

The Suttas on Sakka in Āgama and Nikāya Literature – With Some Remarks on the Attribution of the Shorter Chinese Saṃyukta Āgama

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ABSTRACT: This article is one of a series concerning the Shorter Chinese *Saṃyukta Āgama* / *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 (BZA) (T.100). The series is in turn part of a larger project conducted at Dharma Drum Buddhist College, Taiwan, and currently hosted at: <http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/BZA/>. The present article discusses the arguments that are advanced in favour of attributing the BZA to the Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka schools, analyses the different names of Śakra/Sakka¹ and their etymologies found in BZA 35, and presents a translation of BZA 33 to BZA 42, the first ten of twenty *suttas* on Sakka in the BZA.

Regarding the attribution we find that there is only one single passage that links the BZA with the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*. The comparison of Indian and Chinese forms of Sakka's names clarifies some textual problems in the northern and the southern traditions. In the case of *Purindada*, this offers us a rare glimpse into how the early Buddhists had to 'spin' their texts when they incorporated the warrior god Indra into their pantheon.

THE ATTRIBUTION OF THE SHORTER CHINESE SAṂYUKTA ĀGAMA TO THE DHARMAGUPTAKA AND MAHĪŚĀSAKA SCHOOLS

In two short studies Mizuno Kōgen attributes the BZA to either the Mahīśāsaka or the Dharmaguptaka school.² His argument is based on two considerations: one concerning the content of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (SĀ), as reflected in the section headings (*bhikkhu*, *Māra*, *deva* etc.); the other based on one passage regarding the list of the twelve genres of scripture.

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1. As always we will give names in Pāli to allow easy comparison with the Pāli canon. The Prakrit original of many transliterations cannot always be reconstructed with certainty. I thank Jung Hsi-chin and Chueh Huichen for their help with the project, Simon Wiles for straightening out the English of this article, and Peter Harvey for his valuable suggestions.
 2. Mizuno (1969–1970).

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*³ and other works, can be grouped in three types. The first type is found in the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* (*Sifenlü* 四分律, T.1428) and the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* (*Wufenlü* 五分律, T.1421). The SĀ mentioned in these *Vinayas* organizes *suttas* according to the audiences for whom the *suttas* were spoken, i.e. *bhikkhus*, *devas*, or *yakkhas*. The *Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya* (*Mo he seng qi lü* 摩訶僧祇律, T.1425) contains a second way of arranging the content of the SĀ, in which the SĀ *suttas* are grouped in categories according to doctrine, such as *indriya*, *bodhi-aṅga* etc. A *Vinaya* text belonging to the *Mulasarvāstivādins* (T.25.1451.407b) and the *Yogacārabhūmi 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 *Zaahan jing* 雜阿含經 (ZA) belong to this third type.

Since the *suttas* of the BZA, however, are grouped by audience only, 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 important argument, but it rests on the premise that the BZA is a complete translation from one of the early schools.⁴ What if was merely a translation of the *Sagātha-vagga* and the *Tathāgatabhāsita-vagga* of a larger work? As it is, the text does not seem well edited. We find different translations for the same term, incomplete sentences, and different character variants within the same *suttas*. 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. In the absence of any information on where, when and by whom the BZA was translated, it seems more reasonable to assume the BZA is an incomplete translation. If this is the case, the original may well have contained other *vaggas* in which the *suttas* were grouped under points of doctrine as well, as in the SN or the ZA. In short, Mizuno's argument does not hold if the BZA is an incomplete translation from a larger work.

The attribution to the Mahīśāsaka at least, however, is strengthened by Mizuno's second point: an argument from doctrine. Mizuno draws attention to the fact that a list of the twelve genres of teachings (*shier fen jiao* 十二分教 *dvādaśāṅga-dharmappravacana*) found in the BZA is identical to that found in the

3. Attribution of *Āgama suttas* is often based on comparison with *Vinaya* texts, because *Vinaya* texts do clearly belong to one school, not least since the very concept of 'school' is based on the acceptance of a common *Vinaya*. See the attribution of the ZA and the BZA to Sarvāstivādin literature by Enomoto (1980) and Hiraoka (2000; 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'.

4. Both Mizuno (1969–1970, 486) and Hirahara (1986, 105) do assume, but not prove this. Waldschmidt (1980, 146), on the other hand, sees the BZA as 'the incomplete translation' of the SĀ.

Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*.⁵ On further investigation we find that the order of the twelve genres in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* differs in two places.

BZA (T.100, sutta 113)	Mahīśāsaka <i>Vinaya</i> 五分律 ⁶	Dharmaguptaka <i>Vinaya</i> 四分律 ⁷
1. 修多羅 <i>sutta</i>	修多羅 (=1.)	契經 (=1.)
2. 祇夜 <i>geyya</i>	祇夜 (=2.)	祇夜經 (=2.)
3. 授記 <i>veyyākaraṇa</i>	受記 (=3.)	授記經 (=3.)
4. 說偈 <i>gāth</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>itivuttaka</i>	育多伽婆 ⁸ (=7.)	本生經 <i>jātaka</i> (=8.)
8. 本生 <i>jātaka</i>	本生 (=8.)	善道經 <i>itivuttaka</i> (=7.)
9. 毘佛略 <i>vedalla</i>	毘富羅 (=9.)	方等 (=9.)
10. 未曾有 <i>abbhutadhamma</i>	未曾有 (=10.)	未曾有經 (=10.)
11. 優波提舍 <i>upadeśa</i>	阿婆陀那 (=11.)	譬喻經 <i>avadāna</i> (=12.)
12. 本事 <i>apadāna</i>	憂波提舍 (=12.)	優波提舍經 <i>upadeśa</i> (=11.)

According to Mizuno, the *dvādaśāṅga-dharmapravacana* list in the ZA, which differs considerably from the one found in the BZA, reflects the Sarvāstivādin order. Unfortunately he does not give his source, but he might be referring to a list in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, which differs only in one place, and is morphologically close to the ZA list (see overleaf).

The differences between the *dvādaśāṅga-dharmapravacana* in the ZA and BZA are interesting and, as far as I know, have not been discussed elsewhere. The argument regarding the attribution of the BZA to the Mahīśāsaka makes sense. Although in general the *sutta* texts of the early schools did not differ greatly, when it comes to lists it is very possible that the *Vinaya* – in theory recited monthly by the members of a congregation – could have influenced the transmission of the *sutta* text.

Another difference between the ZA and the BZA is the mention of the ‘ninety-six schools’ *jiushiliu zhong dao* 九十六種道 (Skt. *ṣaṇ-ṇavatiyo pāṣaṇḍāḥ*) in the BZA, which is not found in the ZA (Bingenheimer 2008, 23, n.58). The reference to the

5. Mizuno (1969–1970, 433). The list is found in cluster BZA 113. 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: ‘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’ (1994, 121).

6. CBETA/T.22.1421.1c14.

7. CBETA/T.22.1428.569b4-7.

8. 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 -v- as a glide consonant. An example not mentioned by him is from the *Madhyama-āgama*, which has 頻鞞 for Kinki (CBETA/T.01.26.500c12).

ZA (T.99, sutta 1138)	<i>Vibhāṣā</i> ⁹
1. 修多羅 <i>sutta</i>	修多羅
2. 祇夜 <i>geyya</i>	祇夜
3. 伽陀 <i>gāthā</i>	婆伽羅那 <i>veyyākaraṇa</i> (=4.)
4. 受記 <i>veyyākaraṇa</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>itivuttaka</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>abbhutadhamma</i>	阿浮陀達摩
12. 優婆提舍 <i>upadeśa</i>	優婆提舍

‘ninety-six’ schools is a potentially helpful detail, because there are two major variants in explaining the figure ninety-six. The first, which is the one followed by the BZA, takes all ninety-six to be non-buddhist schools or sects. The number is derived by assuming that the traditional six teachers contemporary to the Buddha each had 15 students, and that each of these founded their own school ($6 + [6 \times 15] = 96$). The second, of which there are several versions, takes the figure of ninety-six as including the Buddhist *sāsana*, whilst the remaining ninety-five are considered non-Buddhist renunciant schools.

The ‘ninety-six’ do appear once in the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*,¹⁰ but the term also appears in the *Vinayas* of the Mahāsaṃghikas, the Sarvāstivādins, and the Mūlasarvāstivādins and can therefore not confirm the attribution to the Mahīśāsaka or Dharmaguptaka corpus.

Both the different *dvādaśāṅga-dharmapracāna* lists and the mention of the ‘ninety-six schools’ show that some changes were introduced to the BZA after it split off the ZA line. The fact that the *dvādaśāṅga-dharmapracāna* list is identical with the one found in the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* is noteworthy, but to base an attribution on only one passage seems premature. Considering that the list appears rather often in the canon, different versions are to be expected and both difference and identity of two sets might well be incidental.

There are two other attempts to attribute the BZA to a school of early Buddhism: an earlier one, which assigns the text to the Kāśyapiyas, and the most recent one according to which the BZA belongs to Mūlasarvāstivādin literature. I will discuss these attributions in a future paper, where I will try to identify the most likely solution.

9. CBETA/T.28.1546.2b1-5 (translated by Buddhavarman, early fifth century). The list in the Xuanzang translation (mid seventh century) is in the same order (CBETA/T27.1545.2a20-22).

10. CBETA/T.22.1421.50c27.

THE NAMES OF SAKKA

Sakka/Śakra is the Buddhist name for Indra. As the principal god of the *Rg Veda*, Indra is one of the oldest and most important gods of the Vedic pantheon. He is closely connected to the Aryan conquest of India. Incorporated into Buddhist as well as Jain mythology, Indra was co-opted as protector of each creed. 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 often humbled. While some aspects of Indra's personality have been used in the formation of the image of Śiva (Doniger O'Flaherty 1981) there are also indications that Sakka was a source for representations of Avalokiteśvara (Yamamoto 1983). 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 Buddhist Sakka, some eminent scholars¹¹ wanted to believe that Indra and Sakka were 'independent conceptions'. However, there is overwhelming evidence for the fact that Sakka is indeed a transformation of Indra.

All names in the list of Sakka's names are also epithets of Indra. Already in the *Rg Veda*, where more hymns are dedicated to Indra than to any other god, Indra is called Śakra – the mighty-one.¹² 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 (Doniger O'Flaherty 1976, 100). He is far from being invincible. In one myth Kṛṣṇa steals a precious tree from the Tāvātimsa realm, and although Indra uses his strongest weapon, the *vajra* thunderbolt, Kṛṣṇa prevails easily (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* V 30).

Indian gods usually have many names, and this is reflected in BZA 35, the *sutta* on Sakka's names. Most of these names have been transliterated in various ways and a schematic overview and some remarks on their philology might be helpful for future research.

11. T. W. Rhys Davids (1899–1921, vol. 2: 297ff., and in the PED s.v. *Inda*) and Malalasekera (1974, s.v. *Sakka*).

12. Rv. VII, 104, 20f or Rv. X, 43, 6.

T.100 (BZA 35)	T.99	T.374 大般涅槃經 ¹³	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	憍尸迦 (= 5.)	Purindada	
3. 摩佉婆	摩佉婆	婆蹉婆 ¹⁴ (= 4.?)	Sakka (= 1.)	Maghavā
4. 娑娑婆	娑娑婆	富蘭陀羅 (= 2.)	Vāsava	
5. 憍尸迦	憍尸迦	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	舍丈夫 (= 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 fulfil the seven duties above; for this reason the devas call him Sakka)’. Here it is just 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 both in the ZA and the BZA (e.g. BZA 38), is a contracted transliteration for Skt. *śakro devānām indraḥ*.¹⁵

13. CBETA/T.12.374.563c24. There is another (almost) identical list in the other translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (CBETA/T.12.375.810b8).

14. The 蹉 in *pō cuō pō* 婆蹉婆 in both versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* is an attempt to transliterate Vāsava. Since this particular transliteration appears only in this list, it caused some head-scratching among the authors of later glossaries, who were not quite sure about the meaning: The *Yiqie jingyinyi* 一切經音義 (eighth century) glosses 婆蹉婆 as ‘meaning “holding the Vajra-treasure (*Vajrapāni*)”’; 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 a use for *-jra* in *Vajrapāni* 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 (fifth century)] explains 婆蹉婆 as “[He who] likes to adorn. Who in former days liked to donate clothing now receives beautiful clothes”’ 婆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.

15. The *Yiqie jing 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)。Altogether “Śa[kra] the ruler of gods” (釋中天帝)’.

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 respective name of Indra in the Sanskrit tradition is ‘Puraṃda’ or ‘Puraṃdara’ 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*.¹⁶ 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] 1990, I, 314).

Neither ‘in city after city’ nor ‘in a previous life’ seems a very convincing etymology. Why not give in the countryside? Why not give in this life as well? Moreover, for this passage both BZA and ZA clearly translate something like *punaḥ punar*: ‘Again and again (*shùo shùo* 數數) he made offerings, therefore the gods called him by the name of “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 (seventh–eighth 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”’.¹⁷

With this we are back to ‘destroyer of strongholds’. Xuanying 玄應, the author of the *Yiqiejing yinyi*, assumes that 陀羅 transliterates *-dara*, which it generally does. 羅 is however rarely used for *-ḍa* and *-ṇa* (Coblin 1994, s.v.) making *-dada* a possibility. Moreover, the BZA 富蘭但那 cannot render Puraṃdara, but only something close to *Puraṃdada.

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.¹⁸ Probably the original explanation 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 *punaḥpuna(ṃ)* and was translated into Chinese as *shùo shùo* 數數 ‘again and again’. While the BZA and the ZA transliterate

16. Bodhi (2000) refers to the Burmese edition he uses. This version is also the one found at *Dhp-a.* I 264.

17. 古音云富蘭云城陀羅云破也 (CBETA/T.54.2128.479c5)

18. After I came to this conclusion, I noticed that Grünwedel (1901, 38) had commented on this more than hundred years earlier.

*Puraṃdada, in the Chinese the explanation given loses all 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 *sutta*, ‘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, he pointed to the very name that the early Buddhists changed to support the image of Sakka as a peace-loving *deva*.

3. 摩佉婆 / 摩伽婆 / Maghavā

This appellation alludes to Sakka’s former existence as the Brahmin youth Magha, head of a group of thirty-three friends, who later were reborn as the thirty-three Tāvatiṃsa *devas*. A *Jātaka* tells that Magha is a former existence of Śākyamuni Buddha, before his rebirth as a past Sakka.¹⁹

The transliteration 摩伽婆 in the ZA reflects, as usual, standard Sanskrit with the 伽 representing *ga*, *gha*. The 佉 of the BZA, however, shows that here the translators transliterate **makhavā*.²⁰

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. 娑娑²¹婆 / 娑娑婆²² / 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 young Brahmin Magha and his friends, who build a guesthouse and, because of this and other meritorious deeds, are reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. The Dh-p-a says: *āvasathaṃ adāsi, tasmā vāsavoti vuccati*: ‘Because he [Sakka] gave a resthouse (*āvasatha*) [in his former live], he is called Vāsava’ (Dhp-a I 264; BL I: 314).

The northern tradition, however, explains the name very differently, deriving from √*vas* in the meaning of ‘to clothe’ rather than ‘to dwell’: ‘Because again and again he [Sakka] offered clothes [**vāsa*] to renunciants and Brahmins, for that reason he was called “Vāsava”’ (BZA 35, see below).

19. Dh-p-a I 265–72; BL I:315–19; *Jātaka* no.31.

20. *qu* 佉 is one of the few characters used only in transliteration (s. Pulleyblank 1965).

21. The variant reading *tuō* 妥 in the Shōgozō Mss. (T. siglum 聖) is a mistake.

22. The ZA *shapopo* 娑娑婆 can only be a mistake, the characters are easily confused. The Taishō annotation for this term too is incorrect: 娑娑婆 is not Sahassaka, but simply a scribal or printer error for 娑娑婆.

Understandably, neither Buddhist tradition mentions the usual Indian etymology for Vāsava. For Indra the epithet Vāsava²³ 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 *Rg 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’.

6. 舍脂夫 / 舍脂鉢低 / Sujampati

As shown elsewhere (Bingenheimer 2008, 7), the BZA often renders the name by a sound-meaning compound (舍脂 = Sujā; 夫 = husband), while the ZA tends to transliterate 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 sahas-sampi 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.²⁴ After discovering that Indra had slept with his wife Ahalyā, the sage Gautama curses him. As a result Indra was covered by 1000 yoni-formed 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 transliterate 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 as well as the Chinese texts prefer using the name Indra within the compound rather than as single term.²⁵ The *Yiqiejing yinyi* glosses 因陀羅 laconically as ‘(heavenly) ruler’ (*dizhu* 帝主).²⁶

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.

23. Earliest occurrence is in *Atharva Veda* (VI 82).

24. One version of the story is found in the *Ramāyana* (Canto XLVIII).

25. 釋提桓因 appears ninety-eight times in the BZA and ZA, while the Indra is transliterated only ten times.

26. CBETA/T.54.2128.479c06.

TRANSLATION

There are twenty *suttas* concerning Sakka in the BZA. Two *uddāna*, mnemonic verses, group them in two sets of ten. What follows is a translation of the first set. They correspond, respectively, to SN 11 *suttas* 11, 13, 12, 22, 24, 5, 4, 19, 18/19, and 20.

33. *Seven Practices*²⁷

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

At that time the Buddha told the monks: ‘Steadfastly maintaining the seven practices²⁸ one is bound to be reborn as [a] Sakka [the king of gods]. Why so? In former times, when [any] Sakka was a human being, he set out to cultivate these beginner’s practices.²⁹ He was obedient to his parents and 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-honoured One spoke a verse:

[Whoever] towards their parents // displays filial obedience,
towards their elders // heartfelt deep respect,
always speaks gently and friendly, // kindly and good,
cuts off 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, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and practised accordingly.

27. Cf. SN 11.11.

28. *qi xíng* 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).

29. *fa chu lü xíng* 發初履行. I translate 初履行 according to the passage in the *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 practise, is not [yet] stable’.

34. *Mahāli doubts*³⁰

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in the great hall at the shore of the Monkey[-lake]³¹ near Vesālī. There was a Licchavi, by the name of Mahāli, who came to the Buddha, paid homage to his feet and addressed him: ‘World-honoured One, have you seen³² 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-honoured One has seen 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 did away with avarice, he always loved to give, he always spoke truthfully, he did away with anger, and he did not give rise to hatred’.

At that time the Buddha spoke a verse.³³

[Whoever] towards their parents // displays filial obedience,
towards their elders // heartfelt deep respect,
Always speaks gently and friendly, // kindly and good,
Cuts off 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, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and practised accordingly.

30. Cf. SN 11.13.

31. *mi hou bi an da jiang tang* 彌猴彼岸大講堂 Skt. *markaṭa hrada tīre mahā śālā*. Appears three times in the BZA (including as 彌猴彼岸 in BZA 330). Appears as 彌猴池側重閣講堂 frequently in the ZA and once in the *Changahan jing* 長阿含經 (CBETA/T01.1.66a23). As 彌猴水邊高樓臺觀 several times in the MĀ. In the early Pāli tradition, this place is only called Kūṭāgārasāla, which Bodhi (2000, 330) renders as ‘Hall with the Peaked Roof’. The epithets ‘monkey shore’ or ‘shore of the monkey lake’ appear only in the northern tradition. *Markaṭa hrada tīre* appears in the *Dīvyāvadāna*, the *Mahāvastu* and other *Avadānas* (see Edgerton [1953] 1970, 420a; Akanuma [1930] 1994, s.v. *Kūṭāgārasāla*). In the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang visited the place. According to a legend he recorded the lake was created for the Buddha by a group of monkeys (CBETA/T51.2087.908b14–15).

32. *po hui* 頗會. Not in the *Hanyu da cidian*. A particle indicating experience ‘have ... already’. It occurs mainly in relatively early translations, and probably reflects vernacular usage from the fourth to the sixth century.

33. Verse part identical with BZA 33.

35. *The Names of Sakka*³⁴

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvathī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika 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-honoured One, where does the name “Sakka” come from? What are the characteristics of Sakka?’.

The Buddha told the monk: ‘Originally, when Sakka still was 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, brahmins etc. When he made offerings, he offered drinks and refreshments, all kinds of hard and soft food,³⁵ all kinds of garlands, all kinds of fragrance, incense, perfume,³⁶ riches,³⁷ and bedding. For this reason the gods³⁸ once called him Sakka’.

Again the monk addressed the Buddha: ‘Why is Sakka called “Purindada”?’.

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 of “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 brahmin 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 brahmins, for that reason he was called “Vāsava” [the Clothier]’.

Again [the monk] asked: ‘For what reason is he called “Kosika”?’.

The Buddha said: ‘Because originally when Sakka was a human being, his clan-name was ‘Kosika’. Therefore he is called “Kosika”’.

‘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”?’.

34. Cf. SN 11.12.

35. *yao shan* 餽餼. *khādaniya-bhojaniya*, hard and soft food.

36. *tu xiang* 塗香. Here probably translates *vilepana*.

37. *cai bo* 財帛. Literally ‘money and silk’. Hirakawa (No.3573), however, has *kolāhala-sthavika*. This expression seems to be synonymous with *pātra-sthavika* (Pāli *pattathavikā*) and the original here might have had ‘bag for carrying the begging bowl’ (Edgerton [1953] 1977, 609b).

38. These are to be understood as the thirty-two friends of Magha [i.e. thirty-three including him, according to the Dhp-a], who with him were reborn as the Tāvatiṃsa gods.

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-honoured One said to the monk: ‘He was able to fulfil the seven duties [mentioned] above, because of that, the other gods call him “Sakka”’.³⁹

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and practised accordingly.

36. A *Yakkha* on Sakka’s Throne⁴⁰

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

At that time the World-honoured One told the monks: ‘There was once a *yakkha*, who was short, his face was ugly and his complexion black. People did not like the sight of him. [This *yakkha* now] 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 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 sat in your place. We, the gods, abused him strongly, 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”’.⁴¹ 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’. Having 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,⁴² be careful not to add to the anger’. And he spoke this verse:⁴³

39. This seems to be an answer without a question. The text seems faulty here. [‘Mentioned] above’ might refer to the previous *suttas* BZA 33 and 34, where the seven practices are discussed. The SN parallel (11.12) for BZA 35 too, enumerates the seven practices.

40. Cf. SN 11.22.

41. *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 *paṅṣa* here. Considering that Hirakawa (No.915) includes *paṅṣa* for 對治, the 瞋恚對治鬼 of the ZA was probably ‘*Yakkha* Anger-friend’ (**krodha-paṅṣa yaṅṣa?*). The Pāli, however, gives *kodhabhakkho yakkho*, which is ‘anger-eating *yakkha*’. Something went wrong on the way north and *bhakkha/bhaṅṣa(ka)* ‘eater’ became *paṅṣa* ‘friend’. This mistake is crucial evidence that proves beyond doubt that the BZA and the ZA belong to the same stemma and both texts had one common ancestor, which split off from the SN stemma.

42. *e dui* 惡對. *Pratidvaṃḍva* (Hirakawa, No.1227).

43. The Pāli verse here is completely different. The originals of the BZA and the ZA, though belong-

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 nobles, // they are disciples of nobles.⁴⁴

Those who are angry, filled with hatred // are blocked by anger [as if by] a mountain.

If one, at a time of anger and hate, // can control oneself even a little

This is called skilful // like the taming of a wicked horse’.

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Sakka is the king of gods, enjoying all kinds of pleasure. If he can control his anger, and praise those who control their anger, how much more should you, O monks, who, out of faith have gone forth from home into homelessness,⁴⁵ who went forth and pursued the way, you, who cut off your hair, and donned the robes, how much more should you control anger and praise those who control their anger. In this way, O monks, you should practise!’

The monks, having listened to what the Buddha had said, were happy and practised accordingly.

37. *Two monks argue. The Buddha reminds them of how Sakka deals with anger.*⁴⁶

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

At that time one early morning the World-honoured 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]. Having looked around probing [for a good spot], he sat down cross-legged beneath a tree in a secluded place, to abide in meditation.⁴⁷

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 was incensed with anger. When the one who had become incensed saw that he had transgressed, he went to the monk who had stayed silent and wanted to confess.⁴⁸ The monk

ing to the same stemma, must have been quite different in wording. The ZA is a literal translation of the parallel to this passage in the *Udānavarga* (Enomoto 1994, No. 1107).

44. *xian sheng di zi* 賢聖弟子. *ārya-śrāvakāḥ. Considering the previous half-line ‘disciples of nobles’ seems better than ‘noble disciples’. The ZA has 住賢聖眾, which tallies with the *vasaty āryeṣu sarvadā* we have in the Prakrit fragment for this *sūtra*.

45. *xin jia fei jia* 信家非家. Pāli *saddhā agārasmā anaḡāriyaṃ*.

46. Cf. SN 11.24.

47. *tianzhu* 天住. See Bingenheimer (2008, 14 n.32).

48. *chan hui* 懺悔. Perhaps ‘apology’ would be the more natural translation here and below. 懺悔

who had endured in silence [however] did not accept the confession. When this transpired there ensued a noisy discussion among the monks. The *Tathāgata* was at that time abiding in meditation, and heard [the clamour] 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. (... etc ...) went into the forest, and sitting silently, I heard the monks shouting and clamouring. What is the matter?’.

There the monks told the Buddha: ‘World-honoured 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 was incensed and said a lot. The incensed 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? O monks, know that in ancient days Sakka Devānaṃ Inda,⁴⁹ while in the Sudhammā Hall among the gods spoke this verse:

If for instance one uses a dried-gourd cup, // fills it with butter to have
a lamp,
the fire burning, consuming // will burn the gourd as well.
The angry mind is like this. // It turns on itself and burns one’s good
roots.
I am never furious. // If anger arises I quickly disperse it.
No more as if drawn into a maelstrom // endlessly circling around.
Though there is anger, I do not speak harshly, // do not mention what
others do not want to speak about,
deeply respect what others do not want to speak about.⁵⁰ // I am always
without violence.
Taking control over my body // has been of great advantage to me.
Those without anger, without violence, // those are nobles,
are the disciples of nobles // those one always should befriend.
Those with anger and hatred // face an obstacle heavy as a mountain.
If one, at a time of anger and hate, // can control oneself even a little
This is called ‘well-done’ // like the taming of a wicked horse’.

The Buddha said to the monks: ‘Sakka Devānaṃ Inda reigns over the gods. At ease among them, [though powerful] he can practise patience and praise those

points, however, to a more formal way of expiation within the context of confession as prescribed in the *Vinaya*.

49. *shitiḥuanyin* 釋提桓因. See introductory remarks on the names of Sakka.

50. 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’.

with patience. How could you, O monks, who went forth, disfigured [by cutting of your hair]⁵¹, not be patient and praise patience?'

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and practised accordingly.

38. Sakka debates with Vepacitti⁵²

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

At that time the World-honoured One told the monks: 'A long time ago, Sakka Devānaṃ Inda, leader of the gods,⁵³ was about to do battle with the *asuras*. At that time Sakka Devānaṃ Inda said to Vepacitti,⁵⁴ king of the *asuras*: 'We should not lead our armies to harm each other, but instead debate, and thus decide who wins, 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 intelligent people, of wise judgment, who are able to tell good from bad and can decide who will be the winner, who the loser'. Vepacitti said: 'You speak first, Sakka!'. [But] Sakka answered: 'My turn will come. You are the older *deva*.⁵⁵ You speak first'. And Vepacitti spoke this verse:⁵⁶

If I would tolerate transgressions // the foolish would say about my
patient manner,
'His patience is born from fear' // and deem themselves superior.

In reply Sakka Devānaṃ Inda spoke this verse:

Though the other might call it fear // and [think] he gained the upper
hand,
precious treasures and all benefits // [are for those] invincible ones who
are patient when insulted.

There Vepacitti spoke another verse:

51. *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 *Hanyu da cidian* (s.v.) as 'to hurt one's body or scalp'. For connotations of hair cutting see the examples s.v.

52. Cf. SN 11.5.

53. 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.

54. *pi mo zhi duo lou* 毘摩質多羅 transliterates Skt. Vemacitra.

55. *jiu tain* 舊天 *pubbadeva*.

56. The exchange below shows how much – or how little, depending on one's expectations – the BZA, the ZA, and the SN differ from each other. Though we are clearly looking at the same text, the differences in wording and imagery can only be explained by assuming that all three went through a period of independent development before they assumed their present form,

The foolish have no wisdom // they have to be restrained.
 Like when a cow at the rear // attempts to stampede over the ones in
 front of it on the path.
 It needs blades and cudgels // to reign in the fools.

Sakka Devānaṃ Inda answered with this verse:

I believe that for restraining the foolish // silent patience is the best.
 [With] extreme hatred or anger or rage, // when [it is] suffered patiently,
 the other [party] will naturally calm down.
 Those without anger, without violence, // those are nobles,
 are the disciples of nobles // those one always should befriend.
 To those filled with hatred and anger, // their hatred is an obstacle heavy
 as a mountain.
 Whenever, at a time of hate and anger, // one can restrain oneself even
 a little,
 it is called a skilful action // like reigning in a bad horse.

The wise among the gods and the *asuras* debated this thoroughly, to mete out victory and defeat. [They agreed] that the [king of the] *asuras* spoke in favour of strife and battle, while Sakka Devānaṃ Inda [spoke to] end quarrels, his mind not eager to compete. Thus the *asura* [king] lost and Sakka won.

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Sakka Devānaṃ Inda, who rules freely in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, has during the long night [of *samsāra*] patiently suffered insults, now extols the way of patience. You too, O monks, should bear insults patiently, and extol those who are patient, this is called the homeless life’.⁵⁷

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and practised accordingly.

39. Sakka is patient in the face of insult⁵⁸

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

At that time the World-honoured One told the monks: ‘A long time ago, Sakka Devānaṃ Inda was about to do battle with the *asuras*. When everything had been readied,⁵⁹ he addressed the gods: ‘If we gods should attain victory, we will with five bonds bind⁶⁰ [the king of the] *asuras*, and bring him to our palace’. The *asura*

57. *chu jia fa* 出家法. lit. ‘*dhamma* of those gone forth’. Skt. *pravrajita* (Hirakawa, No. 258).

58. Cf. SN 11.4.

59. *zhi yan yi ban* 治嚴已辦. HD (s.v.) explains 治嚴 with ‘packing the luggage’ 整理行裝.

60. *yi wu fu xi* 以五縛繫 (ZA: 五繫縛, T.125: 五繫). Pāli: *kaṇṭhapañcamehi bandhanehi*. Buddhaghosa explains this in the commentary as binding hands, feet and the neck (*kaṇṭha*). He also adds a comment to the effect that the fetters were based on thought. There is no term for neck in the Chinese SĀ versions, but the northern tradition too saw Vepacitti bound by five ropes as

[king] also ordered his host: 'If we win, we also will with five bonds bind Sakka Devānaṃ Inda, and bring him to our palace'.

At that time, the gods won, and they bound Vepacitti with five bonds and brought him into their palace. When Vepacitti saw Sakka, he got angry and insulted him, using extremely foul language. When Sakka heard these insults, he stayed silent, did not react. His charioteer Mātali⁶¹ addressed him with a verse:⁶²

Sakka! Husband of Sujā! Maghavā! // Are you afraid or 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; // I have by victorious wisdom practised patience.
The foolish of shallow knowledge, unwise, // always argue and quarrel without end.
If I use force to chastise him // I am not different from this fool.

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 that walks behind // [and suddenly] tries to stampede over those in front of it.
A firm one will forcefully // restrain the foolish.

Again Sakka spoke in verse:⁶³

I find in order to restrain the foolish // there is nothing better than patient silence.

an allusion to the five pleasures (*pañcakāma-guṇa*). The *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel makes this explicit.

61. *mo de qie* 摩得伽. An interesting transliteration. In the following *sutta* (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 or 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 on 摩得梨. Here we find another indication that the BZA translation was not revised beyond the first draft. The shoddy editing cannot in this case be blamed on later copyists.
62. 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.
63. 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 might have entered the text during the translation process.

At a time when someone is incensed by hatred and anger // he is best restrained by patience alone.

What the foolish call strong // is not truly strong.

The foolish do not distinguish between good and bad, // have no way to restrain [themselves].

If I can find the courage in me // to patiently endure the foolish and inferior: this is called 'foremost patience', // and 'to be skilful in patience'.

A weak person when facing someone strong // can not but practise 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 the practice of patience.

The naïve and foolish without wisdom // afflict others by harming them, seeing the other's silent patience // they believe they are victorious.

A wise and saintly person // knows patience to be most 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, // being able to practise silent patience, the other's hatred will vanish naturally, // no need for the strength of blade 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.

When struggling with equals // one too is patient, because one fears harm.

To be able to be patient with people inferior to us // is the best form of patience.

The Buddha told the monks: 'Sakka in the heaven of the thirty-three, freely exercising his rulership, if he can practise and praise patience, how much more should you, O monks, who have disfigured yourselves [by cutting off your hair]⁶⁴ and entered the teaching, how much more should you practise and praise

64. See note 51 on *hui xing* 毀形.

patience. Practising and praising patience is the manner of [those having gone forth into] homelessness.

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and practised accordingly.

40. Sakka pays obeisance to the Buddha 1 (Buddha)⁶⁵

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

At that time the Buddha told the monks: ‘Long time ago Sakka Devānaṃ Indra wanted to go for a ride and enjoy his park land. 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’.⁶⁶ Thereupon Sakka left the Vejayanta⁶⁷ Palace, and facing east with folded hands paid obeisance to the Buddha. When Mātali saw him paying obeisance facing east, his mind was filled with fear, and he dropped whip and reins.

Sakka said: ‘What have you seen that scared you so that you drop whip and reins?’ Mātali said: ‘Maghavā! Husband of Sujā! I drop whip and reins because of the fear that arose in my mind when I saw you paying obeisance facing east with folded hands. All beings revere you; all the kings⁶⁸ 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 east?’ Sakka answered: ‘I am revered by everyone – this might be as you say. [However,] all gods and human beings respectfully venerate the one called Buddha. To him, respectfully, I pay obeisance’. At that time Sakka spoke this verse:

The teacher of the world, he of perfect name:⁶⁹ // for him, Mātali, you
should know,
I have generated great respect and faith // and therefore pay obeisance
with folded hands.

65. Cf. SN 11.19.

66. *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...’.

67. Skt. *Vajayanta*. The BZA transliterates: *pi chan yan tang* 毘禪延堂. The ZA translates (somewhat wrongly, but perhaps on purpose) *chang sheng dian* 常勝殿 (Everlasting-Victory Palace). The explanatory legend for the southern tradition (*vijaya + anta* Complete Victory) is found at *Jātaka* I 203.

68. *di zhu* 地主. Here not in any of the usual Chinese meanings (e.g. landowner, farmer, or earth god), but translating Skt. *kṣitīśvara*.

69. *zui da ming* 最大名. SN: *anomanāma*.

Mātali said this verse:

Now [since you] venerate the best of this world,⁷⁰ // I will follow you in
worship.
Having said this they paid obeisance with folded hands, 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, O monks, who have cut off your hair and left home to study the way, venerate the Buddha, as is fitting for a monk’.

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and practised accordingly.

41. Sakka pays obeisance to the Buddha 2 (Dhamma)⁷¹

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

At that time the World-honoured One told the monks: ‘A long time ago Sakka Devānaṃ Inda wanted to go for a ride and enjoy his park land. 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 leave whenever you please’. Thereupon Sakka left the Vejayanta Palace and with folded hands paid obeisance facing south. When Mātali saw this, his mind was filled with surprise and fear, 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 south, my mind became filled with 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 south?’. Sakka answered: ‘I am revered by everyone – this might 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 // practise relentlessly,
Enter silent meditation for a long time,⁷² // lead the holy life perfectly,
Abandon the three poisons // and can attain the *Dhamma* of liberation.
To this *Dhamma* // I pay obeisance.

70. *shi jian sheng* 世間勝 SN: *setṭhā lokasmiṃ*.

71. Cf. SN 11.18 and 19.

72. 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 *samsāra*]’.

To all great *Arahants* // who have abandoned desire,⁷³
 Dispelled the darkness of ignorance, // and cut off all fetters,
 As well as to those lay-people who practise good conduct, // do not do
 evil,
 To all followers of the correct *Dhamma* // I pay obeisance.

Mātali said:

You venerate the very best, // I will follow you in worship.

When Sakka⁷⁴ had spoken thus, he paid obeisance with folded hands, mounted the chariot and went.

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, O monks, who have cut off your hair, left home to study the way, 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 practised accordingly.

42. Sakka pays obeisance to the Buddha 3 (*Saṅgha*)⁷⁵

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying at Sāvathī at the Jeta Grove in the Anāthapiṇḍika 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 park land. 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 folded hands 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: ‘Maghavāl Husband of Sujā! When I saw you with folded hands paying obeisance facing west, my mind became filled with 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*’.

73. *yu* 欲, which often renders *kāma*, but also *chanda* and *rāga*

74. 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 worship and mount the chariot.

75. Cf. SN 11.20

Thereupon Mātali spoke a verse:

The human body is filled with pus and sweat, // worse than an exposed
corpse,⁷⁶
Always afflicted by hunger and thirst. // Why do you admire these
homeless ones?
Why do you // venerate them thus?
What beauty do they have // and what virtue?
Please tell me, // I would like to know.

At that time Sakka Devānaṃ Inda spoke a verse:

Just because they are homeless, // I do admire them.
They own no goods, // no storehouse 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 they are, without fear, // practising noble silence.
Gods and *asuras* // fight incessantly, and as to men, // each harbours
anger and ambition.
I venerate those // who have abandoned blade and cudgel.
Everybody strives to accumulate [riches]; // they let go of everything.
What the world holds dear, // their mind has discarded.
I pay obeisance to those // who have abandoned all extremes.
This, Mātali, // you should know.

At that time Mātali spoke this verse:

You venerate the very best, // I will follow you in worship.
What the Maghavā venerates // I too shall venerate.

Having spoken this verse, Sakka mounted the chariot and left.

The Buddha told the monks: ‘Sakka is powerful among men and gods, if even he venerates the *Saṅgha*, how much more should you, O monks, who have left home to study the way, venerate the *Saṅgha*’.

When the Buddha had finished, the monks, having listened to what he had said, were happy and practised accordingly.

76. *ju yu lu si shi* 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 kuṇapamhete*, which Bodhi renders ‘the humans stuck in a putrid body, those submerged inside a corpse’ (Bodhi 2000, 336).

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	<i>Buddhist Legends</i> : Burlingame 1921. Translation of Dhp-a.
BZA	<i>Bieyi za ahan jing</i> 別譯雜阿含經 (T.100)
CBETA	<i>Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association</i> 中華電子佛典協會
CBETA/T.	CBETA edition of the Taishō canon CD-Version 2007
Dhp-a	<i>Dhammapada</i> commentary
HD	<i>Hanyu da cidian</i> 漢語大詞典 [<i>Comprehensive Dictionary of the Chinese Language</i>], 12 vols. Ed. Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風 (Shanghai: Hanyudacidian chubanshe 漢語大詞典出版社出版, 1994).
Hirakawa	<i>Bukkyō kanbon daijiten</i> 佛教漢梵大辭典 [<i>Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary</i>]. Hirakawa Akira 平川彰 (Tokyo: Reiyūkai, 1997).
MĀ	<i>Madhyāma-āgama</i>
Mochizuki	<i>Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten</i> 望月佛教大辭典, 10 vols. Eds Mochizuki Shinko 望月信亨 and Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 (Tokyo: Sekkai seiten kankō kyōkai 世界聖典刊行協會, 1954–8).
MW	Monier-Williams, <i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (Delhi: Motilal, 1997) [Originally published (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899).]
ONWC	Old Northwest Chinese (term used by Coblin (1994) for the Chinese spoken in NW China around 400 CE).
PTS	Pali Text Society
Rv	<i>Ṛg Veda</i>
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i>
Skt	Sanskrit
STCA	Sui-Tang Chang'an (term used by Coblin (1994) for the Chinese spoken in Chang'an during the Sui and Tang dynasties).
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
SWTF	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i> . Ed. Heinz Bechert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994–).
T.	Taishō Edition of the Chinese Canon
v.	verse
VRI	Vipassanā Research Institute
ZA	<i>Za ahan jing</i> 雜阿含經 (T.99)

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