daughter thus: 'At home you should be like Khujjuttarā and Nandamātā. If you go forth into homelessness, you should be like Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā.'²⁷

The redactor(s) of EĀ treated these two passages as featuring 'one son' and 'one daughter' respectively, so that they can serve as two suttas superficially appropriate for inclusion in the Ones. We may infer that the original material enumerates eight paradigmatic Buddhist disciples. It was arbitrarily transformed by different traditions into either four suttas, each of which features two disciples, or two suttas, each of which mentions four disciples. Both traditions did so with the purpose of creating suttas to be included in the Ones or in the Twos as they thought fit. Therefore, the first four suttas of vagga 12 in AN Book of Twos should be reckoned as (part of) a single original sutta.

Just like several passages in vagga 11 discussed above, the fifth and sixth putative suttas of vagga 12 can be seen as a single original sutta since they are two similarly worded statements that contrast the bad person and the good person in terms of their ability to tell right from wrong. Likewise, the seventh and eighth constitute another genuine sutta. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh are three very short passages, which all enumerate two things in a simple formula: These two things [exist]. What two? X and Y. These two things [exist].²⁸ They are too simplistic and incomplete to

25. AN I 88,13–89,3.

26. T II 562a–b: 爾時世尊告諸比丘：「猶如母人，心懷篤信，唯一子，恒作是念：『云何當教，使成為人？』」... 世尊告曰：「猶彼優婆塞心懷篤信，作是教訓：汝今在家，當如質多長者，亦如象童子。... 意欲剃除鬚髮，著三法衣，出家學道，當如舍利弗、目犍連比丘。...」

27. T II 562b: 爾時世尊告諸比丘：「篤信優婆塞唯一女，彼當云何教訓成就？」... 世尊告曰：「猶彼篤信優婆塞教訓女曰：汝今在家者，當如拘謹多羅優婆塞、難陀母。... 若女意欲剃除鬚髮，著三法衣，出家學道者，當如識摩比丘尼、優鉢花色比丘尼。...」

28. AN I 91,10–21: *Dve 'me, bhikkhave, dhammā. Katame dve? X ca Y ca. Ime kho, bhikkhave, dve dhammā.*

be counted as independent, authentic suttas. In summary, we can identify three original suttas in vagga 12.

Vagga 15 consists of seventeen putative suttas. They all enumerate two things using the foregoing simple formula ‘These two things [exist]. What two? X and Y. These two things [exist]’. It is virtually impossible to discern any principle underlying the 17 pairs of items, or simply 34 items, in vagga 15. Consequently, they can neither be counted as 17 independent, authentic suttas, nor be counted together as a single original sutta. The same holds true for vagga 9, which contains eleven putative suttas but is also a conglomeration of numerous miscellaneous items.

In vagga 16 we find again the phenomenon of ‘multiplication’ noted in the Ones. This vagga contains one hundred putative suttas. Five pairs of bad mental states and five pairs of good mental states are fitted into ten types of formula.²⁹ Therefore, one hundred putative suttas are produced: $(5 + 5) \times 10 = 100$. The first type is the foregoing formula ‘These two things [exist]. What two? X and Y ...’. The remaining nine types consist of two opposite subtypes. For example, the second type consists of the following subtypes: (1) ‘Possessing two *dhammas*, one dwells in suffering. What two? X and Y ...’ and (2) ‘Possessing two *dhammas*, one dwells happily. What two? X and Y ...’. The whole vagga 16 may come from an original sutta on the bad and good mental states and the consequences they bring about.

The phenomenon of ‘multiplication’ also appears in vagga 17, the last in the nipāta. This vagga consists of two unrelated sections. The first section is about *vinaya*.³⁰ The Buddha begins by saying that he established monastic training rules (*sikkhāpada*) in order to bring about two results: excellence of the *Saṅgha* and well-being of the *Saṅgha*. Then he says that he established monastic training rules in order to bring about another two results: control of ill-behaved people and comfort of good *bhikkhus*. The pattern is then repeated with a further eight such pairs, making a total of ten statements, which are labelled as ‘sutta 1’. In ‘sutta 2’, which is modelled on ‘sutta 1’ but much longer, the Buddha says that he established the *pāṭimokkha* (the set of disciplinary rules for monastics) in order to bring about two results: excellence of the *Saṅgha* and well-being of the *Saṅgha*; and so on through the same ten pairs, making another ten statements. Further sets of ten are then generated as the Buddha explains why he established the recitation of the *pāṭimokkha*, the suspension of the *pāṭimokkha*, the ending of the rains retreat, and so on to a total of 29 such elements of discipline, and consequently a total of 290 similarly worded statements in ‘sutta 2’. Therefore, ‘sutta 1’ and ‘sutta 2’ together consist of 300 similarly worded statements. In the PTS edition the whole is divided into two suttas and presented as many unnumbered paragraphs with numerous occurrences of *pe*. However, in the Sinhalese edition (Ce) the numbering indicates a total of 300 suttas: each statement is reckoned as a sutta. On the other hand, the Burmese edition (Be) divides the whole into 30 suttas. This difference of opinion supports the claim made above about the generating of artificial suttas. Clearly, there is just one sutta here, not 2, 30, or 300.

29. AN I 95,13–98,7.

30. AN I 98,10–100,7.

Table 2. Possible number of genuine suttas contained in each vagga of the *Duka-nipāta*

Vagga	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
genuine suttas contained	8	10	9	10	1	7	1	1	0	2	6	3	1	0	1	2	

The second section of vagga 17 presents a similar phenomenon.³¹ The Buddha begins by saying: ‘Bhikkhus, for the comprehension of passion (*rāga*), two things should be developed: calm (*samatha*) and insight (*vipassanā*).’ Then he says: ‘Bhikkhus, for the understanding of passion, two things should be developed: calm and insight’. He then says the same successively of the exhausting, the abandoning, the destruction, the decay, the fading, the cessation, the giving up, and the renunciation of passion — making a total of ten such statements. The word ‘passion’ (*rāga*) is then replaced by ‘hatred’ (*dosa*), implying a further ten statements; and then by ‘delusion’ (*moha*); and so on for a total of seventeen unskillful states. The implied result is 170 such statements, each of which is counted as a sutta in Bodhi’s (2012: 192) translation of AN, thereby yielding 170 suttas. This piece of text, referred to as the *rāga-peyyāla*, is treated as comprising 70 suttas in Ce but 17 suttas in Be;³² in the PTS edition it is divided into three suttas, numbered as 3, 4, and 5. This second section of vagga 17 could have originated from one single sutta.

According to the conservative PTS numbering, the *Duka-nipāta* comprises 283 suttas. The overall effect of the observations made above is to reduce the count to about 62 genuinely distinct suttas (see Table 2, above). The phenomena thus taken account of are essentially the same as were identified in the *Eka-nipāta*: a single repetitious sutta has been subdivided so that its component sections become a series of similarly structured derivative suttas, and material for this process of subdividing has sometimes been provided by multiplying doctrinal sets together.

4. The Threes to the Elevens

In most of the remaining nipātas the phenomena noted in the Ones and Twos are also present, but on a much smaller scale. From the Threes to the Elevens, each nipāta concludes with its own version of the *rāga-peyyāla*, discussed above. In the Twos, as just seen, the *rāga-peyyāla* is applied to calm and insight; in the Threes it is applied to three types of *samādhi*; and so on throughout AN. Bhikkhu Bodhi (2012, 19) in his English translation of AN and E.M. Hare in his translation of volumes 3 and 4 of AN, covering the Fives to the Nines, both follow the native interpretation and identify large numbers of suttas in each case.³³ However, F.L. Woodward, in his translation of the other volumes (1, 2, and 5), treats each case more realistically as just one, two, or three suttas.

31. AN I 100,8–24.

32. Be wrongly numbers it as 231–246, which should be 231–247.

33. Hare (1934, 201 n. 1) reports that the *rāga-peyyāla* recurs at AN I 100, 299; II 257; III 278, 452; IV 148, 349, 456; V 310, 361 (it is lacking only in the Ones). The formula is understood, by Hare and the compilers of the native-script editions, as applying in each case to each of the two, three, four, etc. items individually. The figures thus arrived at are not always in agreement.

In the Sevens the *rāga-peyyāla* is preceded by a different application of the process of multiplication, which Hare (1935, 99–101) interprets as implying 520 suttas.³⁴ So does Bodhi (2012, 1102–1105). However, large-scale subdividing of unitary suttas is not again encountered until towards the end of the Tens (discussed below). Recognition of such processes is what leads to the relatively modest figure of around 1045 genuinely distinct suttas proposed above for the entire AN.³⁵

Beginning from the Sixes, it is increasingly the case that the defining number is actually the sum of two smaller numbers representing two sets of doctrinal items that happen to appear together in the same sutta.³⁶ For example, in sutta 105 in the Sixes (AN III 444) the Buddha lists three kinds of existence and three trainings: $3 + 3 = 6$; in sutta 4 in the Nines (AN IV 358–363) the Buddha lists four qualities to be developed, and a certain monk then lists five benefits of listening to *Dhamma* talks at the right time: $4 + 5 = 9$; in sutta 12 in the Elevens (AN V 328–332) the Buddha praises possession of the five faculties/powers (*indriya/bala*), and then recommends practice of six recollections: $5 + 6 = 11$. This device was resorted to presumably because of a scarcity of genuine sets of doctrinal items involving the higher numbers.

The *Ekādasaka-nipāta*, or Book of Elevens, has been regarded by a few scholars as likely to be an artificial creation added relatively late to an AN that had previously ended with the Tens.³⁷ One basis for this view is that some suttas in the Elevens are virtually identical with suttas in the Tens; however, as will now be shown, this does not necessarily mean that the variant found in the Elevens is artificially derived from its counterpart in the Tens.

The first sutta of the Elevens (AN 11.1) has the Buddha telling Ānanda that the benefit of good conduct is that it brings freedom from remorse, the benefit of freedom from remorse is that it brings gladness, and so on through joy (*pīti*), tranquillity, pleasure, concentration, knowing-and-seeing, disenchantment, dispassion, and liberation — a total of eleven items.³⁸ The first sutta of the Tens (AN 10.1) differs only in treating disenchantment and dispassion as a single item (*nibbidā-virāgo*, disenchantment-and-dispassion), thus seeming to list ten items rather than eleven. What we have here is certainly a single sutta in two variants. Disenchantment, dispassion and liberation (*nibbidā*, *virāga*, *vimutti*) are the frequently mentioned fruits of seeing impermanence, suffering and non-self (*anicca*, *dukkha*, *anattā*). There is no evident doctrinal justification for combining disenchantment with dispassion while leaving liberation as a separate item, nor is the combined form attested anywhere outside of AN.³⁹ The combining is artificial, which indicates that the first sutta of the Tens is likely to be derived from the first sutta of the Elevens, rather than the reverse.

34. AN IV 145,16–147, end. Hare (1935, 101 n. 1) cites Burmese recognition of a similar number, 528.

35. The number of suttas per nipāta is here estimated to be as follows (in order from Ones to Elevens): 30, 62, 124, 196, 211, 94, 56, 85, 47, 118, 22.

36. Cf. Norman (1983, 55); Bodhi (2012, 18).

37. E.g. Pande (1995, 230–231); Hardy (1900, vii n. 1). For a detailed discussion, see Anālayo (2013, 37–38 n. 109).

38. AN 11.1 at AN V 311–312; cf. AN 10.1 at AN V 1–2.

39. Contrast *ñāṇa-dassana* in the same sutta, a combination that is widely attested.

Confirmation of this interpretation is provided by their single Chinese counterpart.⁴⁰ Located in MĀ rather than EĀ, it treats disenchantment (厭 *nibbidā*) and dispassion (無欲 *virāga*) separately, thus recognising eleven items rather than ten.

The very same relationship exists between the second sutta of the Tens and the second of the Elevens (AN 10.2 and AN 11.2). The same ten/eleven items are listed, this time in the form of verbs, e.g. 'he is disenchanted' (*nibbindati*); and the Tens variant differs from the Elevens variant only in treating disenchantment and dispassion together as if they were a single item. The interpretation arrived at above is equally applicable here: the Tens variant is likely to be derived from the Elevens variant. Precisely the same is true also of the next three suttas of these two nipātas; thus, suttas 1 to 5 of the Tens are likely to be derived from suttas 1 to 5 of the Elevens.⁴¹ It appears, then, that the *Ekādasaka-nipāta* is no mere derivative of the *Dasaka-nipāta*. While not entirely free of artificiality, the last nipāta of AN does contain some suttas that genuinely deal with sets of eleven items. On the other hand, it is found that only two suttas in the Elevens of AN have counterparts in EĀ, indicating that if this nipāta was present in the common ancestor of the two collections, then it was much smaller than the other nipātas. As mentioned earlier, EĀ² has no Elevens at all; however, this may be due to accidental loss. Because EĀ² has only two suttas identifiable as belonging to nipātas above the Fives, one sutta for the Eights and one for the Nines,⁴² it appears that the second half of the text has been lost, with the exception of fragments containing just these two isolated suttas.

5. The Contents of AN and EĀ

With regard to the content of AN, it has been observed by several scholars that some of the best-known sets of doctrinal categories are largely or totally unrepresented in this corpus. Conspicuous examples are the four noble truths, the five *khandhas*, and the noble eightfold path. As a few scholars have noted, a likely explanation for this phenomenon is that AN was intended to accommodate sets that were not already accommodated in SN; that is, AN and SN were meant to be complementary in content.⁴³ For example, suttas relating to the four noble truths were not included in AN because there was already a place for them in SN, namely the *Sacca-saṃyutta*. The AN Book of Fours was meant to accommodate any foursome for which no *saṃyutta* was provided in SN, this lack of a *saṃyutta* being a reflection of the relative infrequency with which that foursome appeared in suttas. If a frequently cited set, such as the four noble truths, is absent from AN, then this is precisely because AN was intended for *rarely* cited sets, such as the four ways of answering questions. AN was for any sets left over after the well-known sets had been grouped in SN.

This otherwise very acceptable line of reasoning appears to encounter problems in a few cases where a well represented doctrinal set is found in AN. Three clear cases

40. AN 11.1 at AN V 311–312 = MĀ 42 at T I 485a–b.

41. Less clear is the relationship between AN 11.6 & 7 and their near counterparts AN 10.88 & 6 respectively. The Elevens variant has in each case one item more than the Tens variant.

42. T 150a#28 at T II 879c22–880a29. T 150a#29 at T II 880a30–b9. Cf. Harrison (1997, 275).

43. Rhys Davids (1910, vii–viii) and Pande (1995, 232–233).

of this sort can be identified. The first is provided by ten consecutive suttas, comprising vagga 9 (i.e. vagga 4 of *paññāsako dutiyo* ‘second fifty [suttas]’) of the Threes (AN 3.81–90), all of which deal with the three trainings (*sikkhā*). This group of suttas on the same topic has the appearance of a *saṃyutta*, and therefore seems to refute the claim that AN was intended for poorly represented sets that did not warrant the creation of a *saṃyutta* in SN. However, counter-evidence is at hand. Each of these ten suttas has a Chinese counterpart, and those ten counterparts are located not in EĀ but in SĀ: they constitute the greater part of the *Sikkhā-saṃyutta* (*Śikṣā-saṃyukta*) as reconstructed by Yinshun (1983a, 431–446). The *Sikkhā-saṃyutta* is the only genuine *saṃyutta* of SĀ that lacks a counterpart in SN.⁴⁴ The place occupied by the *Sikkhā-saṃyutta* within the Chinese text is in keeping with the overall path structure apparent in SĀ/SN, making it likely that this Chinese arrangement is original. In short, it is likely that in the Pali tradition this block of ten suttas, now a vagga of AN, was formerly a *saṃyutta* of SN, possibly in the final part of SN entitled *Mahā-vagga*, ‘Great Chapter’, most of which deals with different formulations of the Buddha’s path to liberation.⁴⁵ For some reason the shared doctrinal topic (the *sikkhās*) came to be perceived as less important than the shared numerical feature (three items), and the block of suttas was moved accordingly: a *saṃyutta* of SN became a vagga of AN.

A second example of a well-represented doctrinal set in AN is provided by a block of fifty consecutive suttas near the end of the Tens.⁴⁶ All but one of these suttas deal with the ten items that are elsewhere (e.g. AN I 271–272) grouped as the three purities (*soceyya*) or their opposites. The contents of the purities correspond, in reverse order, to the first four factors (*aṅga*) of the eightfold or tenfold path. The correspondence is shown in Table 3 (next page).

This group of suttas therefore has the nature of a *saṃyutta*. As in the previous case, the Chinese counterparts are located in SĀ rather than EĀ; they constitute almost the whole of the *Kammavipākā-saṃyutta* (*Karmavipākā-saṃyukta*), SĀ 1039–1061 (Yinshun 1983b: 749–765). Here again, therefore, the evidence indicates that a block of suttas has been moved between the two collections (*saṃyutta* and numerical). The *saṃyutta*-like nature of the group indicates that the movement was probably from SN to AN within the Pali tradition.

The third example is another block of suttas in the Tens of AN, this time numbering sixty-six, all of which deal with the tenfold path.⁴⁷ Examination reveals that many of these sixty-six are not genuinely distinct suttas. For example, it is evident that the twenty-one ‘suttas’ numbered 134 to 154 have developed from a single earlier sutta through the now familiar process of multiplication; and the same is true of the twelve ‘suttas’ numbered 155 to 166 and the two ‘suttas’ numbered 218 to 219 (508 ‘suttas’ numbered 239 to 746 in Bodhi’s 2012 translation, pp. 1547–1548).

44. *Sikkhā-saṃyutta* is SĀ 816–832; but of these 17 suttas 5 lack Pali counterparts, 2 have the same Pali counterpart, and 2 together have a single Pali counterpart — a total of 10 Pali suttas.

45. See Bodhi (2000, 1485).

46. AN 10.167–216 at AN V 249–309, but excluding AN 10.208 (AN V 299–301), which deals with the four *brahma-vihāras* and is therefore out of place in the Tens.

47. Actually a block of 64, followed at some distance by a further two: AN 10.103–166 & 218–219.

Table 3. The ten items of the three purities and their corresponding path factors.

three purities	ten items	first four factors of eightfold path
A. bodily purity	1. abstention from taking life 2. abstention from stealing 3. abstention from sexual misconduct	4. right action
B. verbal purity	4. abstention from false speech 5. abstention from divisive speech 6. abstention from harsh speech 7. abstention from idle chatter	3. right speech
C. mental purity	8. non-covetousness 9. non-malice 10. right view	2. right intention ⁴⁸ 1. right view

Recognition of this phenomenon reduces the number of genuinely distinct suttas from sixty-six to thirty-four.⁴⁹ Here it is relevant to note that there are five cases where an AN sutta dealing with the tenfold path has an identifiable Chinese counterpart. One of these Chinese counterparts similarly deals with the tenfold path; it is located in MĀ.⁵⁰ The other four actually speak only of the eightfold path and are located in the *Magga-saṃyutta* (*Mārga-saṃyukta*) of SĀ as reconstructed by Yinshun (1983a, 369–400).⁵¹ This adds weight to our claim that all extant descriptions of the tenfold path developed out of earlier descriptions of the original eightfold path. In the present context, the implication to note is that the location of this block of suttas in the Tens of AN is a secondary development; until the tenfold path came into existence the suttas in question would have been located in the *Magga-saṃyutta* of SĀ/SN.

There is, therefore, evidence of a small-scale movement of material into AN, mostly from SN. Evidence of a comparable movement into EĀ is also available, as will now be demonstrated.

The contents of the extant EĀ are grouped into fifty-two vaggas. Vagga 1 consists of a Foreword, which Yinshun (1994, 756) dates to the first century BCE or later, on the grounds that it refers to the canon as a written document and mentions various Mahāyāna concepts. The remaining fifty-one vaggas (2 to 52) possess properties that are now familiar. They contain in most cases ten suttas each; and, with a few exceptions, departures from this number are limited to the last vagga of a nipāta.

48. MN III 251: And what, friends, is right intention? Intention of non-desire, intention of non-malice, intention of non-harming (*Katamo c' āvuso sammāsankappo? Nekkhammasankappo, avyāpādasankappo, avihiṃsāsankappo*).

49. 31 suttas (103–133) + 1 sutta (134–154) + 1 sutta (155–166) + 1 sutta (218–219) = 34 suttas.

50. MĀ 188 at T I 735b4–9 = AN 10.113–116.

51. SĀ 786 = AN 10.103, SĀ 787–788 = AN 10.104, SĀ 748 = AN 10.111–112, SĀ 771 = AN 10.117–118.

Each vagga bears a title, which — again with a few exceptions — is derived from the first sutta it contains regardless of the content of the remaining suttas.

Just half of the vaggas have a concluding *uddāna*, which serves as a summary of the vagga's contents.⁵² Yinshun (1994, 758–759) points out that some of these *uddānas* fail to match the actual contents of the vaggas to which they are attached, and he rightly takes this as evidence that some vaggas have been disarranged.⁵³ The best example of this is found in vaggas 28, 29 and 30, which contain seven, ten and three suttas respectively. An *uddāna* is appended only to the first of the three, vagga 28. It lists ten suttas, namely the seven that vagga 28 actually contains preceded by the three suttas that make up vagga 30. This demonstrates that the present vaggas 30 and 28 were formerly together as a single vagga of ten suttas.

A more serious kind of inconsistency in EĀ, also noted by Yinshun (1994, 759–760), is that some suttas contain no reference to the number that defines their nipāta. This phenomenon is particularly marked in the Elevens. The eleventh nipāta contains thirty-nine suttas grouped in four vaggas, none of which has an *uddāna*; but only ten of those thirty-nine suttas actually feature the number eleven. The remainder, suttas 5, 8, 9 and 14–39 of the nipāta, have no evident reason for being there. It is therefore likely that they were tacked on indiscriminately at the end of the developing EĀ well after the collection proper had been put together.

As in AN so too in EĀ, there are many cases in the Ones where it is evident that a group of consecutive 'suttas' has resulted from subdividing a single earlier sutta. This phenomenon is found already in vagga 2, the first vagga of the collection proper (vagga 1 contains only the Foreword). Of the ten suttas in this vagga, which is titled 'Ten recollections', the first deals with recollection of the Buddha, the second is identical in wording except that it substitutes '*Dhamma*' for 'Buddha', the third substitutes '*Saṅgha*', the fourth 'morality', and so on to make a set of ten recollections (*anussati*). Although each of the ten has the introductory formula, 'Thus I heard', it is apparent that the 'vagga' 品 we have here is properly a single sutta in ten parts. That the compilers of the corpus themselves recognised this is clear from the atypical title of the vagga: 十念品 'Vagga on Ten recollections'. The original sutta with ten parts would have properly belonged in the Tens; transforming it into a vagga of ten suttas yielded material superficially suitable for inclusion in the Ones. This ten-membered group in the Ones of EĀ has an exact counterpart in the Ones of AN.⁵⁴ Thus, the technique of subdividing suttas to provide material for the Ones is common to the two traditions.

Vagga 3, titled 'In detail' 廣演, is identical in structure and subject matter to vagga 2, but it includes a detailed explanation for each of the ten recollections.

52. At first glance 26 vaggas appear to have a concluding *uddāna*: 2, 3, 8–11, 13–16, 19, 21–26, 28, 31–33, 39, 42–44, 46. Vagga 19 has an additional *uddāna* following its second sutta. This fact, together with the sutta list in the *uddāna*, indicates that the first and second suttas of vagga 19, plus the *uddāna* that follows them, were formerly at the end of vagga 18. See Yinshun (1994, 759). Therefore, 27 vaggas have a concluding *uddāna*.

53. For some other examples, see Su (2013, 209).

54. AN 1.16.1–10 (AN I 30) = EĀ 2.1–10 (T II 552c–553c). See Table 1.

It exemplifies the same phenomenon of subdividing a sutta to yield material for the Ones, but in this case there is no counterpart in AN.

The same phenomenon is again found in vaggas 4, 5, 6, and 7, which are titled ‘*Sāvaka*’, ‘*Bhikkhuṇī*’, ‘*Upāsaka*’, and ‘*Upāsikā*’, and deal with monks, nuns, lay men, and lay women respectively. Vagga 4 contains ten suttas; vaggas 5, 6, and 7 contain five, four, and three suttas respectively, a conspicuous departure from the usual pattern of ten suttas to a vagga. The twenty-two suttas in this set are identical in structure; they differ from one another only in respect of (1) the key words: *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhuṇī*, *upāsaka*, *upāsikā*, and (2) the ten names and characteristics of specific disciples that each of the suttas enumerates. This is clearly another case of subdividing a single sutta, remarkable in having generated four entire vaggas. A close counterpart for it exists in AN, but there the result is treated as a single vagga, i.e. vagga 14, which contains 7 pseudo-suttas.⁵⁵ The existence of our inferred single sutta is attested by the fact that the Chinese canon contains one single sūtra entitled *Foshuo aluohan ju de jing* 佛說阿羅漢具德經 (T 126), *Sūtra on Arhats’ Endowed Qualities as Taught by the Buddha*.

Still further cases were noted earlier where, in both AN and EĀ, a single sutta has been subdivided to provide material for inclusion in the Ones. It appears, then, that this technique was applied, in almost identical fashion, in the Ones of both collections. This shared feature is found to be linked with a high degree of correspondence with regard to content. If we count original, underlying suttas (rather than the far more numerous pseudo-suttas derived from them by subdividing), the number of suttas shared in common between the Ones of EĀ and the Ones of AN is nine (see Table 1 above, p. 149). However, every one of those nine has earned its place in the Ones through having been subdivided. The coexistence of these two features (shared subdividing technique and shared content) in the Ones of EĀ and AN cannot reasonably be interpreted as indicating that they were already features of the ancestral EĀ/AN — for two reasons. First, the artificiality of the subdividing technique indicates that it is a late development. Second, no corresponding Book of Ones exists in EĀ², a fact that correlates well with the artificiality of the Ones in AN and the corresponding part of EĀ.⁵⁶ It is likely, therefore, that the observed resemblances between the Ones of AN and EĀ are due to borrowing at some time after the two traditions had separated. Whether AN borrowed from EĀ or the reverse is difficult to judge.

The evidence indicates, therefore, that the ancestral AN/EĀ/EĀ² had nipātas running from the Twos to the Elevens. Consideration of the present pattern of shared suttas indicates that the ancestral collection was small, with no nipāta containing more than a few dozen suttas. Following their early separation, both AN and EĀ grew in size by independently taking over suttas from other collections. Examples of this transfer of suttas into the numerical collection have already been noted in the case of AN. In the case of EĀ evidence of it can be seen in the distribution of those suttas whose Pali counterparts are not in the corresponding nipāta of AN.

55. AN 1.14.1–7 (AN I 23–26) = EĀ 4.1–7.3 (T II 557a–560c). See Table 1.

56. The lack of Ones in EĀ² can hardly be due to accidental loss, unlike the lack of nipātas above the Fives.

Table 4. Suttas in EĀ7 and their Pali counterparts.

EĀ 39.1	AN 7.64 at IV 113
EĀ 39.2	AN 7.65 at IV 117
EĀ 39.3	AN 7.15 at IV 11
EĀ 39.4	AN 7.63 at IV 106
EĀ 39.5	AN 7.41 at IV 39
EĀ 39.6	SN 46.16 at V 81
EĀ 39.7	SN 46.42 at V 99
EĀ 39.8	
EĀ 39.9	MN 23 at I 142
EĀ 39.10	MN 24 at I 145
EĀ 40.1	AN 7.62 at IV 100
EĀ 40.2	AN 7.20 at IV 17
EĀ 40.3	AN 7.11–12 at IV 9
EĀ 40.4	
EĀ 40.5	
EĀ 40.6	AN 6.58 at III 387; MN 2 at I 6
EĀ 40.7	
EĀ 40.8	AN 6.19 at III 303; AN 8.73 at IV 316
EĀ 40.9	MN 93 at II 154 (partial)
EĀ 40.10	MN 18 at I 108
EĀ 41.1	MN 14 at I 92 (partial); SN 55.21 at V 369 (partial)
EĀ 41.2	
EĀ 41.3	
EĀ 41.4	SN 22.2 at III 5
EĀ 41.5	SN 16.5 at II 202 (partial)

To illustrate this, let us consider the EĀ Book of Sevens (EĀ7) over against the AN Book of Sevens (AN7). See Table 4, above.

Of the 25 suttas in EĀ7, 19 have Pali counterparts, of which only 8 are in AN7. Of the 8 suttas in EĀ7 whose Pali counterparts are in AN7, 5 are together as a block at the *beginning* of EĀ7. Of the remaining 11 suttas in EĀ7 whose Pali counterparts are *not* in AN7, 7 are together as a block at the *end* of EĀ7. In short, shared suttas are clustered at the beginning of EĀ7, while unshared suttas are clustered at the end of EĀ7; the middle portion of EĀ7 is a mixture of shared and unshared. This distributional pattern is consistent with the unshared suttas having been added progressively at the end of the growing *nipāta*, while the shared suttas largely retained their original places at its beginning.

Much the same pattern can be discerned in most other *nipātas* of EĀ, particularly the Ones. Of the suttas in the Ones of EĀ, 24 have Pali counterparts located in SN, MN, DN, or in the *Eka-nipāta* (Book of Ones, which includes suttas 1–27) of the *Itivuttaka* (see Table 5 below). The Ones of EĀ occupies vaggas 2 to 13. Those 24 suttas, located in vaggas 9 to 13, are together as an almost uninterrupted block at the

Table 5. Suttas in the Ones of EĀ and their Pali counterparts outside AN.

EĀ 9.1	SN 17.23 at II 235
EĀ 9.2	SN 17.24 at II 236
EĀ 9.3–4	SN 12.61 at II 95 (partial)
EĀ 9.5	It 20 at 12–13
EĀ 9.6	It 21 at 13–14
EĀ 10.1	It 23 at 16–17 (partial)
EĀ 10.6	It 26 at 18–19
EĀ 10.7	It 22 at 14–16
EĀ 11.1	It 1 at 1
EĀ 11.2	It 2 at 1–2
EĀ 11.3	It 3 at 2
EĀ 11.4	It 4 at 2 (similar)
EĀ 11.7	SN 17.11–12 at II 233
EĀ 11.8	SN 17.11–12 at II 233
EĀ 12.1	MN 10 at I 55; DN 22 at II 290
EĀ 12.5	SN 16.8 at II 208 (similar)
EĀ 12.6	SN 16.5 at II 202
EĀ 12.7	SN 17.36 at II 242
EĀ 12.9	SN 17.28 at II 237
EĀ 13.3	MN 87 at II 106
EĀ 13.4	SN 22.1 at III 1
EĀ 13.5	MN 7 at I 36
EĀ 13.6	SN 11.16 at I 233

latter half of the Ones of EĀ.⁵⁷ The first half of the Ones is made up of small suttas generated by the artificial process of subdividing, as described in Section 2 above (cf. Table 1). This distributional pattern indicates what common sense would in any case suggest: the movement of genuine suttas into the Ones, Twos, etc. of EĀ took place *after* the artificial subdividing process had already fulfilled its function of producing material for a nipāta that would match the Ones, Twos, and so on. These genuine suttas are not really concerned with exactly one specific doctrinal item and hence intended for the Book of Ones; more likely is that they were earlier located in the *Samyukta Āgama* and *Madhyama Āgama* as we can infer from Table 5, above.⁵⁸

57. The gaps within this block, e.g. 10.2–5, are occasioned by suttas that lack known Pali counterparts.

58. A similar phenomenon, in a converse way, occurs in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama Āgama* (T 26). The first ten suttas of this corpus make up a vagga titled 七法品 ‘Chapter on Sets of Seven’. This group of ten suttas was formerly located within the Sevens of the no-longer-extant Sarvāstivāda *Ekottarika Āgama*, but it was subsequently transferred to its present location in the *Madhyama Āgama*. See Bucknell (2014, 82–84).

Conclusion

In both AN and EĀ the suttas of each nipāta ('book') are mechanically grouped in the now familiar vagga/品 ('chapter') arrangement. In AN and EĀ, there are several cases where a vagga, usually containing ten suttas, actually has the characteristics of a single sutta in ten sections; there are also other cases where two or more vaggas together have the characteristics of a single sutta. As regards the Ones, original suttas dealing with doctrinal sets that logically belong in higher nipātas (the Fours, Fives, etc.) have been made superficially appropriate for inclusion in the Ones by being subdivided into their individual components. Developments of this sort were presumably motivated by a perceived need to produce an *Ekaka-nipāta* 'Book of Ones' comparable to the more natural higher nipātas, despite a shortage of genuine doctrinal 'sets' comprising just a single item. None of the inferred 30 genuine suttas that make up the Book of Ones actually features a doctrinal set comprising one item. In this respect, EĀ², which lacks a Book of Ones, has a more genuine and original appearance.

As for the Twos of AN, more than half of the nipāta is made up of artificially derived pseudo-suttas. In some cases, two suttas are identically worded apart from the contrast, and they are not really two suttas but rather two contrasting parts of a single sutta. In other cases, one vagga (or two) consists of ten (or twenty) identically worded suttas that speak of contrasting pairs on a certain subject; this vagga (or two vaggas together) actually represents a single original sutta which elaborates on this certain subject. Such phenomena are essentially the same as were identified in the Ones: a single repetitious sutta has been subdivided so that its component sections become a series of similarly structured derivative suttas. Moreover, material for this process of subdividing has sometimes been provided by multiplying doctrinal sets with formulaic statements.

In most of the remaining nipātas the phenomena noted in the Ones and Twos are also present, but on a much smaller scale. Beginning from the Sixes, it is increasingly the case that the defining number is actually the sum of two smaller numbers representing two sets of doctrinal items that happen to appear together in the same sutta. The Elevens has been regarded by a few scholars as likely to be an artificial creation added relatively late to an AN that had previously ended with the Tens. However, as we have shown, several suttas of the Tens are likely to be derived from the suttas of the Elevens, rather than the reverse. While not entirely free of artificiality, the last nipāta of AN does contain some suttas that genuinely deal with sets of eleven items. It is found that only two suttas in the Elevens of AN have counterparts in EĀ, indicating that if this nipāta was present in the common ancestor of the two collections, then it was much smaller than the other nipātas.

As some scholars have noted, AN was intended to accommodate sets left over after the well-known sets had been grouped in SN; AN and SN were meant to be complementary in content. Nevertheless, ten suttas comprising vagga 9 of the Threes in AN all deal with the three trainings (*sikkhā*): a group of suttas on the same topic which has the appearance of a *samyutta*. Each of these ten suttas has a

Chinese counterpart, and those ten counterparts are located in SĀ: they constitute the greater part of the *Sikkhā-samyutta*. It is likely that this Chinese arrangement is original, and that in the Pali tradition this block of ten suttas, now a vagga of AN, was formerly a *samyutta* of SN. Two other groups of suttas with *samyutta*-like nature were also probably moved from SN to AN within the Pali tradition.

Evidence of a comparable movement into EĀ is also available. A comparison between the EĀ Book of Sevens (EĀ7) and the AN Book of Sevens (AN7) reveals that shared suttas are clustered at the beginning of EĀ7, while unshared suttas are clustered at the end of EĀ7; the middle portion of EĀ7 is a mixture of shared and unshared. The same pattern can be discerned in most other nipātas of EĀ, particularly the Ones. This distributional pattern indicates that the movement of genuine suttas into the Ones, Twos, etc. of EĀ took place *after* the artificial subdividing process had already fulfilled its function of producing material for a nipāta that would match the Ones, Twos, and so on. Such artificial suttas largely retained their original places at the beginning of each nipāta, while the genuine suttas, probably earlier located in the *Samyukta Āgama* and *Madhyama Āgama*, were added progressively at the end of the growing nipāta.

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Abbreviations

References to Pali texts are to the Pali Text Society editions, unless otherwise stated.

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 Be Burmese edition, *Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Tipiṭaka*, Version 4.0 (digital version).
 Igatpuri: Vipassana Research Institute.
 Ce Sinhalese edition, *Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Series*, published under the patronage of the Government of Ceylon, 1959–.
 DN *Dīgha Nikāya*
 EĀ *Ekottarika Āgama* (*Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經)
 EĀ² 44 suttas of T 150a identified as a different and incomplete version of the
Ekottarika Āgama
 It *Itivuttaka*
 MĀ *Madhyama Āgama* (*Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經)
 MN *Majjhima Nikāya*
 PTS Pali Text Society
 SĀ *Samyukta Āgama* (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經)
 SN *Samyutta Nikāya*
 T *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (Taishō Edition of the Chinese
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