

Māra in the Chinese *Samyuktāgamas*, with a Translation of the *Māra Samyukta* of the *Bieyi za ahan jing* (T.100)

MARCUS BINGENHEIMER

Dharma Drum Buddhist College, Taiwan
m.bingenheimer@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: This article addresses some philological and structural-narrative issues concerning the *suttas* on Māra the Bad in *Āgama* literature. Included is a translation of the *Māra Samyukta* of the *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 (BZA) T.100, which includes such famous passages as the suicide without further rebirth of Godhika.

INTRODUCTION

The texts

The Shorter Chinese *Samyuktāgama*, the *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經 (BZA),¹ contains 364 short *suttas* in 16 fascicles and is part of the *Samyutta* group of *Āgama/Nikāya* literature, collections where short *suttas* are grouped thematically. As well as the BZA, this comprises the Pāli *Samyutta Nikāya* (SN) and the larger Chinese *Samyuktāgama*, the *Za ahan jing* (ZA) 雜阿含經 (T.99) (50 fascicles containing 1362 *suttas*) and another, earlier and much shorter, *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T.101) that contains only 27 *suttas*, none of which are on Māra.

The ten *suttas* presented here (BZA 23–BZA 32) are the BZA equivalent to the *Māra Samyutta* of the Pāli canon and to the *suttas* on Māra in the ZA, the main Chinese parallel for the BZA. The *Māra Samyutta* in the SN contains 25 short *suttas* (SN I 103–127), while the ZA has 20 *suttas* (ZA nos.1084–1103) on Māra. In the traditional editions of the ZA and in the BZA the *samyuktas* are not marked.²

1. For a summary of available information on the BZA see Bingenheimer 2006.

2. We know that they existed because some *samyukta* titles have survived in various editions (Mayeda 1964, 649). The fact that the *samyukta* divisions were lost in the Chinese tradition attests to the fact that *Āgama* literature was not considered all that important in Chinese Buddhism. Only the twentieth-century Taishō edition, influenced by modern scholarship, moved the *Āgama sūtras* to their current prominent position in the canon. The decision to present the *Āgamas* as the first two volumes of the whole collection reflects the historical concerns of Japanese Buddhist studies at that time. The Taishō edition was the last authoritative print

Newer editions of the ZA, like the *Āgama* edition by Foguangshan 佛光山 *Foguang dazangjing ahan zang* 佛光大藏經—阿含藏 (electronic version 2002), try to remedy this, usually relying on Shi Yinshun's (1983) reordering of the ZA.³

In *Āgama* literature, Māra makes another prominent appearance in the *Bhikṣunī Saṃyukta*. The fact that this *saṃyukta/saṃyutta* too exists in all three main collections (SN, ZA and BZA) supports the assumption that Māra was the main protagonist and interlocutor in two *saṃyuttas* (his 'own' and the one on nuns) from an early stage. Māra's role in the *Bhikṣunī Saṃyukta* and the structure of this group of *sutta* clusters, however, will be discussed on another occasion.

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

The *Māratajjanīya Sutta* (MN 50) has three Chinese versions: one in the *Madhyamāgama* (T.26 (131)) and two single translations, the *Mo raoluan jing* 魔嬈亂經 (T.66) and the *Bimo shi mulian jing* 弊魔試目連經 (T.67). Both T.66 and T.67 were translated before c.250. The entertaining opening of the *sutta* with Māra hiding in Moggallāna's belly, and the story of Māra having been Moggallāna's nephew in a former life, obviously appealed to the early translators and their audiences. The four versions share a nearly identical narrative structure, but a philological comparison has, to my knowledge, not been done so far.

In another *sutta*, the *Mo ni jing* 魔逆經 (*Mañjuśrīvikurvāṇaparivarta*, T.589; also translated relatively early (attributed to Zhu Fahu 竺法護; active 265–313)), Māra is debated with and, of course, defeated by Mañjuśrī and other disciples in the presence of the Buddha.⁴ In style and content, however, T.589 is clearly an early Mahāyāna *sūtra* and belongs to a later strata of Buddhist literature than the *suttas* mentioned before.

Table 1 is an overview of the relationship between the Chinese and Pāli *Māra Saṃyuttas*. As one can see, basically all the texts exist in both Pāli and Chinese. Only two narrative passages in Pāli have no corresponding Chinese version: the appearance of Māra as elephant in 1.2 and as ox-herd in 2.9. However, the verse part of both of these *suttas* appears again elsewhere, indicating that the narrative might have been added later. The short *suttas* Pāli 1.4 and 1.5 are structurally identical, their verses differ only slightly from each other. Māra here is not mentioned in the prose part, but he appears rather abruptly to say his *gāthā*. There are other cases, where prose and verse are but feebly connected, and in a comparative study these must carry less weight than better-integrated and better-connected *suttas*.

edition and future digital editions will have to find other ways to express their priorities.

3. Building on Anesaki (1908), Lü Cheng (1924), Akanuma (1939) and Mayeda (1964), Yinshun regroups the ZA *suttas* according to the matrix found in the *Yogacārabhūmisāstra* (at CBETA/T.30.1579.772c9).

4. Cf. Mitsukawa (2000).

Table 1.

SN <i>Māra Saṃyutta</i> (<i>sutta</i> titles and numbering as in the PTS edition. SN I 103–27)	ZA 1084–1103 (T.vol.2(99), 284–90)	BZA 23–32 (T.vol.2(100), 381–4)	Comments
1.1 <i>Tapo kammaṇ ca</i> (Austere Practice – SN I 103)	ZA 1094		
1.2 <i>Nāgo</i> (The King Elephant – SN I 103–04)			<i>Gāthā</i> identical with the first part of the <i>gāthā</i> in 1.3
1.3 <i>Subham</i> (Beautiful – SN I 104)	ZA 1093	BZA 32 (Māra changes into beautiful and ugly people)	The story in the BZA is slightly different. The BZA also lacks a <i>gāthā</i> .
1.4 <i>Pāsa</i> (1) ((Māra's) Snare – SN I 105)			<i>Gāthā</i> similar to the <i>gāthā</i> in 1.5
1.5 <i>Pāsa</i> (2) ((Māra's) Snare – SN I 105–6)	ZA 1096		
1.6 <i>Sappo</i> (Serpent – SN I 106–7)	ZA 1089	BZA 28 (Māra turns into a snake)	
1.7 <i>Suppati</i> (Sleep – SN I 107–8)	ZA 1087	BZA 26 (Māra disturbs the Buddha's rest)	
1.8 <i>Nandanam</i> (He Delights – SN I 107–8)	ZA 1004	BZA 142	In the ZA and BZA the exchange of <i>gāthā</i> is between Buddha and a <i>Devaputta</i> , not Māra
1.9 <i>Āyu</i> (1) (Life Span – SN I 108)	ZA 1084	BZA 23 (Māra disturbs a teaching on impermanence)	
1.10 <i>Āyu</i> (2) (Life Span – SN I 108–9)	ZA 1085	BZA 24 (Māra says life is eternal)	
2.1 <i>Pāsāno</i> (The Boulder – SN I 109)	ZA 1088	BZA 27 (Māra throws a boulder)	
2.2 <i>Sīho</i> (The Lion – SN I 109–10)	ZA 1101		
2.3 <i>Sakalikam</i> (The Splinter – SN I 110–12)	ZA 1090	BZA 29 (Māra disturbs the Buddha's rest)	
2.4 <i>Patirūpam</i> (Suitable – SN I 111)	ZA 1097		
2.5 <i>Mānasam</i> (Mental – SN I 111)	ZA 1086	BZA 25 (Māra disturbs the Buddha in meditation)	
2.6 <i>Pattam</i> (Almsbowls – SN I 112)	ZA 1102		
2.7 <i>Āyatana</i> (Bases for Contact – SN I 112–13)	ZA 1103		
2.8 <i>Piṇḍam</i> (Alms – SN I 113–14)	ZA 1095		
2.9 <i>Kassakam</i> (The Farmer – SN I 114–16)			The <i>gāthā</i> is repeated in 3.4.

SN <i>Māra Saṃyutta</i> (<i>sutta</i> titles and numbering as in the PTS edition. SN I 103–27)	ZA 1084–1103 (T.vol.2(99), 284–90)	BZA 23–32 (T.vol.2(100), 381–4)	Comments
2.10 <i>Rajjaṃ</i> (Rulership – SN I 116–17)	ZA 1098		
3.1 <i>Sambahulā</i> (A Number – SN I 117–18)	ZA 1099		
3.2 <i>Samiddhi</i> (Samiddhi – SN I 119–20)	ZA 1100		Exceptionally, Māra tries to scare a monk here.
3.3 <i>Godhika</i> (Godhika – SN I 120–22)	ZA 1091	BZA 30 (Godhika commits suicide)	
3.4 <i>Sattavasāni</i> (Seven Years – SN I 122–4)	ZA 1092	BZA 31 (The daughters of Māra)	In Chinese, 3.4 and 3.5 are combined in one <i>sutta</i> . This is the largest cluster in this group, with many other versions in Chinese and Pāli.
3.5 <i>Dhītaro</i> ((Māra's) Daughters – SN I 124–7)			

With regard to content, the ZA *suttas* are in general closer to the SN material than the BZA *suttas*. In terms of arrangement, there is a clear parallel between the order of *suttas* in the BZA and the ZA. The BZA *suttas* are generally shorter, and the verse often differs from the versions found in the ZA or SN. This hints at the possibility that the BZA texts branched off the main line earlier, that is, before the division of the text into SN and ZA.

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

- (i) The two *suttas* where Māra disturbs a teaching on impermanence (Pāli 1.9/ZA 1084/BZA 23 precedes Pāli 1.10/ZA 1085/BZA 24). This parallelism makes it probable that, although similar in structure and content, both *suttas* were indeed transmitted as distinct units and in this order from an early stage.
- (ii) The last two *suttas* in the Pāli are remembered as only one in the Chinese versions. Judging from the narrative flow, it is perfectly possible that the Pāli version used to be one *sutta* as well. It seems that the separation into two *suttas* took place later, perhaps to obtain a more symmetrical numbering for the third *vagga* in the *Māra Saṃyutta* (the third *vagga* now contains exactly five *suttas*, half of the ten *suttas* of the first and second *vagga*). Another clue that the *sutta* material was split in the Pāli tradition, rather than combined in the Chinese, is that Pāli 3.5 lacks the opening section and starts *in medias res* with *atha kho*, which, for this *saṃyutta* at least, would be exceptional (more on *sutta* BZA 31 below).

The figure of Māra

The figure of Māra in Buddhist literature is comparatively well researched. Since the first monograph *Māra und Buddha* by Ernst Windisch that was published in 1895 (and promptly forgotten by most of later scholarship⁵) we have a large number of monographs and articles on this figure.⁶ However, none of the monographs – Windisch (1895), Ling (1962), Boyd (1975) or the thesis by Clark (1994) – make use of Chinese sources.⁷ Arguably, this is not really necessary for a general understanding of Māra in *Āgama* literature. As we have seen in the above overview, the *Samyuktāgamas* of Sarvāstivādin literature (to which both the ZA and the BZA belong) offer no new narrative material beyond what is known in Pāli.

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

In the later commentarial tradition, the figure of Māra, as that of the Buddha, was multiplied and we find the Five (Pāli) or Four (Indo-Tibetan) Māras.⁸ Māra is given minor roles in Mahāyāna *sūtras* such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and others. In the *Āgama/Nikāyas*, however, Māra is generally the main interlocutor to the hero: the Buddha himself in the *Māra Samyuttas*, the various nuns in the *Bhikkhunī Samyuttas*, and Moggallāna in MN 50/MĀ 131.

In the *Māra Samyukta* of the BZA Māra, tries to disturb the Buddha while he is teaching (BZA 23, 24, 32), meditating (BZA 25, 29), and resting (BZA 26). He tries to hurt him by throwing a boulder (BZA 27), to scare him by turning into a huge

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

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

7. Little research has been done on the role of Māra in East Asian Buddhist thought, an exception being the brilliant article by Iyanaga (1996–97), who discusses the confusion of Māra with Īśvara/Maheśvara in China and Japan, the role of Māra as the King of the Sixth Heaven, and the influence of the Māra legend on medieval Japanese mythology.

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

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

It is worthy of note that in the BZA Māra is commonly referred to as ‘King Māra’ (*mowang* 魔王).⁹ In the ZA, on the other hand, this title is mentioned only once (in ZA 1252) and there not in the *Māra Saṃyukta*, but within a set phrase in a *sutta* otherwise unconcerned with Māra.¹⁰ The term ‘King Māra’ also appears in the MĀ and the *Zengyi ahan jing/Ekottarikāgama*¹¹ and is fairly common in later Chinese Buddhist texts. However, among the many names of Māra that Malalasekera (1974) lists for the Pāli tradition, the candidates for an Indian equivalent for 魔王 are few and are all found in the commentarial layer. His usual epithet in Pāli is *pāpimā*, which is also common in Chinese (*boxun* 波旬). The equivalent of 魔王 in the original might have been a Prakrit form of *marādhipati* or *mārapajāpati*, epithets that again are extremely rare in the Pāli *saṃyuttas* on Māra. Another candidate, *māra-rājā*, is not mentioned at all in the early literature.¹²

Notes on the Godhika Sutta (BZA 30)

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

9. 31 times in the BZA *Māra Saṃyukta* and 18 times in the BZA *Bhikṣuṇī Saṃyukta*. (A draft translation of the BZA *Bhikṣuṇī Saṃyukta* has been completed recently. More on the relationship between the *Bhikṣuṇī Saṃyukta* and the *Māra Saṃyukta* on another occasion).

10. 魔王波旬不得其便 (CBETA/T.2.99. 344b19) ‘So that King Māra the Bad does not overwhelm him/her’.

11. One passage in the *Ekottarikāgama* explains the term as 我復語波旬曰汝本作福唯一施今得作欲界魔王 (CBETA/T.2.125.761a19-21) ‘Again I told the Bad One: “you have formerly accumulated merit. Through only one single act of *dāna* you have now become King Māra of the Realm of Desire”’. The implication is that Māra is the rightful ruler of the Realm of Desire (*kāma-dhātu*) on account of his former merits. Moreover, the common use of the title ‘King’ seems to imply a more fully developed and populated cosmos than epitaphs like ‘Bad One’ or ‘Slayer’. Moreover, it should be remembered that the Chinese word for ‘king’, *wang* 王, does not, as the Indian *rājā/narapati* etc., denote the most potent ruler of the realm, but is a secondary title often bestowed by a higher suzerain.

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

dealing with them, but here they appear concentrated in a relatively short *sutta* and the ability of the genre to cope with these elements is at its limits. On the content level, too, there are several unusual topics: the suicide,¹³ the presence of the *vīṇā*, and Māra looking in vain for the mind of the deceased.¹⁴ All these are topics seem to demand further explanation, but the *sutta* does not elaborate on these elements.

As the overview in Table 2 shows, these structural and content elements are found in all three versions though their order varies.¹⁵

One difference between the Pāli and the Chinese is worth pointing out, because it shows the way the Pāli commentarial tradition has provided solutions for problems that do not arise in other versions. The difference is that in the Chinese (BZA, ZA and *Chuyao jing* 出曜經), Godhika decides to kill himself *after* having attained temporary liberation (*shi jietuo* 時解脫, Pāli *sāmayikaṃ*¹⁶ *cetovimuttiṃ*) for the seventh time, that is, in some state of mental freedom.¹⁷ While, as pointed out in the editor's note below, *sāmayikaṃ cetovimuttiṃ* did not necessarily equal the attainment of Arhatship, the Chinese version in BZA and ZA seem to imply that dying in a state of temporary liberation leads to *Nirvāṇa*. This interpretation is made explicit in the *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣa-śāstra*: 'There are two types of non-learners (*asekha*). Firstly, [those having attained] temporary liberation of the mind (*shi xin jietuo* 時心解脫). Secondly, [those having attained] non-temporal liberation of wisdom (*feishi hui jietuo* 非時慧解脫). Those having attained temporary liberation of the mind comprise the five types¹⁸ of *Arhats*, those having attained non-

13. There are a few other passages that mention the suicide of monks: that of Channa (MN III 263 and SN IV 55), that of Vakkali (SN III 119), and that of more than 30 monks as a consequence of a teaching on impurity of the body (SN V 320). These are discussed in Keown (1996).

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

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

16. Editor's note: from the commentary, and new PTS edition of SN I (p. 265); previous edition has *sāmādhikaṃ cetovimuttiṃ*.

17. Editor's note: MN III 110–11 contrasts the *ceto-vimutti* that is 'temporal and pleasing (*sāmāyikā kantā*)' with that which is 'not temporal, unshakeable (*asāmāyikā akuppā*)'. Pati II 40 defines the first as the four *jhānas* and formless states, and the latter as the four paths, four fruits and *Nirvāṇa*. Other passages support the idea that *ceto-vimuttis* are of various kinds, and do not necessarily imply Arhatship. MN I 297–8 refers to *ceto-vimuttis* through pervading the world with the four *brahma-vihāras*, through attaining the third formless state, through contemplation of phenomena as empty of Self, and through attaining the signless (*animitta*) *samādhi*, with none of these necessarily being the 'unshakeable (*akuppā*)' *ceto-vimutti* (e.g. AN IV 78, MN III 108: attaining the *animitta-samādhi* is not the same as Arhatship).

18. The six types of *Arhats*, or perhaps rather six stages of Arhatship, are mentioned several times in the *Vibhāṣa*. The difference between the first five and the sixth is explained at CBETA/T28, no. 1546, p. 379c6–10, where it says: 'With temporary liberation there is increase and decrease. The five types of *Arhats* are temporarily liberated. Increasing means they progress, decreas-

Table 2. Elements of the *Godhika Sutta* in different versions

BZA	ZA	SN
Godhika practises in his cave in the Black Rock, attains temporary liberation six times, he decides to kill himself on the seventh time.	As BZA	As BZA (in some MS versions Godhika decides to kill himself, right away after having fallen back a sixth time)
Māra discerns his thoughts and is afraid he will escape his sphere of influence	As BZA	Māra discerns his thoughts
Māra, plucking the lute, sings a verse to alert the Buddha	As BZA	Māra addresses the Buddha with a verse
The Buddha answers	As BZA	Godhika kills himself and the Buddha answers Māra by pointing out the fact
Māra drops the lute & returns to his palace (prose)	Māra drops the lute and vanishes (verse)	
The Buddha orders the monks to follow him to the Black Rock where they find Godhika's corpse	The Buddha tells the monks that Godhika has killed himself and orders them to follow him to the Black Rock where they find Godhika's corpse	The Buddha and the monks go to the Black Rock and find Godhika dead
The Buddha explains the smoke as Māra looking for Godhika's mind (心識, later as 神識)	The Buddha explains the smoke as Māra looking for Godhika's 識神	The Buddha explains the smoke as Māra looking for Godhika's <i>viññāṇa</i> , but that it is unestablished (<i>appatitṭhitena</i>) anywhere and he has attained <i>Nirvāṇa</i> (is <i>parinibbuto</i>)
Māra appears as young man and asks about Godhika's whereabouts (verse)	Māra (his form not mentioned) asks the Buddha about Godhika's whereabouts (verse)	Māra as young man holding a lute asks the Buddha about Godhika's whereabouts (verse)
The Buddha answers that Godhika is not to be found (prose)	The Buddha answers (verse)	The Buddha answers (verse)
		Māra drops his lute and vanishes (verse)

temporal liberation of wisdom are the [sixth type called the] unmovable *Arhats*. The former have cut off desire and attained mind-liberation, the others have cut off ignorance attained wisdom-liberation'.¹⁹

ing means they regress. With non-temporary liberation there is no increase and no decrease. The singular type, the unmovable *Arhat* has attained non-temporary liberation. He knows no increase and no progress, no decrease and no regress' (時解脫法。有增有減故。五種阿羅漢。是時解脫。增者是勝進。減者是退。非時解脫。無增減故。一種不動法阿羅漢。是非時解脫。無增者無勝進。無減者無退。)

19. 無學復有二種。一時心解脫。二非時慧解脫。時心解脫者。謂五種阿羅漢是也。非時慧解脫者。不動阿羅漢是也。此即是斷欲心得解脫。此即是斷無明慧得解脫。CBETA/T28, no. 1546, 113c5-8)

The difference between an unmovable (*budong* 不動, *akuppa*) *Arhat* and the five other types is that the former cannot regress. However, the others too are *Arhats* and fully liberated, if only temporarily. This points to a difference between the Sarvāstivādin and the Theravādin conception of Arhatship.²⁰ Although this is an interesting topic, its exploration exceeds the scope of this paper.

In some manuscript traditions of the Pāli canon, Godhika kills himself right after having fallen back a sixth time. How could Godhika, if he had died in a non-liberated state, have attained *Nirvāṇa*? Even if the redactors of the SN held that *sāmayikaṃ cetovimuttiṃ* does not equal Arhatship, the attainment of *Nirvāṇa* without this (or any other) state of liberation seems to demand an explanation. Buddhaghosa provides one by stating that Godhika attained Arahantship at the time of death because he was able to check and overcome his agony.²¹

However, both PTS and VRI, the currently most popular editions, both follow the Burmese MS tradition of the *Godhika Sutta* where, as in the ZA and the BZA, Godhika attains temporal liberation a seventh time²² and only then kills himself. This might be considered an interpolation. First, on intra-textual evidence: the formula for the sixth time is fully spelled out already, indicating that the series stopped here originally. Secondly, the Buddhaghosa's explanation would have been unnecessary, if Godhika had died in a state of liberation. In case the Burmese reading is correct, Buddhaghosa's explanation would effectively say: 'Though Godhika died in a state of *ceto-vimutti*, we need still another reason for his Arhatship: here it is'. To me, it seems more likely that the text he worked with had Godhika dying after he fell back a sixth time.

The lute

The presence of music is a rare occurrence in the *Āgamas* and the image of Māra playing the lute (*vīṇā*)²³ is strangely attractive. If one follows Malalasekera (1974) and assumes that the earliest strata of the texts concerning Māra is the *Padhāna Sutta* in the *Suttanipāta* (vv. 425–48), then the lute belonged to Māra's already in

20. As Harvey (1995, 174 §10.32) points out, the Theravāda *Arhat* is always 'able to remain in the natural purity of the mind's resting place'.

21. *Uttāno nīpajjītvā satthena galanāliṃ chindī, dukkhā vedanā uppajjīmsu. Thero vedanaṃ vikkhambhetaṃ tamyeva vedanaṃ pariggahetvā satiṃ upaṭṭhapetvā mūlakammaṭṭhānaṃ sammasanto arahattaṃ patvā samasīsi hutvā parinibbāyi.* (from the VRI CD) (MN-a PTS, vol. 1, 184). There are other canonical passages, e.g. in the *Sīla Sutta* (SN V 70), where the Buddha talks about the possibility to 'succeed (*ārādheti*)' at the time of death (*maranākāle*) (and immediately after). (Thanks to Peter Harvey for this reference.)

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

23. In Chinese the lute is made of or rather has inlays of lapis-lazuli (琉璃/ Pāli *veluria*). In Pāli Māra plays a 'yellow-hued lute of vilva wood' (*beluvapaṇḍuvīṇā*).

his first appearance, where he is still characterized as a *yakkha*. The *vīṇā* is only mentioned in the last verse (v. 449) when Māra drops it and disappears.

The writers of the commentaries felt the need to provide a story regarding the fate of the *vīṇā* (Dhp-a III 195). According to them, the lute was picked up by Sakka and given to a *gandhabba* named Pañcasikha/Pañcasoppha. The *gandhabbas* are demigods that are associated with music, the ‘heavenly musicians’ of Indian mythology. Pañcasikha, equipped with Māra’s *beluva-pañḍuvīṇā*, appears again ‘later’ in a *sutta* in the *Dīghanikāya*.²⁴ There, Sakka asks him to play and sing to draw the Buddha out of his meditation, because Sakka wanted to ask him questions about the *Dhamma*. The love song of Pañcasikha blends worldly love and religious sentiment, which is somewhat unexpected in this context.²⁵ By saying that Pañcasikha owns Māra’s lute, the commentarial tradition connects two remarkable passages.²⁶

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

Names of desire – Māra’s Daughters (BZA 31)

This *sutta* is the central Māra story in the *Āgamas* and the longest Māra *sutta* in the BZA. The story is about Māra’s final challenge to the Buddha either shortly before or after the enlightenment. There are many versions of this story, most of them told with considerably more flourish.²⁷

24. DN II 263 (*Sakkapañña Sutta*).

25. Walshe (1987, n.585) comments on the ‘extreme oddity of its occurrence’.

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

27. Our comparative catalogue of the BZA project lists nine different Chinese versions next to the ZA and the BZA, there are three Pāli versions and three full accounts in Sanskrit: [© Equinox Publishing Ltd 2007](http://bud-</p>
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Malalasekera (1974) reckons the *Padhāna Sutta* in the *Suttanipāta* represents the oldest strata of this text. There Māra says he had followed the Buddha for seven years (*satta vassāni bhagavantam, anubandhiṃ padāpadam*) and the commentary interprets this as a leap in narrated time, that is, what is narrated in the verses that follow this statement happens seven years later.²⁸ In the SN, however, the same verse mentioning seven years appears at the beginning of the text and the commentary to the SN explains the seven years as six years before and one year after the enlightenment.²⁹

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

The daughters' names appear in a number of passages, however, it seems that at one point a mistake has been introduced in the tradition.³⁰ The (*Māra*-)*Dhīta*ro *Sutta* in the SN (SN I 124–7) has *Taṇhā*, *Aratī*/*Arati*, and *Ragā* and there are other, similar sets in Pāli and Sanskrit.³¹ In these sets *Aratī* or *Arati* is something of an odd one out. It is generally taken as *arati* 'unhappiness, discontent' by the commentarial tradition and modern translators.³² But why should one of the maidens be named 'discontent', while her sisters are called 'craving and 'lusting'? Although of course for a Buddhist monastic 'discontent' and 'desire' were closely associated, in a list of Māra's daughters they seem mutually exclusive. Since they are presented as one group without further contrasting attributes, one expects synonymity, not contrasting states. The usual explanation given is that the names of the daughters were derived from the names of three of Māra's ten armies of which the second one is indeed called *arati*.³³

In other places³⁴ in the Indic corpus, however, *Arati* is found as *Rati*,³⁵ which belongs to the same semantic field as *rāga*, *taṇhā*, and *prīti* and which is the term that must be assumed for the original of the Chinese translations. All Chinese

dhistinformatics.chibs.edu.tw/BZA/bzaComCatWeb.html (February 2007).

28. Malalasekera (1974, 615) and Sn-a II 391.

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

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

31. E.g. Jā I 78 (*Santikenidānakathā*): *Taṇhā*, *Aratī*, *Ragā*, or in the *Buddhacarita* (ch.13): *Arati*, *Prīti*, *Ṭṛṣṇa*.

32. Both Rhys Davids & Woodward (1917) and Johnston ([1936] 1972) translate 'Discontent'.

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

34. Edgerton (1977, 450) gives Prakritic forms from the Mvu III 286, 6 and the *Lalitavistara* 378.4.

35. Next to the usual meanings 'love, attachment, pleasure' *Rati* names the wife of Kāma the god of love.

versions agree that the three names are derived from the same semantic field:³⁶ lust, love, desire, pleasure and so on. Clearly the originals for these translation had *Rati* instead of *Arati*. Probably a mistake was made in resolving a *sandhi*, perhaps between *tanhā* and *rati*. This mistake is likely considering how closely linked the two concepts of *tanhā* and *arati* must have been in the minds of the redactors. However, in light of the internal semantics of the naming of Māra's daughter and the evidence from the Chinese, *Arati* should be corrected to *Rati*.

TRANSLATION

23. Māra disturbs a teaching on impermanence

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

At that time the Demon King Māra,³⁷ having heard what was said, thought: 'The renunciant Gotama is expounding the principles of the *Dhamma* for his disciples in the Sītavana forest at Rājagaha. I should go there and disturb them'. Having thought thus, he turned into a young man and went to the Buddha. He paid homage at his feet and stood to one side. Then he spoke a verse:

Human life is long // without any cares or worries.
[For those] always at ease³⁸ // there is no path for death.

36. Next to 極愛, 悅彼, 適意 in the BZA and 愛欲, 愛念, 愛樂 in the ZA. There is 過去現在因果經 (CBETA/T.3.0189.0639c28): 一名染欲二名能悅人三名可愛樂. The 修行本起經 (CBETA/T.3.0184.0470c11): 一名恩愛二名常樂三名大樂. The 太子瑞應本起經 (CBETA/T.3.0185.0477a21): 一名欲妃二名悅彼三名快觀. The 佛說觀佛三昧海經 (CBETA/T.15.0643.0652a19): 長名悅彼中名喜心小名多媚. The 普曜經 (CBETA/T.3.0186.0519a25): 一名欲妃二名悅彼三名快觀. The 佛所行讚 (CBETA/T.04.0192.0025a16): 第一名欲染[...]
次名能悅人[...]
三名可愛樂. And the 佛本行經 (CBETA/T.4.0193.0076a23): 第一女名愛[...]
第二名志悅[...]
第三名亂樂.
37. *mo wang* 魔王. The character 魔 was created by Buddhist translators by combining *mo* 摩 (for sound) and *gui* 鬼 'ghost, demon, spirit' (for meaning) in order to transliterate 'Māra' and 'Yama'. The new character was in common use by the first half of the fifth century (Kamitsuka 1996, 31).
38. Here one can observe a typical constellation of difference between the versions. The Pāli (SN I 108) has for this half-verse: *careyya khīramattova // natthi maccussa āgamo* (let him act like one who is milk-drunk// death has no coming). Since it is not immediately clear how one can be inebriated with milk, the commentary explains the metaphor: 'Just like a baby ..., after drinking milk, ..., falls asleep'. (Geiger et al. (1997, 169) disagree with Buddhaghosa and read *khīramatta* simply as contrast to *āditasīsa* in the following verse, but this a minor issue.) The metaphor was perhaps not quite clear to the translators of the ZA either, or it might be that they were translating a slightly different expression. In any case the ZA does not mention 'milk': 迷醉放

The Buddha thought: ‘Māra the Bad³⁹ has come to confuse and disturb us’. And he spoke this verse:

Human life hurries quickly away // filled with confusion and trouble;
make haste to practise the good // as if your head was on fire,
and know the Bad One // has come to disturb.⁴⁰

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

24. *Māra says life is eternal*

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

Night and day are eternal // lives will forever come and go,
turning like a wheel on its axis⁴¹ // spinning around endlessly.

逸心 亦不向死處 (even if confused, drunk, with lazy mind // he won't go to death's realm). (處 probably the equivalent of Pāli *maccudheyya*). This is still close to the Pāli, but in the BZA: 常得安隱 無有死徑 the first half-line is clearly different from both the Pāli and the ZA. I elaborate on this, because this pattern of relative differences is typical for the clusters we are dealing with. The BZA and the ZA have a close affinity, but among the two the ZA is usually closer to the SN.

39. *poxun* 波旬, *pāpima*. Usually translated as ‘Evil One’, ‘Wicked One’. Boyd (1975, 157–61) argues that ‘evil’ for *pāpa* is not a good solution since it neglects the fact that the so-called ‘evil’ one is himself miserable (as Māra invariably becomes at the end of each *sutta*). I generally agree with this. Although there might be the danger of projecting our current perceptions of Buddhism as peaceful and non-aggressive into the texts, we nevertheless consider that to call *pāpima* the ‘Evil One’ in English is to translate too absolutely, too biblically. The monotheistic concept is of an absolute Evil as something exterior and hostile, the mirror image of something perfectly good and truthful, does not square with Buddhist doctrine. Considering the ludicrous role the concept of Evil has come to play in modern politics, it is therefore probably better to call Māra ‘Bad’, in the sense that he is at the same time wicked, inferior and deeply miserable himself.
40. *naochu* 惱觸. In the main Āgamas, this expression appears only in the BZA (18 times).
41. 命常迴來 如輪軸轉. In the ZA (壽命當來去 猶如車輪轉) and its literal parallel in the Pāli (SN I 109: *āyu anupariyāyati, maccāṇaṃ nemīva rathakubbaram*), the metaphor is arranged in one couplet and clearly referring only to ‘lives’. In the BZA the arrangement is slightly different and the metaphor of ‘turning’ applies to ‘lives’ and ‘night and day’. Again an example for the fact that the verse of the ZA and the Pāli are closer.

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

One's life – its days and nights do end // and life itself is filled with
sorrows and troubles:
it is like haven fallen into a river // quickly to be carried away without
remainder.
This is why you Bad One // should not disturb us.

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

25. Māra disturbs the Buddha in meditation

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Jialantuo.⁴² At that time the Buddha spent the latter part of the night walking about in the forest. In the morning, having washed his feet, he sat upright and focused his attention in front of him. At that time King Māra had this thought: 'The renunciant Gotama is in Rājagaha. During the latter part of the night he walked about in the forest. In the morning, having washed his feet, he entered his silent abode;⁴³ he is [now] sitting upright and focusing his attention in front of him. I should go and disturb him'. Having thought thus, he suddenly turned into a young man, stood before the Buddha and spoke a verse:

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

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

The world holds five sensual pleasures⁴⁴ // and the foolish are bound
by them;
if these desires can be cut // all suffering ends forever.
I have cut off these desires // my mind is undefiled.
The Bad One should know: // I tore apart desire's net⁴⁵ long ago.

42. *jialantuo* 迦蘭陀 renders *kalanda* (-ka). Usually translated as 'squirrels' feeding ground' or 'squirrels' sanctuary'. See Bingenheimer (2006: n.27).

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

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

45. *yu wang* 欲網. To my knowledge the term, which appears 61 times in the Chinese canon, does

There, having heard this verse, King Māra, his wish unfulfilled,⁴⁶ became depressed and dispirited. He made himself invisible, left and returned to his heavenly palace.

26. Māra disturbs the Buddha's rest

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Jialantuo. At that time the World-honoured One [practised while] sitting, lying and walking since the end of the first watch of the night.⁴⁷ At dawn he washed his feet and entered his abode, laid down on his right side, one leg resting on the other. He focused his mind on clarity and, practising mindfulness,⁴⁸ directed his thoughts towards rising⁴⁹ [again after the rest].

There King Māra the Bad had this thought: 'The renunciant Gotama is in Rājagaha in the Bamboo Grove of Jialantuo. He [practised while] walking, sitting and lying down. At dawn he washed his feet, entered his abode, and laid down on his right side, one leg resting on the other. He focused his mind on clarity and, practising mindfulness, directed his thoughts towards rising [again after the rest]. I should now go and disturb him'.

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

Why are you sleeping? // Why are you sleeping?
Is falling asleep // 'entering *Nirvāṇa*'?
Is this '[having] done what had to be done'? // And falling quietly asleep,
even with the sun rising // you go back to sleep.

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

All living beings⁵⁰ are caught in the web of desire // which pervades everywhere.

not appear in Chinese Buddhist lexicography so far. I suggest *kāmajāla*, which is attested in Th v. 355, as Pāli equivalent.

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

47. *chuye houfen* 初夜後分. *prathamayāmāvasāne/paṭhamayāmāvasāne*. I.e. since the late evening.

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

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

50. *zhuyou* 諸有. Here taken as Skt. *sarvaṃ bhavam* (Hirakawa, No.3505).

I now have torn it apart // the desires are forever ended.
 [When] all things arisen have ended // [I] calmly abide in nirvanic
 joy.⁵¹
 You Bad One // what can you do to me?

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

27. Māra throws a boulder

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa Mountain. The sky was covered with clouds. It rained lightly and lightning flashed brightly everywhere. At that time the World-honoured One was walking in the open⁵² at night. There King Māra the Bad had this thought: 'The renunciant Gotama is staying in Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa Mountain; the sky is covered with clouds, it is raining lightly, and lightning is flashing brightly everywhere. While he is walking in the open at night, I should go and disturb him'. Having thought thus, King Māra went up that mountain and pushed a large boulder down to hit the Buddha. The boulder [however] shattered by itself. At that time the World-honoured One spoke a verse:

You [might] destroy Gijjhakūṭa Mountain⁵³ // turn it to dust;
 [you might] break apart // the vast continents and the immense
 ocean.
 [However,] to inspire fear // in someone who has attained true libera-
 tion,
 to make his hair stand on end // will never be possible.

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

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

52. *ludi* 露地. Lit. 'dew covered ground'. Used to translate *abhyavakāśa/abbhokāsa* 'in the open, outside'.

53. Here in the common translation *lingjiushan* 靈鷲山 for Grḍhrakūṭa/Gijjhakūṭa (clearly a 'vulture peak' in India, although in classical Chinese 鷲 overlaps semantically with 'eagle'). The place name is transliterated *qi she* (or *du jue*) 耆闍崛 in the prose part of the *sutta*, here in the verse part the translated rendition made it easier for the translators to keep the pentasyllabic half-line. In BZA 52 and BZA 329 too translation and transliteration are used in the same *sutta* (both however in the prose part). In BZA 32 Gijjhakūṭa appears as *lingjiushan* 靈鷲山 in the opening passage.

28. *Māra turns into a snake to frighten the Buddha*

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

At that time, in the middle of the night, the World-honoured One walked in the open. Having washed his feet, he entered his silent abode, sat upright and focused his attention in front of him.⁵⁴ There, King Māra the Bad had this thought: ‘The Gotama renunciant⁵⁵ [staying] in Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa Mountain is walking in the open. I should go and disturb him’.

At that time King Māra changed into a huge snake⁵⁶ that was long and thick like a large boat. With a pair of eyes glittering brightly like a [bronze] bowl from the land of Kosalā,⁵⁷ tongue flickering in and out like lightning and breath heaving like thunder, it stood before Buddha while coiling its body around him. Then, it bent its neck forward, and lowered its head onto the head of the Buddha. The Buddha, who knew that this was Māra [trying] to disturb him, spoke this verse:

I live in complete solitude // the mind focused in true liberation,
in quiet meditation and physical cultivation // according to the teaching
of the former Buddhas.

Poisonous snakes, fierce and violent // of terrifying appearance,
constrictor snakes and vermin: // all these disturbances //
cannot stir even one hair [on my body] // much less frighten me.
If the sky broke apart // or the great earth⁵⁸ shook,
all beings // would feel great terror;
[but] to frighten me // is not possible.

Even if you aimed a poisoned arrow // at my heart,
the moment the arrow struck // I would not seek protection;
nevertheless⁵⁹ the poisoned arrow // cannot penetrate.

54. This formula got here by mistake. In the following narrative the Buddha meets Māra outside.

55. This inversion of the usual word order (of ‘renunciant Gotama’) can be found throughout the canon. While 沙門瞿曇 is clearly the preferred order (2146 occurrences in the whole canon, 222 in vols 1–4), 瞿曇沙門, however, does appear significantly often (286 occurrences in the whole canon, 96 in vols 1–4). Against that in Pāli the formula seems to be surprisingly constant: *samaṇo gotamo*.

56. *mang she* 蟒蛇. Any kind of boid snake. The ZA has 大龍 (large dragon/snake). The Pāli *mahanta sapparāja*.

57. *jiao sa luo bo* 矯薩羅鉢. ZA: *tong lu* 銅鑪 (bronze oven). Pāli: *kosalikā kamsapāti* (bronze bowl from Kosalā). One of the few instances where the BZA is closer to the Pāli than the ZA. The transliteration 矯薩羅 for Kosalā is however unique in the canon.

58. Here we follow the reading of the 宋 and the 聖 edition that have *da di* 大地 (instead of T. *tian di* 天地).

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

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

29. Māra disturbs the Buddha’s rest

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha in the Maddakucchi Park.⁶⁰ During the first watch of the night, the Buddha [practised while] sitting in meditation and walking. When the first watch ended, he washed his feet and entered his abode, laid down on his right side, one leg resting on the other and, focusing his mind on clarity, directed his thoughts towards rising [again after the rest].

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

Upon this, King Māra turned into a young man, [stood] in front of the *Tathāgata* and spoke a verse:

Do you have nothing else to do // that you take a nap,
peacefully slumbering, not waking up⁶¹? // Passed out like a drunk,
a person without wealth and property⁶² // how can he sleep untroubled?
[Only] those with great wealth and property // pleased and happily do
fall asleep.

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

I sleep, not because I lack things to do // neither am I drunk.
It is because I have no worldly wealth // that I can sleep now.

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

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

62. *caiye* 財業. Karashima (1998, 31).

It is because I have gained great *Dhamma* wealth⁶³ // that I can sleep peacefully.

In my sleep // in every breathing in and breathing out
there is benefit // nothing is lost.

Awake, there are no doubtful thoughts; // there is nothing to fear in slumber.

There are those that have troubles as if a poisoned arrow // has pierced their heart,

afflicted with many sufferings and pains // If even those can sleep,

Why should I who have pulled out the poisoned arrow // not find sleep?

On hearing this, Māra thought: 'The renunciant Gotama knows my mind,' and sad and dejected he returned to his palace.

30. Māra plays the *Vīṇā* - *Godhika*

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha on Vebhāra Mountain in the Sattapaṇṇiguhā cave.

At that time, there was a monk called Godhika⁶⁴ who lived alone in a cave on Isigili mountain at the Black Rock. Living in the wilderness, he made diligent efforts,

63. *facai* 法財, *dharma-saṃbhoga* (Hirakawa, 1966).

64. While the ZA transliterates (Pāli/Sanskrit) Godhika unproblematically as *qu di jia* 瞿低迦, the transliteration of 'Godhika' in the BZA as given in the existing editions of the canon is somewhat problematic. To a degree, the difficulties can be resolved with the help of W. South Coblin's (1994) reconstruction of Old Northwest Chinese (ONWC). ONWC was used around 400 CE in the Gansu corridor, which is just when and where the BZA was probably translated (Mizuno [1970, 45–8] dates the translation 385–431).

In the Taishō edition of the BZA, Godhika on first mention appears as *qiu de* 求惠 then as *qiu shen/zhen* 求慎 (the latter character in a variant with the heart-radical below the 眞; this variant is not yet included in the Unicode character set). At first one assumes a mistake in the first character. The characters look similar, and there is another passage in the Taishō where the redactors of the text confused *de* 惠 with *shen/zhen* 慎 (heart-radical below the 眞). (In the *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 a gloss on the character 惠 says: 叱人反, 字書云: 正作 惠" (CBETA/T.54.2128. 874b17). Here *de* 惠 is clearly a mistake for *shen/zhen* 慎 (heart-radical below the 眞).) The CBETA edition therefore corrects all instances to *shen/zhen* 惠 (慎 in the common variant view), which is cognate to *shen/zhen* 慎 (heart-radical below the 眞), 真 or 眞 being equivalent character-components in this case. This correction is based on the Tripitaka Koreana and the Zhonghua edition, which both have 惠 for all cases. The problem is of course that 惠 cannot transliterate *-dhi-*.

The first reading found in the Taishō – *de* 惠 – which is a variant of 德 can be reconstructed as ONWC **tək*, which is to be preferred. This is supported by the Qisha Edition, where the redactors obviously worked from a text that belonged to the same stemma. Here Godhika appears as 求德 (Qisha-edition, p. 448c). Perhaps the use of 德 instead of 惠 was an attempt to correct a previous confusion. In any case 求惠 or 求德 ONWC *go-tək* would be a perfectly likely transliteration for Godhika, the final consonant representing the Indic *-ka*.

It seems that, as in the place name *taohe* 桃河 (BZA 16) (Bingenheimer 2006: n. 76), the translators of the BZA seem to have opted for a two-character rather than a three-character compound,

and through his tenacity cut through the view of self⁶⁵ and attained temporary liberation,⁶⁶ bearing witness [to the truth] within his own body. Then he regressed and lost it. [This happened] a second time, a third time ... altogether six times. Always he regressed. Then the monk thought: 'Now, living alone and making diligent efforts, I have regressed six times. If I regress again, I will kill myself with a blade'.

King Māra the Bad knew that Buddha was staying near Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa mountain in the Sattapaṇṇiguhā cave. He also knew that a disciple of Gotama called Godhika was also staying near Rājagaha, on Isigili mountain at the Black Rock. There, making diligent efforts with tenacious mind, Godhika had reached temporary liberation, had witnessed [the truth] with his own body, but after each of the six attainments had regressed again. At that time King Māra had this thought: 'When the monk Godhika attains [temporary liberation] a seventh time, he will certainly kill himself, and leave the world of Māra'.⁶⁷

Having thought thus, he took his lapis lazuli lute and went before the Buddha. Plucking his lute he made this verse:

You⁶⁸ endowed with great wisdom and great strength // with great magical powers,
having attained freedom in the *Dhamma* // your majestic radiance shines brightly.
Now your *Sāvaka* disciple // wishes to kill himself.
You, best among men // should restrain him.
How could he who rejoices in your teaching // die while still learning it?

because they were trying to transliterate and at the same time allow for a meaningful Chinese reading. The intended meaning for 求惠 could have been 'striving for virtue', but also 'striving for attainment' (Morohashi, no. 10724 lists both 德 'virtue' and 得 'to attain' as cognates for 惠).

In a shorter version of the story (*Chuyao jing* 出曜經 T.4.212.647b5), Godhika is transliterated *juti* 拘提. South Coblin (1994) lists no data supporting a consonant final for 提 (ONWC **dei*), which was, as in this case, commonly used to transliterate dentals on -i and -e. Thus it must be assumed that the final -ka was dropped completely, probably already in the Indic original.

65. *wojian* 我見, *ātma-dṛṣṭi* (Hirakawa, no. 1307). Note that the translators differentiate between *ātma-dṛṣṭi* and *satkāya-dṛṣṭi*, the kind of self-view overcome at stream-entry. *Satkāya-dṛṣṭi* is given as the last of ten possible Sanskrit meanings for 我見 in Hirakawa's dictionary. It is not attested for any compounds. There are much more common translations of *satkāya-dṛṣṭi* (e.g. 身見) which are quite different and both more literal and intuitive. The seven 身見 in the BZA clearly refer to *satkāya-dṛṣṭi*. Barring an inconsistent translation, to take 我見 as *ātma-dṛṣṭi* is much more likely.

66. *shijietuo* 時解脫, *samaya-vimukti* (Hirakawa, no. 1615).

67. *mojingjie* 魔境界, Pāli *māradheyya* or *māraṇṇasaya* (Hirakawa, no. 4263 has *māra-maṇḍala*, which does not seem to appear in any Pāli sources). Cf. BZA 31, where Māra complains that the Buddha had left his world, his sphere of influence, already, because he is unmoved by desire. *Māradheyya* is therefore both the world of desires, and the world of death (cf. *macculdeyya*). The two sides of Māra as a deity of sexual desire and death, noticed early by Przyluski (1927, 120), converge in the use of 魔境界 in the BZA. For the connection of Māra to the concept of death see Wayman (1959).

68. The vocative in the Pāli (*mahāvīra*, *mahāpañña*...) allows us to determine the subject.

When King Māra had spoken this verse, the Buddha said to him: ‘Bad One, you have always been a great friend of the slothful. What you said now you spoke for your own sake, not for the sake of that monk’.

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

If one is not easily frightened // [and] persistently practises diligently,
one can always enjoy meditation // [and] day and night practise the
good.

[Godhika] has ended the propensity towards of lust and desire⁶⁹ // [and]
defeated your armies.

[He] has now cast off his final body // [and] entered *Nirvāṇa* forever.

There King Māra became sad and dispirited, dropped his lapis lazuli lute and melancholically and regretfully returned to his palaces.⁷⁰

The Buddha ordered the monks to [follow him to] Godhika’s place at Isigili. [There] they saw something like smoke gathering to the east of Godhika’s corpse. The Buddha said to the monks: ‘Do you see the smoke gathering?’. The monks said: ‘Yes, World-honoured One, we see it’. [Then the smoke] gathered likewise towards the south, the west and the north [of Godhika’s body]. The Buddha said to the monks: ‘This is the Bad One; his form is hidden and he is surrounding Godhika looking for his consciousness’.⁷¹ The Buddha said to the monks: ‘The monk Godhika has entered *Nirvāṇa*; there is no consciousness [to be found]; there is no destination’.⁷² At that time, King Māra changed into a young man and spoke this verse:

69. *ganjie aiyu shi* 乾渴愛欲使. Shi 使 here probably *anuśaya/anusaya*.

70. This stock phrase leads to a mistake on the narrative level. Since Māra appears again below he would not have returned home from here. The ZA says only that he vanished (即沒而不現). The Pāli is silent about the exit of Māra after the first exchange.

71. *xinshi* 心識, below *shenshi* 神識, Pāli *viññāṇa*. The ZA has 識神. 識神 and 神識 were used equally to translate *viññāṇa*. For a typical use of the former see CBETA/T.1.0001.44a22. 神識 was preferred by the *Zengyi Ahan* and the *Chuyao jing*. In the *Zengyi Ahan* Māra is looking for the 神識 of Vakkali after Vakkali’s suicide (CBETA/T.2.125.642b29). The Pāli commentary (SN-a, PTS, I 184) glosses *viññāṇa* with *paṭisandhi-citta* ‘the relinking consciousness’ that connects two lives.

72. *wuyou shenshi wu suo zhi fang* 無有神識,無所至方. Here 無所至方 ‘there is no destination / has not gone to any place’. 至方 perhaps from *deśāntara-sthāna-gamana* (Hirakawa, no. 3083). Most versions describe the consciousness of Godhika after he died in negative terms: *appatitṭhitena* ‘not established’ (SN I 122), 無有神識 ‘there is no [having] consciousness’ etc. However, as Harvey (1995, 208–10) points out, for the Pāli *suttas*, consciousness being ‘not established’ may well be different from having no consciousness at all.

The *Chuyao jing* 出曜經, one of the Chinese *Udānavarga* versions, contains an intriguing remark in which Godhika’s state after death is connected with ‘emptiness’: 世尊告曰。拘提比丘已取滅度神識虛空與空合體 (CBETA/T.4.212.647b9). ‘The Buddha said: “The monk Godhika has already attained extinction. His consciousness dwells in emptiness, has merged with emptiness”’. Judging from the *Chuyao jing* and the Abhidharma sections cited above, it seems that the Chinese Sarvāstivādin sources interpret Godhika’s state of mind prior to death slightly different from the Theravāda commentaries.

Above and below and in the four directions // I have searched for
Godhika's consciousness.

Does no one know his destination // where his consciousness abides?

At that time the Buddha said to the Bad One: 'Thus the wise and steadfast one⁷³
has vanquished your armies and entered *Nirvāṇa*'.

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

31. The daughters of Māra⁷⁴

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying in the village Uruvelā near the
river Nerañjarā under the Bodhi tree. This was not long after he had attained
Buddhahood.⁷⁵ At that time King Māra had this thought: 'The Buddha is staying
in the village Uruvelā near the river Nerañjarā under the Bodhi tree. He has just
attained Buddhahood. I should go there and try to mislead him'.

He went to the Buddha and spoke this verse:⁷⁶

You live alone in the wilderness // taciturn, always silent.

Of radiant countenance⁷⁷ and with celestial body // all senses [perceiv-
ing] happiness,

73. *jianfu* 健夫, Pāli *dhīra*. The 'fluctuation of connotation' between 'firm' and 'wise' that the PED (p. 341, s.v.) notes for *dhīra* shows in the Chinese translations as well. (The fluctuation being due to the fact that *dhīra* is derived sometimes from *dhi*, sometimes from *dhṛ*.) For this passage the ZA has 'steadfast man' *jian gu shi* 堅固士, the SN *yo dhīro dhisampanno*. 健夫 appears again in a verse in BZA 66 (現利他世利 解知二俱利 是名為健夫 明哲之所行). The ZA parallel for this (ZA 1239) has only 'wise one' 智慧者. The respective SN passage (SN I, p. 87) has both *dhīra* and *paṇḍita* (*atthābhisamayā dhīro, paṇḍitoti pavuccatī* (Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000, 180): 'The steadfast one, by attaining the good, is called a person of wisdom')). See also the two definitions in the *Chuyao jing* 出曜經 vol. 12: 健夫者謂立根得力已入賢聖境怨恨悲怒永息不生內外清徹猶天琉璃 'Someone is called 健夫, who by the force of his determination has entered the state of the wise and the holy. Hatred and anger have ceased forever, will not arise again. Inwardly and outwardly (such a person) is clear like heavenly lapis lazuli' (CBETA/T.4.212.674a5-6). And in vol. 21: 能滅三界結使。根本永盡無餘名為健夫。(CBETA/T.4.212.723a7-8).

74. In the Pāli tradition, this narrative was split in two adjoining *suttas* (*Sattavassānubandha* and *Māradhītu*). For possible reasons, see introduction.

75. In some versions of the story – e.g. the *Buddhacarita* (Johnston 1972, 188) and its Chinese versions (e.g. CBETA/T.4.192.25a22), which have become very influential for its depiction in art – Māra appears immediately before enlightenment. Māra and his daughters disturb the *Bodhisattva*, not the Buddha. Some Pāli parallels, state the events narrated here happened five weeks after the enlightenment (Jā I 78-9 and Dhp-a III 195-8). The same is true for the Sanskrit parallel in the *Mvu* III 281-86. Nakamura considers that many *suttas* of this *saṃyutta*, including *Dhūtarō*, relate incidents from before the enlightenment (Nakamura 2000: 155-69).

76. This verse is remarkable different from the Pāli version in the *Sattavassānubandha Sutta* (SN I 123).

77. Used in the BZA elsewhere to describe a *deva* (CBETA/T.2.100.474c27 or CBETA/T.2.100.479a17). That is, Māra compares the Buddha to a *deva*.

like someone who had lost his fortune // and later regained it.
 You are idling your time away in the silence of meditation // and the
 enjoyment that comes with it.
 Since you were able to discard public honours // and do not desire sta-
 tus and profit,
 why do you not with others // form close friendships?

At that time the World-honoured One answered with a verse:

For a long time I have attained meditative concentration // where the
 mind is always still.
 I have defeated your armies of desire // [and] reached the highest fortune.
 My senses are always quiet and happy // In my mind I have attained
 silent extinction.
 Defeating your armies of desire // practising the way I feel joy,
 [I live] alone, apart from the hustle and bustle [of others] // What use
 is there for close friends?

At that time King Māra spoke this verse:

Now, since you have attained the true way // you can rest in *Nirvāṇa*.
 Since you have reached the wonderful *Dhamma* // you should keep it
 forever in your bosom.
 Uprightly face and understand it alone; // why should you teach the
 many?

At that time the World-honoured One answered with a verse:

Humankind does not belong to you // If someone asks me about the
 teaching that leads to the other shore,
 I will correctly explain // the truth to let them attain extinction.
 Stopping their mind without giving up; // Māra will not overpower
 them.

At that time King Māra spoke this verse:

It is as if there is a large white boulder // its colour like that of fat.
 A flock of crows⁷⁸ cannot distinguish [the two] // they perch on it and
 peck away,
 but do not get the taste [they wanted] // and with bruised beaks take
 off again into the air.
 I myself am like this // having come in vain, there is nothing more
 to do.

78. Here we don't follow the Taishō edition, which has 'bird' *niao* 鳥. Most other editions have crow 烏, which squares with both the ZA and the Pāli *kāko* (The Taishō note mentions the Song, Yuan and Ming editions. In addition to that Tripitaka Koreana (19.651.13b11), the Qisha and Zhunghua editions all have *wu* 烏).

There King Māra, having spoken this verse, became depressed and dispirited and felt deep regret. He went to an empty place where he crouched alone and with an arrow drawing [figures] on the ground, trying to think of a way⁷⁹ [to prevent the Buddha from teaching]. Māra had three daughters; the first was called Passionate, the second Pleasing, and the third Desirable.⁸⁰ Māra's daughters came to his side and addressed their father with a verse:

Father is famous as a great Lord // why are you so depressed?
We will with the snare of desire // bind him [the Buddha] like one
catches a bird,
and bring him to our father // to make you feel at ease.

King Māra answered with a verse:

This man is good in cutting off desire // he is not moved by it.
He has left the world of Māra already // this is why I am sad.

There, Māra's three daughters changed their appearance. Becoming extraordinary beautiful, they went to the Buddha, paid homage to his feet and sat to one side. The three daughters said together in one voice: 'We have come to worship you and be at your service'. But the World-honoured One [had already attained] the final cutting-off of desires and did not even look at them. They addressed him like this a second and a third time. The Buddha did not look at them. There, Māra's three daughters retreated and discussed the matter: 'It is in the nature of men that they like different types [of women]. Some like [their women] young, some like them middle-aged and some mature'. Upon [saying] that, each daughter changed into six hundred women, some of them small girls, some teenagers, some of them already married women, and some not yet married, some of them had given birth already and some had not yet given birth. Having thus turned into a multitude of women, they all went to the Buddha and said to him: 'World-honoured One! We have come to worship the World-honoured One and be at his service. We will serve [the World-honoured One] in every way'.⁸¹

The Buddha did not look at them. They addressed him like this a second and a third time. The Buddha did not look at them at all. There, Māra's daughters retreated and conferred again. 'He must have attained the final cutting-off of desire, utmost liberation. Otherwise he would have looked at us and become mad, spitting blood. It might even have torn his heart apart. Let us go to him and debate with him in verse'.

79. *si zuo fang ji* 思作方針. This sentence is unique in the BZA. While in the ZA and the Pāli (from here on the *Māradhītu Sutta* is the main source) he seems to have given up, in the BZA he keeps on scheming.

80. 極愛, 悅彼 and 適意. For the Indic equivalents of these names, see the introduction.

81. *gei shi shou zu* 給侍手足. This is a unique expression in the canon and hints at the physical nature of the offer made. Considering the Pāli has *pāde te*, (*samaṇa*), *paricāremā* the Chinese means probably 'To serve your hands and feet [i.e. the entire body]'. Geiger et al. (1997, 193) note that *paricāreti* also means 'amüsieren' ('to please, to entertain').

Māra's daughter Passionate asked in a verse:

The body upright, one hand cupped within another, you sit under the tree // alone in complete solitude, contemplating.
Like someone who has lost a fortune // and desires to find a great treasure.
In the cities and villages // your mind is without passion or attachment.
Why is it that among all those people // you have made no close friends?

At that time the World-honoured One answered in a verse:

I have already attained the great treasure // attained quiet extinction in the mind.
I have destroyed the host of passion and desire // am not attached to wonderful forms.
I dwell alone sitting in meditation // experiencing the ultimate joy.
For this reason // I do not desire close friends.

Māra's daughter Desirable spoke this verse:

Dwelling in which state, oh monk // have you crossed the five currents [of sense-pleasures],
as well as the sixth [i.e. mind] // in what meditation do you abide?
That you attained the crossing from the great shore of desire // forever free from the bondage of becoming?

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

The body has obtained subtle, gentle joy // the mind attained good liberation.
The mind abstains from action // consciousness will not regress again.
Having attained the method of cutting off discursive thought⁸² // having attained avoidance of falling into hate and passion;
if one can abide in this state // [one] can cross the five currents,
and the sixth as well // If one can sit in meditation like this,
one can cross from the [existence bound by the] great fetter of desire // and leave the relentless flow of becoming.⁸³

82. *duan jue guan fa* 斷覺觀法. Unique in the canon. 覺觀 is *vitakka-vicāra*. The meaning of 斷覺觀 is clear in CBETA/T.8.223.406c5 and CBETA/T.32.1648.400c12.

83. *you she liu* 有攝流. A unique and problematic term, the exact translation is tentative, though the general meaning is clear enough. It is difficult to decide whether the reading is 攝 or *ge* 梘 as in other editions. Should 梘 'yoke' be correct, it could stand for bhava-yoga (Hirakawa, No.1672 s.v. *you e* 有梘), 流 rendering *anu-vṛt*. In this case the passage would mean 'to stop following the yoke of becoming.'

Māra's daughter Pleasing said in a verse:

Having cut off the fetter of passion // having abandoned what most
people are attached to,
crossing over the currents of many desires // crossing from the many
desires' shore of death;
only the wise // can cross against these difficulties.

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

By great effort the *Tathāgata* extracts himself // [and] crosses with the
help of the true *Dhamma*.
Liberated by the *Dhamma* // the wise have no reason not to be happy.

The three daughters, their wish unfulfilled, returned to their father. King Māra scolded them and for that spoke a verse:

My three daughters thought they could destroy him // their appearance
[blinding] like lightning.
Advancing on the [one with] great effort // [they are scattered by him]
like tufts of grass in the wind;
[they act like they could] tear down a mountain with their fingernails
// bite an iron pellet with their teeth;
foolish children [trying] with lotus stalks // to suspend a great
mountain.
The Buddha has already crossed beyond all attachment // to desire to
debate with him
[is like wanting to] catch the wind with a net // like wanting to take
down the moon from the sky,
to scoop the ocean with one's hands // hoping to dry it out.
The Buddha has already left all attachment behind; // to desire to go
and debate with him
[is like] striding over Mount Sumeru with one's foot // looking for earth
in the great ocean.
The Buddha has already abandoned all attachment; // to go and debate
with him [...] ⁸⁴

King Māra, sad and regretful, vanished and returned to his heavenly palace.

84. The verse breaks off here. This verse seems in general translated very roughly, the Chinese is in many places only intelligible with the help of parallels. There are a number of mistakes, and parts seem to be missing.

32. *Māra changes into beautiful and ugly people*

Thus have I heard, once, the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha on Gijjhakūṭa⁸⁵ Mountain. At that time the Buddha was extolling the teaching of *Nirvāṇa* for the monks. King Māra thought: 'The Buddha is staying near Rājagaha extolling the teaching of *Nirvāṇa* for the monks. I should go and disturb them'. Having thought this, he changed into one-hundred people, fifty of which were extremely beautiful and fifty extremely ugly. At that time the monks were all surprised and astonished. 'What is happening now? Such beauty, and again, such ugliness?'. The Buddha knew that Māra had come to disturb the gathering. At that time the Buddha addressed Māra:⁸⁶

In the long night of [saṃsāric] birth and rebirth,
you assume all these forms beautiful and ugly.
How now do you attain deliverance from the shore of suffering?
What is the use of all these shape-changings?⁸⁷

If someone is attached to [the characteristics of] man or woman,
you might [with benefit] change into these forms.
I, however, do not [give significance to] the characteristics of a man or woman.

What use is it changing into these shapes?

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

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ABBREVIATIONS

BZA	<i>Bieyi za ahan jing</i> 別譯雜阿含經 (T.100)	DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
CBETA	<i>Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association</i> 中華電子佛典協會	Hirakawa	<i>Bukkyō kanbon daijiten</i> 佛教漢梵大辭典 (Buddhist Chinese–Sanskrit Dictionary). Hirakawa Akira 平川彰 (Tokyo: Reiyūkai, 1997)
Dhp-a	<i>Dhammapada</i> commentary		

85. Here as *lingjiushan* 靈鷲山 not transliterated *qi she* (or *du jue* 耆闍崛 as in the opening passage of BZA 27 or BZA 28.

86. This seems to be in pentasyllabic verse. However, neither the Taishō nor the Zhonghua or Qisha edition does mark it as such, perhaps because it is not introduced with the set-phrase 而說此偈, perhaps because the main text-base was the Tripitaka Koreana (K.19.651.0014b12), where the passage too is not printed as verse.

87. Until this point BZA, ZA and SN (*Subha Sutta*) are approximately close, from here on the BZA verse is unique.

Jā	<i>Jātaka</i>	Sn	<i>Sutta-nipāta</i>
MĀ	<i>Madhyamāgama</i>	Sn-a	<i>Sutta-nipāta</i> commentary
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>	SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
MN-a	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> commentary	SN-a	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> commentary
Mvu	<i>Mahāvastu</i>	T	Taishō
ONWC	Old Northwest Chinese	Th	<i>Theragāthā</i>
Pati	<i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i>	v.	verse
PTS	Pali Text Society	VRI	Vipassanā Research Institute
Skt.	Sanskrit	ZA	<i>Za ahan jing</i> 雜阿含經 (T.99)

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