

SOME REFLECTIONS ON TRANSLATING THE PALI TEXTS: LITERARY CONVENTIONS, BUDDHIST THOUGHT, CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND TEXTUAL HISTORY

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For over a century many Buddhist texts in Pali have been translated into English, the four main *Nikāyas* at least twice. Significant improvements have been made in regard to English translations of Pali texts. This paper provides five case studies that illustrate the problems and complexities involved in translating Pali texts. Examples are taken from four *suttas* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Various issues are addressed using textual and contextualised analyses. I attempt to offer solutions to some problems related to translating the Pali through different approaches, including style, philology, history, Buddhist thought and inter-religious relation.

Key words: Buddhist literature, early Buddhism, Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, translation.

1. Introduction

For over a century many Buddhist texts in Pali have been translated into English. The four main *Nikāyas* have been translated into English at least twice. Significant improvements have been made in regard to English translations of Pali texts. The aim of this study is to deal with some issues connected to the existing translations of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. There are two complete English translations of this collection:

1. *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, 5 vols., translated by F. L. Woodward (I, II, V) and E. M. Hare (III, IV), published by the Pali Text Society from 1932 to 1936.
2. *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya*, translated by Bhikkhu Bodhi. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2012.

There are two partial English translations of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*:

1. *Numerical Discourses of the Buddha: An Anthology of Suttas from the Aṅguttara Nikāya*, translated by Nyanaponika Thera and Bhikkhu Bodhi. New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 2000 (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1999).
2. *Handful of Leaves, Volume Three: An Anthology from the Aṅguttara Nikāya*, translated by Bhikkhu Thanissaro. USA: The Sati Center for Buddhist Studies, 2003.

The five case studies provided below draw on four *suttas* in the first two volumes of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* published by the Pali Text Society (Ee I, II). Neither of the two partial translations includes any of these four *suttas*. Therefore, I will only mention the translations by F. L. Woodward (1932, 1933) and Bhikkhu Bodhi (2012). As many would agree, however excellent a translation may be, there is always room for improvement. In this paper various issues are addressed using textual and contextualised analyses. I attempt to offer solutions to some problems related to translating the Pali through different approaches, including style, philology, history, Buddhist thought and inter-religious relation.

2. Literary Conventions of Pali *Suttas*

2.1. Vocative in Direct Speech

Sutta 80 in the Book of the Threes in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (AN 3:80, I 228) has the following sentence with variant readings:

Ee I 228, 19–21:

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando [āyasmantaṃ Udāyima] etad avoca: 'Lābhā vata me, suladdhaṃ vata me, yassa me satthā evaṃ mahiddhiko evaṃ mahānubhāvo' ti.

Be I 229, 13–15:

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando (āyasmantaṃ Udāyima) etad avoca: 'Lābhā vata me, suladdhaṃ vata me, yassa me satthā evaṃ mahiddhiko evaṃ mahānubhāvo' ti.

Se I 297, 4–6:

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando etad avoca: 'Lābhā vata me, suladdhaṃ vata me, yassa me satthā evaṃ mahiddhiko evaṃ mahānubhāvo' ti.

Ce I 404, 13–14:

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: 'Lābhā vata me, suladdhaṃ vata me, yassa me satthā evaṃ mahiddhiko evaṃ mahānubhāvo' ti.

In this sentence, Ce has *Bhagavantaṃ*. Ee and Be have *āyasmantaṃ Udāyima* and both put it in brackets, thereby indicating both editors' uncertainty. By contrast, Se is the shortest and has neither *Bhagavantaṃ* nor *āyasmantaṃ Udāyima*. Woodward (1932: 208) presumably follows the Ee reading, but ignores the brackets, thus he translates:

‘... the venerable Ānanda exclaimed to the venerable Udāyin: ...’. Bodhi (2012: 314) reads with Ce and renders the above whole sentence as follows:

When this was said, the Venerable Ānanda said to the Blessed One [*Bhagavantam*]: “It is my good fortune! I am very fortunate that my Teacher is so powerful and mighty.” (The Pali word in square brackets is mine.)

According to the literary conventions of Pali *suttas*, when person A speaks to person B, person A normally addresses person B in the vocative near the beginning of person A’s direct speech. If Woodward’s translation is right, Ānanda would address Udāyin as ‘*āvuso Udāyi*’ (friend Udāyin, e.g. AN III 322, where Ānanda talks to Udāyin). If Bodhi’s translation is right, Ānanda would address the Blessed One (*Bhagavant*) as ‘*bhante*’ (venerable sir, e.g. AN I 223–228). Such vocatives, however, are absent from the words uttered by Ānanda. This fact indicates that Ānanda is addressing no one. Therefore, Se has the correct reading; the correct translation would be something like:

When this was said, the Venerable Ānanda said: ‘It is my good fortune!
I am very fortunate that my Teacher is so powerful and mighty.’

The Japanese translation by Wogihara (1935: 372), ‘是の如く語られたる時に具壽阿難は唱へて曰く——嗚呼我に利あり……’, which renders neither *āyasmantaṃ Udāyiṃ* nor *Bhagavantam*, is the first translation to be based on the correct reading as far as I am aware.¹ As Wogihara points out in the prefatory note (凡例) to his translation of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, his translation is based on the Pali Text Society edition (Ee) by Richard Morris, but he also consults the Siamese edition (Se).

2.2. Waxing Syllable Principle

Sutta 63 in the Book of the Threes in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* (AN 3:63) contains an exposition of three kinds of ‘high and big beds’. Of the three, the ‘brahmic high and big bed’ is explained using the formula of the four ‘brahma abodes’ (*brahma-vihāra*), which reads (trans. Bodhi 2012: 275):

... I dwell pervading one quarter with a mind imbued with loving-kindness, likewise the second quarter, the third quarter, and the fourth quarter. Thus above, below, across, and everywhere, and to all as to myself [*sabbattatāya*], I dwell pervading the entire world with a mind imbued with loving-kindness, vast, exalted, measureless, without enmity, without ill will. [The same is said of compassion, empathetic joy and equanimity.]²

¹ I can only read English, Japanese and Chinese translations. My ignorance of German, French, Italian, Thai, Sinhalese, Burmese and so on has prevented me from referring to the possibly existing translations in these languages.

² AN I 183: *so mettāsahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā viharāmi tathā dutiyaṃ tathā tatiyaṃ tathā catutthaṃ. Iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantam lokam*

Here is a problematic word, *sabbattatāya*. Bodhi (2012: 275) renders it as ‘to all as to myself’ based on the commentarial tradition (see Section 3). Woodward (1932: 166) translates it as ‘for all sorts and conditions’.

As Wang (2008: 17) points out, according to Edgerton’s *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, *sabbattatāya* corresponds to *sarvatratāye* in the *Mahāvastu*,³ a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text. Edgerton states that *sarvatratāye* means ‘altogether, in every way’ and is apparently the instrumental of *sarvatra-tā*,⁴ a noun formed by attaching the abstract suffix *-tā* to *sarvatra*, which is an adverb meaning ‘everywhere’ (MW 1189 s.v. *sarvatra*). In his translation of the *Mahāvastu*, Jones (1956: 209) renders *sarvatratāye* as ‘everywhere’. In other words, adding the abstract suffix *-tā* inflected in the instrumental case, *-tāye*, does not change the meaning of *sarvatra*.

That *sabbattatāya* means ‘everywhere’ can be reinforced in view of a stylistic feature of Pali *sutta* literature. As Allon (1997: 364) observes, the authors of Pali canonical *sutta* texts ‘tended to expand the wording and create strings or sequences of similar word elements and units of meaning wherever possible’. The Pali phrase *sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantam lokam*, which can be rendered literally as ‘everywhere,⁵ everywhere, the entire world’, is a sequence of synonymous word elements typical of Pali canonical texts. This case also conforms to the waxing syllable principle suggested by Allon (1997: 191): ‘as the sequence progresses the syllable length of each subsequent element may be equal to or greater than what precedes it.’ In accord with this principle, our phrase consists of a string of three adverbial expressions: *sabbadhi* has 3 syllables, *sabbattatāya* has 5 syllables, and *sabbāvantam lokam* has 6 syllables.

3. How Closely Should We Follow the Commentarial Tradition? Sanskrit and Chinese Parallels as Alternative Solutions

When we encounter difficulties in translating the Pali *suttas*, it is often useful to consult the commentaries (*Aṭṭhakathā*) on the canonical texts by Buddhaghosa (5th century CE) and his *Visuddhimagga* which is closely connected to the *Nikāya* commentaries and ‘seems to quote from the old *Aṭṭhakathā* much more extensively than the extant commentaries do’ as von Hinüber (1997: 125) remarks. While affirming the values of the commentaries, Norman (2004: 69–72) suggests that the commentarial tradition sometimes does not agree with philology and is not always correct in interpreting the *Nikāyas*. T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (PED 620 s.v. *vitakka*)

mettāsahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggaṭena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā viharāmi. karuṇāsahagatena ... muditāsahagatena ... upekkhāsahagatena ...

³ Mvu III 213: *yad ihaikatyo karuṇāpareṇa cetasā ekān diṣāṃ spharitvopasāmpadya viharati ... tathā dvitīyaṃ tathā tṛtīyaṃ tathā caturtham. iti ūrdhvam adho tiryak sarvehi sarvatratāye sarvāvantam lokam spharitvopasāmpadya viharati.*

⁴ BHS 584 s.v. *sarvatratāye*, adv. (app. instr. of **sarvatra-tā*; = Pali *sabbattatāya* or *sabbattatāya* ...), *altogether, in every way*. For the instrumental ending *-āye*, see BHS p. 64, § 9.37.

⁵ *Sabbadhi* also means ‘everywhere’. See PED 680 s.v. *sabba*.

also caution us: ‘The explanations of Commentators are mostly of an edifying nature and based more on popular etymology than on natural psychological grounds.’

Moreover, the Pali commentaries and subcommentaries are separated from the *sutta* texts by more than seven or eight centuries. They are even later than many Chinese translations of the Indic texts. The four *Āgamas* in Chinese translation from various traditions (see Section 6.3 below) correspond to the four main *Nikāyas* of the Theravāda tradition. They were translated from Prakrit languages or Sanskrit into Chinese in the 4th and 5th centuries CE. Sharf (2002: 12) says:

Our appraisal of the accuracy of Chinese translations and interpretations is, therefore, compromised by our own distance from the Indic originals. Indeed, we are at a far greater temporal and geographic remove from the Indian sources than were the Chinese of the Six Dynasties and the T’ang.

It is not sensible to confine our research to the Pali sources, which just belong to a single tradition of the Theravāda school. The (Hybrid) Sanskrit and Chinese sources from different traditions may cast valuable light on the issues of translating Pali texts into English. This paper (above and below) provides several examples of how to better translate the Pali words by taking Sanskrit and Chinese versions into account without simply relying on the Pali commentarial literature.

In Section 2.2 we have discussed the meaning of *sabbattatāya* in AN 3:63 (I 183). Bodhi (2012: 275) renders it as ‘to all as to myself’, presumably following the interpretation in the *Visuddhimagga* (cf. Wang 2008: 20), which is also found in Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the *Vibhaṅga*, an Abhidhamma text:⁶

Equally (sabbattatāya): to all [*sabbesu*] classed as inferior, medium, superior, friendly, hostile, neutral, etc., just as to oneself [*attatāya*]; equality with oneself (*atta-samatā*) without making the distinction ‘This is another being’, is what is meant.⁷ (Trans. Ñāṇamoli 1975: 334; Pali words in square brackets are mine – TK.)

Accordingly, the word *sabbattatāya* is construed as a compound in the locative case, comprising *sabbesu* (to all) and *attatāya* (to oneself); the combination of the two words would yield a new meaning: ‘equality between all and oneself’. This interpretation sounds somewhat far-fetched in terms of etymology, although it is positive in terms of edification.⁸ In the *Visuddhimagga* this is not the only case in which edify-

⁶ von Hinüber (1997: 151) suggests that Buddhaghosa could be the initiator rather than the composer of the Abhidhamma commentaries.

⁷ Vism IX.47 and Vibh-a 377: *Sabbattatāyā ti sabbesu hīna-majjhimukkaṭṭha-mitta-sapatta-majjhātādi-ppabhedesu attatāya; ayaṃ parasatto ti vibhāgaṃ akatvā attā-samatāyā ti vuttaṃ hoti.*

⁸ For example, Heim (2017: 181) says: ‘This is an image of likeness or sameness with the other that counters our usual tendencies to classify and rank others ... a resource for cultivating the affective conditions helpful for constructing an ethic of social equality and justice.’ She does not notice the fallacy of the commentarial gloss.

ing concerns override philology, and recourse is made to folk etymology. In his discussion of the word *nirvāṇa/nibbāna*, Hwang (2006: 12) notes:

Buddhaghosa also ignored the original etymological meaning of the word, the extinction of the triple fires of passion, hatred and delusion, and presented a different explanation of *nirvāṇa* based on *vāna* ... derived from $\sqrt{vā}$ (to weave) in his *Visuddhimagga*: It is called *nibbāna* (extinction) because it has gone away from (*nikkhanta*), has escaped from (*nissata*), is dissociated from, craving, which has acquired in common usage the name ‘fastening (*vāna*)’ ...

As mentioned above, the Pali phrase *sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ* can be rendered literally as ‘everywhere, everywhere, the entire world’. The Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit counterpart *sarvehi⁹ sarvatratāye sarvāvantaṃ lokaṃ* in the *Mahāvastu* also means the same and Jones (1956: 209) translates it as ‘everywhere, the whole wide world’ without repeating ‘everywhere’. Similarly, Dānapāla (Shihu 施護, 10th century CE) translates a corresponding phrase in the **Mahā-saṃgīti Sūtra* (T 12, *Da jifamen jing* 大集法門經) as ‘in all places, all the world’,¹⁰ which was probably translated from a (classical) Sanskrit equivalent for *sarvehi sarvatratāye sarvāvantaṃ lokaṃ*.

The interpretation of *sabbattatāya* in the *Visuddhimagga* can distinguish this word from *sabbadhi* and therefore avoid the awkward repetition of ‘everywhere’, but this is unlikely to be what the original text intends to express. A better strategy of translating *sabbadhi sabbattatāya* is to render these two words as one word ‘everywhere’, just as Jones and Dānapāla did. Or alternatively, we can use two synonyms to translate *sabbadhi sabbattatāya*, for example, ‘everywhere, in all places’.

4. Rivalry between Buddhism and Other Religions

The foregoing AN 3:63 (I 180–185) records the Buddha’s visit to a village called Venāgapura as follows. When he had just arrived, a good report about him was circulated, so the brahmin householders went to see him. A brahmin of the Vaccha clan, or Vacchagotta, praised the Buddha thus (in brief):

It is amazing how Master Gotama’s faculties are tranquil and the colour of his skin is pure and bright. ... Whatever high and big beds there are—that is, a sofa, a divan ... with a canopy above and red bolsters at both ends—Master Gotama surely gains at will, without trouble or difficulty. (Translation mostly follows Bodhi 2012: 273–274.)

Then the Buddha said that for those who have gone forth, it is difficult to obtain such high and big beds (*uccā-sayana-mahā-sayana*), and if such beds are obtained, they are

⁹ BHSD 586 s.v. *sarvehi*, adv. (app. instr. pl. of *sarva*, but corresp. to Pali *sabbadhi*, of obscure ending), *altogether*.

¹⁰ T 1 228c: 於一切處、一切世界。

not allowed. As a witty riposte to the brahmin's backhanded compliment, the Buddha declares in a metaphorical way that he has access at will to three kinds of 'high and big beds':

dibbaṃ uccā-sayana-mahā-sayanam, **brahmaṃ** uccā-sayana-mahā-sayanam, **ariyaṃ** uccā-sayana-mahā-sayanam (AN I 182).

Woodward (1932: 165) translates: 'They are the high, broad couch **celestial**, that which is **sublime**, and the high, broad couch **of the Ariyans**.' Bodhi (2012: 274) translates: 'The **celestial** high and luxurious bed, the **divine** high and luxurious bed, and the **noble** high and luxurious bed.' Neither of these translations conveys the meaning that the Buddha wants to express in a particular religious context. The Buddha lists the three kinds of 'high and big beds' in such a hierarchy that whereas Brahmā trumps the gods, he is however trumped by the Buddhist noble ones according to Gombrich (2009: 192).

This *sutta* presents the Buddha's denial of brahmins' claim to hierarchical superiority and hence the supremacy of their religion, Brahmanism. In the early *Upaniṣads*, Brahman has a variety of meanings, including 'the ultimate and basic essence of the cosmos' (Olivelle 1998: 26–27). At a later stage the abstract Brahman, a neuter word, came to be personified as the deity Brahmā, a masculine word, seen as the creator of the universe (Brockington 1996: 54–55). Along with this theistic trend, as Gombrich (2001: 96) observes, in the early Buddhist texts, the gods borrowed from the Indian cultural background are all called *deva* and inhabit heavens called *deva-loka*, which form part of the sensual-desire realm (*kāma-dhātu*). In contrast to the 'devas proper' (as Harvey 2013: 34 puts it) of the sensual-desire realm, Brahmā is above this realm and inhabits the fine-material realm (*rūpa-dhātu*). Gombrich (2001: 96) points out that the early Buddhist texts follow the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6.2.15–16) in putting Brahmā in a special category, above the gods (*deva*).

When the Buddha refers to the first two kinds of 'high and big beds', i.e. **dibbaṃ** uccā-sayana-mahā-sayanam and **brahmaṃ** uccā-sayana-mahā-sayanam, the adjectives *dibba* and *brahma* allude respectively to gods (*deva*) and Brahmā, with the latter higher than the former, according to Buddhist cosmology based on the *Upaniṣad* mentioned above. As to the third kind of 'high and big bed', **ariyaṃ** uccā-sayana-mahā-sayanam, the adjective *ariya*, usually rendered as 'noble', means almost the same as 'Buddhist' (DOP I 235). When *ariya* is used as a noun, as Buswell and Lopez (2014: 64) say, it is a 'term appropriated by the Buddhists from earlier Indian culture to refer to its saints and used technically to denote a person who has directly perceived reality and has become a "noble one"'. The Buddha clearly talks about the three kinds of 'high and big beds' in a sequence that denotes a hierarchy: gods (*deva*, adjective *dibba*) are subordinate to Brahmā (adjective *brahma*), while Brahmā is subordinate to Buddhist saints or noble ones. In other words, Buddhism is superior to Brahmanism and other religions. The following table shows the three adjectives in sequence expressed by the Buddha as religions in rank order and how the three adjectives are translated by Woodward and Bodhi mentioned above.

Adjectives	<i>dibba</i>	<i>brahma</i>	<i>ariya</i>
Buddha	of gods (<i>deva</i>)	of Brahmā	of Buddhist noble ones
Woodward	celestial	sublime	of the Ariyans
Bhikkhu Bodhi	celestial	divine	noble

Neither of the two English translations captures the metaphorical implications of the Buddha's discourse. A better translation could be what is suggested by Gombrich (2009: 192): 'divine' for *dibba*, 'brahmic' for *brahma*, and 'noble' for *ariya*.

In the Buddha's exposition, (1) the divine 'high and big bed' is associated with the four *jhānas*, (2) the brahmic 'high and big bed' is associated with loving-kindness, compassion, empathetic joy and equanimity, referred to as *brahma-vihāras* in other texts (e.g. AN I 243, Sn 151), and (3) the noble 'high and big bed' is associated with the knowledge of liberation from greed, hatred and delusion. Anālayo (2015: 19) points out:

The early Buddhist texts in fact recurrently refer to the practice of the *jhānas* and of the *brahmavihāras* as pre-Buddhist forms of practice. This stands in contrast to the development of liberating insight, which the same texts clearly consider the specific discovery of a Buddha.

This echoes the rationale behind the exposition of the three kinds of 'high and big beds'. The Buddha appropriates the terminology and conception of Brahmanism, and sets them within a new framework that fits into Buddhist doctrines. An ideal translation should be able to accommodate this multi-religious phenomenon.

5. Translation Considered within a Broader Context of Buddhist Thought

A passage in *sutta* 29 of the Book of the Fours in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* (AN 4:29) reads:

Cattār' imāni bhikkhave dhammapadāni aggaññāni rattaññāni vaṃsaññāni porāṇāni asaṅkiṇṇāni asaṅkiṇṇapubbāni, na saṅkīyanti na saṅkīyissanti, appaṭikuṭṭhāni samaṇehi brāhmaṇehi¹¹ viññūhi. Katamāni cattāri? Anabhijjhā bhikkhave dhammapadam aggaññaṃ rattaññaṃ vaṃsaññaṃ porāṇaṃ ... Apyāpādo ... Sammāsati ... Sammāsamādhī ... (AN II 29)

Bhikkhu Bodhi (2012: 416) translates this passage as follows:

¹¹ I read with Be I 337, 24, Se II 37, 16 and Ce II 58, 19. Ee II 29, 7–8 reads *samaṇehi vā brāhmaṇehi vā*.

Bhikkhus, there are these four Dhamma factors, primal, of long standing, traditional, ancient, unadulterated and never before adulterated, which are not being adulterated and will not be adulterated, which are not repudiated by wise ascetics and brahmins. What four? (1) Non-longing [*anabhijjhā*, non-covetousness] is a Dhamma factor, primal, of long standing, traditional, ancient ... (2) Good will [*avyāpāda*, ‘non-malice’] ... (3) Right mindfulness ... (4) Right concentration ...

Here Bhikkhu Bodhi renders *dhamma-padāni* as ‘Dhamma factors’. Similarly, Woodward (1933: 32) translates this compound as ‘factors of Dhamma’. Bodhi (2012: 1684 note 683) implies that his translation is in accordance with the commentary’s explanation of this compound as ‘portions of Dhamma’ (Mp III 61: *dhammakotṭhāsā*). ‘*Dhamma-pada*’ is the title of a famous Buddhist text and is translated by Norman (2000: 1) as ‘The Word of the Doctrine’ and by Tin (1990:1) as ‘Path of the Buddha’s Teaching’.

Besides ‘factor’, ‘word’ and ‘path’, *pada* has many other meanings, one of which is ‘track’ or ‘footprint’.¹² The foregoing *sutta* passage is partly quoted in an Abhidharma text of the Sarvāstivādins, the *Samgītiparyāya* (T 1536, *Ji yimen zu lun* 集異門足論), preserved in Chinese translation. This Abhidharma text was translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664), an eminent scholar monk who studied in India for 12 years¹³ in the 7th century CE, when the Sanskritisation of Buddhist texts had been completed (Norman 2006: 124). Here Xuanzang translates the Sanskrit equivalent for *dhamma-pada* as *fa ji* 法跡¹⁴ ‘Dhamma footprint’ (T XXVI 395a). In my opinion, this rendering makes better sense on the following grounds.

According to some *suttas*, the Buddha did use the simile or metaphor of ‘footprint’ (*pada*) to describe the Dhamma that he discovered and preached. For example, the *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* states:

Friends, just as the footprints of all living beings that walk fit into the footprint of the elephant, and the elephant’s footprint is declared to be their chief by reason of its size, so too, all wholesome states can be included in the Four Noble Truths.¹⁵ (Translation mostly follows Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001: 278.)

As Rahula (1959: 16) points out, the heart of the Dhamma lies in the Four Noble Truths, which the Buddha expounded in his very first sermon, namely the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*, the Discourse on ‘Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Dham-

¹² PED 408 s.v. *pada*: footstep, track ... *apada* ... trackless, leaving no footprint.

¹³ From the 5th to 17th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 era (ca 631–643), see FD 2025.

¹⁴ While the Taishō edition reads 迹 (T XXVI 395a), the Ming edition reads 跡 as given in footnote 4 at T XXVI 395. The two characters are alternative forms. See EDC Vol. VIII, p. 1569, s.v. 跡: 與迹同. 跡 only means ‘footstep’ as a noun (EDC Vol. VIII, p. 1569, s.v. 跡). 迹 as a noun can mean ‘footstep’, ‘path’, etc. (EDC Vol. IX, p. 34, s.v. 迹).

¹⁵ MN I 184: *Seyyathāpi āvuso yāni kānīci jaṅgamānaṃ pāṇānaṃ padajātāni sabbāni tāni hatthipade samodhānaṃ gacchanti, hatthipadaṃ tesaṃ aggamaṃ akkhāyati yad idaṃ mahantattena; evam eva kho āvuso ye keci kusalā dhammā sabbe te catusu ariyasaccesu saṅgamaṃ gacchanti.*

ma' (SN V 420–424). In the *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* cited above, the Four Noble Truths, i.e. the Dhamma, is compared to the elephant's footprint (*pada*).

Using the same simile, *sutta* 48:54 of the *Samyutta Nikāya* states:

Bhikkhus, just as the footprints of all living beings that walk fit into the footprint of the elephant, and the elephant's footprint is declared to be their chief by reason of its size, so too, among the steps [*padāni*] that lead to enlightenment, the faculty of wisdom is declared to be their chief.¹⁶ (Trans. Bodhi 2000: 1697–1698.)

This *sutta* enumerates the five faculties—faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom—as the steps that lead to enlightenment. Here Bhikkhu Bodhi translates *padāni* as 'steps' rather than 'factors'. The commentary (Spk III 248) rephrases *padāni* as *dhamma-padāni*, which Bodhi (2000: 1938, note 239) renders as 'Dhamma-steps' instead of 'Dhamma factors' mentioned above. This way of understanding and translating *dhamma-padāni* suits the case of AN 4:29 better. AN 4:29 expounds *cattāri dhamma-padāni*, which may well be rendered as 'four Dhamma footprints'. This is possibly a metaphorical expression involving 'four-footed animals'.¹⁷

Moreover, according to *sūtra* 287 of the *Samyukta Āgama* (SĀ) extant in Chinese translation, the Buddha says the following to the monks:

Then it occurred to me: 'I have discovered (lit. obtained) the path of the ancient seers, the road of the ancient seers, the ancient seers' footprints (*ji* 跡) on the path; the ancient seers left behind (lit. left from) these footprints, which I now follow.' Suppose someone would travel in a wilderness ... So now I have discovered the path of the ancient seers, the road of the ancient seers, the ancient seers' footprints ... which I have discovered and followed, that is, the Noble Eightfold Path.¹⁸

It is noteworthy that in the *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta* the Buddha refers to the Noble Eightfold Path as what he has awakened to. Since this Eightfold Path is the last truth of the Four Noble Truths, i.e. the Dhamma, and this *sutta* is the Buddha's first sermon called 'Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Dhamma', the Noble Eightfold Path also represents the Dhamma. In *sūtra* 287 of SĀ cited above, the Dhamma is metaphorically referred to as the footprints which were left and followed by the ancient seers and then discovered by the Buddha who also followed them. Another version of this *sūtra* entitled the **Pratītyasamutpāda-āryamārga Sūtra* (T 714, *Yuanqi shengdao jing* 緣起聖道經) contains the following passage:

¹⁶ SN V 231: *Seyyathāpi bhikkhave yāni kānici jaṅgamānaṃ pāṇānaṃ padajātāni sabbāni tāni hatthipade samodhānaṃ gacchanti, hatthipadaṃ tesam aggam akkhāyati, yad idaṃ mahantatena; evam eva kho bhikkhave yāni kānici padāni bodhāya samvattanti, paññindriyaṃ tesam aggam akkhāyati.*

¹⁷ I am grateful to the second reviewer for this suggestion.

¹⁸ T II 80c: 我時作是念：「我得古仙人道、古仙人逕、古仙人道跡，古仙人從此跡去，我今隨去。」譬如有人遊於曠野...今我如是得古仙人道、古仙人逕、古仙人跡...我得隨去，謂八聖道。

Suppose someone would travel in a wilderness ... So too, I have now realised the ancient path, the ancient road, the ancient footprints (*ji* 跡) walked, travelled upon by the ancient seers. What is the ancient path, the ancient road, the ancient footprints walked, travelled upon by the ancient seers? It should be understood to be the Noble Eightfold Path.¹⁹

This passage resembles part of the passage quoted above from *sūtra* 287 of SĀ. Both versions mention *ji* 跡, footprint, which also appears in the foregoing *Samgītiparyāya* translated by Xuanzang. Since the *ji* 跡 that appears in the *Samgītiparyāya* is in a quotation from a Sarvāstivādin *sūtra* parallel to AN 4:29, this Chinese character was no doubt translated from *pada* in *dharma-pada*, the Sanskrit equivalent for *dhmma-pada* in Pali. The Chinese SĀ was translated by Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 between 435 and 443 CE (Bingenheimer 2011: 1) from a Sanskrit original (de Jong 1981: 108). The **Pratītyasamutpāda-āryamārga Sūtra* was translated by Xuanzang in the 7th century when the Sanskritisation of Buddhist texts had been completed (see above). In these two texts, *ji* 跡 is also likely to be a rendering of *pada*, ‘footprint’, in Sanskrit.²⁰

Sūtra 287 of SĀ has a Pali counterpart in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (SN II 104–107). It makes no mention of *pada*, ‘footprint’, in the following account:

Suppose, bhikkhus, a man wandering through a forest would see an ancient path, an ancient road travelled upon by people in the past ... So too, bhikkhus, I saw the ancient path, the ancient road travelled by the Perfectly Enlightened Ones of the past. And what is that ancient path, that ancient road? It is just this Noble Eightfold Path.²¹ (Trans. Bodhi 2000: 603.)

Here we have three versions of a *sutta* passage. The Pali version belongs to the Theravāda. The *Samyukta Āgama* (SĀ) in Chinese translation is ascribed to the Sarvāstivāda (Kumoi 1963: 248; Ui 1965: 136; Yinshun 1994: 97; Hiraoka 2000: 501) or more specifically the Mūlasarvāstivāda (Lü 1963: 242; Enomoto 1984a: 1071; Enomoto 1984b: 99; Mizuno 1996: 373–375; Hiraoka 2003; Dhammānā 2012: 68). The school affiliation of the **Pratītyasamutpāda-āryamārga Sūtra* is unknown. Two out of the three versions allegorise the Noble Eightfold Path as the footprints left behind and followed by the ancient seers (仙, **rṣi*),²² whereas one version does not. It is hard to assert which version is closer to the original. But it seems plausible to liken the Noble Path, or the Dhamma, to the footprints left behind by the former Buddhas when we take AN 4:29 into account.

¹⁹ T. XVI. 828c: 譬如有人遊行曠野...我亦如是, 今已證得舊道、舊徑、舊所行跡, 古昔諸仙嘗所遊履。何等名為舊道、舊徑、舊所行跡, 古昔諸仙嘗所遊履? 當知即是八支聖道。

²⁰ Cf. SJD 732 s.v. *pada*.

²¹ SN II 105–106: *Seyyathāpi bhikkhave puriso araṇṇe pavane caramāno passeyya purāṇaṃ maggaṃ purāṇañjasam pubbakehi manussehi anuyātaṃ ... Katamo ca so bhikkhave purāṇa-maggo purāṇañjaso pubbakehi sammāsambuddhehi anuyāto? Ayam eva ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo.*

²² A *rṣi* (Pali *isi*) can refer to a Buddha. See DOP I 379.

First, this *sutta* enumerates four *dhmma-padas*: (1) non-covetousness, (2) non-malice, (3) right mindfulness, and (4) right concentration. The last two *dhmma-padas* are exactly the last two divisions of the Noble Eightfold Path. The first two *dhmma-padas* constitute ‘right intention’, the second division of the Noble Eightfold Path, according to the *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*.²³ Therefore, what the four *dhmma-padas* refer to is the Noble Path, so *padas* can be rendered as ‘footprints’ according to the above discussion. At first glance, translating *pada* as ‘path’ seems also to fit in with this context, but it would follow that *cattāri dhmma-padāni* should be rendered as ‘four Dhamma paths’. Early Buddhism, however, only talks about one path to nirvana/enlightenment,²⁴ albeit in different expressions such as ‘Noble Eightfold Path’ (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*, singular), rather than ‘four paths’ or ‘eight paths’ and so forth.²⁵

Second, in the *sutta* AN 4:29, the compound *dhmma-padāni* is qualified by the phrase ‘primal, of long standing, traditional, ancient’ (*aggaññāni rattaññāni vaṁsaññāni porāṇāni*), which resonates with the metaphor of footprints (**pada*) left behind by the ancient seers, namely the former Buddhas in ancient times. The Buddha who delivered this discourse (*sutta*) had found those footprints and followed them, thereby reaching the goal of nirvana.

Consequently, it is advisable to imitate Xuanzang’s rendering ‘*fa ji* 法跡’ and translate *dhmma-pada* as ‘Dhamma footprint’, with the Pali seen as a *kamma-dhāraya* compound. The expression ‘Dhamma footprints that are primal, of long standing, traditional, ancient’ can be understood to mean that the Dhamma, i.e. the Path, is ancient and long-standing, and has been rediscovered and followed again and again by many Buddhas, just as the ancient and long-standing footprints have been left by one person and followed by another repeatedly.

6. Philological, Cultural and Historical Approaches

Sutta 37 in the Book of the Threes in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (AN 3:37) contains a puzzling word. It appears seven times in similar contexts such as the following:

On the eighth of the fortnight, the ministers and assembly members of the four great kings wander over this world, [thinking]: ‘Are there many people who behave properly towards their mother and father, behave

²³ MN III 251: *Katamo c’ āvuso sammāsaṅkappo? Nekkhammasaṅkappo, avyāpādasāṅkappo, avihiṃsāsaṅkappo* (And what, friends, is right intention? Intention of non-desire, intention of non-malice, intention of non-harming).

²⁴ E.g. MN I 73: *nibbāna-gāmiṇ ca maggaṃ*; MN III 6: *nibbāna-gāmi-maggo*; SN IV 371: *nibbāna-gāmiṇ ca maggaṃ*. These occurrences of *magga* (path) are all in singular.

²⁵ Anālayo (2016) also argues for one path to liberation and refutes the ‘two paths’ theory advocated by some scholars.

properly towards ascetics and brahmins, honour the elders of the family, observe the uposatha, *paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti*, and make merits?²⁶

This unclear word, *paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti*, seems to be used in this *sutta* only, and not to be found in other texts (by searching CST). It has different readings in different editions:

1. *paṭijāgarenti* in Ee I 142, 26–143, 25
2. *paṭijāgaronti* in Be I 141, 13–142, 9 and Se I 182, 9–183, 8
3. *paṭijāgaranti* in Ce I 260, 13–37

Here we have 3 variant readings, none of which is found in the dictionaries²⁷ available to me, except that the Ee reading preceded by a question mark is included as an entry in Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Volume II: Dictionary*:

BHSD 316 s.v. ? **paṭijāgareti**(^ojāgarti) = **pratijāgarati**, q.v., read by Senart by em. for (agnihotraṃ) paṭipākaroti ... Mv iii.148.20; 156.8, *attends to, cares for*; and amātyehi yathāñattaṃ sarvaṃ paṭiyākṛtaṃ (mss., Senart paṭijāgrtaṃ) ...

[**paṭipākaroti**, so mss. for **paṭijāgareti**, q.v.; or in Mv iii.161.7 mss. paṭiyākṛtaṃ (y could be graphic error for p).

Accordingly, the manuscripts have *paṭipākaroti*, which was amended by Senart as *paṭijāgareti* in the context of 'attending to the sacred fire' (*agnihotraṃ paṭijāgareti*), which is irrelevant to the context of our *sutta*.

Bodhi (2012: 1641 note 385) reads with Ce *paṭijāgaranti* and translates it as 'keep the extra observance days' (*ibid.* p. 237) following the commentary by Buddhaghosa. Bodhi (2012: 1641 note 385) translates the commentary (Mp II 233) thus:

Keeping the extra observance days (*paṭijāgaranti*) [my note: the commentary reads *paṭijāgaronti*, see below], in a single fortnight they do so by anticipating and following up (*paccuggamanānugamana*) the four uposatha days. Anticipating the uposatha of the fifth, they undertake the uposatha on the fourth; and following up, on the sixth ... the uposatha of the eighth ... seventh ... ninth ... Anticipating the uposatha of the fourteenth, they observe it on the thirteenth; and following up the uposatha of the fifteenth, they observe the uposatha at the beginning [of the next fortnight].

²⁶ AN I 142: *Aṭṭhamiyaṃ, bhikkhave, pakkhassa catunnaṃ mahārājānaṃ amaccā pārisajjā imaṃ lokaṃ anuvicaranti – kacci bahū manussā manussesu metteyyā petteyyā sāmāññā brahmaññā kule jettāpacāyino uposathaṃ upavasanti paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti puññāni karontī ti.*

²⁷ Even though *paṭijāgaronti* appears in CST based on Be, i.e. the digital version 4.0 of *Chāṭṭha Saṅgāyana Tipiṭaka*, its built-in dictionary does not include an entry for *paṭijāgaroti* or for the other two variants.

This means that in each fortnight one may observe the uposatha on up to nine days, i.e. the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 13th, 14th and 15th.²⁸ According to our *sutta*, the uposatha days refer to the 8th, 14th and 15th days of each fortnight, so a month contains six uposatha days.²⁹ Yinshun (1994: 113–114) points out that the ancient rule of six uposatha days per month gradually evolved into four uposatha days per month,³⁰ presumably because observing the uposatha on two consecutive days, i.e. the 14th and 15th, would cause inconvenience to laymen's secular duties. It would conceivably cause even more trouble to laymen if they observed the uposatha on nine days each fortnight. In summary, the commentary's explanation sounds unconvincing. Furthermore, there is no etymological support for construing *paṭijāgaronti* or the other variants as 'keeping the extra observance days'.

Woodward (1932: 126) says in a footnote that the Text reads *paṭijāgaranti* while the Commentary reads *paṭijāgaronti*. He translates it as 'keep the vigil' without explaining which reading he follows and why he renders it this way. The commentary on AN indeed reads *paṭijāgaronti* and glosses: *paṭijāgarontī ti paṭijāgara-uposatha-kammaṃ nāma karonti* (Mp II 233), which may be rendered as 'paṭijāgaronti means: They really do the uposatha activity with watchfulness'.³¹ This seems to gloss *paṭijāgaronti* in such a way that the latter half of the word *garonti* is seen as the verb *karonti* (do, make), plural form of *karoti* (does, makes). Analysing *paṭijāgaronti* into *paṭijāgara* and *karonti* appears to be an instance of folk etymology (see Section 3). The subcommentary on AN³² also reads *paṭijāgaronti*, apparently duplicating the commentary's reading. Regarding *paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti*, Dr. Margaret Cone told me in an e-mail dated 27th June 2016: 'The word is listed in my dictionary as *paṭijāgaroti*. I think the PTS reading with *~enti* is wrong. I have given a definition of "is awake, is watchful; keeps a vigil", but with a question mark!' The said dictionary is not yet published. Dr. Roderick S. Bucknell told me in an e-mail dated 16th June 2016: 'The German, however, is an early translation (by Nyanatiloka, decades earlier than Bhikkhu Bodhi's). It amounts to this: "... observe the fasting day, and do meritorious deeds." That is, it leaves '*paṭijāgaranti*' untranslated.'

²⁸ In an e-mail dated 11th March 2018 Dr. William Pruitt suggested: 'I think the idea is that a person can add on extra days—but it doesn't mean they have to all be added on.'

²⁹ The phrase 'six uposatha days' (六齋日, lit. six fasting days) appears in many texts in Chinese translation, e.g. the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (摩訶般若波羅蜜經, T 223) at T VIII 310c and the *Five-Part Vinaya of the Mahīśāsaka school* (彌沙塞部和醯五分律, T 1421) at T XXII 106a.

³⁰ For the Theravāda, see PED 150–151 s.v. *uposatha*: '1st, 8th, 15th, 23^d (sic!)'. See also Nyanatiloka 1970: 187. For Northern Buddhism, see the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* (T 1442, 根本說一切有部毘奈耶) at T XXIII 842c–843a: 月八日、十五日、二十三日、月盡日...四齋日 (four fasting days) ...

³¹ The word *paṭijāgara* is not found in the dictionaries available to me. I tentatively translate it as 'watchfulness' because it looks like an (artificial) derivative of the Sanskrit verb *prati-jāgati*, 'jāgarati', meaning 'stay watchful' (see Section 6.2 below).

³² *Anguttara-nikāya-ṭīkā* (CST II 108): *paṭijāgarontī ti paṭi paṭi jāgaronti* (They constantly [lit. again and again] stay awake). I thank an anonymous reader for this reference. Here *jāgaronti*, plural form of *jāgaroti*, is treated as a variant of the verb *jāgarati*, which means 'is awake; is watchful' (DOP II 220).

To sum up, it seems that modern translators are not sure about which of the three readings is correct, nor can they provide a cogent reason for their renderings of this word, or the word is simply left untranslated.

6.1. Similar Phrases in Sanskrit Texts

Since this puzzling word is not found in any Pali text except the *sutta* passage of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* quoted above, the best way to solve the puzzle is probably to search Sanskrit texts for counterparts of this *sutta* passage. Unfortunately, even with the help of several scholars, no such passage has been found, but there are some Sanskrit phrases similar to ‘*uposathaṃ upavasanti paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti*’ (observe the uposatha, *paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti*) in our Pali passage. Below are two examples kindly provided by Dr. Ligeia Lugli:

1. The *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin: *nāsti bhaginīyo bhikṣuṇī-ovādako apramādena saṃpādetha āpattiṃ ca poṣadhaṃ pratijāgratha sa-gauravā ca bhavatha sthavirehi bhikṣūhi madhyehi navakehī* | (Roth 1970: 281)
Translation: Sisters, there is no bhikṣuṇī instructor. You should strive diligently, **keep the uposatha**, and show respect for elder, middle-standing and junior bhikṣus.³³
2. The *Poṣadhavastu* of the *Vinayavastvāgama* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin: *tasmād anujānāmi bhikṣubhir adyāgreṇa niṣadyā kriyā poṣadhaś ca pratijāgartavyaḥ* | (Poṣ-v 4, Hu-von Hinüber 1994)
Translation: Therefore, I prescribe that from this day onward the [meditative] sitting, [legal] procedures and **uposatha should be kept** by bhikṣus.

The Sanskrit word *poṣadha* is equivalent to the Pali *uposatha*. In these two Sanskrit texts, *poṣadha* is governed by the transitive verb *pratijāgrati/pratijāgati*, which derives from *prati-√jāgr* and probably means ‘to keep’,³⁴ and thus *poṣadha* together with *pratijāgrati/pratijāgati* may be rendered as ‘to keep the uposatha’. Now let us return to the phrase ‘*uposathaṃ upavasanti paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti*’ in the Pali *sutta*. Of the three readings, *paṭijāgaranti* (plural form of *paṭijāgarati*) seems the closest to *pratijāgrati* in Sanskrit.³⁵ It could be that both *upavasanti* and *paṭijāgaranti* govern the noun *uposathaṃ*, and *paṭijāgaranti* appears to be a synonym for the preceding verb *upavasanti*. Therefore, *uposathaṃ upavasanti paṭijāgaranti* may be translated as ‘[they] observe and keep the uposatha’.

³³ A noun in the accusative, *āpattiṃ* (happening, entering into a state, offence, etc.; see BHSD 97, MW 142, SJD 197), does not seem to fit here and is left untranslated.

³⁴ BHSD 362 s.v. *pratijāgati*, *°jāgarati*, *°jāgrati* ... (2) *watches = guards*. MW 665 s.v. *prati-√jāgr*, P. *-jāgati*, to watch beside ... to keep (?).

³⁵ The third person plural form of *pratijāgati* is *pratijāgrati*. See Kale (1972: 264).

6.2. Cultural Background

Professor Richard Gombrich suggests that we should give due weight to the reference to keeping the uposatha, and that this gives us a clue that the whole little story is one which is rooted in the cultural background. Note that the uposatha was a pre-Buddhist custom. He explains:

The pre-Buddhist ceremony (which probably continued for many centuries after the Buddha) was theistic, and began on the day/evening before the main ritual. After some initial purificatory rites, the participants took a vow very much like the 8 precepts, which involved fasting, chastity, and abstention from entertainments and luxuries. They then spent the night *awake* in the shrine of the god who would preside over the central ritual (e.g., a *dīkṣā*) the next day. Abstention from sleep was thus part of the regime—and fitted in nicely after the abstention from comfortable beds. It is thus no coincidence that it is gods who are said to be making this inspection of the human world (Gombrich's e-mail, 4 July 2016).

In view of the historical and cultural background of the *sutta* passage in question, *paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti* probably derives from the Sanskrit verb *jāgarti* (MW 417 s.v. $\sqrt{jāgr}$: to be awake or watchful),³⁶ and may mean 'stay watchful', or 'keep the vigil' as translated by Woodward (1932: 126). If this is the case, the puzzling word might be a variation of *paṭijaggati* (PED 394 s.v. *paṭijaggati* [... cp. BSk. *pratijāgarti* ...]),³⁷ which is equivalent or closely related to the Sanskrit word *pratijāgarti* discussed above, but here in the sense of an intransitive verb 'to stay awake or watchful'.³⁸ Then *paṭijāgaranti* (BHSD 362 s.v. *pratijāgarti*, *°jāgarati*) is possibly the correct reading among the three variants in AN 3:37 and could be rendered as 'stay watchful', but not as 'stay awake'. This is because, unlike the pre-Buddhist ceremony quoted above, observance of the uposatha in Buddhism does not require staying awake all day and night. As the Buddha prescribes in AN 3:70, on an uposatha day the laity, following the example of arahants, keep eight precepts for one day and night. The eighth precept is: '... Today, for this night and day, I too shall abandon and abstain from the use of high and big beds; I shall lie down on a low resting place, either a small bed or a straw mat ...' (translation mostly follows Bodhi 2012: 300). Therefore, observance of the uposatha allows people to sleep without having to stay awake all the time.

³⁶ I am grateful to Dr. William Pruitt for this suggestion.

³⁷ Cf. PED 277 s.v. *jaggati* [= *jāgarati* ...]. The simplex Sanskrit *jāgarti/jāgrati* could develop into Pali in two ways, either by assimilation *jāgrati* > *jaggati*, or by insertion of a theme vowel *jāgarti* > *jāgar-a-ti*. I thank an anonymous reader for this explanation.

³⁸ BHSD 362 s.v. *pratijāgarti*, *°jāgarati*, *°jāgrati* ... Pali *paṭijaggati* ... (1) *watches* = *stays awake* (opp. *sleeps*).

6.3. A Perspective from Textual History

This *sutta* passage in AN 3:37 has at least seven Chinese parallels. Among these parallels, SĀ2 46 (T II 389a) is too different from the Pali to be compared. The other six versions have words equivalent (or similar) to ‘behave properly towards their mother and father, behave properly towards ascetics and brahmins, honour the elders of the family, observe the uposatha, *paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti*, and make merits’ in the Pali version. Below are the six parallel versions extant in Chinese translations (phrases in italics are not found in the Pali):

(1) *Sūtra* 1117 of the *Samyukta Āgama* (T 99) translated by Guṇabhadra (between 435 and 443 CE, see Section 5):

make offerings to their father and mother, to ascetics and brahmins, respect their clansmen, make various merits, *see faults in this world, fear suffering in the world beyond, practise giving*, make merits, observe the uposatha (lit. observe fasting and precepts).

T II 295c: 供養父母、沙門、婆羅門，宗親尊重，作諸福德，見今世惡，畏後世罪，行施，作福，受持齋戒。

(2) *Sūtra* 30 of the *Dīrgha Āgama* (T 1) translated by Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (413 CE) (Lü 1963: 242):

pay reverence to their father and mother, respect ascetics and brahmins, honour the elders, observe the uposatha (lit. keep precepts and observe fasting), *give to the poor*.

T I 134b: 孝順父母，宗敬沙門、婆羅門，恭順長老，持戒守齋，布施窮乏。

(3) *Sūtra* 6 in Chapter 24 of the *Ekottarika Āgama* (T 125) translated by Dharmānandī 曇摩難提 and Zhu Fonian (358 CE)³⁹:

pay reverence to their father and mother, to ascetics and brahmins, respect the elders, *like giving*, observe the uposatha (lit. observe the eight precepts and fasting).

T II 624c–625a: 孝順父母、沙門、婆羅門，及尊長者，好喜布施，持八關齋。

(4) The *Loutan jing* 樓炭經 (T 23) translated by Fali 法立 and Faju 法炬 (who worked together during 290–311) (FD 3343):

pay reverence to their father and mother, to ascetics and religious practitioners, respect the elders, observe the uposatha (lit. fasting and precepts), *give, believe in this world and the world beyond*.

T I 298b: 孝順父母、沙門、道人，敬長老，齋戒，布施，信今世、後世。

(5, 6) The *Qishi jing* 起世經 (T 24) translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 (523–600) (FD 6530) and the *Qishi yinben jing* 起世因本經 (T 25) translated by Dharmagupta 達摩笈多 (?–619) (FD 5670) have almost identical wording:

³⁹ For the translators and translation date, see the Preface to the translation of the *Ekottarika Āgama* by Dao'an 道安 (T II 549a). The Taishō edition wrongly attributes it to Gautama Saṃghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆. Cf. Palumbo (2013: 38–84).

[T I 347a: Are there people in the world who practise / T I 402a: Are there human folk in the world who frequently practise] paying reverence and offerings to their father and mother, respect ascetics and brahmins? Honour the elders? *Practise giving, keep the abstinence* (*vrata)? Observe the uposatha (lit. ‘Guard the eight precepts, observe the six fasting [days]’)?

[T I 347a: 於世間中頗亦有人修行 / T I 402a: 頗有人輩於世間中多行] 孝順、供養父母，恭敬沙門、婆羅門不？於諸尊長崇重以不？修行布施，受禁戒不？守攝八關，持六齋不？

We should not play down the importance and authenticity of these Chinese translations from the Indic originals in that five out of the six were translated by different Indian individuals who could not have misunderstood their own culture, while one was translated by two Chinese monks. All the six Chinese versions have ‘observe the uposatha’ and ‘[practise] giving’, which are preceded by a passage like ‘behave properly towards their mother and father, behave properly towards ascetics and brahmins, honour the elders of the family’ as found in the Pali version. This is not a mere coincidence, since these texts come from different traditions, which trace their origins back to a common source. The *Samyukta Āgama* in Chinese translation is ascribed to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition (see above). The Chinese *Dīrgha Āgama* is widely attributed to the Dharmaguptaka (Lü 1963: 242; Kumoi 1963: 248; Ui 1965: 135; Waldschmidt 1980: 136; Akanuma 1981: 34f.; Mayeda 1985: 97; Salomon 1999: 173f.; Karashima 2014). Many scholars ascribe the Chinese *Ekottarika Āgama* to the Mahāsāṃghika (Ui 1965: 137f.; Akanuma 1981: 37–39; Bronkhorst 1985: 312–314; Pāsādika 2010: 88–90). I have also argued that this text is most likely to be of Mahāsāṃghika provenance (Kuan 2013a; 2013b).

As for the *Loutan jing* (T 23), Willemen (2008: 61) says: ‘*Loutan* is a Prakrit form of *Lokasthāna*’. This is attested in a passage in Kumārajīva’s translation of the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā Upadeśa* (*Dazhidu lun* 大智度論, T 1509) and a note (small words in brackets) inserted into it: ‘... among the six-division *Abhidharma*, the third division with eight chapters entitled **Loka-sthāna-prajñapti Division* [this is the *Loutan jing*, being the third division of the six divisions] was composed by Maudgalyāyana.’⁴⁰ The canonical *Abhidharma* of the Sarvāstivāda comprises seven texts, namely the *Jñānaprasthāna* known as the ‘body’ and the other six texts called the ‘six feet’ (Hirakawa 1990: 131). The *Jñānaprasthāna* 發智, the ‘body’, is mentioned in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā Upadeśa* just before the passage quoted above, while the foregoing ‘six-division *Abhidharma*’ evidently refers to the ‘six feet’. Frauwallner (1995: 36) also confirms that the paragraph containing this passage deals with the Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharma*. Therefore, the *Loutan jing* is affiliated with the Sarvāstivāda according to the note inserted in this passage of the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā Upadeśa*.

In summary, among the six Chinese versions, the *Samyukta Āgama* version belongs to the Mūlasarvāstivāda, the *Dīrgha Āgama* version belongs to the Dharma-

⁴⁰ T XXV 70a: 六分阿毘曇中，第三分八品之名〈分別世處分〉[此是《樓炭經》，作六分中第三分]是目鍵連作。

guptaka, the *Loutan jing* version belongs to the Sarvāstivāda, and the *Ekottarika Āgama* version probably belongs to the Mahāsāṃghika. The *Qishi jing* and *Qishi yinben jing* versions are unclear regarding their school affiliations. Just like the present Theravāda school (using Pali), the Dharmaguptaka, the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda were all descended from the Sthaviras, opposed to the Mahāsāṃghikas at the first schism, according to the sources of various schools.⁴¹ It is reasonable to assume a common ‘ancestral’ text from which these four versions of Sthavira origin are derived. Since the three Sthavira versions, i.e. those of the Dharmaguptaka, the Sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda, all have ‘observe the uposatha’ alongside ‘[practise] giving’, it is most likely that the Theravāda’s version (AN 3:37) also had the same. If the *Ekottarika Āgama* version really belongs to the Mahāsāṃghika, then the pre-schism text surely had a string of phrases containing ‘observe the uposatha’ and ‘[practise] giving’. Therefore, the Pali version ‘observe the uposatha, *paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti*’ must come from the same phrases. In either case mentioned above, the word *paṭijāgar[e/o/a]nti* corresponds to ‘[practise] giving’. I venture to speculate that *paṭijāgaranti*, *paṭijāgaronti* and *paṭijāgaranti* could be corruptions of *pariccāgaṃ karonti*,⁴² which sounds like *paṭijāgaronti* and may mean ‘[they] practise giving’.⁴³ Even the Pali commentary associates *-garonti* with *karonti* (see above). An original **pariccāgaṃ karonti* could be the source of the otherwise quite unexplainable *o* in the variant *paṭijāgaronti*, which could become the regular *paṭijāgaranti* through normalisation.⁴⁴ The Sanskrit counterpart of *pariccāgaṃ karoti*, namely *parityāga* √kr, is attested in several Buddhist texts such as the *Mahāvastu*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* and the *Divyāvadāna*.⁴⁵

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⁴¹ For the references, see Kuan (2013b: 614 note 35).

⁴² Such corruptions or confusions are not unusual in the Pali texts. Here are two examples. While Ee I 142, 20 and Se I 181, 20 read *khemappattā*, Ce I 260, 7 reads *khoppamattā*, and Be I 141, 7 reads *appamattā*. While Ee I 254, 8 and Se I 330, 3 read *nihitaṃ ninnitakasāvaṃ*, Ce I 452, 17 reads *nihitaṃ nikkhittakasāvaṃ*, and Be I 255, 17 reads *niddhantakasāvaṃ*. Different editions have divergent readings that even vary in the number of syllables.

⁴³ PED 425 s.v. *pariccāga*: giving (to the poor), liberality.

⁴⁴ I am grateful to the first reviewer for this suggestion.

⁴⁵ E.g. Mvu II 112: *parityāgaṃ kṛtvā*; SPS 240: *ātmabhāva-parityāgāṃś ca karoti*; Divy 104.030: *parityāgaḥ kriyatām*.

Abbreviations

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

AN = *Āṅguttara Nikāya*.

Be = Burmese edition. *The Āṅguttara Nikāya I–III, Chaṭṭhasaṅgītipiṭakam*. Pāli Series 15–17. Yangon: Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2008.

BHSD = *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Volume II: Dictionary*. Edited by Franklin EDGERTON, 1953. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, reprint 1993.

BHSG = *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Volume I: Grammar*. Edited by Franklin EDGERTON, 1953. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, reprint 1993.

BSk. = Buddhist Sanskrit.

CBETA = *CBETA Chinese Electronic Tripitaka Collection*, Version 2014. Taipei: Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association.

Ce = Sinhalese edition. *The Āṅguttara Nikāya I–VI, Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Series*, Vols. 18–23. Published under the patronage of the Government of Ceylon, 1960–1977.

CST = *Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Tipiṭaka*. Version 4.0 (digital version). Igatpuri: Vipassana Research Institute.

Divy = *Divyāvadāna*. An electronic version based on the edition by L. VAIDYA, Mithila, 1959, input by Kensuke OKAMOTO, Ryukoku University. (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/4_rellit/buddh/divyav_u.htm, last access: 9 May 2018.)

DOP I = *A Dictionary of Pāli*, Part I. Edited by Margaret CONE. Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2001.

DOP II = *A Dictionary of Pāli*, Part II. Edited by Margaret CONE. Bristol: Pali Text Society, 2010.

EDC = *The Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* 中文大辭典. Edited by LIN Yin 林尹 and GAO Ming 高明. Taipei: Chinese Culture University, 1973.

Ee = European edition, i.e. Pali Text Society edition, of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*.

FD = *Foguang Da Cidian* 佛光大辭典 (*Foguang [Buddhist] Dictionary*). Edited by CIYI 慈怡. Kaohsiung: Foguang Chubanshe, 1988.

MN = *Majjhima Nikāya*.

Mp = *Manorathapūraṇī* (Commentary on the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*).

Mvu = *Mahāvastu*. An electronic version of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna* based on the edition by Émile SENART, 3 vols., Paris 1882–1897, input by Emmanuel FAURÉ (formerly Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg), under the supervision of Prof. Boris OGUIBÉNINE. Data conversion in co-operation with Stefan BAUMS, Seattle. (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/4_rellit/buddh/mhvastuu.htm, last access: 9 May 2018.)

MW = *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*. Edited by Monier MONIER-WILLIAMS. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899.

PED = *The Pali Text Society's Pali–English Dictionary*. Edited by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and William STEDE. London: Pali Text Society, reprinted 1986. (First published 1921–1925.)

SĀ = *Samyukta Āgama* (Za ahanjing 雜阿含經).

SĀ2 = *Other Translation of the Samyukta Āgama* (Bieyi Za ahanjing 別譯雜阿含經).

Se = Siamese edition. *The Āṅguttara Nikāya I–V, Chulachomklao of Siam Pāli Tipiṭaka*, Vols. 20–24. Bangkok: King Chulalongkorn, 1893.

SJD = *Kan'yaku taishō Bon-Wa daijiten* 漢訳対照梵和大辞典 (*A Sanskrit–Japanese Dictionary with Equivalents in Chinese Translation*). Edited by WOGIHARA Unrai 荻原雲来, revised edition. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1986.

SN = *Samyutta Nikāya*.

Sn = *Sutta-nipāta* (by verse).

Spk = *Sāratthappakāsinī* (Commentary on the *Samyutta Nikāya*).

SPS = *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*. An electronic version based on the edition by P. L. VAIDYA. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, 1960, input by members of the Sanskrit Buddhist Input Project. (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/4_rellit/buddh/bsu036_u.htm, last access: 9 May 2018.)

T = *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (Taishō Edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka). Edited by TAKAKUSU Junjirō 高楠順次郎 *et al.* Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934 (cited from CBETA).

Vibh-a = *Sammohavinodanī* (*Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā*).

Vism = *Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosācariya*. Edited by Henry Clarke WARREN. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, reprint 1999. (First published Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950.)

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