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Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XXX.

MILINDA'S QUESTIONS

Volume I

# MILINDA'S QUESTIONS

VOLUME I

TRANSLATED FROM THE PALI BY

I. B. HORNER, M.A.

*(Translator of "Book of the Discipline", and  
"Middle Length Sayings")*

LONDON

LUZAC & COMPANY, LTD.  
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.1  
1964

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY  
BILLING AND SONS LTD.  
GUILDFORD AND LONDON

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## TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

ABOUT seventy years have passed since T. W. Rhys Davids (RhD.) published his *Questions of King Milinda* (*QKM*) in two volumes in the Sacred Books of the East (Vols. XXXV, XXXVI, 1890, 1894). This was the first translation of *Milindapañha* (*Miln.*) into English. It has been out of print for nearly twenty years. Pali studies have advanced considerably since *QKM* was published, and a new translation seems called for. I know of none other into English besides RhD.'s. There have been two into German (parts, by F. O. Schrader, 1905, and, complete, by Nyanatiloka, 1919<sup>1</sup>) and one into French (Books I-III, by L. Finot, 1923). The complete translation now presented in these two volumes is based on Trenckner's "very able and accurate edition of the text, published in 1880" (*QKM*. i. xvii) and reprinted by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1928 with the helpful additions of a General Index, an Index of Gāthās, and a Table of Contents. As difficulties in *Miln.* text still exist, I consulted corresponding passages in the King of Siam's printed Siamese edition (Si.), and have usually recorded in the footnotes the readings found there if they appear to make better sense, verbal or grammatical, if they show interesting or useful variations from Trenckner's edition, or otherwise throw light on doubtful passages. I have not considered it part of a translation, however, to note discrepancies in the arrangement of passages or sections as between *Miln.* and Si., curious and suggestive though these may be, but only to record here that a number exist, including now and again omissions and transpositions.

In preparing my translation I have used RhD.'s own copy of Trenckner's 1880 text, and his own copy of

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<sup>1</sup> Both criticized by Mrs. Rhys Davids in *The Milinda-Questions*, 1930, pp. xii f., 53.

*QKM.*, in both of which some annotations and further references have been pencilled in by himself and by Mrs. Rhys Davids who naturally availed herself of her husband's books when she was writing *The Milinda-Questions* (London, 1930). This stimulating and penetrating study should be read in conjunction with any translation of *Milindapañha*. I have also derived some help, but perhaps less than I had hoped, from a small and rather unusual commentary named *Milinda-tīkā* (*MilnT.*, P.T.S., 1961) that Dr. P. S. Jaini began to edit after my translation was practically finished.<sup>1</sup> I have been able to refer to it in a few footnotes; yet it must be admitted that its author comments on only a minimum of words and, even then, though on occasion his reading may be preferred to that of *Miln.*, his exegesis can seldom be called revealing. Very valuable has been a typewritten "Pali-English Technical Glossary, 1. of Epistemological words and word-meanings, 2. of Words and word-meanings not in P.T.S. Dictionary," compiled by the late Nānamoli Bhikkhu and given to me by him a few years before he died. He also assisted me with two out-of-the-way subjects I found baffling: the phrase *āpatti saññāvimokkhā āpatti no saññāvimokkhā*<sup>2</sup> and the compound *catujātīgandhā*,<sup>3</sup> though the final word on at least the second of these topics still has to be said. But if we waited for perfection, for a complete understanding of what all words meant and implied at the time when any particular Pali work was being compiled, and for the resulting assurance and competence in rendering them into a modern tongue, very few translations would ever see the light of day. It is better to give the fruits of such advances as have been made and produce a translation that, while it will inevitably contain errors and even mere guesses and so cannot be regarded as more than a stop-gap and certainly not as definitive, nevertheless will give something of the spirit and the

<sup>1</sup> Owing to several reasons which combined to delay the completion of this Introduction, *MilnT.* will appear first.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase occurs at *Miln.* 159; see discussion below, p. xlvi.

<sup>3</sup> Word at *Miln.* 254; discussed below, p. li.

meaning of the original. Naturally advance becomes easier as more tools for our work are made available: there are now a number of Dictionaries (Pali-English, English-Pali, of Pali Proper Names, of Buddhist Terms and Meanings, and so forth), and there is the *Pali Tipitaka Concordance* (not yet completed), besides valuable concordances and glossaries included in several of the newer editions and translations issued by the Pali Text Society. All may be consulted with advantage.

So we of today have a rather clearer conception of some of the meanings and some of the implications and allusions of various technical terms than had RhD., thanks to works that have been published since his death. This great, but more recent, literary output bearing on the Pali Canon and its commentaries has also enabled me to trace more of the allusions, references and quotations, in all of which *Miln.* abounds, than he was able to supply. Nevertheless I have marvelled time and time again at the amount he managed to find even in works such as the *Kathāvatthu* which had not then been edited, and the *Jātaka*, parts of which were still being prepared for the press and were not in print when he was translating *Miln.* It is no wonder that a scholar of this calibre remains a lasting inspiration to Pali studies.

The *Miln.* is a long work, of Indian and not Sinhalese origin;<sup>1</sup> it has a wide range and covers much ground, denoting deep erudition on the part of its compiler. His name is not known. He draws on innumerable canonical sources for illustration of points, opposes apparently inconsistent canonical passages the one to the other for the purpose of making the debates and dilemmas lead to a clarification and a better understanding of the Teaching, makes use of *Vinaya* and *Jātaka* material,<sup>2</sup> introduces a few Abhidhamma terms, some non-canonical notions and terms,<sup>3</sup> and discusses a number of the points of controversy also brought

<sup>1</sup> See B. C. Law, *A Hist. of Pali Lit.*, 1933, vol. ii, p. 353 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Vin.* at e.g., *Miln.* 158, 170, 190, 192, 211 f.; *Jā.* at e.g., *Miln.* 113, 172, 200 ff., 219 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. xxxix ff.

forward in the *Kathāvatthu*.<sup>1</sup> Besides numerous "hidden" references to the Pali Canon in phrasing and allusions which appear to be introduced casually into the text and ascribed by it to no specific work or speaker, the compiler also refers to many canonical works and Suttas and personages by name, obviously using them as sources.

On the reverse side, the *Vism.* and some of the commentaries have drawn on the *Miln.* Where I have known them I have shown all correspondences in the footnotes, but some allusions and "quotations" still defy the sternest attempts to trace them. If the following Tables of I. Canonical Passages,<sup>2</sup> II. *Vism.* and Commentarial Passages<sup>3</sup> are studied in conjunction with RhD.'s valuable lists of the passages he traced and those he failed to trace, given in his Introduction to *QKM.* vol. i, it will be possible, by a process of elimination, to determine which passages are still untraced.

His lists comprise<sup>4</sup> (a) Pali texts *Miln.* refers to silently, (b) Pali books it refers to by name—and by this canonical books are meant, (c) passages from the Piṭakas it quotes without naming the book they come from. Of his 316 entries, he marked 88 as "untraced." I have been able to find some of these, as shown in the following Tables. The number of (a) "silent" references is so great that to collect them in a list would hardly justify the time that would have to be expended. Here too where, with the help of RhD.'s Tables or otherwise, I have known the reference or allusion, I have recorded it in the footnotes. Other allusions no doubt have escaped me, and I lay no claim to completeness in my findings.

<sup>1</sup> See *QKM.* ii. Intr. p. xx ff. for a discussion of some of the questions common to *Miln.* and *Kvu.* I have found at least sixteen; references are given in the footnotes to my translation.

<sup>2</sup> See just below.

<sup>3</sup> See below, Intr. p. xx.

<sup>4</sup> See also B. C. Law, *A Hist. of Pali Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 369 f., and E. W. Burlingame in H.O.S. 28, p. 60: "References to Dhammapada Commentary Stories in Milindapañha iv and vi," and his synoptical table, p. 61.

In supplement to RhD.'s Tables, I now give another, in two parts, corresponding in subject to (b) and (c) mentioned above:

TABLE I

(b) <i>Miln.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Reference</i>
p. 20	Samacitta-pariyāya	<i>A.</i> i. 64
p. 150	Khandha-parittā <sup>1</sup>	<i>Vin.</i> ii. 109; also at <i>A.</i> ii. 72
p. 151	Angulimāla-parittā <sup>1</sup>	<i>M.</i> ii. 103.
p. 371	Kummūpama-sutta	<i>S.</i> i. 7; <i>cf.</i> <i>S.</i> iv. 179
p. 377	Sacca-saṃyutta	<i>S.</i> v. 418
p. 403	Cullanārada-jātaka	<i>Jā.</i> No. 477
p. 403	(Saṃyutta)	<i>Cf. S.</i> v. 414
(c) <i>Miln.</i>	<i>Attributed to</i>	<i>Reference</i>
p. 37	B. <sup>2</sup>	<i>A.</i> i. 148, 149
p. 138	You <sup>3</sup>	<i>Cf. Ud.</i> 35, <i>Vin.</i> iii. 158, <i>A.</i> iii. 168
p. 138	You	Episode at <i>S.</i> v. 13
p. 142	B.	<i>A.</i> i. 276
p. 154	You	<i>Cf. A.</i> iv. 399
p. 154	You	Episode at <i>S.</i> i. 113 f.
p. 159	B.	<i>D.</i> iii. 76
p. 160	You	<i>Cf. D.</i> iii. 172
p. 160	You	<i>Cf. Vin.</i> ii. 99 (as noticed at <i>QKM.</i> I. 227, n.)
p. 164	You	Episode at <i>A.</i> iv. 128-135
p. 170	Sāriputta	<i>D.</i> iii. 217
p. 181	B.	<i>Cf. A.</i> ii. 238
p. 194	B.	<i>Vin.</i> iii. 82
p. 215	B.	<i>Iti.</i> p. 101
p. 217	B.	<i>S.</i> ii. 105
p. 219	B.	<i>D.</i> iii. 166
p. 221	It was said	Untraced in these words, but <i>cf.</i> <i>M.</i> ii. 47, etc.
p. 232	You	Untraced, but <i>cf. Vin.</i> i. 5
p. 367	B.	<i>Jā.</i> ii. 294
p. 386	Subhūti	<i>Ap.</i> i. p. 67
p. 392	B.	<i>A.</i> iv. 111
p. 395	Mahā-Kassapa	<i>Thag.</i> 1054-1056
p. 396	Sāriputta	<i>Thag.</i> 987
p. 411	Sāriputta	<i>Budv.</i> II. 195, but not there ascribed to S.

<sup>1</sup> These are not "books" of course, but two of the protective spells known to the Pali Canon.

<sup>2</sup> Bhagavan.

<sup>3</sup> Nāgasena.

As will be seen, I have been able to complete the seven sources under (b) which, out of a total of about fifty-four entries under this heading, were all that remained untraced by RhD.; and under (c) I have been able to add a number of references or correspondences that he did not find. There remain here, however, approximately sixty references still untraced.

Of these, some mystery appears to surround nearly all the utterances, especially the verses, attributed by *Miln.* to a number of Elders. These are distributed throughout the work, though tending to occur most frequently in the final Book. Mrs. Rhys Davids, in *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 424, has drawn attention to this puzzle of "extra-canonical Thera-verses in the *Milinda*, comprising fourteen by Sāriputta, two by Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, two by Subhūti, one by Moggallāna the Great, three by Anuruddha, one by Upāli, three by Rāhula, one by Vangīsa, one by Cūla-Panthaka, one by Mogharājan, and five by Upasena-Vanganta-putta. . . . They are all quoted by the author (of *Miln.*) as bearing precisely as much, or as little, authority as those other verses, which he quotes, on five occasions, from the *Theragāthā*. . . . But the source or sources from which they are drawn remains one of the many problems obscuring the history of Pali literature."

Though practically all these thirty-four verses to which Mrs. Rhys Davids has referred are still untraced, we are now in a position to offer the following remarks on some of them: (1) Of the total of nineteen prose and verse utterances ascribed to Sāriputta in *Miln.*, I have been able to trace but two sources in addition to the two noted by Rhys Davids: the verse at *Miln.* 396 is taken from *Thag.* 987, and the prose passage at *Miln.* 170 comes from the Sangīti Suttanta (*D.* iii. 217) which is supposed to have been first uttered by this Thera. It can now be added also that the verse ascribed to Sāriputta at *Miln.* 410 is attributed to the Buddha on its occurrence at *DhA.* i. 146. But where and when did he speak it? It occurs also at *MA.* ii. 387. And the verse ascribed to Sāriputta at *Miln.* 411 appears at both *Budv.* II. 195

and *Jā.* i. 28 (which mentions *Budv.* by name), though in neither of these places is it assigned to Sāriputta. The result up to date is that of the nineteen utterances that *Miln.* ascribes to Sāriputta two are assigned to him elsewhere also; and elsewhere two are ascribed to other speakers. With the sources or parallels of fifteen of his *Miln.* utterances still not found, no particularly fixed state of affairs can be said to have existed.

Varying success has attended my efforts to trace the sources of the verses *Miln.* ascribes to other Theras: (2) The three verses attributed to Subhūti at *Miln.* 386-387 are also ascribed to him at *Ap.* i. 67 (ver. 5, 6, 7); the last verse occurs also at *DhA.* iv. 173, slightly differently worded; his verse at *Miln.* 391 is not yet found elsewhere. (3) Anuruddha's three verses (*Miln.* 376, 405, 407) are still untraced, though that on p. 376 might be compared with *Pv.* p. 28 (ver. 72, 73) and *Ap.* ii. 444 (ver. 5, 6). Of Rāhula's three verses (*Miln.* 372, 376, 413) that at p. 413 has affinities with *Ap.* i. 42 (ver. 76) though there it is ascribed not to Rāhula but to Upāli. (5) The first two of Upasena Vangantaputta's three lines at *Miln.* 395 are assigned to him also at *Thag.* 580, but the third line remains untraced. His verse at *Miln.* 371 was traced by RhD. to *Thag.* 577. As his verse at *Miln.* 393 and his two separated though kindred ones at *Miln.* 394 have not been found elsewhere, his verse-tradition gives the impression of more instability than stability. None of the verses attributed to the other six Theras mentioned by Mrs. Rhys Davids has been traced.

In addition to the puzzle of these extra-canonical Thera-verses, there is the puzzle of the extra-canonical verses of the extra-canonical lay-woman follower, Cūḷa-Subhaddā. She has a verse assigned to her at *Miln.* 383 and another at *Miln.* 387, two at *AA.* iii. 35, and seven at *DhA.* iii. 467-468. All consist of two lines except the one at *Miln.* 383 which has four; and all end with the refrain *tādisā samaṇā mama*, "such are my recluses." No parallel has yet been found to her verse at *Miln.* 383, to her second one at *AA.* iii. 35, or to her fifth, sixth

and seventh at *DhA.* iii. 467-468.<sup>1</sup> Only that at *Miln.* 387 = *DhA.* iii. 468, fourth verse, and that at *DhA.* iii. 467, first verse = *AA.* iii. 35, first verse. This results in the printed total of eleven verses (in P.T.S. edns.) being reduced to the actual number of nine that at present we know of as being attributed to the devout lay-woman who greatly preferred the Buddha's monks to the unclothed ascetics her husband had been in the habit of supporting. For the time being it must be left an open question whether or not there exist elsewhere other verses ascribed to her, or whether her total never exceeded the nine we have been able to collect. These certainly constitute something of a literary curiosity, both because they are nowhere set out in full in one work but appear in three different ones, and because in these different works the verses are so arranged as to present one correspondence between a semi- or post-canonical work and a Commentary, and one further correspondence between this same Commentary and another.

And this is not all. An added complication arises if her verses are placed beside those attributed to the Therī Rohiṇī in *Thīg.* (271-290). Eleven of Rohiṇī's verses also end with one refrain: *tena me samaṇā piyā*, "therefore are recluses dear to me," which is not such a far cry from the note on which ends Cūḷa-Subhaddā's verses. Even more remarkable is it that two of Rohiṇī's verses (*Thīg.* 277, 278) are so nearly identical with the second and third of Cūḷa-Subhaddā's as given at *DhA.* iii. 467, 468, that there is virtually only a half-line with any real discrepancy in wording though not in sentiment.<sup>2</sup> Cūḷa-Subhaddā's name does not appear to be known in the Nikāyas at all, even in the *Ētaḍ Aggas*. But, of a certain post-canonical importance, it occurs in *Miln.* (p. 350 as well as pp. 383, 387), in *Vism.* (p. 390), *Jā.* (i. 93), and in *ApA.* (p. 97) besides in the two Commentaries already mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Her second and third *DhA.* verses are considered just below.

<sup>2</sup> Rohiṇī at *Thīg.* 278: *puṇṇā sukkāna dhammānam*; and Cūḷa-Subhaddā at *DhA.* iii. 468: *puṇṇā suddhehi dhammehi*; but see *ThīgA.* 218; *puṇṇā sukkehi dhammehi*.

The unsolved puzzle of these extra-canonical verses raises again the question that has been put so often in the course of Pali studies: Is literature lost? If so, then we may ask further whether these *Miln.* verses are but one more pointer in this direction, whether they be attributed to Elders or the lay-woman follower? Or, on the other hand, are we looking in the wrong place for them? Perhaps, for example, we should be looking not in the Pali Canon but in the Sarvāstivāda Canon. Again, we may ask whether these unidentified verses were composed by the compiler of *Miln.* himself and ascribed by him to Theras or a devout lay-woman to assure them an authority they might have lacked otherwise? Or did he so assign them owing to some lapse of memory?

There are at least two reasons why I think an affirmative answer to these last two questions should not be considered. In the first place, we may call to mind the quite remarkable array of untraced passages in the *Nettipakarana*, especially from about p. 176 onwards, none of which has been found yet in the Pali Canon,<sup>1</sup> though all give the appearance of being canonical.

Secondly, the *Milinda-tīkā*, though it does not quote all the verses found in Trenckner's version of the *Milindapañha*, yet ascribes, in its Gāthāsarūpaṃ section, several of those it does quote to the same sources as does *Miln.*, thus showing no break with the latter's tradition.<sup>2</sup> For example, there are two verses which both *Miln.* (pp. 95, 242) and *MilnT.* say were uttered by Sāriputta, but neither of them so far is traced. There is also the problem of the verses which are introduced by the phrase *bhavatīha*, a form of introduction to "quotations, real or pretended" which, according to Trenckner (Intr., p. vii), is found in no Pali writing other than *Miln.* The *Tīka* complicates this problem. While it introduces a number of verses by using *bhavatīha*, it sometimes differs from *Miln.* as to the speakers of these *bhavatīha*-

<sup>1</sup> Hardy, in his 1902 edn. of *Netti*, has given sources for the passages he traced.

<sup>2</sup> See *MilnT.*, Intr. p. x ff. for a discussion of the Gāthāsarūpaṃ.

verses, if indeed it notices them at all. For example, *Miln.* has two of these verses on p. 92 and four on p. 93, all appearing to have been spoken by the King. The *Ṭika* reproduces these (p. 55) but without making any suggestion of their authorship or stating by whom, in *Miln.* they were recited. Much the same might be said of the two beautiful sets of verses in the Anumānapañha (*Miln.* 342-343 and 345-347; *Miln.T.* 58 ff.). The first of these two sets is introduced in both these works by the word *bhavatīha*, and in *Miln.* appears to have been spoken by Nāgasena. It is impossible to tell whether the *Ṭikā* considers the second set of verses to be *bhavatīha* ones, as they run on directly from the first set. *Miln.* does not use this word to introduce them; again they appear to have been spoken by Nāgasena. I have no solution to offer, except to say I think it doubtful whether the compiler of *Miln.* was the author of this type of verse.

We know, or we think we know, that at some time more Pali canonical literature existed than has come down to us. We know too that some of the Suttas had alternative titles.<sup>1</sup> If we knew what all of these were we might the more easily find the source for at least a few of the hitherto untraced quotations. What, for example, is the Dhammatādhamma-pariyāya (*Miln.* 193)? Is it a Sutta that has not survived? Or an alternative title for one that has survived? Or is it a part of a Sutta—a section-title, as it were, for example of the Mahāpadāna Suttanta §§17-30? These paragraphs deal with what is *dhammatā* for all Bodhisattas and their mothers at the time of their nativity; and the Commentary (*DA.* 428 ff.) discusses the “five great investigations” a Bodhisatta has to make. As the “eight great investigations,” these form the topic of a dilemma at *Miln.* 193, one “horn” of which is the quotation there attributed to the Dhammatādhammapariyāya, the King

<sup>1</sup> Some are given at *MLS.* i. Intr., p. xvi. To these may be added Therapañhasutta, the alternative title for Sāriputtasutta (*Sn.* 955-975), as explained at *SnA.* 569 f.; this alternative name occurs at *MA.* ii. 246.

alleging that he is quoting words that had been uttered by the Bhagavan. Some correspondence is thus visible between this dilemma and this section of the Mahāpadāna Suttanta where in fourteen of its paragraphs the word *dhammatā* is used as though these might have been known as the Dhammatādhammapariyāya. Unfortunately I have not been able to find the alleged "quotation" in these paragraphs, so my remarks on this whole complicated question must be regarded as extremely tentative. A further question is why eight great investigations are spoken of in *Miln.* and only five in the Commentaries.

Whether Dhammatādhammapariyāya is or is not a name that once denoted some Sutta or portion of a Sutta, other Suttas seem to be referred to in *Miln.* but without receiving a title. For example, at *Miln.* 119 two rather similar passages are cited as having been "said in a Sutta"; obviously the same one is meant. Though these passages are untraced so far to any Pali Sutta, they are so truly canonical in flavour as to suggest that the compiler either had some definite source in mind even if he had temporarily forgotten its name, or had thought this so well known as to make it superfluous to mention it. This mode of reference should not be confused with still another mode. Here the impression is created that a number of canonical passages of similar sentiment are condensed into one general statement which is then quoted by the King or Nāgasena. This would account for the source of the "quotation" not having come to light; for, in fact, no precise source may exist.

I have hinted earlier at another possibility, and one which is not to be ignored, for finding the sources of quotations so far untraced. This is that the compiler of *Miln.*, though he drew so extensively from the Pali Piṭakas, may not have been altogether unacquainted with Sarvāstivādin literature, and that this is where some at any rate of the untraced prose and verse passages may be found eventually. There is some internal support for this suggestion. For example, at *Miln.*

268, 271 Nāgasena uses a tenet of Sarvāstivādin teaching when he assures the King that neither ākāsa nor nibbāna is born of cause, kamma or chemical change. This is a tenet according to which ākāsa as well as nibbāna is *asamskṛta*, unconstructed, unstructured or uncompounded, whereas in Theravāda teaching nibbāna alone occupies this category.<sup>1</sup>

Another point in connection with untraced passages has been put forward before now. It is that there was, perhaps from early days, a stock, a common fund of verses floating about from which an author or compiler drew for his use as occasion seemed to him to demand. Such a fund might account for the slight variations in wording that sometimes exist in the different occurrences of otherwise similar verses. And here too compilers, in their ascriptions of the authorship of one and the same verse, might vary from one another for reasons presumably best known to themselves. Such variations would be perfectly possible if there was no fixed and unalterable tradition that such and such a verse actually had been uttered by such and such a person. Examples of such possibly "floating" and traditionally unscribed verses may be found perhaps in the three "ascriptions" of the *S.* verse, quoted at *Miln.* 409: to the Bhagavan, to Somamitta and to Vimala; and some of the verses referred to above and ascribed to Sāriputta, Rāhula, Subhūti (last verse, *Miln.* 387) and Anuruddha (*Miln.* 376) also point in this direction, as do the two verses that are common to Rohiṇī and Cūḷa-Subhaddā.

There is too the somewhat different but still analogous question of whether, and if so how much, the *Vism.* and the Commentaries were taking *Miln.* itself as their point of reference and their authority, thus at the same time adding to the prestige it has enjoyed uninterruptedly in Buddhist countries since its inception. In this connection we can add an interesting piece of information, noticed and discussed by Dr. Jaini in the Introduc-

<sup>1</sup> For the Sarvāstivādin teaching on ākāsa being *asamskṛta*, see Lamotte, *Hist.*, p. 675. See also below, p. xlii, on "innovations."

tion to his edition of *MilnT.* (p. xii). This is to the effect that since the Ven. Buddhaghosa is mentioned twice in this *Tikā* and spoken of as the author of *Miln.*'s five opening verses, a tradition was in existence that he had played an active part in revising and even recasting this work. At all events he seems to have been very well acquainted with it, for the *Vism.* and some of the Commentaries quote a certain number of prose and verse passages found in it.<sup>1</sup> When they do so, thus appearing to take it as their source, they may mention it by name, or they may speak of Nāgasena or the King or both, or they may say that the passage they are citing occurs "in a Sutta." For example, *AA.* i. 93 thus quotes a passage traced by later editors to *Miln.* 133; and *Asl.* 108 quotes another passage that may be found at *Miln.* 60.

It is likewise true that the *Vism.* and some of the Pali Commentaries occasionally contain verses found also in *Miln.*, but do not give it as their source (see *Miln.* 74, 370, 410 in my Table II below); and sometimes there are variations in wording. If, in such cases, *Miln.* itself had not been taken as an original but silent authority, it would almost look as if such verses either belonged to a common stock that perhaps never was committed to writing, or were derived from some other, and more definite, source not now available or not in full, such as the Porāṇas to whom *Si.* ascribes the verse at *Miln.* 22, and *Vism.* a verse that occurs there on p. 270. But on the appearance of this same verse at *Miln.* 369 it is not there attributed to the Porāṇas but to the Elders who were the recensionists of Dhamma, *thera dhammasaṅgāhaka*,<sup>2</sup> those who, according to the *Gandhavamsa*.<sup>3</sup> "took part in the three Councils, but with the exception of Mahākaccāyana."

The following Table gives a number of correspondences between prose and verse passages in *Miln.* on the one

<sup>1</sup> See Table II just below.

<sup>2</sup> The second word occurs without *thera* at *VvA.* 3, 169.

<sup>3</sup> *JPTS.* 1886, p. 58 f.; see also E. W. Adikaram, *Early Hist. of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1946, p. 16 ff., and Appendix II A and II B.

hand and *Vism.* and the Pali Commentaries on the other:

TABLE II

<i>Miln.</i>		<i>Vism. and Comys.</i>
p. 34	prose	<i>AA.</i> iv. 56 (no source given)
pp. 34-35	,,	<i>Asl.</i> 119 ff. (mentions Nāgasena)
p. 37	,,	<i>MA.</i> i. 82-83, <i>AA.</i> ii. 52, <i>Asl.</i> 121 (source not given; abbreviated)
p. 60	,,	<i>Asl.</i> 108 (quotes as a Sutta, using word <i>mahārāja</i> )
p. 62	,,	<i>Asl.</i> 112 (quotation, "said by the therā," otherwise no source given)
pp. 62-63	,,	<i>Asl.</i> 114 (refers to Nāgasena)
p. 74	verse	<i>Vism.</i> 196, <i>Khpa.</i> 46 (no source given)
p. 87	prose	<i>Vism.</i> 438, <i>MA.</i> ii. 344, <i>SA.</i> ii. 294, <i>Asl.</i> 142 (ascribed to Nāgasena)
p. 102	,,	<i>SA.</i> ii. 99 ( <i>Miln.</i> given as source), <i>AA.</i> i. 59 (mentions Milinda and Nāgasena)
p. 106	,,	<i>SA.</i> ii. 99, <i>AA.</i> i. 59 (ending quotations from <i>Miln.</i> 102)
p. 133	,,	<i>AA.</i> i. 93 (quotes this passage calling it a Sutta)
pp. 168-169	,,	<i>DA.</i> 275-276, <i>MA.</i> iii. 369, <i>SnA.</i> 452 (all refer to Milinda and Nāgasena and give a version of the episode that is both shortened and elaborated)
pp. 236-239	,,	<i>DA.</i> 900 ff. (refers to Milinda and Nāgasena by name)
p. 300	,,	<i>AA.</i> iii. 317, <i>VbhA.</i> 408 (no source given)
p. 369	verse	<i>Vism.</i> 270 (ascribed to Porāṇas)
p. 370	,,	<i>Vism.</i> 42 (no source given)
p. 387 (1)	,,	<i>Cf. DhA.</i> iv. 173 (no source given)
p. 387 (2)	,,	<i>DhA.</i> iii. 468 (no source given)
p. 410	,,	<i>DhA.</i> i. 146 (ascribed to Bhagavan, no source given); <i>cf. MA.</i> ii. 387

It will be noticed that the *Asl.* references are to passages in *Miln.* Books I-III, and the *DhA.* references are to Books IV and VI.

I think there are probably more correspondences than those given in this Table. Moreover, it ignores the few similes found, besides in *Miln.*, also in *Vism.* and *Asl.*, but I have included in the footnotes references to those I have traced. Everything shows that the Ven. Buddha-

ghosa was familiar with *Miln.*, which may have been compiled, in India or Kashmir, some 300-400 years before he came to Ceylon. In distinction to his own work, the *Visuddhimagga*, which "sets out detailed practical instructions for developing purification,"<sup>1</sup> the basis, the approach and the appeal of the *Milindapañha* are on an intellectual and not a meditational plane. Its avowed aim is to dissipate occasions for doubts (p. 1) that may arise from the apparent inconsistency of various canonical or other statements, and to resolve these inconsistencies and these doubts so that future generations may be in possession of the true answers to such perplexing dilemmas, and further contention about them be avoided (*Miln.* 95). It is a remarkable thing that a compiler at the end of the Early or Classical period of Pali literature faced these difficulties with courage, clear-sightedness and intelligence. He must either have recorded conversations that had actually taken place, or were believed to have taken place between the determined and extremely acute and able King (who was probably a Greek Bactrian or, better, a Bactrian Greek, *yavana*, *yona*) and the equally able monk Nāgasena; or else he must have thought out the conversations himself, collecting and adding to them down the years, perhaps with the aid of colleagues and pupils, and then making them the substance, core and pivot of the comprehensive work he and/or his successors finally compiled. It is not necessary to think of *Milindapañha* as a unified product of no more than one author. If for no other reason, the terse style of the earlier part of the work, in such striking contrast to the developed literary skill characterising the later, helps to support this hypothesis.

Nor is it necessary to believe that *Milindapañha* dates from Milinda's own times. S. Dutt thinks it was composed "probably much later,"<sup>2</sup> and A. L. Basham speaks of it as "probably of the first century A.D."<sup>3</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> Nāṇamoli Bhikkhu, *Ppn.* Intr., p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *The Buddha and Five After-Centuries*, London, 1957, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p. 227.

as "around the beginning of the Christian era."<sup>1</sup> At least it must have been compiled before the Ven. Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon, either in whole or in part, and after the Canon had been settled into the Jātaka (mentioned first), the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Anguttara and Khuddaka (Nikāyas). For the repeaters, *bhāṇakas*, of these Collections are included among the people said by Nāgasena to live in the Lord's City of Dhamma, *dhammanagara* (*Miln.* 341-342). E. W. Adikaram remarks on<sup>2</sup> the strangeness of the inclusion in this list of the Khuddakabhāṇakas to whom, as far as he is aware, there is no reference in any Commentary. I have found none either. He comes to the conclusion, on the basis of this *Miln.* passage, that the *bhāṇakas* "arose in India and not in Ceylon."

King Milinda was known as Menander to a number of classical Greek historians, and was a real person. Though his dates have not been settled with any certainty, modern authorities place him in the 2nd century B.C. Vincent Smith<sup>3</sup> gives his regnal years as about 160-140 B.C.; Lamotte<sup>4</sup> as about 163-150 B.C.; Narain<sup>5</sup> as approximately 155-130 B.C.; A. von Gutschmid<sup>6</sup> as 125-95 B.C.; while Rapson, accepting Gutschmid's date of 175 B.C. for Eucratides's accession,<sup>7</sup> says "Menander and Eucratides were almost certainly contemporary."<sup>8</sup> A. L. Basham<sup>9</sup> silently comments on this lack of accurate dating by assigning Menander to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> *Early Hist. of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 25. On the portions of the Collections a *bhāṇaka* should know, see W. Rahula, *Hist. of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 294 f. He does not mention Khuddakabhāṇakas.

<sup>3</sup> *Oxford Hist. of India*, 2nd edn., 1923, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist.*, p. 414.

<sup>5</sup> *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, p. 181. I am greatly indebted to Dr. K. N. Jayatilleke for bringing this book to my notice.

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte Irans*, Tübingen, 1888, p. 104.

<sup>7</sup> *CHI.* i, p. 446.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 551, 699. Narain holds that Menander "started his royal career almost immediately after the death of Eucratides I" (*Indo-Greeks*, p. 76).

<sup>9</sup> *Wonder that was India*, p. 221.

“ at least two centuries earlier than the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a Greek text of the end of the 1st Century A.D.”

Milinda, who as Menander, caught the attention of the ancient Greek historians, is but seldom mentioned in Pali works other than the *Milindapañha*. There is, however, an interesting passage in the *Jkm.*, a work written in Pali, probably in Thailand, by a Thai Elder in 1516 A.C., which says “ Milinda was at<sup>1</sup> Sāgala<sup>2</sup> in India when Kūṭakaṇṇatissa was reigning in Anurādhapura.”<sup>3</sup> The latter's regnal years are given as 16/17-38/39 A.C.<sup>4</sup> It is true that Reginald le May, frequently referring to *Jkm.* in his *Buddhist Art in Siam*, speaks of it as “ reputable ” and as a “ reliable history.”<sup>5</sup> But in view of the authorities cited above, we cannot place Menander so late as Kūṭakaṇṇatissa. This King happened to come to the throne 500 years after the *parinibbāna* (reckoned as taking place in 483 B.C.), and *Jkm.* is clearly basing its date for Milinda on a passage found at *Miln.* p. 3 and is moreover taking this in a literal sense. In this passage the Bhagavan is recorded as stating that 500 years after his *parinibbāna* “ these two ” (*i.e.* Milinda and Nāgasena) would be born. If this passage is taken literally it is easy to see that the dating thus assigned to Milinda would also have to agree with the dates of whatever king of Anurādhapura came to the throne, or was reigning at the time Milinda began to govern the North Indian provinces he inherited or annexed. This was the pious King Kūṭakaṇṇatissa. He was probably born about 44 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> that is 500 B.E.

<sup>1</sup> N.B.—Not “ reigning at ”; probably Sāgala was not his capital; see *Miln.* 1, Milinda came to Nāgasena (who was in Sāgala).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, but with caution, to be identified with the modern Siālkot. See A. K. Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, Appx. I.

<sup>3</sup> *Jkm.* (PTS. edn.), p. 62; 1908 Thai edn., p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (1928), III. 1, p. 7; *DPPN.*; E. W. Adikaram, *Early Hist. of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Appx. III; W. Rahula, *Hist. of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> *Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 11, 53.

<sup>6</sup> In a letter to me Dhanit Yupho (Dir.-Gen. of the Fine Arts Dept., Bangkok) says: “ *The Early Hist. of Ceylon* gives the date

(Buddhist Era) which would not be incompatible with his coming to the throne in 16/17 A.C. and his death in 38/39 A.C. at the age of 82. Nevertheless, not only do we have no corroborative evidence that Kūṭakannatissa and Menander were contemporaries, but it would seem highly probable that they were not. For if Kūṭakannatissa's dates are right (and there seems no reason to doubt them provided the date of the *parinibbāna* is right), then by that time the Indo-Greek or Bactrian power in India had come to an end, while under Menander it showed no signs of collapse and indeed was at its height. Once again we have to remember that 500, and hence the 500 years of which *Miln.* 3 speaks, is usually merely a conventional way of alluding to a long but indeterminate period of time to which no exactitude should be attached.

For a thorough discussion, based on much carefully sifted evidence, of Menander's times, contemporaries, territories and conquests, and for a description of the distribution, character and amount of the rich record of his coins found at various sites up to date, and for other matters concerning this King, the reader is recommended A. K. Narain's excellent book *The Indo-Greeks*.<sup>1</sup> This author says: "It is likely that it was the unsettled conditions of the time that produced a man of remarkable ability, who was destined to become the most famous of the Yavana kings in India; he was Menander, the Milinda of Indian tradition . . . (who perhaps) had some connections with Demetrius II and his family"<sup>2</sup>. Rapson, followed by Narain, thought the lady Agathocleia might have been his queen.<sup>3</sup>

To convey some idea of Menander's territories, I will now give a brief abstract from Narain:<sup>4</sup> "The recent publication of the Mir Zakah Treasure confirms the rule

of this King's birth as 44 B.C., and *The Hist. of Ceylon for Schools* by L. E. Blaze as 42 B.C."

<sup>1</sup> Oxford, 1957.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74 f.

<sup>3</sup> *CHI.* i, p. 552.

<sup>4</sup> *Indo-Greeks*, p. 75 ff. His territories and other interesting matters are also discussed in *CHI.* i, p. 551; Basham, *Wonder that was India*, p. 58 ff.; Lamotte, *Hist.*, p. 414 ff.

of Menander in Ghazni and adjoining areas of the Kabul valley in the north; the coins in that treasure . . . are 521 of Menander. Menander, who was born in Alasandā (*Miln.* 82) is called a king of Bactria by Plutarch, and Apollodorus regards him as a Bactrian Greek king; it is hardly likely that the Western classical sources would have referred to Menander thus had he not ruled over at least the Paropamisadae in the west. And now the discovery of an Attic tetradrachm of Menander sets speculation at rest; he must have reigned over the Kabul region and may also have made some encroachments north of the Hindu Kush.

“With the Paropamisadae in his possession Menander may have advanced east and south to supplant the rule of Eucratides in Gandhāra, Arachosia and Seistan. But there is hardly any evidence that he occupied the two latter regions. . . . It is possible, however, that some parts of northern and eastern Arachosia . . . were included in the kingdom of Menander.

“Menander's occupation of Gandhāra, with its two great centres Puskalāvātī and Taxila, is amply proved by the numerous finds of his coins . . . Menander's . . . greatness lies in the fact that he extended the Indo-Greek kingdom beyond Gandhāra.

“In the north he occupied Hazara and the Swat valley. . . . And now, with the discovery of the Bajaur casket inscription of the reign of Menander, it is quite certain that the Swat valley was included within his kingdom. . . .

“Since he was in possession of Taxila the command of Menander may have been obeyed in the Sind-Sagar Doab, ‘which had belonged to the old Taxilan kingdom and extended right across the western Panjab as far as the Panjnad’. . . .

“The evidence of Menander's possession of the Madra country sought in the *Milindapañha* is weak. Even if Sāgala proves to be Siālkot it does not seem to have been Menander's capital, for the *Milindapañha* states (p. 1) that Milinda repaired to Sāgala to meet Nāgasena, just as the Ganges river goes down to the sea.”

King Milinda must have been a man of immense vitality; his prowess in the field of battle was well matched by his philosophical aptitude, his inquiring turn of mind, his erudition, and the felicitous manner in which he put his questions until he received an answer that satisfied him. He never sought to overthrow the monk Nāgasena in debate; his was purely a quest for wisdom and knowledge, and he asked his questions only from a genuine desire to learn the answers and straighten out matters that puzzled him with the help of the monk he came so greatly to admire. It is not known why or how he became interested in the Buddha's Teachings, even perhaps a Buddhist.<sup>1</sup> We can only say that if he were indeed the man responsible for the questions and the dilemmas and who probed so deeply for convincing answers, then his grasp of the range of the Teaching and his understanding of its purpose and meaning were, for a layman, extraordinarily comprehensive, the more especially if he had not been reared in the ways of thought indigenous to the Indian population of the Panjab. The Greeks however appear to have come under their influence,<sup>2</sup> the absorbent power of Indian thought being hard to withstand.

Whether the monk Nāgasena ever in fact had any real existence is a problem to be approached with caution. The Chinese version of the *Milindapañha*<sup>3</sup> gives Kashmir as his birthplace—Kashmir which was the chief centre of Sarvāstivādin activity<sup>4</sup>—while the Pali gives Kajangalā (*Miln.* 8), a market-town on the eastern borders of the Middle Country.<sup>5</sup> Nāgasena is shown as astute and able, a ready talker of vast learning and with an immense fund of similes at his command,

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<sup>1</sup> See *Miln.* 88 and 419 (though the latter passage may be spurious), and below, p. xxx. See also discussion by Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 97 f.

<sup>2</sup> Basham, *Wonder that was India*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. xxx f.

<sup>4</sup> *The Abhidhamma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins*, by Takakusu, *JPTS.* 1904-1905, p. 67 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Vin.* i. 197.

“competent to converse with the King” and allay his doubts. He also performed, as it is recorded, the seemingly incredible feat of mastering the whole of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka after only one exposition of it by Rohaṇa, his preceptor (*Miln.* 12). Yet, does Nāgasena's name occur in any other contemporary work? By the time of the *Jkm.*, however, and perhaps earlier, at least one legend had become attached to it. This tells how his strong desire to make an image, *paṭimā*, of the Conqueror which at a future date would illumine the dynasties of Kamboja, Arimaddana and Siam<sup>1</sup> resulted in the formation, with the assistance of supernormal power, of the famous Emerald Buddha, still a centre of veneration and devotion in Indo-China. This legend survives in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*<sup>2</sup> (1861 A.C.).

Turning to Nāgasena's teachers, neither the name of Rohaṇa, his preceptor, nor that of his later teacher, Dhammarakkhita, appears to occur elsewhere in Pali literature, except that the *Jkm.* says that when this latter Elder was living in the Asokārāma near Pupphavati (Pātaliputta) Nāgasena was a pupil of his.<sup>3</sup> Again, though the Assagutta under whom Nāgasena also studied appears in some of the Commentaries,<sup>4</sup> he does so only as an example of a *kalyāṇamitta*. The virtual restriction to *Miln.* of so many potentially important figures does not tend to place them in an authentic historical setting. On the other hand, the King definitely needed an interlocutor to whom he could express his perplexities so as to have them solved; and no doubt it would have been more satisfactory to have had one instructor only, rather than several. He does in fact sometimes say to Nāgasena: “When you said earlier,” thus bringing a certain continuity into the debates. But then, why does he often use the plural in addressing him, *tumhe bhanatha*? This can hardly be regarded as an honorific,

<sup>1</sup> *Jkm.* 99 f.: Kambojārimaddana-Syāmavaṃsa. Kamboja is well known in Pali literature, see *DPPN*. Arimaddana is Pagan in Burma; and Syāma is almost certainly Siam (Thailand).

<sup>2</sup> P. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Jkm.* 99.

<sup>4</sup> *DA.* 779, *AA.* i. 48, *VbhA.* 272.

as he also addresses him in the singular: *tvam pana patisandahissasi* ("but will you be reborn?") and *yam pan' etam brūsi* ("when you spoke thus") (*Miln.* 48, 49). Does the use of the plural therefore signify that Milinda is addressing Nāgasena and an unspecified number of surrounding monks—he sometimes lauds him as *gaṇivara-pavara* (e.g., *Miln.* 170, 328), *gaṇin* meaning one who has a large concourse of followers—or does it contain a covert reference to unseen members of Nāgasena's school of thought? On the King's first approaching him he is said to be seated together with 80,000 monks (*Miln.* 23), but later the King says he wants to consult Nāgasena in private with no third person present (*Miln.* 91). This is at the beginning of the section known as the Dilemmas, but whether this compact held good throughout the discussions of all the dilemmas propounded by the King it seems impossible to say.

A kind of guide to the contents of *Miln.* occurs at *Miln.* 2. Here it is said that the work is divided or classified in a sixfold way:<sup>1</sup> Former History, Milinda's Questions, Questions on Distinguishing Marks, Questions that are Dilemmas, a Question of Inference, and Questions on Talk of Similes. We may look at these in a little more detail.

(1) Former History, *pubbayoga*, is also, at *Miln.* 24, that is, at the end of this section, called Secular Talk, *bāhirakathā*. "Milinda's Questions" are divided into two sections: (2) Questions on Distinguishing Marks, *lakṣhanapañha*, and (3) Questions on the Cutting Off of Perplexity, *vimaticchedanapañha*. (4) the Dilemmas, *Meṇḍakapañha*, are likewise said at *Miln.* 2 to consist of two sections: The Great Division and Questions on Talk about Yogins, *Mahāvagga yogikathāpañha*. This is curious, since nothing in the text as it has come down to us is called by either of these names. Nor does what at *Miln.* 362 is termed Division IX immediately follow the

<sup>1</sup> Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* (1933), ii. 178, n. 1 regards this passage as spurious.

first eight Divisions, which are those devoted to the Dilemmas. These eight Divisions run from *Miln.* 90-328, and each concludes in a similar way: "The First Division" down to "The Eighth Division." After Division VIII comes (5) "A Question of Inference," *anumānapañha* (*Miln.* 329-347). Here only one question is asked. The answer, developed at great length and with supreme accomplishment, occupies the whole of the remainder of the Division. And then, strangely, from *Miln.* 348-362 is inserted what is called the Ninth Division. It ends with the words: *navamo vaggo meṇḍakapañho samatto*, "the Ninth Division; concluded are the Questions that are Dilemmas." Yet it contains no dilemma at all. RhD. has supplied "The Dhutangas," translated as "The Special Qualities of Asceticism," as the title for this Division. It may have been an understood thing that yogins, those yoked to mental endeavour through control of the body, were, above all other monks, those who undertook the ascetic practices.

This Division on "The Special Qualities of Asceticism" is followed by (6) "Questions on Talk of Similes," *Miln.* 363-419. The heading, table of contents or summary, *mātikā*, with which this Division opens, enumerates 105 similes standing for qualities endowed with which a monk, or more accurately a *yogin yogāvacara*, may be regarded as an arahant. But in the Division itself only 67 types for similes are produced. Whether the compiler died before he came to the end, whether he got weary of well-doing, or whether at long last his lively imaginative powers became exhausted and there were no more similes he could think of after producing all the many and varied ones that form such an astonishing feature of *Miln.*, or whether the conclusion got lost, it is idle to inquire. But break off the work does in the middle of a paragraph. Trenckner (*Miln.* v) says: "The close of the work has been lost long since. A spurious element, or rather two, were added, perhaps in Siam." Si. does not give either of these supplements. The first consists of one short paragraph (*Miln.* 419). This again speaks of "six parts," *kaṇḍa*, and says that these are adorned

with 22 Divisions in which 262 Questions of Milinda have been handed down. If it is difficult to know what these 22 Divisions are, it is equally difficult to account for the 262 Questions. With the 42 questions that this short "supplement" declares have *not* been handed down, it would seem that at one time or in some early version there had been a total of 304 questions.<sup>1</sup> The *Miln.T.*, p. 20, says there are 91 questions in "Milinda's Questions" (*i.e.*, in II, 1 and 2, see Table of Contents) and 84 in the Dilemmas (*i.e.*, III in the Table of Contents; see also *Miln.T.*, Intr., p. viii).

The second "supplement," in concluding vein, records that Milinda went forth from home into homelessness and attained arahantship (*Miln.* 419 f.). So, had the passage at *Miln.* 88 been forgotten? Here the King tells Nāgasena that if he went forth, however greatly he would like to do so, he would not live long, so many were his enemies (perhaps referring to the neighbouring satraps, some of whom may have persecuted Buddhists). Or is this passage itself corrupt (see my footnote to it)? Or was the King at that time simply not ready to go forth, having still to rely on the external guard provided by the four "wings" of an army, instead of on the inner guard of self (*cf.* *S.* i. 72 f.)? It is more likely, I think, that some monk or monks were asked to finish *Milinda-pañha*, to round it off, and that they gave it this conventional ending.

One of the main conclusions to be drawn from the statements at *Miln.* 2 and 419 is that the text of Trenckner's *Miln.*, which as he says (*Miln.* v) "has not reached us without suffering from the ravages of time," evinces a certain degree of confusion. Variations in arrangement between *Miln.* and *Si.* suggest that at some time the material was differently disposed. The arrangement may have been altered by this scribe or that, in this country or that (China, Burma, Ceylon, Thailand), or in a translation from Sanskrit into Pali (see *Miln.* vii), or when an original in an Indian prakrit was three times

<sup>1</sup> See also B. C. Law, *Hist. of Pali Lit.*, ii. 366.

translated into Chinese, respectively in the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries of our era. Of these translations, two recensions of the second version have come down to us, called in Chinese "Sūtra of the bhikṣu Nāgasena." This corresponds to the first part of *Miln.*, of which only the second and the third books and a small part of the first appear to be authentic. Books IV-VII were added at different times in Ceylon, Book IV having existed there since the 5th century.<sup>1</sup> Enough has now been said to indicate that *Milindapañha's* long and distinguished history no doubt has added appreciably to its contents, no less than to discrepancies in their arrangement in the different versions. The Burmese canon adds the work to the Khuddakanikāya.

The multitude of topics discussed or touched on in *Miln.* makes it difficult to think of any Buddhist theme it ignores entirely. One or two omissions, however, come to mind. For example, though there is a reference to a "talking tree" (*Miln.* 173) there are none to animals speaking with human voices as we find in the Jātakas and even in *Vin.* (*Vin.* iv. 5, but probably drawing here and in other similar passages on Jātaka stories). And, as Lamotte notices,<sup>2</sup> King Milinda did not put before his Buddhist interlocutors the artistic problem concerning images of the Buddha. The King therefore must antedate the representation of the Buddha in human form. Otherwise the subject for a dilemma would have been at hand. The Buddha had wished to continue to be represented merely by symbols so as to discourage the growth of a Buddha-cult once images of himself, however much stylised, were made. Why then were they allowed? It is rather strange that at some time the legend of efforts to make such an image, *paṭimā*, was introduced into a story about Nāgasena, and persisted down the centuries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this summary I am indebted to Lamotte, *Hist.*, p. 465. See also Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, ii. 174 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lamotte, *Hist.*, p. 484.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. xxvii. See also W. Rahula, *Hist. of Buddhism in*

The same tendency towards creating a Buddha-cult can be seen in the dilemma on the Veneration of the Bodily Relics (*Miln.* 172 ff.). Veneration of this nature is plainly shown to be not a proper occupation for monks, but one to be left to the rest of mankind and to devas. Monks are thus set apart as those whose main business it is to tend the inner flame;<sup>1</sup> had they abdicated this high calling and become obsessed for example with the Master's bowl<sup>2</sup> and robe instead of making use, as the Lord himself did, of the thirty-seven links in enlightenment (*Miln.* 330), they then might have taken the further and deleterious step of paying veneration to the Buddha himself. Little inner purification would have resulted from such external action; Dhamma and the understanding of it might have begun to decline. Though the cult of the bodily remains began immediately on the Buddha's *parinibbāna*,<sup>3</sup> he could, while he was still alive, recommend his monks not to honour them after his decease. A growing cult of those arahants who had attained final nibbāna is likewise manifest in the King's questions about Wonders at a Shrine (*Miln.* 309) and in Nāgasena's replies. Wonders of this particular nature are unknown to the Pali Canon, I believe.

Because meditation, *jhāna*, and super-knowledges, *abhīñña*, are not controversial topics and hardly lend themselves to inconsistent utterances, no dilemma is based on them. Nor are they features of *Miln.* as they are of the Nikāyas, especially the Majjhima. On the other hand, the defilements, *kilesa*, are mentioned frequently in *Miln.* as very real enemies of the spirit to be watched constantly and routed. The word *kilesa*, of

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*Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. 127 f. for an interesting discussion of why the Pali commentaries do not give the image a place in the scheme of religious worship. But for the three types of Buddha-statues (sedent, standing and recumbent) to be found in temples in Ceylon see A. Bareau, *La Vie et l'Organisation des Communautés Bouddhiques Modernes de Ceylan*, Pondichery, 1957, p. 44 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *S.* i. 169: "only within burneth the flame I kindle."

<sup>2</sup> On the wanderings of the bowl, see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. iii, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *D.* ii. 164 ff.

rare occurrence in the Nikāyas, is mainly, though not entirely, confined to works regarded as later as a glance at *PTC*. II. 54 will show.

Nuns are referred to only three times. From the reference at *Miln.* 212 where they are spoken of with sympathy, they seem to have been still in existence at the date of the compilation of this portion of the work.

Nor does Māra play much part other than in a dilemma at *Miln.* 154 which is based on an episode at *S.* i. 113 f. One may suppose that references to him are infrequent because he principally stands for evil states of mind and untamed desires the unskill of which allows of no incertitude. It is these that are personified into Māra. Though he appears in the Pali Canon as a constant and persistent enemy, he is not a historical figure with a saṃsāric past behind him and a saṃsāric future before him. He is but the symbol of the death of the aspirant's hope of freedom—and whatever may be said to the contrary, hope is a perfectly recognisable feature in early Buddhism.

Devadatta is a more problematical figure. He is not a symbol. He was a cousin of the Buddha. His charm and his gifts on the one side, and his treachery and soaring ambition on the other have always made a deep impression to which *Miln.* forms no exception. Was he not, the King asks, allowed to go forth into the monastic life by the Buddha, but then only to try his best to create a schism, a result of which was to bring untold torments upon himself (*Miln.* 107 ff.)? And was he not one of the five people in historical times (*etarahi*, of the present times, perhaps meaning in this Buddha-era as opposed to *atīte* and *bhūtapubbam*, in the past, once upon a time before Gotama was the Buddha) to have been swallowed up by the earth (*Miln.* 101)? The answer to this dilemma, which circles round the alleged callousness and ignorance of the Buddha, is that when he, omniscient and compassionate, let Devadatta go forth he knew that a deed with "unlimited," *apariyanta*, results, that is as to their duration in time, would turn into one with

“limited” results for anyone who had gone forth in his Dispensation; consequently Devadatta would get free of Niraya at last, owing to what the Buddha had done for him. And, in fact, he is supposed to have an auspicious future before him, for at some distant date, very far off though it may be, he will become a pacceka-buddha named Atthissara, partly because when he was dying he went to the Buddha for refuge. The prosperity he had enjoyed in a number of previous births was likewise due to good deeds he had done formerly (*Miln.* 204). The twenty-two Jātakas *Miln.* refers to where the Bodhisatta and Devadatta were together are ones where the Bodhisatta was sixteen times inferior to Devadatta in birth or renown, and six times on an exact level in these respects. The *Miln.* compiler does not bring forward those other Jātakas where the Bodhisatta was Devadatta's superior in birth, virtue or quick-wittedness, for the good reason that these could provide no material for a dilemma and its discussion.

It is true that in a few of his numerous former births the Bodhisatta's conduct was not always impeccable; see, e.g., *Jā.* Nos. 263, 279, 310, 318, 433 (the subject of a dilemma at *Miln.* 219 ff.) and 531. At *Ap.* i. 299 ff. (quoted at *UdA.* 263 ff.) these earlier lapses are collected together, the fruition of each is stated, and whether it was experienced by the Great Being as Bodhisatta or as Buddha. *Miln.* too refers to at least four of these fruitions of deeds done previously, *kammanivāka*. The causal effects of three of them make their appearance after the Enlightenment, and of one the effect manifested itself when, in his final life, the Bodhisatta was striving for this supreme state. Thus the Buddha Gotama's foot was grazed by the stone Devadatta hurled down on him (*Miln.* 134, 179) because, as the Bodhisatta, he had thrown down a rock on two brothers; the fierce killer-elephant was loosed against him by Devadatta (*Miln.* 207) because in a former birth he had driven his chariot against a pacceka-buddha; he had to eat dried barley at Verañjā (*Miln.* 231 f.) because in the time of the Buddha Phussa he had reviled some monks. And then,

while he was still the Bodhisatta, there was the practice of the austerities for as long as six years because as the brahman youth Jotipāla he had reviled the Buddha Kassapa (*Miln.* 221 ff.).

Indeed the Bodhisatta who became the Buddha Gotama is said to have been the only Bodhisatta to practise physical austerities (*Miln.* 284)—referring of course not to the plethora of Mahāyāna bodhisattvas, but to the Bodhisattas who became the Buddhas who were the Buddha Gotama's predecessors. The six years he strove by bodily mortifications to find the Way to Awakening are in sharp contrast to the period of striving, sometimes only weeks,<sup>1</sup> months at most, that sufficed for all the other twenty-five Bodhisattas to attain omniscience (see *Budv.* under each Buddha's history).

In a more general way, four differences among Bodhisattas are uniformly present: the family they are born into, the length of the period required to bring the perfections to fulfilment, the length of their life, and their height: *kula addhāna āyu pamāṇa*. Besides the differences among them in these respects, they also have features in common. All show forth ten special qualities (*Miln.* 276); and, according to *Miln.* 274, all give away, *denti*, their wife and children. I find this general statement difficult to interpret. Does it mean that all Bodhisattas give them away in their penultimate birth only, as in the Vessantara Jātaka? Births before that can hardly be intended; and in the final Buddhahood-birth part of the steadfast determination for carrying out the Renunciation or Going Forth is to leave the wife and child, but not to give them away.

More obviously referring to the final life of Bodhisattas is the ascription to them (at *Miln.* 193) of five adjuncts, said to be determined beforehand: their parents, Tree of Awakening, chief disciples, son, and (monastic) supporter, *upatthāka*. A certain amount has been written about

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<sup>1</sup> Even though the *Budv.* ascribes far longer life-spans to all the other Bodhisattas in their final birth than it does to "our" Bodhisatta.

why a Bodhisatta has to have a son.<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that if the Teaching were not to sound too hopelessly austere and impracticable of achievement, it was necessary to stress that the Buddha was a human being with a full range of human experience, affections and temptations; but that the Bodhisatta's inflexibility of purpose in completely severing worldly ties, imperative for the achievement of supreme Awakening, created an overwhelming distinction between him and the ordinary run of mortal men, bearing witness too as it did to the triumph of his deep-seated compassion for the anguish of the world at the expense of his own domestic happiness and felicity. But King Milinda does not ask why, on the one hand, the Bodhisatta had a son, or why, on the other, he left home so soon after his son had been born.

Turning to Buddhas or Tathāgatas, we find from scattered passages in *Miln.* that all the various Buddhas have in common a number of qualities, features or activities. For example, (1) they are omniscient, possessed of the Ten Powers, the four Confidences, the eighteen special Buddha-qualities (mentioned in literature considered later than the Pali Canon), and their mentality arises buoyantly and proceeds buoyantly because it is utterly purified (*Miln.* 106). This buoyancy of mind is connected with the *iddhis*, the psychic powers of the spirit where "in respect of the person," *kāyena*, a meditator may win power as far as the Brahma-world, since his body is now completely mastered by his mind giving him access to his own super-consciousness, at that time called the Brahma-world. Such a conquest of the mind, and therefore of the body, is but an echo of the archaic, traditional and widely held concept of the "magical flight." This is an aspect of the "ascent to heaven," the meditator having vacated his body temporarily.<sup>2</sup> (2) There is neither ill-temper nor a feeling of satisfaction in the Tathāgatas (*Miln.* 187). (3) Because there are divers good qualities in solitary

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., A. Foucher, *La Vie du Bouddha . . .*, Paris, 1949, p. 97 f.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., M. Eliade, *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries*, London, 1960.

meditation, *patisallāna*, all Tathāgatas and fully-awakened Buddhas practise it (*Miln.* 139). In making his mind one-pointed, it probably assisted a Tathāgata when adverting (his mind), *āvajjana* (or, *āvajjati* is simply to reflect, to ponder), to know what it pleased him, *yadicchakam*, to know. That is to say, all-embracing knowledge-and-vision are not continually and constantly before a Buddha. There was an occasion when the Buddha Gotama denied that they were, but he added, he could enter on whichever branch of the threefold knowledge he wished to enter on "whenever I desire," *yāvade ākamkhāmi* (*M.* i. 482). (4) All Tathāgatas teach Dhamma at the request of Brahmā (*Miln.* 234 and see *Budv.*), (5) talk first of all a talk on giving (*Miln.* 228), and (6) teach the thirty-seven things helpful to Enlightenment (*Miln.* 237). (7) Their words are never foolish (*Miln.* 41). They (8) neither utilise a requisite that has been spontaneously formed (*Miln.* 224), nor (9) do they ask for things (*Miln.* 224). They (10) praise the gift of a dwelling-place (*Miln.* 212). It has been (11) a customary usage of all former Tathāgatas to have the Pātimokkha recited in the midst of monks and closed to other people (*Miln.* 190). (12) All have followed the ancient Way (*Miln.* 218) and (13) the course by which they have acquired omniscience has been one of (mental) endurance and exertion, but not of physical mortifications (*Miln.* 245). (14) "Brahman" is the true appellation of Buddhas, for the word signifies final release from all unskilled states (*Miln.* 226). Hence (15) all Buddhas have many high attributes in common: their physical beauty (for this see also the thirty-two Marks of a Great Man, *D.* ii. 16 ff., *M.* ii. 136 f.), their morality, concentration, wisdom, and so on, and their entire Buddha-natures, *buddha-dhammā*, in which they are exactly the same as one another (*Miln.* 285). Moreover (16) their "natural essence," *sabhā-vapakati*, is such that only one Buddha arises in the world at a time (*Miln.* 239).

As there are various adjuncts to the final life of a Bodhisatta, so a number of concomitants in the life of

each Buddha are mentioned in Pali sources, the richest being the *Budv.* Here, it becomes clear that all Buddhas have two chief male and two chief female disciples, a monastic supporter or attendant, as the Buddha Gotama had Ānanda, and two chief lay-supporters, one of each sex; all attain omniscience under a Tree (not necessarily the same species); and all make a descent (by a jewelled ladder) to the city of Sankissa in the world of men at the time of the wonder of the unveiling of the worlds (referred to at *Miln.* 350 for the Buddha Gotama; see also *BudvA.* 131, *Jā.* iv. 265, etc.). It does not seem definitely established whether they descend from the Tāvātimsa deva-abode (*BudvA.* 298) after they have preached the Abhidhamma, or from Tusita (*SnA.* 571). For other matters obligatory on all the Buddhas see *DA.* 424, *BudvA.* 297-298.

Though Buddhas do not differ in their intrinsic natures, and though all have such adjuncts and activities as have just been mentioned, they yet vary in some of their more external aspects. *BudvA.* 296 (*cf.* *DA.* 424) enumerates these as *āyu pamāna kula padhāna raṁsi yāna bodhirukkha pallaṅka* (life-span, height, family, effort or striving, rays, vehicle, Tree of Awakening, and (time spent in) the meditative position). At *SnA.* 407 these features occur in a rather different order and with *abhinikkhamana* (the Going Forth) substituted for *yāna* (the vehicle or mount by which the physical act of Going Forth was accomplished), and *addhāna* (the time required to gain enlightenment) substituted for *pallaṅka* (the cross-legged position required for the gaining of enlightenment). It will be noticed that the two features covered by these four words more properly belong to a Bodhisatta than a Buddha. This is also true of *padhāna* and, more doubtfully, of the Tree since he who had been the Bodhisatta continued to sit there for the remainder of the night after he had attained Buddhahood.

The *Miln.* thus shows itself rather unusually occupied with Bodhisattas and Buddhas in comparison with canonical works. In this respect its affinities are with the *Jātaka* for the Bodhisatta who became the Buddha

of our times; with the *Cp.*; with the *Budv.* and to some extent with its Commentary for the twenty-five Buddhas recognized there; and with the Mahāpadāna Suttanta (*D.* ii. 1 ff.) for the six Buddhas preceding Gotama. This *Dīgha* Suttanta, enumerating some seventeen features regarded as *dhammatā*, what is regulation, normal, forming a general rule, concerning a Bodhisatta's nativity,<sup>1</sup> emphasizes the exalted position held by his mother;<sup>2</sup> and it implies, whether intentionally or not, that the five moral precepts existed in days preceding those of the Buddha Gotama. For while a Bodhisatta is in his mother's womb she scrupulously observes them all (*D.* ii. 12 f., *M.* iii. 120). There is nothing remarkable in this, however. The moral precepts were almost certainly pre-Buddhist; and as adherence to them is fundamental for the development of mentality and Wisdom, so they are part of the ancient Way trodden by the Buddhas of old (see *Miln.* 217). Similarly there are four *dhammapadāni*, footprints, bases of Dhamma, spoken of as being long-standing, traditional and ancient (*A.* ii. 29; cf. *D.* iii. 229, *Netti* 170), but not referred to in *Miln.*

An absence of innovations in a work so long and so rich as the *Miln.* would have been surprising. The words and concepts I have assembled here do not pretend to be an exhaustive compendium of those that do not appear to occur in the Pali Canon. Though the *Miln.* on the whole follows the Theravāda tradition of the Satthasāsana, the Master's Teaching, in the spirit and the letter, it is not bound to this in the sense that it is attempting to make or preserve a faithful record of the sayings and discourses attributed to the Buddha and his contemporaries. The compiler was not a *bhāṇaka*, a repeater. So, though he freely cites statements and sayings that had been recorded in the Pali Canon already, he was also perfectly at liberty to take what he

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> See also *M.* Sta. 123, the Acchariyabbhutadhammasutta.

liked from literature outside this; for example, I have already mentioned the belief which Nāgasena persuaded the King to adopt that, as nibbāna, is uncaused, so is ākāsa, space, the intangible.<sup>1</sup> Or again, he was perfectly at liberty to interpolate his own or current ideas into canonical and other themes. Thus we find him speaking of the eight great investigations (non-canonical and whittled down in the Commentaries to five); or going beyond the Suttas when, at *Miln.* 168-169, he says, as do the Commentaries, that the shadow was shown but not the real object; or going beyond them again at *Miln.* 170 in speaking of Sudinna's fear of the Teacher on being called "foolish man" by him; or going beyond the Jātaka in the rather unusual dilemma, striking a personal note, at *Miln.* 105 ff., when he speaks of Amarā's fidelity to her husband and enumerates twenty-eight qualities with which the husband is endowed. But when the compiler connects cranes and storm-clouds (*Miln.* 128) then he is only reiterating an association traditionally held to exist between the two.

A word that is not new, but rare, in Pali literature is *dhammakāya*, used at *Miln.* 73 in the instrumental case. In Mahāyāna one of the three transcendental Bodies is called Dharmakāya. No such doctrine as this was presented by Theravāda even if the rudiments for it were there.<sup>2</sup> Indeed the word *dhammakāya* makes a unique canonical appearance, but this once it does occur. This is at *D.* iii. 84 where, with Brahmakāya, dhammabhūta and Brahmabhūta, it is given as a synonym for the Tathāgata. *ThagA.* ii. 105 is justified therefore in explaining *dhammabhūta* by *dhammakāya*, that by which one may point to the Lord who cannot be seen by devas or men now that his life-span is ended (*cf.* *D.* i. 46). Mahāyāna, in developing its great structure of the Dharmakāya, very likely took this *D.* iii. 84 passage as its basis and germ, and at all events must have known of it. The *Miln.* passage is arresting because there occurs

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> For a good account see Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*, 1959, p. 213 ff.

in it a word so very rare in Pali literature. Otherwise it adds but little to the conception of the identity of Buddha and Dhamma, summed up in the famous phrase: "Who sees Dhamma sees me; who sees me sees Dhamma" (*S.* iii. 120, *Iti.* 91). Yet it seems probable that Nāgasena was building on and enlarging, even to some extent explaining this phrase when, trying to convince the King that the Lord was pre-eminent, he declared: "Who sees Dhamma sees the Lord, for Dhamma, sire, was taught by the Lord" (*Miln.* 71). He thus paved the way for his further remark which concludes this Division: "It is not possible to point to the Lord who has gone home and say that he is either here or there; but, sire, it is possible to point to the Lord by means of the body of Dhamma, *dhammakāyena*, for Dhamma, sire, was taught by the Lord" (*Miln.* 73).

Another innovation is the use, at *Miln.* 214, 227, 236, of the Tathāgata's epithet *sayambhū*, self-become. So far as I know it is not found in the *Vinaya* or *Nikāyas*; but occurs at *Budv.* I. 53, XIV. 1, *Pts.* ii. 3 (of a paccekabuddha) and, e.g., at *UdA.* 85, 136, 283 as *sayambhū-ñāna* in the exegesis of Tathāgata, and a number of times in *Ap.* (see *ApA.* Index of Words and Phrases; also *PED.* for further references) and in *KhpaA.* Its chief significance is that without a teacher, without another's instruction, the *pāramīs* have been fulfilled and brought to the highest perfection and Buddhahood attained. *Sayambhū* is therefore but another, and shorter, way of saying *na me ācariyo atthi* (*Vin.* i. 8), "I have no teacher" and have become what I am entirely of myself. The epithet is equally applicable therefore to paccekabuddhas and to perfect or supreme Buddhas. There was no one to help or guide them in any but the most elementary stages of their quest.

So that when mention is made of the Bodhisatta's "second teacher," this can only mean he was not a teacher who knew the Way to Awakening, any more than did the *devatā* who is called the Bodhisatta's third teacher (*Miln.* 236). RhD. tentatively suggests that this *devatā* may have been the *devaputra* Tsao-ping who,

in Beal's *Romantic History*, is recorded to have spoken to the Bodhisatta when he made his Renunciation. But he hesitates to identify the two positively partly on the grounds that this would be the only occasion when our compiler took Sanskrit, and not Pali works as his authority.

Yet very striking in *Miln.* is the survival of the non-canonical view of the unconstructedness of ākāsa.<sup>1</sup> Doctrinally this marks a signal and material deviation from the Pali Piṭakan teaching where ākāsa, space, possibly the "intangible," is regarded as no more than one of the five (*M.* i. 423) or six (*e.g.*, *D.* iii. 247, *M.* iii. 31, 62, *A.* i. 176) *dhātus* or elements, and hence in no way is comparable to nibbāna. This, in Theravāda, is held to be the one thing and the only thing, *dhamma*, that is uncompounded and not produced of cause. Nothing else is like it; and this tradition nowhere makes the slightest attempt to place ākāsa (or anything else) in the same category. In fact, it strenuously opposes any attempt of this kind as is shown by Moggaliputta-Tissa's dismissal of the views of the Uttarāpathakas and the Mahimsāsakas, recorded at *Kvu.* VI. 6. Even if the assumption of the unconstructedness of ākāsa had been put forward in some original version of *Milindapañha*, and according to Lamotte such a version existed,<sup>2</sup> it was all the same a doctrine approved by the Sarvāstivādins. The puzzle is why and how, even allowing that innovations were being made in *Miln.*, this particular tenet came to survive in it rather than being expunged as not only not in line with the teaching of the Elders on a matter of supreme and highest importance, but in actual and severe opposition to it.

Then there is, if the translation be right, the non-Pali notion of the possibility of sharing skill with whomever one likes, *tassa taṃ kusalaṃ sakkā hoti yathicchakehi saddhim samvibhajitum* (*Miln.* 297). In the Pali Canon it is more usual to speak of a person's storing up merit

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. xl.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist.*, p. 465, summarizing P. Demiéville. Three Chinese versions were based on it.

for himself than of his increasing it by reflecting on it or adverting (his mind) to it over and over again, *āvajjite āvajjite*, and then sharing it according to his choice of recipients. We are put in mind of the Mahāyānic "transference of merit," perhaps wrongly however, since "skill," *kusala*, is a concept superior in every way to merit, *puñña*.

Again the assumption, implied in the aspirations made by the monk and the novice, that, after successive births they will attain nibbāna (*Miln.* 3) is not strictly in line with the Piṭakan Teaching where nibbāna has to be resolutely striven for and is not the automatic end of even a vast number of births, or of anything else, for that matter. On the contrary, such a view seems somewhat "heretical," and puts one in mind of those recluses and brahmans who believe purity comes by faring-on, *samsāra* (*M.* i. 81), and nothing more. In Theravāda, freedom from *samsāra* is one of the aims, but is incapable of realization merely by waiting, and can be achieved only by working diligently for it: "Diligence is the path to deathlessness" (*Dhp.* 21). In violent opposition to "those recluses and brahmans" is the whole trend of the Jātaka Stories, stressing as many of them do the Bodhisatta's heroic self-conquest and self-control in the face of trials, tribulations and torments as he unflinchingly strove to bring each of the ten *pāramīs* to its most perfect expression.

There is, too, the strange remark at *Miln.* 216 that the Lord would partake of a second, even a third meal on one and the same day instead of eating, as he so often insisted his monastic followers should do, at one session only (e.g., *M.* i. 124, 437). His admission that sometimes he ate more than his most austere disciples (*Miln.* 215 quoting *M.* ii. 7) only shows that for such a one as a Tathāgata who has won to perfection and has no obstructions remaining, all roots of greed have been extirpated in the process, and in fact there remains no karmically operative deed he could do. Even so, there appears to be no canonical source to account for the appearance, purveyance and survival of this remark.

Another innovation would appear to be introduced with the statement that mindfulness, *sati*, arises in sixteen ways (*Miln.* 78); seventeen are in fact given. The Tikā is therefore right (p. 66) in putting them into its category of seventeen items. The *sati* in this passage seems to mean something like awareness or attention (*cf. Miln.* 37-38) rather than the more restricted, if more fully developed meaning of *sati*, in *satipaṭṭhāna*, a technical term of first importance. *Cf. also Dhs.* 14, *Asl.* 121, 147, *Bud. Psych. Ethics*, p. 16.

New too I think is not only the computation of the secular arts, *sattha*, but the computation of them as nineteen with, in addition, the naming of each art (*Miln.* 3-4). Most of these arts are known to the Piṭakas where they occur either in small groups or separately; and if some are used in senses that do not seem appropriate in this *Miln.* context, such as *sammuti*, *purāṇa* and *hetu*, we nevertheless can get from this context a fairly reliable idea of the subjects that were known and could be learnt, though perhaps only "mastered," by a man of outstanding intelligence. Lists of what look like "arts" or "sciences" are to be found at *Miln.* 178 and at *Mhvu.* ii. 423, iii. 184, though all these passages accentuate the athletic side of life (in which King Milinda must have excelled) unless the training of elephants and horses and so on and the fighting and recruiting of *Miln.* 178 and the elephant-craft, use of bows and arrows, leading an army and so on of *Mhvu.* be summed up for Milinda under the one word *yuddha*, fighting. It seems that fourteen or eighteen divisions of *vidyā*, knowledge, philosophy, science, lore (possibly of a more secular kind than denoted by *sāstra*) were known to Sanskrit (see M-W., s.v. *vidyā*) and included the four Vedas as separate branches (in *Miln.* counted as one "art"), the Purāṇas, and the Nyāya (apparently called *nīti* in *Miln.*). Yet the *Miln.* passage just referred to (*Miln.* 178) gives a list numbering more than eighteen subjects which a brahman youth must train in. Interesting comparisons between some of the items on this list and some of the

“low arts and lying practices” of *D. i.* 9-10 could be made.

With the expression “conditioned by craving is kamma,” *taṅhāpaccayā kammaṃ*, (*Miln.* 51), we have what I believe to be another innovation and certainly a departure from any formulation of the Paṭiccasamuppāda I have yet met in the Pali Canon. In none of the various contexts where it is given there is kamma ever a term or link in the series; yet in this *Miln.* passage the activity of the five senses and the mind begins all over again from kamma, and no end to the series is to be seen. Kamma must mean therefore something like ignorant volitional action, or, perhaps more probably, actions. For, at *Miln.* 65, Nāgasena is recorded to say that the five sensory fields are produced from different kammās, not from one kamma. *MilnT.* speaks of these different kammās as being *akusala* and *kusala* and producing respectively the five sense-fields of beings who are in the sorrowful ways and of those who are in good bourns. I cannot account otherwise for *Miln.*'s deviation from the standard method of formulation of the Paṭiccasamuppāda than by regarding it as another piece of evidence that the compiler felt himself to be under no obligation or compulsion to draw from the teachings of one “school” only. The use of part only of the formula, as here, is certainly not novel nor without a parallel; for example at *D. ii.* 32 *nāmarūpa* and *viññāṇa* are made interdependent before the normal procedure is resumed. The introduction of a term so utterly new to the Wheel of Conditioned Genesis as is kamma is a novelty, however, the more especially perhaps as the Wheel is given at *Miln.* 52 in the regular order from (*sam*)*phassa* to the end. It looks a little as if the *Miln.* compiler thought of kamma, in at all events some aspect, as being specially connected with the sense-organs, which it undoubtedly is. It must be admitted, however, that he approached this vast concept with caution and discretion and in an analytical manner. He is thus able to deny, at *Miln.* 134-135, that all feelings that are experienced are rooted in kamma and

born from it; he argues that, on the contrary, most of them are produced without its agency.

One small point may also be noticed: the word for salt appears in its Pali form, *loṇa*, at e.g., *Miln.* 63, and also in its Sanskrit spelling, *lavana*, at *Miln.* 56, 112. It is doubtful whether this form is ever to be found in the Pali Canon, and one wonders why the compiler veered between the two.

Then too, in a work so abounding in similes from beginning to end as is *Miln.*, many are inevitably extra-canonical and to that extent new, while others have their counterparts in canonical literature. As the outcome of a fertile imagination applied to the cause of explanation of difficulties and clarification of understanding, they have to be accepted as part of the richness of *Miln.*, of the originality of its scheme and purpose, and of its method of presentation and argumentation. The very profusion of these similes together with their astonishing variety thwarts any useful discussion of them, and I can mention only one or two small points in connection with them. In the first place, though the majority are extremely apt, some may be thought inadequate or far-fetched, and others, because they are no more than analogies, to open the door to fallacies.<sup>1</sup> How, for example, could an earnest student of battle, *sangāmāvacara*, rout an opposing army with but five arrows (*Miln.* 44)? This simile is not used to show the equal difficulty of defeating the *kilesas*, the defilements of the mind, by the use of the five controlling faculties, *indriya*; it is given merely to encourage the King to think mental development is not impossible.

Secondly, in the same debate, another curious simile raises different considerations (*Miln.* 42-43). For when it speaks of the people in the Eastern districts keeping five vessels of water in each house to put out any conflagration that might occur, we wonder what were these Eastern districts where such prudent people lived.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Miln.* 84 (§viii).

Were they districts to the east of the Majjhimapadesa,<sup>1</sup> or east of where *Milindapañha* was compiled, or east of some other locality<sup>2</sup>—for no matter where you are there is always an eastern quarter (*Miln.* 328) ?

If the allusion is here difficult to trace, the same may be said of, thirdly, the headless corpses on the battlefield to which the King refers (*Miln.* 292) when he is arguing with Nāgasena that unskill is more powerful than skill. The King seems to hold it to be “ unskilful ” of a headless corpse to rise up, *utthahati*, after the 120 decapitations in this murderous battle have been completed, because then all the other headless corpses involved will come to calamity and ruin. This suggests that the corpse which rises up is the part of a man that has not been thoroughly subdued and tamed on the inner battleground where self must be conquered by self (*cf. Dhp.* 103). Nor have the other corpses won safety and security. Their death, that is the death of their unskilled qualities, is merely delusory; evil still lies latent in these warriors, only waiting to manifest itself the moment right endeavour is relaxed.<sup>3</sup> The connection between the headless corpse that rises up and those that come to ruin belongs to a traditional mode of thought, the roots of which go far back into the past. The calamity is that death is not deathlessness; it still entails rise and fall of the *khandhas* and birth and anguish in *samsāra* again and again (*cf. Dhp.* 153 *dukkhā jāti punappunam*) and not the final cessation of existence which, broadly speaking, is *nibbāna*<sup>4</sup> (*bhavanirodho nibbānam*, *S.* ii. 117, *A.* v. 9).

Lastly, and less confusingly, the similes in the final section of *Miln.*, called Talk on Similes, display a remarkable knowledge of animal characteristics and behaviour and a fine appreciation of points in natural history. But, strangely, the old legend of the huge

<sup>1</sup> *Vin.* i. 197 defines its boundaries. For further references see *BD.* iv. 266, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> As given, *e.g.*, at *AA.* ii. 139.

<sup>3</sup> One of the four factors of right endeavour is to stop evil unskilled states that have not arisen from arising.

<sup>4</sup> On the two kinds of *nibbāna*, see *Iti.* 38.

length attained by monsters of the deep is still adhered to (*Miln.* 85, 262).

Varying degrees of difficulty have attended the translation of a number of words and phrases. If the results do not always appear satisfactory, no one is more conscious of deficiencies and obscurities than I am. Though I have on the whole confined my remarks to the footnotes so that they might easily be read with the translation, the ramifications of many Pali words are so extensive and the meanings so uncertain that some words have not readily lent themselves to this treatment. I decided therefore to try to give a background to three particularly intricate words or phrases in the greater space provided by the Introduction, and by this means to indicate how far and wide the net of research must be thrown.

In one of the shortest of the dilemmas, *Miln.* 158-159, occurs one of the most troublesome phrases: *āpatti saññāvimokkhā āpatti no saññāvimokkhā*, clearly a legalistic and strictly *Vin.*, or better *VinA.* term. In order to render it as correctly as possible I sought the help of the late Nāṇamoli Bhikkhu of Ceylon. He wrote to say that in this context he would take *saññā* (as "awareness") to be a "factor" which in some offences, *āpatti*, has to be present in order to establish transgression, *vīrikkama*. Some offences, e.g., Pār. II, are only established as such if there is awareness, while others, e.g., Pāc. 6 (and possibly Pāc. 5), are established as offences whether there was contemporary awareness of transgression or not. In Pār. II, if there was awareness, there is *āpatti*; but if there was not, there is *anāpatti*. In Pāc. 6 awareness does not count as a factor.

Nāṇamoli Bhikkhu, secondly, would take *vimokkha* in this passage as "acquittal;" and indeed though the root *muc* varies much in its use, to be acquitted is tantamount, legally, to going free. *Saññāvimokkhā*, as he continues, would then be rather an elliptical legal idiom which, with the addition of *āpatti*, would mean: "The (type of) offence in which (contemporary) awareness counts (as a factor) for acquittal"; and *āpatti no saññāvimokkhā*

“ the (type of) offence in which (contemporary) awareness does not count (as a factor) for acquittal.”

Though I was probably sending coals to Newcastle, I gave the Bhikkhu three relevant contexts I knew of: *Vin.* v. 116 (which *Miln.* follows exactly and presumably used as its source), *VinA.* 1321, and *Kkvt.* 24. To these we may now add *MilnT.* 29.

*VinA.* 1321 is extremely terse, merely saying: *sacittakā āpatti saññāvimokkhā, acittakā āpatti no saññāvimokkhā.* It thus simply, and correctly, equates *sacittakā āpatti* with *saññāvimokkhā āpatti*, because an offence which is an offence only if there is *cognizance present* is essentially the same as an offence in which awareness (or not) counts as a factor for acquittal. Likewise, for reverse reasons, the other two terms are equated.

The six lines at *Kkvt.* 24 might be translated as follows: “ All offences are twofold in regard to awareness, *saññā*: those in which (contemporary) awareness (counts as a factor) for acquittal, and those in which (contemporary) awareness does not (count as a factor) for acquittal. Herein that (kind of offence) which (*yā*) entails acquittal, *muccati*, by the absence, *abhāvena*, of (contemporary) awareness of transgression, *vitikkama-saññāya*, is ‘that in which (contemporary) awareness counts (as a factor) for acquittal’.” *Kkvt.* then goes on, possibly with *VinA.* in mind: “ Again, all kinds are twofold according to cognizance, *citta*, namely they are with cognizance and without cognizance. Herein, that kind which (*yā*) is effected (*samutthāti*) only through the kind of effectuation that is accompanied by cognizance (see sixfold classification of *samutthāna* at *Kkvt.* 23) is ‘that with cognizance’; but that which is effected through the kind without cognizance is ‘that without cognizance’.” Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli remarks that *Kkvt.* regards the *sacittakā/acittakā* pair and the *saññāvimokkhā/no saññāvimokkhā* pair simply as alternative classifications. This is undoubtedly the view of *VinA.* 1321, and also of *MilnT.* 29. This latter passage unfortunately throws no new light. It could be translated as: “ (Contemporary) awareness (as a factor) for acquittal (means):

acquittal is from a state of having an offence because of the presence of awareness. (Contemporary) awareness (as a factor) for acquittal means an offence in which there is cognizance present. (Contemporary) awareness not (as a factor) for acquittal means: there is no acquittal from the state of having an offence because of the presence of awareness. No (contemporary) awareness (as a factor) for acquittal means an offence in which there is no cognizance present."

This legalistic problem is perhaps an extreme case of the difficulties a translator of *Miln.* has to face and try to surmount. At the same time, that the compiler of *Milindapañha* was able to produce this obscure passage to give Nāgasena the means of escape from the horns of the dilemma the King had laid before him is but another indication of how wide was his knowledge and recondite his learning.

Another word of considerable difficulty was *ukkalissanti* at *Miln.* 143 in the phrase: *ukkalissanti nu kho mama sāvākā mayā vissajjāpiyamānā mam' accayena khuddānu-khuddakāni sikkhāpadāni udāhu ādiyissanti*. I have translated this as: "Will my disciples on being left by me (*mayā vissajjāpiyamānā*) adhere to (*ukkalissanti*) the lesser and minor rules of training after my passing, or will they repudiate (*ādiyissanti*) them?" I have given footnotes on these three Pali words. But there is more to say about them, especially *ukkalissanti*. In our passage the reading seems doubtful. *PED.* under *ukkalissati* gives this reference only, saying: "[= ukkilissati? ud+kilissati] to become depraved, to revoke (?) *Miln.* 143." *Ud* has the meanings of (1) up (high) or high up, upward, on to (2) out of, forth. The remaining part of the verb, its main part, must be in the future to balance *ādiyissanti* at the end of the sentence. A present tense, taking *uk-kalissanti* as a future, would be either *kalati* or *kilati*. The former would hardly do here (see *kalita*, *Thag.* 22 where, according to *Pss. Breth.*, p. 27, n. 2, "the word denotes the musical call of a peacock"), though there is the commentarial variant reading *kilita* and *kīlita*. The latter seems, however, otherwise

unknown (from which of course no definite conclusion can be drawn that it does not exist).

Now, it is true that *kilisissati* can mean to dirty oneself, stain oneself, or to corrupt, *Thag.* 954 (where *kilisissanti* should perhaps read *kilesissanti*, as in the *Comy.*). But there are two reasons against adopting this reading for *Miln.* 143: (a) the *ud* would become inexplicable and superfluous, (b) the verbal form it uses is *kalissanti* which as the putative future of *kalati* or *kilati* would give no sense here; and hence does not appear to be a future tense at all, though this is required by the sentence. The reading given by *Si.* seems better. This is *ussakkissanti*, the third person plural of the future of *ussakkati*, from *ud*, out of or up to + *sakkati*, to go; thus to go out from or to go up to. Yet surely "to go from" would have taken the dative, and here we have an accusative: *sikkhāpadāni*. Therefore, to go up to, that is, to stick to, adhere to, and thus to keep up, looks as if it would give a reasonable meaning. Moreover, there is the verb *osakkati* (*ava*+*sakkati*) meaning to draw back from, to recede; this could have been used had some such meaning been intended. The whole difficulty of this sentence is further complicated by the two meanings of the verb *ādiyati*: to grasp, appropriate; and to break, go asunder, split (from). If *ussakkissanti* be taken, in spite of the accusative it governs, as "to go from" then *ādiyissanti* would have to be taken in the meaning of to grasp, thus simply giving the reverse of the translation I suggest. *MilnT.* makes no comment at all.

Another compound I thought would take more than a footnote for adequate consideration was *catujātiyagandha* at *Miln.* 254. I was anxious to discover what exactly are the four scents alluded to. Though this compound is found in other Pali passages, none, so far as I know, says what the four scents are, only that they were used. I again applied to the Bhikkhu Nānamoli. The confusion is as great as one would expect it to be in any matter concerning plants and the simples or compounds, medicines and scents produced from them. *PED.*,

under *catur-jāti*, gives the four as "saffron, jasmine, Turkish (*tarukkha*) and Greek incense (*yavana*)."  
 Bhikkhu Nānamoli thought that though *PED.*'s source must have been *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (*Abhp.*) 147, the entry looked like a quotation from memory and contains two mistakes: *tarukkha* for *turukkha*, and *yavana* for *yavanapuppha*. Childers, under *catujjātigandho*, gives the right reference to *Abhp.* 147 and records the four perfumes as *kunkuma*, *yavanapuppha*, *tagara*, *turukkha*. He also refers to Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 850. Burnouf's note is worth reading: "Le parfum que l'on nomme 'le parfum des quatre espèces' représente, suivant Clough, une composition de *kugkuma*, 'safran,' de *yavanapuchpa*, 'encens,' de *tagara*, 'myrrhe,' de *turuchka*, mot que Wilson traduit par *encens*, ce qui fait répétition avec le *yavanapuchpa*. (Clough, *Singhal. Diction.*, t. II, p. 193). Lassen remarque justement que la dénomination de *turuchka* n'est pas encore suffisamment expliquée. Si elle désigne l'encens, ce doit être autre espèce que le *yavanapuchpa*."

I can only give a brief note here in supplement to Burnouf: *Kunkuma* (Sinh. kokum) is saffron, crocus sativus. It should not be turmeric, but that is what one gets nowadays in Ceylon if one asks for saffron. Sir George Watt says the crocus has long been cultivated in Kashmir<sup>1</sup> and has a delicious scent when it is in flower. If we are to know what the old compilers who speak of the four scents meant by them, obviously it is necessary for these scents to have been produced and used in their day.

*Yavanapuppha* (Sinh. yon pup) so far is identified with no certainty. *Yona*, *yonaka*, *yavana* usually mean Bactria or Bactrian (Greeks) or (Greek) Bactrians. Monier-Williams however seems to give a possible clue of a more definite nature for *yavanapuppha* when, under *yavana*, he gives olibanum (which is an aromatic gum resin; so perhaps the flower of this?).

*Tagara* (Sinh. tuvaralā) appears to be a fragrant

<sup>1</sup> *Commercial Products of India*, 1908, p. 429.

powder, incense or frankincense prepared from the shrub *Tabernaemontana coronaria*.<sup>1</sup> It is by no means unknown to the Pali canon (see *PED.*, s.v.).

*Turukka* (Sinh. turuk tel) seems to be or have been a fragrant oil used as one of the four royal perfumes. Childers gives "Indian incense."

Fascinating as is this subject of the four scents, I can bring it forward here only as a complicated problem needing further investigation. As a minimum, the following works would have to be consulted: *Abhp.* 147, and the Ven. Subhuti Thera's renderings; also its *Tikā*; Monier-Williams's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*; Sōrata Thera's *Sri Sumangala Sabdakośa* (Dictionary of old and difficult Sinhalese words); the *Vaidyikasabdāsindhu* (a medical dictionary); Carter's *Sinhalese-English Dictionary*; and Sir George Watt, *Commercial Products of India* (an abridgement of "The Dictionary of the Economic Product of India"). Meanwhile, it is sometimes useful to know just how confused things are to us though no doubt at one time their connotations were crystal-clear and stood in no need of explanation.

I have taken these three words as specimens of the toil and trouble, the care and anxious research that go to make a critical translation even passable. Accustomed as I am to the pitfalls of Pali literature and the surprises it may spring on one, that a translation should be slow and painstaking appears to me a glimpse of the obvious. It needs saying all the same. RhD. has called *Miln.* "the masterpiece of Indian prose,"<sup>2</sup> and a masterpiece it certainly is. The translator therefore has perhaps even a greater degree of responsibility in regard to fidelity in his renderings and to style in his prose than is usual in handling these venerable and venerated records. It

<sup>1</sup> See also W. Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, ed. H. Bechert, Wiesbaden, 1960, who refers to the four sorts of perfumes thus: "saffron (*kuinkuma*), a powder prepared from the blossoms of the *tagara* shrub (*Tabernaemontana coronaria*), the olibanum of the *turukka* tree (*Boswellia serrata*) and the blossoms of the clove-tree (*Caryophyllus aromaticus*)." See *Mhvs.* 89. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *QKM.* ii, p. xxvii.

is a matter of much regret to me that since I began making this translation, I have had little consecutive time to give to it and was interrupted far too often and for far too long by unforeseen and adverse circumstances. I am constantly asked if a translation of *Milindapañha* is available, and a kind friend, Mr. R. E. W. Iggleden, most generously made a contribution to the costs of the production of my *Milinda's Questions*. The late Nāṇamoli Bhikkhu, to whom I have referred earlier, was always ready with valuable assistance whenever I turned to him; and Dr. K. N. Jayatilleke of Ceylon and Mr. Dhanit Yupho of Thailand gave me many useful suggestions concerning Milinda's dates. I am most grateful for all the help I have received. With so much encouragement, not to say pressure, I have thought it best to publish the translation as it is, without the final polish it should have had and without a fuller Introduction, though "final" is no doubt an inappropriate term to use in connection with *Milindapañha*. It is a fine work, infinite in its variety, point upon point still awaiting examination and exploration. It shows no signs of being forgotten, and is referred to in almost every modern book about Theravāda Buddhism.

Where the footnotes and the Introduction contain references to *Miln.* passages, the page numbers accompanying these references refer to the page numbers in Trenckner's *Miln.*; all these are given in heavy type in square brackets throughout my translation. Therefore the passages referred to should be as easy to trace in these two volumes of translation as in *Miln.* itself.

I. B. HORNER.

LONDON, JULY, 1961.

## ABBREVIATIONS

A.	= Anguttara-Nikāya
AA.	= Commentary on A.
Ap.	= Apadāna
Asl.	= Atthasālinī
BD.	= <i>The Book of the Discipline</i>
BHSD.	= <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (Franklin Edgerton)
BTTA.	= <i>Buddhist Texts through the Ages</i> (ed. E. Conze)
Budv.	= Buddhavaṃsa
BudvA.	= Commentary on Budv.
CHI.	= <i>Cambridge History of India</i>
Comp.	= <i>Compendium of Philosophy</i>
Comy.	= Commentary
Cp.	= Cariyāpiṭaka
CPD.	= <i>Critical Pali Dictionary</i> (Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith)
D.	= Dīgha-Nikāya
DA.	= Commentary on D.
DhA.	= Commentary on Dhṃ.
Dhp.	= Dhammapada
Dhs.	= Dhammasangani
Dial.	= <i>Dialogues of the Buddha</i>
Divy.	= Divyāvadāna
DPPN.	= <i>Dictionary of Pali Proper Names</i> (G. P. Malalasekera)
Dresden	= <i>Jātakastava or "Praise of the Buddha's Former Births"</i> Trans. Amer. Philosoph. Society, N.S., vol. 45, Part 5, 1955, by Mark J. Dresden
Expos.	= <i>Expositor</i>
G.S.	= <i>Gradual Sayings</i>
ItA.	= Commentary on Iti.
Iti.	= Itivuttaka

<i>Jā.</i>	= Jātaka
<i>JAOS.</i>	= <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>Jkm.</i>	= Jinakālamāli
<i>JPTS.</i>	= <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i>
<i>Khp.</i>	= Khuddakapāṭha
<i>KhpA.</i>	= Commentary on Khp.
<i>Kkt.</i>	= Kankhāvitaraṇī
<i>K.S.</i>	= <i>Kindred Sayings</i>
<i>Kvu.</i>	= Kathāvatthu
<i>KvA.</i>	= Commentary on Kvu.
Lamotte, <i>Hist.</i>	= <i>Histoire du Bouddhisme indien</i> , Louvain, 1958
<i>M.</i>	= Majjhima-Nikāya
<i>MA.</i>	= Commentary on M.
<i>Mhbv.</i>	= Mahābodhivaṃsa
<i>Mhvs.</i>	= Mahāvamsa
<i>Mhvu.</i>	= Mahāvastu
<i>Miln.</i>	= Milindapañha (ed. V. Trenckner)
<i>MilnT.</i>	= Milinda-Tikā
<i>MLS.</i>	= Middle Length Sayings
<i>MV.</i>	= Vinaya Mahāvagga
<i>M-W.</i>	= Monier-Williams, <i>Sanskrit-English Dic- tionary</i>
<i>Nd.</i>	= Niddesa
<i>Netti.</i>	= Nettippakarāṇa
<i>P.Pn.</i>	= <i>Path of Purification</i> (Ñāṇamoli)
<i>P. Purity</i>	= <i>Path of Purity</i> (Pe Maung Tin)
<i>Pāc.</i>	= Pācittiya
<i>Pār.</i>	= Pārājika
<i>PED.</i>	= <i>Pali-English Dictionary</i> (T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede)
<i>Ppn.</i>	= <i>Path of Purification</i>
<i>PTC.</i>	= <i>Pali Tipitakam Concordance</i>
<i>Pts.</i>	= Paṭisambhidāmagga
<i>Pts. Contr.</i>	= <i>Points of Controversy</i>
<i>Pug.</i>	= Puggalapaññatti
<i>QKM.</i>	= <i>Questions of King Milinda</i>
<i>RhD.</i>	= Rhys Davids
<i>S.</i>	= Saṃyutta-Nikāya

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<i>SA.</i>	= Commentary on S.
<i>Si.</i>	= Siamese printed edn. of <i>Milindapañha</i>
<i>Sn.</i>	= Suttanipāta
<i>SnA.</i>	= Commentary on Sn.
<i>Sta.</i>	= Sutta
<i>Thag.</i>	= Theragāthā
<i>ThagA.</i>	= Commentary on Thag.
<i>Thīg.</i>	= Therīgāthā
<i>Ud.</i>	= Udāna
<i>UdA.</i>	= Commentary on Ud.
<i>Up.</i>	= Upanishad
<i>Vbh.</i>	= Vibhanga
<i>VbhA.</i>	= Commentary on Vbh.
<i>Vin.</i>	= Vinayapiṭaka
<i>VinA.</i>	= Commentary on Vin.
<i>Vism.</i>	= Visuddhimagga

# Milinda's Questions

PRAISE TO THE LORD, THE ARAHANT,  
THE PERFECT BUDDHA

## I. TALK ON SECULAR MATTERS

- [1] The King named Milinda approached Nāgasena at Sāgala,  
In the incomparable city, like the Ganges the ocean.  
To him, the eloquent, the torch-bearer, dispeller of dark-  
ness, the king, drawing near,  
Asked many abstruse questions about correct or faulty  
conclusions.  
The solutions to the questions likewise were given over to  
profound meanings,  
Going to the heart, pleasing to the ear, wonderful,  
astounding,<sup>1</sup>  
Plunging into Further-Dhamma and Vinaya, deliberating  
the net of the Suttas,  
Nāgasena's talk was varied with similes and in the method.  
Aspiring to knowledge herein while gladdening the mind,  
Hearken to the abstruse questions, dissipating occasions  
for doubt.

According to what has been heard:<sup>2</sup> There was a city  
called Sāgala,<sup>3</sup> a centre of all kinds of merchandise<sup>4</sup> for

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<sup>1</sup> *lomahamsana*, hair-raising, amazing.

<sup>2</sup> *tarīyathā 'nusūyate*. According to Trenckner, *Miln.*, p. vii, this phrase is found in no other Pali work.

<sup>3</sup> Lamotte, *Hist.*, p. 415, and others, identify it with the modern Siālkot, between the Chenāb and Rāvi. See Lamotte, *op. cit.*, for its once having had the name of Euthymedia. A. K. Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, Appx. III, thinks the identification must be approached with caution.

<sup>4</sup> *nānāputabhedana*, a phrase applied to the breaking of the seed-boxes of the plant Pāṭali, and so referring in a special way to Pāṭaliputta. See *Vin.* i. 229, *D.* ii. 87, *Ud.* 88, the art. on *putabhedana* in *PED.*, and the note at *BD.* iv. 312.

the Greek Bactrians,<sup>1</sup> graced with rivers and mountain-slopes, having delightful districts and regions, possessed of parks, pleasure-grounds, woods, lakes and lotus-pools—a lovely scene of rivers, mountain-slopes and woods, it was laid out by knowledgeable men. Enemies and adversaries had been destroyed, it was without oppression; divers, varied and strong were its watch-towers and ramparts,<sup>2</sup> its splendid and noble arches curving over the city-gates; the palace was surrounded by a deep moat and pale encircling walls; well laid out were its carriage-roads, cross-roads,<sup>3</sup> squares and the places where three or four roads met;<sup>4</sup> the bazaar shops were filled inside<sup>5</sup> with innumerable varieties of well-displayed goods; [2] it was richly adorned with a hundred varieties of halls where gifts (were given); it was splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent dwellings like crests of snowy mountains; it was filled with elephants, horses, chariots and pedestrians,<sup>6</sup> with groups of handsome men and women; it was crowded with ordinary people, warriors, nobles, brahmins, merchants and workers; resounding with a variety of salutations to ascetics and brahmins, it was the resort of skilled men knowing a great variety (of things). It had divers and varied shops for cloths: Benares muslin, Koṭumbara<sup>7</sup> stuffs and so on. It was sweet-smelling

<sup>1</sup> The Yonakas are usually taken as Ionian Greeks who settled in Bactria; or a mixed people originating in Asia-Minor. For a useful discussion on *Yavana*, *Yona*, *Yonaka*, etc., see Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, Appx. I. He cites *Mahābhārata* viii. 45. 36: *sarvajñā yavanāh*, “the all-knowing Yavanas.”

<sup>2</sup> Reading *koṭṭhaka* for text's *kottaka*. Cf. description of a town at *Miln.* 330.

<sup>3</sup> *caccara* as at *Vin.* iii. 151, iv. 271. See *BD.* iii. 268, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *singhātaka*; see *BD.* iii. 105, n. 3; 268, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *antara*; the inside of a shop, as opposed to the outside which is often on the pavement where much of the business is done, the stores and supplies being kept inside.

<sup>6</sup> *gaja-haya-ratha-patti*. This must be regarded as the “peaceful” counterpart of the four “wings of an army,” *hatthv assā rathā pattī* (as at *Vin.* iv. 105), for Sāgala was at peace.

<sup>7</sup> Koṭumbara (v.l. Kodumbara) was noted for the excellence of its cloth, *Jā.* vi. 51, 500, 501.

with the great variety of shops for flowers and perfumes, well and tastefully displayed. It was filled with an abundance of alluring jewels. Its shops, well-displayed and facing (all) directions, were frequented by crowds of elegant merchants. Full of *kahāpanas*, silver, bronze and stone-ware, it was the abode of shining treasure. The warehouses were full of an abundance of riches and corn and wealth; there were many foods and drinks, a great variety of solid and soft foods, sweets, beverages and savouries as in Uttarakuru.<sup>1</sup> Its harvests were heavy as in Ālakamandā, the city of devas.

Having set this forth, the former deeds<sup>2</sup> of these<sup>3</sup> must be told; and they must be told while what is spoken about is divided into a sixfold heading; that is to say: Former History, Milinda's Questions, Questions on Distinguishing Marks, the Dilemmas,<sup>4</sup> a Question (solved by) Inference, Questions on Talk of Similes. With reference to this Milinda's Questions are twofold: Questions on Distinguishing Marks, and Questions for the Cutting off of Perplexity. The Dilemmas are also twofold: the Great Division, and Questions on Talk about yogins.<sup>5</sup>

### [Former History]

Former History means the former deeds of these. It is said that in the past when Kassapa was the Lord<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A country often mentioned in the Nikāyas and later literature as a mythical region. From a detailed description given in the Ātānāṭiya Suttanta (*D.* iii. 199) it would appear that food was abundant there. Ālakamandā was one of its principal cities.

<sup>2</sup> Their earlier deeds or kamma, and so the story of their former births.

<sup>3</sup> Milinda and Nāgasena.

<sup>4</sup> *Meṇḍakapaṇha*, questions belonging to the ram, or questions made of ram's horns, thus dilemmas. Note at *Miln.* 422-423 suggests there is an allusion to the Ummagga Jātaka (*Jā.* vi. 353-355) which is told in the form of such a difficult and puzzling question that only the Bodhisatta can answer it.

<sup>5</sup> On this table of contents, see *Intr.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>6</sup> Kassapa was the Buddha before Gotama.

and was promulgating the Dispensation, a large Order of monks was living in a residence near the Ganges. The monks there were possessed of habitual morality. Rising early and taking a long-handled broom and sweeping the courtyard while reflecting on the special qualities of the Buddha, they would make the rubbish into a heap. Then a monk spoke to a novice,<sup>1</sup> saying: "Come, novice, throw out this rubbish." But he went away as though not hearing. Summoned a second and a third time, he still went away as though not hearing. Then that monk was angry, and thinking: "This novice is difficult to speak to"<sup>2</sup> [3] he gave him a blow<sup>3</sup> with the handle of the broom; and he, crying and throwing out the rubbish through fear, made the first aspiration: "Through this meritorious deed of throwing out the rubbish may I, wherever I am successively reborn until I attain nibbāna, be of great might and great glory like the mid-day sun."

After he had thrown out the rubbish he went to a ford of the Ganges to wash, and on seeing the swirling surge of the waves of the Ganges he made the second aspiration: "May I, wherever I am successively reborn until I attain nibbāna, be prompt in saying the right thing and prompt in answering questions (carrying all before me) like this surge of waves."

And when that monk had put away the broom in the place<sup>4</sup> for brooms, he went to the ford of the Ganges to wash, and hearing the novice's aspiration he thought: "While he who was merely instigated by me aspires thus, in what may I not be successful?" And he made the aspiration: "May I, wherever I am successively reborn until I attain nibbāna, be prompt in answering questions

<sup>1</sup> *sāmañera*, see *Vin.* i. 62 ff., 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *dubbaca*. A monk who is difficult to speak to is defined at *Vin.* iii. 178.

<sup>3</sup> At *Vin.* iv. 146 a monk who is angry and displeased must not strike another. If novices were disrespectful towards monks, the monks were able to prohibit them, within limits, from entering the monastery, *Vin.* i. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. a hall, *sālā*.

(carrying all before me) like this surge of the waves of the Ganges; and may I be able to unravel promptly and explain all the answers to the questions constantly asked me by this (novice).” Both of these spent the whole interval between (the uprising of) one Buddha and the next circling-on among devas and men. And even as Moggali’s son, the Elder Tissa<sup>1</sup> was seen by our Lord, even so were these also seen, as it is explained: “Five hundred years after I have attained complete nibbāna these will uprising (again) and, disentangling it and making it clear by asking questions and by the use of similes, they will explain what was made abstruse by me when I taught Dhamma and Discipline.”

Of these two the novice became the King called Milinda in the city of Sāgala in India. He was wise, experienced, clever, able; he was one who acted conscientiously at the times of doing all<sup>2</sup> the (magic) devices, ceremonies and observances concerning things past, future and present. Many were the arts<sup>3</sup> he had mastered, that is to say: the revealed tradition,<sup>4</sup> secular lore,<sup>5</sup> the Sankhya, Yoga, Nyāya<sup>6</sup> and Vaiśeṣika systems, accountancy, music, medicine, the four Vedas,<sup>7</sup> the Purāṇas, the oral traditions, astronomy, conjuring, logic, spells, fighting, poetry, reckoning on the fingers, [4] in a word, the nineteen (arts). A disputant hard to equal, hard to overcome, he was acclaimed chief of the leaders of the numerous schools of thought.<sup>8</sup> In the whole of India there was no one like King Milinda in fortitude, speed, courage and wisdom. He was rich, of great

<sup>1</sup> See *Mhvs.* V. 95 ff., 131 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Text *samanta-*, Si. *kammanta-*.

<sup>3</sup> *saṭṭha*, lore, science, art, *śāstra*.

<sup>4</sup> *sūti*. See *Miln.* 178 where this word appears to have a different meaning.

<sup>5</sup> *sammūti*, convention.

<sup>6</sup> Here called *nīti*.

<sup>7</sup> See *Miln.* 178, for this and the next two words, *purāṇa* and *itihāsa*, there in the singular.

<sup>8</sup> *titthakara*, the ford-makers or course-setters. The “ford” gives access to crossing the river of Death to the security of the Further Shore the other side.

wealth and great prosperity; his armed forces were without end.

Now one day King Milinda issued forth from the town as he wished to see his endless armed forces in their fourfold array.<sup>1</sup> When he had had the army mustered outside the town the king, who was fond of discussion and eager for conversation with natural philosophers,<sup>2</sup> sophists and others of the sort, looked at the sun and addressed his ministers, saying: "Much of the day still remains; what should we do if we returned to the town now? Is there any learned ascetic or brahman or leader of a company, leader of a group or teacher of a group who, perhaps claiming to be an arahant, a perfect buddha, could converse with me and dispel my doubts?"

When this had been said five hundred Bactrian Greeks spoke thus to King Milinda: "There are six teachers, sire: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali of the Cow-pen, Nātaputta the Jain, Sañjaya Belaṭṭha's son, Ajita of the Hair-blanket, Pakudho Kaccāyana.<sup>3</sup> These leaders of companies, leaders of groups, teachers of groups are well known, they are founders of schools of thought held in high repute by the manyfolk.<sup>4</sup> Go you, sire, ask them a question and let your doubts be dispelled."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vin.* iv. 105: elephants, horses, chariots and infantry, and see above, p. 2, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *lokāyata*, see *Dial.* i. 166-172.

<sup>3</sup> These six "heretical" teachers were all contemporary with the Buddha and therefore dead long before Milinda's time. Though the particular tenets each was credited with holding are given at *D.* i. 50 ff., a certain amount of confusion exists, specially perhaps with the views ascribed to Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla and Ajita Kesakambalin, other passages in the Piṭakas on occasion ascribing the views of one (as found stated at *D.* i. 50 ff.) to either of the others. For another brief résumé of their teachings and further references, see *DPPN.* under the names of each of these heretical leaders. That these names occur in our passage above caused RhD. to suspect an interpolation. But we must remember that the events being narrated here are supposed to be past history and that (see *Miln.* 3) the novice (King Milinda) had been seen by the Buddha. At all events the "compiler" of *Miln.* knew the Piṭakas far too well to be in any doubt whether these teachers were living or dead by the time of Milinda.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 198, ii. 2-3.

Then King Milinda, surrounded by the five hundred Bactrian Greeks, having mounted a splendid chariot, an auspicious vehicle, approached Pūraṇa Kassapa; having approached, he exchanged greetings with Pūraṇa Kassapa; and when he had exchanged greetings of friendliness and courtesy he sat down at one side. As he was sitting down at one side, King Milinda spoke thus to Pūraṇa Kassapa:

“ Who, revered Kassapa, rules the world ?”

“ The earth, sire, rules the world.”

“ But if, revered Kassapa, the earth rules the world, then why do beings when they are going to Avīci Niraya Hell go there passing<sup>1</sup> the earth ?” [5] When this had been said, Pūraṇa Kassapa was able neither to swallow down nor spew out (the puzzle);<sup>2</sup> he sat (there) with his shoulders drooping, silent, downcast.

Then King Milinda spoke thus to Makkhali of the Cowpen: “ Are there, revered Gosāla, deeds that are skilled and unskilled ? Is there fruit, result of deeds that are well done and badly done ?”<sup>3</sup>

“ Sire, there are not deeds that are skilled and unskilled, there is no fruit, no result of deeds well done and badly done. Those, sire, who are warrior-nobles in this world, on going to a world beyond will be precisely warrior-nobles again. Those who are brahmans, merchants, workers, members of low castes, sweepers, on going to a world beyond will be precisely brahmans . . . sweepers again. So what is the use of deeds, skilled or unskilled ?”

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<sup>1</sup> *atikkamītvā* has this meaning besides the allied one of overcoming, transcending, surpassing, passing beyond; cf. *M.* i. 192, *Iti.* p. 51. To translate the phrase as “ thus getting outside the sphere of the earth ” has landed RhD. in some difficulties. But this question of Milinda’s is certainly, and perhaps intentionally, obscure.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 393.

<sup>3</sup> The words of this question are sometimes found categorically stated in the Piṭakas as an example of wrong view (e.g., *M.* i. 287, 401, 515, *S.* iii. 206; cf. *Kvu.* 30–31). At *D.* i. 55 this is the view ascribed to Ajita Kesakambalin. For much information regarding Makkhali’s life and tenets see A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ajīvikas*, London, 1951.

“ If, revered Gosāla, the warrior-nobles, brahmans . . . sweepers in this world become precisely warrior-nobles, brahmans . . . sweepers again in a world beyond, there is nothing to be done by deeds, skilled or unskilled. But then, revered Gosāla, those who in this world have had their hands cut off, on going to a world beyond will be again precisely those who have had their hands cut off; those who have had their feet cut off will be again those with their feet cut off; those who have had their ears and nose cut off will be again those with their ears and nose cut off.”<sup>1</sup> When this had been said, Makkhali of the Cow-pen was silent.

Then it occurred to King Milinda: “ India is indeed empty,<sup>2</sup> India is void<sup>2</sup> indeed. There is no ascetic or brahman able to converse with me to dispel my doubts.”<sup>3</sup> Then King Milinda addressed the ministers, saying: “ Indeed, sirs, it is a lovely moonlight night. Suppose we were to approach an ascetic or a brahman tomorrow to ask a question. Who is able to converse with me to dispel my doubts ?”<sup>4</sup> When he had spoken thus the ministers, falling silent, stood gazing at the King's face.

Now at that time the town of Sāgala had been empty<sup>5</sup> of clever ascetics, brahmans and householders for twelve years. But wherever the King heard that clever ascetics, brahmans or householders were living, he went there to ask them a question; [6] but all those who were unable to satisfy the King with answers to his questions went away to this (place) and that, and all those who did not go away to another district remained silent. But the monks mostly went to the Himalayas.

Now at that time a hundred myriad arahants were living on the Guarded Plateau<sup>6</sup> on an Himalayan mountain-slope. Then the venerable Assagutta,<sup>7</sup> having heard with the deva-like condition of hearing King

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kvu.* 31.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, *Miln.* 21.

<sup>5</sup> *suñña.*

<sup>2</sup> *tuccha . . . palāpa*; cf. *Miln.* 21.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. below, *Miln.* 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Rakkhitatala.*

<sup>7</sup> At *DA.* 779, *VbhA.* 272 he is cited as an example of a *kalyāṇa-mitta* who delights in meditation on loving-kindness (or, friendliness), and from association with whom ill-will is got rid of.

Milinda's speech, had the Order of monks convened on the summit of Yugandhara<sup>1</sup> and asked the monks, saying: "Your reverences, is there any monk capable of conversing with King Milinda to dispel his doubts?" When he had spoken thus the hundred myriad arahants were silent. On being asked a second and a third time they were silent. Then the venerable Assagutta spoke thus to the Order of monks:

"There is, your reverences, in the Abode of the Thirty-Three a mansion named Ketumatī to the east of Vejayanta.<sup>2</sup> A young deva<sup>3</sup> named Mahāsenā is living there. He is capable of conversing with this King Milinda to dispel his doubts." Then the hundred myriad arahants vanished from the slopes of Yugandhara and appeared in the Abode of the Thirty-Three. Sakka, chief of devas, saw these monks as they were coming from a distance; seeing them, he approached the venerable Assagutta; when he had approached the venerable Assagutta and greeted him he stood at one side. As he was standing at one side Sakka, chief of devas, spoke thus to the venerable Assagutta: "Revered sir, great is the Order of monks that has arrived. I am at the service of the Order of monks. What does it require? What is there I could do?"

"Sire, this King named Milinda in the town of Sāgala in India is a disputant hard to equal, hard to overcome, he is acclaimed chief of the leaders of the numerous schools of thought. When he has approached an Order of monks, he worries that Order by asking questions by means of professing a wrong view."

Then Sakka, chief of devas, spoke thus to the venerable Assagutta: "This King Milinda, revered sir, deceasing from here, has arisen among men. But, revered sir, this young deva called Mahāsenā who lives in the Ketumatī mansion [7] is capable of conversing with King Milinda

<sup>1</sup> One of the Himalayan mountains.

<sup>2</sup> A *pāsāda* or palace belonging to Sakka.

<sup>3</sup> *devaputta*, or perhaps just a deva or deva's son. I think some idea of youth is intended: a deva who had not been a deva for long, or who would not continue to be one for long. Cf. *Miln.* 126.

to dispel (his doubts). We will entreat<sup>1</sup> this young deva to arise in the world of men."

Then Sakka, chief of devas, having vanished from the Order of monks, entered Ketumatī mansion and embraced Mahāsenā, the young deva, and spoke thus: "The Order of monks is entreating you, my dear, to arise in the world of men."

"Revered sir, I have no desire for the world of men that is given over to kamma; the world of men is dark.<sup>2</sup> It is precisely here, revered sir, in a deva-world, that I, being one that attains ever higher and higher, will gain complete nibbāna." And a second and a third time Mahāsenā, the young deva, on being entreated by Sakka, chief of devas, spoke thus: "Revered sir, I have no desire for the world of men that is given over to kamma. The world of men is dark. It is precisely here, revered sir, in a deva-world, that I, being one that attains ever higher and higher, will attain complete nibbāna."

Then the venerable Assagutta spoke thus to the young deva Mahāsenā: "Now we, my dear, on surveying the world including the devas, see no one except you who, refuting what King Milinda says, is capable of supporting the Dispensation. My dear, the Order of monks is entreating you, saying: 'It were well, worthy one,<sup>3</sup> if you, having been reborn in the world of men, should support and teach the Dispensation of Him of the Ten Powers.'"<sup>4</sup> When this had been said Mahāsenā, the young deva, thought: "It is said that I, refuting King Milinda, will be capable of supporting the Dispensation," and, feeling pleased and elated, he gave his consent, saying: "It is good, revered sir, I will arise in the world of men."

Then these monks, having concluded that business in the deva-world, vanishing from among the devas of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the four modes of descent into a womb, *Miln.* 127 f.

<sup>2</sup> *tibba*, dense, confused. Cf. *M.* i. 341, *gahanam h' etam yadidam manussā*, this is a tangle, that is to say human beings.

<sup>3</sup> *sappurisa*, very man. *Si.* reads *mārisa*, "my dear."

<sup>4</sup> The Ten Powers of a Tathāgata are described at *M.* i. 69 ff., *A.* v. 32 ff.

Thirty-Three, appeared on the Guarded Plateau near the Himalayan mountain-slope. Then the venerable Assagutta spoke thus to the Order of monks: "There is, your reverences, some monk not come to the convention of this Order of monks."<sup>1</sup> When this had been said, a certain monk spoke thus to the venerable Assagutta: "There is, revered sir, the venerable Rohaṇa who, having left here a week ago for [8] an Himalayan mountain-slope, has attained cessation;<sup>2</sup> send a messenger to him." The venerable Rohana, emerging from cessation at that very moment, thought: "The Order is waiting for me" and, vanishing from the Himalayan mountain-slope, appeared before the hundred myriad arahants on the Guarded Plateau. Then the venerable Assagutta spoke thus to the venerable Rohaṇa: "Now, reverend Rohaṇa, when the Buddha's Dispensation is dissolving, do not you see what is to be done for the Order?"

"I was lacking in attention, revered sir."

"Well then, reverend Rohaṇa, do you undergo a punishment."<sup>3</sup>

"What shall I do, revered sir?"

"Reverend Rohaṇa, there is a brahman village called Kajangala; a brahman named Soṇuttara lives there, and he will have a son, a boy named Nāgasena. Well then, do you, reverend Rohaṇa, visit that family for almsfood for seven years and ten months; when you have visited it for almsfood and drawn away the boy Nāgasena, let him go forth.<sup>4</sup> When he has gone forth you will be free

<sup>1</sup> This way of introducing Rohaṇa into the narrative seems loosely based on the fact that an Order of monks had to be absolutely complete in order to contract official business; and there also seems to be an echo of Ānanda's absence from the First Council.

<sup>2</sup> *nirodha*. This probably refers to the ninth, last and highest meditative plane, that where knowing and feeling are arrested; Si. reads *paṭhamajjhāna*, the first meditation.

<sup>3</sup> *daṇḍakammaṃ karohi*. Cf. *Mhvs.* V. 101, *daṇḍakammāraha*; and *Mhvs.* V. 95 ff. for the coming of Brahmā Tissa to be reborn in the house of the brahman Moggali, the going forth of Siggava, a minister's son, and his visits to Tissa's house where he received the same kind of treatment as is related in *Miln.* of Rohana.

<sup>4</sup> From home into homelessness. as Si. inserts.

of this punishment." And the venerable Rohaṇa agreed, saying: "It is good."

And the young deva Mahāseṇa, deceasing from the deva-world, took on re-connection<sup>1</sup> in the womb of the wife of the brahman Soṇuttara. Contemporaneously with his taking on re-connection three wonderful and marvellous things occurred: arms and weapons burst into flames; the first fruits of the crop ripened; and a great rain-cloud poured down its rain. From the time that he (Mahāseṇa) took on re-connection, the venerable Rohaṇa, though visiting that family for almsfood for seven years and ten months, did not obtain so much as a spoonful of rice or a ladleful of conjeey or greetings or salutations with joined palms or any of the duties proper (from lay-people to monks). Rather, it was reviling and abuse that he received, and there was no one who said: "Pass on (to the next house<sup>2</sup>), revered sir." But one day, at the end of the seven years and ten months, he was addressed with at least the words: "Pass on, revered sir." And on that very day, the brahman [9] coming back from his business outside<sup>3</sup> and seeing the Elder on the opposite side of the road, said to him: "Did you, you who have gone forth, come to our house?"

"Yes, brahman, I came."

"Did you receive anything?"

"Yes, brahman, I received."

When the brahman had reached the house, being displeased, he inquired: "Did you give something to that one who has gone forth?"

"We gave him nothing."

The next day<sup>4</sup> the brahman sat at the door of the house itself, thinking: "Today I will rebuke that one who has

<sup>1</sup> *paṭisandhi*, re-linking, re-connection, especially of consciousness, implying a re-assemblage of *nāma-rūpa* after there had been *cuti*, dying, deceasing, falling from another birth.

<sup>2</sup> A polite way of indicating inability to give food to a mendicant.

<sup>3</sup> Outside the village is probably meant, but not necessarily "work in the fields" (*QKM*. i. 15).

<sup>4</sup> *dutiyadvase*, on the second day, and referring on both occasions to one and the same day, namely the day after the brahman had inquired of his family whether they had given alms.

gone forth for his lying speech.” The Elder arrived the same day<sup>1</sup> at the brahman’s house-door, and the brahman, on seeing him, spoke to him thus:

“ You received nothing at our house yesterday although you said you had received (something). Is lying speech allowed to you ?”

The Elder said: “ For seven years and ten months, brahman, I have not received so much as a ‘Pass on’ at your house, but yesterday I was addressed with at least the words, ‘ Pass on.’ It was in reference to these friendly words that I spoke thus.”

The brahman thought: “ Having received only so little as these friendly words, they<sup>2</sup> speak out in public, saying: ‘ I am receiving.’ So how will they not speak forth on receiving some real<sup>3</sup> solid or soft food ?” and, being pleased, he had the rice that had been prepared for his own use given to him as a “ spoon-alms ”<sup>4</sup> with condiments and vegetables, saying: “ You will obtain this almsfood for all time.” And on the following day when he saw the Elder’s calm as he was approaching, he became more and more pleased with him and invited the Elder to take his meal inside his own house in perpetuity. The Elder consented by becoming silent. Every day when he was going away after he had had his meal, he went after he had spoken some short part or another of the Buddha’s words.<sup>5</sup>

That brahman lady gave birth to a son at the end of ten months. He was called Nāgasena. Growing up, he came in due course to be seven years old. Then his father spoke thus to the boy Nāgasena: [10] “ Dear Nāgasena, you should train yourself in the trainings<sup>6</sup> in this brahman family.”

<sup>1</sup> *duṭṭiyadivase*, on the second day, and referring on both occasions to one and the same day, namely the day after the brahman had inquired of his family whether they had given alms.

<sup>2</sup> Probably referring to those that have gone forth.

<sup>3</sup> *aññaṃ kiñci*, anything else, something different. “ How will they speak forth on receiving something else; solid and soft food ?”

<sup>4</sup> *kaṭacchubhikkha*, as at *Vin.* i. 55, *Thag.* 934. See *BD* iv. 72, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Buddhavacana*.

<sup>6</sup> *sikkhā*.

“What, father, are called the trainings in this brahman family?”

“The three Vedas are called the trainings, dear Nāgasena; the remaining crafts are called crafts.”

“Well then, father, I will learn (them.)”

Then the brahman Soṇuttara gave a teacher's fee of a thousand<sup>1</sup> to a brahman teacher, and when he had had a small couch laid down at the side of a room inside a long house,<sup>2</sup> he spoke thus to the brahman teacher: “You, brahman, must make this boy study the mantras.”

The brahman teacher said: “Well then, dear boy, learn the mantras,” and he studied<sup>3</sup> them. After no more than a single repetition, the three Vedas were learnt by heart, properly intoned in voice, properly understood, properly arranged and properly pondered by the boy Nāgasena. All at once vision arose (in him) in regard to the three Vedas with their vocabularies and rituals, with the phonology and exegesis and the oral tradition as the fifth;<sup>4</sup> he was learned in the lines (of the Vedas), the expositions and popular philosophy of the marks of a Great Man. Then the boy Nāgasena spoke thus to his father:

“Father, is there anything further than this to be trained in in this brahman family, or is this simply the full extent?”

“Dear Nāgasena, there is nothing further than this to be trained in in this brahman family; this is simply the full extent.”

Then the boy Nāgasena, having passed the teacher's examination, leaving the long house, his heart rebuking him for his former impressions,<sup>5</sup> meditating in solitude, and considering the beginning, middle and ending of his own craft,<sup>6</sup> but not seeing even the slightest pith in

<sup>1</sup> Probably *kaḥāpaṇas* to be understood.

<sup>2</sup> *pāsāda*, also meaning a king's palace.

<sup>3</sup> *sajjhāyati*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *D.* i. 88, *M.* ii. 133, *A.* i. 163, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *pubbavāsanā*. Cf. *Sn.* 1009. Also *Miln.*, p. 263, *pubbe vāsita-vāsanā*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *SnA.* 327.

either the beginning, middle or ending, thought: "Empty indeed are these Vedas, void indeed are these Vedas, pithless, without pith," and he was remorseful and displeased.<sup>1</sup>

Now at that time the venerable Rohaṇa, sitting in the Vattaniya hermitage,<sup>2</sup> knew by mind the reasoning in the mind of the boy Nāgasena and, dressing himself and taking his bowl and robe, vanished from the Vattaniya hermitage and appeared before the brahman village of Kajangala. The boy Nāgasena who was standing in the porch of his own gateway saw the venerable Rohaṇa coming from the distance; when he saw him he was pleased, uplifted, joyous, rapturous and happy, and he thought: "Perhaps this one who has gone forth might know what is the pith." And he approached the venerable Rohaṇa; having approached, [11] he spoke thus to the venerable Rohaṇa: "Who are you, dear sir, that you are thus shaven and wear saffron robes?"

"Boy, I am called one that has gone forth."

"Why are you, dear sir, called one that has gone forth?"

"One that has gone forth has to banish evil stains; therefore am I, boy, called one that has gone forth."

"Why is your hair, dear sir, not as that of other men?"

"When one has cut off the hair and the beard one goes forth, boy, after seeing these sixteen impediments.<sup>3</sup> What sixteen? The impediment of ornamenting oneself, the impediment of decking oneself out, of smearing oneself with oil, of shampooing oneself, of using garlands, of using scents, of using unguents, of using yellow myrobalan,<sup>4</sup> of using emblic myrobalan,<sup>4</sup> of using dyes, of using ribbons, of using combs, the impediment of barbers, of disentangling (curls), the impediment of

<sup>1</sup> No doubt at having given the time to learning them.

<sup>2</sup> Vattaniyāsenāsana, mentioned at *Vism.* 430, *Asl.* 419 as the scene of a daily miracle.

<sup>3</sup> Ten quite different *palibodha* are given at *Vism.* 90. Only fifteen are given above in the text, but sixteen in Si., five of which do not occur in our text.

<sup>4</sup> One of the fruits allowed to monks as medicines, *Vin.* i. 201.

vermin. When their hair falls out people are grieved, they mourn and lament, they beat their breasts and fall into disillusion.<sup>1</sup> Impeded by these sixteen impediments, boy, men expel all the subtlest crafts.”

“Why are your clothes, dear sir, not as those of others?”

“Beautiful clothes, connected with sense-pleasures, are marks of householders. Whatever be the perils that spring from clothes, they exist not for one who wears saffron garments. That is why neither my clothes are like those of others.”

“Do you know, dear sir, what are the crafts?”

“Yes, boy, I do know the crafts. And that which is the supreme mantra in the world, that too I know.”

“Are you able to teach it to me, dear sir?”

“Yes, boy, I can.”

“Well then, teach me.”

“But it is not the right time, boy, we have entered among the houses for almsfood.”

Then the boy Nāgasena took the venerable Rohaṇa's bowl from his hand and led him into the house; and, having with his own hand served and satisfied the venerable Rohaṇa with sumptuous food, solid and soft, he spoke thus to him when he had eaten and withdrawn his hand from the bowl: “Good sir, teach me the mantra now.”

“When you, boy, are without the impediments and have got your parents to give their consent<sup>2</sup> and when you wear the apparel, as I do, of one who has gone forth, then I will teach you.”

Then [12] the boy Nāgasena approached his parents and said: “Mother and father, this one who has gone forth said: ‘I know that which is the supreme mantra in the world,’ but he does not teach it to one who has not gone forth in his own presence. I would learn that mantra after I had gone forth in his presence.”

His parents thought: “Let our son learn the mantra

<sup>1</sup> This sequence of words is stock, see, e.g., *M.* i. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Parents have to give their consent to their sons in order that they may enter the Order, *Vin.* i. 74.

even though (it means his) going forth; once he has learnt it he will return.”<sup>1</sup> And they gave their consent, saying: “Learn it, son.”

Then the venerable Rohaṇa took the boy Nāgasena and approached the Vattaniyā hermitage and Vijambhavatthu. Having approached it and spent a night in Vijambhavatthu, he approached the Guarded Plateau, and having approached, he let the boy Nāgasena go forth in the midst of the hundred myriad arahants. And when the venerable Nāgasena had gone forth he spoke thus to the venerable Rohaṇa: “I have taken your dress upon myself, revered one; now teach me the mantra.”

Then the venerable Rohaṇa thought: “Now, in what should I first of all train<sup>2</sup> Nāgasena: the Suttantas or the Abhidhamma? But this Nāgasena is clever and easily able to master the Abhidhamma itself.” So he trained him in the Abhidhamma first.

And the venerable Nāgasena mastered the whole of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka after only one exposition, that is to say the *Dhammasaṅgani* adorned with triads and dyads, saying: ‘Skilled mental states,<sup>3</sup> unskilled mental states, indeterminate mental states’;<sup>4</sup> the *Vibhanga*-composition adorned with eighteen analyses beginning with that on the *khandhā*; the *Dhātukathā*-composition, its fourteenfold division beginning with inclusion, non-inclusion; the *Puggalapaññatti* with its sixfold division beginning with the exposition of the *khandhā* and the exposition of the *āyatanā*; the *Kathāvattu*-composition, divided by combining a thousand discourses—five hundred from our own speakers, five hundred from dissenting speakers; the *Yamaka* with its

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *M.* ii. 60 where Raṭṭhapāla’s parents, giving him their consent to go forth, said that after he had done so he must return and see them.

<sup>2</sup> *vineti* is to train, control, avert, divert, in the sense of leading away from.

<sup>3</sup> *dhammā*.

<sup>4</sup> These are the opening words in the *mātikā* to *Dhs.*, and the exposition of these three categories occupies *Dhs.* §1-364, §365-430, §431-565, respectively.

tenfold division beginning with the pair on roots,<sup>1</sup> and the pair on the *khandhā*; the *Paṭṭhāna*-composition with its twentyfourfold division beginning with 'conditioned by cause, conditioned by objective support' (for meditation)—[13] and he said: "Let be, revered sir, do not propound it again, I can study it from merely this amount (of listening to it)."

Then the venerable Nāgasena approached those hundred myriad arahants; and when he had approached them he spoke thus to them: "I, revered sirs, thinking of skilled mental states, unskilled mental states, indeterminate mental states, and having arranged them in these three parts, will propound the whole of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka in detail."

"It is good, Nāgasena, propound it."

Then for seven months the venerable Nāgasena propounded the seven compositions in detail. The earth roared, the devatās applauded, the Brahmās clapped their hands, and deva-like perfumes and powders and deva-like flowers of the *mandārava* rained down. Then when the venerable Nāgasena was full twenty years old the hundred myriad arahants ordained him<sup>2</sup> on the Guarded Plateau. And when the venerable Nāgasena had been ordained, he dressed early in the morning towards the end of that night, took his bowl and robe, and on entering a village together with his preceptor,<sup>3</sup> he reasoned like this: "Empty indeed is my preceptor, foolish indeed is my preceptor, in that, having set aside the remainder of the Buddha's word, he trained me first in the Abhidhamma."

Then the venerable Rohaṇa, knowing by mind the reasoning in the mind of the venerable Nāgasena, spoke thus to him: "You reasoned that reasoning unsuitably, Nāgasena, and it was not suitable in you, Nāgasena."

Then it occurred to the venerable Nāgasena: "Indeed it is wonderful, indeed it is marvellous, that my preceptor

<sup>1</sup> *mūla*.

<sup>2</sup> Men had to be twenty years old for full ordination, *upasampadā*, to be permissible, *Vin.* iv. 130 (Pāc. 65).

<sup>3</sup> *upajjhāya*.

can know by mind a reasoning in (someone else's) mind. Indeed my preceptor is clever. Suppose I were to apologise to him?" Then the venerable Nāgasena spoke thus to the venerable Rohaṇa: "Forgive me, revered sir, I will not reason like that again."

Then the venerable Rohaṇa spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: [14] "I do not forgive you, Nāgasena, to that extent. But there is, Nāgasena, a town called Sāgala where the king named Milinda is reigning. He worries the Order of monks by asking questions by means of professing a wrong view. If you go there and tame that king and make him pleased (with our teaching), then I will forgive you."

"Let be, revered sir, this one king, Milinda. If all the kings in the whole of India were to come and ask me questions, revered sir, and if, in replying, I were to mow them all down, would you forgive me, revered sir?" When he had said: "I do not forgive you," he said: "Well then, revered sir, in whose presence<sup>1</sup> shall I spend the three months of the rains?"<sup>2</sup>

"Nāgasena, the venerable Assagutta is staying in the Vattaniya hermitage. Go you, Nāgasena, and approach the venerable Assagutta; having done so, in my name salute the venerable Assagutta's feet with your head, and speak thus to him: 'My preceptor, revered sir, salutes your feet with his head, and asks if you are free from disease, without illness, buoyant, strong and living in comfort;<sup>3</sup> he sent me to stay near you for these three months.' And if he says: 'What is your preceptor's name?' you should say: 'He is called the Elder Rohaṇa, revered sir.' And if he says: 'What is my name?' you should say: 'My preceptor knows your name, revered sir.'"

"Very well, revered sir," and the venerable Nāgasena,

<sup>1</sup> Having been only just ordained, he still had need of a preceptor.

<sup>2</sup> Though the rains last four months, each monk was supposed to spend either the first three months or the last three in the same residence or monastery and was not allowed to go on tour or travel while the rains lasted. See *Vin.* i. 137 f.

<sup>3</sup> Stock.

having greeted the venerable Rohaṇa, keeping his right side towards him, took his bowl and robe and, walking on tour, gradually approached the Vattaniya hermitage and the venerable Assagutta. Having approached and greeted the venerable Assagutta, he stood at a respectful distance. The venerable Nāgasena, standing at a respectful distance, spoke thus to the venerable Assagutta:

“My preceptor, revered sir, salutes your feet with his head and asks whether you are free from disease, without illness, buoyant and living in comfort. My preceptor, revered sir, sent me to stay near you for these three months.”

The venerable Assagutta spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: [15] “What are you called?”<sup>1</sup>

“I, revered sir, am called Nāgasena.”

“What is your preceptor's name?”

“My preceptor, revered sir, is called the Elder Rohana.”

“What is my name?”

“My preceptor, revered sir, knows your name.”

“It is good, Nāgasena, put away your bowl and robe.”

“Very good, revered sir,” and he put away his bowl and robe. And on the next day, after he had swept the cell, he set out water for washing the face and tooth-cleaners.<sup>2</sup> The Elder swept again the place that had been swept, threw out the water, fetched other water, and having removed the tooth-wood<sup>3</sup> he chose other tooth-wood, but he did not make conversation. He did this for seven days, and on the seventh day asked (the same questions) again, and when he had spoken as before, he allowed him residence for the rains.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the following passage with *VinA.* 40.

<sup>2</sup> *dantaṇṇa*. These are among the services a *saddhivihārika*, one who shares a cell, has to render his preceptor, *Vin.* i. 46, and a pupil, *antevāsika*, his teacher, *Vin.* i. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *danta-kattha*. A method of giving this to the preceptor or teacher is given at *VinA.* 977. Whether the preceptor chooses a piece of wood of long, middling or short length, it lasts for three days and then has to be replaced by another stick of the same size.

Now at that time an important woman lay-follower<sup>1</sup> had supported the venerable Assagutta for thirty years. At the end of the three months she approached the venerable Assagutta and, having approached, she spoke to him thus: "Is there another monk with you, father?"<sup>2</sup>

"Great lady lay-follower,<sup>3</sup> there is a monk called Nāgasena with me."

"Well then, father Assagutta, consent to a meal on the morrow together with Nāgasena." The venerable Assagutta consented by becoming silent. Then the venerable Assagutta, dressing in the early morning towards the end of that night and taking his bowl and robe, approached that important woman lay-follower's dwelling together with the venerable Nāgasena as his attendant and, having approached, he sat down on the appointed seat. Then that important woman lay-follower with her own hand served and satisfied the venerable Assagutta and the venerable Nāgasena with sumptuous foods, solid and soft. Then when the venerable Assagutta had eaten and had withdrawn his hand from his bowl, he spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: "Do you, Nāgasena, give the benedictive thanks<sup>4</sup> to the important woman lay-follower." And having said this, he rose from his seat and departed.<sup>5</sup> [16] Then that important woman lay-follower spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: "I, dear<sup>2</sup> Nāgasena, am old, give me the benedictive thanks by means of a profound talk on Dhamma."

Then the venerable Nāgasena gave benedictive thanks to that important woman lay-follower by means of a profound talk on Abhidhamma that was supermundane and connected with (the concept of) emptiness. Then as

<sup>1</sup> *mahāupāsikā*, *mahā* meaning important or venerable here.

<sup>2</sup> *tāta*, a term of endearment often used by parents to children.

<sup>3</sup> He addresses her as *mahāupāsika*.

<sup>4</sup> After a meal monks have to give some short talk on Dhamma to those who provided the meal (as at *Mūl.* 9); the woman lay-follower however wanted a more profound talk.

<sup>5</sup> It is doubtful whether, according to the *Vinaya* ruling, a monk is entitled to go away before the thanks have been uttered.

that important woman lay-follower was sitting on that very seat, Dhamma-vision, dustless and stainless, arose to her: that whatever is of the nature to arise all that is of the nature to stop.<sup>1</sup>

And after he had given the benedictive thanks to that important woman lay-follower and was reflecting on the Dhamma he himself had taught (her), the venerable Nāgasena aroused insight<sup>2</sup> and was established in the fruit of stream-attainment as he was sitting on that very seat.

Then the venerable Assagutta who was sitting in a pavilion knew that these had both acquired Dhamma-vision, and he burst forth into applause: "It is good, it is good, Nāgasena, that by one shot of an arrow two great persons<sup>3</sup> are pierced." And various thousands of devatās burst into applause. Then the venerable Nāgasena, rising from his seat, approached the venerable Assagutta, and when he had approached and greeted him he sat down at a respectful distance. The venerable Assagutta spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena as he was sitting at a respectful distance:

"Go you, Nāgasena, to Pāṭaliputta.<sup>4</sup> The venerable Dhammarakkhita is living in the Asoka monastery in the town of Pāṭaliputta. Master the Buddha's words in his presence."<sup>5</sup>

"How far from here, revered sir, is the town of Pāṭaliputta?"

"A hundred yojanas,<sup>6</sup> Nāgasena."

"The way is long, revered sir, and on the way food will be hard to get. How can I go?"

"Go you, Nāgasena; you will get almsfood on the way: fine rice, rice-water with the black specks removed and with various curries, various condiments."<sup>7</sup>

"Very well, revered sir." And the venerable Nāgasena, having greeted the venerable Assagutta,

<sup>1</sup> Stock, see, e.g., *Vin.* i. 16, 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *vipassanā*.

<sup>3</sup> *mahākāyā*.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Patna.

<sup>5</sup> *Jkm.* 99 speaks of Nāgasena's having been Dhammarakkhita's pupil, *sissa*.

<sup>6</sup> A *yojana* is about seven miles.

<sup>7</sup> *Cf. M.* i. 31, 38.

keeping his right side towards him, took his bowl and robe and set out on tour for Pāṭaliputta.

[17] Now at that time a merchant of Pāṭaliputta was travelling on the road to Pāṭaliputta with five hundred wagons. And the merchant of Pāṭaliputta saw the venerable Nāgasena coming in the distance; and when he had seen him he had the five hundred wagons turned back and approached the venerable Nāgasena. When he had approached and greeted him, he said: "Where are you going, my dear?"<sup>1</sup>

"To Pāṭaliputta, householder."

"That is good, my dear, for we too are going to Pāṭaliputta. Come in ease with us." Then because the householder of Pāṭaliputta was pleased with the way in which the venerable Nāgasena comported himself, he served and satisfied him with his own hand with sumptuous foods, solid and soft, and he took a low seat<sup>2</sup> after the venerable Nāgasena had eaten and withdrawn his hand from his bowl and sat down at a respectful distance. As he was sitting down at a respectful distance, the merchant of Pāṭaliputta spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: "What is your name, my dear?"

"I, householder, am called Nāgasena."

"Do you, my dear, know what are called the Buddha's words?"

"I, householder, know the Abhidhamma parts."

"It is a gain for me, my dear, it is well gotten by me, my dear, for I too am an Abhidhamma man, my dear, and you are an Abhidhamma man. Speak the parts of the Abhidhamma, my dear."

Then the venerable Nāgasena taught Abhidhamma to the merchant of Pāṭaliputta, and while he was teaching him again and again, Dhamma-vision, dustless and stainless arose to the merchant of Pāṭaliputta that: whatever is of the nature to arise all that is of the nature to stop. Then the merchant of Pāṭaliputta sent the five hundred wagons on ahead and, himself walking after them, stopped at a forked path not far from Pāṭaliputta and spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena:

<sup>1</sup> *tāta*.

<sup>2</sup> As a mark of respect.

“This, dear Nāgasena, is the road to the Asoka monastery. This lovely woollen blanket of mine, my dear, is sixteen cubits in length and eight cubits in breadth. Out of compassion, do accept this lovely woollen blanket, my dear.” [18] And the venerable Nāgasena accepted that lovely woollen blanket<sup>1</sup> out of compassion. The merchant of Pāṭaliputta, pleased and uplifted, his heart elated, zestful and happy, greeted the venerable Nāgasena and departed, keeping his right side towards him.

Then the venerable Nāgasena approached the Asoka monastery and the venerable Dhammarakkhita. Three months after he had approached and greeted the venerable Dhammarakkhita and had told him the reason for his coming, he had mastered the three Piṭakas—the word of the Buddha—under the venerable Dhammarakkhita after only one recitation as to their spirit;<sup>2</sup> and for another three months he worked mentally on the substance.<sup>3</sup> Then the venerable Dhammarakkhita spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: “As a herdsman tends the cows, Nāgasena, but others enjoy the products, even so are you, Nāgasena, though remembering the three Piṭakas—the word of the Buddha—not one who even partakes of the life of recluseship.”<sup>4</sup>

“Let that be, revered sir, this extent suffices,” and during the night following that self-same day he attained arahantship together with the analytical insights.<sup>5</sup> With this penetration of Truth, all the devas applauded the venerable Nāgasena, the earth roared, the Brahmās clapped their hands, and deva-like perfumes

<sup>1</sup> *kambala*, allowed to monks at *Vin.* i. 281.

<sup>2</sup> *vyañjana* means trimmings, details, implicit meaning, developed meaning, spirit or flavour, connotation.

<sup>3</sup> *attha* means substance, “the real thing,” literal sense, application, meaning, denotation.

<sup>4</sup> *sāmañña*, asceticism, striving. Defined at *S.* v. 25 as the ariyan eightfold Way, while the substance, *attha*, of it is the destruction of attachment, aversion and confusion.

<sup>5</sup> *paṭisambhidā*. The four (*attha*, *dhamma*, *nirutti*, *paṭibhāna*) are given in detail at *A.* ii. 160, iii. 113, etc.; see also *Miln.* 22, 339.

and powders and deva-like flowers of the *mandārava* rained down.<sup>1</sup>

Now at that time the hundred myriad arahants who had assembled on the Guarded Plateau on the Himalayan slope sent a messenger to the venerable Nāgasena to say: "Let Nāgasena come; we are anxious to see Nāgasena." When the venerable Nāgasena had heard the messenger's words, vanishing from the Asoka monastery, he appeared before the hundred myriad arahants on the Guarded Plateau on the Himalayan slope. Then those hundred myriad arahants spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: "This king Milinda worries the Order of monks, Nāgasena, with his talk and counter-talk and with the questions he asks;<sup>2</sup> good it is, Nāgasena; go you to King Milinda [19] and tame him."

"Let be the one King Milinda, revered sirs. If all the kings in the whole of India were to come to me, revered sirs, asking questions, I would mow them all down in replying to them. Go you, revered sirs, to the city of Sāgala without fear." Then the monks who were Elders made the city of Sāgala a glow of yellow robes stirred by the breeze of seers.<sup>3</sup>

Now at that time the venerable Āyupāla<sup>4</sup> was dwelling in Saṃkheyya Pariveṇa.<sup>4</sup> Then King Milinda spoke thus to the ministers: "Indeed sirs, it is a lovely moonlight night. Suppose that we were to approach an ascetic or a brahman tomorrow for conversation and for asking questions. Who is capable of conversing with me to dispel my doubts?" When this had been said, the five hundred Bactrian Greeks spoke thus to King Milinda: "Sire, there is an Elder called Āyupāla, he is versed in the three Pitakas, one who has heard much, one to whom the tradition has been handed down, and he is now staying in the Saṃkheyya Pariveṇa. Go you, sire, and ask questions of the venerable Āyupāla."

"Very well, sirs, let the revered one know." Then an

<sup>1</sup> As at Miln. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *vādapaṭivādena pañhapucchāya.*

<sup>3</sup> *kāsāvapajjotam isivātaparivātam akamsu.* This phrase is also found at *Vbh.* 247, *Jā.* iii. 142, *Mhv.* 114, *Vism.* 18 (*-paṭivātam*), etc.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently mentioned only in *Miln.*

astrologer sent a messenger to the venerable Āyupāla to say: "Revered sir, King Milinda wishes to see the venerable Āyupāla." And the venerable Āyupāla spoke thus: "Well then, let him come." Then King Milinda, attended by at least five hundred Bactrian Greeks, mounted a splendid chariot and approached Saṃkheyya Parivena and the venerable Āyupāla; having approached, he exchanged greetings with the venerable Āyupāla, and when he had exchanged greetings of friendliness and courtesy he sat down at a respectful distance. As he was sitting down at a respectful distance, King Milinda spoke thus to the venerable Āyupāla:

"Of what use to you, revered Āyupāla, is the going forth, and what is the highest goal<sup>1</sup> for you?"

The Elder said: "Going forth, sire, is for the sake of the Dhamma-faring, the even-faring."<sup>2</sup>

"But is there, revered sir, any householder at all who is a Dhamma-farer, an even-farer?"

"Yes, sire. There is even a householder who is a Dhamma-farer, an even-farer. When the Lord, sire, [20] set rolling the Dhamma-wheel in the Deer-park at Isipatana near Banaras<sup>3</sup> there was an understanding of Dhamma by eighteen myriads of Brahmās.<sup>4</sup> But there was an understanding of Dhamma by (other) devatās beyond calculation. All these were householders, not those who had gone forth.<sup>5</sup> And again, sire, when the Lord was teaching the Mahāsamaya Suttanta,<sup>6</sup> when he was teaching the Suttanta on the Greatest Blessing,<sup>7</sup> when he was teaching the Suttanta that was the disquisition of (the devas of) Even Mind,<sup>8</sup> when he was teaching the

<sup>1</sup> *paramattha*, the utmost good or goal; philosophical truth. Also below, *Miln.*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhammacariya* with *samacariya* is of fairly frequent occurrence in the Suttas.

<sup>3</sup> *Vin.* i. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Budv.* XXVI. 2 says that this understanding, *abhisamaya*, was the first of three. Cf. *Jā.* i. 82, and *Miln.* 350.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Miln.*, p. 349.

<sup>6</sup> *D. Sta.* No. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Mahāmaṅgala*, at *Sn.* p. 46, *Khp.* V. These and other discourses are mentioned again at *Miln.* 349.

<sup>8</sup> *Samacittapariyāya*, at *A.* i. 64 f.

Suttanta of the Exhortation to Rāhula,<sup>1</sup> when he was teaching the Parābhava Suttanta,<sup>2</sup> there was an understanding of Dhamma by devatās beyond calculation. All these were householders, and not those who had gone forth.”

“ Well then, revered Āyupāla, your going forth is useless, and it must be because of some evil kamma done in the past that sons of the Sakyans go forth as ascetics and observe the ascetic practices.<sup>3</sup> Revered Āyupāla, those monks who eat but one meal a day<sup>4</sup> are perhaps thieves who formerly robbed others of their food and who, because they plundered the food of others are now, as a result of that kamma, those who eat but one meal a day and have no chance to enjoy (food) constantly. There is no moral habit on their part, no incandescence, no Brahma-faring. And, revered Āyupāla, those monks who live in the open air<sup>5</sup> are perhaps thieves who formerly infested whole villages and who, because they destroyed the houses of others are now, as a result of that kamma, those who live in the open air and have no chance to enjoy lodgings. There is no moral habit on their part, no incandescence, no Brahma-faring. And, revered Āyupāla, those monks who remain in a sitting posture<sup>6</sup> are perhaps thieves who were formerly highwaymen and who, because they seized people on the highroad, bound them and made them sit (there) are now, as a result of that kamma, those who remain in a sitting posture and have no chance of lying down on a bed. There is no

<sup>1</sup> Mahā-Rāhulovāda-sutta is *M. Sta.* No. 62 (mentioned in the longer list at *Mīln.* 349), Cūla-Rāhulovāda is *M. Sta.* No. 147, and Ambalaṭṭhika-Rāhulovāda is *M. Sta.* No. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Sn.* 91 ff. These five discourses, *suttanta*, are referred to in a verse at *SnA.* 174 where that on the Rolling of the Wheel of Dhamma is added.

<sup>3</sup> The thirteen dhutanga are described at *Vism.* 60 ff. See also *Mīln.* 348 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *ekāsana* is I think *eka+asana* (Skr. *as*, to eat), one eating, and not, as taken by RhD., *eka+āsana*, one seat, though it is to be understood that the one meal is taken at one sitting or session, as RhD. recognises a few lines lower. It is the fifth ascetic practice.

<sup>5</sup> The tenth ascetic practice. <sup>6</sup> The thirteenth ascetic practice.

moral habit on their part, no incandescence, no Brahma-faring.”

When this had been said, the venerable Āyupāla became silent; he said nothing in reply. Then the five hundred Greek Bactrians spoke thus to King Milinda: “The Elder, sire, is learned; all the same he is diffident and says nothing in reply.” Then King Milinda, seeing the venerable Āyupāla had become silent, clapped his hands [21] and shouted and spoke thus to the Greek Bactrians:

“India is indeed empty, India is void indeed. There is no ascetic or brahman capable of conversing with me so as to dispel my doubts.”<sup>1</sup>

Then as he was looking round at all that company and saw how fearless and unashamed were the Greek Bactrians it occurred to King Milinda: “I think there is certainly some other learned monk who is capable of conversing with me since these Greek Bactrians are not ashamed.” And King Milinda spoke thus to the Greek Bactrians: “Is there some other learned monk, sirs, who is capable of conversing with me so as to dispel my doubts?”

Now at that time the venerable Nāgasena was surrounded by a group of ascetics. He was the leader of an Order, the leader of a group, the teacher of a group. He was well known, famous, highly esteemed by the manyfolk; wise, experienced, clever, abstruse, learned, intelligent, disciplined, confident; he was one who had heard much, he was versed in the three Piṭakas, a master of knowledge,<sup>2</sup> grown in discretion;<sup>3</sup> he was one to whom the tradition had been handed down, grown in analytical insight, expert in the nine divisions of the scriptures<sup>4</sup> in the Teacher's Dispensation; he was one that had attained to the perfections;<sup>5</sup> he was skilled

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Miln.* 5.

<sup>2</sup> *vedagū*, or master of the Vedas.

<sup>3</sup> Again of Nāgasena at *Miln.* 90.

<sup>4</sup> *pariyatti*, the scriptures themselves, or the study of them. The nine divisions of Dhamma are enumerated at, e.g., *M.* i. 133.

<sup>5</sup> *pāramī*, “goings beyond,” transcendents, transcendings, each *pāramī* being practised in excess of the normal exercise of these ways of conduct. There are ten according to the Pali tradition.

in the penetration of the teaching on the substance of Dhamma<sup>1</sup> (found) in the word of the Conqueror; he was prompt in answering a variety of questions, a speaker on a variety (of topics), of lovely enunciation; he was hard to equal, hard to overcome, hard to excel, hard to oppose, hard to check; he was imperturbable as the sea,<sup>2</sup> immovable as the king of mountains; getting rid of conflict,<sup>3</sup> dispelling darkness, bringing light, he was a mighty talker, confounding the followers (of teachers) of other groups, crushing the followers of other sects; he was revered, venerated, revered, esteemed and honoured by monks, nuns, men and women lay-devotees, kings and kings' great ministers; and, the recipient of the requisites of robe-material, almsfood, lodgings and medicines for the sick, he had attained the highest gain and the highest fame; explaining the ninefold jewel<sup>4</sup> of the Conqueror's instruction, to those who, by giving ear, were possessed of wisdom and intelligence, pointing out the Way of Dhamma,<sup>5</sup> carrying the torch of Dhamma, bearing aloft the sacrificial post of Dhamma, offering the gift of Dhamma,<sup>6</sup> supporting the flag of Dhamma, bearing aloft the banner of Dhamma,<sup>7</sup> blowing the trumpet of Dhamma, sounding the drum of Dhamma, roaring [22] a lion's roar, thundering out Indra's thunder,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *dhammattha*.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt referring to the indifference of water whether clean or soiled things are thrown into it.

<sup>3</sup> *raṇañjaha*. See *PED.* under *raṇa*: "the term is not sufficiently clarified yet." Cf. the title of *M. Sta. No. 139, Araṇavibhangasutta*, where *araṇa* appears to mean the peace due to the absence of the defilements. *BHSD.*, largely following *PED.*, gives as a primary meaning "abandoning impurities."

<sup>4</sup> A reference to the nine divisions into which the teaching was arranged at some time.

<sup>5</sup> *dhammamagga* as at *Sn.* 696. This is either the Dhamma-Way to nibbāna, or it means "the foremost is Dhamma," *dhammam aggaṃ*, *Sn.A.* 489.

<sup>6</sup> *dhammayāga*, the charity, giving, gift. Cf. *A. i.* 91: *dve yāgā, āmisayāgo ca dhammayāgo ca*.

<sup>7</sup> *dhammaketu*, *A. i.* 109, iii. 149, with the previous word, *dhammaddhaja*.

<sup>8</sup> Indra, the Vedic god of clouds, rain and thunder.

and thoroughly satisfying the whole world by thundering out sweet utterances and wrapping them round with the lightning flashes of superb knowledge, filling them with the waters of compassion and the great cloud of the deathlessness of Dhamma—Nāgasena, walking on tour among villages, market-towns and capital cities, gradually arrived at the town of Sāgala. While he was there he stayed in the Sankheyya Pariveṇa together with the eighty thousand monks. Therefore it was said:<sup>1</sup>

He who has heard much, a speaker on various (topics),  
 abstruse and confident,  
 Skilled in agreement and clever in exposition,  
 And those monks, versed in the three Piṭakas and the five  
 Nikāyas<sup>2</sup>

As well as in the four Nikāyas, the revered Nāgasena,  
 Of deep wisdom, wise, clever in the Way and what is not  
 the Way,

Attained to the highest goal; Nāgasena, confident,  
 Surrounded by these abstruse, truth-speaking monks,  
 Walking in villages and market-towns, arrived at Sāgala.  
 Nāgasena dwelt there in the Sankheyya Pariveṇa—  
 Like a maned lion on a mountain-slope he speaks with men.

Then Devamantiya<sup>3</sup> spoke thus to King Milinda: “Do you wait, sire; wait, sire. There is the Elder named Nāgasena, sire, who is wise, experienced, clever, disciplined and confident; he is one who has heard much, a speaker on a variety (of topics), prompt in speaking what is lovely; and he has attained to perfection in the analytical insights of meanings, of Dhamma, of language and of perspicuity (in expression and knowledge).<sup>4</sup> He is now staying in the Sankheyya Pariveṇa. Do you go,

<sup>1</sup> By the Porāṇas, according to Si. If so, the verses would not be canonical.

<sup>2</sup> According to M. Winternitz, *Hist. of Indian Lit.*, vol. ii, 1933, p. 18, “the earliest literary evidence of the existence of the ‘three baskets’ as a triad of piṭakas (piṭakattayaṃ) and of Nikāyas is only to be found” in this passage.

<sup>3</sup> At *QKM*. i. xix, RhD. suggests this name may be formed on Demetrius.

<sup>4</sup> See *Miln.* 18.

sire, and ask questions of the venerable Nāgasena. He is capable of conversing with you so as to dispel your doubts."

But when King Milinda suddenly heard the name Nāgasena<sup>1</sup> he was greatly afraid, greatly agitated and his hair stood on end. He spoke thus to Devamantiya: "Is the bhikkhu Nāgasena really able to converse with me?"

"Sire, he is capable of conversing even with Inda, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Pajāpati, [23] Suyāma, with the guardians of the world of the Contented, even with Great Brahmā, the progenitor;<sup>2</sup> so why not then with a human being?"

Then King Milinda spoke thus to Devamantiya: "Well then, do you, Devamantiya, send a messenger to the revered sir."

"Yes, sire," and Devamantiya sent a messenger to the venerable Nāgasena to say: "King Milinda, revered sir, wishes to see the venerable one." The venerable Nāgasena said: "Well then, let him come."

Then King Milinda, surrounded by at least five hundred Bactrian Greeks, having mounted a splendid chariot, approached the Sankheyya Pariveṇa and the venerable Nāgasena together with his great array of troops. Now at that time the venerable Nāgasena was sitting in a pavilion together with the eighty thousand monks. When, from a distance King Milinda saw the venerable Nāgasena's company, he spoke thus to Devamantiya: "Whose is this large company, Devamantiya?"

"It is the company of the venerable Nāgasena, sire." And when, from the distance King Milinda had seen the venerable Nāgasena's company, he was greatly afraid, greatly agitated and his hair stood on end. Then, like an elephant surrounded by rhinoceroses, like a cobra surrounded by eagles,<sup>3</sup> like a jackal surrounded by

<sup>1</sup> The King had probably heard already of Nāgasena's great fame. The name means the army, *sena*, of cobras, *nāga*.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to such passages as *D. i. 18* is probably intended here.

<sup>3</sup> Though *garuḷa* (Skr. *garuḍa*) is usually a mythical bird, there seems no reason to take it in that sense here.

rock-snakes,<sup>1</sup> like a bear surrounded by buffaloes, like a frog pursued by a cobra, like a deer pursued by a leopard, like a snake met with a snake-charmer, like a rat met with a cat, like a demon met with an exorcist, like the moon entering Rāhu's mouth, like a snake in a basket, like a bird in a cage, like a fish in a net, like a man got into a forest of wild beasts, like a yakkha offending Vessavaṇa,<sup>2</sup> like a deva whose life-span is exhausted, King Milinda was fearful, alarmed, frightened, moved by awe, his hair standing on end,<sup>3</sup> in consternation and dismay, his thoughts in a turmoil, his purpose changed, and thinking, "Do not let these despise me," yet, summoning up his courage he spoke thus to Devamantiya: "Do not you, [24] Devamantiya, indicate the venerable Nāgasena to me, I will certainly recognize (the venerable) Nāgasena without his being pointed out."

"Very well, sire, find him yourself."

Now at that time the venerable Nāgasena had been ordained more recently than the forty thousand (monks) of that company of monks who were in front of him, but was senior to the forty thousand (monks) of that company of monks who were behind him. Then King Milinda, closely observing that whole Order of monks—those in front and those behind and those in the middle—from a distance saw the venerable Nāgasena sitting in the midst of that Order of monks like a maned lion devoid of fear and dread, devoid of terror, devoid of fear and trepidation. It was by this means that when he saw him he knew: "The one who is there is Nāgasena." Then King Milinda spoke thus to Devamantiya: "This one, Devamantiya, is the venerable Nāgasena."

"Yes, sire, this is Nāgasena; it is happy that you, sire, recognized Nāgasena." The King was pleased in consequence and thought: "I recognized Nāgasena without

<sup>1</sup> *ajagara*, as at *Miln.* 303, 406. Often confused with a boa-constrictor on account of its size, *QKM.* ii. 349, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> One of the names of Kuvera; he rules over the yakkhas, and his kingdom is in the north, see, *e.g.*, *D.* ii. 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. D.* i. 49 (§10) where Ajātasattu was full of fear when Jīvaka was pointing out the Buddha to him.

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his being pointed out to me.” But when King Milinda saw the venerable Nāgasena he was greatly afraid, greatly agitated and his hair stood on end. So it is said:<sup>1</sup>

When the King saw Nāgasena, endowed with right  
behaviour,

Tamed in the supreme taming, he spoke these words:

“ Many are the speakers I have seen, many the discussions  
I have held,

But there was no fear like unto this, no terror as is mine  
today.

Undoubtedly there will be defeat for me today

And victory for Nāgasena, since (my) mind is not com-  
posed.”

Told is the Talk on Secular Matters

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<sup>1</sup> Again Si. attributes the verses to the Porāṇa.

# Questions of King Milinda and Nāgasena

## [II. DISTINGUISHING MARKS]

### [First Division]

[25] Then King Milinda approached the venerable Nāgasena; having approached, he exchanged greetings with the venerable Nāgasena; and, having exchanged greetings of friendliness and courtesy, he sat down at a respectful distance. And the venerable Nāgasena greeted him in return so that he gladdened the heart of King Milinda. Then King Milinda spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena:

(1) “How is the revered one known? What is your name, revered sir?”

“Sire, I am known as Nāgasena; fellow Brahma-farers address me, sire, as Nāgasena. But though (my) parents gave (me) the name of Nāgasena or Sūrasena or Vīrasena or Sīhasena, yet it is but a denotation, appellation, designation, a current usage, for Nāgasena is only a name since no person<sup>1</sup> is got at<sup>2</sup> here.”

Then King Milinda spoke thus: “Good sirs, let the five hundred Bactrian Greeks and the eighty thousand monks hear me: This Nāgasena speaks thus: ‘Since no person is got at here.’ Now, is it suitable to approve of that?” And King Milinda spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena:

“If, revered Nāgasena, the person is not got at, who then<sup>3</sup> is it that gives you the requisites of robe-material, almsfood, lodgings and medicines for the sick, who is it

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<sup>1</sup> *puggala*.

<sup>2</sup> *upalabbhati*. The “getting at a person” or individual, *puggala*, is the first point to be controverted in *Kvu*. Its Comy. explains *puggala* by *attā satto jīvo*, self, creature, life-principle (or, soul). In the Abhidhamma *puggala* has something of the same meaning as *attā* in the other two Piṭakas.

<sup>3</sup> *ko carahi*, emphatic: who can it be? Who on earth is it?

that makes use of them; who is that guards moral habit, practises (mental) development, realizes the Ways, the fruits, nibbāna;<sup>1</sup> who is it that kills a living thing, takes what has not been given, goes wrongly amid the sense-pleasures, speaks lyingly, drinks toddy; and who commits the fivefold kamma (the fruit of which comes with) no delay?<sup>2</sup> Therefore there is not skill, there is not unskill, there is not one that does or makes another do deeds that are skilled or unskilled,<sup>3</sup> there is no fruit or ripening of deeds well or ill done.<sup>3</sup> [26] If, revered Nāgasena, someone killed you there would be no onslaught on creatures for him. Also, revered Nāgasena, you have no teacher, no preceptor, no ordination. If you say: 'Fellow Brahma-farers address me, sire, as Nāgasena,' what here is Nāgasena? Is it, revered sir, that the hairs of the head are Nāgasena?"

"O no, sire."

"That the hairs of the body are Nāgasena?"

"O no, sire."

"That the nails . . . the teeth, the skin, the flesh, the sinews, the bones, the marrow, the kidneys, the heart, the liver, the membranes, the spleen, the lungs, the intestines, the mesentery, the stomach, the excrement, the bile, the phlegm, the pus, the blood, the sweat, the fat, the tears, the serum, the saliva, the mucus, the synovial fluid, the urine, or the brain in the head<sup>4</sup> are (any of them) Nāgasena?"

<sup>1</sup> . . . . . cf. *KhpA.* 19, "some say *maggaphala-nibbāna* . . . . . as *-nibbānam*."

<sup>2</sup> *pañcānantariya-kamma*. These are the five "impossibles" for a person of right view: that he should deprive his mother, father, an arahant of life, that with his mind set on murder he should draw a Tathāgata's blood, that he should cause a schism in the Order, see *Vbh.* 378. Each is a deed that comes to fruition in this existence, its results being immediate. At *Vin.* ii. 193 Devadatta's attempt to murder Gotama is called his first *ānantarikakamma*. At *Vism.* 177 this type of kamma is given as the explanation of obstructive kamma. See also *Asl.* 358.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *D.* i. 55 where these phrases form part of the "creed" attributed to some of the heretical leaders.

<sup>4</sup> Making the 32nd part of the body, as at *Khp.* III. Often only 31 are given, the brain being omitted, as *e.g.*, at *M.* i. 57.

" O no, sire."

" Is Nāgasena material shape, revered sir ?"

" O no, sire."

" Is Nāgasena feeling . . . perception . . . the habitual tendencies ? Is Nāgasena consciousness ?"

" O no, sire."

" But then, revered sir, is Nāgasena material shape and feeling and perception and habitual tendencies and consciousness ?"

" O no, sire."

" But then, revered sir, is there Nāgasena apart from material shape, feeling, perception, the habitual tendencies and consciousness ?"

" O no, sire."

" Though I, revered sir, am asking you repeatedly, I do not see this Nāgasena. Nāgasena is only a sound, revered sir. For who here is Nāgasena ? You, revered sir, are speaking an untruth, a lying word. There is no Nāgasena."

Then the venerable Nāgasena spoke thus to King Milinda: " You, sire, are a noble delicately nurtured, exceedingly delicately nurtured. If you, sire, go on foot at noon-time on the scorching ground and hot sand, trampling on sharp grit and pebbles and sand, your feet hurt you, your body wearies, your thought is impaired, and tactile consciousness arises accompanied by anguish. Now, did you come on foot or in a conveyance ?"

" I, revered sir, did not come on foot, [27] I came in a chariot."

" If you, sire, came by chariot, show me the chariot. Is the pole the chariot, sire ?"

" O no, revered sir."

" Is the axle the chariot ?"

" O no, revered sir."

" Are the wheels the chariot ?"

" O no, revered sir."

" Is the body of the chariot the chariot . . . is the flag-staff of the chariot the chariot . . . is the yoke the chariot . . . are the reins the chariot . . . is the goad the chariot ?"

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ But then, sire, is the chariot the pole, the axle, the wheels, the body of the chariot, the flag-staff of the chariot, the yoke, the reins, the goad ?”

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ But then, sire, is there a chariot apart from the pole, the axle, the wheels, the body of the chariot, the flag-staff of the chariot, the yoke, the reins, the goad ?”

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ Though I, sire, am asking you repeatedly, I do not see the chariot. Chariot is only a sound, sire. For what here is the chariot ? You, sire, are speaking an untruth, a lying word. There is no chariot. You, sire, are the chief rājāh in the whole of India. Of whom are you afraid that you speak a lie ? Let the five hundred worthy Bactrian Greeks and the eighty thousand monks listen to me: This King Milinda speaks thus: ‘ I have come by chariot.’ But on being told: ‘ If you, sire, have come by chariot, show me the chariot,’ he does not produce the chariot. Is it suitable to approve of that ?”

When this had been said, the five hundred Bactrian Greeks, applauding the venerable Nāgasena, spoke thus to King Milinda: “ Now do you, sire, speak if you can.” Then King Milinda spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena:

“ I, revered Nāgasena, am not telling a lie, for it is because of the pole, because of the axle, the wheels, the body of a chariot, the flag-staff of a chariot, the yoke, the reins, and because of the goad that ‘ chariot ’ exists as a denotation, appellation, designation, as a current usage, as a name.”

“ It is well; you, sire, understand a chariot. Even so is it for me, sire, because of the hair of the head and because of the hair of the body . . . [28] . . . and because of the brain in the head and because of material shape and feeling and perception and the habitual tendencies and consciousness that ‘ Nāgasena ’ exists as a denotation, appellation, designation, as a current usage, merely as a name. But according to the highest meaning<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., philosophically speaking, in the ultimate sense, *paramattha*.

the person is not got at here. This, sire, was spoken by the nun Vajirā face to face with the Lord:

Just as when the parts are rightly set  
The word 'chariot' is spoken,  
So when there are the *khandhū*  
It is the convention to say 'being'.<sup>1</sup>

“It is wonderful, revered Nāgasena, it is marvellous, revered Nāgasena. The explanations of the questions that were asked are very brilliant. If the Buddha were still here he would applaud. It is good, it is good, Nāgasena. The explanations of the questions that were asked are very brilliant.

(ii) Of how many years' standing<sup>2</sup> are you, revered Nāgasena?”

“I am of seven years' standing, sire.”

“What are these seven, revered sir? Is it you that are seven or the reckoning that is seven?”

Now at that moment the King's shadow, decked with all his ornaments, adorned and dressed, was to be seen on the ground and was to be seen in a water-pot. Then the venerable Nāgasena spoke thus to King Milinda: “This shadow of yours, sire, is to be seen on the ground and in the water-pot. But, sire, are you the king or is the shadow the king?”

“I, revered sir, am the king, this shadow is not the king. But it is owing to me that the shadow exists.”

“Even so, sire, the reckoning of the years is seven, it is not that I am seven. But it is owing to me that seven exists as in the simile does the shadow, sire.”

“It is wonderful, revered Nāgasena, it is marvellous, revered Nāgasena. The explanations of the questions that have been asked are very brilliant.”

(iii) The King said: “Revered Nāgasena, will you converse with me?”

<sup>1</sup> S. i. 135, where it is recorded that she spoke the verse, not to the Buddha, but to Māra; quoted *Kvu.* 66. Cf. *Maitri Up.* II. 3, 6; *Kaush. Up.* III. 8.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., since his ordination.

“ I will converse if you, sire, will converse in the speech of the learned, but if you converse in the speech of kings I will not converse.”

“ How, revered Nāgasena, do the learned converse ?”

“ When the learned are conversing, sire, a turning over (of a subject) is made and an unravelling is made and a refutation is made<sup>1</sup> [29] and a redress is made and a specific point is made and a specific point is made against it, and the learned are not angry in consequence—it is thus, sire, that the learned converse.”

“ And how do kings converse, revered sir ?”

“ When kings are conversing, sire, they approve of some matter and order a punishment for whoever disagrees with that matter, saying: ‘ Inflict a punishment on him ’—it is thus, sire, that kings converse.”

“ I, revered sir, will converse in the speech of the learned, not in the speech of kings. Let the revered one converse unreservedly as he converses with a monk or novice or lay-follower or with a monastery-attendant—let the revered one converse thus, let him be not afraid.”

The Elder assented by saying: “ It is well, sire.”

The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, I will ask.”

“ Ask, sire.”

“ You have been asked by me, revered sir.”

“ It has been answered, sire.”

“ But what was answered by you, revered sir ?”

“ But what was asked by you, sire ?”

Then it occurred to King Milinda: “ This monk is learned, he is competent to converse with me, but I have so many matters to ask (him) about that the sun will set before I have asked (him). Suppose I were to converse with him tomorrow in the palace ?”<sup>2</sup> So King

<sup>1</sup> I am not sure of the exact meanings of these three expressions: *āvethanam pi kayirati*, *nibbethanam pi kayirati*, *niggaho pi kayirati*. It would seem that the first two are in the nature of a pair; but the third does not form a pair with the next, *paṭikammaṃ pi kayirati*, which is followed by the final pair: *viseso pi kayirati*, *paṭiveso pi kayirati*. Same expressions at *Jā.* ii. 9 where *paṭiggaha* (acceptance) occurs instead of *paṭikamma* (redress) which is also the reading at *Si.* Cf. *Miln.* 231.

<sup>2</sup> *antepura*, especially the inner or private quarters.

Milinda spoke thus to Devamantiya: "Well then, do you, Devamantiya, let the revered one know that tomorrow he must converse with the king in the palace." When he had said this, King Milinda rose from his seat and asked the Elder Nāgasena (for permission to depart)<sup>1</sup> and, mounting his horse repeating 'Nāgasena, Nāgasena,'<sup>2</sup> he departed. Then Devamantiya spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: "Revered sir, King Milinda speaks thus: Tomorrow there must be conversation in the palace." The Elder assented by saying: "It is well." Then Devamantiya and Anantakāya and Mankura and Sabbadinna<sup>3</sup> approached King Milinda towards the end of that night, and when they had approached King Milinda they spoke thus to him: "Sire, shall the revered Nāgasena come?" [30] "Yes, let him come." "With how many monks shall he come?" "Let him come with as many monks as he likes." Then Sabbadinna said: "Let him come, sire, with ten monks." And a second time the King said: "Let him come with as many monks as he likes." And a second time Sabbadinna said: "Sire, let him come with ten monks." And a third time the King said: "Let him come with as many monks as he likes." And a third time Sabbadinna said: "Sire, let him come with ten monks."

"All this hospitality has been prepared and I say: 'Let him come with as many monks as he likes,' but although I have said this, Sabbadinna says otherwise. Are we not competent to give food to the monks?" When this had been said, Sabbadinna was ashamed.

(iv) Then Devamantiya and Anantakāya and Mankura

<sup>1</sup> *āpucchīvā*, a *Vin.* expression.

<sup>2</sup> *Miln.T.* 8 says that according to Buddhaghosācariya the king said this to show his great respect for Nāgasena.

<sup>3</sup> Rh.D. in *QKM.* i, p. xix says that the compound Ananta-kāya "may possibly be made up to represent Antiochos. What Mankura and Sabbadinna (called simply Dinna at *Miln.* 56) may be supposed to be intended for it is difficult to say." Lamotte, *Hist.*, p. 415, suggests Pacoros for Mankura, and Sabbadotos for Sabbadinna. Devamantiya appears to stand for Demetrius. There is no suggestion that any of these was a king.

approached the venerable Nāgasena, and when they had approached, they spoke thus to him: "Revered sir, King Milinda speaks thus: 'Let him come with as many monks as he likes.'" And the venerable Nāgasena dressed early in the morning and, taking his bowl and robe, entered Sāgala with the eighty thousand monks. Then as Anantakāya was walking beside the venerable Nāgasena he spoke thus to him: "Revered sir, that which I call 'Nāgasena,' which here is Nāgasena?"

"But who do you think 'Nāgasena' is here?"

"Revered sir, whatever is the inner mobile principle,<sup>1</sup> the life-principle<sup>2</sup> that enters and issues forth, I think that is 'Nāgasena.'"

"But if this breath<sup>3</sup> has issued forth and does not enter (again) or has entered but does not issue forth (again), could that man live?"

"O no, [31] revered sir."

"But when those who are conch-blowers blow on a conch, does their breath enter (again)?"

"No, revered sir."

"Or when those who are blowers on bamboo-pipes blow on a bamboo-pipe, does their breath enter (again)?"

"O no, revered sir."

"Or when those who are horn-blowers blow on a horn, does their breath enter (again)?"

"No, revered sir."

"Then why do they not die?"

"I am not competent to converse on this assertion with you. It were good, revered sir, if you uttered the meaning."

"This is not the life-principle; in-breathing and out-breathing are bodily activities,"<sup>4</sup> and the Elder gave a talk on Abhidhamma.<sup>5</sup> Then Anantakāya declared his status as a lay-follower.

(v) Then the venerable Nāgasena approached King Milinda's dwelling, and when he had approached he sat

<sup>1</sup> *abbhantare vāya*, motion.

<sup>2</sup> *jīva*, or soul; cf. *abbhantare jīvo* at text, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> *vāta*, wind.

<sup>4</sup> *kāyasankhārā*, see M. i. 301.

<sup>5</sup> Si. says Dhamma.

(viii) The King said: "What is the distinguishing mark of consideration, what the distinguishing mark of wisdom, revered sir?"

"Examination<sup>1</sup> is the distinguishing mark of consideration, sire, cutting off is the distinguishing mark of wisdom."<sup>2</sup>

"How does consideration have the distinguishing mark of examination, how does wisdom have the distinguishing mark of cutting off? Make a simile."

"Do you, sire, know about barley-reapers?"

[33] "Yes, revered sir, I do."

"How, sire, do barley-reapers reap the barley?"

"Revered sir, grasping a handful of barley in the left hand and a sickle in the right, they cut it off with the sickle."

"As, sire, a barley-reaper grasps a handful of barley in the left hand and a sickle in the right and cuts it off with the sickle, even so, sire, does the earnest student of yoga,<sup>3</sup> taking hold of the mind with consideration, cut off the defilements with wisdom. It is thus, sire, that examination is the distinguishing mark of consideration, thus that cutting off is the distinguishing mark of wisdom."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(ix) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, when you said: 'And because of other skilled mental states,'<sup>4</sup>—which are these skilled mental states?"

<sup>1</sup> *ūhana*. At *Vism.* 142=*Asl.* 114 used to explain *vitakka*, initial or applied thought, or just thinking. Translated at *P. Pn.*, p. 148 as "hitting upon" which might also fit the translation of *ūhananti* at *M.* i. 243, etc. The BHS. meaning (see *BHSD*) seems to be removal, getting rid of, destruction, putting away, which would accord with this passage, as does the "prescinding" of *Expos.* i. 150. Proper mind-work, with its removal of attention, is a necessary preparation for cutting off unskilled states of mind.

<sup>2</sup> "The sword of wisdom" at *Dhs.* 16 is for cutting off the defilements; cf. *Asl.* 148. At *Miln.* 86 comprehending is given as the, or a, distinguishing mark of wisdom. At *M.* i. 144 sword is given as a synonym for ariyan wisdom.

<sup>3</sup> *yogāvācāra*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 43.

“Moral habit, sire, faith, energy, mindfulness and concentration<sup>1</sup>—these are those skilled mental states.”

“Revered sir, what is the distinguishing mark of moral habit?”

“Moral habit, sire, has as its distinguishing mark that it is the basis of all skilled mental states; the controlling faculties,<sup>2</sup> the powers,<sup>3</sup> the limbs of awakening,<sup>4</sup> the Way, the applications of mindfulness,<sup>5</sup> the right efforts,<sup>6</sup> the bases of psychic power,<sup>7</sup> the meditations,<sup>8</sup> the deliverances<sup>9</sup> and concentration (all) have moral habit as the basis of their attainment. In one who is based on moral habit, sire, none of these skilled mental states decreases.”

“Make a simile.”

“As, sire, whatever vegetable growth and animal growth comes to growth, increase and maturity all does so in dependence on the earth and based on the earth; even so, sire, does the earnest student of yoga, depending on moral habit and based on moral habit, develop the five controlling faculties: the controlling faculty of faith, of energy, of mindfulness, of concentration, of wisdom.”

<sup>1</sup> These five “cardinal virtues” are given and shortly explained at *S. v.* 199–200. For some extracts from the Pali Canon concerning each separately see *B.T.T.A.*, p. 50 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The five *indriyāni*, faith . . . concentration, as above, and wisdom.

<sup>3</sup> Also five, with the same names as the five *indriyāni*.

<sup>4</sup> *bojjhangā*, numbering seven: mindfulness, investigation of things, energy, rapture, impassibility, concentration and even-mindedness.

<sup>5</sup> Numbering four: mindfulness as to body, feelings, the mind and mental states. See the two main Stas. on mindfulness: *D. Sta.* No. 22 and *M. Sta.* 10.

<sup>6</sup> Four in number: not to allow unskilled mental states to arise, to expel them if they do, to encourage skilled mental states to arise, and to develop and make much of them when they have arisen. See *M. ii.* 11.

<sup>7</sup> Four in number: that which is possessed of concentration of intention, of concentration of energy, of concentration of consciousness, of concentration of investigation (each) with activities of striving. See *M. ii.* 11.

<sup>8</sup> *jhāna*, four (or five) in number.

<sup>9</sup> *vimokhā*, the eight are given at *D. ii.* 70 f.

“ Make a further simile.”

“ As, sire, whatever may be the occupations to be carried out that require strength, they are all in dependence on the earth and based on the earth; even so, sire, does the earnest student of yoga,<sup>1</sup> depending on moral habit and based on moral habit, develop the five controlling faculties: the controlling faculty of faith, of energy, of mindfulness, of concentration, [34] of wisdom.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ As, sire, a city-architect, when he wants to build a city, first has a site for the city cleared, and has it levelled when the stumps of the trees and the thorns have been removed, and builds the city after that and after he has planned the distribution of the carriage-roads, the squares and the places where three or four roads meet—even so, sire, does the earnest student of yoga, depending on moral habit and based on moral habit, develop the five controlling faculties: the controlling faculty of faith . . . of wisdom.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ As, sire, a tumbler<sup>2</sup> who wants to show his craft has the ground dug, the grit and gravel removed and the ground made level, and then shows his craft on soft ground—even so, sire, does the earnest student of yoga, depending on moral habit and based on moral habit, develop the five controlling faculties: the controlling faculty of faith . . . of wisdom. And this, sire, was said by the Lord:

‘ The man of wisdom, based on moral habit,  
May develop thought<sup>3</sup> and wisdom.  
Then as a monk, ardent and sagacious,  
’Tis he may this tangle disentangle.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *yogāvacara*, a word occurring frequently at *Miln.* 366 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *langhaka*, see below, p. 272, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *citta*, the second of the categories in the threefold training, is given in the Nikāyas sometimes as *samādhi*, sometimes as *citta*.

<sup>4</sup> This verse occurs at *S.* i. 13, 165. It is also the opening verse of *Vism.* The terms are all explained at *Vism.* 1 ff.

This is the base—as is earth to breathing things—  
 And this the root for much growth in skill,  
 And this the fount of the Teaching of all the Conquerors—  
 This category of Moral Habit is to be supremely binding'.<sup>1</sup>

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(x) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of faith ?”

“ Faith, sire, has tranquillizing<sup>2</sup> as a distinguishing mark, and it has leaping forward as a distinguishing mark.”<sup>3</sup>

“ How, revered Nāgasena, is tranquillizing a distinguishing mark of faith ?”

“ When faith is arising, sire, it extirpates the hindrances; when thought is without the hindrances [35] it is clear, pure, serene. Thus it is, sire, that tranquillizing is a distinguishing mark of faith.”

“ Make a simile.”

“ As, sire, a king,<sup>4</sup> a wheel-turner, going along a high-road together with his four-limbed army, might cross over a small piece of water and that water, disturbed by the elephants, horses, chariots and infantry would become fouled, turbid and muddy; yet the king, the wheel-turner, crossed over, might command people, saying: “ Bring drinking-water, good fellows, we will drink.” The king might have a water-clearing gem,<sup>5</sup> so that these people, having answered the King in assent, saying: ‘ Yes, your majesty,’ might cast that water-clearing gem into the water; and as soon as it had been cast into the water the various water-plants<sup>6</sup> would disappear and the mud subside and the water become

<sup>1</sup> This second verse is untraced.

<sup>2</sup> *Vism.* 156 says “ faith is called tranquillising,” *sampasādana*, translated at *P. Pn.* by “ confidence.” Cf. *Vbh.* 258. The word *sampasādana* is used in the formula of the second jhāna.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted at *AA.* iv. 56, transposing the two “ marks.” They are also given at *Asl.* 119, with which compare the following passage. “ Leaping forward ” is *sampakkhandana*.

<sup>4</sup> This simile also occurs at *Asl.* 119.

<sup>5</sup> *udakappasādaka maṇi*. Referred to at *Vism.* 464.

<sup>6</sup> See *PĒD.* under *pañṇaka* and *sevāla*; also *BD.* i. 309, n. 6.

clear, pure, serene. Then they would offer drinking-water to that king, a wheel-turner, saying: 'Let his majesty drink the drinking-water.' Sire, like the water, so is thought to be understood; like these people, so is the earnest student of yoga to be understood; like the water-plants and the mud, so are the defilements to be understood; like the water-clearing gem, so is faith to be understood; as the water-plants would disappear and the mud subside as soon as the water-clearing gem had been cast into the water and the water would become clear, pure and serene, even so, sire, faith, as it is up-rising, extirpates the hindrances, and thought that is without the hindrances is clear, pure, serene. It is thus, sire, that tranquillising is a distinguishing mark of faith."

"How, revered sir, is leaping forward a distinguishing mark of faith?"

"As, sire, the earnest student of yoga, on seeing that the minds of others are freed, leaps forward after the fruit of stream-attainment or after the fruit of once-returning or after the fruit of non-returning or after arahantship and performs yoga<sup>1</sup> for the attainment of the unattained, for the mastery of the unmastered, for the realization of the unrealized,<sup>2</sup> even so, sire, is leaping forward a distinguishing mark of faith."

"Make a simile."

"As, sire, [36] a great rain-cloud might pour down rain on a high mountain so that the water, coursing along according to the incline, after filling up the gullies, crevices and tributaries on the mountain-slope would fill up a river so that it would run along overflowing both its banks;<sup>3</sup> and then, if a great crowd of people were to come but, knowing neither the width nor the depth of that river, might stand terrified and hesitant on the bank; but then if a man were to come along who recognized his own power and strength, and if he were to tie on his loin-cloth tightly and leap,<sup>4</sup> he would cross

<sup>1</sup> *yogam karoti*.

<sup>2</sup> *M.* iii. 79, *A.* iii. 101-105, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. A.* i. 243, *S.* ii. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *pakkhanditvā*; *cf. Miln.* 156, 325.

over. The great crowd of people, seeing that he had crossed over, would cross over too. Even so it is, sire, that an earnest student of yoga, having seen that the minds of others are freed, leaps forward after the fruit of stream-attainment or after the fruit of once-returning or after the fruit of non-returning or after arahantship and performs yoga for the attainment of the unattained, for the mastery of the unmastered, for the realization of the unrealized. It is thus, sire, that leaping forward is a distinguishing mark of faith. And this, sire, was spoken by the Lord in the excellent *Samyutta-nikāya*.<sup>1</sup>

By faith the flood is crossed,  
By diligence the sea;  
By vigour ill is passed,  
By wisdom cleansed is he.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xi) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of energy ?”

“ Consolidation,<sup>2</sup> sire, is the distinguishing mark of energy.<sup>3</sup> No skilled mental state that is consolidated by energy decreases.”

“ Make a simile.”

“ Sire, suppose a house were falling down and a man consolidated it with more wood so that, consolidated thus, that house did not fall down<sup>4</sup>—even so, sire, is consolidation a distinguishing mark of energy; no skilled mental state that is consolidated by energy decreases.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ Sire, as a large army might break up a small army,

<sup>1</sup> *S. i.* 214; also *Sn.* 184.

<sup>2</sup> *upatthambhana*. Though I follow the translation at *P. Pn.* 523 (of *Vism.* 464) because it seems to make good sense in this passage, the word *upatthambhana* is better, etymologically, as supporting, sustaining, holding up, stiffening, steadying. See *upatthambha* at *Miln.* 415, 417.

<sup>3</sup> At *Vism.* 464 it is said that the function, *rasa*, of energy is “ to consolidate ” or support conascent (states).

<sup>4</sup> This simile also occurs at *Asl.* 120.

but then if the king were to let it go<sup>1</sup> to another (king ? army ?) and were to send it forth<sup>1</sup> (to him), the small army together with this (reinforcement) might break up the large army<sup>2</sup>—even so, sire, is consolidation a distinguishing mark of energy; no skilled mental state that is consolidated by energy decreases. [37] And this, sire, was spoken by the Lord: “The ariyan disciple, monks, who has energy gets rid of what is unskilled and develops what is skilled, he gets rid of what is blameworthy and develops what is blameless; he looks after the purified self.”<sup>3</sup>

“You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xii) The King said: “Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of mindfulness?”<sup>4</sup>

“Not wobbling,<sup>5</sup> sire, is a distinguishing mark of mindfulness and taking up<sup>6</sup> is a distinguishing mark of mindfulness.”

“And how, revered sir, is not wobbling a distinguishing mark of mindfulness?”

“When mindfulness is uprising, sire, one does not wobble in regard to mental states that are skilled and unskilled, blamable and blameless, low and lofty, dark

<sup>1</sup> *anusāreyya* with the next *anupeseyya* are both doubtful in meaning. RhD. says (*QKM*. i. 57, n. 2) “both the words are new, and I am not sure that the first . . . does not come from the root *sar*, to follow.” *CPD*. gives “to let go after.” If, however, we were to take it as a synonym for *anusarīyāyitvā*, which is a variant reading at *D*. ii. 175 for *anusāritvā*, we would then get the easier reading above: if the king were to inspect another (army, to be understood). For the second word *Si*. reads *anuppadeyya*, to hand over, bestow.

<sup>2</sup> This same simile occurs in other words at *Asl*. 121.

<sup>3</sup> *A*. i. 148, 149.

<sup>4</sup> On how mindfulness arises see *Miln*. 78-79.

<sup>5</sup> *apilāpana*, “not allowing any floating, not forgetting,” as at *Vism*. 464, not drifting; cf. *Asl*. 121, *Netti*. 15, 28, 54, *MA*. i. 82; also see *Pug*. 25, *avilāpanatā* (w.r. for *api*-) and *Dhs*. 14, both of *sati*. See too *Bud. Psych. Ethics*, p. 16, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *upaganhanā*, i.e. the meditation; or it can mean learning. At *MA*. i. 82-83 this characteristic appears as *upatthāna*, the arousing, application or establishment (of mindfulness).

and bright or evenly mixed;<sup>1</sup> but, thinking: 'These are the four applications of mindfulness, these the four right efforts, these the four bases of psychic power, these the five controlling faculties, these the five powers, these the seven limbs of awakening, this the ariyan Eightfold Way,<sup>2</sup> this is calm, this insight, this is (clear) knowledge,<sup>3</sup> this is freedom,' the earnest student of yoga then follows the things that should be followed and does not follow the things that should not be followed,<sup>4</sup> he associates with the things that should be associated with and does not associate with the things that should not be associated with. It is thus, sire, that not wobbling is a distinguishing mark of mindfulness."

"Make a simile."

"As,<sup>5</sup> sire, the store-keeper of a wheel-turning king evening and morning reminds the wheel-turning king of his glory, saying: 'So many elephants are yours, your majesty, so many horses, so many chariots, so many foot-soldiers, so much unwrought gold, so much wrought gold, so much wealth; let his majesty remember it,' and does not wobble in regard to the king's wealth—even so, sire, when mindfulness is uprising one does not wobble in regard to mental states that are skilled and unskilled, blamable and blameless . . . the earnest student of yoga does not associate with the things that should not be associated with. It is thus, sire, that not wobbling is a distinguishing mark of mindfulness."

"How, revered sir, is taking up a distinguishing mark of mindfulness?"

"Sire, when mindfulness is uprising one examines<sup>6</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *sappatibhāga*. This may refer only to dark and bright, *kaṇhasukka*, as at *M.* i. 320, *A.* iv. 32.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *vijjā*; the reference may be to the three knowledges, *tevijjā*.

<sup>4</sup> See *M.* Sta. No. 114; and *cf.* *Asl.* 123 where what appears to be a version of the above is used in respect of *paññā*.

<sup>5</sup> This simile is quoted at *MA.* i. 82-83, *AA.* ii. 52, *Asl.* 121, with slightly different wording.

<sup>6</sup> *samannesati* is to examine, to study as well as to seek for; *cf.* *M.* i. 317 ff., ii. 171 f.

qualities<sup>1</sup> of mental states that are beneficial and detrimental, and, thinking: 'These mental states are beneficial, these [38] mental states are detrimental, these mental states are helpful, these mental states are not helpful,' the earnest student of yoga then removes the detrimental mental states and takes up the beneficial mental states, he removes the unhelpful mental states and takes up the helpful mental states. It is thus, sire, that taking up is a distinguishing mark of mindfulness."

"Make a simile."

"As,<sup>2</sup> sire, the adviser-treasure<sup>3</sup> of a wheel-turning king knows what is beneficial and what is detrimental for the king and thinks: 'These are beneficial for the king, these detrimental, these are helpful, these unhelpful,' and then removes what is detrimental and takes up what is beneficial, removes what is unhelpful and takes up what is helpful, even so, sire, when mindfulness is uprising one examines the qualities of mental states that are beneficial and detrimental . . . and takes up the helpful mental states. It is thus, sire, that taking up is a distinguishing mark of mindfulness. And this, sire, was said by the Lord: 'And I, monks, say that mindfulness is of value in everything.'"<sup>4</sup>

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(xiii) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of concentration?"

"The distinguishing mark of concentration, sire, is being the chief.<sup>5</sup> All those mental states that are skilled have concentration as the chief, they lean, tend and incline towards concentration."

"Make a simile."

"As, sire, in a house with a ridge-pole all the rafters go to the ridge-pole, lean towards it and join it, and the

<sup>1</sup> *gati*, course, going, movement.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Asl.* 121.

<sup>3</sup> *pariṇāyaka-ratana*, the last of the seven treasures or jewels of such a king, see *M.* iii. 175-176.

<sup>4</sup> Untraced.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Asl.* 118. "Chief" here is *pamukha*, foremost, principal.

ridge-pole is pointed to as their chief,<sup>1</sup> even so, sire, all those mental states that are skilled have concentration as the chief,<sup>2</sup> they lean, tend and incline towards concentration.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ As, sire, some king might go into battle with his fourfold army, and as of the whole army—elephants and horses and chariots and infantry—leaning, tending and inclining towards him, he would be the chief and it would range round him—even so, sire, all those mental states that are skilled have concentration as the chief, they lean, tend [39] and incline towards concentration. It is thus, sire, that the chief is the distinguishing mark of concentration. And this, sire, was said by the Lord: ‘ Monks, develop concentration; he who is concentrated knows as it really is.’ ”<sup>3</sup>

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xiv) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of wisdom ?”

“ Earlier I said, sire: Cutting off is a distinguishing mark of wisdom.<sup>4</sup> But illuminating<sup>5</sup> is also a distinguishing mark of wisdom.”

“ How, revered sir, is illuminating a distinguishing mark of wisdom ?”

“ Sire, when wisdom is uprising it dispels the darkness of ignorance, produces the effulgence<sup>6</sup> of clear knowledge,<sup>7</sup> makes the light of knowing<sup>7</sup> appear, and makes plain the ariyan truths. In consequence, the earnest

<sup>1</sup> *agga*, topmost, highest, foremost. This simile is at *S.* iii. 156, *A.* iii. 364.

<sup>2</sup> With the phrase *ye keci kusalā dhammā sabbe te samādhipamukhā honti*, cf. *A.* iv. 339 *samādhipamukhā sabbe dhammā*.

<sup>3</sup> *S.* iii. 13, v. 414; cf. *Asl.* 162.

<sup>4</sup> At *Miln.*, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *obhāsana*, lighting up.

<sup>6</sup> *obhāsa*, see *MLS.* iii. 202, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *viññā . . . ñāṇa*. Though the latter is perhaps more general in range than the former, it is very difficult to decide on the exact English words to fit the Pali words or to indicate what precisely each of the latter intends. *Viññā* not infrequently stands for *te-viññā*, the threefold knowledge of one's former births, of the deceasing and uprising elsewhere of other beings, and of the destruction of the *āsavā*. *Viññā* can also mean lore.

student of yoga sees what is impermanent or what is anguish or what is not-self by means of right wisdom."

"Make a simile."

"As,<sup>1</sup> sire, a man might bring a lamp into a dark house and when he has put it down the lamp dispels the darkness, produces effulgence, makes light appear, makes plain the material shapes—even so, sire, when wisdom is uprising it dispels the darkness of ignorance, produces the effulgence of clear knowledge, makes the light of knowing appear, and makes plain the ariyan truths. In consequence the earnest student of yoga sees what is impermanent or what is anguish or what is not-self by means of right wisdom. It is thus, sire, that illuminating is a distinguishing mark of wisdom."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(xv) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, though these mental states are different, do they obtain one goal?"

"Yes, sire, though these mental states are different, they obtain one goal. They slay the defilements."

"How, revered sir, though these mental states are different, do they obtain the one goal: they slay the defilements. Make a simile."

"As, sire, though an army is different, (with its) elephants and horses and chariots and infantry, it obtains one goal: it conquers an opposing army in battle, even so, sire, do these mental states, though they are different, obtain the one goal: they slay the defilements."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

### The First Division

#### [Second Division]

[40] (i) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, is he who uprises the same or is he another?"

The Elder said: "He is not the same and he is not another."

“What do you think about this, sire? Now that you are grown up are you the same as you were when you were a boy, young, tender, lying on your back?”

“O no, revered sir. That boy, young, tender, lying on his back was one thing. I who am now full-grown am another.”

“That being so, sire, you can have no mother nor can you have a father nor can you have a teacher nor can you be a master of a craft, nor can you be one of moral habit nor can you be one of wisdom. Can it be, sire, that the mother of the embryo at the first stage<sup>1</sup> in pre-natal development is different from the mother at the second stage and she different from the mother at the third stage and she different from the mother at the fourth stage? That the mother of the small (creature) is one thing and the mother of the full-grown (creature) another? That one trains in a craft and another becomes trained? That one does an evil deed and they cut off the hands and the feet of another?”<sup>2</sup>

“O no, revered sir. But what would you say, revered sir, when it is spoken thus?”

The Elder said: “It is one ‘I,’<sup>3</sup> sire, that was the boy, young, tender, lying on his back, and it is the same ‘I,’<sup>3</sup> that am now full-grown,<sup>4</sup> and all these are held together as a unity<sup>5</sup> in dependence on this body itself.”

“Make a simile.”

“It is as if, sire, some person might light a lamp. Would it burn all night long?”

“Yes, revered sir, it might burn all night long.”

“Is the flame of the first watch the same as the flame of the middle watch?”

“No, revered sir.”

<sup>1</sup> *kalala*, as at *Miln.* 125. Four other stages in pre-natal development: *abbuda*, *pesi*, *ghana* and *pasākha*, are mentioned at *S.* i. 206, *Kvu.* 494, *Nd.* I. 120, *Vism.* 236, *S.A.* i. 300. The last stage is not referred to above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *S.* ii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *ahañ ñeva*, “I myself.”

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *A.* iii. 6, where it is assumed that the boy, now grown up, is the same as the baby-boy who had been lying on his back.

<sup>5</sup> *ekasangahīta*.

“ Is the flame of the middle watch the same as the flame of the third watch ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ Is it then, sire, that the lamp in the first watch was one thing, the lamp in the middle watch another, and the lamp in the last watch still another ?”

“ O no, revered sir, it was burning all through the night in dependence on itself.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Even so, sire, a continuity of *dhammas*<sup>2</sup> runs on; one uprises, another ceases; it runs on as though there were no before, no after; consequently neither the one (dhamma) nor another is reckoned as the last consciousness.”<sup>3</sup>

“ Make a further simile.”

“ As, sire, [41] milk on being taken from a cow would turn after a time into curds and from curds into butter and from butter into ghee, so, sire, would he who might speak thus: ‘ That milk itself is precisely those curds, it is precisely that butter, it is precisely that ghee ’—would he, sire, speaking thus, be speaking rightly ?”

“ O no, revered sir, they come into being because of it.”

“ Even so, sire, a continuity of *dhammas* runs on; one uprises, another ceases; it runs on as though there were no before, no after; consequently neither the one (dhamma) nor another is reckoned as the last consciousness.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

<sup>1</sup> *tam yeva nissāya.*

<sup>2</sup> *dhamma-santati.* RhD's rendering of this passage is rather confused because he took *dhammasantati*, the flow, continuum, or continuity of *dhammas*, mental elements, to be the “continuity of a person,” and in consequence makes this passage refer to the passing away and rebirth of a person. It is better taken to refer to the ever and quickly changing consciousness of a living person, a consciousness in which each “moment” determines the next. The moments are really discrete; it is only the speed of their coming to be and passing away that gives the illusion of a continuum. Cf. *Kvn.*, p. 41, §193 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *pacchima-viññāna.* Consciousness does not stop, even at the death of the body.

(ii) The King said: "Does he who does not reconnect know: 'I will not reconnect'?"

"Yes, sire. He who does not reconnect knows that he will not reconnect."

"How does he know, revered sir?"

"It is from the termination<sup>2</sup> of whatever is the cause, whatever is the condition of reconnecting that he knows he will not reconnect."

"Make a simile."

"As, sire, an agriculturist, a householder, when he had ploughed and sown, would fill his granary; but if, after a time, he should neither plough nor sow but should use his stored up grain or should dispose of it or deal with it according to circumstances, then, sire, would that agriculturist, the householder, know that his granary would not be filled?"

"Yes, revered sir, he would know (this)."

"How would he know?"

"It is from the termination of whatever is the cause, whatever is the condition of filling the granary that he would know: 'My granary will not be filled.'"

"Even so, sire, it is from the termination of whatever is the cause, whatever is the condition of reconnecting that he knows he will not reconnect."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(iii) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, has wisdom arisen in him in whom knowledge<sup>3</sup> has arisen?"

"Yes, sire, wisdom has arisen in him in whom knowledge has arisen."

"What, revered sir, [42] is knowledge the same as wisdom?"

"Yes, sire, knowledge is the same as wisdom."

"But, revered sir, would he in whom knowledge, which is the same as wisdom, has arisen be bewildered or would he not be bewildered?"

<sup>1</sup> *paṭisandahati*; cf. above, Miln. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *uparama*, finish, stopping.

<sup>3</sup> *nāṇa*, knowledge in a general sense.

“He would be bewildered at some things,<sup>1</sup> sire, at some<sup>1</sup> he would not be bewildered.”

“Where would he be bewildered, revered sir, where not?”

“He would be bewildered, sire, in regard to those parts of the crafts that he did not already know, or in regard to those districts he had not already visited, or in regard to those names and designations he had not already heard.”

“Where would he not be bewildered, revered sir?”

“In regard to that done through this wisdom, sire, namely (the thought of) impermanence or anguish or not-self—here he would not be bewildered.”

“But where, revered sir, does his confusion go?”

“Sire, confusion is stopped the very moment knowledge arises.”

“Make a simile.”

“It is as if, sire, some person might bring a lamp into a house. In consequence the darkness would cease and light appear. Even so, sire, confusion is stopped the very moment knowledge arises.”

“But where does wisdom go, revered sir?”

“Although wisdom, sire, is stopped then and there when it has done its task, yet that which is done by means of this wisdom, namely (the thought of) impermanence or anguish or not-self—that is not stopped.”

“Revered Nāgasena, make a simile of this that you have said: ‘Although wisdom is stopped then and there when it has done its task, yet that which is done by means of this wisdom, namely (the thought of) impermanence or anguish or not-self—that is not stopped.’”

“Sire, it is like a man who wants to send a letter<sup>2</sup> during the night. When he has had a scribe<sup>3</sup> summoned and has brought a lamp, he makes him write the letter. But if he has the lamp put out after the letter has been written, the letter would not be lost because the lamp was put out. Even so, sire, though wisdom is stopped

<sup>1</sup> *katthaci* . . . *katthaci*, really, somewhere . . . elsewhere. Hence the following *kuhim*, where? Or, we might say: At what?

<sup>2</sup> *lekha*, writing, inscription.

<sup>3</sup> *lekhaka*.

as soon as it has done its task, yet that which is done by means of this wisdom, namely (the thought of) impermanence or anguish or not-self—that is not stopped.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ Sire, it is as [43] people in the eastern districts place five vessels of water in each house so as to put out any conflagration. If a house were on fire and they threw these five vessels of water over it and if in consequence that fire went out, would it, sire, occur to these people thus: ‘ We must use these vessels again ’ ?”<sup>1</sup>

“ O no, revered sir, these vessels have sufficed, what (further need is there for) these vessels ?”

“ As, sire, are the five vessels of water, so should the five controlling faculties be understood: the controlling faculty of faith, of energy, of mindfulness, of concentration, of wisdom; as are these people, so should the earnest student of yoga be understood; as is the fire, so should the defilements be understood; as the fire is put out by means of the five vessels of water, so are the defilements put out by means of the five controlling faculties; and when the defilements have been put out they do not come into being again. Even so, sire, though wisdom is stopped as soon as it has done its task, yet that which is done by means of this wisdom, namely (the thought of) impermanence or anguish or not-self—that is not stopped.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ It is, sire, as a physician takes the five medicines that are roots,<sup>2</sup> approaches the invalid, crushes these five medicines that are roots and makes the invalid drink them; and if, because of them, his malady<sup>3</sup> should be removed, would it, sire, occur to that physician thus: ‘ I must use these medicines that are roots again ’ ?”

“ No, revered sir, these root-medicines have sufficed, what (further need is there for) these root-medicines ?”

<sup>1</sup> *puna tehi ghatehi ghatakiccam karissāma*, lit. we must do a vessel's task again with these vessels.

<sup>2</sup> See *Vin.* i. 206, 278.

<sup>3</sup> *dosa*, disturbance of the humours (of the body).

“As, sire, are the five medicines that are roots, so should the five controlling faculties be understood: the controlling faculty of faith, of energy, of mindfulness, of concentration, of wisdom; as that physician so should the earnest student of yoga be understood; as a disease, so should the defilements be understood; as the man who has the disease, so should the manyfolk be understood; as the invalid's malady is removed by the five medicines that are roots and when his malady has been removed the invalid is well, so are the defilements removed by means of the five controlling faculties, and when the defilements have been removed they do not come into being again. Even so, sire, though wisdom is stopped as soon as it has done its task, yet that which is done by means of this wisdom, namely (the thought of) impermanence [44] or anguish or not-self—that is not stopped.”

“Make a further simile.”

“As, sire, an earnest student of battle,<sup>1</sup> a warrior, might take five arrows and go into battle to defeat an opposing army, and when he had gone into the battle might loose those five arrows so that the opposing army were routed by them, would it, sire, occur thus to that warrior, an earnest student of battle: ‘I must use these arrows again’?”

“O no, revered sir, these arrows have sufficed, what (further need is there for) these arrows?”

“As, sire, the five arrows, so should the five controlling faculties be understood: the controlling faculty of faith, of energy, of mindfulness, of concentration, of wisdom; as the warrior, the earnest student of battle, so should the earnest student of yoga be understood; as an opposing army, so should the defilements be understood; as the opposing army is routed by the five arrows, so are the defilements routed by the five controlling faculties; and when the defilements have been broken down they do not come into being again. Even so, sire, though wisdom is stopped as soon as it has done its task, yet

<sup>1</sup> *sangāmāvacara*, as at *Jā. ii. 95.*

that which is done by means of this wisdom, namely (the thought of) impermanence or anguish or not-self—that is not stopped.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(iv) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, does he who does not reconnect feel any painful feeling ?”

The Elder said: “ He feels some, some he does not feel.”

“ What does he feel, what does he not feel ?”

“ He feels bodily feelings, sire, he does not feel mental feelings.”

“ How is it, revered sir, that he feels bodily feelings, how is it that he does not feel mental feelings ?”

“ It is from the non-termination<sup>1</sup> of whatever is the cause, whatever is the condition which is the cause and the condition of the uprising of a painful bodily feeling that he feels a painful bodily feeling; but it is from the termination of whatever is the cause, whatever is the condition which is the cause and the condition of the uprising of a painful mental feeling that he feels no painful mental feeling. And this, sire, was said by the Lord: ‘ He feels one feeling: the bodily, not the mental.’ ”<sup>2</sup>

“ Revered Nāgasena, why does he who feels (not)<sup>3</sup> a painful feeling not attain complete nibbāna ?”

“ Sire, arahants have neither approval nor repugnance; nor do arahants destroy what is unripe; wise men wait for full maturing.<sup>4</sup> [45] And this, sire, was

<sup>1</sup> *anuparama*; cf. *Miln.* 41, *uparama*.

<sup>2</sup> Untraced. Cf. *Miln.*, p. 253. At *S.* iv. 231 there are said to be two feelings, *vedanā*: the bodily, *kāyikā*, and the mental, *cetasikā*. These are referred to at *M.* i. 397 when the Buddha is recorded to tell Ānanda that “ two feelings are spoken of by me.”

<sup>3</sup> *Si.* reads *na*.

<sup>4</sup> *na ca arahanto apakkam pātenī, paripākam āgamenti paṇḍitā*. Cf. *D.* ii. 332: *na kho samaṇa-brahmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇadhammā apakkam paripācenti* (v. 1. *pācenti*), *api ca paripākam āgamenti paṇḍitā*. According to *DA.* 810 *apakkam paripācenti* means to cut off midway a life-span that is not mature and has not worn to its (karmic) close. In the light of the supporting quotation, the reference must be to suicide; see below, *Miln.* 195 on *na attānam pūtetabbam*.

spoken by the Elder Sāriputta, the General under Dhamma:

I delight not in dying, I delight not in living,  
But I wait for the time, as a hireling his wages.

I delight not in dying, I delight not in living,  
But I wait for the time, clearly conscious and mindful."<sup>1</sup>

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(v) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, are pleasant feelings skilled or unskilled or indeterminate?"<sup>2</sup>

"They may be skilled, sire, they may be unskilled, they may be indeterminate."

"If, revered sir, (feelings that are) skilled are not painful, if (feelings that are) painful are not skilled, to say: 'That which is skilled is painful' does not arise."

"What do you think about this, sire? If one should place a red-hot ball of iron in a man's hand and in his other hand should place an ice-cold lump of snow, would these both hurt him, sire?"

"Yes, revered sir, both would hurt him."

"Is this, sire, because both are hot?"

"No, revered sir."

"Is it then that both are cold, sire?"

"No, revered sir."

"Acknowledge your refutation:<sup>3</sup> if what is red-hot hurts, but if not both of them are hot, (the pain) does not arise from that; if what is cold hurts, but if not both of them are cold (the pain) does not arise from that. So how is it, sire, that both of them hurt since not both of them are hot nor both of them cold; and how is it that, though the one being hot and the other cold, one

<sup>1</sup> These verses, quoted at *DA.* 810, are attributed to Sāriputta at *Thag.* 1002, 1003, but are there in reverse order and with one variation. Cf. also *Thag.* 20, 196, 606, and *Manu.* vi. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Vism.* 60; and on the sequence *kusala akusala abyākata* in other connections see *Vin.* ii. 91, and as applied to *dhammā* see *Dhs.* 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *ājānāhi niggahamī*, as at *Kvu.* 1, 4, 8-11, etc., *KvuA.* 9.

says: 'Both of them hurt,' (yet the pain) does not arise from that?"

"I am not competent to converse on this assertion with you. It were good, revered sir, if you uttered the meaning."

Thereupon the Elder instructed King Milinda with a talk connected with Abhidhamma,<sup>1</sup> saying: "Sire, six are these happinesses connected with the world, six the happinesses connected with renunciation, six are the sorrows connected with the world, six the sorrows connected with renunciation, six are the equanimities connected with the world, six the equanimities connected with renunciation<sup>2</sup>—there are these [46] six sets of six. And there is a thirty-sixfold feeling that is past, and a thirty-sixfold feeling that is future, and a thirty-sixfold feeling that is present; (so that) assembling them and bringing them together there are one hundred and eight (modes of) feeling."<sup>3</sup>

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(vi) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, who re-connects?"<sup>4</sup>

The Elder said: "Name-and-shape, sire, re-connects."

"What, is it this name-and-shape itself that re-connects?"

"This name-and-shape does not itself re-connect, sire; but, sire, by means of this name-and-shape one does a lovely or an evil deed, and because of this deed another name-and-shape re-connects."

"If, revered sir, this name-and-shape itself does not re-connect, one would not be freed from evil deeds."

<sup>1</sup> *abhidhammasaṃyuttāya kathāya*, as at *Miln.* 56. I do not hold Mrs. Rhys Davids's view that Abhidhamma-Saṃyutta was a unique title Nāgasena used for the seven Abhidhamma books, none of which, as she points out, does he mention by their names (*The Milinda Questions*, London, 1930, p. 80). I am more inclined to the opinion that *saṃyutta* in these two passages has the force of "connected with, associated with."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M.* iii. 217; *S.* iv. 232.

<sup>3</sup> See *M.* i. 397-398, *S.* iv. 231, 232.

<sup>4</sup> *paṭisandahati*. See *Miln.* 32, 41.

The Elder said: "If, sire, it did not re-connect one would be freed from evil deeds. But because, sire, it re-connects one is therefore not freed from evil deeds."

"Make a simile."

"Suppose, sire, some man were to steal another man's mangoes and the owner of the mangoes were to seize him and bring him before the king, saying: 'Your majesty, my mangoes were stolen by this man'; and he were to say: 'I, your majesty, did not steal his mangoes; the mangoes he planted were different from these that I stole; I do not deserve punishment.' Would he, sire, not deserve punishment?"

"Yes, revered sir, he would deserve punishment."

"For what reason?"

"Whatever he may say, revered sir, that man, while not disclaiming responsibility for the mangoes (mentioned) first,<sup>1</sup> would deserve punishment for the mangoes (mentioned) second."<sup>2</sup>

"Even so, sire, one does a lovely or an evil deed by means of this name-and-shape; another name-and-shape re-connects because of this deed; therefore one is not freed from evil deeds."

"Make a further simile."

"Suppose, sire, some man were to steal another man's paddy . . . sugar-cane . . . [47] Suppose, sire, some man were to light a fire in the winter-time and warm himself, were to go away without putting it out, and that then the fire were to burn another man's field and he were to seize him and bring him before the king, saying: 'Your majesty, my field was burnt by this man'; and he were to say, 'Your majesty, I did not burn his field; the fire that I did not put out was different from the

<sup>1</sup> The mangoes the other man planted.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, those that were stolen. But this translation is only tentative. It may mean that the thief does not disclaim the ownership of the mangoes that were planted earlier, but deserves punishment in respect of the mangoes that came later. Or it may mean "lacking perception that the first mangoes (had something in common) with the second mangoes."

fire that burnt his field; I do not deserve punishment.'  
Would that man, sire, not deserve punishment?"

"Yes, revered sir, he would deserve punishment."

"For what reason?"

"Whatever he might say, revered sir, that man, while not disclaiming responsibility for the fire (mentioned) first, would deserve punishment for the fire (mentioned) second."

"Even so, sire, one does a lovely or an evil deed by means of this name-and-shape; another name-and-shape re-connects because of this deed; therefore one is not freed from evil deeds."

"Make a further simile."

"Suppose, sire, some man, taking a lamp and mounting up in a pavilion, were to make use of it; and while the lamp was burning it should set fire to the grass (thatch); and while that was burning it should set fire to the house; and while that was burning it should set fire to a village; and the village-people, having seized that man, were to speak thus: 'Why do you, my good man, set fire to the village?' And if he were to say: 'I, sirs, did not set fire to the village; the fire of the lamp that I used for light was different from the fire by which the village was burnt.' And were these to come before you while they were disputing, whose case would you support, sire?"

"That of the village-people, revered sir."

"For what reason?"

"Whatever he might say, this fire was produced precisely from that."

"Even so, sire, however much one name-and-shape ends with death, another name-and-shape is in re-connection and this moreover is produced precisely from that. Therefore one is not freed from evil deeds."

"Make a further simile."

"Suppose, sire, some man having asked for a young girl in marriage and given the purchase-money<sup>1</sup> should

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<sup>1</sup> *suñka*. Cf. *Thīg.* 420. It is the price paid by the prospective husband to his bride's parents.

then go away, and that she, [48] after a time, reached full marriageable age; and then another man, having given purchase-money, should hold a wedding. (The first man) having come back might speak thus: 'But how is it that you, my good man, took away my wife?' (The second man) might speak thus: 'I did not take away your wife. The young and tender girl asked for in marriage by you and for whom you gave purchase-money is different from this girl who, come to full marriageable age, has been asked for in marriage by me and I have given purchase-money.' And were these to come before you while they were disputing, whose case would you support, sire?"

"That of the first man, revered sir."

"For what reason?"

"Whatever (the second man) might say, that grown-up girl is produced precisely from that (other girl)."

"Even so, sire, however much one name-and-shape ends with death, another name-and-shape is in reconnection and this is produced precisely from that. Therefore one is not utterly freed<sup>1</sup> from evil deeds."

"Make a further simile."

"Suppose, sire, some man, having bought a bowl of milk from a herdsman, were to leave it in his care and go away thinking: 'I will come back for it tomorrow.' But on the next day it might have turned to curds, and if on his return he were to speak thus: 'Give me the bowl of milk'; and if (the herdsman) were to show him the curds the other might speak thus: 'I did not buy curds from you, give me the bowl of milk,' then (the herdsman) might speak thus: 'Without your knowing it the milk has become curds.' And if these were to come before you while they were disputing, whose case would you support, sire?"

"That of the herdsman, revered sir."

"For what reason?"

"Whatever (the other man) might say, it is produced precisely from that."

<sup>1</sup> *parimutta* here; *mutta* earlier.

“ Even so, sire, however much one name-and-shape ends with death, another name-and-shape is in re-connection and this is produced precisely from that. Therefore one is not utterly freed from evil deeds.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(vii) The King said: “ But will you, revered Nāgasena, re-connect ?”

“ Enough, sire. What is the use of asking this ? Have I not already pointed out to you<sup>1</sup> that if I should have attachment, sire, [49] I will re-connect, but if I should be without attachment I will not re-connect ?”

“ Make a simile.”

“ Suppose, sire, some man should render a king a service<sup>2</sup> and the king, delighted, should repay that service so that, because of this, (the man) should go about possessed of and provided with the five strands of sense-pleasures. But if he should announce to the populace: ‘ The king did not provide me with anything,’ would that man, sire, be acting properly ?”

“ Certainly not, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, what is the use of asking this ? Have I not already pointed out to you that if I should have attachment I will re-connect, but if I should be without attachment I will not re-connect ?”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(viii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, as to that which you mentioned: name-and-shape.<sup>3</sup> Which therein is name, which shape ?”

“ That which is gross therein, sire, that is shape. Those subtle mental states that are mental factors in consciousness,<sup>4</sup> this is name.”

“ Revered Nāgasena, what is the reason that name does not re-connect alone, nor shape alone ?”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Miln.*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> As at *Miln.* 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Miln.* 46.

<sup>4</sup> *sukhumā cīttacetāsikā dhammā*, a term for the four immaterial or mental *khandhā*, *Dhs.* 1022 ff., 1189, *Kvu.* 537, *SA.* i. 50 and *Comp.* 1, 94, 239, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> At *S.* i. 13, 35, etc., the simultaneous ceasing to be of these appears taken for granted.

“ These things, sire, are dependent the one upon the other; they simply uprise together.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Make a simile.”

“ As, sire, there could not be just a yolk or just an egg-shell from a hen, since both the yolk and the egg-shell are dependent the one upon the other and there is no separate arising of these, even so, sire, if there were not name there would not be shape, for that which is name and that which is shape are both dependent the one upon the other and there is no separate arising of these. Thus is produced this long (saṃsāric) time.”<sup>2</sup>

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(ix) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, as to that which you have mentioned: long (saṃsāric) time. What is this (saṃsāric) time called ?”

“ The past, sire, is (saṃsāric) time, the future is (saṃsāric) time, the present is (saṃsāric) time.”<sup>3</sup>

“ But does (saṃsāric) time exist, revered sir ?”

“ Some (saṃsāric) time exists, sire, some does not.”

“ But which exists, revered sir, [50] which does not ?”

“ Those karmic formations,<sup>4</sup> sire, that are past, departed, stopped or changed—(here) that (saṃsāric) time does not exist. But those mental states that are results<sup>5</sup> and those mental states liable to have results<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As e.g., in the *paṭicca-samuppāda*. Both are said to be mutually interdependent with consciousness, *D.* ii. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *evam etaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sambhāvitaṃ*, apparently the nom. case. *Addhā*, *addhānaṃ* is an extent, a period of time, perhaps duration.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *D.* iii. 216, *A.* i. 197, *Iti.* 53. At *Kvu.* 511 the point is controverted whether *addhā* is predetermined.

<sup>4</sup> *saṃkhārā*. I take this word here not as referring to one of the five *khandhā* but to the second term in the formulation of the *paṭicca-samuppāda*, stated at the beginning of the next Division, where it certainly has a karmical intention.

<sup>5</sup> *dhammā vipākā*. “ On ‘ result,’ *vipāka*, as technically a conscious or mental phenomenon ” (*Pts. Contr.* 309, n. 1) see *Pts. Contr.*, pp. 205-209, in the notes.

<sup>6</sup> *vipākadhammadhammā*. At *Kvu.* 357 the point is controverted whether: *vipāko vipākadhammadhammo*, is the result of a state entailing results ? That is, do results (always) produce or cause results again ? Until the result of a deed is ended, and worn away,

and those giving re-connection elsewhere—(here) that (saṃsāric) time exists. And for those beings<sup>1</sup> who have done their (karmic) time<sup>2</sup> and arise elsewhere—(here) that (saṃsāric) time exists. But for those beings who have done their (karmic) time and do not arise elsewhere—(here) that (saṃsāric) time does not exist. And for those beings who have attained final nibbāna—(here) that (saṃsāric) time does not exist because of the attainment of final nibbāna.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

### The Second Division

#### [Third Division]

(i) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the root of past (saṃsāric) time, what the root of future (saṃsāric) time, what the root of present (saṃsāric) time ?”

“ Of past (saṃsāric) time, sire, and of future (saṃsāric) time and of present (saṃsāric) time the root is ignorance; conditioned by ignorance are the karmic formations, conditioned by the karmic formations is consciousness, conditioned by consciousness is name-and-shape, conditioned by name-and-shape are the six (sensory) fields, conditioned by the six (sensory) fields is sensory impingement, conditioned by sensory impingement is feeling, conditioned by feeling is craving, conditioned by craving is grasping, conditioned by grasping is (karmic) becoming, conditioned by (karmic) becoming is birth,

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karmic or saṃsāric time cannot be said to have stopped. Cf. *Dhs.* 987 for states which are *dharmā vipākā*; and *Dhs.* 988 for states which are *dharmā vipākadharmadharmā* (the results of skilled and unskilled mental states, the sensuous, fine-material and immaterial realms, the unincluded, the *khandhā* of feeling, perception, the habitual tendencies and consciousness).

<sup>1</sup> Nāgasena appears to be implying here that there is a possible re-linking or re-connection, *paṭisandhi*, of beings, *sattā*, though earlier he has said it is name-and-shape that re-connects. The triad of *saṅkhārā*, *dharmā* and *sattā* is noteworthy for its unusualness.

<sup>2</sup> *kālakata*.

conditioned by birth there come into existence old age and dying, grief, sorrow, suffering, lamentation and despair.<sup>1</sup> Thus the earliest point<sup>2</sup> of this whole (saṃsāric) time cannot be shown.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(ii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, as to that which you mentioned: the earliest point cannot be shown—make a simile for that.”

“ As, sire, a man might throw a small seed on to the earth, and a shoot springing from that and gradually reaching growth, increase and maturity might yield fruit; and then [51] taking a seed from that, he might plant again, and a shoot springing from that and gradually reaching growth, increase and maturity might yield fruit—is there thus an end of this series ?”<sup>3</sup>

“ No, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, the earliest point of (saṃsāric) time cannot be shown either.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ As, sire, an egg comes from a hen and a hen from an egg and an egg from a hen—is there thus an end of this series ?”

“ There is not, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, the earliest point of (saṃsāric) time cannot be shown either.”

“ Make a further simile.” The Elder traced a circle<sup>4</sup> on the ground and spoke thus to King Milinda: “ Is there an end to this circle, sire ?”

“ There is not, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, are those cycles<sup>4</sup> that are spoken of by

<sup>1</sup> This “ chain ” of Dependent Origination or Conditioned Genesis, *paṭiccasamuppāda*, here gives the formula as almost invariably found in the Pali Canon, e.g., at *Vin.* i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *S.* ii. 178 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *santati*, see below, *Miln.*, p. 72. Cf. the agricultural operations that never stop, *Vin.* ii. 181; and a similar simile below, *Miln.* 77. Also cf. the sequence of verses each line of which begins *punappunam* at *S.* i. 174.

<sup>4</sup> “ Circle ” and “ cycle ” are both *cakka* in Pali, as is “ wheel.” The word occurs in the same sense as above at *Vin.* iii. 170.

the Lord: ' Visual consciousness arises because of eye and material shapes, the meeting of the three is sensory impingement;<sup>1</sup> conditioned by sensory impingement is feeling; conditioned by feeling is craving; conditioned by craving is kamma;<sup>2</sup> vision is born again from kamma—is there thus an end of this series ?'

" There is not, revered sir."

" And auditory consciousness arises because of ear and sounds. . . . And mental consciousness arises because of mind and mental objects; the meeting of the three is sensory impingement;<sup>1</sup> conditioned by sensory impingement is feeling; conditioned by feeling is craving; conditioned by craving is kamma; mind is born again from kamma—is there thus an end of this series ?"

" There is not, revered sir."

" Even so, sire, the earliest point of this (saṃsāric) time cannot be shown either."

" You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(iii) The King said: " Revered Nāgasena, as to that which you mentioned: the earliest point cannot be shown—but which is this earliest point ?"

" This earliest point, sire, is that which is past (saṃsāric) time."

" Revered Nāgasena, as to that which you mentioned: the earliest point cannot be shown—is it, revered sir, that every earliest point cannot be shown ?"

" Some can be shown, sire, some cannot be shown."

" Which can be shown, revered sir, which cannot be shown ?"

" Earlier than this, sire, there was no ignorance anywhere or in any way—this earliest point cannot be shown; what had not been came into existence and, having been, fell asunder.—can this earliest point [52] be shown ?"

" Revered Nāgasena, if what had not been came into

<sup>1</sup> *M.* i. 112, *S.* iv. 32. The " wheel " of *paṭiccasamuppāda*, given at the beginning of this Division, will be recognised again in these paragraphs.

<sup>2</sup> This is something of an innovation. At *Mūl.* 65 it is said that the five sensory fields are produced from different kammās.

existence and, having been, fell asunder, would it not 'go home,'<sup>1</sup> cut off from both (modes)?"

"If, sire, (ignorance)<sup>2</sup> 'goes home,' cut off from both (modes), is it possible for it, cut off from both (modes), to increase?"

"Yes, it is able to increase."

"I, revered sir, am not asking this (but whether) it is possible for it to increase from a point."

"Yes, it is able to increase."

"Make a simile." The Elder made him a simile of a tree, saying: "The aggregates<sup>3</sup> are the seeds of this whole mass of anguish."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(iv) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, are there any karmic formations<sup>4</sup> that are produced?"<sup>5</sup>

"Yes, sire, there are karmic formations that are produced."

"Which are they, revered sir?"

"Sire, when there is eye and when there are material shapes there is visual consciousness; when there is visual consciousness there is sensory impingement on the eye; when there is sensory impingement on the eye there is feeling; when there is feeling there is craving; when there is craving there is grasping; when there is grasping there is (continued) becoming; when there is (continued) becoming there is birth; when there is birth there come into existence old age and dying, grief, sorrow, suffering,

<sup>1</sup> *attham gacchati*, to set, like the sun, to become non-existent or annihilated. Cf. *DhA.* iii. 453.

<sup>2</sup> RhD. notes the "odd change of gender here," and Trenckner, who says this passage is corrupt, suggests that the word "ignorance" has been omitted. I agree that in the Elder's answer this seems to be the case, since *chinnā*, cut off, appears to be fem. nom. The King's question, just preceding, I take to refer to something more general, and therefore *chinnam* is the neut. nom.

<sup>3</sup> *khandhā*, also meaning the trunks of a tree. RhD. takes the simile of the tree to refer to the simile of the tree and the seed, i.e., the first simile ascribed to the Elder in this section. But this may not be so. It may, e.g., refer to the similes of trees at *S.* ii. 87 ff., which are used in connection with *patīcasamuppāda*.

<sup>4</sup> *samkhārā*.

<sup>5</sup> *jāyanti*.

lamentation and despair. Thus is the origination of this whole mass of anguish. But, sire, when there is not eye or material shapes there is no visual consciousness; when there is not visual consciousness there is no sensory impingement on the eye; when there is not sensory impingement on the eye there is no feeling; when there is not feeling there is no craving; when there is not craving there is no grasping; when there is not grasping there is no (continued) becoming; when there is not (continued) becoming there is no birth; when there is not birth there are no old age and dying nor grief, sorrow, suffering, lamentation or despair. Thus is the stopping of this whole mass of anguish."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(v) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, are there any karmic formations that are produced without a (continued) becoming?"

"Sire, there are not any karmic formations that are produced without a (continued) becoming. The karmic formations, sire, are produced only when there has been (continued) becoming."

"Make a simile."

"What do you think about this, sire? Was this house where [53] you are sitting produced without a (continued) becoming?"

"There is nothing here, revered sir, that has been produced without a (continued) becoming; it is produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming. Revered sir, these pieces of wood were in the forest and this clay was in the ground, and it is through proper effort on the part of women and men that this house is existing as it is."

"Even so, sire, there are not any karmic formations that are produced without a (continued) becoming. The karmic formations are produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming."

"Make a further simile."

"As, sire, some of those seeds and plants that are put into the earth, gradually reaching growth, increase

and maturity, might yield flowers and fruit, but these trees are not produced with a (continued) becoming; these trees are produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming; even so, sire, there are not any karmic formations that are produced without a (continued) becoming. The karmic formations are produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming."

"Make a further simile."

"As, sire, a potter, taking clay from the earth, makes a variety of vessels, and as these vessels are not produced without a (continued) becoming, but are produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming, even so, sire, there are not any karmic formations that are produced without a (continued) becoming. The karmic formations are produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming."

"Make a further simile."

"Suppose, sire, there were no sling<sup>1</sup> (to support) a lute, no parchment sounding-board, no belly, no arm, no head, no strings, no plectrum,<sup>2</sup> and no proper effort on the part of a man—would sound be produced?"

"O no, revered sir."

"But if, sire, there were a sling (to support) the lute, a parchment sounding-board, a belly, an arm, a head, strings, a plectrum, and proper effort on the part of a man, would sound be produced?"

"Yes, revered sir, it would be produced."

"Even so, sire, there are not any karmic formations that are produced without a (continued) becoming. Karmic formations are produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming."

"Make a further simile."

"Suppose, sire, there were no (lower) piece of wood for making fire, no twirling-stick, no cord for the

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of this first mentioned part of an Indian lute, *vīṇā*, which is called *patta*, all the others are found at *S. iv. 197*. I follow the translations given convincingly by A. K. Coomaraswamy in his article: *The Parts of a Vīṇā, JAOS.*, vol. 50, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> After *patta*, the following is the sequence of the words: *camma, doṇi, daṇḍa, upavīṇa, tanti, koṇa*.

twirling-stick, no upper piece of wood for making fire, no little piece of cloth<sup>1</sup> (for tinder), and no proper effort on the part of a man—would a fire be produced ?”

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ But if, sire, there were a (lower) piece of wood for making fire, a twirling-stick, a cord for the twirling-stick, an upper piece of wood for making fire, a little piece of cloth, and proper effort on the part of a man—would that fire be produced ?”

“ Yes, [54] revered sir, it would be produced.”

“ Even so, sire, there are not any karmic formations that are produced without a (continued) becoming. Karmic formations are produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ Suppose, sire, there were no burning-glass, no heat from the sun, no cow-dung—could a fire be produced ?”

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ But if, sire, there were a burning-glass, heat from the sun and cow-dung—could that fire be produced ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, it could be produced.”

“ Even so, sire, there are not any karmic formations that are produced without a (continued) becoming. Karmic formations are produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ Suppose, sire, there were no mirror, no light and no face—could an image<sup>2</sup> be produced ?”

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ But if, sire, there were a mirror, light and a face—could an image be produced ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, it could be produced.”

“ Even so, sire, there are not any karmic formations that are produced without a (continued) becoming. Karmic formations are produced only when there has been a (continued) becoming.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

<sup>1</sup> *colaka*. *PED* also tentatively suggests “ bark.”

<sup>2</sup> According to *CPD* this is the only occasion where *attā* means a person's reflection in a looking-glass.

(vi) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, is an experienter<sup>1</sup> got at?"

"But what does this 'experienter' mean, sire?"

"The life-principle<sup>2</sup> within that sees material shape with the eye, hears sound with the ear, smells smell with the nose, tastes flavour with the tongue, feels touch with the body, and discriminates mental states with the mind. Just as we who are sitting here in the palace can look out of whichever window we want to look out of—the east, west, north or the south window—even so, revered sir, this life-principle within can look out of whichever door it wants to look out of."

The Elder said: "I will talk to you, sire about the five doors,<sup>3</sup> listen and attend carefully. If the life-principle within sees material shape through the eye—just as we who are sitting here in the palace can see material shapes through any window that we care to look out of, whether the east, [55] west, north or the south window—could [a material shape be seen] by this life-principle within [by means of the eye],<sup>4</sup> and a material shape be seen by means of the ear, and a material shape be seen by means of the nose, and a material shape be seen by means of the tongue, and a material shape be seen by means of the body, and a material shape be seen by means of the mind? And could a sound be heard by the eye, the nose, the tongue, the body, the mind? And could a smell be smelt by the eye, the ear, the tongue, the body, the mind? And could a taste be savoured by the eye, the ear, the nose, the body, the mind? And could a touch be felt by the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the mind? And could a mental state be discriminated by the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body?"

"No, revered sir."

<sup>1</sup> *vedaḡū*, also used in a peculiar sense here, as noted in *PED*. and no doubt to be regarded as *vedaka* as at, e.g., *Vism.* 576, 578, 610; see *BHSD*. s.v. *vedaka*. Cf. *Miln.* 71.

<sup>2</sup> *jīva*. With this passage cf. *Vism.* 487. See also *Miln.* 30.

<sup>3</sup> Though he speaks about the five sense-organs and the mind, he arranges them by fives.

<sup>4</sup> Trenckner puts square brackets round these words, and they should not occur at all.

“ The latter was not fitted by you, sire, to the former, nor the former to the latter. But suppose again, sire, that we who are sitting here in the palace see material shapes out there before us<sup>1</sup> more clearly in the great space when these network windows<sup>2</sup> have been removed. Thus too this life-principle within would see material shapes more clearly in the great space when the doors of the eyes had been removed. And if the ears were removed, the nose removed, the tongue removed, the body removed, would it hear a sound, smell a smell, taste a flavour, and feel a touch more clearly on account of the great space ?”<sup>3</sup>

“ O no, [56] revered sir.”

“ The latter was not fitted by you, sire, to the former nor the former to the latter. But again, sire, suppose that this Dinna<sup>4</sup> had gone out and were standing on the porch outside the gateway. Would you know, sire, that he had done so ?”

“ Yes, I would know, revered sir.”

“ Or again, sire, suppose that this Dinna, having come in again, were to stand in front of you. Do you know, sire, that this Dinna, having come in again, is standing in front of you ?”

“ Yes, I know, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, if a flavour had been put on the tongue would the life-principle within know whether it were acid or salt or bitter or sharp or astringent or sweet ?”<sup>5</sup>

“ Yes, revered sir, it would know.”

“ But when the flavour had passed into the stomach would it know whether it had been acid or salt or bitter or sharp or astringent or sweet ?”

<sup>1</sup> *bahimukhā*.

<sup>2</sup> *jālavātāpāna* is a type of window like a grille, so one can only see out through the interstices of the “ network ” or lattice.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Miln.* 86.

<sup>4</sup> Dinna is probably an abbreviation of Sabbadinna, mentioned at *Miln.* 29 f., though Trenckner says “ Dinno possibly means ‘ a page,’ comp. *Jāt.* i., p. 135.”

<sup>5</sup> These six tastes or *rasa* are also mentioned at *Miln.* 63. In both these contexts, the second one, salt, is spelt *lavāṇa* for the Piṭaka *loṇa*.

“ No, revered sir.”

“ The latter was not fitted by you, sire, to the former nor the former to the latter. Suppose, sire, some man had a hundred jars of honey brought to him, had a vessel<sup>1</sup> filled with honey and, covering (another) man's mouth, should cast him into the vessel of honey—would that man know whether the honey were sweet or not ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ Why not ?”

“ Because the honey could not get into his mouth, revered sir.”

“ The latter was not fitted by you, sire, to the former nor the former to the latter.”

“ I am not competent to converse on this assertion with you. It were good if you uttered the meaning.” The Elder instructed King Milinda with a talk connected with Abhidhamma,<sup>2</sup> saying:

“ Because there are vision here and material shape, sire, visual consciousness arises. Co-nascent with that are sensory impingement, feeling, perception, volition, one-pointedness, the life-principle, attention<sup>3</sup>—thus these things are produced from a condition and no experiencer is got at here. Because there are ear and sound . . . because there are mind and mental states, mental consciousness arises. Co-nascent with that are sensory impingement, feeling, perception, volition, [57] one-pointedness, the life-principle, attention—thus these things are produced from a condition and no experiencer is got at here.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(vii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, where

<sup>1</sup> *doni* is usually a long trough, made of stone, perhaps used for the dyeing of robes, or as a receptacle for the rice that is to be distributed to a large number of monks, or as a medicine bath.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Miln.* 45.

<sup>3</sup> These are the seven primary mental formations or properties, *cetasika*, recognised in Abhidhamma as bound up with all consciousness. For the co-nascency, cf. *Kvu.* 620. See also *Dhs.* 556 and *Netti* 78, *Pts.* i. 83 (of *nāmakāya*).

visual consciousness arises, does mental consciousness arise there also ?”

“ Yes, sire. There where visual consciousness arises, mental consciousness also arises.”

“ Now, revered Nāgasena, does visual consciousness arise first and mental consciousness later, or does mental consciousness arise first and visual consciousness later ?”

“ Visual consciousness arises first, sire, mental consciousness later.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Now, revered Nāgasena, does visual consciousness instruct mental consciousness, saying: ‘ Where I arise, do you likewise arise,’ or does mental consciousness instruct visual consciousness, saying: ‘ Where you arise, I will likewise arise ’? ”

“ No, sire, there is no conversation between them.”

“ Then how is it, revered Nāgasena, that where visual consciousness arises there mental consciousness also arises ?”

“ It is because of tendency, sire, and because of ‘ door ’ and because of habit and because of practice.”

“ How is it, revered Nāgasena, that because of tendency mental consciousness also arises there where visual consciousness arises ? Make a simile.”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? When it is raining by what means may the water run away ?”

“ It might run away by means of some slope or other, revered sir.”

“ But if it continued to rain, by what means would that (increased amount of) water run away ?”

“ It would follow the same course as that taken by the earlier (rain-)water, revered sir.”

“ But, sire, does the earlier water instruct the later, saying: ‘ You run away by the same course as I do,’ or does the later water instruct the earlier, saying: ‘ I also will run away by the same course as you will take ’? ”

“ No, revered sir, there is no conversation between them; they run away because there is a slope.”

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *D.* i. 185 where the Buddha tells Poṭṭhapāda that *saññā* arises first and *ñāṇa* afterwards.

“ Even so, sire, it is because of tendency<sup>1</sup> that where visual consciousness arises, mental consciousness arises there too. [58] Visual consciousness does not instruct mental consciousness, saying: ‘ Where I arise, do you likewise arise,’ nor yet does mental consciousness instruct visual consciousness, saying: ‘ Where you arise, I will likewise arise.’ There is no conversation between them. They arise because of tendency.”

“ How is it, revered Nāgasena, that because of door mental consciousness also arises there where visual consciousness arises. Make a simile.”

“ What do you think about this, sire? A king’s border-town has strong ramparts and an arched gateway (but only) one door; if there were a man who wanted to leave that (town) how would he do so ?”

“ By the door, revered sir.”

“ And if another man wanted to leave, how would he do so ?”

“ In the same way as the first man, revered sir.”

“ But, sire, does the first man instruct the second, saying: ‘ You go out in the same way as I do,’ or does the second man instruct the first, saying, ‘ I too will go out by the same way as you ’? ”

“ No, revered sir, there is no conversation between them; they go out because there is the door.”

“ Even so, sire, it is because of door that where visual consciousness arises mental consciousness arises there too. Visual consciousness does not instruct mental consciousness, saying: ‘ Where I arise, do you likewise arise,’ nor does mental consciousness instruct visual consciousness, saying: ‘ Where you arise, I will likewise arise.’ There is no conversation between them. They arise because of door.”

“ How is it, revered Nāgasena, that because of habit mental consciousness also arises there where visual consciousness arises? Make a simile.”

“ What do you think about this, sire? If one cart went ahead, then which way would the second cart go ?”

<sup>1</sup> “ Slope ” and “ tendency ” are both *ninna* in Pali.

“ By the same way as the first cart, revered sir.”

“ But, sire, does the first cart instruct the second, saying: ‘ You go by the same way as I go,’ or does the second [59] cart instruct the first, saying: ‘ I too will go by the same way as you ’? ”

“ No, revered sir, there is no conversation between them. They go because there is habit.”

“ Even so, sire, it is because of habit that where visual consciousness arises mental consciousness arises there too. Visual consciousness does not instruct mental consciousness, saying: ‘ Where I arise, do you likewise arise,’ nor does mental consciousness instruct visual consciousness, saying: ‘ Where you arise, I will likewise arise.’ There is no conversation between them. They arise because of habit.”

“ How is it, revered Nāgasena, that because of practice mental consciousness also arises there where visual consciousness arises? Make a simile.”

“ What do you think about this, sire? As, sire, a beginner is clumsy in the crafts of reckoning on the fingers,<sup>1</sup> calculation,<sup>2</sup> (mental) reckoning<sup>3</sup> and writing,<sup>4</sup> but after a time by practice in careful working he becomes deft, even so, sire, it is through practice that where visual consciousness arises there too mental consciousness arises, but visual consciousness does not instruct mental consciousness, saying: ‘ Where I arise, do you likewise arise,’ nor does mental consciousness instruct visual consciousness, saying: ‘ Where you arise I will likewise arise.’ There is no conversation between them. They arise because of practice.”

“ Revered Nāgasena, does mental consciousness likewise arise there where auditory consciousness arises? . . . Does mental consciousness arise there where olfactory consciousness . . . gustatory . . . tactile consciousness arises? ”

<sup>1</sup> *muddā*, see *BD.* ii, p. 176, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *ganaṇā*, see *ibid.*, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *sankhā* or *sankhānā*; not mentioned at *Vin.* iv. 6-7, but see *BD.* ii. 176, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *lekhā*, see *BD.* ii. 177, n. 1.

“ Yes, sire. There where tactile consciousness arises, mental consciousness also arises.”

“ Now, revered Nāgasena, does tactile consciousness arise first and mental consciousness later, or does mental consciousness arise first and tactile consciousness later ?”

“ Tactile consciousness arises first, sire, mental consciousness later.”

“ Now, revered Nāgasena . . . [60] . . . ”

“ . . . There is no conversation between them. They arise because of practice.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(viii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, does feeling arise there where mental consciousness arises ?”

“ Yes, sire, where mental consciousness arises there sensory impingement arises and there feeling arises and there perception arises and there volition arises and there applied thought<sup>1</sup> arises and there sustained thought<sup>1</sup> arises, and all mental states that arise there are headed by sensory impingement.”<sup>2</sup>

“ Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of sensory impingement ?”

“ Touching, sire, is the distinguishing mark of sensory impingement.”<sup>3</sup>

“ Make a simile.”

“ Suppose, sire, there were two rams fighting.<sup>4</sup> One of these rams should be understood as the eye, the other as material shape, the meeting<sup>5</sup> of the two as sensory impingement.”

“ Make a further simile.”

<sup>1</sup> *vitakka* and *vicāra* are two of the six *cetasika*, mental properties, called at *Abhidhammatthasangaha*, p. 6, *pakiṇṇakā* (lit. scattered about), special, particular, *i.e.*, not present in every act of consciousness. Cf. *Miln.* 56-57.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M.* iii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *DA.* 63, *Vism.* 463. “ Touching ” is *phusana*.

<sup>4</sup> This simile is quoted at *Asl.* 108 which refers to the source as *sutta*.

<sup>5</sup> *sannipāta*, concurrence, the “ bedding down together.”

“ Suppose, sire, two hands were clapped together.<sup>1</sup> One of these hands should be understood as the eye, the other as material shape, the meeting of the two as sensory impingement.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ Suppose, sire, two cymbals<sup>2</sup> were clashed together. One of these cymbals should be understood as the eye, the other as material shape, and the meeting of the two as sensory impingement.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(ix) “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of feeling ?”

“ Sire, being felt<sup>3</sup> is a distinguishing mark of feeling, and a distinguishing mark is experiencing.”<sup>4</sup>

“ Make a simile.”

“ Suppose, sire, some man should render a king a service,<sup>5</sup> and that the king, delighted, should repay the service and that, because of this, (the man) should go about possessed of and provided with the five strands of sense-pleasures, and that it should occur to him: ‘ Earlier I rendered the king a service and the king, delighted, repaid that service of mine so that, from this source, I am (now) experiencing such and such feelings’; or suppose, sire, [61] that some man, having done a good deed, should arise at the breaking up of the body after dying in a good bourne, a heaven-world and should go about there possessed of and provided with the five deva-like strands of sense-pleasure, and that it should occur to him: ‘ Earlier I did a good deed so that, from that source, I am (now) experiencing such and such feelings.’

<sup>1</sup> This and the following simile appear combined at *Asl.* 108, which also says that the nature, *rasa*, of *phassa* is striking, *sanghattana*.

<sup>2</sup> *samma*. The reference at *QKM.* i. 93 should be *Thag.* 893, 911 (not *Thīg.*) where the word is *sammatāla*.

<sup>3</sup> *vedayita*. Cf. *M.* i. 293, *Vism.* 460, *Asl.* 109, also *MA.* ii. 342, *vedanā yeva hi vedeti, na añño koci veditā nāma atthi ti*.

<sup>4</sup> *anubhavana*, enjoying or suffering: the *rasa* of feeling at *Asl.* 109. Cf. *UdA.* 42, *Netti.* 28, *Miln.* 384.

<sup>5</sup> As at *Miln.* 49.

Even so, sire, being felt is a distinguishing mark of feeling and a distinguishing mark is experiencing."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(x) "Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of perception?"

"Perceiving,<sup>1</sup> sire, is the distinguishing mark of perception. What does one perceive? One perceives dark green and one perceives yellow and one perceives red and one perceives white and one perceives crimson. Even so, sire, is perceiving the distinguishing mark of perception."

"Make a simile."

"As, sire, when a king's store-keeper has gone into the store-room and seen the material shapes that are the property of the king, he perceives that they are dark green, yellow, red, white, and crimson. Even so, sire, is perceiving the distinguishing mark of perception."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(xi) "Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of volition?"

"Being willed,<sup>2</sup> sire, is a distinguishing mark of volition and a distinguishing mark is effective preparation."<sup>3</sup>

"Make a simile."

"Suppose, sire, some man has prepared poison and were to drink it himself or make others drink it—either he or the others would become afflicted. Even so, sire, some man here, having through volition willed an unskilled deed, would arise on the breaking up of the body after dying in the sorrowful ways, a bad bourn, the Downfall, Niraya Hell, and those who follow his example also arise on the breaking up of the body after dying in the sorrowful ways, a bad bourn, the Downfall,

<sup>1</sup> *sañjānana*, the act of perceiving. Cf. *M.* i. 293, *Vism.* 461, *Asl.* 110.

<sup>2</sup> *cetayita*. Cf. *Vism.* 463, *Asl.* 111.

<sup>3</sup> *abhisankharaṇa*, volitional formation, determining. Cf. *S.* iii. 87, *UdA.* 129.

Niraya Hell. Or suppose, sire, that some man has prepared a mixture of ghee, butter, oil, honey and molasses and were to drink it himself or make others drink it—either he or the others would become happy.<sup>1</sup> [62] Even so, sire, some man here, having through volition willed a skilled deed, would arise at the breaking up of the body after dying in a good bourn, a heaven-world, and those who follow his example also arise on the breaking up of the body after dying in a good bourn, a heaven-world. Even so, sire, is being willed a distinguishing mark of volition and effective preparation is a distinguishing mark.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xii) “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of consciousness ?”

“ The distinguishing mark of consciousness, sire, is discriminating.”<sup>2</sup>

“ Make a simile.”

“ As, sire, were the superintendent of a city to be sitting at cross-roads in the middle of the city, he could see a man coming from the eastern quarter or from the southern or the western or the northern quarter, even so, sire, whatever material shape a man sees he discriminates it by consciousness, and whatever sound he hears, whatever smell he smells, whatever taste he savours, whatever touch he feels, and whatever mental state he discriminates he discriminates it by consciousness. Even so, sire, is discriminating the distinguishing mark of consciousness.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xiii) “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of applied thought ?”

<sup>1</sup> *sukkhita*, perhaps meaning healthy here, both in opposition to the *dukkhita*, the “ afflicted ” of the preceding simile, and because the mixture consisted of the five recognized medicines.

<sup>2</sup> *vijānana*, or the act of cognizing. Cf. *Asl.* 112 which quotes the simile; and see *M.* i. 293: “ what one experiences one perceives, what one perceives one discriminates.”

“ Fixing (the mind),<sup>1</sup> sire, is the distinguishing mark of applied thought.”

“ Make a simile.”

“ As, sire, a carpenter fixes a well turned piece of wood in a socket, so, sire, is fixing (the mind) the distinguishing mark of applied thought.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xiv) “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinguishing mark of sustained thought ?”

“ Constantly pondering,<sup>2</sup> sire, is the distinguishing mark of sustained thought.”

“ Make a simile.”

“ As, sire, a bronze gong that has been struck<sup>3</sup> [63] reverberates<sup>4</sup> afterwards and (the sound) lingers on,<sup>5</sup> so, sire, applied thought is to be understood thus as ‘ striking,’ sustained thought is to be understood thus as ‘ reverberating.’ ”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

### The Third Division

(xv) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, is it possible, having again and again analysed these mental states the nature of which it is to arise together,<sup>6</sup> to point to a difference between them,<sup>7</sup> saying: ‘ This is sensory impingement, this is feeling, this perception, this volition,

<sup>1</sup> *appanā*; in the Suttas the word occurs only at *M.* iii. 73. See *P.Pn.*, p. 85, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *anumajjana*. Cf. *Miln.* 176, *Asl.* 114 f., *DA.* 63, 122. It means “ thrashing ” or “ thrashing out ” so that the simile of the beaten gong is not far-fetched.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vism.* 283.

<sup>4</sup> *anuravati*.

<sup>5</sup> *PED.* says that *anusandahati* should here read *anusandati*. *Asl.* 114 reads *anusaddāyati* and the simile used is a drum, not a bronze gong. At *AA.* iv. 31: *anusandati ti pavattati*. *Anusandahati* can also mean to fit, to fix, to apply, see *Asl.* 143, where an archer fits or fixes an arrow to the bowstring.

<sup>6</sup> Referring back to *Miln.* 60.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 293, of feeling, perception and consciousness. Also *Asl.* 311, *Vism.* 438, especially for *vinibbhujitvā*, analysing or breaking up, sifting.

this consciousness, this applied thought, this sustained thought ' ? ”

“ It is not possible, sire.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Make a simile.”

“ Suppose, sire, a king's cook were to make a soup<sup>2</sup> or a sauce<sup>3</sup> and were to throw curds into it and salt and ginger and cummin-seed and black pepper<sup>4</sup> and other ingredients; and suppose the king should speak thus to him: ‘ Bring me a sauce of curds, bring me a salt-sauce, bring me a ginger-sauce, bring me a cummin-seed sauce, bring me a black pepper-sauce, bring me a sauce into which everything has been thrown ’—now, is it possible, sire, having again and again analysed these sauces the nature of which it is to arise together, to bring forward a sauce and speak of its acidity or saltness or bitterness or sharpness or astringency or sweetness ?”

“ It is not possible, sire<sup>1</sup> . . . [64] . . . or astringency or sweetness, though (all these tastes) are present each with its own distinguishing mark.”

“ Even so, sire, it is not possible, having again and again analysed these mental states the nature of which it is to arise together, to point to a difference between them, saying: ‘ This is sensory impingement, this is feeling, this perception, this volition, this consciousness, this applied thought, this sustained thought, though (all) are present each with its own distinguishing mark.’”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xvi) The Elder said: “ Is salt, sire, cognizable by the eye ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, it is cognizable by the eye.”

“ Do you find out well, sire.”

“ But is it cognizable by the tongue, revered sir ?”

“ Yes, sire, it is cognizable by the tongue.”

“ But is every kind of salt discriminated by the tongue ?”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Elder repeats the King's words in full.

<sup>2</sup> *yūsa*. Four kinds are mentioned at *M.* i. 245.

<sup>3</sup> *rasa*, a flavouring.

<sup>4</sup> *marica*.

<sup>5</sup> *kiṃ pana sabbam loṇam jivhāya vijānāti*.

“ Yes, sire, every kind of salt is discriminated by the tongue.”

“ If, revered sir, every kind of salt were discriminated by the tongue, then why do bullocks bring it in carts ? Should not salt only be brought ?”

“ It is not possible, sire, to bring salt only. These things are of the nature of a unity<sup>1</sup> (but) there is a difference in their range.<sup>2</sup> And, besides, salt has heaviness.”

“ Is it possible, sire, to weigh salt on scales ?”

“ It is not possible, sire, to weigh salt on scales; the heaviness is weighed on the scales.”

“ You are dexterous, revered sir.”

Ended are Questions of King Milinda and Nāgasena.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ekatobhāvaṅgatā ete dhammā*, which might mean: these things go along together, because it is of their essence, *bhāva*, to do so.

<sup>2</sup> *gocara*, lit. pasturage for cattle. It can also mean the range or scope of, e.g., the sense-organs. Therefore it might be more correct to translate *dhammā* here (see previous note) not as “ things ” (i.e., salt and carts) but as “ mental states ” resultant on vision and taste, for the whiteness of salt can be seen and thus it may be recognized as salt as much by vision as by taste.

<sup>3</sup> This is, as RhD. says, “ most odd.” Though Nāgasena has kept on asking the King what he thinks and has asked him many questions, and though the King too has asked Nāgasena many questions, they have by no means finished. Si. does not have this little colophon but proceeds straight to the Fourth Division after the end of the Third, and includes in it paragraphs 1 and 2 of this appendix as its second section, the first being a brief statement that the distinguishing mark of proper attention is *āvajjana*, adverting (the mind), an Abhidhamma term.

### [III. QUESTIONS FOR THE CUTTING OFF OF PERPLEXITY]

#### [Fourth Division]

[65] (i) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, are these five (sensory) fields<sup>1</sup> produced from different kammās<sup>2</sup> or from one kamma?"

"They are produced from different kammās, sire, not from one kamma."

"Make a simile."

"What do you think about this, sire? If five (kinds of) seed were sown in one field would different fruits be produced from these different seeds?"

"Yes, revered sir, they would be so produced."

"Even so, sire, these five (sensory) fields are produced from different kammās, not from one kamma."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(ii) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, what is the reason that men are not all the same, some being short-lived, some long-lived, some weakly, others healthy, some ugly, others comely, some of few wishes, others of many wishes, some poor, others rich, some belonging to low families,<sup>3</sup> others to high families, and some being weak in wisdom, others having wisdom?"<sup>4</sup>

The Elder said: "But why, sire, are trees not all the same, some being acid, some salt, some bitter, some sharp, some astringent, others sweet?"

"I think, revered sir, that it is because of a difference in seeds."

"Even so, sire, it is because of a difference in kammās

<sup>1</sup> *āyatana*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Vbh.A.* 410: *kammāyatanesū ti ettha kammam eva kammāyatanaṃ*; where also 2 kinds of *kamma* are given. At *D.* iii. 230, *M.* i. 389, 4 kinds; at *Vbh.* 378, 5 kinds; see also *Pts.* ii. 78. Cf. above *Miln.* 51, where it is said that *kamma* (deed) is conditioned by craving, *taṇhā*.

<sup>3</sup> Low and high families are defined at *Vin.* iv. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mallikā's questions at *A.* ii. 203.

that men are not all the same, some being short-lived, others long-lived, some weakly, others healthy, some ugly, others comely, some of few wishes, others of many wishes, some poor, others rich, some belonging to low families, others to high families, and some being weak in wisdom, others having wisdom. And this, sire, was also said by the Lord: 'Young man, beings have their own kamma, they are heirs to kamma, kamma is the matrix, kamma the kin, kamma the arbiter, kamma divides beings, that is to say into low and lofty.'"<sup>1</sup>

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(iii) The King said: "Revered sir, you told (me that the reason for your going forth was that) this anguish might be stopped and another anguish [66] might not arise."<sup>2</sup>

"This was the goal of our going forth, sire."

"Was it because there had been previous endeavour? Should one not endeavour at the present time?"

The Elder said: "Sire, endeavour at the present time is useless,<sup>3</sup> previous endeavour is useful."

"Make a simile."

"What do you think about this, sire? If you were to become thirsty<sup>4</sup> would you then have a well dug or a reservoir dug and say: 'I will drink water'?"

"No, revered sir."

"Even so, sire, endeavour at the present time is useless, previous endeavour is useful."

"Make a further simile."

"What do you think about this, sire? If you were to become hungry<sup>5</sup> would you then have a field ploughed, paddy planted and the grain brought in and say: 'I will eat rice'?"

"No, revered sir."

"Even so, sire, endeavour at the present time is useless, previous endeavour is useful."

<sup>1</sup> *M.* iii. 203. See also *A.* iii. 186, v. 288; and *Bud. Psych. Ethics*, p. 331, n. 3 on *Dhs.* 1366.

<sup>2</sup> See *Miln.* 31, 81.

<sup>3</sup> *akiccakara.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. Miln.* 81.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf. Miln.* 82.

“ Make a further simile.”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? If you were to be offered battle would you then have a moat dug, a rampart built, a city-gateway built, a watch-tower built, the grain brought in ? Would you then learn how to use an elephant, a horse, a chariot, a bow, a sword ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, endeavour at the present time is useless, previous endeavour is useful. And this, sire, was also said by the Lord:<sup>1</sup>

Doing formerly what should be born for the welfare of self,  
He who is steadfast in wisdom,<sup>2</sup> in exertion has no  
‘ carter’s thoughts.’

As a carter who has left the recognised<sup>3</sup> even<sup>4</sup> highroad  
And taken an uneven way, just broods,<sup>5</sup> his axle broken—  
[67] Even so, he who departs from Dhamma, following  
not-Dhamma,  
And is indolent,<sup>6</sup> just grieves when he comes to face  
death,<sup>7</sup> his axle broken.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(iv) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, you told me that the fire of Niraya Hell was far fiercer than an ordinary fire and that if an ordinary fire were smoking all day, a small stone cast into it would not be dissolved; but that if a rock, the size of a gabled house, had been thrown into the fire in Niraya Hell it would be dissolved in a moment. I do not believe this assertion. And on the other hand you said that those beings who have arisen in Niraya Hell, though boiling there for several

<sup>1</sup> S. i. 57, with one or two differences.

<sup>2</sup> *mantādhīra*, translated as “ firm in doctrine ” at *K.S.* i. 82. Cf. *Sn.* 159, where *mantā* is opposed by *musā*, lying, and *SnA.* 204 which explains *mantā* as *paññā*, wisdom.

<sup>3</sup> *nāma*, reading at *S.* i. 57 is *pantham*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. “ ariyans are even amid things uneven,” *S.* i. 48, and note that *samacariya*, the even faring, is also called *Dhammacariya*, the Dhamma-faring in the Pali Canon.

<sup>5</sup> *va jhāyati*.

<sup>6</sup> Reading *mando* as at *S.* i. 57 for *mano*, and see *QKM.* i. 103, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *maccumukham patto*; cf. *Sn.* 776.

thousands of years, are not dissolved. I do not believe this assertion either."

The Elder said: "What do you think about this, sire? Do not female monsters of the deep<sup>1</sup> and the females of crocodiles and turtles and peacocks and pigeons eat hard bits of stone and grit?"

"Yes, revered sir, they do."

"But then, are these (hard things) dissolved when they have entered their stomachs and bellies?"<sup>2</sup>

"Yes, revered sir, they are dissolved."

"But is the embryo in the womb<sup>2</sup> also dissolved?"

"No, revered sir."

"What is the reason for that?"

"I think, revered sir, that it is through the influence of kamma<sup>3</sup> that it is not dissolved."

"Even so, sire, it is through the influence of kamma that beings in Niraya Hell, though boiling for several thousands of years in Niraya Hell, are not dissolved (but are born there, grow up there and die there).<sup>4</sup> And this too, sire, was said by the Lord:<sup>5</sup> 'He does not do his karmic time until he makes an end of that evil deed.'"

"Make a further simile."

"What do you think about this, sire? Do not the females of lions and tigers and panthers and dogs eat hard bits of bone and flesh?"

"Yes, sire, they do."

"But then, are these (hard things) [68] dissolved when they have entered their stomachs and bellies?"

"Yes, revered sir, they are dissolved."

"But is the embryo in the womb also dissolved?"

"No, revered sir."

"What is the reason for that?"

"I think, revered sir, that it is through the influence of kamma that it is not dissolved."

"Even so, sire, it is through the influence of kamma

<sup>1</sup> *makarini*.

<sup>3</sup> *kammādhikata*.

<sup>5</sup> *M.* iii. 166, 183; *A.* i. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *kucchi* is womb or belly, a cavity.

<sup>4</sup> In square brackets in the text.

that beings in Niraya Hell, though boiling for several thousands of years in Niraya Hell, are not dissolved."

"Make a further simile."

"What do you think about this, sire? Do not the delicately nurtured women among the Bactrian Greeks, the nobles, the brahmans and the householders eat hard pieces of cake and meat?"

"Yes, revered sir, they do."

"But then, are these hard things dissolved when they have entered their stomachs and bellies?"

"Yes, revered sir, they are dissolved."

"But is the embryo in the womb also dissolved?"

"No, revered sir."

"What is the reason for that?"

"I think, revered sir, that it is through the influence of kamma that it is not dissolved."

"Even so, sire, it is through the influence of kamma that beings in Niraya Hell, though boiling for several thousands of years in Niraya Hell, are not dissolved (but are born there, grow up there and die there). And this too, sire, was said by the Lord: 'He does not do his karmic time until he makes an end of that evil deed.'"

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(v) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, you say that this great earth is established on water, water is established on the air, and air is established on space.<sup>1</sup> I do not believe this assertion either."

The Elder took water in a regulation water-pot<sup>2</sup> and convinced King Milinda, saying: "As this water is kept up<sup>3</sup> (to a certain height) by the air, so too is that water held up<sup>3</sup> by the air."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

<sup>1</sup> See *D.* ii. 107. Cf. *Bṛhad.* iii. 6, where instead of the Pali sequence of *mahāpaṭhavī, udaka, vāta, ākāsa* there is *idaṃ sarvaṃ, āpo, vāyu, antarikṣa loka*.

<sup>2</sup> *dhammakaraka*, as at *Vin.* ii. 118, 177, 302; cf. *DhA.* iii. 290; and see notes at *QKM.* i. 106 and *Vin. Texts* iii. 100 which seem to suggest that the water is kept at a certain height in the water-pot by the pressure of the atmosphere.

<sup>3</sup> Both words are *ādhārita*, perhaps peculiar to *Miln.*

(vi) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, is stopping nibbāna?"

"Yes, sire, stopping is nibbāna."<sup>1</sup>

"How, [69] revered sir, is stopping nibbāna?"

"All those foolish average men, sire, who rejoice in the inner and outer sense-fields, approve of them and cleave to them<sup>2</sup>—they are carried away by that stream, they are not utterly free from birth, old age and dying, from grief, sorrow, suffering, lamentation and despair, they are not, I say, utterly free from anguish. But, sire, the instructed disciple of the ariyans does not rejoice in the inner and outer sense-fields, does not approve of them or cleave to them. For him, not rejoicing in them, not approving of them or cleaving to them, craving is stopped; from the stopping of craving is the stopping of grasping; from the stopping of grasping is the stopping of (karmic) becoming; from the stopping of (karmic) becoming is the stopping of birth; from the stopping of birth, old age and dying, grief, sorrow, suffering, lamentation and despair are stopped. Thus is the stopping of this whole mass of anguish. In this way, sire, stopping is nibbāna."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(vii) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, does everyone obtain nibbāna?"

"Not everyone, sire, obtains nibbāna, but he obtains nibbāna who, practising rightly, knows thoroughly the things that should be thoroughly known, comprehends the things that should be comprehended, gets rid of the things that should be got rid of, develops the things that should be developed, and realizes the things that should be realized."<sup>3</sup>

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. ii. 11, A. v. 9: *bhavanirodho nibbānam*.

<sup>2</sup> Sequence of verbs as at M. ii. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S. iv. 29, v. 52; also M. ii. 144, Sn. 558, etc. S. iii. 26 gives the five *khandhā* as the things that should be accurately known or comprehended.

(viii) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, does he who does not obtain nibbāna know that happiness is nibbāna?"<sup>1</sup>

"Yes, sire, he who does not obtain nibbāna knows that happiness is nibbāna."

"But how, revered Nāgasena, does (anyone), without obtaining (nibbāna), know that happiness is nibbāna?"

"What do you think about this, sire? Would those who have not had their hands and feet cut off know that the cutting off of them is anguish?"

"Yes, revered sir, they would know."

"How would they know?"

"They know, revered sir, from having heard the lamentations of those whose hands and feet have been cut off [70] that the cutting off of them is anguish."

"In the same way, sire, (anyone) who has heard those who have seen nibbāna knows that happiness is nibbāna."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

#### The Fourth Division

#### [Fifth Division]

(i) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, have you seen the Buddha?"<sup>2</sup>

"No, sire."

"Then have your teachers seen the Buddha?"

"No, sire."

"Well then, revered Nāgasena, there is no Buddha."

"But have you, sire, seen the river Ūhā<sup>3</sup> in the Himalayas?"

"No, revered sir."

"Then has your father seen it?"

"No, revered sir."

"Well then, sire, there is no river Ūhā."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 508, *Dhp.* 204, *Sn.* 257, *Jā.* iii. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Tevijja Sū.* §12-15, where the Buddha asks the brahmins whether they have seen Brahmā.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently only mentioned here. Probably a small river difficult to find.

“ There is, revered sir. Although neither my father nor I have seen the river Uhā, nevertheless there is the river Ūhā.”

“ In the same way, sire, though neither my teachers nor I have seen the Lord, nevertheless there is the Lord.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(ii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, is the Buddha pre-eminent ?”

“ Yes, sire, the Lord is pre-eminent.”

“ But, revered Nāgasena, how do you know that the Buddha is pre-eminent considering you have never seen him ?”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? Would those who have never seen the great ocean know: ‘ Vast is the great ocean, deep, immeasurable, unfathomable,<sup>1</sup> but though these five great rivers: the Ganges, Jumnā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī constantly and continually flow into it, yet neither its emptiness nor its fullness is affected thereby ?’ ”<sup>2</sup>

“ Yes, revered sir, they would know that.”

“ In the same way, sire, when I think of the great disciples [71] who have attained final nibbāna I know that the Lord is pre-eminent.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(iii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, is it possible to know that the Buddha is pre-eminent ?”

“ Yes, sire, it is possible to know that the Lord is pre-eminent.”

“ How, revered Nāgasena, is it possible to know that the Buddha is pre-eminent ?”

“ Once upon a time, sire, the Elder named Tissa was a teacher of writing. Many years have passed since he died. How is he (still) known ?”

“ By his writing, revered sir.”

<sup>1</sup> Like the Buddha himself, see *M.* i. 386, 487.

<sup>2</sup> Two of the similes of the ocean at *Vin.* ii. 237-8, *A.* iv. 206, *Ud.* 53 appear to be combined here.

“ In the same way, sire, who sees Dhamma sees the Lord;<sup>1</sup> for, Dhamma sire, was taught by the Lord.”<sup>2</sup>

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(iv) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, have you seen Dhamma ?”

“ Disciples have to proceed for as long as they live, sire, with the Buddha as guide, with the Buddha as (the one) laying down (the rules).”<sup>3</sup>

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(v) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, does that which does not pass over<sup>4</sup> reconnect?”

“ Yes, sire, that which does not pass over reconnects.”

“ How, revered Nāgasena, does that which does not pass over reconnect ? Make a simile.”

“ Suppose, sire, some man were to light a lamp from (another) lamp; would that lamp, sire, pass over from that (other) lamp ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ In the same way, sire, that which does not pass over reconnects.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ Do you remember, sire, when you were a boy learning some verse from a teacher of verses ?”

“ Yes, revered sir.”

“ But, sire, does that verse pass over from the teacher ?”

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ In the same way, sire, that which does not pass over (yet) reconnects.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. iii. 120, *Iti.* 90-91.

<sup>2</sup> As below, *Miln.* 73.

<sup>3</sup> Trenckner thinks there is a lacuna here. Rhys Davids is not certain and thinks this passage may have been meant as a kind of riddle. The words *Buddhanetti* and *Buddhapaññattī* may have a reference to D. ii. 154: *mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto*. Cf. also: *dhammā Bhagavaṇṇettikā* at M. i. 310, A. i. 199, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *sankamati*, to go on, pass over, transfer, sometimes to join.

(vi) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, is an experiencer to be got at?"<sup>1</sup>

The Elder said: "In the ultimate meaning, sire, an experiencer is not to be got at."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

[72] (vii) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, is there any being<sup>2</sup> that passes over from this body to another body?"

"No, sire."

"If, revered Nāgasena, there is no passing over from this body to another body, is not one freed from evil deeds?"

"Yes, sire, if one did not reconnect, one would be freed from evil deeds. But as, sire, one reconnects, therefore is one not utterly freed from evil deeds."

"Make a simile."

"Suppose, sire, some man were to steal another man's mangoes,<sup>3</sup> would he deserve punishment?"

"Yes, revered sir, he would deserve punishment."

"But if those mangoes that he stole, sire, were not those that had been planted, why would he deserve punishment?"

"These mangoes, revered sir, exist because of (those others), therefore he would deserve punishment."

"In the same way, sire, it is through the deed one does with this name-and-shape, be it lovely or unlovely,<sup>4</sup> that one reconnects (in) another name-and-shape and therefore is not utterly freed from evil deeds."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(viii) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, a deed that is either skilled or unskilled has been done by this name-and-shape: where do these deeds remain?"

"Those deeds would follow it, sire, 'like a shadow that never leaves it.'"<sup>5</sup>

"Is it possible to point to those deeds, revered sir, and say that they remain either here or there?"

<sup>1</sup> As above, *Miln.* 54.

<sup>2</sup> *satta*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, *Miln.* 46.

<sup>4</sup> *sobhanam vā asobhanam vā*.

<sup>5</sup> *Dhp.* 2.

“ It is not possible, sire, to point to those deeds and say that they remain either here or there.”

“ Make a simile.”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? Is it possible to point to the fruits of a tree that has not yet borne fruit and say that the fruits are either here or there ?”

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ In the same way, sire, so long as the (life-)continuity<sup>1</sup> is not cut off, it is not possible to point to those deeds and say that they remain either here or there.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

[73] (ix) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, does he who uprises know that he will uprising ?”

“ Yes, sire, he who uprises knows that he will uprising.”

“ Make a simile.”

“ As, sire, when a householder who is a farmer casts seeds on the ground and it rains well, does he know that crops will be produced ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, he would know that.”

“ Even so, sire, he who uprises knows that he will uprising.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(x) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, is there the Buddha ?”

“ Yes, sire, there is the Lord.”

“ But is it possible, revered Nāgasena, to point to the Buddha and say that he is either here or there ?”

“ Sire, the Lord has attained final nibbāna in the element of nibbāna that has no substrate remaining (for future birth).<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to point to the Lord and say that he is either here or there.”

“ Make a simile.”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? When the

<sup>1</sup> *santati*, continuity, series, as above *Miln.* 51. Two kinds (*rūpa-* and *arūpasantati*) at *Vism.* 431. Cf. also *VbhA.* 173: *rūpaṃ pana sakasantati-pariyāpannam*. *Santati* or *santāna* may also refer to the continuity of *citta*, of *khandha* and of *bhavaṅga*, consciousness, the groups or aggregations, and subconsciousness.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Iti.*, p. 38.

flame of a great burning mass of fire has gone out<sup>1</sup> is it possible to point to that flame and say that it is either here or there ?”

“ O no, revered sir, that flame has stopped, it has disappeared.”<sup>2</sup>

“ Even so, sire, the Lord has attained final nibbāna in the element of nibbāna that has no substrate remaining (for future birth); it is not possible to point to the Lord who has gone home<sup>1</sup> and say that he is either here or there; but, sire, it is possible to point to the Lord by means of the body of Dhamma,<sup>3</sup> for Dhamma, sire, was taught by the Lord.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

### The Fifth Division

#### [Sixth Division]

(i) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, is the body dear to those who have gone forth ?”

“ Sire, the body is not dear to those who have gone forth.”<sup>4</sup>

“ Then why, revered sir, do you treasure and foster it ?”

“ But when you have gone into battle, sire, have you been wounded by an arrow from time to time ?”

“ Yes, I have, revered sir.”

“ Then, [74] was not the wound anointed with ointment, smeared with oil and bandaged with a soft cloth ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, it was.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *attham gata*, gone out, gone home, “ set ” like the sun whose kinsman the Buddha was.

<sup>2</sup> *appaññattim gatā*, cannot be designated, even as there is no way of “ reckoning ” the Lord by any one of the five *khandhā*, *M.* i. 487 f. On the simile of the fire (or flame) that has been quenched, *nibbuta*, see *M.* Sta. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *dhammakāyena*; cf. *dhammakāya* as an epithet of the Buddha at *D.* iii. 84, and as a synonym of *dhammabhūta* at *ThagA.* ii. 205.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Pārājika* III where monks were so much ashamed of their bodies that they committed suicide and deprived one another of life.

<sup>5</sup> The King repeats the Elder's words in full.

“ But was that wound dear to you, sire, that it was anointed with ointment, smeared with oil and bandaged with a soft cloth ?”

“ That wound was not dear to me, revered sir, and it was only anointed with ointment, smeared with oil and bandaged with a soft cloth so that the flesh might heal.”

“ Similarly, sire, the body is not dear to those who have gone forth; but those who have gone forth and are without cleaving look after<sup>1</sup> the body so as to help forward the Brahma-faring.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, sire, the body was likened to a sore<sup>3</sup> by the Lord, and in consequence those who have gone forth and are without cleaving look after the body as (they would) a sore. And this too, sire, was said by the Lord:<sup>4</sup>

Covered with moist skin, the nine-doored (thing),<sup>5</sup> a great sore,

Oozes evil-smelling bodily secretions<sup>6</sup> all round.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(ii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, was the Buddha all-knowing, all-seeing ?”

<sup>1</sup> *pariharati* is both to look after and to carry about.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *S.* iv. 177 where a man who has a sore or a wound anointed to make it heal is the prototype of the monk who takes nourishment, duly reflecting, so as to help him forward in the Brahma-faring. The Bodhisatta himself had found starvation and austerity to be of no avail.

<sup>3</sup> *Vana* is both sore and wound. At *M.* ii. 260 it is said to be a synonym for the six internal sense-organs. At *M.* i. 500, the body is likened to other things including a boil, *gaṇḍa*, but not to a *vana*. Cf. also *Miln.* 418 f.

<sup>4</sup> Untraced. Also quoted at *Vism.* 196 as *vuttam̐ h'etam̐*, and at *Khpa.* 46. While *Miln.* and *Khpa.* give this single verse, *Vism.* places it between two other verses which also appear at *Jā.* i. 146, but in reverse order to the *Vism.* order. This verse itself does not occur however at *Jā.* i. 146.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, the body. Cf. *Gītā* v. 13 and *Śvet. Up.* iii. 18. The nine gates or doors are the two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, the mouth and the organs of excretion and generation.

<sup>6</sup> *asuci* (not *a-suci*, impure) means a secretion of the body. Cf. *Sn.* 197-198 = *Jā.* i. 146; and also *A.* iv. 386.

“ Yes, sire, the Lord was all-knowing, all-seeing.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Then how is it, revered Nāgasena, that he laid down the rule of training<sup>2</sup> for disciples (only) gradually ?”

“ But, sire, have you any physician who knows all the medicines on this earth ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, I have.”

“ Well, sire, does that physician make the invalid drink the medicine at the time when he is ill<sup>3</sup> or at the time when he is not ill ?”

“ He makes the invalid drink the medicine, sir, at the time when he is ill, not at the time when he is not ill.”

“ Even so, sire, the Lord, all-knowing, all-seeing, did not lay down the rule of training for disciples at the wrong time,<sup>4</sup> but when the time had come he laid down a rule of training for disciples, not to be transgressed as long as they lived.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

[75] (iii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, was the Buddha possessed of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man<sup>5</sup> and distinguished as to the eighty lesser characteristics ?<sup>6</sup> Was he golden in colour, with a golden-coloured skin ? Had he a halo spreading round him for a fathom's length ?”<sup>7</sup>

“ Yes, sire, the Lord was possessed of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man and . . . had a halo spreading round him for a fathom's length.”

“ But, revered sir, were his parents also possessed of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man . . . and did they have a halo spreading round them for a fathom's length ?”

<sup>1</sup> At *M.* i. 482 the Buddha declares that this is not true of him; cf. *M.* i. 92, 519, ii. 31, 126-127; *A.* i. 220. See also below, pp. 142, 303.

<sup>2</sup> *sikkhāpada*, no doubt referring to the Pātimokkha rules of monastic discipline, some of which had to be amended, even more than once, as the first version came to be found too lax or too lenient to stand.

<sup>3</sup> *sampatte kāle*, when a time has come, an occasion arisen.

<sup>4</sup> *akāle*.

<sup>5</sup> See *D.* ii. 17, *M.* ii. 136, and notes at *M.L.S.* ii. 320 f.

<sup>6</sup> Enumerated in *Mūlnt.*, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> See *Jā.* i. 12, *Budv.* I. 45.

“ O no, sire.”

“ That being so, revered sir, you are saying that the Buddha arose possessed of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man and distinguished as to the eighty lesser characteristics, that he was golden in colour with a golden-coloured skin, and had a halo spreading round him for a fathom’s length. But surely a son is either like his mother or those on the mother’s side, or he is like his father or those on the father’s side.”

The Elder said: “ Sire, is there any lotus with a hundred leaves ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, there is.”

“ And where is its origin ?”

“ It is born in the mud, it thrives<sup>1</sup> by means of water.”

“ But is the lotus like the mud, sire, in colour, smell or taste ?”

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, the Lord was possessed of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man and . . . had a halo spreading round him for a fathom’s length, but yet his parents were not possessed of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man nor distinguished as to the eighty lesser characteristics, nor were they golden in colour with golden-coloured skins, nor had they a halo spreading round them for a fathom’s length.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(iv) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, was the Buddha a Brahma-farer ?”

“ Yes, sire, the Lord was a Brahma-farer.”

“ Well then, revered Nāgasena, the Buddha was a pupil of Brahmā.”

“ But have you, sire, a chief state elephant ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, [76] I have.”

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<sup>1</sup> *āsīyati*. See *PED*. for this meaning rather than Morris, *JPTS*. 1884, p. 72, “ comes to perfection.” In the Pali Canon the Buddha is likened to a lotus that is born in the water, grows up in it but yet is unsoiled by it.

“ Now, sire, does that elephant trumpet the ‘ heron’s cry ’<sup>1</sup> from time to time ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, it (so) trumpets.”

“ Well then, sire, this elephant is a pupil of herons.”

“ O no, revered sir.”

“ But, sire, is Brahmā one who has discernment<sup>2</sup> or is he without discernment ?”

“ He is one with discernment, revered sir.”

“ Well then, sire, Brahmā is a pupil of the Lord.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(v) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, is ordination good ?”<sup>3</sup>

“ Yes, sire, ordination is good.”

“ But was the Buddha ordained, revered sir, or not ?”

“ Sire, the Lord attained<sup>4</sup> (enlightenment) at the root of the Tree of Awakening together with omniscience. There was no conferring of ordination upon the Lord by others, sire, in the way the Lord laid down in the rule of training for disciples,<sup>5</sup> not to be transgressed as long as they lived.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(vi) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, who weeps for the death of his mother, who weeps out of regard for Dhamma—for which of these two who are weeping are his tears a medicine, for which are they not a medicine ?”

“ The tears of the one, sire, are hot and stained with attachment, aversion and confusion; the tears of the other are cool, unstained by rapture and joy.<sup>6</sup> That

<sup>1</sup> *koñcanāda*, a technical word for an elephant’s trumpeting, “ in etymological play with *koñca* ” (*PED*), a word used by the Elder in the next sentence meaning heron.

<sup>2</sup> *sabuddhika*, perhaps here meaning “ enlightenment.”

<sup>3</sup> *sundara*.

<sup>4</sup> *upasampanna* means, in a general sense, obtained, received, and has the special sense of having attained bhikkhu-status, of being ordained.

<sup>5</sup> *Vin.* i. 56, 93 ff.

<sup>6</sup> As arahantship is cool; rapture, *pīti*, and happiness or joy, *somanassa*, are allayed in the fourth jhāna.

which is cool, sire, is a medicine, that which is hot is not a medicine.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(vii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the difference between one who has attachment and one who is without attachment ?”

“ Sire, the one cleaves (to things),<sup>1</sup> the other does not cleave.”

“ But what does this mean, revered sir: ‘ cleaves ’ and ‘ does not cleave ? ’ ”

“ The one is desirous,<sup>2</sup> sire, the other is not desirous.”

“ As I see it, revered sir, whoever has attachment and whoever is without attachment—both of them alike—want lovely<sup>3</sup> solid food or soft food, they want nothing that is bad.”<sup>3</sup>

“ Sire, he who is not without attachment eats his food experiencing the taste and experiencing attachment to the taste. But he who is without attachment [77] eats his food experiencing the taste but not experiencing attachment to the taste.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(viii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, where does wisdom dwell ?”

“ Nowhere, sire.”

“ Well then, revered Nāgasena, there is no wisdom.”

“ Where does the wind dwell, sire ?”

“ Nowhere, revered sir.”

“ Well then, sire, there is no wind.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(ix) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, as to that which you mentioned: ‘ circling-on ’<sup>4</sup> what is this circling-on ?”

“ Sire, what is born here dies here; having died here it

<sup>1</sup> *ajjhosita*, has caught hold of: things, becoming, perhaps views on the body, see *M.* i. 65, *A.* ii. 25, *S.* ii. 94, and *Miln.* 74.

<sup>2</sup> *atthika*, liking to have; in want.

<sup>3</sup> *sobhana* and *pāpaka* are in contrast also at *Miln.* 46.

<sup>4</sup> *samsāra*.

uprises elsewhere; being born there, there it dies; having died there it uprises elsewhere. Such, sire, is circling-on."<sup>1</sup>

"Make a simile."

"Suppose, sire, some man, having eaten a ripe mango, should plant the stone and a large mango-tree should grow from it and yield fruit; and that the man, having eaten a ripe mango from it too, should plant the stone and a large mango-tree should grow from it too and yield fruit. In this way no end<sup>2</sup> to those trees can be seen. Even so, sire, what is born here dies here; having died here it uprises elsewhere; being born there, there it dies; having died there it uprises elsewhere. Such, sire, is circling-on."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(x) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, by what does one remember<sup>3</sup> what was done long ago in the past?"

"By mindfulness,<sup>4</sup> sire."

"Revered Nāgasena, does not one remember by mind,<sup>5</sup> not by mindfulness?"

"Have not you, sire, had personal experience<sup>6</sup> of some business you have done but have forgotten?"

<sup>1</sup> No doubt the reference is to volitional beings.

<sup>2</sup> *koti*. Cf. *purimakoti*, of saṃsāra, at *Miln.* 50 f. above, *S.* ii. 178, iii. 149. In fact, *pubba-*, *purima-*, and *pacchima-koti* are used only of saṃsāra and, as such, *koti* is a division of *time*. Here, while the allusion of *koti* appears to be to saṃsāra, it represents *number* regarded successively. Above, *Miln.* 51, the word translated as "end" is *anta*.

<sup>3</sup> *sarati*, the usual word for remember. This dialogue and the next abound in difficult and subtle terms.

<sup>4</sup> *sati*, not here in its technical sense of the four applications of mindfulness, but more nearly connected with memory, as also at *D.* i. 180: *Bhagavantam yeva ārabha sati udapādi*, memory arose directed only to the Lord, where *sati* must have the implication of closely applied memory.

<sup>5</sup> *cittena*.

<sup>6</sup> *abhiñāsi*. *Abhiñāsi* appears to have the meanings of to remember, to know objectively and to experience personally. See *CPD*. The translation in this dialogue and the next as well as in the following Division is extremely tentative.

“ Yes, revered sir.”

“ But at that time were you without a mind, sire ?”

“ No, revered sir. But there was no mindfulness at that time.”

“ Then how can you, sire, say that one remembers by mind, not by mindfulness ?”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xi) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, does all mindfulness arise knowing objectively<sup>1</sup> [78] or is mindfulness an artificial aid ?”<sup>2</sup>

“ Mindfulness arises knowing objectively, sire, and mindfulness is an artificial aid.”

“ If thus all mindfulness arises knowing objectively,<sup>3</sup> revered Nāgasena, there is no mindfulness that is an artificial aid.”

“ Sire, were there no mindfulness that is an artificial aid, there would be nothing to be done by craftsmen in the field of work or in the field of the craft or through study;<sup>4</sup> teachers would be useless. But inasmuch, sire, as there is mindfulness that is an artificial aid, there is in consequence something to be done in the field of work or in the field of the craft or in the field of study;<sup>5</sup> and there is need for teachers.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

### The Sixth Division

<sup>1</sup> *abhijānantā*, perhaps “ as knowing personally.”

<sup>2</sup> Trenckner says the text is corrupt. *Katummikā*, “ artificial aid ”, artificiality, outward help, is no doubt opposed to the inner remembering and experiencing. It is not a canonical word. See J. J. Jones’s Transln. of *Mhvu.* i. 102, n. 3, “ a ruse,” and *BHSD.* s.v. *karṭṛma*, “ trick, trickery.” Cf. Pali *kittima*. The word does not seem to have a pejorative sense in our passage; it is something to be developed through practice.

<sup>3</sup> I here follow *MilnT.*: *sabbā sati abhijānantā uppajjati* in preference to *Miln.*’s rather obscure *sabbam satim abhijānantī*. The result is that the king, by his repetition of the word *sabbā*, all, tries intentionally or not, to ignore the second part of the Thera’s answer.

<sup>4</sup> *viññatthāna*. Eighteen subjects of a study are given at *Jā.* i. 259.

<sup>5</sup> *viññāyatana* here.

## [Seventh Division]

(i) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, in how many ways does mindfulness arise?"

"Mindfulness arises in sixteen ways,<sup>1</sup> sire. In what sixteen ways? Mindfulness arises from personal experience,<sup>2</sup> and mindfulness arises from artificial aid,<sup>3</sup> and mindfulness arises from consciousness of a great occasion,<sup>4</sup> and mindfulness arises from consciousness of welfare, and mindfulness arises from consciousness of woe, and mindfulness arises from a similar appearance, and mindfulness arises from a dissimilar appearance, and mindfulness arises from understanding due to speech, and mindfulness arises from distinguishing mark, and mindfulness arises from remembering,<sup>5</sup> and mindfulness arises from reckoning, and mindfulness arises from calculation, and mindfulness arises from bearing in mind,<sup>6</sup> and mindfulness arises from (mental) development, and mindfulness arises from reference to books, and mindfulness arises from association of ideas,<sup>7</sup> and mindfulness arises from what was experienced.<sup>8</sup>

How does mindfulness arise from personal experience? As, sire, the venerable Ānanda and the woman lay-devotee Khujjuttarā<sup>9</sup> or [79] any others who have

<sup>1</sup> Seventeen given. The following tabulation appears to be something new in Buddhist literature.

<sup>2</sup> *abhijāna*, or direct knowing, and therefore remembering as shown in the explanation just below.

<sup>3</sup> *katumikā*, as at *Miln.* 78.

<sup>4</sup> *olārikaviññāna*, consciousness that occurs in a large objective support for meditation, *MilnT.*, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *saraṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> *dharana*.

<sup>7</sup> *upanikkhepa*, perhaps meaning contiguity. Cf. *nikkhepana*, laying alongside, at *S.* ii. 276.

<sup>8</sup> *MilnT.*, p. 19: from what was formerly experienced of the six objective supports for meditation.

<sup>9</sup> Foremost of the women lay-devotees who have heard (learnt) much, *A.* i. 26. Neither she nor Ānanda seems specially connected with the power of remembering former "habitations," however. At *ItA.* i. 28 it is said that the Discourses in *Iti.* are those that Khujjuttarā learnt by heart from the Buddha and later repeated to Sāmāvati and her five hundred women attendants.

remembrance of (former) births, remember a (former) birth, thus does mindfulness arise from personal experience.

How does mindfulness arise from artificial aid? If others fasten on to whoever is usually muddled in mindfulness so as to make him remember—thus does mindfulness arise from artificial aid.

How does mindfulness arise from consciousness of a great occasion? When there is a consecration into sovereignty or an attainment of the fruit of stream-winning—thus does mindfulness arise from the consciousness of a great occasion.

How does mindfulness arise from consciousness of welfare? One remembers when one was happy: 'Thus there was happiness in that'—thus does mindfulness arise from consciousness of welfare.

How does mindfulness arise from consciousness of woe? One remembers when one was afflicted: 'Thus there was affliction in that'—thus does mindfulness arise from consciousness of woe.

How does mindfulness arise from a similar appearance? If one sees a person similar (to himself) he remembers (his) mother or father or brother or sister; or if one sees a camel or ox or donkey one remembers another camel or ox or donkey—thus does mindfulness arise from a similar appearance.

How does mindfulness arise from a dissimilar appearance? If one remembers that such and such is the colour of a certain thing, such and such the sound, smell, taste and touch—thus does mindfulness arise from a dissimilar appearance.

How does mindfulness arise from understanding due to speech? If others remind one who is usually of muddled mindfulness and he duly remembers—thus does mindfulness arise from understanding due to speech.

How does mindfulness arise from a distinguishing mark? Whoever (recognizes) a plough-ox by its branding, recognizes it through its distinguishing mark.

How does mindfulness arise from remembering? If someone says to one who is usually of muddled mindful-

ness: 'Remember, sir, remember, sir' and makes him remember over and over again—thus does mindfulness arise from remembering.

How does mindfulness arise from reckoning? From his being trained in (regard to) writing, he knows: 'This letter is to be made immediately after that letter'<sup>1</sup>—thus does mindfulness arise from reckoning.

How does mindfulness arise from calculation? From their being trained in calculation, accountants calculate even a large sum—thus does mindfulness arise from calculation.

How does mindfulness arise from bearing in mind? From those who bear in mind being trained to bear in mind, they bear even much in mind—[80] thus does mindfulness arise from bearing in mind.

How does mindfulness arise from (mental) development? As to this, a monk in many a figure recollects his former habitations, that is to say, one birth, and two births . . . thus with their mode and detail he recollects his former habitations—thus does mindfulness arise from (mental) development.

How does mindfulness arise from reference to books? When kings are recollecting a rule (of government), they have a book brought (to them) and recollect by means of that book—thus does mindfulness arise from reference to books.

How does mindfulness arise from association of ideas? If one has seen goods deposited nearby and remembers (other goods)<sup>2</sup>—thus does mindfulness arise from association of ideas.

How does mindfulness arise from what was experienced? From what was seen one remembers a material shape, from what was heard one remembers a sound, from what was smelt one remembers a smell, from what was tasted one remembers a flavour, from what was touched one remembers a touch, from what was cognized

<sup>1</sup> *akkhara*, syllable, letter of the alphabet. Cf. S. i. 38.

<sup>2</sup> The translation is here very conjectural. It might be quite literally: having seen goods laid aside, he remembers; *upanikkhattam bhāṇḍam disvā sarati*.

one remembers a mental state—thus does mindfulness arise from what was experienced. Mindfulness arises, sire, in these sixteen ways.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(ii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, when you speak<sup>1</sup> thus: ‘ If anyone should do what is unskilled for a hundred years but at the time of dying should obtain one mindfulness occupied with the Buddha,<sup>2</sup> he would uprise among the *devas*’—this I do not believe. And when you say this, ‘ Through one (case of) onslaught on creatures, he would arise in Niraya Hell ’—neither do I believe this.”<sup>3</sup>

“ What do you think about this, sire ? Could even a small stone float<sup>4</sup> on the water without a boat ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ But would it not float on the water, sire, if even a hundred cartloads of stones had been loaded into a boat ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, it would float.”

“ You must thus regard skilled deeds as a boat, sire.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(iii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, are you<sup>5</sup> striving for getting rid of past anguish ?”

“ No, sire.”

“ Then are you striving for getting rid of future anguish ?”

“ No, sire.”

<sup>1</sup> *tumhe bhanatha*. The plural probably implies that Nāgasena was speaking both his own thoughts and those that other bhikkhus held in common with him, rather than that it is a plural majesticus, addressed to one person. For though Milinda often uses the singular in addressing Nāgasena he constantly uses this plural form as well.

<sup>2</sup> *ekam Buddhagatam satim*; cf. S. i. 211. One might also compare the verses in the Sahassavagga of *Dhp*.

<sup>3</sup> At M. iii. 212 the Buddha is made to object to the statement that everyone who makes onslaught on creatures, etc. will arise in Niraya, because through kamma some might arise in a heaven world.

<sup>4</sup> *uppilaveyya*. See Morris, *JPTS*. 1887, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> *tumhe* throughout.

“Then, [81] are you striving for getting rid of present anguish?”

“No, sire.”

“If you are not striving for getting rid of either past, future or present anguish, then what are you striving for?”

The Elder said: “That this anguish should stop and no other anguish arise<sup>1</sup>—I am striving for that.”

“But, revered Nāgasena, is there a future anguish (now)?”

“There is not, sire.”

“You are very clever, revered Nāgasena, you who strive for getting rid of anguishes that do not exist.”

“But are there, sire, any hostile kings, adversaries or opponents, who have risen up against you?”

“Yes, revered sir, there are.”

“Was it then that you, sire, had a moat dug, a rampart raised, a city-gateway built, a watch-tower built and the grain brought in?”<sup>2</sup>

“No, revered sir, that had been attended to already.”

“Was it then that you, sire, trained yourself in elephant-craft, in horsemanship, in chariot-craft, in archery, in swordsmanship?”<sup>2</sup>

“No, revered sir, I had trained in those matters already.”

“For the sake of what?”

“For the sake of warding off future perils, revered sir.”

“So there is a future peril (now), sire?”

“There is not, revered sir.”

“You are very clever, sire, in that you prepare for the warding off of future perils.”

“Make a simile.”<sup>3</sup>

“What do you think about this, sire? If you were to become thirsty is it then that you would have a well dug, a tank dug, a reservoir dug, saying, ‘We will drink water?’”

<sup>1</sup> As at *Miln.* 31; also *Miln.* 66.

<sup>2</sup> Sequence as at *Miln.* 66.

<sup>3</sup> Trenckner has apparently added *bhiiyyo* to read *bhiiyyo opammam karohi ti*, though he says it is “wanting in all the MSS.” The addition seems hardly necessary.

“ No, revered sir, that has been attended to already.”

“ For the sake of what ?”

“ It has been attended to, revered sir, for the sake of warding off thirst in the future.”

“ So there is a future thirst (now), sire ?”

“ There is not, revered sir.”

“ You are very clever, sire, [82] in that you prepare for the warding off of future thirst.”

“ Make a further simile.”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? If you were to become hungry is it then that you would have a field ploughed and paddy sown, saying: ‘ We will eat rice ?’ ”

“ No, revered sir, that has been attended to already.”

“ For the sake of what ?”

“ For the sake of warding off hunger in the future, revered sir.”

“ So there is a future hunger (now), sire ?”

“ There is not, revered sir.”

“ You are very clever, sire, in that you prepare for the warding off of non-existent<sup>1</sup> future hunger.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(iv) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, how far is the Brahma-world from here ?”

“ Far from here, sire, is the Brahma-world. If a rock the size of a gabled house fell from it, falling day and night for forty-eight thousand *yojanas*, it would come to rest on the earth after four months.”<sup>2</sup>

“ Revered Nāgasena, you speak thus: ‘ As a strong man might stretch forth his bent arm or bend back his outstretched arm, even so a monk who has psychic power and has attained to mastery over his mind<sup>3</sup> may disappear from India and become manifest in the Brahma-world.’

<sup>1</sup> *asantānam* omitted in the cases of perils and thirst.

<sup>2</sup> This turns the Brahma-world into an upper region a measurable distance from the earth. It is not a world therefore that transcends time and “ historical ” events. Cf. R. Graves, *The Greek Myths*, vol. i, p. 37: “ Tartarus, a gloomy place in the Underworld, which lies as far distant from the earth as the earth does from the sky; it would take a falling anvil nine days to reach its bottom.”

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 377.

I do not believe these words (for) how could he go so many hundreds of *yojanas* so quickly?"

The Elder said: "Now where is the district, sire, where you were born?"

"There is a land between two rivers<sup>1</sup> called Alasanda,<sup>2</sup> revered sir. I was born there."

"How far is Alasanda from here?"

"The distance is two hundred *yojanas*,<sup>3</sup> revered sir.

"Have not you, sire, personal experience of some business you had done there,<sup>4</sup> being one who remembers?"<sup>5</sup>

"Yes, revered sir, I do remember."

"Speedily have you gone the distance of two hundred *yojanas*, sire."

"You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena."

(v) The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, if someone died here and uprose in the Brahma-world, and if someone died here and uprose in Kashmir, which of them is the longer, which the quicker (in uprising)?"

"They are equal, sire."

"Make a simile."

"Where [83] is the town, sire, where you were born?"

"There is a village called Kalasi, revered sir. I was born there."

"How far, sire, is the village of Kalasi from here?"

<sup>1</sup> See *Cambridge Hist. of India*, i. 550 for this meaning of *dvīpa* (*doab*) being right here, and referring to "the country between the Panjshir and Kābul rivers, in which the ruins of Alexander's city have been recognised near Chārikār."

<sup>2</sup> See *DPPN*. which takes this name as fem., but here it is masc. Probably "Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus—Alasanda of the Yonas, as it is called in the *Mahāvamsa* (xxix. 39)," *CHI*. i. 550. Geiger, *Mhvs. Transl.*, p. 194, n. 3, explains it in this passage as "Alexandria in the land of the Yonas, i.e., the Greeks, probably the town founded by the Macedonian king in the country of the Paropanisadae near Kābul. See Arrian, *Anabasis* iii. 28, iv. 22." See Lamotte, *Hist.*, p. 414, for some varying views as to the identity of this Alasanda.

<sup>3</sup> See *CHI*. i. 550 for the short *yojana* equal to about two and a half miles. If it is so interpreted here the distance would be correct, thus giving the statement "the appearance of truth."

<sup>4</sup> As at *Mūn.* 77.

<sup>5</sup> Taking *sarītā* in *sarītā ti* as *saritar*.

“ The distance is two hundred *yojanas*, revered sir.”

“ How far is Kashmir from here, sire ?”

“ Twelve *yojanas*, revered sir.”

“ Please do you, sire, think of the village of Kalasi.”

“ I have thought of it, revered sir.”

“ Please do you, sire, think of Kashmir.”

“ I have thought of it, revered sir.”

“ Now, which thought was the longer, sire, which the quicker (on the journey) ?”

“ They were equal, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, he who has died here and uprisen in the Brahma-world and he who has died here and uprisen in Kashmir arise exactly simultaneously.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Make a further simile.”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? If two birds were to fly through the air and one should alight on a tall tree and the other on a short tree, and if they came to rest simultaneously, whose shadow would fall on the earth first and whose shadow would fall on the earth later ?”

“ They (would fall) simultaneously, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, he who has died here and uprisen in the Brahma-world and he who has died here and uprisen in Kashmir arise exactly simultaneously.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(vi) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, how many limbs of awakening are there ?”

“ There are seven limbs of awakening, sire.”

“ By how many limbs of awakening does one awaken, revered sir ?”

“ One awakens by one limb of awakening, sire: by the limb of awakening that is investigation into things.”

“ Then why are seven limbs of awakening spoken of, revered sir ?”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? If a sword has been put into a sheath and not taken in the hand, is it able to cut anything you wanted to cut (with it) ?”

<sup>1</sup> *samakamī*, equally; in an equally long or short time from the time of death.

“ No, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, without the (other) six limbs of awakening one does not awaken by the limb of awakening that is investigation into things.”<sup>1</sup>

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(vii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, which is the greater, merit or demerit ?”<sup>2</sup>

“ Merit, [84] sire, is the greater, demerit is a trifle.”

“ In what way ?”

“ Sire, (someone) doing demerit is remorseful and says, ‘ An evil deed was done by me ’—therefore evil does not increase. But (someone), sire, doing merit, is not remorseful. Rapture is born of the absence of remorse, joy is born of rapture, the body of one who is joyful is impassible, when the body is impassible, he experiences happiness, the mind of one who is happy is concentrated,<sup>3</sup> and he who is concentrated comprehends as it really is—in this way merit increases.<sup>4</sup> If a man who has had his hands and feet cut off, sire, had given (merely) one handful of lotuses to the Lord, he will not go to the Downfall for ninety-one eons.<sup>5</sup> It is for this reason that I say merit is the greater, demerit a trifle.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(viii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, for whom is the greater demerit: he who does an evil deed knowingly, or he who does an evil deed unknowingly ?”

The Elder said: “ His is the greater demerit, sire, who does an evil deed unknowingly.”

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Asl.* 217 (*Expos.* ii. 294) on the “ harmony ” or the being all present of the seven limbs of awakening.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Miln.* 290 (*kusala*, skill).

<sup>3</sup> As at e.g., *Vin.* i. 294, *D.* i. 73, *M.* i. 283; cf. *A.* v. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Kvu.* 345 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ninety-one eons appears in the Pali Canon as some special unit of time. For example, 91 eons ago Vipassin was the Buddha (*D.* ii. 2); the Buddha Gotama claims that he can remember his former births for 91 eons (*M.* i. 483); and *Jā.* i. 390 says that 91 eons ago the Bodhisatta went forth as a Naked Ascetic—almost certainly the one the Buddha refers to at *M.* i. 483 as gaining heaven. See also *S.* iv. 324.

“ Well then, revered Nāgasena, do we doubly punish<sup>1</sup> that royal son of ours or the chief minister who does an evil deed unknowingly ?”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? If one (man) should unknowingly take hold of a red-hot ball of iron, aglow, aflame, ablaze, and another should take hold of it knowingly, which would be the more severely burnt ?”

“ He who took hold of it unknowingly, revered sir, would be the more severely burnt.”

“ Even so, sire, the greater demerit is his who does an evil deed unknowingly.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(ix) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, is there anyone who, while bearing this bodily frame, could go to Uttarakuru or the Brahma-world or another continent ?”<sup>2</sup>

“ There is he, sire, who by means of this body (formed) of the four great elementals<sup>3</sup> could go to Uttarakuru or the Brahma-world<sup>4</sup> or another continent.”

“ How, revered Nāgasena, could he go by means of this body (formed) of the four great elementals to Uttarakuru or the Brahma-world or another [85] continent ?”

“ Have you the personal experience, sire, of having jumped a span or a cubit on this earth ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, I have the personal experience. I jump even eight cubits, revered Nāgasena.”

“ How do you, sire, jump eight cubits ?”

“ Revered sir, I get the thought, ‘ I will alight here.’ With that thought my body is buoyant.”

<sup>1</sup> *daṇḍema*.

<sup>2</sup> *dīpa*, island; referring no doubt to the four great continents into which Indian thought divided the world.

<sup>3</sup> *mahābhūta*, of earth, water, heat and wind, standing for extension, cohesion, radiation and motion of which body is composed. In the Pali Canon these are four of the *dhātu*, elements.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Piṭaka expression: *yāva Brahmālokā pi kāyena vasaṃ vatteyyam*, by means of the body could he exert power even as far as the Brahma-world? But for *kāya*, “body,” meaning three mental factors, see *P. Purity*, 806, n. 2, and *Expos.* i. 199; this interpretation has not been adopted at *P.Pn.*, p. 770 f.

“ Even so, sire, the monk who has psychic power and has attained to mastery over his mind, co-ordinating his body to his mind goes above ground<sup>1</sup> by means of the mastery over his mind.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(x) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, when you speak thus: ‘ There are long bones extending for even a hundred *yojanas*,’ considering that there is not a tree extending for a hundred *yojanas*, how then could there be long bones extending for a hundred *yojanas* ?”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? Have you never heard that in the great ocean there are fishes extending for five hundred *yojanas* ?”<sup>2</sup>

“ Yes, revered sir, I have heard that.”

“ Surely the long bones of a fish that extends for five hundred *yojanas* must extend even for a hundred *yojanas* ?”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xi) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, you speak thus: ‘ It is possible to stop in-breathing and out-breathing.’ ”

“ Yes, sire, it is possible to stop in-breathing and out-breathing.”<sup>3</sup>

“ How is it possible, revered sir, to stop in-breathing and out-breathing ?”

“ What do you think about this, sire ? Have you ever heard anyone snoring ?”

“ Yes, I have heard (that).”

“ Now, sire, would not that sound be restrained if the body were bent ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, it would be restrained.”

“ As that sound, sire, can be restrained if the body be

<sup>1</sup> For *vehāsam gacchati* see *B.D.* i. 79.

<sup>2</sup> At *Vin.* ii. 238, *A.* iv. 200, *Ud.* 54 it is said that in the great ocean there are individualities, *attabhāvā*, five hundred *yojanas* long.

<sup>3</sup> As Gotama did before he attained Enlightenment, see *M.* i. 243 ff., ii. 212; *Jā.* i. 67.

bent by (a person whose) body is undeveloped,<sup>1</sup> whose moral habit is undeveloped, whose mentality is undeveloped, whose wisdom is undeveloped, why, (in the case of a person) whose body is developed, whose moral habit . . . whose mentality . . . whose wisdom is developed and who is possessed of the fourth meditation, could not his in-breathing and out-breathing be stopped ?”<sup>2</sup>

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, it is called ‘ the sea, the sea.’<sup>3</sup> For what reason is water spoken of as the sea ?”

[86] The Elder said: “ As is the size<sup>4</sup> of the water so is the amount<sup>4</sup> of salt; as is the amount of salt so is the size of the water. Therefore it is spoken of as the sea.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xiii) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, what is the reason that the sea is of one taste, the taste of salt ?”<sup>5</sup>

“ Because the sea of water has been established for a long time, sire, it is of one taste, the taste of salt.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xiv) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, is it possible to cut through everything subtle ?”

<sup>1</sup> Undeveloped, *abhāvita*, probably means uncontrolled, here referring to the body of a person who has not learnt how to control reaction to his sense-data. See *indriyabhāvanā* at *M.* iii. 298 ff., the *Indriyabhāvanasutta*, and notes on *indriya* and *bhāvanā* at *MLS.* iii. 346. Cf. also *M. Sta.* 118, the *Ānāpānasatisutta*, and see *M.* i. 301. See also undeveloped body, moral habit, mind and wisdom at *Miln.* 102.

<sup>2</sup> Though very painful feelings arose in the Bodhisatta and persisted, they did not impinge on his mind because he had subdued, restrained and dominated it. See *M.* i. 243 f.

<sup>3</sup> See *S.* iv. 157, but where the sea stands for the six senses.

<sup>4</sup> *yattakam* . . . *tattakam*.

<sup>5</sup> *Vin.* ii. 239, *A.* iv. 203, *Ud.* 56. In the *Vinaya* (e.g., i. 188) and the *Nikāyas* (e.g. *D.* 1. 8) speculation about the sea (*samudda-kkhāyika*) was held in disfavour as being “ worldly talk ” (*tiracchānakathā*). But Nāgasena appears to have had no such scruples, cf. *Miln.* 316.

“ Yes, sire, it is possible to cut through everything subtle.”

“ What, revered sir, is everything that is subtle ?”

“ Dhamma, sire, is all-subtle, but not all *dhammas*,<sup>1</sup> sire, are subtle; this is a synonym of *dhammas*, sire, ‘ subtle ’ or ‘ coarse. ’ Whatever is to be cut through, one cuts through it all by wisdom;<sup>2</sup> there is no second cutting through (than) by wisdom.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xv) The King said: “ Revered Nāgasena, when it is said ‘ consciousness ’ or ‘ wisdom ’ or ‘ the life-principle<sup>3</sup> in a creature, ’ are these things<sup>4</sup> different in connotation as well as in denotation, or are they the same in connotation and different only in denotation ?”<sup>5</sup>

“ Sire, a distinguishing mark of consciousness is discriminating, a distinguishing mark of wisdom is comprehending,<sup>6</sup> (but) the life-principle in a being cannot be got at.”

“ If the life-principle is not to be got at, how then does it see a material shape with the eye, smell a smell with the nose, hear a sound with the ear, taste a flavour with the tongue, feel a touch with the body, discriminate a mental state with the mind ?”

The Elder said: “ If the life-principle sees a material shape with the eye . . . discriminates a mental state with the mind, could that life-principle, if the doors of the eyes were destroyed, see a material shape still more clearly out there before it in the great space ? If the ears were destroyed, the nose destroyed, the tongue destroyed, the body destroyed, could that life-principle hear a sound, smell a smell, taste a flavour, feel a touch more clearly in the great space ?”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have retained this word for mental states, elements, things, conditions, etc. in the Pali here, to show clearly, as the Pali does, a distinction between the Dhamma and these *dhammā*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Miln.* 32.

<sup>3</sup> *jīva*; see above p. 41, n. 2 (on *puggala*) and *Miln.* 54.

<sup>4</sup> *dhammā*.

<sup>5</sup> See *M. Sta.* No. 43.

<sup>6</sup> *pajānana*. At *Miln.* p. 32 cutting off (or through) is said to be a distinguishing mark of wisdom, and at p. 39 illuminating.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. above, *Miln.* 55.

“ No, [87] revered sir.”

“ Well then, sire, the life-principle in a creature is not to be got at.”

“ You are dexterous, revered Nāgasena.”

(xvi) The Elder said: “ What is difficult to do, sire, was done by the Lord.”

“ But what was done by the Lord that is difficult to do, revered sir ?”

“ This that is difficult to do, sire, was done by the Lord: he pointed out the arrangement of these incorporeal mental states that are mental factors in consciousness<sup>1</sup> and occur in one objective support (for meditation),<sup>2</sup> saying, ‘ This is sensory impingement, this is feeling, this is perception, this is volition, this is thought.’ ”<sup>3</sup>

“ Make a simile.”<sup>4</sup>

“ Supposing, sire, some man had gone to the great sea in a boat and had taken some water in the hollow of his hand and tasted it with his tongue, would he know, sire, that that was water from the Ganges, that water from the Jumnā, that water from the Aciravatī, that water from the Sarabhū, that water from the Mahī ?”

“ It would be difficult to know (which water), revered sir.”

“ What is more difficult to do than this, sire, was done by the Lord when he pointed out the arrangement of these incorporeal mental states that are mental factors in consciousness and occur in one objective support (for meditation), saying: ‘ This is sensory impingement, this is feeling, this is perception, this is volition, this is thought.’ ”

The King was much pleased and said, “ Well done, revered sir.”

### The Seventh Division

<sup>1</sup> *cittacetāsikā dhammā*, as at *Mīln.* 49.

<sup>2</sup> *ekārammaṇe*.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is quoted at *Vism.* 438, *MA.* ii. 344, *SA.* ii. 294, *Asl.* 142. Cf. *Mīln.* 60, *S.* ii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Simile also given at *Asl.* 142.

The Elder said:<sup>1</sup> "Do you know, sire, what time it is now?"

"Yes, revered sir, I know. The first watch (of the night) is now passed, the middle watch is in progress, the torches are glowing, four flags are raised, royal offerings will go out from the treasury."

The Bactrian Greeks spoke thus: "You are dexterous, sire, and the monk is clever."

"Yes, sirs, the Elder is clever. Should there be a teacher such as he is and [88] a pupil such as I am, a clever person would soon learn Dhamma."

As the King was pleased with the answers to his questions he presented the Elder Nāgasena with a woollen blanket worth a hundred thousand (*kaḥāpaṇas*), saying: "Revered sir, from this day forth I will have eight hundred meals prepared for you and invite you to whatever is allowable (to you) in the palace."

"No, sire, I am (already) subsisting."<sup>2</sup>

"I know, revered Nāgasena, that you are (already) subsisting, yet you must protect yourself and protect me.<sup>3</sup> How do you protect yourself? Against the censure of other people who may come saying that though Nāgasena pleased King Milinda<sup>4</sup> yet he received nothing. That is how you protect yourself. How do you protect me? Against the censure of other people who may come saying that though King Milinda is pleased he gives no sign of being pleased. This is how you protect me."

"Let it so be, sire."

"As, revered sir, a lion, the king of beasts, that has been put in even a golden cage, is still 'facing outside,'<sup>5</sup> even so do I, revered sir, live as master in the house but remain 'facing outside.' But if I, revered sir, were to

<sup>1</sup> As the Third Section has an appendix so does this Seventh Section and in this Si. includes the above question.

<sup>2</sup> At *M.* ii. 102 Angulimāla refused King Pasenadi's offer to support him with the four requisites.

<sup>3</sup> By accepting his proposed gift.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, with his teaching or conversation.

<sup>5</sup> *bahimukha*, as at *Miln.* 54, 86, "out there before it."

go forth from home into homelessness I would not live long, so many are my enemies.”<sup>1</sup>

Then the venerable Nāgasena, having answered King Milinda’s questions, rising from his seat went to a residence for members of the Order.<sup>2</sup> Not long after the venerable Nāgasena had departed, it occurred to King Milinda: “What did I ask? What did the revered sir reply?” Then it occurred to King Milinda: “Everything was properly asked by me, everything properly answered by the revered sir.” And this also occurred to the venerable Nāgasena when he had arrived at the residence for members of the Order: “What did King Milinda ask? What did I reply?” Then it occurred to the venerable Nāgasena: “Everything was properly asked by King Milinda, everything properly answered by me.” Then, as that night was waning, the venerable Nāgasena, having dressed early in the morning, took his bowl and robe and approached King Milinda’s dwelling; when he had approached, he sat down on the appointed seat. When King Milinda had greeted the venerable Nāgasena [89] he sat down at a respectful distance and so sitting spoke to the venerable Nāgasena thus: “Do not let this occur to the revered sir: ‘Nāgasena was asked a question by me, and because of that did not sleep all through the night for rejoicing;’ this should not be understood by you thus. This occurred to me, revered sir, all through the night: ‘What did I ask? What did the revered sir reply? Everything was properly asked by me, everything properly answered by the revered sir.’” The Elder too spoke thus: “Do not let this occur to your majesty: ‘I answered King Milinda’s questions, and because of that went all through the night rejoicing;’ this should not be understood by you thus. This occurred to me, sire, all through the

<sup>1</sup> This view is in rather strong antithesis to Bimbisāra’s decree that “there is nothing to do against those who go forth among the sons of the Sakyans,” *Vin.* i. 75. Milinda seems to have thought that his enemies would destroy him if he gave up the protection of his armed forces.

<sup>2</sup> *saṃghārāma*.

night: 'What did King Milinda ask? What did I reply? Everything was properly asked by King Milinda, everything properly answered by me.'"

In this way these two great beings applauded what the other had said (so) well.<sup>1</sup>

Concluded are the Questions and Answers to Milinda's  
Questions

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<sup>1</sup> These words form the conclusion of *M. Sta.* 24. *Cf. M. i.* 32. *MilnT.*, p. 20, lets us know that the Questions on Talk of Secular Matters finishes here and that there have been 91 questions.

## [IV. THE DILEMMAS]<sup>1</sup>

[First Division 1: If the Buddha accepts homage]

- [90] Experienced in debating, skilled in discussion, very discerning, attentive,  
Milinda came to Nāgasena for the reception of knowledge.<sup>2</sup>  
Living in his shadow, asking again and again,  
Grown in discernment, he too was a three-Piṭaka-man.  
Pondering thoroughly the nine Divisions,<sup>3</sup> secluded during the night,  
He saw the questions that are dilemmas, hard to solve, with (their) refutations.  
There is speech that is disquisition, there is speech in reference to,  
There is speech with the essence in the Teaching of the King under Dhamma.  
Through not knowing the meaning of these dilemmas in the Conqueror's words  
There will be contention about them in the distant future.  
Come, being pleased with the speaker, I will have the dilemmas solved.  
In the future (people) will explain in the way that is explained (now).

Then at day-break when the sun was rising, King Milinda bathed his head and stretched his joined palms to his forehead in salutation, and when he had recollected the perfect Buddhas of the past, the future and the present, he undertook eight items of good practice,<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Miln.*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *nānābheda*, the effecting of knowing, the breaking through of knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> Into which the Teaching came to be classified, see *M.* i. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *vatapada*. Seven *vatapadāni*, ways of conduct, paths of duty, were undertaken by an unclothed ascetic at *D.* iii. 9; another, and a more Buddhist, seven by Sakka at *S.* i. 228; and a third seven, somewhat similar to *S.* i. 228, occur at *Jā.* i. 202, fulfilled by the Bodhisatta. Milinda's eight *vatapadāni* have nothing in common with any of these sets of seven.

thinking: "For seven days from now, undertaking eight special qualities<sup>1</sup> I must fare as an ascetic, so that I, being an ascetic who has practised and won the favour of a teacher, will ask questions that are dilemmas."

Then King Milinda removed his usual pair of cloths, unfastened his ornaments, clothed himself in saffron garments, and tying the (imitation) topknot of a shaveling to his head, assumed the status of a sage<sup>2</sup> and undertook the eight special qualities: "During these seven days no advice is to be given by me on royal affairs; I am not to harbour a thought accompanied by attachment; nor am I to harbour a thought accompanied by aversion; nor am I to harbour a thought accompanied by confusion; I am to speak unassumingly<sup>3</sup> to the slaves, workmen and servants; [91] I am to guard myself as to body and speech;<sup>4</sup> I am to guard the six sense-fields completely; I am to direct my mind to the development of loving-kindness."<sup>5</sup>

When he had undertaken these eight special qualities and had fixed his mind on these same eight special qualities, he passed the seven days without deviating from them. At day-break on the eighth day he had breakfast early and then with his eyes cast down, with measured speech, being firmly established in the postures<sup>6</sup> and having a mind that was clear, happy, elated and pure, he approached the Elder Nāgasena. Honouring the Elder's feet with his head and (then) standing at a respectful distance, he spoke thus:

"Revered Nāgasena, I have a certain matter to discuss with you and want no third person to be present. I could question you on it in some empty place in a secluded forest that is suitable in eight respects for a

<sup>1</sup> *guṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> *munibhāva*.

<sup>3</sup> *nivātavuttin*, humbly, as at *D.* iii. 192, *A.* iii. 43. Explained by the Comys as *nāca*, low, lowly.

<sup>4</sup> Restraint of body and speech constitutes *sīla*, morality.

<sup>5</sup> The first of the *brahmavihārā*. See *Miln.* 199 for *mettabhāvanā*, and for the method of developing this loving-kindness or friendliness see *Vism.* 195 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The four postures, *iriyāpatha*, are those of walking, standing still, sitting down and lying down, see *S.* v. 78.

recluse. Nothing therein should be hidden or kept secret from me; I am fit to hear what is kept secret after we have gone into proper consultation. The meaning can be tested by a simile, as it might be: 'As, revered Nāgasena, it is to the great earth<sup>1</sup> that it is fitting to consign (treasure) when occasion arises for so consigning it, even so am I fit, revered Nāgasena, to hear what is kept secret after we have gone into proper consultation.'

When he had entered a secluded wood<sup>2</sup> with the teacher,<sup>3</sup> he said: "Revered Nāgasena, there are eight places to be shunned by the man who here is anxious for consultation; no wise man deliberates a matter in these places because the matter deliberated comes to naught and is of no avail. What are the eight places? An uneven place is to be shunned, one that is frightening . . . a very windy place . . . a concealed place . . . a shrine to a deva<sup>4</sup> . . . a roadway . . . a bridge<sup>5</sup> . . . a ford across the water is to be shunned. These are the eight places to be shunned."

The Elder said: "What is the objection<sup>6</sup> to an uneven place, to one that is frightening, to one that is very windy, to one that is concealed, to a shrine to a deva, to a roadway, a bridge and a ford across the water?"

"In an uneven (place), [92] revered Nāgasena, the matter deliberated gets confused and shuffled about, it

<sup>1</sup> The earth is used in similes several times in *Miln.*

<sup>2</sup> *pavana*. For this being forest or wood, see authorities cited in *BHSD*, and also Jones, *Mhvu. Trans.* ii. 328, n. 2. Cf. below, *Miln.* 201 f. We should perhaps discriminate between the three words *arañña*, forest, *pavana*, wood, and *vana*, woodland.

<sup>3</sup> *guru*, here Nāgasena.

<sup>4</sup> *devatthāna*. Word also at *Miln.* 330. At *Jā.* iii. 55 it refers to Sakka's abode. But above it must be taken in the more general and terrestrial sense of a temple or shrine, *cetiya*, several of which were dedicated to, and supposed to be inhabited by, yakkhas and devatās. For further references to these shrines see *BD.* ii. p. 1, n. i.

<sup>5</sup> *saṅkama*, bridge or causeway; probably a suspension bridge made of bamboo, creepers or rattan. Below it is called *calācala*, oscillating, trembling, unsteady.

<sup>6</sup> *dosa*, the trouble, the stain; "the blemish," the defect, when used in a sense similar to the above at *Miln.* 245.

meanders<sup>1</sup> and is of no avail. In a frightening (place) the mind is disturbed; when it is disturbed it does not follow the matter properly. In a very windy (place) the sound of the voice is not distinct. In a concealed (place people) stand listening. In a shrine to a deva the matter deliberated changes considerably. On a roadway the matter deliberated becomes vain. On a bridge it becomes unsteady.<sup>2</sup> At a ford across the water it becomes public property. So it is:<sup>3</sup>

What is uneven, frightening, very windy, concealed,  
inhabited by devas,  
A roadway and a bridge, a ford—these eight are to be  
shunned.”

“Revered Nāgasena, when these eight (kinds of) persons are deliberating they spoil the matter that is being deliberated. Which are the eight? The one faring with attachment, the one faring with aversion, the one faring with confusion, the one faring with pride, the greedy man, the lazy man, he who thinks of one thing (only), and the fool. These eight (kinds of) persons spoil the matter that is being deliberated.”

The Elder said: “What is the objection to them?”

“Revered Nāgasena, the one faring with attachment spoils the matter that is being deliberated through (his) attachment, the one faring with aversion spoils . . . through (his) aversion, the one faring with confusion spoils . . . through (his) confusion, the one faring with pride spoils the matter that is being deliberated through (his) pride, the one who is greedy spoils . . . through (his) greed, the one who is lazy spoils . . . through (his) laziness, the man who thinks of one thing (only) spoils the matter that is being deliberated by thinking of one thing (only), the fool spoils the matter that is being deliberated by (his) foolishness. So it is:

<sup>1</sup> *paggharati*, oozes, trickles, perhaps “peters out” (?).

<sup>2</sup> *calācala*, as at *Divy.* 180, 281 (of the wheel of *samsāra*), in constant motion.

<sup>3</sup> Trenckner, *Miln.* Intr., p. vii, says “it is only in the *Milindapañho* that quotations, real or pretended, are introduced by “*bhavatiḥa*””. See also *bhavati ca* at *Miln.* 302.

Attached, malignant, and astray, and the proud (man),  
the greedy one, likewise the slothful,  
He of one thought (only), and the fool—these ruin the  
matter.

Revered Nāgasena, these nine individuals disclose a secret that has been deliberated, they do not keep it in their own minds. Which are the nine? One faring with attachment, one faring with aversion, one faring with confusion, a coward, one bent on material things, a woman, a drunkard, a eunuch, a youngster.”

The Elder said: “What is the objection to these?”

“Revered Nāgasena, one faring with attachment discloses a secret that has been deliberated and does not keep it to himself through (his) attachment, one faring with aversion discloses . . . through (his) aversion, one faring with confusion discloses . . . through (his) confusion, [93] a coward discloses . . . through fear, one bent on material things discloses . . . because of material things, a woman discloses . . . through fickleness, a drunkard discloses . . . through eagerness for strong drink, a eunuch discloses a secret that has been deliberated and does not keep it to himself through uncertainty, a youngster discloses a secret that has been deliberated and does not keep it to himself through unsteadiness. So it is:

Attached, malignant, and astray, and a coward, one with  
eyes for material things,

A woman, a drunkard, and a eunuch, the ninth is a  
youngster—

These nine individuals in the world are fickle, wavering,  
unsteady.

A secret deliberated by these quickly becomes public  
property.

Revered Nāgasena, in eight ways does discretion<sup>1</sup> ripen and come to maturity. In what eight? By a ripening in age . . . by a ripening in reputation . . . by frequent questioning . . . by association with a leader<sup>2</sup> . . . by proper attention . . . by conversation

<sup>1</sup> *buddhi*.

<sup>2</sup> *tittha*, a ford, a harbour. So here it appears to mean someone who makes another safe.

. . . by following what is (worthy of) affection . . . by living in a suitable district does (a man's) discretion ripen and come to maturity. So it is:

Through age, reputation, questions, association with a leader, proper (attention),  
Through conversation, following what is (worthy of) affection, and in a suitable (place)——

These eight causes make discretion clear.

In those in whom they exist, discretion is burst open.

Revered Nāgasena, this part of the world is lacking in the eight objections to deliberation, and in the world I am the best friend of deliberators; I am one that guards a secret, and will keep a secret for as long as I live. And in the eight ways my discretion has been ripening. A pupil such as I am is hard to obtain at present.

[94] When a pupil is practising rightly the teacher should rightly practise twenty-five special qualities of a teacher. What twenty-five special qualities? As to this, revered sir, the teacher should constantly and continuously keep a guard over his pupils; he should let each know what is not to be followed and what is to be followed;<sup>1</sup> he should let him know about slothfulness and diligence; he should let him know the occasions for lying down; he should let him know about illness;<sup>2</sup> he should let him know what food he may accept or reject;<sup>3</sup> he should let him know a particular quality (in food ?);<sup>3</sup> he should share with him what has gone into his bowl; he should console him, saying: 'Do not be afraid, the goal is approaching for you'; thinking: 'He is visiting this man,' he should let him know about the visit; he should let him know about a visit to a village; he should

<sup>1</sup> See *M.* iii. 45, *Sevitabba-asevitabba-sutta*.

<sup>2</sup> This may mean that the teacher tells the pupil something about medical matters; or there may be a reference to neither leaving the other until he recovers from an illness, see *Vin.* i. 50, 53.

<sup>3</sup> Food to be rejected is referred to at *Vin.* i. 318, and the *visesa*, the "particular quality" may be covered by this.

let him know about a visit to a monastery;<sup>1</sup> he should not hold (foolish) conversation with him; having seen a defect he should have patience with it;<sup>2</sup> he should be zealous;<sup>3</sup> he should do nothing partially;<sup>4</sup> he should keep nothing secret; he should hold nothing back; he should arouse the attitude of a begetter,<sup>5</sup> thinking: 'I have begotten him in the crafts; thinking: 'How should he not deteriorate?' he should arouse an attitude for growth; thinking: 'I will make him strong with the strength of the rules of training,' he should arouse the attitude (for strength); he should arouse an attitude of friendliness; he should not forsake him in distress; he should not be slothful in anything to be done; by means of the rule<sup>6</sup> he should befriend him if he stumbles. These, revered sir, are twenty-five special qualities in a teacher. May you treat me rightly in accordance with these special qualities. Doubt has arisen in me, revered sir. In the words of the Conqueror there are questions that are dilemmas. Contention about them will arise in the distant future, and in the distant future discerning (men) like you will be hard to find. Give insight<sup>7</sup> to these questions of mine for the refutation of those holding other tenets."<sup>8</sup>

The Elder, having agreed, saying: "It is good,"

<sup>1</sup> The visits to a man (*puggala*), village (*gāma*) and monastery (*vihāra*) perhaps contain an allusion to *M.* iii. 59 f., where these could be visited if certain good states ensued.

<sup>2</sup> *adhivāseti* can also mean to pardon; but it more likely means here that the teacher should patiently try to correct the pupil's *chidda*, fault, defect.

<sup>3</sup> *sakkaccakārin*, as at *S.* iii. 267.

<sup>4</sup> *akhaṇḍakārin*, as at *A.* ii. 187, 243.

<sup>5</sup> *janakacitta*; cf. *pitucitta* and *puttacitta* at *Vin.* i. 45: the attitude of a father and the attitude of a son (as between teacher and pupil).

<sup>6</sup> *dhammena*; see *Vin.* i. 61 where the teacher must make an effort to get the pupil to mend his ways so that any formal act that the Order proposes to carry out against him may be revoked.

<sup>7</sup> *cakkhu*, eye, eyesight, vision. *D.* iii. 219 gives three kinds: the physical eye, deva-like vision, and the eye of wisdom.

<sup>8</sup> In the Commentaries, at least, *paravāda* appears to have the same meaning as *parappavāda*, for *SA.* i. 25 defines the former and *MA.* ii. 5 the latter as the 62 "heretical" sects.

explained to the lay-devotee ten special qualities of a lay-devotee, saying: "These ten, sire, are special qualities in a lay-devotee. What ten? As to this, sire, a lay-devotee is of the same happiness and anguish as is the Order; he is under the dominating influence of Dhamma;<sup>1</sup> he delights in distributing (gifts) according to his strength; if he sees a decline in the Dispensation of the Conqueror he strives for an increase; he is of right view;<sup>2</sup> giving up the celebration of feasts, he does not propose (for himself) another teacher even for the sake of his livelihood; he is one delighting in peace, delighted by peace; he is not envious and he does not fare in the Dispensation [95] by hypocrisy; he has gone to the Buddha for refuge, he has gone to Dhamma for refuge, he has gone to the Order for refuge. These, sire, are ten special qualities in a lay-devotee. All these special qualities exist in you. It is fit and right, suitable and becoming that you, seeing a decline in the Dispensation of the Conqueror, wish for an increase (in it). I give you leave<sup>3</sup>—as you please, so question me."

Then, when leave had been given to him, King Milinda, falling at the teacher's feet and stretching his joined palms to his forehead in salutation, spoke thus: "Revered Nāgasena, these leaders<sup>4</sup> (of other sects) speak thus: 'If the Buddha accepts homage, then the Buddha has not attained final nibbāna,<sup>5</sup> he is (still) fettered to the world, is within the world, a sharer in the

<sup>1</sup> See *A.* i. 147 for three dominations, *adhipateyya*: that of self, that of the world, and that of Dhamma. At *A.* i. 149 the meaning of the domination of Dhamma is set forth.

<sup>2</sup> There is much in the Pali Canon about the importance of right view. See especially *M.* iii. 71 ff., in the Mahācattārīsaka-sutta, where it is constantly repeated that right view comes first: *sammā-ditthi pubbaṅgamā hoti*. *MA.* iv. 135 says there are five kinds of right view in this Discourse: through insight, *vipassanā*, of specific kamma, of the Way, of the fruits, and through reflection on.

<sup>3</sup> *karomi te okāsaṃ*, I give you permission or the opportunity (to ask questions). See *Vin.* i. 114, iv. 344.

<sup>4</sup> *tīthiya*, ford-makers.

<sup>5</sup> *parinibbuto*.

world,<sup>1</sup> therefore service rendered to him becomes barren and fruitless. But if he has attained final nibbāna he is released from the world,<sup>2</sup> he has escaped from all becomings; homage for him does not arise; one who has attained final nibbāna does not accept anything; service rendered to one who does not accept becomes barren and fruitless.' This is a double-pronged<sup>3</sup> question, this is not the sphere of those who have not attained perfection, this is the very sphere for great (men). Tear asunder this net of wrong views, set it to one side; this question is put to you. Give insight to the future sons of the Conqueror for the refutation of those holding other tenets."

The Elder said: "Sire, the Lord has attained final nibbāna, and the Lord does not accept homage. At the root of the Bodhi-tree itself acceptance was got rid of by the Tathāgata, all the more then now when he has attained final nibbāna in the element of nibbāna that has no substrate remaining (for further existence).<sup>4</sup> This, sire, was spoken by the Elder Sāriputta, the General under Dhamma:<sup>5</sup>

'Unequaled ones,<sup>6</sup> though homage is being paid them  
by men and devas,  
Accept no reverence—this is natural to Buddhas.'"

The King said: "Revered Nāgasena, a son speaks praise of his father or a father speaks praise of his son,

<sup>1</sup> *lokasādhāraṇa*; he has still the *khandhas* by which he may be reckoned as the man so-and-so.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *A.* i. 260, *S.* ii. 279.

<sup>3</sup> *ubhatokotika*, a point at both ends. At *M.* i. 393 the Jains arranged to ask the Buddha a question of this type. It is in fact a dilemma, a question having a "horn" both ways.

<sup>4</sup> See *Iti.*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>5</sup> The Buddha was the King under Dhamma, and Sāriputta his second-in-command, his general or captain, see *Sn.* 555-557, *M.* Sta. 92.

<sup>6</sup> *asamasama* is an epithet of past and future Buddhas, see *BudvA.* p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> Untraced; not one of Sāriputta's verses as recorded in *Thag.* or *Ap.*

but this is not a reason for the refutation of those holding other tenets; it is only an expression of their own satisfaction. Please do you tell me fully about this reason for [96] establishing your own tenets and disentangling the net of false views."

The Elder said: "Sire, the Lord has attained final nibbāna, and the Lord does not accept homage. If devas and men, after making a site for the jewel of the relics of the Tathāgata himself who does not accept (homage), then practise the right procedure with the (meditational) objective support<sup>1</sup> of the Tathāgata's jewel of knowledge, they achieve three attainments.<sup>2</sup> If, sire, an enormous mass of fire, having blazed up, should go out, yet, sire, would that mass of fire accept a (new) supply of grass and sticks?"

"While it was burning, revered sir, the great mass of fire did not accept a (new) supply of grass and sticks, so why should it accept one now when it has gone out, is allayed and incognizant?"<sup>3</sup>

"But, sire, when this mass of fire had ceased and was allayed would the world be empty of fire?"

"No, revered sir. Sticks are the foundation and fuel for fire and any people who desire a fire can, by their own sturdiness, strength and energy, each man acting individually,<sup>4</sup> twirling<sup>5</sup> a stick and producing a fire, do with this fire any work that is to be done by a fire."

"Well then, sire, false is the statement of members of other sects who say: 'A service rendered to one who does not accept becomes barren and fruitless.' As, sire,

<sup>1</sup> *ārammaṇa*, two kinds at *Vbh.A.* 403.

<sup>2</sup> *sampatti*. See *Miln.* 410: *diḅba-*, *mānusika-* and *-nibbānasukha-sampatti*. *Dh.A.* iii. 183 gives *manussa-*, *devaloka-*, *nibbāna-sampatti*, the first two no doubt referring to future states and the third to the here and now. *Netti.* p. 126 gives *sīla-*, *samādhi-*, *paññā-sampatti*. Other passages give more than three.

<sup>3</sup> *acetana* appears to be applied to various things in the realm of nature rather than to men. It means: unconscious, insensate, senseless, unthinking, having no volition. See *Miln.* 172 f.

<sup>4</sup> *paccattapurisakāra* as at *Miln.*, p. 347.

<sup>5</sup> *manthayitvā*. Cf. *matthena* (a churning-stick?) at *M.* iii. 141, and see note at *MLS.* iii. 186.

the enormous mass of fire blazed, even so did the Lord blaze with a Buddha's splendour in the ten-thousand-world-system. As, sire, when the enormous mass of fire had blazed up it went out, even so did the Lord, when he had blazed with a Buddha's splendour in the ten-thousand-world-system, attain final nibbāna in the element of nibbāna that has no substrate remaining (for further existence). As, sire, the mass of fire that has (now) gone out does not accept a (new) supply of grass and sticks, even so for the welfare of the world is (his) acceptance got rid of and allayed. As, sire, when a mass of fire has gone out and there is no fuel, people by their own sturdiness, strength and energy, each man acting individually, having twirled a stick and produced a fire, do with this fire work that is to be done by a fire—even so do devas and men, after making a site for the jewel of the relics of the Tathāgata himself who has attained final nibbāna and does not accept, [97] then practising the right procedure with the objective support of the Tathāgata's jewel of knowledge, achieve three attainments. It is in this way, sire, that service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes not barren but fruitful.

And moreover, sire, listen to this further way in which a service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes not barren but fruitful. Suppose, sire, after a huge wind had blown up it were to abate, then would that wind that has abated, sire, accept renewal<sup>1</sup> again?"

"Revered sir, when that wind has abated there is no (mental) concernedness or attention<sup>2</sup> (given) for renewal again. What is the reason? It is that this element of motion<sup>3</sup> is incognizant."

<sup>1</sup> *nibbattāpana*, reproducing, generating, being reborn.

<sup>2</sup> *ābhogo vā manasikāro vā*. The former is the mind's concernedness with a special aspect; the latter is (proper, reasoned) attention, bringing to mind, mind-work, and is defined at *Vbh.* 373.

<sup>3</sup> "Wind" is *vāta*; "motion" or "mobility" is *vāyo*, one of the four or six elements, *dhātu*.

“ Yet even, sire, when that wind has abated, would it receive the designation of ‘ wind ’? ”

“ No, revered sir. Palmyra-leaf fans and fans for fanning the fire<sup>1</sup> are (among the) conditions for producing a wind.<sup>2</sup> Any persons who are tormented by heat, oppressed by fever, can, through their own sturdiness, strength and energy, each person acting individually, create a wind by means of a palmyra-leaf fan or a fan for fanning the fire, and thus allay the heat and assuage the fever by means of that wind.”

“ Well then, sire, false is the statement of members of other sects who say: ‘ The service rendered to one who does not accept becomes barren and fruitless.’ As the huge wind blew, sire, even so has the Lord blown towards the ten-thousand-world-system with the cool, sweet, peaceful, exquisite wind of friendliness. As, sire, the huge wind which had blown then abated, even so did the Lord, when he had blown [towards the ten-thousand-world-system]<sup>3</sup> with the cool, sweet, peaceful, exquisite wind of friendliness, attain complete nibbāna in the element of nibbāna that has no substrate remaining (for further existence). As, sire, the wind that abated did not accept renewal again, even so for the welfare of the world is (his) acceptance got rid of and allayed. As, sire, were those persons who were tormented by heat and oppressed by fever, so are the devas and men who are oppressed by the fever and the scorching of the threefold fire.<sup>4</sup> As palmyra-leaf fans and fans for fanning the fire are (among the) conditions for producing a wind, so are the Tathāgata’s relics and the jewel of (his) knowledge the condition for [98] achieving three attainments. As when persons who are tormented by heat and oppressed by fever produce wind by means of a palmrya-leaf fan or a fan for fanning the fire, even so

<sup>1</sup> *tālavanta-vidhūpanāni*.

<sup>2</sup> See *M.* i. 189, and note at *MLS.* i. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Though the words in the brackets are omitted in the text, I think they are needed to balance not only the prior clause, but also the corresponding clauses in the similes of the great fire.

<sup>4</sup> No doubt of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*.

do devas and men produce what is skilled when they have paid homage to the relics and the jewel of the knowledge of the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept. And through what is skilled they allay and assuage the fever and the torment of the threefold fire. It is in this way too, sire, that service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes not barren but fruitful.

And moreover, sire, listen to this further way of refuting those who hold other tenets. As, sire, a man who has beaten on a drum might produce a sound, yet whatever be that sound of a drum the man has produced, it is a sound that must vanish. Moreover, sire, would the sound accept renewal again?"

"No, revered sir, the sound has vanished. There is no (mental) concernedness or attention (given) for it to uprising again. When each sound of a drum that has been produced then vanishes, that sound of the drum has been cut off, but the drum, revered sir, is the condition for producing the sound. If there is that condition, then a man who has beaten the drum through his own effort produces the sound."<sup>1</sup>

"Even so, sire, only when the Lord had appointed<sup>2</sup> as the teacher the jewel of the relics and Dhamma and Discipline and the instruction that are set round with moral habit, concentration, wisdom, freedom, the vision of knowledge and freedom, did he himself attain complete nibbāna in the element of nibbāna that has no substrate remaining (for further existence). But though the Lord has attained complete nibbāna, (the possibility that others can gain the) achievement of the attainments is not destroyed: beings who desire the attainments but are oppressed by the anguish of continued becoming, having made the jewel of the relics and Dhamma and Discipline and the instruction the condition, (can)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *D. ii.* 337-338, the allegory of the conch-blower.

<sup>2</sup> *thapayitvā*, an unusual form in Pali; cf. *BHS. sthāpayitvā*, "except," setting to one side. The implication intended here may be that, Buddha excepted, no one else can make such appointments.

achieve the attainments. It is in this way too, sire, that a service rendered to the Tathāgata, who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept, becomes not barren but fruitful.

And this, sire, was seen and spoken of and said and pointed out by the Lord concerning the distant future: 'It may be, Ānanda, that it occurs to you thus: [99] In the past there was the word of the Teacher. There is no Teacher now. But this must not be understood by you thus, Ānanda. Whatever was the Dhamma taught by me for you, Ānanda, and the Discipline that was laid down, that, after my passing, is (to be) your Teacher.'<sup>1</sup> That statement of those members of other sects who say: 'A service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes barren and fruitless,' is false, lying, not truthful, contrary, obstructed, equivocal, it is a giver of anguish, its result is anguish, leading to a sorrowful state.

And moreover, sire, listen to this further way in which a service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes not barren but fruitful. Now, sire, does this great earth accept, thinking: 'Let all seeds germinate on me'?"

"No, revered sir."

"But why is it, sire, that the seeds though not being accepted by the great earth yet germinate and, established with a strong tangle of roots, a trunk, pith, and spreading branches, bear flowers and fruit?"

"Although, revered sir, the great earth is not one that accepts, it is the foundation for these seeds, it gives the condition for their growth; these seeds, depending on that foundation and germinating because of that condition, are established with a strong tangle of roots, a trunk, pith and spreading branches, and bear flowers and fruit."

"Well then, sire, members of other sects are confounded by their own utterances, they are defeated and obstructed if they say: 'A service done to one who does

<sup>1</sup> D. ii. 154.

not accept is barren and fruitless.' As, sire, is the great earth, so is the Tathāgata, arahant, perfect Buddha. As, sire, the great earth accepts nothing, so the Tathāgata accepts nothing. As, sire, those seeds, depending on the great earth and germinating, are established with a strong tangle of roots, a trunk, pith, and spreading branches, and bear flowers and fruit, even so devas and men, depending on the relics and the jewel of knowledge of the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept, are established with a strong root of skill, trunk of concentration, the pith of Dhamma,<sup>1</sup> the branches of moral habit,<sup>2</sup> and they bear the flowers of freedom and the fruits of recluseship. It is in this [100] way too, sire, that a service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes not barren but fruitful.

And moreover, sire, listen to this further way in which a service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes not barren but fruitful. Now, sire, do these camels, oxen, asses, goats, beasts and men accept the occurrence of families of worms<sup>3</sup> inside them?"

"No, revered sir."

"Then how is it, sire, that these worms, though not being accepted by these (animals), occur inside them and increase enormously through their multitudinous offspring?"

"It is through the strength of evil kamma, revered sir, that, though these creatures do not accept, the worms inside them yet increase enormously through their multitudinous offspring."

"Even so, sire, it is through the strength of the objective support (of meditation) on the knowledge and the relics of the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept, that a service rendered to the Tathāgata is not barren but fruitful.

<sup>1</sup> *dhammasāra* at *S.* v. 402.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. sīlusākhappasāka* at *Jā.* vi. 324.

<sup>3</sup> These are the *kimi-kulāni*. For their life and habits, see *Vism.* 235 (32 kinds) and 258 (80 kinds); see also *KhpA.* 58 (32 kinds).

And moreover, sire, listen to this further way in which a service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes not barren but fruitful. Now, sire, do these people accept, saying: 'Let these ninety-eight diseases<sup>1</sup> be produced in the body?' "

"O no, revered sir."

"Then how is it, sire, that diseases attack the body of those who do not accept (them)?"

"It is because of former wrong faring, revered sir."

"If, sire, unskill done formerly is to be experienced here, then, sire, a deed, whether skilled or unskilled that was done formerly and done here, becomes not barren but fruitful. It is in this way too, sire, that a service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes not barren but fruitful.

Have you ever heard, sire, that after he had struck the Elder Sāriputta the yakkha named Nandaka<sup>2</sup> entered the earth?"

"Yes, revered sir, that has been heard (by me), it is commonly known in the world."

"But, sire, did the Elder Sāriputta consent to the great earth swallowing up the yakkha Nandaka?"

[101] "Even if the world with the devas were being torn apart,<sup>3</sup> revered sir, even if the moon and the sun were falling to the earth, even if Sineru, monarch of mountains, were crumbling away, the Elder Sāriputta would not consent to another's anguish. What is the reason for that? Any reason for which the Elder Sāriputta might get angry or do wrong has been completely rooted out and destroyed in the Elder Sāriputta,

<sup>1</sup> At *Sn.* 311 it is said that formerly there were only three diseases, but through the slaughtering of animals these (gradually) amounted to ninety-eight. *D.* iii. 75 also looks back to the time when the only diseases were wants, hunger and old age.

<sup>2</sup> The incident of a yakkha offending against Sāriputta is related at *Ud.* iv. 4, but the name of the yakkha is not given; also at *MA.* iv. 8, the yakkha there being called Nanda; and the incident is referred to at *ThagA.* iii. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *ubbattiyante*, cf. *Jā.* i. 199.

and because it is completely extirpated, revered sir, the Elder Sāriputta would not evince ill-will even were his own life being taken.”<sup>1</sup>

“ If, sire, the Elder Sāriputta did not consent to the earth swallowing up the yakkha Nandaka, how was it that the yakkha Nandaka entered the earth ?”

“ It was owing to the strength of an unskilled deed, revered sir.”

“ If, sire, the yakkha Nandaka entered the earth owing to the strength of an unskilled deed, a crime committed against one even though he does not consent becomes not barren but fruitful. Well then, sire, the service done through the strength of a skilled deed to one who does not consent also becomes not barren but fruitful. It is in this way too, sire, that a service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept becomes not barren but fruitful.

How many are the people in present times,<sup>2</sup> sire, who have entered the great earth ? Have you heard about that ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, it has been heard (by me).”

“ Please do you tell me, sire.”

“ The brahman girl Ciñcā,<sup>3</sup> revered sir, and Suppa-buddha the Sakyan<sup>4</sup> and the Elder Devadatta<sup>5</sup> and the yakkha Nandaka and the brahman youth Nanda.<sup>6</sup> I

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Parable of the Saw, *M.* i. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *etarahi*, probably here meaning during the present Buddha-epoch.

<sup>3</sup> A female wanderer. For the story of her offending against the Lord, see *Jā.* iv. 187 f., *DhA.* iii. 178 f. Referred to at *ItA.* i. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Father of Devadatta and Bhaddakaccānā (possibly). The story of the earth swallowing him for his having been annoyed with the Buddha is given at *DhA.* iii. 44 f.

<sup>5</sup> The story occurs at *DhA.* i. 147 f. See also *Miln.* 205.

<sup>6</sup> Nando māṇavako. *DPPN* under Nanda No. 17, says this probably refers to the man whom *DhA.* ii. 49 calls Ānanda-māṇavaka who raped Uppalavaṇṇā; at *MA.* iv. 8 her seducer is called Nanda-māṇavaka, while at *Vin.* iii. 35 he is simply *māṇavaka* and at *VinA.* i. 273 *pāpapurisa*. See *BD.* i. 53, n. 5 for the possibility that two Uppalavaṇṇās are known to the Pali Canon.

have heard, revered sir, that these five persons have entered the great earth."

"Against whom did they offend, sire?"

"Against the Lord, revered sir, and against disciples."

"But, sire, did the Lord or the disciples consent to their entering the great earth?"

"No, revered sir."

"Well then, sire, a service rendered to the Tathāgata who has attained complete nibbāna and does not accept is not barren but fruitful."

"Revered Nāgasena, the deep question that was properly formulated has been made clear, that which was hidden [102] has been made manifest, the knots have been severed, the thicket cleared, destroyed are those holding other tenets, shattered are wrong beliefs, without splendour are the wrong members of other sects; *you* have come to be the most excellent teacher of a host of followers."

[First Division 2: Was the Buddha omniscient?]

"Revered Nāgasena, was the Buddha omniscient?"<sup>1</sup>

"Yes, sire, the Lord was omniscient, but knowledge-and-vision was not constantly and continuously present to the Lord.<sup>2</sup> The Lord's omniscient knowledge was dependent on the adverting<sup>3</sup> (of his mind); when he adverted it he knew whatever it pleased (him to know)."

"Well then, revered Nāgasena, the Buddha was not omniscient if his omniscient knowledge was due to searching."

"If there were<sup>4</sup> a hundred cartloads, sire, and each cart had seven and a half measures of a certain capacity<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also *Miln.* 74, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 482.

<sup>3</sup> *āvajjana*, an Abhidhamma term for the first member of the *cittavāhi*.

<sup>4</sup> Trenckner marks this passage as corrupt, and it is certainly extremely difficult. It is quoted in rather different words at *AA.* i. 59.

<sup>5</sup> *ammaṇa*. Word occurs at *Mhvs.* xxx. 7, 9. See *Mhvs. Transl.*, p. 198, n. 3.

of rice and two measures of (another) capacity,<sup>1</sup> could (anyone) to whom the thought occurred to compute<sup>2</sup> the number of laks of rice-grains come to an end of them<sup>3</sup> and size up<sup>4</sup> their number in one moment ?

As to this, these seven kinds of mentality occur: the mentality of those, sire, who have attachment, who have aversion, who have confusion, who have defilements, whose body is not developed (for meditation), whose moral habit is not developed, whose mentality is not developed, whose intuitive wisdom is not developed.<sup>5</sup> The mentality of these arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly. For what reason ? The undeveloped state of (their) mentality. As, sire, difficult and sluggish is the movement of a (group of) bamboo-caness which are wide, broad, extended, entwined and entangled, the branches matted, as it is being dragged along—for what reason ? That the branches are entwined and entangled—so, sire, that mentality of those who have attachment, aversion, confusion, the defilements, whose body is not developed (for meditation), whose moral habit is not developed, whose mentality is not developed, whose intuitive wisdom is not developed, arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly. For what reason ? It is that they are entwined and entangled with the defilements. This is the first kind of mentality.

As to this, this second kind of mentality is distinguished (thus): the mentality, sire, of those stream-attainers for whom the sorrowful ways are shut off,<sup>6</sup> who have

<sup>1</sup> *tumba*. RhD., *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 18, gives 16 *pasata* (handfuls) = 4 *pattha* or *nāhi* = 1 *āhaka* or *tumba*.

<sup>2</sup> *thapiyamāne*, while making established; reading at *AA*. i. 59 *sarikkham upenti*. Cf. *thapayitvā* at *Miln.* 98.

<sup>3</sup> *parikkhaya*, waste, exhaustion.

<sup>4</sup> *pariyādāna*, invasion, seizure, one of two kinds mentioned at *MA*. ii. 61 f. being *khepana*, a word perhaps to be connected with (*pari*-) *kkhaya* in above meaning.

<sup>5</sup> Eight types of *citta* enumerated here, and seven also referred to at *Vbh.* 401. For the last four see *Miln.* 85.

<sup>6</sup> *pihitāpāya*. The stream-winner is bound for enlightenment and will not be reborn in any state of woe. Cf. *SA*. i. 282 *apāya-maggam pidahitvā*, having closed the way to the states of woe and so having opened the way to heaven. Beings who have other

attained right views and have understood the Teacher's instruction, uprises buoyantly,<sup>1</sup> [103] proceeds buoyantly as far as the three (lower) stages<sup>2</sup> are concerned, but as regards the higher planes<sup>3</sup> it arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly. For what reason? Because of utter purification of mentality in the three (lower) stages, and because of not having got rid of the defilements (to be got rid of) in the higher (planes). As, sire, (a group of) bamboo-canes that is free from knots as far as the third section comes buoyantly as it is being dragged along, yet because its branches are tangled above it is resistant above. For what reason? Because it is utterly clear below but there is a tangle of branches above. Even so, sire, the mentality of those stream-attainers to whom the sorrowful ways have become shut off, who have attained right views and understood the Teacher's instruction, uprises buoyantly, proceeds buoyantly as far as the three (lower) stages are concerned, but as regards the higher planes it arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly. For what reason? Because of utter purification<sup>4</sup> in the three (lower) stages, and because of not having got rid of the defilements (to be got rid of) in the higher (planes). This is the second kind of mentality.

As to this, this third kind of mentality is distinguished (thus): the mentality, sire, of those once-returners who have reduced attachment, aversion and confusion to the minimum arises buoyantly, proceeds buoyantly in the five (lower) stages,<sup>5</sup> but as regards the higher planes it arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly. For what

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thoughts and are of a different mentality are there called *apāya-pūrakā*, fillers of the sorrowful ways.

<sup>1</sup> *lahuka*, quickly or buoyantly. Cf. *citta lahuparivatta* at *Miln.* 106.

<sup>2</sup> *tīsu thānesu*, referring to the three fetters of "own body," of doubt, and of trust in the efficacy of ceremonies and good works.

<sup>3</sup> *uparibhūmisu*, perhaps referring to the four *jhāna* (see *Pts.* ii. 205, *Vism.* 384) where all defilements have been got rid of. Two kinds of *bhūmi* are given at *A.* i. 61, *Vism.* 439; four kinds at *Pts.* i. 83.

<sup>4</sup> *cittassa*, of mentality, omitted here.

<sup>5</sup> The first three fetters with the addition of those of desire for sense-pleasures, and ill-will.

reason? It is because of utter purification<sup>1</sup> in the five (lower) stages, and because of not having got rid of the defilements (to be got rid of) in the higher (planes). As, sire, (a group of) bamboo-canes that is free from knots as far as the fifth section comes buoyantly as it is being dragged along, yet because its branches are tangled above it is resistant above. For what reason? Because it is utterly clear below but there is a tangle of branches above. Even so, sire, the mentality of those once-returners who have reduced attachment, aversion and confusion to the minimum proceeds buoyantly as far as the five (lower) stages are concerned, but in regard to the higher planes it arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly. For what reason? Because of utter purification of mentality in the five (lower) stages, and because of not having got rid of the defilements (to be got rid of) in the higher (planes). This is the third kind of mentality.

As to this, this fourth kind of mentality is distinguished (thus): the mentality, sire, of those non-returners who have got rid of the five fetters binding to this lower (shore) arises buoyantly, proceeds buoyantly as far as the ten stages<sup>2</sup> are [104] concerned, but as regards the higher planes it arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly. For what reason? Because of utter purification in the ten stages, and because of not having got rid of the defilements (to be got rid of) in the higher (planes). As, sire, (a group of) bamboo-canes that is free from knots as far as the tenth section comes buoyantly as it is being dragged along, yet because its branches are tangled above it is resistant above. For what reason? Because it is utterly clear below, but there is a tangle of branches above. Even so, sire, the mentality of those non-returners who have got rid of the five fetters binding to this lower (shore) arises buoyantly, proceeds buoyantly as far as the ten stages are concerned, but in regard to

<sup>1</sup> *cittassa*, of mentality, omitted here.

<sup>2</sup> "This is noteworthy," as observed at *QKM.* i. 157 because non-returners have only got rid of the five fetters binding to this lower shore, and not all ten fetters or the defilements that come to be got rid of in the higher planes.

the higher planes it arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly. For what reason? Because of utter purification of mentality in the ten stages, and because of not having got rid of the defilements (to be got rid of) in the higher (planes). This is the fourth kind of mentality.

As to this, this fifth kind of mentality is distinguished (thus): the mentality, sire, of those arahants whose cankers are destroyed, whose stains<sup>1</sup> are washed away, whose defilements have been left behind, who have lived the life, done what was to be done, laid down the burden, attained their own welfare, utterly destroyed the fetters of becoming, won the analytical insights, and are utterly purified in the disciple's planes, arises buoyantly, proceeds buoyantly in regard to the disciples' range, but uprises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly in the planes of one who is a Buddha by and for himself.<sup>2</sup> For what reason? Because of utter purification in the disciples' range, and because of the lack of utter purification in the range of one who is a Buddha by and for himself. As, sire, the movement of (a group of) bamboo-caness is buoyant and not sluggish when, clear of all knots, it is being dragged along: what is the reason? It is because of the utter clearance as regards all knots, because of the lack of obstructions on the bamboo. Even so, sire, the mentality of those arahants whose cankers are destroyed, whose stains are washed away, whose defilements have been left behind, who have lived the life, done what was to be done, laid down the burden, attained their own welfare, utterly destroyed the fetters of becoming, won the analytical insights, and are utterly purified in the disciple's planes, arises buoyantly, proceeds buoyantly in regard to the disciples' range, and uprises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly in the planes of one who is a Buddha by and for himself. For what reason? Because of utter purification in the disciples' range, and because of the lack of utter purification in

<sup>1</sup> *mala*. Three kinds mentioned at *A. i.* 105 (*dussīla*, *issukī*, *maccharī*); eight kinds at *A. iv.* 195.

<sup>2</sup> *paccekabuddha*, "individual buddha," "hermit buddha," one who finds enlightenment by his own efforts but is unable to teach.

the range of one who is a Buddha by and for himself. This is the fifth kind of mentality.

[105] As to this, this sixth kind of mentality is distinguished (thus): the mentality, sire, of those who are Buddhas by and for themselves, self-dependent, without a teacher, faring alone like the horn of a rhinoceros, their minds utterly purified and spotless in their own range, arises buoyantly, proceeds buoyantly in regard to their own range, (but) arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly as regards the planes of an omniscient Buddha. For what reason? Because of utter purification in his own range, and because of the greatness of the range of an omniscient Buddha. As, sire, a man might cross a small river in his own locality without fear during the day or night as he desired, but if later he saw the great sea, deep, extensive, unfathomable, and no (shore) beyond, he would be afraid, hesitant, and would not venture to cross. For what reason? Because of the familiarity of his own locality, and because of the greatness of the great sea.<sup>1</sup> Even so, sire, the mentality of those who are Buddhas by and for themselves, self-dependent, without a teacher, faring alone like the horn of a rhinoceros, their minds utterly purified and spotless in their own range, arises buoyantly, proceeds buoyantly in regard to their own range, (but) arises with difficulty, proceeds sluggishly as regards the planes of an omniscient Buddha. For what reason? Because of utter purification in his own range, and because of the greatness of the range of an omniscient Buddha. This is the sixth kind of mentality.

As to this, this seventh kind of mentality is distinguished (thus:) the mentality, sire, of those Perfect Buddhas who are omniscient, the bearers of the ten powers,<sup>2</sup> confident with the four confidences,<sup>2</sup> possessed of the eighteen (special) Buddha-qualities,<sup>3</sup> Conquerors of the Unending,<sup>4</sup> their knowledge unobstructed, arises

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 488 where the Buddha is likened to the great ocean.

<sup>2</sup> See *M. Sta.* 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Buddha-dhammā*; cf. *Miln.* 216, 285.

<sup>4</sup> At *Vin.* i. 8 Upaka the Naked Ascetic is recorded to have told Gotama that he was fit to be a Conqueror of the Unending, *annta-  
rina*.

buoyantly and proceeds buoyantly everywhere. For what reason? Because it is everywhere utterly purified. Moreover, sire, is there let or hindrance<sup>1</sup> for an arrow<sup>2</sup> that is well cleaned, without a blemish, without a notch, with a fine edge, straight, unbent, not crooked, that has been fitted to a sturdy bow and shot by a strong man into a fine linen garment or a fine silken garment or a fine woollen garment?"

"No, revered sir. For what reason? It is due to the fineness of the garments, the clean state of the arrow, and the strength of the shot."

[106] "Even so, sire, the mentality of those Perfect Buddhas who are omniscient, the bearers of the ten powers, confident with the four confidences, possessed of the eighteen (special) Buddha-qualities, Conquerors of the Unending, their knowledge unobstructed, arises buoyantly and proceeds buoyantly everywhere. For what reason? Because it is everywhere utterly purified. This is the seventh kind of mentality.

As to this, sire, that mentality of the omniscient Buddhas, having passed beyond the computation of the (other) six (kinds of) mentality, is utterly pure and buoyant with innumerable special qualities. And because the Lord's mentality was utterly pure and buoyant, therefore, sire, the Lord showed forth the 'twin-miracle.'<sup>3</sup> The 'twin-miracle,' sire, should be known (thus): 'The mentality of Buddhas, Lords, is quickly changing,<sup>4</sup> and they are not able to perform a further

<sup>1</sup> *dandhāyitatattam vā layganam vā*, sluggishness or lagging.

<sup>2</sup> *nārāca*. See also *Miln.* 244, 418, and *M.* i. 429, *Jā.* iii. 322.

<sup>3</sup> A wonder the Buddha often performed. It consisted in the appearance in pairs, *yamaka*, of phenomena of opposing character, e.g., fire and water, see *Jā.* i. 77, 88; *DhA.* iii. 213; *Pts.* i. 125. This paragraph implies clearly that because, *yasmā*, the Lord's mentality was of a transcendent order, therefore, *tasmā*, pairs of opposites were transcended by him; this is symbolically expressed by the twin-miracle.

<sup>4</sup> *lahuparivatta*. See *A.* i. 10: "Monks, I know of no other single thing so quick to change as the mind, so much so it is not easy to illustrate how quick to change it is," quoted at *Kvu.* 205, and the last part at *Asl.* 61. To illustrate the speed, however, with which mind or thought or consciousness changes the simile of the

causally operative act. Even those wonders, sire, that derive from the mentality of omniscient Buddhas cannot be computed or reckoned or divided or separated.<sup>1</sup> Dependent on his adverting (his mind), sire, was the Lord's omniscient knowledge; when he had adverted it he knew whatever it pleased (him to know).<sup>2</sup> As, sire, a man could put into one hand anything that had been in the other, could utter a speech through his open mouth, could swallow food that was in his mouth, opening his eyes could close them, or closing his eyes could open them, and could stretch out his bent arms or bend in his outstretched arms, sooner than this, sire, more quickly the Lord's omniscient knowledge (could function), more quickly the adverting (of his mind); when he had adverted it, he knew whatever it pleased (him to know). While Buddhas, Lords, are not, even in the smallest degree, adverting (their minds) they are (still) omniscient."

"If the adverting, revered Nāgasena, is to be done by searching, please teach me the method."

"As, sire, a wealthy, rich and opulent man might have abundant possessions of gold and silver, natural and prepared crops and grain: paddy, rice, barley, rice-grain, sesamum, kidney-beans and beans, ghee, oil, butter, milk, curds, honey, [107] sugar and molasses stored in pots, round pots, vessels,<sup>3</sup> jars<sup>4</sup> and earthenware

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monkey travelling along the boughs of forest-trees was used (*S.* ii. 95, quoted at *Kvu.* 206) and "became classical in Buddhist countries," *KS.* ii. 66, n. 1. *Lahuparivatta* is also applied to a monkey's sleep, *VbhA.* 408. It is of course not to be confused with *cittakkhepa*, "mind-tossing," which may happen to a person when his mind is ruled by his body, *M.* i. 237, *Dhp.* 138. Both *kāya-* and *citta-lahutā*, lightness or buoyancy of body and mind, are defined at *Dhs.* 42, 43; at *Vism.* 465 they are to be regarded as opposed to the hindrance of sloth-and-torpor.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted at *SA.* ii. 99, *AA.* i. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 482.

<sup>3</sup> *pīṭhara*. Word unknown to me; perhaps it is something like *pitāka*, basket.

<sup>4</sup> *koṭṭha*, a usual word for "store-room," but not fitting in easily here. It would seem rather that some other kind of receptacle was meant. I have chosen "jars," for *koṭṭha* is anything hollow and closed in.

bowls; and if a guest should come to that man deserving a meal and longing for a meal, but if the food that had been cooked in that house had been finished, they should take rice-grain from a round pot and cook a meal (for him). Otherwise, sire, just so long as there was the least deficiency of food would not the man be called poor<sup>1</sup> and miserable?"

"No, revered sir; for, revered sir, even in the house of a wheel-turning king there is a deficiency of food at the wrong time (for eating), so why not in that of a householder?"

"Even so, sire, the omniscient knowledge of a Tathāgata may lack the smallest degree of advertent, but when he has adverted (his mind) he knows what it pleases (him to know). Or as, sire, there might be a tree laden with fruit, (its branches) bending low with the heavy weight of the clusters, yet no fruit had fallen anywhere—so, sire, for as long as there was a deficiency of fallen fruit would not the tree be called 'without fruit'?"

"No, revered sir. Those fruits of the tree are bound to fall; when they have fallen one takes them as one pleases."

"Even so, sire, dependent on his mind is a Tathāgata's omniscient knowledge; when he has adverted it he knows what it pleases (him to know)."

"Revered Nāgasena, when the Buddha had adverted (his mind) again and again, did he know what it pleased (him to know)?"

"Yes, sire, when the Buddha had adverted (his mind) again and again, he knew what it pleased (him to know). As, sire, when a wheel-turning king remembers the Treasure of the Wheel and thinks: 'Let the Treasure of the Wheel appear to me,'<sup>2</sup> the Treasure of the Wheel uprises while he is remembering it. Even so, sire, when the Tathāgata had adverted (his mind) again and again, he knew what it pleased (him to know)."

"Strong is the reasoning, revered Nāgasena. The Buddha was omniscient. I accept it that the Buddha was omniscient."

<sup>1</sup> *adhana*, without wealth.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M.* iii. 172.

[First Division 3: By whom was Devadatta allowed to go forth ?]<sup>1</sup>

“Revered Nāgasena, by whom was Devadatta allowed to go forth ?”

“There were these six noble-warrior youths, sire: Bhaddiya and Anuruddha and Ānanda and Bhagu and Kimbila and [108] Devadatta. The barber Upāli was the seventh.<sup>2</sup> After the Teacher was fully self-awakened they departed from their Sakyan homes in imitation of the Lord for the delight they felt in him. The Lord allowed them to go forth (into homelessness).”

“Was it not, revered sir, after Devadatta had gone forth that the Order was split ?”

“Yes, sire, it was after Devadatta had gone forth that the Order was split.<sup>3</sup> A householder does not split an Order nor does a nun or a probationer or a male or female novice split an Order. Only a regular monk belonging to the same communion, staying within the same boundary, splits an Order.”<sup>4</sup>

“What kamma, revered sir, does a man acquire who is a splitter of an Order ?”

“He acquires the kamma, sire, of enduring for an eon.”<sup>5</sup>

“But, revered sir, did the Buddha know that Devadatta would split the Order after he had gone forth, and that after he had split the Order he would boil in Niraya for an eon ?”

“Yes, sire, the Tathāgata knew that Devadatta would split the Order after he had gone forth, and that after he had split the Order he would boil in Niraya for an eon.”<sup>6</sup>

“If, revered Nāgasena, the Buddha knew that

<sup>1</sup> See *Miln.* 200 for the dilemma why, in past births, Devadatta was sometimes superior to the Bodhisatta.

<sup>2</sup> A version of their going forth is given at *Vin.* ii. 182; cf. *DhA.* i. 137 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Vin.* ii. 196 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Vin.* ii. 204.

<sup>5</sup> *Vin.* ii. 202, *M.* i. 393, *A.* iii. 402, iv. 160, where it is said Devadatta will stay in Niraya for a *kappa*, eon.

<sup>6</sup> *Vin.* ii. 198.

Devadatta would split the Order after he had gone forth and that after he had split the Order he would boil in Niraya for an eon, then, revered sir, false is the statement which says that the compassionate Buddha, merciful, was a seeker after welfare, and that when he had removed woe from all creatures he furnished them with welfare.<sup>1</sup> But if he let him go forth without knowing (this), then the Buddha was not omniscient. This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you; disentangle this great tangle, break the tenets held by others. In the distant future discerning monks like you will be hard to find. Show your strength in regard to it."

"Sire, the Lord was compassionate and omniscient. Sire, the Lord looking at Devadatta's bourn with compassion and omniscient knowledge saw that Devadatta, having done a deed the results of which are continuous, would go for various hundreds of thousands of *koṭis* of eons from Niraya to Niraya,<sup>2</sup> from Downfall to Downfall. The Lord, having known this through his omniscient knowledge, thinking: 'The unlimited deed<sup>3</sup> of anyone will become limited if he has gone forth in my Dispensation, [109] and the anguish produced by the former (kamma) will also be limited; but this foolish man who has not gone forth can do a deed that verily can endure for an eon'<sup>4</sup>—out of compassion allowed Devadatta to go forth."

"Well then, revered Nāgasena, the Buddha having injured (someone) then anoints him with oil; having thrown him down a precipice he gives him a hand; having killed him he seeks (to restore him to) life, so

<sup>1</sup> This quotation has not been traced. Part of it occurs again at *Miln.* 164. Cf. *M.* ii. 238, *anukampako Bhagavā hitesī*, the merciful Lord was a seeker after welfare; and *Budv.* xi. 17, *anukampako kāruṇiko hitesī*, merciful, compassionate, he was a seeker after the welfare (of all creatures).

<sup>2</sup> For descriptions of Niraya see *M.* Stas. 129, 130.

<sup>3</sup> *apariyantakata kamma*, unlimited as to results; no term is set to these results ever wearing to a karmic close, so they will go on continuously. This, however, will not happen to Devadatta as a result of his deed, see *Miln.* 111.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Kvu.* 476.

that, having given him that first anguish he later furnishes him with happiness."

"Sire, even if a Tathāgata injures (someone) it is for the welfare of creatures; even if he throws (a man) down (a precipice)<sup>1</sup> it is for the welfare of creatures; even if he kills (a man) it is for the welfare of creatures. Sire, even if a Tathāgata has injured (anyone) he furnishes creatures with welfare itself; even if he throws (anyone) down (a precipice) he furnishes creatures with welfare itself; even if he kills (someone) he furnishes creatures with welfare itself. As, sire, if parents have injured (a child) or even knocked it down, they yet furnish their children with welfare, even so, sire, if a Tathāgata injures . . . throws down . . . kills (someone) it is for the welfare of creatures; and when, sire, a Tathāgata has injured . . . thrown down . . . killed (someone) he furnishes creatures with welfare itself. By whatever (earnest) application<sup>2</sup> there was growth in special qualities for creatures, it was by that (earnest) application that he furnished all creatures with welfare itself. If, sire, Devadatta had not gone forth and had done much evil kamma conducing to Niraya while he was still in the householder's state, then for various hundreds of thousands of *koṭis* of eons, going from Niraya to Niraya and from Downfall to Downfall, he would have experienced abundant anguish. The Lord, knowing this, let Devadatta go forth<sup>3</sup> out of compassion, thinking: 'There will be limited anguish for one who has gone forth in my Dispensation,' and through his compassion he made the severe anguish light. As, sire, through the power of his wealth, fame, prosperity and relations, a strong man, while a relation or friend is bearing a severe punishment (inflicted on him) by the king, makes the severe punishment light through the great amount of confidence he

<sup>1</sup> *pāṭeti*, or to destroy, see *Miln.* 195-7. As regards a Tathāgata, these terms for injuring, etc., must be taken symbolically in the sense of destroying evil.

<sup>2</sup> *yoga*, earnest study or application of the mind. Cf. *Miln.* 169; at *KhpA.* 21 we find *bhesajjayoga*, application of a medicine.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *DhA.* i. 147.

enjoys (with the king) because of his competence, even so, sire, the Lord, having allowed Devadatta to go forth, and though he was one to experience anguish for many hundreds of thousands of *kotis* of eons,<sup>1</sup> [110] made the severe anguish light through the strength and competence of moral habit, concentration, intuitive wisdom and freedom. Or as, sire, a clever physician and surgeon through the power of a strong medicine makes a severe illness light, even so, sire, the Lord by his knowledge of (earnest) application<sup>2</sup> let Devadatta go forth, and though he was one to experience anguish for many hundreds of thousands of *kotis* of eons, he made his severe anguish light through the power of the medicine of Dhamma supported by the power of compassion. Now, sire, would not the Lord, making Devadatta suffer few (results instead of) many,<sup>3</sup> produce some demerit?"

"He would not produce any demerit, revered sir, even for an instant."<sup>4</sup>

"Then, sire, accept according to the meaning that reason for which the Lord let Devadatta go forth. Moreover, sire, listen to this further reason for which the Lord let Devadatta go forth. As, sire, when he had been captured an evil-doing thief would be shown to the king with the words: 'This thief, your majesty, is doing evil to you, inflict on him what punishment you wish;' and the king might speak thus concerning him: 'Well then, good fellow, take this thief outside the city and chop off his head in the execution-place.' 'Yes, your majesty,' and when he had answered the king in assent and had taken the thief outside the city and had led him to the execution-place, some (other) man might see

<sup>1</sup> The text reads as if Devadatta were actually experiencing all this anguish during thousands of myriads of eons, but as above it says he would have suffered during this immense amount of time *only* if he had remained in the householder's state, I have had to make the translation fit, although somewhat clumsily.

<sup>2</sup> *yogaññū*, as at *Miln.* 169.

<sup>3</sup> *bahavedaniyam* and *appavedaniyam* as at *A.* iv. 382, explained at *AA.* iv. 175 as giving and not giving many results, *vipāka*.

<sup>4</sup> *gaddhūhanamattam pi*. See *MLS.* iii. 173, n. 1.

him—one who had obtained a boon from the king and had obtained fame, wealth, riches, whose word was of weight, an influential man. Feeling compassion for him<sup>1</sup> (the thief), he might speak to these men (the executioners) thus: ‘Enough, sirs, what is the cutting off of his head to you? Why, sirs, cut off his hands and feet and preserve his life and I will make reply before the king for doing this.’ Owing to the power of his words, these might cut off the thief’s hands and feet and (so) preserve his life. Now, sire, would not that man, in acting thus, be doing his duty by the thief?’

“That man, sir, is a giver of life to that thief. After he had given him life, what was there he had not done for him?” “But [111] through those feelings which he aroused in having his hands and feet cut off did he not produce some demerit?”

“Revered sir, the painful feeling the thief felt was due to what he himself had done, and the man who gave him life would produce no demerit.”

“Even so, sire, the Lord out of compassion let Devadatta go forth, thinking: ‘The anguish for one who has gone forth in my Dispensation will be limited.’ And, sire, Devadatta’s anguish is limited. At the time when he was dying, sire, Devadatta, while (still) alive, went for refuge, saying:

‘With these bones to the chief of men,  
Deva above devas, charioteer of men to be tamed,  
All-visions one, with innumerable<sup>2</sup> marks of merit,  
To the Buddha for refuge I go with living creatures.’<sup>3</sup>

Devadatta, sire, in an eon composed of six parts split the Order at the end of the first part; then, when he has boiled in Niraya Hell for (the remaining) five parts and has got free from there, he will be a buddha by and for

<sup>1</sup> Lit. “he, doing compassion to him.”

<sup>2</sup> Lit. a hundred, *sata*; and the meaning may be “with the marks of a hundred merits.”

<sup>3</sup> This verse occurs also at *DhA.* i. 147. With the last line: *pāṇehi Buddhāṃ saraṇaṃ upemi*, cf. *M.* ii. 167, *Gotamaṃ . . . pāṇehi saraṇaṃ gato*.

himself named Atṭhissara.<sup>1</sup> Would not the Lord, sire, in acting thus, be doing his duty by Devadatta?"

"Revered Nāgasena, the Tathāgata was the giver of everything to Devadatta. That the Tathāgata should make Devadatta attain awakening by and for himself—what is there not done for Devadatta by the Tathāgata?"

"But, sire, when Devadatta had split the Order he experienced painful feelings in Niraya Hell. Would not the Lord produce any demerit from that source?"

"No, revered sir. Devadatta is boiled in Niraya Hell for an eon, revered sir, because of what he himself had done. The Teacher, the maker of limited anguish, does not produce any demerit."

"Sire, accept according to the meaning this reason also for which the Lord let Devadatta go forth. Moreover, sire, listen to this further reason for which the Lord let Devadatta go forth. Supposing, sire, [112] that a wound, full of old blood, had been perforated by an arrow going inside and is suddenly<sup>2</sup> attacked by the union of acute wind, bile, phlegm, change of season and the stress of circumstances,<sup>3</sup> and that in assuaging it a clever physician and surgeon smears the opening of the wound with a harsh, pungent, caustic, bitter medicament so as to heal it. When he has healed it and when what had become soft has been cut away with a knife, he cauterises it with a stick. After cauterising it, he administers a caustic lotion for accomplishing the cure<sup>4</sup> of the person who was afflicted by the disease by closing his wound. Now, sire, when the physician and surgeon smeared on the medicament, cut away with the knife, cauterised with the stick and administered the caustic lotion, did he have an ill-disposed mind?"

"No, revered sir, he did those things that had to be done with a well-disposed mind, desiring a cure."

"But were those painful feelings that arose while the

<sup>1</sup> Dh.A. i. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *opakkamikopakkantāṃ*.

<sup>3</sup> *visamaparihāra*; cf. A. ii. 87, *Miln.* 135. At *Miln.* 302 examples of adverse circumstances are given. See *KS.* iv. 155, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *soṭṭhibhāva*, safety, well-being.

physician and surgeon was doing what had to be done with the medicaments a source from which he might produce any demerit?"

"Revered sir, the physician and surgeon did those things that had to be done with a well-disposed mind, desiring a cure. So how could he produce any demerit from such a source? That physician and surgeon, revered sir, is one who will go to heaven."

"Even so, sire, it was out of compassion that the Lord let Devadatta go forth for the sake of freedom from anguish.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, sire, listen to this further reason for which the Lord let Devadatta go forth. As, sire, a man might be pierced by a thorn, and another man, desiring his welfare, desiring a cure, having cut all round with a sharp thorn or with the point of a knife, might extract that thorn though the blood were flowing out. Now, sire, would that man extract that thorn if he were desirous of woe?"

"No, revered sir, that man, desiring welfare, desiring a cure, extracts that thorn. If, revered sir, he did not extract that thorn, that man might come to death on account of it or to anguish like unto death."

"Even so, sire, it was out of compassion that the Tathāgata let Devadatta go forth for the sake of release from anguish. If, sire, the Lord had not let Devadatta go forth [113] Devadatta would have been boiled in Niraya Hell for a succession of becomings during hundreds of thousands of *koṭis* of eons."

"Revered Nāgasena, the Tathāgata made Devadatta go against the stream though he was going with the stream;<sup>2</sup> he brought Devadatta into the (right) path when he was faring along the wrong path; he gave Devadatta a foothold when he was falling down a precipice; the Tathāgata led Devadatta to evenness when he was going unevenly.<sup>3</sup> These, revered Nāgasena,

<sup>1</sup> *dukkhaparimutti*, as at *Miln.* 227.

<sup>2</sup> The symbolism is that of going upstream to the source which is nibbāna, or down-stream to the whirlpools and death that are pleasures of the senses.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *S. i.* 48, "ariyans fare evenly amid things uneven."

are the causes and these the reasons that cannot be pointed out except by one who is full of discernment such as you."

[First Division 4: The Causes of Earthquakes]

"Revered Nāgasena, this has been said by the Lord: 'There are, monks, these eight causes, eight conditions for the manifestation of a great earthquake.'<sup>1</sup> This was the complete utterance, this the entire utterance, this an unchangeable utterance. For there is no other, (no) ninth cause for the manifestation of a great earthquake. If, reverend Nāgasena, there had been another, a ninth cause for the manifestation of a great earthquake, the Lord would have spoken of that cause too. But inasmuch, reverend Nāgasena, as there is no other ninth cause for the manifestation of a great earthquake, therefore it has not been told of by the Lord. Yet this ninth cause of a great earthquake can be seen; for when the great offering was being given by King Vessantara the great earth trembled seven times.<sup>2</sup> If, reverend Nāgasena, there were only eight causes, eight conditions for the manifestation of a great earthquake, well then false is that statement which says: 'When the great offering was being given by King Vessantara the great earth trembled seven times.' But then if the great earth trembled seven times when the great offering was being given by King Vessantara, also false is that statement which says: 'There are only eight causes, eight conditions for the manifestation of a great earthquake.' This too is a double-pronged question, subtle, hard to disentangle, confusing and profound; it is put to you; [114] it is not possible for anyone but a discerning one such as you to answer (this question)."

"This was said by the Lord, sire: 'There are, monks,

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Dhamma-faring and even-faring are synonymous; both indicate that there is a treading of the right path. This path is narrow and straight, and those who follow it rightly do not fall down precipices.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *D.* ii. 107; *A.* iv. 312.

<sup>2</sup> See Vessantara Jātaka (*Jā.* No. 547), and *Jā.* i. 74.

these eight causes, eight conditions for the manifestation of a great earthquake.' But the great earth also trembled when the great offering was being given by King Vessantara. That was exceptional<sup>1</sup> however, it happened only once. It was separate from<sup>2</sup> the eight causes and therefore is not counted among the eight causes. As, sire, only three (kinds of) storm-clouds are counted in the world: those of the rains, those of the cold weather and those that are shedding rain; and if, besides these, another cloud sheds rain, that cloud is not counted among the clouds so considered and is merely reckoned as an exceptional cloud—even so, sire, while the great offering was being given by King Vessantara the great earth trembled seven times; but this was exceptional, it happened only once, and being separate from the eight causes is not counted among them. Or as, sire, five hundred rivers flow down from the Himalayan slopes, yet of these five hundred rivers, sire, only ten are counted as rivers, that is to say the Ganges, Jumnā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, Mahī, Sindhu,<sup>3</sup> Sarassatī, Vetravatī,<sup>4</sup> Vītaṃsā<sup>5</sup> and the Candabhāgā,<sup>6</sup> while the remaining rivers are not counted as rivers. For what reason? These rivers (sometimes) dry up.<sup>7</sup> Even so, sire, while the great offering was being given by King Vessantara, the great earth trembled seven times; but this was exceptional, it happened only once, and being separate from the eight causes is not counted among them. Or as, sire, a king has a hundred or two hundred ministers,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *akālika*, out of season, not at a right time.

<sup>2</sup> *vippamutta*, set free from, excluded from, outside. Probably "separate from" should render *vippayutta* rather than *vippamutta*, but the two readings are given at *Sn.* 914. Reading at *Si.* is *vimutta*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Indus.

<sup>4</sup> B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 35, says this is "identified with the modern Betvā, a small tributary of the Ganges," but at p. 40 he calls it "an affluent of the Jumnā on which stands Bhilsā."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55, the Jhelum.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, the Chināb, a tributary of the Indus.

<sup>7</sup> The water in these rivers is not permanent, *na tā nadiyo dhuvasahilā*.

<sup>8</sup> *amacca*. The six are perhaps confidants, intimate friends, see *DA.* 297; *amaccā ti piya-sahāyakā*, "ministers" means dear friends.

yet of these only six are counted as ministers, that is to say the general, the family priest, the judge, the surveyor of the store-houses, the bearer of the (state-) sunshade and the bearer of the sword (of state), and only these are counted as ministers. For what reason? Because they are connected with royal prerogatives. The rest are not so counted, they are all reckoned just as ministers. [115] Even so, sire, while the great offering was being given by King Vessantara, the great earth trembled seven times; but this was exceptional, it happened only once, and being separate from the eight causes is not counted among them.

Have you heard, sire, that there are at present in the Dispensation of the Conqueror deeds that are experienced here-now as happiness on account of services rendered, the renown of which has gone out among devas and mankind?"

"Yes, revered sir, I have heard that at present in the Dispensation of the Conqueror there are deeds that are experienced here-now as happiness on account of services rendered, the renown of which has gone out among devas and mankind. Seven are these people (who so experience deeds)."

"Who are they, sire?"

"Revered sir, Sumana the garland-maker<sup>1</sup> and the brahman Ekasāṭaka<sup>2</sup> and the hireling Puṇṇa<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned, with most of the other characters referred to here, at *Miln.* 291; also at *Miln.* 350, *Asl.* 426. His story is given at *DhA.* ii. 40 ff. and *KhpA.* 129 f., the former saying that in the future he will be a paccakabuddha named Sumana, while the latter gives his future name as Sumanissara.

<sup>2</sup> *DhA.* iii. 1 distinguishes in name between Mahā-ekasāṭaka and Cūlekasāṭaka, the former living, so it says, in the time of Vipassin the Buddha; the latter, living in the time of Gotama; he is probably the one referred to above, for see *Miln.* 291 where, when examples of persons in Gotama's life-time are wanted, Ekasāṭaka's name is cited. But their histories appear to be confused with each other. *AA.* i. 165 refers the brahman Ekasāṭaka to the time of the Buddha Vipassin.

<sup>3</sup> Puṇṇa or Puṇṇaka. Story given at *DhA.* iii. 302 ff., *AA.* i. 446 ff. and *VvA.* 63 ff.

Queen Mallikā<sup>1</sup> and Queen Gopālamātā<sup>2</sup> and the lay-woman devotee Suppiyā<sup>3</sup> and the slave-woman Puṇṇā.<sup>4</sup> These seven beings experience happiness here-now and their renown has gone out among devas and mankind.”

“ And have you further heard that in the distant past (beings) went to the abode of the Thirty(-Three) bearing a human bodily frame ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, I have heard that.”

“ Who were they, sire ?”

“ The musician Guttīlā<sup>5</sup> and King Sādhīna<sup>6</sup> and King Nimi<sup>7</sup> and King Mandhātā<sup>8</sup>—I have heard that these four persons went to the abode of the Thirty(-Three) bearing a human bodily frame; and I have heard that what was done well and what was done ill was done a very long time ago.”

“ Have you ever heard, sire, of the great earth trembling one or twice or thrice in the distant past or in the contemporaneous period when a gift was being given to this person or that ?”<sup>9</sup>

“ No, revered sir.”

“ Although, sire, I have received the tradition, (spiritual) realization,<sup>10</sup> the scriptures,<sup>11</sup> learning, power in training, and have wished to learn the interrogation and to attend on teachers, neither have I heard before of the great earth trembling once or twice or thrice when a gift was being given to this person or that, except for the case of the wonderful gift of Vessantara, the bull

<sup>1</sup> Pasenadi's queen. The relevant part of her story occurs at *Jā.* iii. 405. Cf. *Jtm.*, 3rd story, and *Divy.*, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Udena's queen. See *AA.* i. 207 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Vin.* i. 216 ff., *DhA.* i. 411.

<sup>4</sup> This may be the Puṇṇā who became a therī and an arahant (*Thig.* 236-251); see *MA.* ii. 136 f., *AA.* iv. 34, *DhA.* iii. 321.

<sup>5</sup> The Bodhisatta born as a musician, see *Jā.* ii. 248 ff. Mentioned also at *MA.* iii. 318, together with the next three persons.

<sup>6</sup> The Bodhisatta born as the King of Mithilā, see *Jā.* iv. 355-360.

<sup>7</sup> See *Jā.* vi. 96 ff., *M.* ii. 79 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Identified with the Bodhisatta, see *Jā.* ii. 310. For all of these eleven persons, see *DPPN.*

<sup>9</sup> *itthannāma*, lit. “ so-and-so,” “ such a one.”

<sup>10</sup> *adhigama*, “ arrival.” See *Miln.* 134.

<sup>11</sup> *pariyatti*; three kinds of *pariyatti* given at *MA.* ii. 107.

among kings. And though, sire, a period of time measuring a *koti* of years passed and was spent between the two Buddhas: the Lord Kassapa and the Lord Sakyamuni, [116] never have I heard that during that time when a gift was being given to this person or that the great earth trembled once or twice or thrice. The great earth does not tremble, sire, so long as there is (no more than ordinary) energy, so long as there is (no more than ordinary) exertion; but, sire, when it is weighted down by a load of special qualities, and is unable to sustain the load of special qualities which testify to complete purity by which it is weighted down, it is then that the great earth quakes, trembles, quivers. As, sire, when a wagon is weighted down by too heavy a load, the naves and rims split and the axle breaks,<sup>1</sup> even so, sire, when the great earth is weighted down by (such) a load of special qualities as testify to complete purity that it is unable to sustain them, then it quakes, trembles, quivers. Or as, sire, when the sky is covered over with the waters of the storm-driven winds and weighted down by the burden of massed rain(-clouds) which are tossed about by the tempest, it roars and howls and thunders, even so, sire, the great earth, weighted down by the burden of the extensive and massive power of King Vessantara's gift and unable to sustain it, quaked, trembled, quivered. It was not, sire, that King Vessantara's mind proceeded by way of attachment, not that it proceeded by way of aversion, not that it proceeded by way of confusion, not that it proceeded by way of pride, not that it proceeded by way of wrong views, not that it proceeded by way of the defilements, not that it proceeded by way of thought,<sup>2</sup> not that it proceeded by way of discontent, but that it proceeded by way of fulness in giving. And in thinking: 'How then, let future beggars come to me, and let beggars who have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Miln.* 238, 277.

<sup>2</sup> *vitakka*, a very difficult word to translate, see *Bud. Psych.*, p. 10, n. 1. Six kinds are given at *A.* i. 275; another six at *Vbh.* 346. The word is defined at *Dhs.* 7 and differently at *Vism.* 142. As "applied thought," above *Miln.* 63.

come obtain what they want and be satisfied'—it was that his mind was set continually and constantly on being a lord of givers. And, sire, King Vessantara's mind was set continually and constantly on ten points: on taming, calm, patience, control, restraint, constraint, lack of anger, lack of injuring, truthfulness, purity. The search for sense-pleasures, sire, had been got rid of by King Vessantara, the search for (continued) becoming had subsided; he showed zeal<sup>1</sup> only in the search for the Brahma-faring. Got rid of, sire, in King Vessantara was self-guarding;<sup>2</sup> he showed zeal for guarding others. His mind proceeded in fulness only with the thought: 'How then, let these creatures be harmonious, hale, wealthy, [117] of long life-spans.' And, sire, while King Vessantara was himself giving, he did not give that gift for the sake of success in (continued) becoming, he did not give for the sake of wealth, he did not give for the sake of a gift given in return, he did not give for the sake of diplomacy, he did not give for the sake of (long) life, he did not give for the sake of outward appearance,<sup>3</sup> he did not give for the sake of happiness, he did not give for the sake of power, he did not give for the sake of fame, he did not give for the sake of (obtaining) sons, he did not give for the sake of (obtaining) daughters, but it was for the sake of omniscient knowledge, it was because of the jewel of omniscient knowledge that he gave such a splendid gift, beyond compare, and unsurpassed in extent. When he had attained omniscience he spoke this verse:

'Jāli (my son), Kaṇhajāinā my daughter, the lady Maddi my devoted wife—

I forsook them all without a thought, simply because of enlightenment.'<sup>4</sup>

Sire, King Vessantara conquered anger by non-anger,

<sup>1</sup> *ussukkam āpanno*, cf. *DA.* 60: in explaining Tathāgata by *tathā āgata*.

<sup>2</sup> *attarakkhā*, But see *S.* i. 72f. where the guarded self, *rakkhito attā*, is praised.

<sup>3</sup> *vanna*, perhaps "making a show"; it can also mean beauty.

<sup>4</sup> Verse is at *Cp.* I. ix. 52.

he conquered what was bad by what was good, he conquered stinginess by giving, he conquered a liar by the truth,<sup>1</sup> he conquered all unskill by skill.

While he himself was giving thus, while he was following Dhamma, putting Dhamma before everything, the great winds raged below in a state of great strength and vigour because of the (king's) giving. And slowly, slowly, one by one, they blew up in confusion, subsided, rose up and whirled about;<sup>2</sup> leafless *pādapa*<sup>3</sup> (trees) crashed down; thunder clouds, densely massed, raced across the sky; dust-laden were the cruel winds, the sky obscured; the winds blew violently and incessantly; a huge terrifying sound arose; because of those agitated winds, slowly, slowly the water (began to) tremble; when the water was trembling, fish and turtles were jostled about;<sup>4</sup> waves formed in pair upon pair; creatures living in the water were terrified; the waves of water rolled on without a break between them,<sup>5</sup> the roar of the waves went on, terrible bubbles reared up, there were wreaths of foam, the great sea boiled up, the water rushed to all points of the compass, crests of water flowed from the mouth (of rivers) up-stream and down-stream; terrified were the asuras, garūlas, nāgas and yakkhas, and in their agitation thought: 'What now, how now, is the ocean turning upside-down?' and, alarmed, they sought a way of escape.<sup>6</sup> While the sea<sup>7</sup> was jostling and turgid, the great earth quaked with its mountains [118] and oceans. The rocky peak of a summit of Mount Sineru, twisting round was turned about; snakes, mongooses, cats, jackals, swine, deer and birds were in

<sup>1</sup> Same sentiments found at *Dhp.* 223.

<sup>2</sup> *oṇamanti unnamanti vinamanti.*

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned also at *Miln.* 376, *Vism.* 533, *PvA.* 251.

<sup>4</sup> *khubbhanti*, which I take as passive of *khubhati* though there is (*sañ*-)*khobheti*, see *PED*, s.v. *sañkhubhati*, to be shaken, agitated, to stir. A few lines below we get *khubhite jaladhare*, "while the sea was jostling."

<sup>5</sup> *yuganaddho*, bound in (their) couples, perhaps referring to their having formed "in pair upon pair," *yamaka-yamakū*.

<sup>6</sup> *gamanapatha*, a way to go by.

<sup>7</sup> *jaladhara*, bearing waters.

consternation; the yakkhas of little power<sup>1</sup> cried out, the yakkhas of great power<sup>1</sup> laughed—(all while) the great earth was quaking.

As, sire, when a fire is burning under a huge cauldron that is full of water and crammed with boiling rice, it first heats the cauldron; when the cauldron is heated it heats the water; when the water is heated it heats the boiling rice; and when the boiling rice is heated it rises to the surface and sinks again, it is like a bubble, it boils up with a wreath of scum. Even so, sire, King Vessantara relinquished what it is difficult to relinquish in the world. While he was relinquishing what it is difficult to relinquish, because of the nature of his gift the great winds below were agitated<sup>2</sup> and unable to support it; when the great winds were agitated<sup>3</sup> the water trembled; when the water trembled the great earth trembled so that the great wind, the water and the earth—these three—were as though one through the extent and power and energy which were the result of the great gift. There is, sire, no other gift so magnificent as King Vessantara's great and magnificent gift.

As, sire, many kinds of gems are found in the earth, that is to say: sapphire,<sup>4</sup> emerald,<sup>5</sup> *joti-rasa*,<sup>6</sup> lapis lazuli, *ummāpuppha*,<sup>7</sup> *sirīsapuppha*,<sup>8</sup> *manohara*,<sup>9</sup> the sun-gem,

<sup>1</sup> *yakkhā appesakkhā*, *yakkhā mahesakkhā*; cf. *mahesakkhā devatā*, *majjhimā devatā*, *nīcā devatā* (the devas of great, middling and lowly power) at *Vin.* i. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Text *parikuppimsu*, Si. *saṃkubbhimsu*.

<sup>3</sup> Text *parikupitesu*, Si. *parikubbhitesu*.

<sup>4</sup> *indanīla*. Uncertainty attaches to the names of many of these gems.

<sup>5</sup> *mahānīla*. This may be sapphire and *indanīla* emerald. *QKM.* i. 177 gives "the great sapphire," but what is this?

<sup>6</sup> *jotirasa*, "light-flavour"; the meaning of "wish-conferring gem" (*QKM.* i. 177) seems very doubtful in this context, and is apparently taken from *DhA.* i. 198. See *Mhvu. Transln.* ii. 437, n. 3. This jewel is also mentioned at *Ap.* 21, 27; and also at *Ap.* 22, 12 with *indanīla* and *mahānīla*. It might be a gem cut into the shape of a star, which is also *joti*.

<sup>7</sup> *ummā* is flax.

<sup>8</sup> *sirīsa* is a species of acacia.

<sup>9</sup> *PED.* tentatively suggests "the wishing gem." This fits the context better at *Miln.*, p. 354 than it does above. Mentioned again at *Miln.* 358.

the moon-gem,<sup>1</sup> diamond, *kajjopakkamaka*, topaz, ruby, cat's-eye—yet the Jewel of a Wheel-turner, surpassing all these, is pointed to as chief, (for), sire, the Jewel of a Wheel-turner sheds its light for a yojana all round.<sup>2</sup> Even so, sire, the great gift of King Vessantara, surpassing even whatever had been the most excellent and unparalleled gift on earth, is pointed to as chief. When King Vessantara's great gift was being given, sire, the great earth trembled seven times.”

“It is a wonder of the Buddhas, revered Nāgasena, it is a marvel of the Buddhas, revered Nāgasena, that when the Tathāgata was the Bodhisatta [119] he was unequalled in the world in regard to forbearance, mentality, resolve<sup>3</sup> and intention.<sup>4</sup> Revered Nāgasena, the exertion of the Bodhisattas has been shown, and to a greater degree the perfection<sup>5</sup> of the Conquerors illuminated, and it has been made manifest that as long as there is a Tathāgata faring the faring, that is the best state in the world with its devas. It is good, revered Nāgasena, the Teaching of the Conqueror has been extolled, the perfection of the Conqueror lit up, cut through are the verbal knots of leaders of other sects, shattered the water-pots<sup>6</sup> of those holding other tenets. The deep question has been made plain, the thicket cleared, rightly acquired is the way out<sup>7</sup> for the sons of the Conqueror. It is so, most excellent teacher of a host of followers, therefore do I accept it.”

[First Division 5: Sivrājā]<sup>8</sup>

“Revered Nāgasena, you speak thus: ‘When King Sivi had given his eyes to a beggar and was blind, deva-

<sup>1</sup> *candakanta*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M.* iii. 174.

<sup>3</sup> *adhimutti*, defined at *Vbh.* 340.

<sup>4</sup> *adhippāya*.

<sup>5</sup> *pāramī*, the going beyond, excellence, perfection.

<sup>6</sup> *kumbha*, jar or waterpot is sometimes used as here to symbolise fragility.

<sup>7</sup> *nibbāhana*, removing, clearing, leading out. Is the word peculiar to Miln. ?

<sup>8</sup> See *Jā.* No. 499.

like eyes arose (in him).’ But this utterance is faulty,<sup>1</sup> open to refutation and defective. It is said in a Sutta:<sup>2</sup> ‘With the removal of the cause, when there is no cause, no ground, there is no uprising of deva-like eyes.’ If, revered Nāgasena, King Sivi’s eyes were given to a beggar, well then false is that statement which says: ‘Deva-like eyes arose again (in him).’ But if deva-like eyes arose, well then, also false is that statement which says: ‘King Sivi’s eyes were given to a beggar.’ This too is a double-pronged question, more knotty than a knot, more prickly than a prickle, more tangled than a tangle; it is put to you. Generate desire herein for the way out<sup>3</sup> (of it) and the refutation of those holding other tenets.”

“Sire, King Sivi gave his eyes to a beggar; do not let doubt arise on that point. And deva-like eyes rose again (in him); do not produce doubt on that point either.”

“But is it then, revered Nāgasema, that a deva-like eye arises when, with the removal of the cause (for it), there is no cause, no ground?”

“O no, sire.”

“But what, revered sir, [120] is the reason in this case according to which when the cause had been removed and there was no cause, no ground, a deva-like eye arose? Please do you instruct me as to this reason.”

“But, sire, is there such a truth in the world by which speakers of truth (can) make an asseveration of truth?”<sup>4</sup>

“Yes, revered sir, there is such a truth in the world. By the truth, revered Nāgasena, when speakers of truth

<sup>1</sup> *sakasata*; cf. *M.* i. 281, *samaṇakasata*, faults in recluses; and *M.* i. 340 *manussakasata*, human guile. These may be “tasteless,” lacking in taste, *niroja*, as at *M.A.* ii. 325, but *kasata* itself “cannot mean simply ‘insipid’” as RhD. rightly points out at *QKM.* i. 179, n. 3. On the contrary, another meaning of *kasata* is acrid, nasty; *PED.* gives “bitter to eat, unpalatable.” For *sa-kasata* above therefore perhaps fig. “hard to swallow.”

<sup>2</sup> Untraced. Cf. the controverted point at *Kvu.* iii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *nibbāhanāya*.

<sup>4</sup> *saccakiriya*.

are making an asseveration of truth, they (can) cause rain to fall, fire to go out,<sup>1</sup> they (can) ward off poison<sup>2</sup> and do various other things they want to do."

"Well then, sire, it fits in and tallies that through the power of truth deva-like eyes arose in King Sivi. Through the power of truth, sire, when there was no (other) ground, a deva-like eye arose. In his case it was truth itself that became the ground for the uprising of the deva-like eye. As, sire, when some magicians<sup>3</sup> recite the truth, saying: 'Let the great cloud shed rain,' and through their recital of the truth the great cloud does shed rain, is there then, sire, a cause of rain existing<sup>4</sup> (already) in the sky due to which cause the great cloud sheds rain?"

"O no, revered sir, the truth itself is there the cause for the great cloud shedding rain."

"Even so, sire, there is not an ordinary cause for it, and here in our case the truth itself becomes the ground for the uprising of a deva-like eye.

Or as, sire, some magicians recite the truth, saying: 'Let the burning blazing great mass of fire turn back again,' and through their recital of the truth the burning blazing great mass of fire immediately<sup>5</sup> turns back again, is there then, sire, a cause (already) existing in the burning blazing great mass of fire due to which cause the burning blazing great mass of fire immediately turns back again?"

"O no, revered sir, the truth itself is there the ground for the immediate turning back again of that burning blazing great mass of fire."

"Even so, sire, there is not an ordinary cause for it,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Jā.* No. 35, where the Bodhisatta as a young quail stayed the onward drive of a great fire by an asseveration of truth. He addresses the fire as *Jātaveda* "a peculiarly holy and mystical epithet of Agni, the personification (in the Vedas) of the mysterious element of fire," T. W. Rhys Davids, *Bud. Birth Stories*, 1880, p. 302. At *Jā.* i. 172 this is spoken of as one of the four wonders in this *kappa* that will endure for the *kappa*; on this spot fire will never burn again. Cf. *Miln.* 152.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. *Jā.* iv. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *siddha*, an accomplished one.

<sup>4</sup> *sannacita*, assembled, accumulated. <sup>5</sup> *khanena*, in a moment.

and here in our case the truth itself becomes the ground for the uprising of a deva-like eye.

Or as, sire, some magicians recite the truth, saying: [121] 'Let the deadly poison become an antidote,'<sup>1</sup> and through their recital of the truth the deadly poison immediately becomes an antidote, is there then, sire, a cause (already) existing in that deadly poison due to which cause the deadly poison immediately becomes an antidote?"

"O no, revered sir, the truth itself is there the cause for the immediate repulsion of that deadly poison."

"Even so, sire, without an ordinary cause, here in our case the truth itself becomes the ground for the uprising of a deva-like eye.

And there is no other ground, sire, for the penetration of the four ariyan Truths. It is by making the truth the ground that (people) penetrate the four ariyan Truths.<sup>2</sup>

There was, sire, a King of Cīna<sup>3</sup> in the realm of Cīna. Wanting to make an oblation to the great sea, making an asseveration of truth every four months, he entered into the great sea for a *yojana* in a lion-chariot.<sup>4</sup> The great body of water retreated before the front of the chariot and, once it had passed by, covered (the place) again. Sire, is it possible to make that great sea retreat by the ordinary bodily power of (all) the devas and men in the world?"

"Even in a very small pool, revered sir, it is not possible to make the water retreat by the ordinary bodily power of even (all) the devas and men in the world. How then the waters of the great sea?"

"It is for this reason too, sire, that the power of truth

<sup>1</sup> *agada*, medicine or an antidote. Quotation so far untraced. Cf. *Miln.* 152, *Jā.* iv. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Trenckner remarks, p. 423, that this passage looks like an interpolation. On the other hand there may be a lacuna.

<sup>3</sup> The Pali name of China (?) mentioned several times in *Miln.* The source of the above story is so far untraced.

<sup>4</sup> Not necessarily "drawn by lions" (*PED.*, *QKM.* i. 182, *DPPN.* i. 875) but perhaps decorated with figures of lions or parts of lions; cf. *sīhamukha*, an ornament at the side of the naves of a royal chariot, *KhpA.* 172.

is to be known. There is not that place that is not accessible by truth.

Sire, in the city of Pāṭaliputta,<sup>1</sup> Asoka, the King under Dhamma, was (once) surrounded by (leading) townsmen<sup>2</sup> and countryfolk, by his ministers, the soldiers in strength, and his chief advisers. When he had seen the river Ganges flowing along full of fresh water, level with the bank, brimming up to an even level for a stretch of five hundred yojanas, and a yojana wide, he spoke thus to his ministers: 'Is there anyone capable, my good fellows, of making this great Ganges flow against the current?' His ministers said: 'It is difficult, your majesty.' But as the courtesan Bindumatī<sup>3</sup> was standing on that self-same bank of the Ganges she heard that the king had asked [122] whether it were possible for anyone to make the great Ganges flow against the current. She spoke thus: 'I am a courtesan in the town of Pāṭaliputta, a woman living on her beauty; it is the lowest form of livelihood. May the King please behold my asseveration of truth.' Then she made an asseveration of truth. At the moment of her asseveration of truth, the great Ganges flowed thundering against the current and was witnessed by a great body of people. And the King heard the tumultuous noise produced by the speed with which the waves were turned about; he was astonished and full of wonder and marvel, and spoke thus to his ministers: 'For whom, my good fellows, does this great Ganges flow against the current?'

'Sire, the courtesan Bindumatī heard your words and made an asseveration of truth in consequence of which the great Ganges is flowing upwards.'<sup>4</sup>

Then the King, his heart stirred by emotion, very

<sup>1</sup> The modern Patna, a town with a long history and enjoying its greatest glory in Asoka's reign.

<sup>2</sup> *negama*. The vaguer idea of "leading" comes in better here than does "urban council" (and rural council). See *BD* iv. 379, n. 6; also *Mhvu. Transl.* iii. 101; "town councillors," which seems a happy rendering.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps heard of nowhere but here.

<sup>4</sup> *ubhamukhā*, facing upwards, as at *S.* iii. 238, but in a different context.

hastily went himself to that courtesan and asked her: 'Is it true that you, good woman,<sup>1</sup> by your asseveration of truth, made this Ganges flow against the current?'

'Yes, your majesty.'

The King said: 'How do you have the power for that, or who that is not disordered in mind (can) take your words (seriously)? By what power can you make this Ganges flow against the current?'

She said: 'By the power of truth did I, sire, make this great Ganges flow against the current.'

The King said: 'How can there be a power of truth in you who are thievish, of abandoned life, not genuine, fraudulent, evil, who have broken the bounds (of decency), are lawless and live by plundering foolish people?'

'It is true, sire, that I am one like that, but even I, sire, who am one like that, have an asseveration of truth in consequence of which I, if I wish, can invert even the world with its devas.'<sup>2</sup>

The King said: 'But what is this asseveration of truth? Please tell me.'

'Whoever, sire, gives me wealth, whether he be a noble or a brahman or a merchant or a worker or anyone else, I minister to each in the same manner not thinking there is any special elegance in a noble or anything contemptible in a worker. I serve each lord of wealth without approval or repugnance. This was my asseveration of truth, your majesty, in consequence of which I made this great Ganges flow against the current.'

'Wherefore, sire, for those firm in truth there is no matter at all they cannot find. And, sire, King Sivi gave his eyes to a beggar [123] and deva-like eyes arose (in him); and that was through an asseveration of truth. So when it is said in a Sutta: 'When the physical eye is lost, there is no arising of a deva-like eye without a

<sup>1</sup> *je*, a usual mode of address from a superior to a slave-woman and other women of low occupations.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Vin.* iii. 7 where Moggallāna declares he can invert the earth (or turn it upside-down) with one hand (though not by an asseveration of truth) and the Buddha cautions him not to do so.

cause, without a ground,<sup>1</sup> that must be understood as said, sire, in reference to vision made by the development (of mind)."<sup>2</sup>

"It is good, revered Nāgasena, well explained is the question, well expressed the refutation, well crushed are those holding other tenets. It is so, therefore do I accept it."

[First Division 6: Descent into a Womb]

"Revered Nāgasena, this was said by the Lord:<sup>3</sup> 'On the conjunction of three (events), monks, there is a descent into a womb: when there is a coitus of the parents, and when it is the mother's season, and when the being to be born<sup>4</sup> is present. It is on the conjunction of these three (events) that there is a descent into a womb.' This was the complete utterance, this the entire utterance, this an unchangeable utterance, this an utterance (made) not in private for it was spoken while (the Lord) was sitting in the midst of devas and mankind. Yet on the conjunction of these two (events) descent into a womb was to be seen: when it was the time of the ascetic woman Pārikā's<sup>5</sup> season her navel was touched by the ascetic Dukūla<sup>5</sup> with the thumb of his right hand; from his touching her navel the boy Sāma<sup>5</sup> was produced. (Again), at the time when a brahman girl was having

<sup>1</sup> Untraced.

<sup>2</sup> *bhāvanāmayā cakkhu*. Technically, *bhāvanā* stands for mental development gained through meditation. Cf. *Indriyabhāvanā Sutta*, *M. Sta.* No. 152. Three kinds of "eye" are catalogued at *D. iii.* 219: the physical, the deva-like, and the eye of wisdom; cf. *Iti.* 61, quoted *Kvu.* 253. Five kinds are referred to, but not enumerated, at *MA. iii.* 407, the other two being *buddha-* and *samanta-cakkhu*. All five are described at *Nd. I.* 354 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *M. i.* 265-266, ii. 157.

<sup>4</sup> *gandhabba*, a saṃsāric entity seeking rebirth and about to enter a womb "driven on by the mechanism of kamma," *MA. ii.* 310. See note at *MLS. i.* 321.

<sup>5</sup> See *Sāmajātaka*, *Jā.* No. 540; *Syāmaka Jātaka*, *Mhvu.* ii. 209; story No. 44 in *The Jātakastava . . .* by Mark J. Dresden, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, N.S. vol. 45, Part 5, 1955, p. 441. Pārikā and Dukūla are identified as Bhaddā Kāpilāni and Mahā-Kassapa

her season her navel was touched by the seer Mātanga<sup>1</sup> with the thumb of his right hand; from his touch the brahman youth Maṇḍabya<sup>1</sup> was produced. If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord: ‘On the conjunction of three (events), monks, there is a descent into a womb,’ well then, false is that statement which says that the boy Sāma and the brahman youth Maṇḍabya were both produced by means of (the mother’s) navel being touched. If it was said by the Tathāgata that the boy Sāma and the brahman youth Maṇḍabya were produced by means of the (mother’s) navel being touched, well then, [124] also false is that statement which says: ‘On the conjunction of three (events), monks, there is a descent into a womb.’ This too is a double-pronged question, very profound, very subtle, it is in the province of discerning men; it is put to you; cut away the path of doubt, bear the splendid lamp of knowledge.”

“This, sire, was spoken by the Lord: ‘On the conjunction of three (events), monks, there is a descent into a womb. . . . It is on the conjunction of these three (events) that there is a descent into a womb.’ And this was said: ‘The boy Sāma and the brahman youth Maṇḍabya were produced by means of the touching of a navel.’”

“Well then, revered Nāgasena, instruct me in that reason according to which the question has been properly decided.”

“But have you ever heard, sire, how the boy Sankicca and the ascetic Isisinga and the Elder Kassapa the Boy were produced?”

“Yes, revered sir, I have heard that; their fame has spread abroad. When two does were in season they arrived at the urinal of two ascetics and drank urine

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respectively in earlier births, who at *ThagA.* iii. 132 f. punctiliously maintained their asceticism and celibacy. In the *Sāmajātaka*, etc. Sakka knew they would become blind and urged upon them the necessity of having a son—but they refused to contemplate the normal processes. See also *VinA.* i. 214. Sāma is referred to again below, *Mīln.* 198.

<sup>1</sup> See *Mātanga-jātaka*, *Jā.* No. 497.

with semen in it. Because of this the boy Sankicca and the ascetic Isisinga<sup>1</sup> were produced. (On another occasion) the Elder Udāyin, his mind inflamed, arrived at the nuns' quarters and, looking with longing on a nun's private parts, emitted semen on to his robe. Then the venerable Udāyin spoke thus to that nun: 'Go, sister, fetch water and I will wash my inner robe.' She said: 'Dear me, no, master, I will wash it myself.' Then that nun, whose season it was, took part of that semen in her mouth, placed part on her private parts and as a result the Elder Kassapa the Boy was produced.<sup>2</sup> This is what people say."

"But do you, sire, believe that utterance?"

"Yes, revered sir, we get at a powerful reason<sup>3</sup> in regard to it according to which we believe that they were produced by this action as (the material) cause."<sup>3</sup>

"But what, sire, is the action as (material) cause here?"

[125] "Revered sir, when the seed has gone into well prepared placenta<sup>4</sup> does it germinate quickly?"

"Yes, sire."

"Even so, revered sir, when the nun who was having her season took that semen and placed it in the placenta, the womb was prepared for it. We thus come back to this action as the (material) cause here for the production of these (children)."

"So it is, sire, therefore I accept it that when there is entrance upon a mode of life<sup>5</sup> the womb is needed."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cases of this second strange kind of birth are given at *Mhvu.* iii. 144, 153. For Isisinga see *Alambusā-jātaka*, *Jā.* No. 523 and *Nalinika-jātaka*, *Jā.* No. 526.

<sup>2</sup> This story is told at *Vin.* iii. 205 f., but the name of the child that was born is not given. It is likely that it was not Kumāra-Kassapa who was considered by Upāli, the great Vinaya expert contemporaneous with the Buddha, to have been conceived before his mother entered the Order, see *Jā.* i. 148, *AA.* i. 283 f., *DhA.* iii. 144 f., and *cf.* *AA.* i. 311. Whether therefore this is a slip on the part of the *Miln.* compiler or whether he was following some other tradition it is hard to say.

<sup>3</sup> *kāraṇa*, a word of various shades of meaning, see *PED.*

<sup>4</sup> *kalala*, as at *Miln.* 40, 49 (yolk).

<sup>5</sup> *yoni*.

<sup>6</sup> *sambhavati*. Translation here very tentative.

But do you agree, sire, that in the case of Kassapa the Boy there was a descending into the womb?"

"Yes, revered sir."

"It is good, sire, you have returned to my position,<sup>1</sup> for on one score you are following me when descent into a womb is being talked about. But then, when the two does who drank the urine conceived, do you believe of them that there was a descending into the womb?"

"Yes, revered sir. Everything whatever that is eaten, drunk, chewed or licked enters<sup>2</sup> the placenta and produces growth in the place where it has gone. As, revered Nāgasena, all the rivers whatever that enter the sea produce growth in the places where they have gone, even so, revered Nāgasena, everything whatever that is eaten, drunk, chewed or licked enters the placenta and produces growth in the place where it has gone. It is because of this action that I believe that even through what goes in by the mouth there is descent into a womb."

"It is good, sire, you have come even more strongly to my position. By what is drunk through the mouth there is also a conjunction of two (events). So you agree that in the cases of the boy Sankicca, the ascetic Isisinga and the Elder Kassapa the Boy there was a descending into a womb?"

"Yes, revered sir, (there was a) conjunction (and each) entered (a womb)."<sup>3</sup>

"Sire, in respect of the first among the three (necessary) conjunctions, the boy Sāma and the brahman youth Maṇḍabya were alike.<sup>4</sup> I will speak about this action as (material) cause. Sire, both the ascetic Dukūla and the female ascetic Pārikā were forest-dwellers, intent on aloofness, seekers after the highest goal; by the incandescence of their asceticism they radiated heat as far as the Brahma-world. [126] Then Sakka, chief of devas, came early in the morning to minister to them. Reflect-

<sup>1</sup> *visaya*, range, realm, province.

<sup>2</sup> *osarati*, goes down to; also to visit, to resort to.

<sup>3</sup> *sannipāto osarati*.

<sup>4</sup> *antogadhā ekarasā*, plunged within (or from *o-gāh*) contained in, included, comprised (they are) of one nature.

ing on them with a loving-kindness that amounted to esteem, he saw that in the distant future both would lose their sight. Seeing this, he spoke thus to them: ' Good people, if you do my one bidding, it is good; a son will be born to you who will be your attendant and supporter.' ' Enough, Kosiya,<sup>1</sup> do not speak thus ' and they did not agree to do his bidding. Sakka, chief of devas, compassionate and desiring their welfare, spoke to them thus a second and a third time: ' Good people, if you do my one bidding, it is good; a son will be born to you who will be your attendant and supporter.' And a third time these said: ' Enough, Kosiya, do not incite us with what is not the goal. How should this body not be broken up? As it is liable to breaking up, let this body break up; but though the earth were breaking up and a rocky crest were crashing down and the sky splitting and the moon and sun falling, we will not be mixed up with things of the world. Do not you come to us face to face, (so little do we have) this trust in your coming that we deem you fare after what is not the goal.' Thereupon Sakka, chief of devas, not getting a chance over their minds, but full of esteem, saluted them, entreated again: ' If you are not able to do my bidding, then do you, revered sir, when the woman ascetic has her season and it is her proper time, touch her navel with the thumb of your right hand. This itself is a conjunction for a descent into a womb.'

' I am able, Kosiya, to do your bidding. Our asceticism will not be broken on account of that. So be it' and they agreed.

At that time there was a young deva<sup>2</sup> in a deva-abode; he had the root of abounding skill and his life-span was exhausted. Having arrived at the exhaustion of his life-span he was able to descend (into a womb) according to his wishes, even into a family of a wheel-turning (monarch). Then Sakka, chief of devas, approached this young deva and spoke to him thus: ' Come, good fellow, very bright is the day for you, a successful outcome

<sup>1</sup> One of Sakka's names.

<sup>2</sup> *devaputta*. Cf. *Miln.* 6.

of your desire is possible in that I have come in order to minister to you; there will be a habitation<sup>1</sup> for you in pleasing conditions,<sup>2</sup> [127] there will be re-connection in a suitable family, you will be nurtured<sup>3</sup> by charming parents,' and he entreated him, saying: 'Come, please do my bidding.' And a second and a third time he entreated him, saluting him with his head. Then that young deva spoke thus: 'Which is that family, good sir, that you are so repeatedly<sup>4</sup> extolling?'

'The ascetic Dukūla and the woman ascetic Pārikā.' When he had heard his words he was pleased and agreed saying: 'It is good, good sir, let it be as you desire. I was myself longing to arise in the family that you wish<sup>5</sup> (for me), good sir. How do I arise in the family: egg-born or born of an embryo or moisture-born or of spontaneous generation?'<sup>6</sup>

'Arise by a mode of birth, good sir, that is born of an embryo.'

Then Sakka, chief of devas, having figured out the day of the uprising, announced it to the ascetic Dukūla saying: 'On such and such a day the woman ascetic will be in her season and menstruating. You must then, revered sir, touch her navel with the thumb of your right hand.'

On that day, sire, the woman ascetic had her season and was menstruating. On his arrival there the young deva was accommodated and the ascetic touched the woman ascetic's navel with the thumb of his right hand. Thus were these three conjunctions (present). Owing to the touch on her navel passion arose in the woman ascetic. But as that passion of hers was due to the touch on her navel, do you not deem that the conjunction

<sup>1</sup> *vāsa*, life.

<sup>2</sup> *okāsa*, location, opportunity, occasion, also appearance.

<sup>3</sup> *vaddhetabbo*, brought to growth.

<sup>4</sup> *abhikkhaṇam punappunam*, where one of the words is either redundant or put in for the sake of emphasis.

<sup>5</sup> *patthite kule*, in the requested, desired, "chosen" family.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *D.* iii. 230, *M.* i. 73 for the four *yoniyo* or modes of birth, of generation.

was a transgression, and think: 'The conjunction was only a mockery, the conjunction only a claim, the conjunction only a looking on with longing; from the arising of passion in some previous state a conjunction was produced by a touch, from (this) conjunction there was a descending (into a womb).' For it was through a touch, sire, that was not a transgression that there was descent into her womb. As, sire, they bring<sup>1</sup> coolness to one overcome (by the heat) of a fire that is burning by not touching it, even so, sire, through a touch that was not a transgression there was descent into (her) womb.

For creatures, sire, there is descent into a womb by four means: by means of kamma, by means of the mode of birth, by means of kind (family), by means of entreaty. Further, all these creatures are produced by kamma, have originated through kamma. [128] How, sire, is there a descent into a womb for creatures by means of kamma? Sire, beings who have the root of abounding skill arise according to their wish, whether in a family of rich warrior-nobles or in a family of rich brahmins or in a family of rich householders or among devas,<sup>2</sup> or by the mode of birth that is egg-born or by the mode of birth that is born of an embryo or by the mode of birth that is moisture-born or by the mode of birth that is of spontaneous generation. As, sire, a man who is rich, wealthy, opulent, with an abundance of gold and silver, with an abundance of appurtenances for prosperity, with an abundance of corn and crops, with an abundance of relations and adherents, having given wealth, buys twice or thrice according to his wish a woman slave or a man slave or a field or site or village or market-town or (a piece of) countryside or whatever he fancies; even so, sire, beings who have the root of abounding skill arise according to their wish, whether in a family of rich nobles . . . or by the mode of birth that is of spontaneous generation. It is by means of kamma that for creatures there is a descent into a womb thus.

<sup>1</sup> *vyapahanti*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M. Sta.* 120, where a monk of faith, moral habit, etc. may arise in any of such uprisings if he develops his mind for it.

How is there a descent into a womb for creatures by means of mode of birth? For fowl, sire, there is a descent into a womb by means of the air, for cranes by means of the sound of the storm-clouds,<sup>1</sup> while no devas are beings that lie in a womb. So for these (types of beings) a descent into a womb is in various manners. As, sire, men fare on the earth in various manners, some covering themselves in front, some covering themselves behind, some going naked, some being close-shaven and wearing white cloths, some wearing a top-knot, some being close-shaven and dressed in saffron robes, some being dressed in saffron robes and having a top-knot, some having matted-hair<sup>2</sup> and wearing bark garments, some being dressed in leather, some being clothed in rays<sup>3</sup>—as all these men, sire, fare on the earth in various manners, even so, sire, for all these beings descent into a womb is in various manners. Thus is a descent into a womb for creatures by means of mode of birth.

How is there a descent into a womb for creatures by means of kind (family)? Kind, sire, means these four kinds: that which is egg-born, that which is born of an embryo, [129] that which is moisture-born, that which is of spontaneous generation. If the being to be born<sup>4</sup> there has come no matter from where<sup>5</sup> and arises in an egg-born kind, he is there egg-born . . . in a kind born of an embryo . . . in a kind that is moisture-born . . . arises in a kind that is of spontaneous generation he is there of spontaneous generation. Beings such as these are produced among this or that kind. As, sire, whatever beasts or birds come to the Himalayan mountain-slope of Neru, all, putting off their own colour, are golden-

<sup>1</sup> There appears to be some traditional connection between cranes, *balākā*, and storm-clouds, *megha*. See *Thag.* 307, 308: *balākā . . . kālassa meghassa bhayena*, cranes . . . in fear of the black storm-cloud; and *cf. Vism.* 126 in simile: like cranes against a storm-cloud. This connection is not confined to India.

<sup>2</sup> *jaṭiṇo*.

<sup>3</sup> *rasmīyo nivāsenti*. Possibly, but not at all certainly, some reference to the halo round a Buddha's head or the rays emitted from his body.

<sup>4</sup> *gandhabba*, see above, p. 172, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *yato kutoci*.

coloured,<sup>1</sup> even so, sire, whatever being to be born has come no matter from where, then putting off the colour of its individual essence<sup>2</sup> and coming to a mode of life that is egg-born . . . born of an embryo . . . moisture-born . . . of spontaneous generation it is of spontaneous generation. Thus is descent into a womb for creatures by means of kind.

How is there a descent into a womb for creatures by means of entreaty? As to this sire, suppose there were a childless family of much property, believing, pious, of moral habit, lovely in character and attached to asceticism. And suppose there were a young deva, who has the root of abounding skill and is liable to deceasing (from the deva-world), and that Sakka, chief of devas, out of compassion for that family asks that young deva, saying: 'Direct yourself, good fellow, to the womb of the chief wife in a certain family,' and that he, because he is asked, then directs himself to that family. As, sire, when people desire merit, they ask a recluse who is developing his mind,<sup>3</sup> and then go home, thinking: 'When this one arrives it will be conducive to the happiness of the whole family,' even so, sire, when Sakka, chief of devas, asks that young deva he goes to that family. Thus is a descent into a womb for creatures by means of entreaty.

Sire, when the boy Sāma was asked by Sakka, chief of devas, he descended into the womb of the woman ascetic Pārikā. The boy Sāma, sire, had done merit; his parents were of moral habit, lovely in character; the petitioner was capable, and Sāma the boy was produced

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Neru Jātaka* (*Jā.* iii. 246 ff.) where all the birds and animals on the mountain look golden because of its lustre.

<sup>2</sup> *sabhāvavaṇṇa*. Both parts of the compound, *sabhāva* and *vaṇṇa*, are words of various meanings and shades of meaning, and the above translation is only approximate. But the sense is clear enough, and is that the being to be born can adapt itself to the circumstances or conditions (*okāsa*) prevailing in the "kind" (*kula*) where it is to be born. For to be born once in a certain kind does not necessarily mean that when the being is to be born again it must be born again in that same kind.

<sup>3</sup> *samaṇam manobhāvanīyam*; cf. *M.* ii. 23, iii. 261; *S.* iii. 1.

by means of a request made three times. As to this, sire, a methodical man might sow seed in a well ploughed watery field. Would there be any impediment to the growth of that seed if in the meantime it were undisturbed?"

[130] "Oh no, revered sir. Revered sir, if the seed meets no set-back it should germinate quickly."

"Even so, sire, the boy Sāma, released from any impediments that (might) have arisen, was produced by means of a request made three times. Moreover, sire, have you ever heard that an opulent, prosperous great province was extirpated with the populace by the ill-will of seers?"<sup>1</sup>

"Yes, revered sir, it is known on the earth that all the forests of Majjha,<sup>2</sup> Kālinga<sup>3</sup> and Mātanga<sup>4</sup> became not-forests, and that all these districts came to destruction through the ill-will of seers."

"If, sire, wealthy districts were extirpated through the ill-will of these, could anything be produced through their good-will?"

"Yes, revered sir."

"Well then, sire, the boy Sāma was produced by the serenity of mind<sup>5</sup> of three powerful (circumstances): he was fashioned by a seer, fashioned by a deva, fashioned by merit—understand it thus, sire. These three young devas, sire, each arose in a family at the request of Sakka, chief of devas. Which three? The boy Sāma, Panāda the Great,<sup>6</sup> King Kusa,<sup>7</sup> and these three were bodhisattas."<sup>8</sup>

"Well shown, revered Nāgasena, is descent into a womb, well told is the (material) cause, the darkness is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *M. Sta.* No. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Jā.* iv. 389, v. 267. These three forests are also mentioned at *M.* i. 378 with that of Daṇḍaka.

<sup>3</sup> *Jā.* v. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Jā.* v. 114, 267.

<sup>5</sup> *ceto-pasāda*, as at *A.* i. 9, *Iti.*, p. 14; cf. *Netti*, 139 (*cittapasāda*-), and clearly different from *mano-pasāda*, just above "good-will."

<sup>6</sup> See *Suruci-jātaka*, *Jā.* No. 489.

<sup>7</sup> See *Kusa-jātaka*, *Jā.* No. 531, and *Kusa-jātaka* at *Mhv.* ii. 419 ff. which differs considerably from the Pali version.

<sup>8</sup> Meaning that the Bodhisatta was born as each of them.

made light, the tangle disentangled, thrown over<sup>1</sup> are those holding other tenets. Thus it is, therefore do I accept it."

[First Division 7: The Duration of True Dhamma]

"Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: 'Ānanda, the true Dhamma will last now for only five hundred years.'<sup>2</sup> And again, at the time of the *parinibbāna*, in answer to a question put by the wanderer Subhadda the Lord said: 'If these monks were to live rightly, Subhadda, the world might not be empty of arahants.'<sup>3</sup> This was the complete utterance, this the entire utterance, this an unchangeable utterance. If, reverend Nāgasena, it was said by the Tathāgata: 'Ānanda, the true Dhamma will last now for only five hundred years,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'The world might not be empty of arahants.' [131] If (on the other hand) it was said by the Tathāgata: 'The world might not be empty of arahants,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'Ānanda, the true Dhamma will last now for only five hundred years.' This too is a double-pronged question, thicker than a thicket, more powerful than a powerful man, more knotty than a knot; it is put to you; show your pervading power of knowledge herein like a sea-monster in the midst of the ocean."

"This too, sire, was said by the Lord: 'Ānanda, the true Dhamma will last now for only five hundred years.' And at the time of the *parinibbāna* it was said to the wanderer Subhadda: 'If these monks were to live rightly,

<sup>1</sup> Or, thrown out: *nicchuddhā*. See Trenckner, *Miln.*, pp. 423-424, and *nicchubhati* at *Miln.* 187, and *nicchubhana* at *Miln.* 357. Si. reads *nippabhā*, without splendour or lustre, as at *Miln.* 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Vin.* ii. 256, *A.* iv. 278.

<sup>3</sup> *D.* ii. 152. "These monks" refer to the four types of *samana* mentioned in the Pali texts at e.g., *D.* i. 151, *M.* i. 63. They are described at *A.* ii. 86-90, *Pug.* 63. See also note at *GS.* ii. 96. According to *DA.* each type of monk is on one of the four Ways to arahantship, speaks of it to another person, and working at that Way, abides or fares rightly, *sammā viharati*. The four types of monks are thus resolved into twelve types.

Subhadda, the world might not be empty of arahants.' But, sire, this statement of the Lord's is different both in denotation and in connotation (from the other statement). As the one refers to a (time-)limit for the Teaching and the other to an illustration of its practice, these two (statements) are separated widely the one from the other. As, sire, the zenith is separated widely from the earth, as Niraya Hell is separated widely from heaven, as skill is separated widely from unskill, as happiness is separated widely from anguish, even so, sire, these two (statements) are separated widely the one from the other. But yet, sire, lest your question be vain, I will speak to you of their essential function,<sup>1</sup> bringing the two (statements) together.

When the Lord said: 'Ānanda, the true Dhamma will last now for only five hundred years,' then, while illustrating its destruction he delimited the remaining (time) saying: 'Ānanda, the true Dhamma would last for a thousand years if nuns had not gone forth. But, Ānanda, the true Dhamma will last now for only five hundred years.' But yet, sire, while the Lord was speaking thus did he speak of the disappearance of the true Dhamma or did he pour scorn on the understanding<sup>2</sup> (of it)?"

"O no, revered sir."

"Sire, declaring and illustrating what was lost, he delimited the remaining (time). Suppose, sire, a bankrupt man, having taken all that remained, should publicly explain, saying: 'So much of my property is lost, this is the [132] remainder,' even so, sire, the Lord illustrating what was lost spoke to devas and mankind of what remained, saying: 'Ānanda, the true Dhamma will last now for only five hundred years.' So this, sire, that was said by the Lord: 'Ānanda, the true Dhamma will last now for only five hundred years'—this refers to

<sup>1</sup> *rasato*, where *rasa* is probably to be taken as essential juice, function, nature.

<sup>2</sup> *abhisamaya*, clear understanding, penetration, is usually found in connection with the four Truths, which of course are central to Dhamma.

a (time-)limit for the Teaching. When at the time of the *parinibbāna* he said to the wanderer Subhadda, declaring it (too) to the recluses: 'If these monks, Subhadda, were to live rightly the world might not be empty of arahants,' this refers to an illustration of the practice (of the Teaching). But you have made of that (time-)limit and of that illustration one essential function. But if it is your desire I will speak to you, making a unity of (their) essential function.<sup>1</sup> Listen carefully, pay attention with a trustful mind.

In this case, sire, there might be a reservoir full of fresh water, overflowing at the brim, bounded by an embankment. Now, if the water in that reservoir were not dried up and a great cloud above it should pour down heavy and continuous rain, would the water in that reservoir, sire, be exhausted and dried up?"

"O no, revered sir."

"For what reason, sire?"

"Revered sir, because of the continuous downpour of rain from that cloud."

"Even so, sire, the reservoir of the excellent true Dhamma<sup>2</sup> in the Conqueror's Teaching is full of the fresh stainless waters of good behaviour, moral habit, special qualities, (right) custom and practice and, overflowing, it endures having surpassed the Acme of Becoming.<sup>3</sup> If the sons of the Buddha were to make the rain of the cloud of good behaviour, moral habit, special qualities, (right) custom and practice pour down heavily and continuously, so would this reservoir of the excellent true Dhamma in the Conqueror's Teaching last for a very long time and the world not be empty of arahants. This is the matter that was referred to by the Lord when he said: 'And if these monks, Subhadda, were to live

<sup>1</sup> *ekarasam katvā*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Dhammo rahado*, Dhamma is a lake, at *S. i.* 169.

<sup>3</sup> *bhavagga*, sometimes indicating that remaining births, if any, would be favourable. See e.g., *Vbh.* 426, where for those who have arrived at the acme of becoming *natthi koci bhavo nicco*, there is no continuous becoming . . . *parinibbanti anāsavā*, cankerless, they attain complete nibbāna. Word occurs at *S. iii.* 83.

rightly the world might not be empty of arahants.' And in this case, sire, if a great enormous mass of fire were burning and (people) were to heap it over and over again with dry grass and dry sticks and dry cow-dung, would that mass of fire go out, sire?"

[133] "O no, revered sir, more and more would that mass of fire burn, more and more would it blaze forth."

"Even so, sire, the excellent Teaching of the Conqueror burns and blazes forth in the ten-thousand-world-system through good behaviour, moral habit, special qualities, (right) custom and practice. But if, sire, the sons of the Buddha, endowed with the five limbs of striving<sup>1</sup> and constantly diligent, should strive still more, and if, with desire aroused, they should train themselves in the three trainings<sup>2</sup> and should fulfil completely the moral habits both in acting and avoiding, so would the excellent Teaching of the Conqueror last to a still higher degree for a very long time and the world might not be empty of arahants. This is the matter that was referred to by the Lord when he said: 'And if these monks, Subhadda, were to live rightly the world might not be empty of arahants.' And in this case, sire, if (people) were again and again to polish with a soft fine powder of red chalk a mirror that was (already) smooth, even, well polished, shining, stainless, would any stain, mud, dust and dirt appear on that mirror?"

"O no, sire. On the contrary, it would become even more stainless than before."

"Even so, sire, stainless by nature is the excellent Teaching of the Conqueror; dispelled are the dust and the dirt and the stain of the defilements. If the sons of the Buddha were to be submissive to the excellent Teaching of the Conqueror by means of good behaviour,

<sup>1</sup> *pañca padhāniyaṅga*, the five factors, qualities or limbs for striving; see *D.* iii. 237, *M.* ii. 95, 128, *A.* iii. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Morality, concentration and wisdom; cf. *Miln.* 237, *S.* iii. 83. At *D.* iii. 219, *A.* i. 234 ff., *Pts.* i. 46 the three trainings are explained in terms of *adhisīla-*, *adhicitta-*, and *adhipaññā-sikkhā*. See also *A.* iii. 444.

moral habit, special qualities, (right) custom and practice and the special quality of submissiveness and austerity, so would this excellent Teaching of the Conqueror last a long time and the world not be empty of arahants. This is the matter that was referred to by the Lord when he said: 'And if these monks, Subhadda, were to live rightly the world might not be empty of arahants.' Grounded on practice, sire, is the Dispensation of the Teacher, in practice is its essence. It will last so long as practice does not disappear."<sup>1</sup>

"Revered Nāgasena, when you speak of the disappearance of the true Dhamma,<sup>2</sup> what is this disappearance of the true Dhamma?"

"There are, sire, these three (modes of) disappearance of the Teaching. What are the three? There is the disappearance of (spiritual) realization,<sup>3</sup> the disappearance of (its) practice, the disappearance of (its) outward sign.<sup>4</sup> [134] When spiritual realization disappears, sire, there is no understanding of Dhamma even for one who is faring along properly; when practice disappears, the promulgation of the rules of training disappears; only the outward sign remains. When the outward sign disappears, there is a break in the tradition. These, sire, are the three (modes of) disappearance."

"Revered Nāgasena, the profound question that was properly formulated has been made clear, the knot is severed, destroyed are the tenets of others, shattered and

<sup>1</sup> Quoted at *AA.* i. 93, where the passage is styled a Sutta. At the end it reads *paṭipattiyā dharantaṃ tīṭṭhātī ti* whereas *Miln.* reads *paṭipattiyā anantarāhitāya tīṭṭhātī ti*.

<sup>2</sup> For five stages of decadence *cf.* the prose *Anāgatavaṃsa*, *JPTS* 1886, p. 34 and *AA.* i. 87; and for three stages, as above, *cf.* *MA.* iv. 115, *VbhA.* 431-432. See also *S.* ii. 224: the true Dhamma does not disappear until a counterfeit dhamma arises.

<sup>3</sup> *adhigama* is attainment of or arrival at the spiritual goal; and so proficiency. Explained at *AA.* i. 87 as referring to the four ways, the four fruits, the four analytical insights, the threefold knowledge and the six super- (or, direct-) knowledges. A fivefold *adhigama* is given at *Netti.* 91. *Cf.* *MA.* i. 6, *KhpA.* 103.

<sup>4</sup> *linga* (outward) character, that is of monks wearing the yellow robe.

without splendour.<sup>1</sup> *You* have come to be foremost<sup>2</sup> among teachers of schools.”

[First Division 8: The Lord has no Unskill]

“Revered Nāgasena, did the Tathāgata attain omniscience when he had burnt up all unskill, or did he attain omniscience while he had (some) unskill remaining?”

“The Lord, sire, attained omniscience when he had burnt up all unskill and there was no unskill remaining in the Lord.”<sup>3</sup>

“But, revered sir, did painful feelings ever arise in the Tathāgata’s body?”

“Yes, sire, when at Rājagaha the Lord’s foot was grazed by a splinter,<sup>4</sup> when he was ill with dysentery,<sup>5</sup> when his body was disturbed by humours and a purging was given him by Jīvaka,<sup>6</sup> when he was troubled by wind<sup>7</sup> and the Elder who was his attendant looked for hot water.”<sup>8</sup>

“If, revered Nāgasena, the Tathāgata attained omniscience when he had burnt up all unskill, well then, false is that statement which says: ‘When the Lord’s foot was grazed by a splinter, and when he was ill with

<sup>1</sup> *nippabhū*. Four kinds of *pabhā* are given at *A.* ii. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *usabha*, lit. the bull; cf. the bull’s place, which is the leader’s or Tathāgata’s place at *M.* i. 69, and the ten reasons for his claiming it.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *M.* ii. 115: The Tathāgata has got rid of all unskilled states and is possessed of skilled states.

<sup>4</sup> Also referred to at *S.* i. 27. The injury was inflicted by Devadatta, see *Miln.* 179, *Vin.* ii. 193; cf. *Jā.* No. 503, *SA.* i. 77 f. At *Ap.* i. 300 it is said that the injury to his foot was due to the ripening of a deed he had done earlier: hurling down a stone on two brothers.

<sup>5</sup> See *D.* ii. 127, *Ud.* 82.

<sup>6</sup> *Vin.* i. 279.

<sup>7</sup> *vātābādha*, wind-disease.

<sup>8</sup> This refers to the occasion recorded at *S.* i. 174 where Upavāna was the Lord’s attendant and got hot water for him from the brahman Devahita, and thus his illness subsided. See also *ThagA.* ii. 57 on Upavāna’s verses (*Thag.* 185-186). At *Vin.* i. 210 the attendant, Ānanda, gave the Lord conje (no mention of hot water) as he remembered that he had been eased by this “on a former occasion.”

dysentery, and so on.' If the Tathāgata's foot was grazed by a splinter and if he was ill with dysentery, and so on, well then, also false is that statement which says: 'The Tathāgata attained omniscience when he had burnt up all unskill.' Without kamma, revered sir, there is nothing that is experienced, all that is experienced is rooted in kamma, one experiences only through kamma. This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you; it is for you to solve."

"Sire, not all that is experienced is rooted in kamma. What is experienced, sire, arises from eight (material) causes by reason of which many beings experience feelings. What are the eight? Some things that are experienced here, sire, arise originating in the winds (of the body),<sup>1</sup> [135] arise originating in the bile . . . originating in phlegm . . . arise resulting from a union of the humours of the body . . . arise from a change of season . . . arise from the stress of circumstances<sup>2</sup> . . . arise suddenly,<sup>3</sup> some things that are experienced here, sire, arise born of the maturing of kamma. It is due to these eight (material) causes, sire, that many beings experience feelings. As to this, kamma oppresses<sup>4</sup> those beings who are beings who ward off the (material) cause; of these this utterance is false."

"Revered Nāgasena, all that belongs to the winds (of the body), to bile, phlegm, the union of the humours, that is born of a change of season, born of stress of circumstances, and that is sudden—all these originate in kamma only, all these are produced by kamma only."

"If, sire, all these were illnesses that originate in

<sup>1</sup> This sequence: winds, bile, phlegm, etc., recurs at *Miln.* 303, *S.* iv. 230, *A.* ii. 87, v. 110, though in *S.* and *A.* "winds" follow "phlegm."

<sup>2</sup> *visamāparihāra*; cf. *Miln.* 112.

<sup>3</sup> *opakkamika*, "due to effort" at *M.* i. 92, ii. 218. See *upakkama*, effort, below. But effort on the part of someone else is meant, such as flogging and imprisoning (*AA.* iii. 114) or striking (*MilnT.*) another person, to whom such actions come with suddenness, perhaps unexpectedly.

<sup>4</sup> *PED.* says *vibhādati* of text should read *vibādhati*, confirmed by *MilnT.*

kamma only, there would be no distinguishing marks for discriminating them (one from another). Wind (of the body), sire, itself being disturbed, is disturbed in a tenfold way: through cold, heat, hunger, thirst, over-eating, resting, striving, running after, effort,<sup>1</sup> the maturing of kamma. Those that are the (first) nine parts herein are neither in the past nor in the future, they arise in the becoming that is now in progress; therefore it should not be said: 'All feelings are produced by kamma.'

Bile, sire, itself being disturbed, is disturbed in a threefold way: through cold, heat, unwholesome food.<sup>2</sup>

Phlegm, sire, itself being disturbed, is disturbed in a threefold way: through cold, heat, food-and-drink. And, sire, that which is wind (of the body) and that which is bile and that which is phlegm, each, on being disturbed and being mixed with this ill-temper<sup>3</sup> or that, attracts its own feeling.

A feeling that is born of a change of season, sire, arises with a change of season. A feeling that is born of the stress of circumstances arises with the stress of the circumstances. There is a sudden feeling, sire, that is inoperative (as to result), there is (the feeling that is due to) the maturing of kamma. The feeling that is born of the maturing of kamma arises in consequence of a deed done earlier. Thus, sire, small is what is born of the maturing of kamma, greater is the remainder. As to that, fools [136] go beyond<sup>4</sup> (this knowledge), saying: 'It is all born simply from the maturing of kamma,' but failing the knowledge of a Buddha it is not possible to determine (the extent of) that kamma.

But, sire, when the Lord's foot was grazed by a splinter, what he experienced originated neither in the winds (of the body) nor in bile nor in phlegm, nor was there a union of the humours of the body, nor was it due

<sup>1</sup> *upakkama*, also meaning attack; doing, undertaking, effort; good or helpful means, remedy; unfair means, treachery.

<sup>2</sup> *visamabhojana*.

<sup>3</sup> *MilnT.*, with cold, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *atidhāvati* as at *M.* iii. 19. See *MLS.* iii. 69, n. 1, where I gave as colloquial meanings "to go one better than," "to improve on."

to a change of season, nor to the stress of circumstances, nor to the maturing of kamma. It was merely sudden. For Devadatta, sire, bore malice<sup>1</sup> against the Tathāgata during many hundreds of thousands of births. Because of that malice, he took a great heavy stone and thinking: 'I will let it fall on his head,' released it. But two other rocks, coming together, crushed<sup>2</sup> that stone before it reached the Tathāgata, though a fragment, broken off by the (force of the) blow, fell at the Lord's feet and drew blood. That feeling that was produced in the Lord, sire, was in consequence either of the maturing of kamma or of inoperativeness (as to result). There was no other feeling beyond that. As, sire, a seed does not germinate owing either to the poorness of the field or to the poorness of the seed, even so, sire, this feeling that was produced in the Lord was due either to the maturing of kamma or to inoperativeness (as to result), and there was no other feeling beyond that. Or as, sire, a meal turns unwholesome because of either the poorness of the stomach or the poorness of the food, even so, sire, this feeling that was produced in the Lord was due either to the maturing of kamma or to inoperativeness (as to result), and there was no other feeling beyond that.

Moreover, sire, there was no feeling in the Lord that was due to the maturing of kamma, no feeling due to the stress of circumstances. Feeling arose in the Lord from the remaining (six) origins. But in spite of that feeling it was not possible to deprive the Lord of life. Sire, feelings that are liked and disliked, that are pleasant and unpleasant fall on this body that is composed of the four great elementals.<sup>3</sup> Suppose, sire, a clod of earth were shot into the air and fell again on the great earth, would that clod of earth, sire, fall on the great earth because of what was done earlier?"

"No, revered sir. There is no cause, revered sir, in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *DhA.* ii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *sampaticchimsu*, agreed, received, accepted, intercepted; it is the word Milinda so constantly uses at the end of a discussion to mark his agreement with or acceptance of Nāgasena's arguments.

<sup>3</sup> Earth, water, warmth, air.

the great earth because of which the great earth could feel a maturing that is either skilled or unskilled; [137] that clod of earth, revered sir, falls on the great earth by reason of a present cause that is unconnected with kamma."

"Sire, the Tathāgata should be regarded as the great earth. As the clod of earth falls on the great earth not because of anything done earlier, even so, when the Tathāgata's foot was grazed by the splinter it was not because of anything done earlier. But people here, sire, break up the great earth and dig it. Do these people, sire, break up the great earth and dig it because of anything done earlier?"

"O no, revered sir."

"Even so, sire, when the Lord's foot was grazed by the splinter, that splinter did not graze it because of anything (the Lord had) done earlier. That illness of dysentery, sire, that arose in the Lord was not an illness that arose because of anything (he had) done earlier; it arose simply in connection with the union of the humours of the body. None of the bodily illnesses that arose in the Lord, sire, was produced by kamma but from one or other of those (remaining) six origins.

"This too, sire, was said by the Lord, the deva above devas, in an explanation to Moliyasīvaka in the splendid exposition,<sup>1</sup> the *Samyuttanikāya*:<sup>2</sup> 'Some things that are experienced here, Sīvaka, arise originating in bile; and this is to be understood for oneself, Sīvaka, that some things that are experienced here arise originating in bile. And this too, Sīvaka, is agreed upon by the world as the truth, that some things that are experienced here arise originating in bile. As to this, Sīvaka, those recluses and brahmans who speak thus and are of these

<sup>1</sup> *vara-lañcaka*; see *PED.* s.v. *lañcaka*. I follow E. Hardy, who at *Netti* 278 would prefer the reading *lañjaka*, as "surely 'making known' or 'exposition' is the idea suggested." He refers to *lañjeti* at *Jā.* i. 452, but it there appears to mean "to seal," cf. *lañchati*. The phrase *Samyuttanikāya* also occurs below, *Miln.*, p. 217, and *Ug.* at *Miln.*, pp. 241-242.

<sup>2</sup> Our text here quotes all of the Sīvakasutta of *S.* v. 230 f.

views: 'Whatever this person experiences, whether pleasant or painful or neither painful nor pleasant, all that is due to what was done earlier,' go beyond their personal knowledge and they go beyond what is agreed on by the world as the truth. Therefore I say it is wrong in these recluses and brahmans. And, Sīvaka, some things that are experienced here arise originating in phlegm . . . in the winds (of the body) . . . from a union of the humours of the body . . . born of a change of season . . . born of the stress of circumstances, [138] suddenly . . . and some things that are experienced here, Sīvaka, arise born of the maturing of kamma; and this is to be understood for oneself, Sīvaka, that some things that are experienced here arise born of the maturing of kamma. And this is also agreed upon by the world as the truth, Sīvaka, that some things that are experienced here arise born of the maturing of kamma. As to this, Sīvaka, those recluses and brahmans who speak thus and are of these views: 'Whatever this person experiences, whether pleasant or painful or neither painful nor pleasant, all that is due to what was done earlier,' go beyond their personal knowledge and they go beyond what is agreed upon by the world as the truth. Therefore I say it is wrong in these recluses and brahmans.' So, sire, not all feelings are born of the maturing of kamma. The Lord, having burnt up all unskill, attained omniscience—remember this thus."

"It is good, revered Nāgasena; thus it is, therefore do I accept it."

#### [First Division 9: The Tathāgata's Solitary Meditation]

"Revered Nāgasena, you say: 'Whatever was to be done by the Tathāgata was all accomplished at the root of the Bodhi-tree; there was nothing further to be done by the Tathāgata nor anything to be added to what had been done.'<sup>1</sup> But it appears there was this three months'

<sup>1</sup> Untraced quotation. Cf. *Ud.* 35, *S.* iii. 168, *Vin.* iii. 158 (and see notes at *B.D.* i. 271). See also *Miln* 95 where the Tathāgata got rid of "acceptance."

solitary meditation.<sup>1</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, whatever was to be done by the Tathāgata was all accomplished at the root of the Bodhi-tree and there was nothing further to be done nor anything to be added to what had been done, well then, false is that statement which speaks of the three months' solitary meditation. If there were solitary meditation for three months, well then, also false is that statement which says: 'Whatever was to be done by the Tathāgata was all accomplished at the root of the Bodhi-tree.' For there is no (need of) solitary meditation for one who has done what was to be done; solitary meditation is for one who (still) has something to be done.<sup>2</sup> [139] It is as there is something to be done by medicine for an invalid—but what is the use of medicine to one who is healthy?—as there is something to be done by food for one who is hungry—but what is the use of food to one who is not hungry?—even so, revered Nāgasena, there is (no need of) solitary meditation for one who has done what was to be done; solitary meditation is for one who (still) has something to be done. This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you; it is for you to solve."

"Everything whatever, sire, that had to be done by the Tathāgata was accomplished at the root of the Bodhi-tree; there was nothing further to be done by the Tathāgata nor anything to be added to what had been done. And the Lord was a solitary meditator for three months. Solitary meditation, sire, has many special qualities; and all Tathāgatas, when they have attained omniscience, have meditated in solitude; it is while they are recollecting these special qualities of what was well done that they practise solitary meditation. As, sire, when a man has gained a boon in the presence of a king and obtained property, then, on recollecting the special quality of what was well done, he dances constant attendance on the king—even so, sire, when all the Tathāgatas have attained omniscience they have medi-

<sup>1</sup> S. v. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *sakaraṇīya*, i.e., a *sekha*, one who is still under training, a learner.

tated in solitude; it is while they are recollecting these special qualities of what was well done that they practise solitary meditation. Or as, sire, when a man who was sick, in pain, grievously ill, has frequented a physician and achieved a cure, then, recollecting this special quality of what was well done, he constantly frequents the physician—even so, sire, when all the Tathāgatas have attained omniscience they have meditated in solitude; it is while they are recollecting these special qualities of what was well done that they practise solitary meditation.

It is on beholding these twenty-eight special qualities in solitary meditation, sire, that Tathāgatas practise solitary meditation. What are the twenty-eight? As to this, sire, solitary meditation protects (a man) while he is meditating in solitude, it increases the life-span, it gives strength, covers what is censurable,<sup>1</sup> removes lack of fame, conduces to fame, dispels discontent, furnishes content, removes fear, makes for self-confidence, removes indolence, generates energy, removes attachment, removes aversion, removes confusion, humbles pride, breaks down thinking, makes the mind one-pointed, softens mentality,<sup>2</sup> [140] produces joyousness,<sup>3</sup> makes (him) serious, a gain is evinced, it makes for veneration, brings rapture, makes for joy, shows the origin of the kammic formations,<sup>4</sup> reveals the re-connection in becomings, and gives the whole of recluseship. These,

<sup>1</sup> *vajjam pidahati*. I do not quite know the force of this phrase. *Vajja* is the gerund of *vajjati*, a form that is passive, meaning to be avoided, to be excluded, and so a fault. Perhaps it refers to thoughts of covetousness, etc., which right thoughts should have nothing to do with. Two kinds at *A.* i. 47: that belonging to the here and now, and that belonging to the hereafter. *Pidahati* is quite a usual verb, meaning to cover, conceal, close (a door), shut off (the sorrowful ways).

<sup>2</sup> No doubt meaning so as to make mentality or the mind, *mānasa*, pliable and workable, as in the formula used of the meditator who is attaining the threefold knowledge, see *e.g.*, *M.* i. 22, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *hāsa* is often mirth or laughter; but here some more dignified meaning is required, as it is at *S.* v. 376, *hāsapañño*, translated as "joyous in wisdom" at *KS.* v.

<sup>4</sup> *saṃkhārā*.

sire, are the twenty-eight special qualities in solitary meditation on beholding which Tathāgatas practise solitary meditation. Moreover, sire, when Tathāgatas desire to obtain peace, happiness and content in the attainments, then, bent on their purpose, they practise solitary meditation. For four reasons, sire, Tathāgatas practise solitary meditation. For what four? Tathāgatas, sire, practise solitary meditation for the comfort of abiding (in meditation),<sup>1</sup> and Tathāgatas practise solitary meditation for an abundance of faultless good qualities, and Tathāgatas practise solitary meditation for the complete ariyan procedure,<sup>2</sup> and Tathāgatas practise solitary meditation so as to be extolled, praised, commended and lauded of all Buddhas. It is for these four reasons, sire, that Tathāgatas practise solitary meditation; it is not because they (still) have something to be done, or because there is something to be added to what has been done; Tathāgatas practise solitary meditation because of their realization of the divers advantages of its special qualities.”

“It is good, revered Nāgasena, thus it is, therefore do I accept it.”

[First Division 10: The Three Months' (Time-)Limit]

“Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: ‘Ānanda, the Tathāgata’s four bases of psychic power<sup>3</sup> have been developed, increased, made a vehicle, made a

<sup>1</sup> *vihāraphāsu*, which of course must be different in meaning from *phāsuvihāra*, abiding in comfort, a term probably having at least a semi-technical sense; see *BD.* iv. 118, 373, where *phāsuvihāra* appears to be connected with a monk’s receiving proper guidance, *nissaya*, from a senior. Above, *vihāraphāsu* means I think nothing more concrete or technical than the mental and spiritual comfort to be derived from meditation in solitude.

<sup>2</sup> *vīthi* is a term that means series or course, process; street, way.

<sup>3</sup> *iddhipādā*. The four are those possessed of concentration of intention, of concentration of energy, of concentration of consciousness and of concentration of investigation. Frequent in the Nikāyas, e.g., at *D.* ii. 77, *M.* i. 103, *S.* v. 263 ff., *A.* i. 39. See also *Vbh.* 216 ff., *VbhA.* 303 ff., *Vism.* 385.

ground, maintained, consolidated, and well undertaken. Ānanda, if the Tathāgata so desired he might remain for his (full) life-span or for what is left of it.<sup>1</sup> And again, it was said: 'Three months from now the Tathāgata will attain complete nibbāna.'<sup>2</sup> If, revered sir, it was said by the Lord: 'Ānanda, the Tathāgata's four bases of psychic power have been . . . well undertaken. Ānanda, if the Tathāgata so desired he might remain for his (full) life-span or for what is left of it,' well then false is the (time-)limit to three months. If it was said by the Tathāgata: 'Three months from now [141] the Tathāgata will attain complete nibbāna,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'Ānanda, the Tathāgata's four bases of psychic power have been . . . well undertaken. Ānanda, if the Tathāgata so desired he might remain for his (full) life-span or for what is left of it.' There is no thundering of Tathāgatas about what is (causally) impossible.<sup>3</sup> The words of the Buddhas,

<sup>1</sup> *D.* ii. 103, *S.* v. 259, *Ud.* 62, and *cf.* *Kvu.* 45. *Kappa* is taken by *DA.* 554, *SA.* iii. 251, *UdA.* 323, *BudvA.* 65 as here meaning life-span, *āyukappa*, the stated hundred years as the extreme age to which a man might live, and not as *mahākappa*, an eon. The Elder Mahāsīva was not satisfied with this explanation: he held that the Buddha meant to live out this *bhaddakappa* (see *BudvA.* 191: this *kappa* itself in which five Buddhas have arisen) but could not do so because his body was subject to the laws of old age. *Cf.* below, text p. 151: "there is no expedient for maintaining a life-span that is wearing to its close." For contra however see above, *Miln.* 139, "solitary meditation increases the life-span." For an interesting dissertation on the recognition by the Śthavīravādins, Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsaṅghikas of the difficulties involved in the theory of the Buddha extending his *āyu*, life-span, see P. S. Jaini, *Buddha's Prolongation of Life*, *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, p. 546 ff.; also see *Pts. Contr.*, pp. 258 f.

*BHSD*, against *PĒD* and *CPD*, holds that *kappāvasesa* means "more than a kalpa," but gives no reasons for preferring this to "what is left of a kappā."

<sup>2</sup> *D.* ii. 119, *S.* v. 262, *Ud.* 64. According to *DA.* 556, *SA.* iii. 253, *UdA.* 327 the Lord did not let go of the components of his life-span like a ball of clay from his hand, but for exactly three months he entered upon the attainment of the fruits, thinking, "I will not enter upon them for longer than that."

<sup>3</sup> These words are ascribed to Mahāsīvatthera at *DA.* 554, *SA.* iii. 251, but reading *Buddhānam* for *Miln's* *Tathāgatānam*.

the Lords, are not foolish, their words are true, their words do not admit of contradiction. This too is a double-pronged question, profound, very abstruse, hard to understand; it is put to you; burst asunder this net of false views, set it to one side, burst asunder the tenets of others."

"Sire, this was said by the Lord: 'Ānanda, the Tathāgata's four bases of psychic power have been . . . well undertaken. Ānanda, if the Tathāgata so desired he might remain for his (full) life-span or for what is left of it.' And the three months' (time-)limit was spoken of. But *kappa* (here) means the full life-span.<sup>1</sup> Sire, the Lord was not proclaiming his own power when he spoke thus: 'Ānanda, the Tathāgata's four bases of psychic power have been . . . well undertaken. Ānanda, if the Tathāgata so desired he might remain for his (full) life-span or for what is left of it.' When he spoke thus, sire, the Lord was proclaiming the potency of psychic power. As, sire, a king's thoroughbred horse might be as swift as the speed of wind and the king, in declaring its power and speed to (leading) townsfolk and countryfolk, to the employees, the palace-guard, brahmans, householders, ministers and in the midst of people, might speak thus: 'When he desires it, good sirs, this wonderful horse of mine, though roaming the earth as far as it is bounded by the waters of the oceans, could come back here in a moment,<sup>2</sup> and though he would not show his speed to that assembly, yet his speed exists, and in a moment he is (again) able to roam the earth as far as it is bounded by the waters of the oceans. Even so, sire, when the Lord was proclaiming his own potency of psychic power he spoke thus; and when he was seated in the midst of devas and men, of arahants who had the threefold knowledge and the six super-knowledges, stainless and their cankers destroyed, he said: 'Ānanda, the Tathā-

<sup>1</sup> *so ca pana kappa āyukappo vuccati*; see above, p. 196, n. 1. Though the word *āyukappa* is not among the meanings into which *kappa* is analysed at *M.A.* ii. 125, it again has the meaning of life-span at *D.A.* 103. The word also occurs at *Dh.A.* i. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* the Horse-Treasure at *D.* ii. 174, *M.* iii. 174.

gata's four bases of psychic power have been . . . well undertaken. Ānanda, if the Tathāgata so desired he might remain for his (full) life-span or for what is left of it.' And, sire, that potency of psychic power of the Lord's exists and by his potency of psychic power the Lord was able to remain for his (full) life-span or for what was left of it. But the Lord did not [142] show that potency of psychic power to that assembly. As far as all becomings are concerned, sire, the Lord was without desire, and all becomings were condemned by the Tathāgata.<sup>1</sup> And this too was said by the Lord, sire: 'As, monks, even a trifling quantity of dung is evil-smelling, so do I not, monks, praise becoming even for a trifling time, not even for the lasting of a finger-snap.'<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, sire, would the Lord, who had seen in all becomings, bourns and modes of birth a resemblance to dung, harbour desire for and attachment to becomings with the support of the potency of psychic power?"

"O no, revered sir."

"Well then, sire, it was when the Lord was proclaiming the potency of psychic power that he roared the lion's roar of a Buddha such as was this."

"It is good, revered Nāgasena; thus it is, therefore do I accept it."

### [Second Division 1: The Abolition of the Rules of Training]

"Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: 'I teach Dhamma, monks, from super-knowledge, not from what is not super-knowledge.'<sup>3</sup> And again he spoke thus of the regulating of the Vinaya: 'After my passing, Ānanda, let the Order if it so desire abolish the lesser and minor rules of training.'<sup>4</sup> Now, revered

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 410 f. Three becomings are mentioned at *M.* i. 50, *S.* ii. 3, *A.* i. 232, etc. At *S.* ii. 117, *A.* v. 9 it is said that the stopping of becomings is nibbāna.

<sup>2</sup> *A.* i. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *A.* i. 276; cf. *M.* ii. 9, *Kvu.* 561, *Mhv.* iii. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *D.* ii. 154. At *Vin.* ii. 287 the Lord is reputed to have told Ānanda that the Order might abolish them (*samūhaneyya*, as against the imperative above and at *D.* ii. 154). *Vin.* ii. 287 gives the

Nāgasena, were the lesser and minor rules of training badly laid down or were they laid down without ground and in ignorance since the Lord allowed them to be abolished after his own passing? If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord: 'I teach Dhamma, monks, from super-knowledge, not from what is not super-knowledge,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'After my passing, Ānanda, let the Order if it so desire abolish the lesser and minor rules of training.' If the Tathāgata [143] spoke thus of the regulating of the Vinaya: 'After my passing, Ānanda, let the Order if it so desire abolish the lesser and minor rules of training,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'I teach Dhamma, monks, from super-knowledge, not from what is not super-knowledge.' This too is a double-pronged question, delicate, subtle, very abstruse, deep, very profound, hard to understand; it is put to you; show in regard to it your pervading power of knowledge."

"This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'I teach Dhamma, monks, from super-knowledge, not from what is not super-knowledge'; and at the regulating of the Vinaya he spoke thus: 'After my passing, Ānanda, let the Order if it so desire abolish the lesser and minor rules of training.' But, sire, the Tathāgata spoke thus testing the monks: 'Will my disciples on being left by me<sup>1</sup> adhere to<sup>2</sup> the lesser and minor rules of training after my passing, or will they repudiate<sup>3</sup> them?' As, sire, a

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differing views of Elders as to what these lesser and minor rules, *khuddānukhuddaka sikkhāpada*, comprise. See also *A.* ii. 348. Further references are given at *BD.* iii. 41, n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> *mayā vissajjāpiyamānā*, Si. reading *visajjīyamānā*. *Vissajjati* (and caus. form *vissajjeti*) is a word of several meanings, see *PED.*, among which are to reply to (*cf.* *BHSD.* s.v. *visarjayati*), to leave, to let loose, to dismiss; see Childers.

<sup>2</sup> *ukkalissanti*, a doubtful reading, see *Intr.*, p. 1. Si. reads *ussakkissanti*, will they creep out of, *cf.* *A.* iii. 241, *pādehi ussakkivā*, creeping up over his feet; and *Mīln.* 260, *ussakkivā velāya paharati*.

<sup>3</sup> *ādiyissanti*, from *ādiyati* (*Sk.* *ādīryate*, passive of *dr*), to split, go asunder. This may mean: will the disciples be at difference among themselves about keeping these rules, or not? Will they, in a more definite sense, break them? Or, will they go asunder from them and thus repudiate them, set them at naught, neglect

wheel-turning king might speak to his sons thus: 'My dears, this great country is sea-girt on every side, but it is difficult to maintain it much longer by force. So, my dears, get rid of every outlying district after my passing.' Would not these princes, sire, after the passing of their father, let go of all those outlying districts (and keep) the country (of which they were already) in possession?"

"No, revered sir, kings are greedier than that. The princes in their lust for power might win a country twice or three times as great in size as the one they had, so how should they let go of a country (already in their) possession?"

"Even so, sire, the Tathāgata spoke thus testing the monks: 'After my passing, Ānanda, let the Order if it so desire abolish the lesser and minor rules of training.' Sire, the sons of the Buddha, for complete freedom from anguish and in their greed for Dhamma, would preserve even more than<sup>1</sup> a hundred and fifty rules of training—how then should they let go of the rules of training that had been laid down originally?"

"Revered Nāgasena, as to that which the Lord said: [144] 'The lesser and minor rules of training'—people are confused about them, bewildered, undecided, fallen into doubt, and they say: 'Which are these lesser rules of training, which the minor rules of training?'"

"Sire, a lesser rule of training (refers to an offence) of wrong-doing,<sup>2</sup> a minor rule of training (to one) of wrong speech<sup>3</sup>—these two (categories) constitute the lesser and minor rules of training. The great Elders of old, sire, were also in doubt about this matter and failed

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them? I do not think either of the first two alternatives is intended. The question is more likely to be whether they will let these rules fall into desuetude, and I think this meaning is reinforced by the simile.

<sup>1</sup> *aññam pi uttarim*, or "even a further different," "even another further." The Pātimokkha rules of training for monks as they have survived in the Pali *Vinaya* number 227. See S. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, p. 92, and B. C. Law, *Hist. of Pali Lit.* i. 20 f. for notes on variant numbers of the rules. *MilnT.* also speaks of 150.

<sup>2</sup> *dukkata*, very frequent in *Vin.*; see esp. *Vin.* i, and s.v. Wrong-doing in *BD.* iv, Index of Words.

<sup>3</sup> *dubbhāsita*, see esp. *Vin.* i. 172 ff., ii. 83 f.

to reach unanimity<sup>1</sup> when this question was raised during the Discussion for fixing the Lord's Rule."<sup>2</sup>

"This secret of the Conqueror's, hidden for long, revered Nāgasena, is today, at the present time, disclosed and made clear in the world."<sup>3</sup>

[Second Division 2: The Fist of a "Teacher"]

"Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: 'In regard to the Tathāgata's teachings, Ānanda, there is no "teacher's fist."<sup>4</sup>'" On the other hand when the Elder Mālunkyaputta asked (the Lord) a question he did not answer it.<sup>5</sup> This question,<sup>6</sup> revered Nāgasena,

<sup>1</sup> *ekajjham na kato*. At *Vin.* i. 177 (*MV.* IV. 18. 3) *ekajjham* appears to mean, according to *VinA.* 1080, that the whole of an Order must be present in person, thus (in the case under discussion) refusing to allow or accept any "consent" (*chanda*) to be conveyed by proxy for a member of the Order who desires to be absent from the proceedings. For *chandadāta*, the sending of consent by a proxy, see e.g., *Vin.* i. 121, iv. 151, 152 and *BD.* iii. 58, n. 3. In our *Miln.* passage above, the sense of togetherness of mind (confirmed by *MilnT.*) rather than of person seems required, especially in view of the various interpretations of the lesser and minor rules attributed to the Elders at *Vin.* ii. 287 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhammasanthipariyāya*, explained at *MilnT.* as "whatever the offence one has fallen into, for it one must be dealt with according to the rule" (that is, the rule laying down the penalty for having committed this or that offence). Here then, *dhamma* is in its meaning of "rule." At *Vin.* ii. 288 (*CV.* XI. 1. 10) though the Elders agree, at this First Council, to abolish no rule of training already laid down (by the Lord), they charge Ānanda with having committed an offence of wrong-doing for not having asked the Lord before the *parinibbāna* which were these lesser and minor rules of training.

<sup>3</sup> Or, "before men," for *loka*, world, can also be used as a term applied collectively to the creatures inhabiting it.

<sup>4</sup> *D.* ii. 100, *S.* v. 153. The Comys. say that on their death-bed other teachers confide to a favourite pupil things they have kept back until then. Not so the Tathāgata.

<sup>5</sup> This refers to the episode in the Cūḷa-Mālunkya Sutta (*M. Sta.* No. 63) where the Lord refused to explain Mālunkyaputta's questions as to whether the world is eternal or not, etc., because Mālunkya-putta had made his continuing to be a monk conditional on such explanations being given to him. But the Brahma-faring is not lived for the sake of knowing or speculating upon such problems.

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.*, the one Milinda is now asking.

will have two ends on one of which it must rest: either that of not knowing or that of keeping something secret. For if, revered Nāgasena, the Lord said: 'In regard to the Tathāgata's teachings, Ānanda, there is no "teacher's fist,"' well then, it was through not knowing that he did not answer the Elder Mālunkyaputta. But if though he knew he did not answer, well then, in the Tathāgata's teachings there was a 'teacher's fist.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you; it is for you to solve."

"This, sire, was said by the Lord: 'In regard to the Tathāgata's teachings, Ānanda, there is no "teacher's fist." Yet though the question asked by the Elder Mālunkyaputta was not answered, this was not through (the Lord's) either not knowing or keeping something secret. Sire, there are four ways of answering questions. What four?<sup>1</sup> There is the question to be answered with a definite (reply),<sup>2</sup> there is the question to be answered with an analysis, there is the question to be answered with a counter-question, there is the question to be set aside.

And what, sire, is a (type of) question to be answered with a definite (reply)? Is material shape impermanent?<sup>3</sup> is a (type of) question [145] to be answered with a definite (reply). Is feeling . . . perception. . . . Are the habitual tendencies. . . . Is consciousness impermanent? is a (type of) question to be answered with a definite (reply). This is a (type of) question to be answered with a definite (reply). What is a (type of) question to be answered with an analysis? But if material shape is impermanent . . . But if feeling . . . perception . . . the habitual tendencies . . . consciousness is impermanent . . . ? is a (type of) question to be answered with an analysis. This is a (type of) question to be answered with an analysis. What is a (type of)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *D.* iii. 229, *A.* i. 197, ii. 46; also cf. *Netti.* 175 ff., *Petaḥkopadesa*, 83, and see *Pts. Contr.*, p. xl f.

<sup>2</sup> *ekamsabyākaraṇīya*, or, declarable unilaterally. Cf. this and the next word, *vibhajjabyā-*, with *M.* ii. 197, *vibhajjavāda na ekamsavāda*.

<sup>3</sup> *S.* iii. 21, etc.

question to be answered with a counter-question ? But now, is everything discriminated by the eye ?<sup>1</sup> is a (type of) question to be answered with a counter-question.<sup>2</sup> What is a (type of) question to be set aside ? Is the world eternal . . . not eternal . . . an ending thing . . . an unending thing . . . both an ending and an unending thing . . . neither an ending nor an unending thing . . . Is the life-principle the same as the body . . . Is the life-principle one thing and the body another . . . Is the Tathāgata after dying . . . Is the Tathāgata not after dying . . . Both is and is not the Tathāgata after dying . . . Neither is nor is not the Tathāgata after dying ?<sup>3</sup> is a (type of) question to be set aside. This is a (type of) question to be set aside. Because, sire, that question of the Elder Mālunkya-putta was one to be set aside the Lord did not answer it. For what reason was it a question to be set aside ? There was no cause or reason for answering it, therefore it was a question to be set aside. There is no utterance or speech of the Buddhas, the Lords, that is without reason, without cause.”

“ It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, therefore do I accept it.”

### [Second Division 3: The Fear of Death]

“ Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: ‘ All (men) tremble at punishment, all fear Death.’<sup>4</sup> And again he said: ‘ An arahant has passed beyond all fear.’<sup>5</sup> How then, revered Nāgasena, does an arahant

<sup>1</sup> Untraced.

<sup>2</sup> The clause saying the type of question is missing here.

<sup>3</sup> These are the questions Mālunkya-putta asked at *M.* i. 426. See also *M.* i. 484 ff., *S.* iii. 257 ff., iv. 391 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Dhp.* 129. Death (with a capital) is *maccu*, almost equivalent to Māra and sometimes to Yama; death (without a capital) is *maraṇa*, physical death or dying.

<sup>5</sup> Untraced as such but the sentiment is like that at *S.* i. 125: *araham* . . . *māradheyyam atikkanto*. See also *Miln.* 207, arahants are without fear and trembling, and also Adhimutta’s verses, *Thag.* 707 ff.

tremble with fear at punishment? [146] Or do the beings who are burning, scorching, red-hot, glowing in Niraya Hell<sup>1</sup> fear Death when they are deceasing from the burning fiery meshes of that Great Niraya Hell? If, revered Nāgasena, the Lord said: 'All (men) tremble at punishment, all fear Death,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'An arahant has passed beyond all fear.' If the Lord said: 'An arahant has passed beyond all fear,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'All (men) tremble at punishment, all fear Death.' This too is a double-pronged question: it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

"Sire, this statement was not spoken by the Lord in regard to arahants: 'All (men) tremble at punishment, all fear Death.' The arahant is an exception to this proposition;<sup>2</sup> (all) cause for fear has been rooted out by an arahant. It was in regard to those beings, sire, who (still) have defilements and in whom there is (still) an excessively wrong view of self<sup>3</sup> and in regard to those who are uplifted and downcast by pleasures and pains that it was said by the Lord: 'All (men) tremble at punishment, all fear Death.' All bourns, sire, are cut off by an arahant, (every) mode of birth extinguished, re-connection destroyed, the snares abolished,<sup>4</sup> delight in

<sup>1</sup> See *M. Stas.* 129, 130 for the eventual escape from the tortures of Mahāniraya.

<sup>2</sup> *vattu*, instance, example; matter; here in the sense of comprehensive statement, generalization.

<sup>3</sup> *attānuditthi*. Cf. *Sn.* 1119: *attānuditthim ūhacca evam maccutaro siyā*, "uprooting false view of self, thus you will be Death's crosser." This is a wrong view that arises where there are the five *khandhā* (*S.* iii. 185 f.), and is got rid of when a bhikkhu knows that none of the six senses nor their data nor the consciousness appropriate to each of them nor the impact of the data on the sense-organs is self (*S.* iv. 148). This wrong view may therefore be got rid of by developing the perception of not-self (*A.* iii. 447). It is sometimes applied especially to the false view of "own body," *sakkāyaditthi*, *AA.* iii. 415, *SnA.* 602.

<sup>4</sup> *bhaggā phāsu*. Trenckner, *Miln.*, p. 425, says the reading *phāsu* "is very uncertain." RhD. translates as though the word were *phāsuka*, "the rafters of the house of life" but *PED* says that *phāsu* at the above passage "is not *phāsukā*. . . . The likeness

all becomings rooted out,<sup>1</sup> all (karmic) formations extirpated, skill and unskill ended, ignorance slain,<sup>2</sup> consciousness rendered seedless,<sup>3</sup> all the defilements burnt up, worldly things conquered—therefore an arahant does not tremble at any of the fears (besetting an ordinary person). Suppose, sire, a king had four chief ministers, faithful, attained to fame, trusty and placed in positions of high authority, and that when some business had arisen the king should have a command issued touching all the people in his realm, to the effect: ‘ Let everyone pay me a tax, and do you, my four chief ministers, carry out that business.’ Now, sire, would any terror due to the fear of taxation arise in those four chief ministers ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ For what reason, sire ?”

“ Because the king has placed them in the highest positions there is no tax for them (to pay); they are beyond taxation. When the king commanded everyone to pay him a tax, he was referring to the remainder (of his subjects).”

[147] “ Even so, sire, this statement was not spoken by the Lord in reference to arahants; the arahant is an exception to this proposition; all cause for fear has been rooted out by an arahant. It was in regard to those beings, sire, who (still) have defilements and in whom there is (still) an excessively wrong view of self and in regard to those who are uplifted and downcast by pleasures and pains that it was said by the Lord: ‘ All

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with *phāsukā bhaggā* (lit.) of *Jā.* i. 493 is only accidental”; and s.v. *phāsuka PED* says that our phrase *bhaggā phāsu* and the phrase at *Dhp.* 154: *sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā* are “ probably of different origin.” Cf. *bhaggā kilesā* at *Mīln.* 44, and the old decrepit (*bhagga*) brahman at *Mīln.* 282. The “ snares ” (Māra’s snares) may refer to greed, hate, delusion, wrong views, craving, defilement; cf. definition of Bhagavā at *Nd.* I. 142, *Nd.* II. 466, quoted at *Vism.* 211.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, *Mīln.* 142, end of the First Division.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 144, ii. 260, where it is said that “ sword ” is a synonym for this ariyan wisdom.

<sup>3</sup> *abīja*; there is no germination of consciousness by which it could reconnect in another birth.

(men) tremble at punishment, all fear Death.' Therefore an arahant does not tremble at any of the fears (besetting an ordinary person)."

"But this word 'all,'<sup>1</sup> revered Nāgasena, does not allow of a remainder, but is a word allowing of no remainder. Tell me a further reason for establishing (the validity of) that statement."

"Suppose, sire, that in some village the village headman were to command the crier, saying: 'Come here, good crier, have as many villagers as there are in the village all convened before me quickly'; and if he should answer in reply: 'Very good, headman,' and standing in the middle of the village should three times announce: 'Let as many villagers as there are in the village all assemble very quickly before the headman,' and that then those villagers having assembled very speedily at the crier's bidding announce to the village headman: 'All the villagers have assembled, headman, so do whatever is to be done.' Now, sire, the village headman, though he had his command issued to all the villagers, was (in reality) having (only) ordinary people<sup>2</sup> assembled. So, though (all) were commanded, not all assembled—only the ordinary people assembled—but the village headman is satisfied with that and knows: 'Just so many are my villagers.' Many others do not come: women and men, women and men slaves, hirelings, workmen, travellers,<sup>3</sup> invalids, cows and buffaloes, sheep and goats, and dogs. None of those who do not come is counted. It was in regard to the ordinary people only that there was the command: 'Let all assemble.' Even so, sire, that statement was not spoken by the Lord in reference to arahants; the arahant is an exception

<sup>1</sup> Translated above by "any of," since "all" there would be ambiguous.

<sup>2</sup> *kuṭipurisa*, hut-men, peasants. *MilnT.* says *pākaṭapurisa*, common folk.

<sup>3</sup> *gāmikā* is the same word as that for "villagers," those belonging to a village, *gāma*. Trenckner, *Miln.*, p. 425, says "*gāmikā* here means travellers, no doubt," the word here deriving from *gam*, to go, wander, travel.

to this proposition; all cause for fear is rooted out by an arahant. It was in regard to those beings, sire, who (still) have defilements and in whom there is (still) an excessively wrong view of self and in regard to those who are uplifted and downcast by pleasures and pains that it was said by the Lord: 'All (men) tremble at punishment, all fear [148] Death.' Therefore an arahant does not tremble at any of the fears (besetting an ordinary person).

"There is the incomplete statement, sire, whose meaning is incomplete; there is the incomplete statement whose meaning is complete; there is the complete statement<sup>1</sup> whose meaning is incomplete; there is the complete statement whose meaning is complete. In each case the meaning should be accepted accordingly. The meaning should be accepted in a fivefold way, sire: according to what is a quotable passage<sup>2</sup> (from the scriptures), sire; according to its essential function; according to the usage of the teachers; according to the purport; according to what is given as a reason.<sup>3</sup> And here, 'what is a quotable passage' means a sutta so understood; the 'essential function' means what is in accordance with a sutta; the 'usage of the teachers' means the speech of the teachers; the 'purport' means one's own intention;<sup>4</sup> 'according to what is given as a reason' means a reason associated with these four. The meaning, sire, is to be accepted in accordance with these five reasons. This question is thus properly analysed."

"Let it be, revered Nāgasena, I accept it as it is: the

<sup>1</sup> An example of *niravasena-vacana* is given at *Miln.* 182: *āsavānaṃ khayā samaṇo hoti*. See also *Dh.A.* iii. 49 (on ver. 129): *imassā ca desanayā byañjanam niravasesam attho sāvaseso*, which seems to expand our *Miln.* incident of the headman commanding *all* to assemble, though not meaning or expecting literally all.

<sup>2</sup> *āhaccapada*, an idiom for citing, quoting, adducing a passage in the scriptures as an authority; see *Asī.* 9, *āhacca bhāsītā*, the authoritative words; and *Netti.* 21, *āhacca-vacana*, speech that is quotable. *MilnT.* gives *uttavacana*.

<sup>3</sup> *kāraṇuttariyatāya*, by answers (supplying) reasons.

<sup>4</sup> *mati*, opinion, mind, perhaps interpretation, the bias one may give by emphasizing one point in the teaching rather than others.

arahant is an exception to this proposition; all other beings tremble. But the beings who are in Niraya Hell experiencing painful, acute, severe feelings, burning and blazing all over their bodies and limbs, crying out for pity, weeping, lamenting and wailing, overcome by intolerable and acute anguishes, without help, without refuge, without shelter, suffering terrible pain, their bourns in the meanest and lowest (of conditions),<sup>1</sup> going on to an entirety of grief,<sup>2</sup> incandescent with the torture of fierce, cruel and harsh heat, (uttering) groans and great shouts born of terror and fear, hemmed in<sup>3</sup> by the sixfold garland of flames<sup>4</sup> that leap flashing in all directions for a hundred yojanas—do these burning wretches, when they are deceasing from the Great Niraya Hell, fear Death?”

“Yes, sire.”

“But is not Niraya Hell, revered Nāgasena, a place where nothing but anguish is experienced?<sup>5</sup> So why should beings in Niraya Hell who experienced nothing but anguish fear Death when they are deceasing from Niraya Hell? Do they delight in Niraya Hell?”

“Beings who are in Niraya Hell, sire, do not delight in it. They only want to be released from it. That, sire, is the power<sup>6</sup> of death because of which terror arises in them.”

“This I do not believe, revered Nāgasena, that terror of decease arises in those who want to be released. [149] When they gain what they have been longing for,

<sup>1</sup> In *M. Sta.* 129 if after a tremendously long time in Niraya Hell the fool should acquire human status once again he would be born in a lowly, poverty-stricken family and be of very poor physique.

<sup>2</sup> It is a vicious circle. In their newly acquired human status they would fare wrongly in body, speech and thought, and on dying would therefore arise again in the sorrowful ways, a bad bourn, the Down-fall, Niraya Hell (*M.* iii. 169-170).

<sup>3</sup> *samsibbīta*, stitched in with; cf. the “sempstress,” *sibbanī*, at *Sn.* 1042, *A.* iii. 399 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A reference to the four red-hot sides, the roof and the floor of Niraya Hell, see *M.* iii. 167.

<sup>5</sup> *ekantadukkhavedaniyo*; *ekanta*, one end, extreme; nothing but.

<sup>6</sup> *ānubhāva*, power, splendour, greatness, see *BHSD*.

revered Nāgasena, that is a cause for rejoicing. Convince me by a reason.”

“ ‘Death,<sup>1</sup>’ sire—this is a cause for fearfulness for those who have not seen the Truths, and it is on account of this that this generation of men trembles and is afraid. Whoever fears a black snake, sire, while he is fearing it is fearing death; and whoever fears an elephant, a lion, tiger, leopard, bear, hyena, wild buffalo, gyal, fire, water, (thickets of) stakes and thorns<sup>2</sup> and whoever fears swords, while he is fearing each is fearing death. That, sire, is the majesty of the essential function and nature<sup>3</sup> of death because of which beings who (still) have defilements tremble at death and fear it. And, sire, though beings who are in Niraya Hell want to be released from it, they also tremble at death and fear it. Suppose, sire, a fatty tumour were to arise on a man’s body and that he, in pain because of that disease and wanting to escape from the distress of it, were to have a physician and surgeon called in; and that when that physician and surgeon had agreed (to come) to him, he were to administer a remedy for removing that disease: were to sharpen his lancet, have sticks (to be used as) a cauteriser placed in a fire, and have lye and salt ground (together) on a grindstone—would not fright arise in that afflicted man, sire, with the cutting of the sharp lancet, the burning of the pair of caustic sticks and the application of the lye and salt ?”

“ Yes, revered sir.”

“ As, sire, from fear of what he feels terror arises in the afflicted man though he only wants to be released from the disease, even so, sire, from the fear of death terror arises in the beings who are in Niraya Hell though they only want to be released from it.

<sup>1</sup> *maraṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *khāṇukantakādhāna* at *M.* iii. 105, *A.* i. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *sarasabhāvatejo*. This is probably *tejo*, fire, light, splendour, energy, power (and possibly used on the pattern of *ānubhāva* above) with *sa*, with, and *rasa*, flavour, essence and with *bhāva*, state, property. *Sarasabhāva* at *Asl.* 71 is translated at *Expos.* i. 94 as “own function or property.”

This is (another) case, sire, where suppose a man who had offended against his master were bound with chains and thrown into a cell and wanted to be released; and that then the master, anxious to release him, were to send for him. Now would not terror at seeing his master, sire, arise in that man, who had offended against his master and knew [150] that he was in the wrong?"

"Yes, revered sir."

"As, sire, from fear of his master terror arises in the man who has offended against his master though he only wants to be released, even so, sire, from the fear of death terror arises in the beings who are in Niraya Hell though they only want to be released from it."

"Tell me an even further reason, revered sir, by means of which I may believe."

"Now suppose, sire, a man were bitten with its poison-fang<sup>1</sup> by a poisonous snake, and due to the action of the poison should fall down and spring up, and twist and turn, but that then a man fetching back that poisonous snake with its poison-fang by means of a powerful incantation<sup>2</sup> were to make that poison-fang resorb<sup>3</sup> the poison.<sup>4</sup> Would not terror arise in that poisoned man, sire, when the snake was approaching with its poison-fang to cure him?"

"Yes, revered sir."

"As, sire, terror arises in him at the coming of the snake like that though it is only to cure him, even so, sire, from the fear of death terror arises in the beings who are in Niraya Hell though they only want to be released from it. Death,<sup>5</sup> sire, is undesired<sup>6</sup> by all beings. Therefore the beings who are in Niraya Hell fear Death though they only want to be released from Niraya Hell."

"It is good, revered Nāgasena, thus it is, so do I accept it."

<sup>1</sup> *datṭha-visa*.

<sup>2</sup> *mantapada*.

<sup>3</sup> *paccācamāpeyya*; cf. *ācamayamāno* at *Miln.* 152.

<sup>4</sup> This notion is also found at *Jā.* No. 69 (*Jā.* i. 311).

<sup>5</sup> *maraṇa*.

<sup>6</sup> *an-ittḥa*, not liked, not desired, as at *M.* iii. 165 (of Niraya).

## [Second Division 4: Safety-Runes]

“ Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord:

‘ Not in the air, nor in midmost ocean,  
Nor though one enter a cleft in the mountains  
Is found that region in the world  
Where, being, could he free himself from Death’s snares.’<sup>1</sup>

Safety-runes<sup>2</sup> were however appointed by the Lord, that is to say the Jewel Sutta,<sup>3</sup> the safety-rune in the Khandha(ka),<sup>4</sup> the Peacock safety-rune,<sup>5</sup> the Crest of the Banner safety-rune,<sup>6</sup> [151] the Ātānāṭiya safety-rune<sup>7</sup> and Angulimāla’s safety-rune.<sup>8</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, one does not escape from Death’s snares either in the air or in the midmost ocean or in a palace, a hut,<sup>9</sup> a mountain-cave,<sup>10</sup> a cavern,<sup>11</sup> or on a mountain-slope, in a hole, a den, a cleft, or within a rock<sup>12</sup>—well then, false is the office of a safety-rune.<sup>13</sup> But if there come to be freedom from Death’s snares by means of a safety-rune, well then, false too is the statement which says: ‘ Not in the air . . . could he free himself from Death’s snares.’ This too is a double-pronged question, more knotty than a knot; it is put to you; it is for you to solve.”

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dhp.* 127, *Pv.* II. 7, 19 where the last word reads *pāpakammā* for *Mūl. maccupāsā*, and also *Dhp.* 128 where the last line differs.

<sup>2</sup> *parittā*, safeguards, protections; modern Sinhalese *pirit*. The first five of those named above are named also at *Vism.* 414. Usually added nowadays are the Mangala and Metta-suttas, and some other material.

<sup>3</sup> *Sn.*, p. 39, *Khp.* VI.

<sup>4</sup> *Vin.* ii. 109; also at *A.* ii. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Jā.* ii. 33 (*Jā.* No. 159), called the Moraparitta or the Morajātaka. Also at *Jā.* No. 491.

<sup>6</sup> *S.* i. 218-220.

<sup>7</sup> *D.* iii. 195-202.

<sup>8</sup> *M.* ii. 103.

<sup>9</sup> *kūṭi*, a hut, and not *kūṭa*, summit, as RhD. appears to have read.

<sup>10</sup> *leṇa*, perhaps a rock-shelter, probably a natural cave formed by overhanging rocks.

<sup>11</sup> *guhā*, or perhaps a hut of bricks or of wood or in a rock, see *PED*.

<sup>12</sup> *pabbatantara*, among rocks, in between them, no doubt referring to the large natural rocky outcrops in India. Here, according to *MA.* ii. 215, there might be a natural pool of water, and one could sit in cool shade, be fanned by cool breezes, and be one-pointed in thought.

<sup>13</sup> *parittakamma*, the action, work, doing.

“ Sire, this was spoken by the Lord :

‘ Not in the air, nor in midmost ocean,  
Nor though one enter a cleft in the mountains  
Is found that region in the world  
Where, being, could he free himself from Death’s snares.’

And safety-runes were appointed by the Lord. But that is for one who (still) has some term of life remaining, who is in his prime,<sup>1</sup> and rid of the obstructions due to kamma. There is no activity or expedient, sire, for maintaining a life-span that is wearing to its close.<sup>2</sup> Sire, even though a thousand jars of water were poured over a dead and dried up tree, sapless, moistureless, in which life had ceased and from which the vital principle of the life-span had departed, it would never become fresh again or able to burgeon into sprouts and leaves—even so, sire, there is no activity or expedient through the work of safety-runes as medicines for maintaining a life-span that is wearing to its close. All the remedies and medicines on earth, sire, are useless for one whose life-span is wearing to its close, (but), sire, safety-runes were appointed by the Lord for the sake of him whom a safety-rune protects and guards because he (still) has some term of life remaining, is in his prime, and rid of the obstructions due to kamma. As, sire, a farmer might prevent water from entering among corn that is ripe and of which it is thought that the stalks are hollow, but yet, when that harvest was young, resembling a cloud, in its prime, he stimulated its growth with water—

<sup>1</sup> *vaya* means age, stage or period of life, especially young age, prime, youth; cf. *vayappatta*, attained to years of discretion, taken to be sixteen years of age, and marriageable. But *vaya* also means old age when it is characterised as such or contrasted with youth, cf. *vayo anuppatto* in the stock description of an old man: *jinnō vuddhi mahallako addhagato vayo anuppatto* (e.g., at *Vin.* iii. 2, *D.* i. 48). Above the context seems to demand the meaning of youth. Three stages of *vaya* are given at *Vism.* 619: early, middle, late. “Prime” is not necessarily restricted to youth; it can go on into middle age.

<sup>2</sup> Here *khīna* does not appear to mean actually and already exhausted or destroyed, but wearing away in the natural course of events.

even so, sire, the activity of safety-runes as medicines is laid aside and refused for one whose life-span is wearing to its close; [152] but medicines that are safety-runes<sup>1</sup> are spoken for those people who (still) have some term of life remaining and are in their prime, (for) these prosper through medicines that are safety-runes.”

“ If, revered Nāgasena, one whose life-span is wearing to its close dies, and if one who (still) has some term of life remaining lives, well then, medicines that are safety-runes are useless.”

“ But have you, sire, never seen a disease that was turned away by medicines ?”

“ Yes, revered sir, I have seen several hundreds.”

“ Well then, sire, to say that the activity of medicines that are safety-runes is useless—that is a false statement.”

“ Revered Nāgasena, there are the expedients of doctors: medicines, beverages, external applications by means of which a disease of these (people) is turned away.”

“ And, sire, when the sound is heard of those who are reciting safety-runes, all the illnesses of these (people) abate at the recitation, all their ills disappear though the tongue had been dry, the heart beating but feebly and the throat sore. But have you, sire, ever seen anyone who had been bitten by a snake (which was fetched back) by means of an incantation and was sucking out<sup>2</sup> the poison, squeezing out<sup>3</sup> the poison, washing<sup>4</sup> above (the wound) and below it ?”

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<sup>1</sup> I have tried to distinguish between *bhesajjaparitta* (safety-runes as medicines) and *parittabhesajja* (medicines that are safety-runes), though I do not know what this distinction is intended to signify. To render the compounds as “ safety-runes and medicines ” and “ medicines and safety-runes ” respectively, does not seem to be quite in accordance with what is meant.

<sup>2</sup> *pāṭiyamāno*, probably med. of *pāṭeti*, to remove. See also Morris, *JPTS*, 1884, p. 87. This appears to be one of the three methods of curing snake-bite recognized by Morris, *id. cit.*, who gives the other two as the muttering of spells and the use of emetics and purgatives. At *Miln.* 150 a spell was used, not as a direct cure, but for fetching the snake that had bitten the man and making it resorb

“ Yes, revered sir, even today that (custom) exists in the world.”

“ Well then, sire, to say that the activity of medicines that are safety-runes is useless—that is a false statement. For, sire, when a safety-rune has been made, a snake ready to bite a man does not do so but closes its open mouth.<sup>1</sup> And the club held aloft by robbers is of no avail—letting it drop they show regard to him instead.<sup>2</sup> And an enraged bull-elephant rushing up (to him) quietens down.<sup>3</sup> And a great blazing mass of fire is extinguished as it is approaching him.<sup>4</sup> And a deadly poison he has eaten turns into an antidote or serves as food.<sup>5</sup> And murderers approaching him with the inten-

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the poison it had emitted into him. Whether, above, the cure was effected by the poisonous snake or by the man who had been bitten it is difficult to say. The active parts of the three verbs (which Trenckner, p. 425, says he “ can make nothing of ”) are used: *pātīyamāno cikhassanto ācamayamāno*. But Morris considers all must have a causal sense. This then, together with the king's answer and taking into consideration the passage at *Miln.* 150 and the story of *Jā.* No. 69, make it look as if, above, it were more likely that the snake resorbed the poison, rather than the man it had bitten, by sucking and squeezing it out and then sipping it back, *i.e.*, resorbing it.

<sup>3</sup> Morris, *id. cit.*, suggests that *cikhassanta* must be referred to the root *kshar*, to ooze out and “ here signifies causing to ooze out,” therefore squeezing out. *MilnT.* explains by *vināsayamāna*, destroying.

<sup>4</sup> Morris would refer *ācamayamāna*, “ if the reading is correct,” to root *cam* (so also Trenckner, p. 425), to rinse; also to sip, drink; to eat. Here *ā+cam* may have the sense of sipping back, though not necessarily using a poison-fang to do so. *Cf. paccācamāpeyya* at *Miln.* 150. *Cf. D. i. 12.*

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<sup>1</sup> This perhaps refers to the *Khandhaka-parittā*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably referring to *Angulimāla*, who with growing respect for the majesty of the Buddha threw his murderous weapons away.

<sup>3</sup> A reference to *Vin.* ii. 194 ff. where, through the power of *mettā*, the Buddha quietened the enraged elephant *Devadatta* had had loosened on purpose to kill him.

<sup>4</sup> For this and the next *cf.*, *Miln.* 120-121, where the dangers were averted by an asseveration of truth.

<sup>5</sup> *āhārattham pharati*. *Cf. Vin.* i. 199, *āhārattham phareyya*, and correct °*attam* to °*attham*.

tion of killing him turn into servitors.<sup>1</sup> And the trap on which he has trodden does not hold him.<sup>2</sup> But have you, sire, ever heard of the peacock who no hunter was able to lure into the trap for seven hundred years because he had made a safety-rune (each day) but whom (a hunter) lured into a trap the very day he failed to make the safety-rune?"

[153] "Yes, revered sir, it has been heard of; its renown has spread through the world with the devas."

"Well then, sire, to say that the activity of medicines that are safety-runes is useless—that is a false statement. But have you, sire, ever heard that a *dānava*<sup>3</sup> in order to guard his wife put her in a box, swallowed it and carried her about<sup>4</sup> in his belly, but that a sorcerer,<sup>5</sup> entering into the *dānava* through his mouth, took his pleasure with her; and that, when the *dānava* discovered this, he vomited up the box and opened it, but when it was opened the sorcerer went off according to his fancy?"

"Yes, revered sir, it has been heard of; its renown has spread through the world with the devas."

"But did not that sorcerer, sire, escape capture through the power of a safety-rune?"

"Yes, revered sir."

"Well then, sire, there is power in a safety-rune. Have you ever heard, sire, that another sorcerer,<sup>6</sup> committing adultery in the King of Banaras's palace with his chief queen, was captured but became invisible at that moment and got away<sup>7</sup> through the power of an incantation?"

"Yes, sire, it has been heard of."

"Did not that sorcerer, sire, escape capture through the power of a safety-rune?"

"Yes, revered sir."

<sup>1</sup> See *Vin.* ii. 191.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the Mora-jātaka (No. 159) as does the next sentence.

<sup>3</sup> A kind of asura or demon, descendants of Danu, mother of the asuras. This story is told at *Jā.* No. 436, vol. iii. p. 527.

<sup>4</sup> *pariharati* means both to carry about and to protect, to shelter.

<sup>5</sup> *vijjādharma.* *Jā.* iii. 528 calls him Vāyussa putto, son of the wind.

<sup>6</sup> *Jā.* iii. 303 (No. 391). <sup>7</sup> *Jā.* iii. 304 says he rose into the sky.

“ Well then, sire, there is power in a safety-rune.”

“ Revered Nāgasena, do safety-runes protect<sup>1</sup> everyone ?”

“ The protect some, sire, some they do not protect.”

“ Well then, revered Nāgasena, a safety-rune is not always useful.”

“ Now, sire, does food preserve<sup>1</sup> everyone's life ?”

“ It preserves some, revered sir, some it does not preserve.”

“ How is that ?”

“ Revered sir, when some people have eaten too much of that same food they die of cholera.”

“ Well then, sire, food does not preserve everyone's life.”

“ There are two reasons, revered Nāgasena, why food destroys life: because too much is eaten, or because vitality is low.<sup>2</sup> A life-giving food, revered Nāgasena, destroys life because of a bad digestion.”<sup>3</sup>

“ In the same way, sire, a safety-rune protects some, some it does not protect. There are three reasons, sire, why a safety-rune does not [154] protect: because of an obstruction due to kamma, because of an obstruction due to the defilements, because of lack of faith. A safety-rune, sire, that is a protection to beings (may) lose its protective power by (something) done by oneself. It is, sire, as a mother nourishes the child in her womb, brings it forth with gentle care,<sup>4</sup> and having brought it forth and cleansed it of its impurities, stains and mucus, then anoints it with the best and most beautiful perfumes; and if others abuse it or strike it, then, dragging them along with her heart beating, she brings them before her husband; but if her child is naughty or unpunctual then she hits him or goes for<sup>5</sup> him with a

<sup>1</sup> Protect and preserve are both *rakkhati*. See below, *Miln.* 167.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. “ warmth is feeble.”

<sup>3</sup> For use of *upacāra* with *manta* see *Jā.* iii. 280. Here and at *Miln.* 167 we have simply *durupacārena*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 266.

<sup>5</sup> *potheti*; see *PED* under *pothetvā* which gives var. readings *yodhetvā* and *sodhetvā*, either of which would fit well here: she attacks him, or she corrects him, *i.e.*, purifies or cleanses him (of his wrong behaviour).

stick, a club, her knees and fists. Now, would his mother, sire, get seized, dragged along, pulled about and made to appear before her husband ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ Why not, sire ?”

“ Because it was his (the boy’s) own fault, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, it is through his own fault that (a man) makes barren a safety-rune that has protective power for beings.”

“ It is good, revered Nāgasena; the question has been well analysed, the thicket made clear, the darkness made light and the net of speculative views disentangled thanks to you, a most excellent teacher.”

[Second Division 5: Is the Tathāgata a Recipient or not ?]

“ Revered Nāgasena, you say: ‘ The Tathāgata was a recipient of the requisites of robe-material, almsfood, lodgings, and medicines for the sick.’<sup>1</sup> And again you say: ‘ The Tathāgata, entering the brahman village of Pañcasālā (Five Sāl Trees) but receiving nothing, returned with his bowl washed (as it was before he set out).’<sup>2</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, the Tathāgata was a recipient of the requisites of robe-material, almsfood, lodgings, and medicines for the sick, well then, false is that statement which says: ‘ The Tathāgata, entering . . . returned with his bowl washed (as it was before he set out).’ But if, on entering the brahman village of Pañcasālā and receiving nothing, he returned with his bowl washed (as it was before he set out), well then, false is that statement which says: ‘ The Tathāgata is a recipient of the requisites of robe-material, almsfood, lodgings, [155] and medicines for the sick.’ This too is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *A.* iv. 399. The quotation itself, if it be one, is not yet traced.

<sup>2</sup> This episode is given at *S.* i. 113 f.; see *KS.* i. 143, n. 1, and also *DhA.* iii. 257.

a double-pronged question, very wide, difficult to penetrate;<sup>1</sup> it is put to you; it is for you to solve."

"Sire, the Tathāgata was a recipient of the requisites of robe-material . . . medicines for the sick. And having entered the brahman village of Pañcasālā, but receiving nothing, he returned with his bowl washed (as it was before he set out). But that was the doing of Māra, the Malign One."

"Well then, revered Nāgasena, how was it that the period of time, amounting to eons during which the Lord had effected skill, came to an end? How was it that that skill—an abiding in strength and urgency<sup>2</sup>—was shut down<sup>3</sup> by Māra the Malign One who had only just come on the scene?<sup>4</sup> Well then, revered Nāgasena, fault can be found with this proposition on two counts: unskill is stronger than skill, and, Māra's power was greater than the Buddha's power."

"Well then, the crown of a tree is weightier than the roots, and evil<sup>5</sup> is stronger than the heaping up of special qualities."

"Sire, it is certainly not just that unskill is stronger than skill or that Māra's power was greater than the Buddha's. So an explanation is desirable here. Suppose, sire, a man were to bring some honey or a honey-ball<sup>6</sup> or another offering to a wheel-turning king, but that the king's janitor should speak to him thus: 'This is a wrong time, sir, for seeing the king. Take your offerings, sir, and go away very quickly before the king inflicts a punishment on you'; and then that that man, trembling and afraid with the fear of the punishment, should take that offering and go away very quickly. Now, sire, is that wheel-turner, merely because of an offering brought at a wrong time, less powerful than the janitor, and could he never receive any other offering?"

<sup>1</sup> *dunnibedha*, as at *Miln.* 233.

<sup>2</sup> *balavegavihāra*, an abiding in ferocious strength.

<sup>3</sup> *pihita*. See *Miln.* 139.

<sup>4</sup> *adhunuttithita*.

<sup>5</sup> It is impossible to render the comparative *pāpiya* here.

<sup>6</sup> *M.A.* ii. 78 explains *madhupiṇḍika* as a large sweet cake or sugared meal made into cakes.

“ No, revered sir, out of jealousy the janitor turned away the offering, but an offering for the king a hundred thousand times its value may come in at another door.”

[156] “ Even so, sire, out of jealousy did Māra the Malign One take possession of the brahman householders of Pañcasālā, but various hundreds of thousands of other devas, bringing a deathless<sup>1</sup> deva-like nutritive essence,<sup>2</sup> approached the Lord and, honouring him, stood with their palms joined in salutation, thinking: ‘ We will infuse the nutritive essence into the Lord’s body.’ ”

“ Let that be, revered Nāgasena. The four requisites (for a monk’s life) were easily gotten by the Lord, the Supernal Person in the world,<sup>3</sup> the Lord who, when he had been entreated by devas and men, made use of the four requisites. But, on the other hand, as long as Māra’s intention was successful it formed a stumbling-block to the Lord’s (obtaining) food. My doubt on this score is not cut off, revered sir; I am in doubt and perplexed about it, and in regard to it my mind does not appreciate<sup>4</sup> how the wretched, miserable, insignificant, evil, unariyan Māra formed a stumbling-block to the receiving of alms by the Tathāgata, arahant, Perfect Buddha, the Splendid Foremost Person in the world with the devas, potent<sup>5</sup> in glorious merit and skill, unequalled, unrivalled, incomparable.”

“ Four are the stumbling-blocks, sire: the stumbling-block (to a gift to a person who is) not specified; the stumbling-block (to a gift made) to a particular person; the stumbling-block (to a gift) that has been prepared; the stumbling-block to making use (of a gift that has

<sup>1</sup> *amata*, perhaps ambrosial here.

<sup>2</sup> *amataḍḍibbā oḷā*. Cf. *M.* i. 245 where Gotama, before the Enlightenment, refused the devas’ offer for him to absorb the deva-like nutritive essences through the pores of his skin.

<sup>3</sup> *uttamapurisa* as at *S.* iii. 118, iv. 384. Symbolism is perhaps implied here: that this Highest Person had mounted to the top of the cosmic Tree or Pillar, the ladder between earth and heaven.

<sup>4</sup> *pakkhandati*, to jump, leap forward; launch out into; enter into, and so apprehend, appreciate. Cf. *Miln.* 36, 325.

<sup>5</sup> *sambhava*, possibly meaning, since the Lord was the Way-Shower, the *origin* of merit and skill.

been or is being given). As to this, the stumbling-block (to a gift to a person who is) not specified means: someone makes a stumbling-block that is effective (against a gift given) in general terms<sup>1</sup> and without (the donor) having specified<sup>2</sup> (a special recipient) by saying: 'What is the good of giving it to another?'—this is the stumbling-block (to a gift to a person who is) not specified.

What is the stumbling-block (to a gift made) to a particular person? In this case the food that has been prepared is pointed out as being for a definite person, but someone makes a stumbling-block to this (plan)—this is the stumbling-block (to a gift made) to a particular person.

What is the stumbling-block (to a gift) that has been prepared? Here, whatever it is that has been prepared is not received. (For) someone makes a stumbling-block there—this is the stumbling-block (to a gift) that has been prepared.

What is the stumbling-block to making use (of a gift that has been or is being given)? Here, to whatever is the use (to be made of it) someone makes a stumbling-block there—this is the stumbling-block to making use (of a gift that has been or is being given). These, sire, are the four stumbling-blocks.

But when Māra the Malign One took possession of the brahman householders of Pañcasālā, what was for the Lord's use had been neither prepared nor made specifically for him. [157] The stumbling-block was made without it having been seen that he had not arrived and had not reached (the village). But that was (so) not of the one Lord only; for no one who at that time had set out and arrived received any food that day. In the world with its devas, Māras, Brahmās, in the generation of devas and men with its recluses and brahmans I do not see him who could make a stumbling-block (to a gift made) for a specified person, (to a gift) that had been

<sup>1</sup> *anodissa*, unrestricted to specified recipients.

<sup>2</sup> *adassanena*. CPD. s.v. *aditth' antarāya*, says "anodissa adassanena proves that the author of *Miln.* hesitated between 'not seen' (root *drç*) and 'not pointed out' (root *diç*)."

prepared for that Lord's use. If anyone, out of jealousy, were to make a stumbling-block (to a gift made) for a specified person, (to a gift) that had been prepared, then would his head split into a hundred or a thousand pieces.

There are these four special qualities in a Tathāgata, sire, that are not to be obstructed by anyone. What four? No one is able to make a stumbling-block to the receiving by the Lord (of a gift) made specially for him, (of a gift) prepared for him. No one is able to make a stumbling-block to the halo extending for a fathom all round the Lord's physical frame. No one is able to make a stumbling-block to the Jewel of Knowledge that is the Lord's omniscience. No one is able to make a stumbling-block to the Lord's life-principle. These, sire, are the four special qualities in a Tathāgata that are not to be obstructed by anyone. All these special qualities, sire, are one in their essential function, they are sound, unshakable, unassailable (by other beings), they are causally ineffective (qualities), not to be interfered with.<sup>1</sup> Māra the Malign One, sire, hiding himself and not being seen, took possession of the brahman householders of Pañcasālā. As, sire, while thieves, hiding themselves and not being seen in a king's inaccessible border districts, despoil the roads—but if the king should see these thieves could they obtain safety?"

"No, revered sir, he might have them chopped up with a sharp axe into a hundred or a thousand pieces."

"Even so, sire, Māra the Malign One, hiding himself and not being seen, took possession of the brahman householders of Pañcasālā. Or as, sire, a woman hiding herself and not being seen by her own husband consorts with another man, even so, sire, did Māra the Malign One, hiding himself and not being seen, take possession of the brahman householders of Pañcasālā. If, [158]

<sup>1</sup> *aphusāni kiriyāni*, which Trenckner, p. 425, says "seems wrong, at any rate unintelligible to me"; Rh.D. does "not pretend to understand"; CPD says the passage is corrupt but suggests, following PED., "not to be touched" for *aphusāni*. The above translation is therefore very tentative.

sire, the woman consorts with the other man in full view of her husband, can she obtain safety ?”

“ No, revered sir, her husband might kill her or harm her or imprison her or reduce her to slavery.”

“ Even so, sire, Māra, the Malign One, hiding himself and not being seen, took possession of the brahman householders of Pañcasālā. If, sire, Māra the Malign One were to have made a stumbling-block to the Lord's use (of a gift made) for a specified person, (a gift) that had been prepared, his head would have split into a hundred or a thousand pieces.”

“ That is so, revered Nāgasena. Māra the Malign One acted as did the thieves: Māra the Malign One, hiding himself, took possession of the brahman householders of Pañcasālā. If, revered sir, that Māra the Malign One had made a stumbling-block to the Lord's use of (a gift given) specially for him, (or of a gift) that had been prepared, his head would have split into a hundred or a thousand pieces or his body would have been scattered about like a handful of chaff. It is good, revered Nāgasena; thus it is, therefore do I accept it.”

### [Second Division 6: Not Knowing]

“ Revered Nāgasena, you say: ‘ He who unknowingly makes onslaught on creatures stores up serious<sup>1</sup> demerit.’<sup>2</sup> And again it was said by the Lord when he was regulating the Vinaya: ‘ There is no offence for one who does not know.’<sup>3</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, anyone without knowing it is making onslaught on creatures and is (thus) storing up serious demerit, well then, false is that statement

<sup>1</sup> The comparative, *balavatara*, is used here.

<sup>2</sup> This dictum, untraced, is hardly in accordance with the *Vinaya* rulings, the spirit of which, as regards the taking of life, is expressed in the opposing citation.

<sup>3</sup> *Vin.* iii. 78 (Pār. 3), iv. 49 (Pāc. 20), iv. 125 (Pāc. 61)—all of which are rules against the taking of human or animal life. But in none of them is the phrase cited above attributed to the Buddha; it occurs as part of the Old Commentary.

which says: 'There is no offence for one who does not know.' But if there is no offence for one who does not know, well then, false is that statement which says: 'Making onslaught on creatures without knowing it, he is storing up serious demerit.'<sup>1</sup> This too is a double-pronged question, difficult to speak on, difficult to overcome;<sup>2</sup> it is put to you; it is for you to solve."

"This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'He who unknowingly makes onslaught on creatures stores up serious demerit.' But again it was said by the Lord when he was regulating the Vinaya: 'There is no offence for one who does not know.' There is a difference in the meaning there. What is the [159] difference in the meaning? There is, sire, the (type of) offence in which (contemporary) awareness counts (as a factor) for acquittal, and there is the (type of) offence in which (contemporary) awareness does not count (as a factor) for acquittal.<sup>3</sup> It was in reference to that (type of) offence, sire, in which (contemporary) awareness counts (as a factor) for acquittal that the Lord said: 'There is no offence for one who does not know.'"

"It is good, revered Nāgasena, so it is; thus do I accept it."

### [Second Division 7: Leading the Order]

"Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: 'Ānanda, it does not occur to a Tathāgata thus: I will lead the Order of monks, or, The Order of monks is dependent on me.'<sup>4</sup> But again this was said by the Lord when he was extolling the special qualities with their essential nature of the Lord Metteyya:<sup>5</sup> 'He will lead an Order of monks numbering several thousands,

<sup>1</sup> Here the quotation, if it is meant to be such, is worded differently from its first postulation above.

<sup>2</sup> *duratikkama*, of surpassing difficulty.

<sup>3</sup> *āpatti saññāvimokkhā āpatti no saññāvimokkhā*, as at *Vin.* v. 116, *VinA.* 1321, *Kkv.* 24; cf. *MilnT.* 29. See Intr., p. xlviii.

<sup>4</sup> *D.* ii. 100.

<sup>5</sup> The next Buddha to come.

even as I now lead an Order of monks numbering several hundreds.<sup>1</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, the Lord said: 'Ānanda, it does not occur to a Tathāgata thus: I will lead the Order of monks, or, The Order of monks is dependent on me,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'I lead an Order of monks numbering several hundreds.' But if it was said by the Tathāgata: 'As I now lead an Order of monks numbering several hundreds,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'Ānanda, it does not occur to a Tathāgata thus: I will lead the Order of monks, or, The Order of monks is dependent on me.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

"This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'Ānanda, it does not occur to a Tathāgata: I will lead the Order of monks, or, The Order of monks is dependent on me.' When the Lord was extolling the special qualities with their essential nature of the Lord Metteyya he said: 'He will lead an Order of monks numbering several thousands even as I now lead an Order of monks numbering several hundreds.' In this question, sire, one meaning is incomplete, one meaning complete.<sup>2</sup> The Tathāgata, sire, does not conform to the assembly, but the assembly conforms to the Tathāgata. [160] This, sire, is conventional parlance: 'I,' 'mine'; this is not an ultimate meaning. Absent, sire, is affection<sup>3</sup> in a Tathāgata, absent is clinging, and for a Tathāgata there is no seizing hold (of anything) as 'mine.' But there is help (for men) by cleaving to him.<sup>4</sup> As, sire, the earth is the support of

<sup>1</sup> D. iii. 76.

<sup>2</sup> See above, *Miln.*, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> *pema*, regard, love, affection; here perhaps something more like *rāga*, often to be translated as attachment (to worldly desires, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> *upādāya pana avassayo hoti*, of which the above is but a tentative translation, the sense being derived in part from the simile following. A literal translation would be: but having laid hold of, there is support, or help; and the meaning: but to them who grasp he is the support; and the idea: that though the Tathāgata grasps after nothing in the world, his disciples will benefit by clinging or cleaving to him (and his Dhamma). Si. reads *upādāya pana upassayo avaseso hoti* which seems to mean: but by cleaving to him there is an asylum (abode, home) that remains.

beings who are based on the ground and is their home, yet though these beings are based on it, the great earth has no longings such as: 'These are mine.' Even so, sire, the Tathāgata is the support of all beings and is their home, yet though these beings are based on him, the Tathāgata has no longings such as 'These are mine.' Or as a massive great cloud that is raining heavily gives growth to grass, trees, cattle and men and maintains their continuity, and though these beings all subsist by rain, yet the great cloud has no longings such as: 'These are mine.' Even so, sire, the Tathāgata generates and maintains skilled mental states for all beings, and though all these beings subsist by the Teacher, yet the Tathāgata has no longings such as: 'These are mine.' What is the reason for this? It is due to his having got rid of wrong view of self."<sup>1</sup>

"It is good, revered Nāgasena, the question has been well unravelled in a variety of ways; what was profound has been made clear; the knot is severed, the thicket made open, darkness made light; shattered are the tenets of others; vision has uprisen for the sons of the Conqueror."

[Second Division 8: A Following that cannot be split]

"Revered Nāgasena, you say: 'The Tathāgata's following cannot be split.'<sup>2</sup> But again you say: 'Five hundred monks were split off at one stroke by Devadatta.'<sup>3</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, the Tathāgata's following cannot be split, well then, false is that statement which says: 'Five hundred monks were split off at one stroke by Devadatta.' If five hundred monks were split off at one stroke by Devadatta, [161] well then, false is that statement which says: 'The Tathāgata's following

<sup>1</sup> *attānuditthi*, see above, p. 204, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *abhejjapariso*. Cf. *D.* iii. 172: a Buddha acquires a following of monks, nuns, men and women lay-followers, asuras, nāgas and gandhabbas that cannot be split (by schism).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vin.* ii. 199 where Devadatta split the Order of monks and went off to Gayā Head with 500 of them. Cf. also *Miln.* 107 ff., 214.

cannot be split.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you; it is profound, hard to unravel, more knotty than a knot; in regard to it this generation (of people) is closed in,<sup>1</sup> blocked,<sup>1</sup> obstructed,<sup>1</sup> covered and enveloped. Show herein your power of knowledge among other tenets."

"The Tathāgata's following cannot be split, sire, and five hundred monks were split off at one stroke by Devadatta. But this was on account of the power of the splitter.<sup>2</sup> When a splitter exists, sire, there is no 'cannot be split.' If there be a splitter a mother can be split from her son, a son can be split from his mother, a father can be split from his son, a son from his father, a brother can be split from his sister, a sister from her brother, friend can be split from friend, a boat constructed of various timbers<sup>3</sup> can be split by the force and violence of the waves, a tree full of luscious and juicy fruit<sup>4</sup> can be split by the power and force of the wind, and the finest sort of gold can be split by copper. But, sire, this is not the intention of wise men, this is not the resolve of the Buddhas, it is not the desire of the learned that a Tathāgata's following can be split. Moreover, in this case there was a reason on account of which it was said: 'The Tathāgata's following cannot be split.' What was the reason in this case? It has never yet been heard, sire, that a company has been split by what has been done by a Tathāgata's act of grasping<sup>5</sup> or unfriendly speech or by (his) faring after what is not the goal or by (his) lack of equitability—so how could a company be split when he is faring the faring? On

<sup>1</sup> *āvato niryuto ovuto*. See *D.* i. 246, *M.* iii. 131. Variants of *ovuta* are *oputa*, *ophuta*, etc. See also *DA.* 59.

<sup>2</sup> *bhedaka*, sometimes meaning a schismatic.

<sup>3</sup> At *Miln.* 376 such a boat is spoken of as helping people to cross over.

<sup>4</sup> *madhukappasampannaphala*, fruit abounding and flowing with sweetness; *madhu* is honey, therefore sweetness, ripeness, hence "luscious"; *kappa* is here to be taken as "juice," so *PED.* Thus, a tree the fruit (of which) is abounding in sweet juice.

<sup>5</sup> *ādānena*, which *Trenckner*, p. 425, says is "scarcely right." But the word in both its positive and negative forms is well known.

account of this reason it is said that a Tathāgata's following cannot be split. And have you ever been informed of this, sire, that a Sutta has been handed down in the nine-limbed speech of the Buddha<sup>1</sup> to the effect that it was because of something done by the Bodhisatta that the Tathāgata's company was split?"

"Revered sir, this has not been seen in the world, nor has it been heard of. It is good, revered Nāgasena, so it is, therefore do I accept it."

### The Second Division

[Third Division 1: "Dhamma is Best"]

[162] "Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: 'For Dhamma, Vāseṭṭha, is "best in the world"<sup>2</sup> both for the here and now and for a future state.'<sup>3</sup> But on the other hand, a lay-devotee, a householder, who is a stream-attainer for whom the sorrowful ways are shut off, who has attained to (right) views and understood the Instruction,<sup>4</sup> greets and rises up for a monk or novice (though he be but) an ordinary man.<sup>5</sup> If,

<sup>1</sup> *navāṅga Buddhavacana*. These nine divisions into which the Teaching was at some time classified are enumerated at e.g., *M.* i. 133 (see *MLS.* i. 171, notes) and *Miln.*, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> This is a quotation from a famous verse occurring, e.g., at *D.* i. 99, iii. 97, *M.* i. 358, *S.* i. 153, ii. 284, *A.* v. 327.

<sup>3</sup> The Aggañña Sutta where this passage occurs (*D.* iii. 93 ff.) was addressed to the two brahmins, Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Miln.* 102.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, one who has not yet entered the stream (of Dhamma). The passage, as such, has not been traced, and may not be intended as a quotation. *MA.* i. 21 recognizes two kinds of *puṭhujjana*, the blind one and the lovely one. It should be noticed that two kings (one at *D.* i. 60-61, the other at *M.* ii. 101) each declares that he would greet and stand up for his former slave and a former robber respectively, now that these have entered the Order, since when, it must be conceded, they were behaving in an exemplary fashion and probably were more advanced than mere *puṭhujjana*. Comparable in spirit to the above sentiment are the eight important rules for nuns, *garudhammā*, among which is the injunction that no matter how long it is since a nun was ordained she must greet and rise up for a monk ordained but that very day.

revered Nāgasena, the Lord said: 'For Dhamma, Vāseṭṭha, is "best in the world" both for the here and now and for a future state,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'A lay-devotee, a householder, who is a stream-attainer . . . greets and rises up for a monk or novice (though he be but) an ordinary man.' If a lay-devotee, a householder, who is a stream-attainer . . . greets and rises up for a monk or novice (though he be but) an ordinary man, well then, false is that statement which says: 'For Dhamma, Vāseṭṭha, is "best in the world" both for the here and now and for a future state.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you; it is for you to solve."

"This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'For Dhamma Vāseṭṭha, is "best in the world" both for the here and now and for a future state.' And a lay-devotee, a householder, who is a stream-attainer, for whom the sorrowful ways are shut off, who has attained to (right) views and understood the Instruction, greets and rises up for a monk or novice (though he be but) an ordinary man. But there is a reason for this. What is the reason? There are twenty things, sire, making a recluse into a (true) recluse and two outward signs<sup>1</sup> because of which a recluse is worthy of greeting, standing up for, veneration and honour. What are the twenty things making a recluse into a (true) recluse and the two outward signs? (They are) the best form of restraint, the highest form of constraint, (right) faring, (right) abiding,<sup>2</sup> self-restraint,<sup>3</sup> self-control,<sup>4</sup> patience, docility,<sup>5</sup> faring in solitude, delight in solitude, solitary meditation, conscience-and-shame, energy,<sup>6</sup> diligence,<sup>7</sup> undertaking

<sup>1</sup> *liṅga*, see *Miln.* 133.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to meditation or the four postures.

<sup>3</sup> *sam̐yama*: in body, speech and thought. According to *MilnT.*, over the sense-faculties.

<sup>4</sup> *sam̐vara*: over the six senses, see e.g., *M.* i. 346; or, according to *MilnT.*, the control of the Pātimokkha.

<sup>5</sup> *soracca*; cf. *A.* ii. 113, *AA.* ii. 161: being docile in regard to the development of good character or behaviour. *AA.* iii. 120 speaks of moral habit being pure (cf. *AA.* iii. 324, 371).

<sup>6</sup> In the four right efforts.

<sup>7</sup> In the quest for arahantship.

of the training, the recitation (of its rules), the interrogation,<sup>1</sup> delight in moral habit and so forth,<sup>2</sup> being without pleasure (in worldly things), the fulfilment of the rules of training; wearing the yellow robe and being shaven—[163] these, sire, are the twenty things making a recluse into a (true) recluse and the two outward signs. A monk lives undertaking these special qualities. By not being deficient in these things, by fulfilling them, accomplishing them and being possessed of them, he is coming to<sup>3</sup> the adept's stage, the arahant's stage, he is coming to the best stage of existence; it is because he is thought of as close to arahantship that it is meet<sup>4</sup> for a lay-devotee who is a stream-attainer to greet and rise up for a monk (though he be but) an ordinary man. 'Thinking: 'He has reached recluship among those whose cankers are destroyed but that company is not for me,' it is meet for a lay-devotee who is a stream-attainer to greet and rise up for a monk (though he be but) an ordinary man. Thinking: 'He has reached the highest assembly but I have not reached that place.' . . . Thinking: 'He has acquired (the position of) hearing the recitation of the Obligations, but I have not acquired (the position of) hearing it.' . . . Thinking: 'He allows others to go forth (into homelessness) and ordains them, he makes the Conqueror's teaching grow, but I have not acquired (the position of) doing that.' . . . Thinking: 'He is one who carries out completely the slightest rule of the training, but I do not proceed among them.' . . . Thinking: 'He has reached (the position of wearing) the outward sign of a recluse, he is established in the Buddha's intention, but I am far removed from this outward sign.' . . . Thinking: 'Though with his hair growing long in his armpits, slovenly and unadorned,

<sup>1</sup> By his teacher or preceptor. *MilnT.* says learning the commentary on the rules of training.

<sup>2</sup> Moral habit, concentration, wisdom.

<sup>3</sup> *okkamati*, reaches, "falls on"; cf. *niddam okkami*, he fell asleep, on sleep. *PED.* suggests that the word implies some internal change or development; this is substantiated by its use above.

<sup>4</sup> *arahati*; probably a play of words with the foregoing arahantship is intended.

*he* is yet anointed with the perfume of moral habit, but *I* delight in adornment and ornaments,' it is meet for a lay-devotee who is a stream-attainer to greet and rise up for a monk (though he be but) an ordinary man. Moreover, sire, (the layman) thinking: 'These twenty things that make a recluse into a (true) recluse and the two outward signs are all things that are found in a monk; *he* understands<sup>1</sup> these things themselves, and gets others to train themselves therein, but that tradition, that training, are not for *me*,' it is meet for a lay-devotee who is a stream-attainer to greet and rise up for a monk (though he be but) an ordinary man. [164] Moreover, sire, it is like a prince who has studied (various kinds of) lore with the family priest and trained in the duties of a warrior; after a time when he has been anointed (king) he (still) greets his teacher and rises up for him, thinking: 'He was my teacher.'<sup>2</sup> Even so, sire, (a layman) thinking: 'He is a teacher, one who upholds the succession (of teachers),'<sup>3</sup> it is meet for the lay-devotee who is a stream-attainer to greet and rise up for a monk (though he be but) an ordinary man. Moreover, sire, by this disquisition you should know that this is the greatness and unequalled magnitude of the monk's stage: that if, sire, a lay-devotee who is a stream-attainer achieves arahantship<sup>4</sup> there are only two bourns for him, no other: either he may attain complete nibbāna this very day or he may come to monk-status.<sup>5</sup> For, sire, that going forth is immovable, great and lofty,<sup>6</sup> that is to say the monk's stage."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *dhāreti*, or, possesses, bears in mind.

<sup>2</sup> *sikkhāpaka*, trainer (in good rules).

<sup>3</sup> *vamsadhara*, or who carries on the lineage, *i.e.*, the tradition. But I use tradition for *āgama*, what is handed down, what comes down.

<sup>4</sup> At *Kvu.* 267 it is asked whether a householder can be an arahant. Cf. *M.* i. 483.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the two bourns or goings, *gati*, for a householder who becomes an arahant, *Miln.* 264.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the mountain-peak, *Miln.* 322.

<sup>7</sup> *bhikkhubhūmi*. The word for monk-status above is *bhikkhubhāva*. The two words are in close proximity again at *Miln.* 192.

“ Revered Nāgasena, the question has been gone into with knowledge; it is well unravelled by your powerful and great discretion; it is a question that only one as full of discretion as you are is competent to disentangle thus.”

[Third Division 2: The Tathāgata furnishes Weal]

“ Revered Nāgasena, you say: ‘ The Tathāgata, removing woe from all beings furnishes them with welfare.’<sup>1</sup> And again you say: ‘ While the Disquisition on Dhamma which is the Simile of the Mass of Fire was being spoken hot blood issued from the mouths of as many as sixty monks.’<sup>2</sup> Revered sir, while the Tathāgata was teaching the Disquisition on Dhamma which is the Simile of the Mass of Fire he was removing welfare from those sixty monks and furnishing them with woe. If, revered Nāgasena, the Tathāgata, removing woe from all beings furnished them with welfare,<sup>3</sup> well then, false is that statement which says: ‘ While the Disquisition on Dhamma which is the Simile of the Mass of Fire was being spoken hot blood issued from the mouths of as many as sixty monks.’ If while the Disquisition of Dhamma which is the Simile of the Mass of Fire was being spoken hot blood issued from the mouths of as many as sixty monks, [165] well then, false is that statement which says: ‘ The Tathāgata, removing woe from all beings, furnishes them with welfare.’ This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve.”

“ Sire, the Tathāgata, removing woe from all beings, furnished them with welfare. And when the Disquisition on Dhamma which is the Simile of the Mass of Fire was being spoken hot blood issued from the mouths of as

<sup>1</sup> Not traced in the Tipiṭaka though the sentiment expressed is common enough. Cf. *SnA.* i. 128 where *karuṇā*, compassion, is explained as the desire to remove anguish and woe from all beings. An apparently longer quotation, including this sentence, has occurred at *Miln.* 108.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Aggikkhandhūpama Sutta* at *A.* iv. 128-135.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Miln.* 108.

many as sixty monks. But that was not on account of anything the Tathāgata did, that was simply on account of what they did themselves."

"Revered Nāgasena, if the Tathāgata had not spoken the Disquisition on Dhamma which is the Simile of the Mass of Fire would hot blood have issued from their mouths?"

"No, sire. It was when these, who had been proceeding falsely, heard the Lord's Disquisition on Dhamma that a fever arose in their bodies, and it was because of that fever that hot blood issued from their mouths."

"Well then, reverend Nāgasena, it was due only to something done by the Tathāgata that hot blood issued from their mouths. There the Tathāgata only was the main cause<sup>1</sup> of their destruction.<sup>2</sup> Suppose, reverend Nāgasena, that a snake should enter an ant-hill, and a man who wanted some soil should break up the ant-hill and take away some of the soil, but in doing so were to close up the hollow<sup>3</sup> (inside) the ant-hill so that not getting any air there (the snake) should die. Now, reverend sir, did not that snake come to its death through the man's doing?"

"Yes, sire."

"Even so, reverend Nāgasena, it was there the Tathāgata only who was the main cause of their destruction."

"While the Tathāgata was teaching Dhamma, sire, he showed neither approval nor repugnance; freed from approval and repugnance, he taught Dhamma. While he was teaching Dhamma thus, those who were faring along rightly therein were awakened,<sup>4</sup> but those who were faring along wrongly fell. As, sire, when a man is shaking a mango or wood-apple or honey-tree,<sup>5</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *adhikāra*. The Dictionaries do not give the word this meaning, but it is the only one to fit the context.

<sup>2</sup> The idea being that once a man has vomited up hot blood he cannot live.

<sup>3</sup> *susira*, here a noun.

<sup>4</sup> To arahantship.

<sup>5</sup> *madhuka*, *Bassia latifolia*.

strong fruits that are firmly attached (to the tree) remain there undisturbed, while the fruits that have rotten stalks and are but feebly attached there [166] fall. Even so, sire, when the Tathāgata was teaching Dhamma he showed neither approval nor repugnance; freed from approval and repugnance, he taught Dhamma. While he was teaching Dhamma thus, those who were faring along rightly therein were awakened, but those who were faring along wrongly fell. Or as, sire, a farmer wanting to sow corn ploughs a field, but during the ploughing many hundreds of thousands of grasses die; even so, sire, while the Tathāgata was awakening beings whose minds were ripe, freed from approval and repugnance, he taught Dhamma. While he was teaching Dhamma thus, those who were faring along rightly therein were awakened, but those who were faring along wrongly died like those grasses. Or as, sire, men press sugar-cane in a mill for the sake of its juices, but while they are pressing the sugar-cane they also press such worms as pass into the mouth of the mill; even so, sire, while the Tathāgata was awakening beings whose minds were ripe and was pressing them severely<sup>1</sup> in the (sugar-)mill of Dhamma, those who were faring along wrongly therein died like those worms."

"Revered Nāgasena, did not those monks fall because of that teaching of Dhamma?"

"Now, sire, does a carpenter (merely by) preserving a piece of timber make it straight and quite clear (of twists and knots)?"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *abhipīlāyati*, to squeeze hard, to let or make someone squeeze hard. The secondary sense no doubt is that he was, in canonical words, questioning, cross-questioning and pressing them for an answer to his questions.

<sup>2</sup> *parisuddha*. Cf. *M.* i. 31, where the wheelwright tries to shape away all crookedness, twists and knots from a felloe so that it might be "clear," *suddha*, or free of them. The words in the brackets have been added from this *M.* passage. The underlying notion of course is that nothing can be used properly unless it has been properly prepared. So too the mind cannot be rightly used (in meditation) unless the preparatory work of clearing or purifying body and speech (the *sīlas*) of all taints and impediments to mental development has been well and properly carried out.

“ No, revered sir, it is by removing<sup>1</sup> unsuitable parts,<sup>2</sup> revered sir, that the carpenter makes that piece of timber straight and quite clear (of twists and knots).”

“ Even so, sire, the Tathāgata (by merely) preserving his following is not able to awaken beings who are capable of being awakened; but it was by removing the beings who were faring along wrongly that he thus awakened those beings who were capable of being awakened. But, sire, those who are faring along wrongly fall because of their own doing. As, sire, a plaintain, bamboo or she-mule are destroyed by that to which they themselves give birth,<sup>3</sup> so, sire, those who are faring along wrongly are destroyed and fall because of their own doing. As, sire, thieves have their eyes plucked out, are impaled and decapitated because of their own doing, even so, sire, those who are faring along wrongly are destroyed by their own doing and fall from the Conqueror's teaching.

[167] Nothing was done by the Lord or by others to those sixty monks from whose mouths hot blood issued; it was by their own doing only. Suppose, sire, a man should give ambrosia<sup>4</sup> to all people, and they, healthy and long-lived, having eaten of that ambrosia should be free of all illnesses; but then a man who had eaten of it might die because of his bad digestion. Now, sire, would not that man who had given the ambrosia attain some demerit from that source ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, the Tathāgata gave deathlessness,<sup>4</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *apanetvā*, the same word as that used in the first “ citation ” the king brings forward in this dilemma.

<sup>2</sup> *vajjanīya*, what is to be shunned, improper.

<sup>3</sup> This is an allusion to a well-known verse found, e.g., at *Vin.* ii. 188, *S.* i. 154, *A.* ii. 73, *Netti* 130:

Truly its fruit the plaintain does destroy,  
Its fruit the bamboo, its fruit the reed;  
So honours too destroy the fool  
Just as its embryo the mule.

<sup>4</sup> *amata*, the undying = *nibbāna*; also ambrosia, the “ food of the gods.”

gift of Dhamma,<sup>1</sup> to devas and mankind in the ten-thousand-world-system; those beings who are able<sup>2</sup> for it awaken through the deathless Dhamma; but those beings who are not able for it are destroyed and fall through the deathless Dhamma. Food, sire, preserves the life of all beings,<sup>3</sup> but if some who have eaten of it die of cholera,<sup>4</sup> would not the man who had given the food, sire, attain some demerit from that source?"

"O no, revered sir."

"Even so, sire, the Tathāgata gave deathlessness, the gift of Dhamma, to devas and mankind in the ten-thousand-world-system; those beings who are able for it awaken through the deathless Dhamma; but those beings who are not able for it are destroyed and fall through the deathless Dhamma."

"It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, therefore do I accept it."

[Third Division 3: Allaying Doubt]

"Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord:

'Control of body is good, good is control of speech,  
Control of mind is good, good is control in everything.'<sup>5</sup>

And again when the Tathāgata was seated in the midst of four assemblies he showed Sela the brahman in front of the devas and mankind the sheath-cased which was cloth-hid.<sup>6</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, [168] it was said by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dhp.* 151: *dhammo na jaram upeti*, Dhamma ages not; and *Dhp.* 354; *sabbadānam dhammadānam jināti*, every gift the gift of Dhamma conquers.

<sup>2</sup> *bhabbā*, capable, qualified for. Cf. *DA.* 682 where the Lord arranged some devas into two groups according as they were *bhabbā* or *abhabbā* and then, "getting rid of those who were *abhabbā*, he examined those who were *bhabbā*."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Khp.* IV, A. v. 50, 55: *sabbe sattā āharaṭṭhitikā*, all beings are subsisters by nutriment, though the word for "food" above is *bhojana*, not *āhāra*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Mīln.* 153.

<sup>5</sup> *S.* i. 73; *Dhp.* 361. Also *Mīln.* 399; quoted at *MA.* iii. 211.

<sup>6</sup> One of the 32 Marks of a Great Man revealed to Sela; see *M. Sta.* 92, *Sn.*, p. 103 ff. which this part of *Mīln.* appears to follow closely.

the Lord: 'Control of body is good,' well then, false is that statement which says he showed Sela the brahman the sheath-cased which was cloth-hid. If he showed Sela the brahman the sheath-cased which was cloth-hid, well then, false is that statement which says: 'Control of body is good.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

"This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'Control of body is good.' And the sheath-cased which was cloth-hid was shown to the brahman Sela. To him in whom, sire, doubts have arisen about the Tathāgata, then for the sake of awakening him the Lord shows the relevant part of his body by means of his psychic power, and he (Sela) saw that self-same wonder."

"But who can believe this, revered sir, that in an assembly only one person saw what was hidden, while the rest (of the people), though they were there, did not see it? Please will you point out a reason to me for this. Convince me by a reason."

"But have you, sire, ever seen some ill man surrounded by his relations and friends?"

"Yes, revered sir."

"And does the assembly see this feeling, sire, from which feeling the man is suffering?"

"No, revered sir, only the man himself experiences that."

"Even so, sire, only to him in whom doubts have arisen in regard to the Tathāgata does the Lord, for the sake of awakening (him), show the relevant part of his body by means of his psychic power; he alone sees that wonder. Or as, sire, some demon<sup>1</sup> might enter a man—would that company, sire, see<sup>2</sup> the possession by that demon?"

*Cf. M. Sta. 91* where the brahman youth Uttara was granted this same experience so as to be able to tell his aged teacher Brahmāyu whether the Lord were indeed a Perfect Buddha which, in the brahmans' view, he would be if he had all the 32 marks on his body.

<sup>1</sup> *bhūta*, here *amanussa* must be implied, see *Sn.* 222.

<sup>2</sup> *passati*. I keep the literal "see," but often other activities are meant, such as "know."

“ O no, revered sir, only that afflicted man sees the arrival of that demon.”

“ Even so, sire, it is only he in whom doubts have arisen about the Tathāgata that sees that wonder.”

“ Done by the Lord, revered sir, was what was difficult to do in showing to only one person that which cannot be seen.”

“ The Lord, sire, did not show what was hidden, [169] but through his psychic power he showed its shadow.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Even if what is seen, revered sir, is seen only as a shadow, he who has (so) seen what was hidden has arrived at his goal.”<sup>2</sup>

“ The Tathāgata, sire, did what was difficult to do in order to awaken beings who were capable of being awakened. If, sire, the Tathāgata had neglected anything whatsoever that he might have done,<sup>3</sup> beings who were capable of being awakened could not have awakened. But inasmuch, sire, as the Tathāgata was knowledgeable in earnest disciplines<sup>4</sup> to awaken those who were capable of being awakened, therefore by whatever was the earnest discipline by which those awakened who were capable of being awakened, it was by that earnest discipline that the Tathāgata awakened those who were capable of being awakened. As, sire, a physician and surgeon approaches a miserably ill man with whatever remedy it is by which he is to be cured: making one who has to have an emetic have one, making one who is to have a purgative take one, making one who is to be treated with ointment be so treated, making one who is to be given an injection of fragrant oil be so treated. Even so, sire, by whatever was the earnest discipline by which beings awakened who were capable

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<sup>1</sup> An elaboration of canonical accounts. Cf. *DA.* 275-276, *MA.* iii. 369, *SnA.* 452.

<sup>2</sup> *nīttā*, conclusion; here, ascertaining whether the Buddha were indeed complete as to all the 32 marks of a Great Man.

<sup>3</sup> “ Anything he might have done ” is *kiriyaṃ kiriyaṃ*, action after action, this action or that by which he might awaken any particular person to arahantship.

<sup>4</sup> *yogaññū*, as at *Miln.* 110.

of being awakened, it was by that earnest discipline that the Tathāgata awakened them.

Or as, sire, a woman difficult to be delivered shows a physician what is hidden and cannot be seen, even so, sire, by his psychic power did the Tathāgata show the shadow of what was hidden and could not be seen in order to awaken those beings who were capable of being awakened. 'What cannot be seen,' sire, has no chance<sup>1</sup> relative to a man. If, sire, some one could awaken by seeing the Lord's heart, by earnest discipline would the Lord show him even his heart. Knowledgeable in earnest disciplines, sire, was the Tathāgata and (also) skilled in teaching. Did not the Tathāgata, sire, on knowing the Elder Nanda's resolve<sup>2</sup> take him to that deva-abode<sup>3</sup> and show him the deva-maidens, thinking: 'This young man of family will be awakened by this means'? And so it was that that young man of family was awakened. For, sire, in a variety of ways, and showing contempt for, scorning and despising all lovely attributes, did the Tathāgata, for the sake of awakening him, show him the dove-footed nymphs. In this way the Tathāgata, who was knowledgeable in earnest disciplines, was also skilled in teaching.

And again, sire, the Tathāgata, going up to him gave a fine piece of cloth to the Elder Panthaka the Lesser<sup>4</sup> who was grieved and dejected at being shut out (of the monastery)<sup>5</sup> by his brother. He thought: 'Let this

<sup>1</sup> *okāsa*; occasion, opportunity are among the various meanings of this word.

<sup>2</sup> *Ud.* 21 ff., *DhA.* i. 118, *Jā.* ii. 92-94. Nanda intended to return to the secular life as he was discontented with the monk's way of life, and a beautiful girl he knew was an added reason for his making this decision; but the Buddha knew that in Nanda's eyes her charms would pale beside those of the deva-maidens.

<sup>3</sup> That of the Thirty-Three, *Ud.* 22.

<sup>4</sup> The story is given at *ThagA.* ii. 236 ff., *DhA.* i. 244 ff., iv. 180 f., *Jā.* i. 114 ff.; and his verses are at *Thag.* 557 ff. At *A.* i. 24 he is placed chief among the monks on two counts.

<sup>5</sup> *nikkaddhati*, to throw out. Cūlapanthaka was rather dull and stupid, and one day his elder brother, who was collecting all the monks in a monastery the Buddha was to visit, omitted only the

young man of family be awakened by this <sup>1</sup> [170] and in this manner this young man of family attained mastery in the Conqueror's Teaching. In this way the Tathāgata, who was knowledgeable in earnest disciplines, was also skilled in teaching.

And again, sire, the Tathāgata on being questioned by the brahman Mogharāja did not reply until the third time,<sup>2</sup> thinking: 'This young man of family's pride will be humbled thus; by the humbling of pride there will be an understanding (of the four truths).' Thus was pride humbled in this young man of family; by the humbling of his pride this brahman attained to mastery in the six super-knowledges. In this way the Tathāgata, who was knowledgeable in earnest disciplines, was also skilled in teaching."

"It is good, revered Nāgasena, the question has been unravelled in a variety of ways, the thicket cleared, the darkness made light, the knots severed, shattered are the tenets of others, through you has vision uprisen for the sons of the Conqueror; without illumination are members of other sects; *you* have come to be the most excellent teacher of a host of followers."

younger brother; he threw him out of the vihāra, and he stood weeping against the door.

<sup>1</sup> The Buddha, according to some accounts, took him into the Gandhakūṭi, and making him sit facing east, gave him a piece of cloth and told him to wipe his face with it while repeating the words *rajoharaṇam rajoharaṇam* (away with dust: passion). Noticing that the cloth gradually became soiled, Cūlapanthaka concentrated his mind on the impermanence of all constructed things, grew in insight through jhāna and attained arahantship.

<sup>2</sup> See *Sn.* 1116 and the Buddha's answer at *Sn.* 1119, quoted at *Kvu.*, p. 64. This was the third time Mogharāja had put his question. The other occasions were before the preaching of the Ajitasutta (*A.* v. 229) and the Tissa-Metteyya Sutta (*Sn.* 814 ff.) according to *SnA.* 601. On these two occasions the Buddha did not reply because he knew Mogharāja was not ready to receive the teaching. It was of course not unusual, in fact it was perhaps more usual, for a questioner to ask his question up to the third time, *yāvataṭṭiyam*, as here, before he was answered.

## [Third Division 4: Speech about the Foolish Man]

“Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Elder Sāriputta, the General under Dhamma: ‘In the conduct of speech, your reverence(s), the Tathāgata is quite pure. The Tathāgata has no wrong conduct of speech that he should guard, thinking: Let not another think this of me.’<sup>1</sup> And again, when the Tathāgata was laying down (the first offence entailing) Defeat as a result of the improbity of the Elder Sudinna, a Kalandaka’s son, he addressed him with harsh words and the epithet ‘foolish man.’<sup>2</sup> In consequence of the epithet ‘foolish man’ the Elder was so terrified with fear of the teacher and so conscience-stricken he was unable to pierce the ariyan Way.<sup>3</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, the Tathāgata was quite pure in the conduct of his speech, if the Tathāgata had no wrong conduct of speech, well then, false is that statement which says: ‘As a result of the improbity of the Elder Sudinna, a Kalandaka’s son, he was addressed by the Tathāgata with the epithet “foolish man.”’ But if, as a result of the improbity of the Elder Sudinna, a Kalandaka’s son, the Lord addressed him with the epithet ‘foolish man,’ [171] well then, false is that statement which says: ‘The Tathāgata is quite pure in the conduct of his speech, the Tathāgata has no wrong conduct of speech.’ This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you; it is for you to solve.”

“This too, sire, was said by the Elder Sāriputta, the General under Dhamma: ‘In the conduct of speech,

<sup>1</sup> *D.* iii. 217: the Sangīti Suttanta is supposed to have been uttered by Sāriputta. Cf. also *A.* iv. 82 (the same words spoken by the Buddha). The passage is quoted at *SA.* 277, *SnA.* 37. Similar sentiment found at *M.* i. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Pārājika I, *Vin.* iii. 11 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The rebuke is to be found at *Vin.* iii. 20, and there is no doubt but that it was a strong one. But the Elder’s terror and its results are not part of the canonical account of this episode. *VinA.* 270 holds that Sudinna was not guilty of the Pārājika offence because he was *ādīkammika*, the first-doer—he on account of whom the rule came to be formulated.

your reverence(s), the Tathāgata is quite pure. The Tathāgata has no wrong conduct of speech that he should guard, thinking: 'Let not another think this of me.' And when the Lord was laying down (the first offence entailing) Defeat as a result of the improbity of the Elder Sudinna, a Kalandaka's son, he addressed him with the epithet 'foolish man.' But that was not (said) from a corrupt mind, it was (said) without anger,<sup>1</sup> and was due to characterizing him with exactitude.<sup>2</sup> And what herein is 'characterizing with exactitude'? If, sire, a man does not understand the Four Truths while he is in this individuality, futile<sup>3</sup> is his manhood; if, while he is doing one thing and by another (way) it happens, it is on account of this that he is called 'foolish man.' Thus, sire, the Lord addressed the venerable Sudinna, a Kalandaka's son, with a just epithet,<sup>4</sup> not with untrue words."

"Revered Nāgasena, even if (someone) speaks abusing (another) justly, we should inflict a small punishment<sup>5</sup> on him; it is indeed an improbity that, for the sake of some matter, he abuses (him), and does not use the ordinary modes of speech."<sup>6</sup>

"But have you, sire, ever heard of anyone (giving) a respectful salutation to, or rising up for, or (showing) reverence to, or making an offering to a wrong-doer?"<sup>7</sup>

"No, revered sir, whatever kind of wrong-doer he be, if he merit censure, if he merit reproof, they cut off his

<sup>1</sup> *asārambhena*.

<sup>2</sup> *yāthāvalakkhaṇena*. Cf. *yāthāvavacana* at *Miln.* 214, and *sabbadhammayāthāva-asampativedhalakkhaṇā aviññā* (ignorance is the characteristic of not penetrating all things with exactitude) at *Netti* 27.

<sup>3</sup> *mogha*, a word which in the compound *moghapurisa* I translate "foolish (man)."

<sup>4</sup> *sabhāvavacana*, an epithet of individual essence, one based on truth, reality.

<sup>5</sup> *kahāpaṇa daṇḍa*. Since *kahāpaṇa* was a copper coin of small value, *daṇḍa* might be rendered here by "fine."

<sup>6</sup> *visuṃ vohāraṃ ācaranto*, without indulging in common parlance.

<sup>7</sup> *khalīta*, a criminal.

head and they strike him and they imprison him and they kill him and they bring him to ruin."<sup>1</sup>

"Well then, sire, was only a proper action done by the Lord and not an improper action?"

"A proper one, revered Nāgasena. For he was doing suitably and becomingly what had to be done; and, revered Nāgasena, on hearing that it was the Tathāgata, the world with the devas is ashamed and conscience-stricken, the more so when they see (an evil-doer), and most of all when they approach one to pay him honour."

[172] "Does a physician, sire, give softening<sup>2</sup> medicines in a case where the body is full of bad humours, where the humours are disturbed?"<sup>3</sup>

"No, revered sir, anxious for health he gives sharp, scarifying<sup>4</sup> medicines."

"Even so, sire, the Tathāgata gives instruction for the allayment of all the diseases of the defilements. The Tathāgata's words, even when harsh, soften beings and make them pliable. As, sire, hot water softens anything that can be softened and makes it pliable, even so, sire, the Tathāgata's words, even when harsh, are to the purpose<sup>5</sup> and are imbued with compassion. As, sire, a father's way of speaking to his children is to the purpose and is imbued with compassion, even so, sire, the Tathāgata's words, even when harsh, are to the purpose and are imbued with compassion. The Tathāgata's

<sup>1</sup> Reading *jhāpentī* instead of *jāpentī* as suggested by Dr Edward Müller, see *QKM.* i. 240, n. 2. But *jāpetī* could be a causative of *jayati* (two other forms given at *PED.*), meaning to cause to pillage or rob, so: to divest a person of his property. The word occurs also at *Miln.* 227.

<sup>2</sup> *sinehaniya*, oily, lubricating.

<sup>3</sup> *kupīte dose.* Cf. *Miln.* 43 and *DA.* 133. See also *Vin.* i. 206, 279, ii. 119; *BD.* iv. 394, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *lekhanīya*; obviously connected with the process of writing or engraving, *lekhā*, no doubt still done with a stele at the time of the compilation of *Miln.*

<sup>5</sup> *atthavatī.* Cf. *S.* i. 30, *Thag.* 740, *Jā.* v. 374. At *ThagA.* iii. 24 *atthavā* is apparently glossed by *buddhimā*, discerning, having discretion. See *M.* i. 395 for the Tathāgata knowing the right time to explain a speech that may or may not be agreeable to people, because he "has compassion for creatures."

words, sire, even when harsh,<sup>1</sup> are (spoken) so that beings may abandon the defilements. As, sire, the drinking of nasty smelling medicines<sup>2</sup> and the swallowing of highly concentrated<sup>3</sup> drugs remove illness from beings, even so, sire, the Tathāgata's words, even when harsh, are to the purpose and are imbued with compassion. As, sire, a ball of cotton, even though large, in falling on a man's body causes him no pain, even so, sire, the Tathāgata's words, even though harsh, give rise to anguish in no one."

"In many a way, revered Nāgasena, has this question been well analysed. It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, therefore do I accept it."

[Third Division 5: The Talking Tree]

"Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Tathāgata:

'What is the reason, brahman, that you,  
Putting forth energy, always diligent,  
Ask this incognisant,<sup>4</sup> unhearing judas-tree  
That does not know the knowable,<sup>5</sup> after its welfare?'<sup>6</sup>

[173] And again it was said:

'Thus did the aspen tree<sup>7</sup> instantly<sup>8</sup> address him:  
There is also my bidding: Bhāradvāja, listen to me.'

If, revered Nāgasena, a tree is incognizant, well then, false is that statement which says there was conversation between the aspen tree and Bhāradvāja. If there was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *A.* ii. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *gomuttā*.

<sup>3</sup> *virasa*, taking *rasa* as essence, and *vi-* as an intensifying prefix.

<sup>4</sup> *acetana*, above, *Miln.* 96.

<sup>5</sup> Reading *jānam* with *Miln.* against *jāno* of *Jā.* iii. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Jā.* iii. 24 (No. 307), but where this verse is attributed to the Bodhisatta, at that time the *devatā* of the tree.

<sup>7</sup> *Jā.* iv. 210. Attributed to "the Teacher." The *phandana-rukka*, also mentioned at *A.* i. 202, is a tree that quivers, a *Dalbergia*. It appears to be, as said at *GS.* i. 183, n. 5, aspen, poplar or bo-tree. *Jā. Trans.* iv. 129 ff. has "plassey tree"; *QKM.* "aspen tree." The "judas-tree" above is *palāsa*, *Butea frondosa*.

<sup>8</sup> *tāvade*; at *Jā.* iv. 210 v.l. is *devatā*.

conversation between the aspen tree and Bhāradvāja, well then, false is that statement which says that a tree is incognizant. This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve.”

“ This too, sire, was said by the Lord: ‘ A tree is incognizant.’ And there was conversation between the aspen tree and Bhāradvāja. But this is a statement that is a recognized form of speech; an incognizant tree, sire, has nothing called conversation, but ‘ tree,’ sire, is a synonym for the devatā who inhabits that tree, and to say ‘ the tree converses ’ is the popular expression. As, sire, people commonly speak of a waggon that is filled with corn as a corn-waggon though it is not made of corn but of timber, yet it is because corn is piled up in that waggon that people commonly speak of it as a corn-waggon—even so, sire, a tree does not converse, a tree is incognizant, but as ‘ tree ’ is a synonym for the devatā who inhabits that tree, so to say ‘ a tree converses ’ is the popular expression. Or as, sire, one commonly says: ‘ I am churning buttermilk ’ when one is churning curds, and though what one is churning is not buttermilk, yet one commonly says, ‘ I am churning buttermilk ’ though he be only churning curds; even so, sire, a tree does not converse, a tree is incognizant, but as ‘ tree ’ is a synonym for the devatā who inhabits that tree, so to say ‘ a tree converses ’ is the popular expression. Or as, sire, (a man) anxious to prepare something that does not exist commonly, ‘ I am preparing something that does not exist,’ [174] and commonly speaks of what is not ready as if it were ready—thus this is a recognized form of speech—even so, sire, a tree does not converse, a tree is incognizant, but as ‘ tree ’ is a synonym for the devatā who inhabits that tree, so to say ‘ a tree converses ’ is the popular expression. It is only in accordance with whatever recognized form of speech people commonly use, sire, that the Tathāgata teaches Dhamma to beings.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *D.* ii. 109: “ Now I know well that when I approached various large assemblies, even before I had sat down there or had spoken or begun to talk to them, whatever might have been their sort I made

“ It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, therefore do I accept it.”

[Third Division 6: The Results of  
(the Buddha's Last) Meal]

“ Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Elders who were holding a Recital of Dhamma:<sup>1</sup>

‘ When he had eaten Cunda's meal,  
The coppersmith's—thus have I heard—  
The Buddha contracted an illness  
That lasted unto his death.’<sup>2</sup>

But again, it was said by the Lord: ‘ These two alms-gatherings, Ānanda, equal, of equal fruit and equal in result, are of much greater fruit and much greater advantage than any other alms-gathering.’<sup>3</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, a painful illness arose in the Lord after he had eaten Cunda's meal and the feelings lasted and went on until his death,<sup>4</sup> well then, false is that statement which says: ‘ These two alms-gatherings, Ānanda, equal, of equal fruit and equal in result, are of much greater fruit and much greater advantage than any other alms-gathering.’ But if these two alms-gatherings, equal, of equal fruit and equal in result, are of much greater fruit

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myself of a like sort, whatever their language so was my language. And I rejoiced them with a talk on Dhamma . . . .” See also *M.* iii. 234 f. for use of dialect words; and J. J. Jones, *Mhvu. Transl.* iii., p. xiv ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Dhammasangīti*, referring to the First Council which was held at Rājagaha soon after the *parinibbāna*. On such an occasion Dhamma is chanted, thus the word *sangīti*; but Recital or Recitation appears a more appropriate rendering to Western ears. It is to be hoped it conveys the idea of a chanted recital in solemn conclave. *D.A.* 568 likewise says that the following verses were spoken by the Elders who held this Council.

<sup>2</sup> *D.* ii. 128, *Ud.* 82, which read *dhīro*, valiant man, hero, meditator, instead of *Miln's* Buddhō. The whole episode is recounted at *D.* ii. 126 ff., *Ud.* 81 ff.; for excellent notes see Woodward, *Min. Anth.* II. 99 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *D.* ii. 135, but with a slightly different reading.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. D.* ii. 127, *Ud.* 82.

and much greater advantage than any other alms-gatherings, well then, false is that statement which says: 'After the Lord had eaten Cunda's meal a painful illness arose in him and the feelings lasted and went on until his death.' How could that alms-gathering, revered Nāgasena, be of great fruit when it was imbued with poison, be of great fruit when it gave rise to illness, [175] be of great fruit when it brought about the termination of (the Buddha's) life-span, be of great fruit when it conveyed away the Lord's life-principle? Tell me a reason for this for the refutation of those holding other tenets. People are bewildered about this thinking that the dysentery came from his eating too much out of greediness. This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

"This too, sire, was said by the Elders who were holding a Recital of Dhamma:

' When he had eaten Cunda's meal,  
The coppersmith's—thus have I heard—  
The Buddha contracted an illness  
That lasted unto his death.'

And it was said by the Lord: 'These two alms-gatherings, Ānanda, equal, of equal fruit and equal in result, are of much greater fruit and much greater advantage than any other alms-gathering.' What two? There is that alms-gathering which when a Tathāgata has eaten of it he fully awakens<sup>1</sup> to the supreme perfect Awakening;<sup>2</sup> and there is that alms-gathering which when he has eaten of it he attains complete nibbāna in that element of nibbāna which is without any residue of clinging (to existence).<sup>3</sup> These are the two alms-gatherings which,

<sup>1</sup> Reading *abhisambujjhati* with *D.* ii. 136 and *Si.* for *Miln.*'s *-bujjhi*. *Sujātā* offered her gift of food to the Bodhisatta (not to the Buddha), see *Jā.* i. 68 ff., *DhA.* i. 86.

<sup>2</sup> This was *Sujātā*'s gift in the case of the Buddha Gotama, and was the last meal he ate before he attained nibbāna.

<sup>3</sup> *anupādisesanibbāna* is *khandha-nibbāna*, the extinguishing of the *khandhas*, the five groups of grasping, through extirpating clinging (*upādi*) to them. The other form of nibbāna is *kilesa-nibbāna*, the burning up of the defilements. See *Iti.*, pp. 38-39.

equal, of equal fruit and equal in result, are of much greater fruit and much greater advantage than any other alms-gathering.<sup>1</sup> But this alms-gathering is of a great and special quality, of manifold advantage. The devatās, sire, uplifted and pleased in mind, and thinking: 'This is the Lord's last alms-gathering,' sprinkled a deva-like nutritive essence over those truffles.<sup>2</sup> And indeed they were well and lightly cooked, pleasant, juicy,<sup>3</sup> beneficial for the digestion.<sup>4</sup> It was not from that source, sire, that an illness arose in the Lord that had not (so far) arisen, but it was, sire, because of the natural weakness of the Lord's physical frame<sup>5</sup> and because of the waning of the components of his life-span<sup>6</sup> that the illness which arose in him grew so much worse. As, sire, a fire that is burning in a normal way blazes up much more when more fuel is given to it, even so, sire, it was because of the natural weakness of the Lord's physical frame and because of the waning of the components of his life-span that the illness which arose in him grew so much worse. Or as, sire, [176] a stream that is flowing along in a normal way becomes a great flood, a torrent of water when there

<sup>1</sup> *D.* ii. 135-136, *Ud.* 85.

<sup>2</sup> *sūkaramaddava*. "In fact the exact sense (of this word) is not known," see *QKM.* i. 244, n. 1; E. J. Thomas, *The Buddha's Last Meal*; Woodward, *Min. Anth.* II, 99, n. 4, 100, n. 1. I think that if pork itself had been meant the word would have been *sūkaramamsa*, flesh of pig or boar. With certain reservations monks were permitted to accept meat put into their begging bowls. It was bad manners to pick and choose among almsfood offered to them or to refuse it, except in certain circumstances, among which was the seeing, hearing or suspicion that meat had been killed on purpose for the monk-recipient.

<sup>3</sup> *bahurasa*, perhaps meaning of much flavour, tasty.

<sup>4</sup> *jāṭharaggīṭṭeja*, the heat of the fire of the belly. "On this curious old belief in an internal fire" (*QKM.* i. 244, n. 2) see RhD., *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 260, n. 1. The word *jāṭhara* does not appear to occur in the Pali Canon, and is perhaps peculiar to the above passage.

<sup>5</sup> Owing to his age; cf. *D.* ii. 100 where the Buddha likens his old body to an old waggon that is kept together by a lashing of thongs. See *Mīln.* 157, where it is said that no one is able to make a stumbling-block to the Lord's life-principle.

<sup>6</sup> See definition of *jarā*, ageing, at *S.* ii. 2, where however this exact expression is not used.

is heavy rain, even so, sire, it was because of the natural weakness of the Lord's physical frame and because of the waning of the components of his life-span that the illness which arose in him grew so much worse. Or as, sire, the stomach when full in a normal way would stretch if more food were eaten, even so, sire, it was because of the natural weakness of the Lord's physical frame and because of the waning of the components of his life-span that the illness which arose in him grew so much worse. There was no defect, sire, in that alms-gathering and it is not possible to ascribe a defect to it."

"Revered Nāgasena, for what reason were those two alms-gatherings which are equal, of equal fruit and equal in result, of much greater fruit and much greater advantage than any other alms-gathering?"

"Sire, these two alms-gatherings which are equal, of equal fruit and equal in result, are of much greater fruit and much greater advantage than any other alms-gathering because of the attainments<sup>1</sup> of pondering things<sup>2</sup> over and over."<sup>3</sup>

"Revered Nāgasena, because of the attainments of pondering what things over and over was it that these two alms-gatherings which are equal, of equal fruit and

<sup>1</sup> *samāpatti*.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear from the next sentence which uses the expression *katamesaṃ dhammānaṃ* that *dhammā* as things, mental states, is meant, and not Dhamma.

<sup>3</sup> "Pondering over and over" is *anumajjana*, lit. stroking, as at *Miln.* 62. See *D.* ii. 156 where the dying Buddha passed from the first *jhāna* to the plane of the stopping of feeling and perception and then back again to the first *jhāna*, thus abiding in the nine meditative planes (mentioned just below) one after the other. *DhA.* i. 86 says that when he had eaten Sujātā's rice-gruel (the first meal he took after his mortifications) he passed the day in the various attainments. See also *UdA.* 405 which speaks of the equalness of Sujātā's gift of food and Cunda's, for after eating the former the Lord attained complete *nibbāna* in the element of *nibbāna* that has a residue of clinging, and after eating the latter he attained complete *nibbāna* in the element of *nibbāna* that is without any residue of clinging. Thus in regard to the equalness of complete *nibbāna* the gifts were of equal fruit.

equal in result, were of much greater fruit and much greater advantage than any other alms-gathering ?”

“Sire, it was because of (the Lord’s) entering upon the attainments of the nine successive abidings in forward and in reverse order that these two alms-gatherings which are equal, of equal fruit and equal in result were of much greater fruit and much greater advantage than any other alms-gathering.”

“Revered Nāgasena, was it in only two days that the Tathāgata entered in the highest degree on the attainments of the nine successive abidings in forward and in reverse order ?”

“Yes, sire.”

“It is wonderful, revered Nāgasena, it is marvellous, revered Nāgasena, that of the unequalled and utmost gifts in this Buddha-field<sup>1</sup> none compares with these two alms-gatherings. It is wonderful, revered Nāgasena, it is marvellous, revered Nāgasena, that however great are the attainments of the nine successive abidings [177] yet a gift is of greater fruit and greater advantage because of the attainments of the nine successive abidings. It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, therefore do I accept it.”

### [Third Division 7: Veneration of the Relics]

“Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Tathāgata: ‘Do not you, Ānanda, be occupied with honouring the Tathāgata’s bodily remains.’<sup>2</sup> And again it was said:

‘Venerate that relic of him who is to be venerated;  
By doing so you will go from here to heaven.’<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Buddha-khetta*, a compound that appears unknown to the Pali Canon. It is said to be threefold at *Vism.* 414: *jāti-*, *āṇa-*, *visaya-*. See *BHSD* for references to its occurrence in *Mhvu*.

<sup>2</sup> *D.* ii. 141. Both a living and a dead body can be meant by *sarīra*, the physical frame; cf. *Anāgatavaṃsa*, *JPTS.* 1886, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Vv.*, p. 75, ver. 8. The subject of *Dhp.* 195, 196 is that of Buddha-*pūjā* (a word found at *Miln.* 179). *Pūjā* is reverence or a kind of ritualistic worship of Buddhas or disciples who are *nibbuta*, i.e., have gained the peace of *nibbāna* by the cooling of attachment,

If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Tathāgata: 'Do not you, Ānanda, be occupied with honouring the Tathāgata's bodily remains,' well then, false is that statement which says:

'Venerate that relic of him who is to be venerated;  
By doing so you will go from here to heaven.'

But if it was said by the Tathāgata:

'Venerate that relic of him who is to be venerated;  
By doing so you will go from here to heaven.'

well then, false is that statement which says: 'Do not you, Ānanda, be occupied with honouring the Tathāgata's bodily remains.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

"This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'Do not you, Ānanda, be occupied with honouring the Tathāgata's bodily remains.' And again it was said:

'Venerate that relic of him who is to be venerated;  
By doing so you will go from here to heaven.'

But this was not said in regard to everyone, but only concerning the Conqueror's sons:<sup>1</sup> 'Do not you, Ānanda, be occupied with honouring the Tathāgata's bodily remains.' For this, sire, is not work<sup>2</sup> [178] for the Conqueror's sons, that is to say veneration. Rather is *this* to be done by the Conqueror's sons: thorough comprehension of the (karmic) formations,<sup>3</sup> attentive

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etc. Cf. *Mhv.* ii. 362 where the man who with garlands, flowers, banners, etc., venerates the Tathāgata, whether he be living or after he has utterly passed away, reaps an infinite store of merit. Thus a Bhakti-cult is replacing the austere Theravāda teaching of self-development through self-control and self-reliance. The words "you will go to heaven" should give sufficient indication that this counsel was not intended for monks, but for lay-people. "Heaven" was not a goal for monks.

<sup>1</sup> *jinaputta*, i.e., disciples, see *BudvA.* 99. The compound appears to occur three times in *Budv.* but nowhere else in the Pali Canon.

<sup>2</sup> *akamma*, explained at *JāA.* v. 123 as *ayutta*, unsuitable.

<sup>3</sup> *sammasanam sankhārānam*, regarding them as not-self, impermanent and as anguish, etc., cf. *Vism.* 629.

mind-work,<sup>1</sup> contemplation on the four applications of mindfulness,<sup>2</sup> seizure of the essential in the objective support (for meditation),<sup>3</sup> warfare against the defilements, intentness on their own goal. By the remainder, whether devas or mankind, is veneration to be done. As, sire, what has to be done by the princes of the earth is a training in regard to elephants, horses, chariots, bows, swords, writing<sup>4</sup> and reckoning on the fingers,<sup>4</sup> and in the duties<sup>5</sup> of the policy of statecraft,<sup>6</sup> hearing (cases),<sup>7</sup> (gaining) intelligence,<sup>8</sup> fighting and recruiting; while what has to be done by the remainder, the ordinary merchants and workers, is agriculture, trade and cattle-keeping<sup>9</sup>—even so, sire, this is not work for the Conqueror's sons, that is to say veneration. Rather is *this* to be done by the Conqueror's sons, that is to say: thorough comprehension of the (karmic) formations, attentive mind-work, contemplation of the four applica-

<sup>1</sup> *yoniṣo manasikāro*.

<sup>2</sup> See *M. Sta.* 10, *D. Sta.* 21, for full statement.

<sup>3</sup> *ārammanasāraggāha*. *Ārammaṇa* is an objective support to help focus the mind in meditation; cf. the *kaṣiṇas*. One has to fix the mind on the chosen "support," thereby trying to seize the part that is essential for the exercise in meditation.

<sup>4</sup> These two, *lekhā* and *muddā*, are two of the three "high crafts" mentioned at *Vin.* iv. 7. For notes, see *BD.* ii. 176 f.

<sup>5</sup> *kiriya*, the fulfilment, carrying out, action, performance.

<sup>6</sup> *khattamanta*; cf. *khattavijjā* at *D.* i. 9, explained at *DA.* 93 by *nīhisattha*, political science, science or lore of statecraft. *UdA.* 205 similarly explains *khattavijjāsippa*; the reading *khetta-* at *Ud.* 32 therefore should be *khatta-*; Woodward (*Min. Anth.* II) translates by "statecraft." Cf. also *Jā.* vi. 214, *khattiyamantā*, explained at *JāA.* vi. 217 as *rājasattha*, royal, king's science. At *Chānd. Up.* VII. 1, 2 *kṣatra-vidyā* appears to mean "science of weapons," *dhanurveda*.

<sup>7</sup> *suti* is also a rumour, tradition, what has been heard; it may therefore mean here quashing rumours. But often a king was the chief judge in settling litigation.

<sup>8</sup> *muti*, what is sensed or felt. Though this translation is tentative, I suggest that "gaining 'intelligence'" in the sense of keeping abreast of a rival's schemes is not out of place. *Nd.* I. 205 gives hearsay for *muti*.

<sup>9</sup> The three kinds of "high work" at *Vin.* iv. 6. See notes at *BD.* ii. 175.

tions of mindfulness, seizure of the essential in the objective support (for meditation), warfare against the defilements, intentness on their own goal. It is by the remainder, whether devas or mankind, that veneration is to be done.

Or as, sire, what has to be done by brahman youths is a training in regard to the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sāma-Veda, the Atharva-Veda,<sup>1</sup> (the knowledge of) marks,<sup>2</sup> the oral tradition,<sup>3</sup> the past,<sup>4</sup> vocabulary, ritual, phonology, exegesis, the lines, the exposition,<sup>5</sup> grammar, etymology;<sup>6</sup> (interpreting) dreams,<sup>7</sup> omens,<sup>8</sup> the set of

<sup>1</sup> Referred to at *Miln.* 3. The four Vedas are mentioned in various Comys. Some references are given at *BD.* ii. 317, notes. See also *Chānd. Up.* vii. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *lakṣhaṇa*. This and the next two branches of learning are called *tiracchānavijjā* at *D.* i. 9, a wrong mode of livelihood for recluses and brahmans. Many examples to which the lore of marks can be applied are given at *D.* i. 9: e.g., marks on inanimate objects, human beings, animals and birds. *DA.* 92 says "if someone has such and such a mark he will be a king, if such and such the heir to a king." *SnA.* 362 says "Having read the readings of marks on a stick or on clothes, he says 'Because of this, this will be.'" Cf. also the Marks of a Great Man, and *D.* i. 114-120, *A.* i. 163, *mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu anavayo*, versed in the Marks of a Great Man, though this was not necessarily or exclusively lore for brahmans.

<sup>3</sup> *itihāsa*. That this is a fifth Veda, as some Comys suggest, is borne out neither by the stock canonical passages which describe a learned brahman nor by our *Miln.* passage above. *Chānd. Up.* vii. 1, 2, combines *itihāsa-purāṇa* as the fifth subject Sanatkumāra knew, the first four being the four Vedas.

<sup>4</sup> *purāṇa*, what is old, ancient lore.

<sup>5</sup> These last six words also occur at *Miln.* 10.

<sup>6</sup> *uppāda*, coming into existence, arising; it may mean prognostication (see *missakuppāda* below).

<sup>7</sup> *supīna*, as at *D.* i. 9. *DA.* 92 says if one has seen a dream early there will be this result. *SnA.* 362 goes into greater detail, saying such and such things will happen according to whether the dreamer dreamed early or in the middle of the night, whether he was lying on his left side or right, and whether he saw the moon and the sun in his dream. *SnA.* 564 explains *supīna* as *supīnasattha*, the science of dreams.

<sup>8</sup> *nimitta*, (non-human) signs. *DA.* 92 (on *D.* i. 9) calls this *nimittasattha*, the science of omens or signs, and tells a story showing how the interpreter, *nemittaka*, acquires his knowledge of the hidden present from present happenings.

the six Vedāngas,<sup>1</sup> an eclipse of the moon, an eclipse of the sun, the behaviour of an eclipse of a planet,<sup>2</sup> the occultation of heavenly bodies,<sup>3</sup> the sound of the drums of the rain-god,<sup>4</sup> the rise and fall of meteors,<sup>5</sup> earthquakes,<sup>6</sup> glowings in the quarters (of the sky),<sup>7</sup> earthly and celestial (portents); astronomy, popular philosophy, augury from (the cries of) dogs,<sup>8</sup> from (all) birds and wild animals,<sup>9</sup> from the intermediate points of the compass,<sup>10</sup> mixed portents,<sup>11</sup> and the cries and notes of birds; while what has to be done by the remainder, the ordinary merchants and workers, is agriculture, trade and cattle-

<sup>1</sup> *chaṅga*, the six disciplines of Vedic Science, see *PvA.* 265, *PvA.* 97. The word came to have a different meaning under Buddhism; see *D.* iii. 269, *Vism.* 160, where it refers to equanimity, *upekkhā*, in a bhikkhu though he be assailed by sensory impingement on any of his senses. Cf. below, *Miln.* 236.

<sup>2</sup> *sukka-rāhu-carita*, the course or behaviour, *carita*, of the seizer, *rāhu*, of a planet, *sukka*. This last word does not mean a star.

<sup>3</sup> *uḷaggaḥayuddha*, which seems to mean a fight for taking a lunar mansion, *ulu*, but I do not understand the precise meaning.

<sup>4</sup> *devadundubhissara*. *D.* i. 10 has *devadundubhi*, explained at *DA.* 95 as the roaring of dry (rainless) thunder-clouds.

<sup>5</sup> *okkanti ukkūpāta*, or descent and fall; or simply "the appearance (*okkanti*) of falling meteors." At *D.* i. 10 *ukkūpāta*; cf. *Jā.* i. 374, vi. 476, *SnA.* 362.

<sup>6</sup> *bhūmikampa*; *bhūmicūla* at *D.* i. 10, *Miln.* 113.

<sup>7</sup> *disādūha*, as at *D.* i. 10, and appearing to mean "as if the quarters were in flames." *DA.* 95 says the quarters are obscured as though by whirling crests of fire and smoke. Such a phenomenon gives ground for augury or prognostication, *uppāda*, see *SnA.* 362.

<sup>8</sup> *sācakka*, the dog-circle, is a kind of augury.

<sup>9</sup> *miḡacakka*, as at *D.* i. 9, explained at *DA.* 94 as comprising everything in regard to the knowledge of the cries of all birds and quadrupeds.

<sup>10</sup> *antaracakka*. This is the meaning as given in the Dictionaries, but it seems doubtful.

<sup>11</sup> *missakuppāda*. A few lines above there is *uppāda*, which I there took as "etymology," and belonging to the group with grammar, etc., but it might equally well be the beginning of the group dealing with prognostications (if this is what is meant by most of the words subsequent to *uppāda*). At *SnA.* 362 *uppāda* is explained to mean foretelling events from such signs as falling meteors and the "glowings in the quarters." Eastern sunsets are sometimes distinguished by a glow not only in the west but in the other quarters as well, and the reference is perhaps to this beautiful occurrence.

keeping—even so, sire, this is not work for the Conqueror's sons, that is to say veneration. Rather is *this* to be done by the Conqueror's sons, that is to say: thorough comprehension of the (karmic) formations, attentive mind-work, contemplation of the four applications of mindfulness, seizure of the essential in the objective support (for meditation), warfare against the defilements, intentness on their own goal. It is by the remainder, whether devas or mankind, that veneration is to be done. Therefore, sire, the Tathāgata, saying: 'Do not engage in those (occupations that are) not work for you; [179] engage in these (occupations that are) work for you,' said: 'Do not you, Ānanda, be occupied with honouring the Tathāgata's bodily remains.' If the Tathāgata had not said this, sire, the monks would have caused there to have been obsession with his bowl and robe<sup>1</sup> and would have paid veneration to the Buddha himself."<sup>2</sup>

"It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, therefore do I accept it."

### [Third Division 8: The Lord's Foot]

"Revered Nāgasena, you say: 'When the Lord was walking, this incognizant great earth elevated the low ground and flattened the high ground.'<sup>3</sup> And again you say: 'The Lord's foot was grazed by a splinter.'<sup>4</sup> But why, when that splinter was falling towards the Lord's foot, did it not turn away from the Lord's foot? If, revered Nāgasena, when the Lord was walking, this incognizant great earth elevated the low ground and flattened the high ground, well then, false is that state-

<sup>1</sup> Worship of the bowl did in fact develop and, according to QKM. i. 248, n. 1, was seen by Fa Hien at Peshawar about A.D. 400.

<sup>2</sup> This is supposed to be the reason why the Buddha hoped no likeness or image would be made of him.

<sup>3</sup> *ninnam unnamati unnatam onamati*. The quotation has not been traced as yet in the Piṭakas. Cf. DA. 45 where, as part of what is done for the Bhagavā before his morning meal, *unnatā bhūmippadesā onamanti onatā unnamanti*.

<sup>4</sup> See Miln. 134.

ment which says: 'The Lord's foot was grazed by a splinter.' If the Lord's foot was grazed by a splinter, well then, false is that statement which says that when the Lord was walking, this incognizant great earth elevated the low ground and flattened the high ground. This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

"This matter is true, sire: when the Lord was walking, this incognizant great earth elevated the low ground and flattened the high ground. And the Lord's foot was grazed by a splinter. But that splinter did not fall down of its own essential law,<sup>1</sup> it fell down owing to Devadatta's treachery.<sup>2</sup> During many hundreds of thousands of births, sire, Devadatta has borne malice against the Lord.<sup>3</sup> Because of that malice he released a great rocky stone,<sup>4</sup> the size of a gabled house, and thought: 'I will make it fall on the Lord.' Then two rocks<sup>5</sup> rose up from the earth and crushed that rocky stone (though) a fragment, on being broken off from it by (the force of) their combined blow, fell in such a way<sup>6</sup> that [180] it fell on the Lord's foot."

"But as, revered Nāgasena, the two rocks crushed the rocky stone so could the splinter have been crushed too."

"As to that, sire, some part of what is crushed (always) escapes,<sup>7</sup> slips through<sup>8</sup> and gets lost. As, sire, water taken into the hand escapes through the interstices between the fingers, slips through and gets lost, as milk, buttermilk, honey, ghee, oil, the juice of fish, the juice of meat when taken into the hand (each) escapes through the interstices between the fingers, slips through and gets lost, even so, sire, a fragment, on being broken off from the rocky stone by (the force of) the combined

<sup>1</sup> *uttaro dhammatāya*.

<sup>2</sup> *upakkama*, plotting, trickery, unfair means.

<sup>3</sup> As at *Miln.* 136.

<sup>4</sup> *pāsāṇa*.

<sup>5</sup> *selā*.

<sup>6</sup> *yena vā tena vā*, usually "here and there," but the context here requires some such translation as that given above.

<sup>7</sup> *paggharati*, to ooze, trickle, drip, flow forth.

<sup>8</sup> *passavati*, to flow forth. Such renderings would not be suitable here however, and I follow *QKM.* i. 249.

blow of the two rocks coming together for the purpose of crushing it, fell in such a way that it fell on the Lord's foot. Or as, sire, sand that is fine, minute, infinitesimal<sup>1</sup> as dust if taken into the fist escapes through the interstices between the fingers, slips through and gets lost. . . Or as, sire, when a ball of food is taken into the mouth, part getting clear away from the mouth<sup>2</sup> escapes, slips out and gets lost, even so, sire, a fragment, on being broken off from the rocky stone by (the force of) the combined blow of the two rocks coming together for the purpose of crushing it, fell in such a way that it fell on the Lord's foot."

"Let that be, revered Nāgasena, let it be that the rocky stone was crushed by the rocks; but then, should not the fragment have paid respect as did the great earth?"

"These twelve, sire, do not pay respect.<sup>3</sup> What twelve? One who is impassioned does not pay respect because of his passion, one who is malignant because of his hatred, one who is astray because of his confusion, one who is puffed up because of his pride, one who is devoid of special qualities owing to his lack of distinction, one who is very obstinate owing to his lack of docility, one who is base owing to his essential nature being base,<sup>4</sup> the servant<sup>5</sup> owing to his not being his own master, the evil man owing to his selfishness,<sup>6</sup> the afflicted man owing to his causing counter-afflictions,<sup>7</sup> [181] the

<sup>1</sup> *anu*, least, minute, atomic.

<sup>2</sup> *mukhato muccitvā*, lit., escaping from the mouth. But *paggharati* is rendered as "escape" in this passage. Food was eaten with the fingers, and the diner had to make it up into balls of a size suitable to put into his mouth.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the eight kinds of persons who slay living creatures, *Miln.* 220.

<sup>4</sup> *hīnasabhāvatāya*. *Hīna* means low, base, mean, contemptible, inferior.

<sup>5</sup> *vacana-kara*, one who does (another's) bidding.

<sup>6</sup> *kadariyatā*, or stinginess, miserliness, avarice.

<sup>7</sup> *dukkhāpito paṭidukkhāpanatāya*, or the anguished man causing more anguish (for himself). I believe this refers to Devadatta, and that he is in this category; he is unable to rid himself of the effects of the anguish he creates and these effects redound to his own circling-on in saṃsāra.

greedy man owing to his being conquered by greed, and the busy man owing to his working for profit do not pay respect. These twelve, sire, do not pay respect. But that fragment, on being broken off from the rocky stone by (the force of) the combined blow (of the rocks), fell in an unpredictable direction<sup>1</sup> in such a way that it fell on the Lord's foot. As, sire, fine, minute, infinitesimal dust, when struck by the violence of a wind, falls in an unpredictable direction here and there, even so, sire, that fragment, on being broken off from the rocky stone by (the force of) the combined blow (of the rocks), fell in an unpredictable direction in such a way that it fell on the Lord's foot. But if, sire, that fragment had not been detached from the rocky stone, then when those rocks rose up they would have taken hold of that fragment of the rocky stone also. But that fragment, sire, was poised neither on the earth nor in the sky,<sup>2</sup> so that when it was broken off from the rocky stone by the strength<sup>3</sup> of the combined blow (of the rocks), it fell in an unpredictable direction in such a way that it fell on the Lord's foot. Or as, sire, sere leaves on being caught by a gust of wind fall in an unpredictable direction here and there, even so, sire, this fragment, on being broken off from the rocky stone by the strength of the combined blow (of the rocks), fell in an unpredictable direction in such a way that it fell on the Lord's foot. Moreover, sire, that fragment that fell on the Lord's foot (brought as its karmic result) an experiencing of anguish by the ungrateful selfish Devadatta."

"It is good, revered Nāgasena, so it is, thus do I accept it."

<sup>1</sup> *animittakataḍḍisā*, quarters where signs are not made (beforehand).

<sup>2</sup> *na bhummattḥā na ākāsatṭhā*, not standing on, resting on.

<sup>3</sup> The text here supplies the word *vega*, force, velocity. So perhaps one should translate: by the velocity (of the force) of the combined blow.

## [Third Division 9: The Recluse]

“Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: ‘He is a recluse owing to the destruction of the cankers.’<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it was said:

‘That man who is possessed of four things  
Is called a recluse by the world.’<sup>2</sup>

As to that these are the four things: forbearance, eating little,<sup>3</sup> giving up delight (in thirst for sense-pleasures?),<sup>4</sup> the state of having naught. But all these [182] are to be found in one in whom the cankers are not completely destroyed and who (still) has defilements. If, revered Nāgasena, he is a recluse owing to the destruction of the cankers, well then, false is the statement which says:

‘That man who is possessed of four things  
Is called a recluse by the world.’

But if a recluse is possessed of the four things, well then, false is that statement which says: ‘He is a recluse owing to the destruction of the cankers.’ This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you; it is for you to solve.”

“This too, sire, was said by the Lord: ‘He is a recluse owing to the destruction of the cankers.’ And it was said:

‘That man who is possessed of four things  
Is called a recluse by the world.’

This is a statement spoken, sire, in respect of the special qualities of these men and those:

‘That man who is possessed of four things  
Is called a recluse by the world.’

<sup>1</sup> See the fourth kind of *samaṇa*, recluse, at *A.* ii. 238, *Pug.* 63, quoted *M.A.* ii. 5. *Cf.* *D.* ii. 151.

<sup>2</sup> So far untraced.

<sup>3</sup> But see the bad effects of eating too little at *M.* i. 80, and Sakuludāyin’s false assumption that disciples revere the Lord because he eats little, *M.* ii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *rati-vippahāna*; *cf.* *taṇhāya vippahānena* at *S.* i. 39, *Sn.* 1109, and *jātijarāya vi-* at *Sn.* 1097.

But *this* is a complete statement:<sup>1</sup> ‘He is a recluse owing to the destruction of the cankers.’ Moreover, sire, each of those who are practising for the suppression of the defilements is a recluse, the cankers destroyed, who is pointed to as chief in respect of this or that.<sup>2</sup> As, sire, among whatever flowers grow in water or on land the double-jasmine<sup>3</sup> is pointed to as chief<sup>4</sup> of these, and all the remaining kinds of flowers are simply flowers; but it is just the double-jasmine flower that people (most) desire and like in respect of this or that—even so, sire, each of those who are practising for the suppression of the defilements is a recluse, the cankers destroyed, who is pointed to as chief in respect of this or that. Or as, sire, of all grains rice is pointed to as chief and (though) each of the remaining kinds of grain<sup>5</sup> [183] is a food for maintaining the bodily frame in respect of this or that, yet it is rice that is pointed to as chief of these—even so, sire, each of those who are practising for the suppression of the defilements is a recluse, the cankers destroyed, who is pointed to as chief.”

“It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, thus do I accept it.”

### [Third Division 10: Elation of Mind]

“Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: ‘Or, monks, if others should speak in praise of me or of Dhamma or of the Order there should be in you no delight or gladness or elation of mind in regard to this.’<sup>6</sup> On the other hand the Tathāgata was so delighted, glad and elated when Sela the brahman was speaking deserved praise (of him) that he proclaimed still further his own special qualities, saying:

<sup>1</sup> See *Miln.* 148.

<sup>2</sup> *upādāy’ upādāya.*

<sup>3</sup> *vassikā*, *jasminum sambac.*

<sup>4</sup> For its scent, *M.* iii. 7, *S.* iii. 156, v. 44, *A.* v. 22.

<sup>5</sup> One list is given at, e.g., *Vin.* iv. 265, and another at *M.* i. 57; both begin with *sāli*, rice.

<sup>6</sup> *D.* i. 3; cf. *M.* i. 140.

' A king am I, Sela,  
 An incomparable king under Dhamma.  
 I roll the Wheel by Dhamma,  
 The Wheel that cannot be rolled back.'<sup>1</sup>

If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord: ' Or, monks, if others should speak in praise of me or of Dhamma or of the Order there should be in you no delight or gladness or elation of mind in regard to this,' well then, false is that statement which says that he was so delighted, glad and elated when Sela the brahman was speaking deserved praise (of him) that he proclaimed still further his own special qualities. But if he was so delighted, glad and elated when Sela the brahman was speaking deserved praise (of him), well then, false is that statement which says: ' Or, monks, if others should speak in praise of me or of Dhamma or of the Order there should be in you no delight or gladness or elation of mind in regard to this. ' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve.'

[184] " This too, sire, was said by the Lord: ' Or, monks, if others should speak in praise of me or of Dhamma or of the Order there should be in you no delight or gladness or elation of mind in regard to this.' And when Sela the brahman was speaking deserved praise (of him) he proclaimed still further his own special qualities, saying:

' A king am I, Sela,  
 An incomparable king under Dhamma.  
 I roll the Wheel by Dhamma,  
 The Wheel that cannot be rolled back.'

The first (statement), sire: ' Or, monks, if others should speak in praise of me or of Dhamma or of the Order there should be in you no delight or gladness or elation of mind in regard to this,' was spoken by the Lord when he was illustrating correctly, exactly, truthfully and as

<sup>1</sup> *M. Sta. No. 92, Sn. 554, Thag. 824.* The Lord rolls the Wheel of Dhamma by teaching the factors of enlightenment beginning with the four applications of mindfulness. Sela's eulogy of the Buddha occurs at *Sn. 584-553, Thag. 818-823.*

it is the distinguishing mark of Dhamma with its essence and its flavour.<sup>1</sup> But when Sela the brahman was speaking deserved praise of the Lord he proclaimed still further his own special qualities, saying:

‘ A king am I, Sela,  
An incomparable king under Dhamma,’

(but he did not speak thus) for the sake of gain, for the sake of fame, for the sake of (winning) adherents, nor because he was yearning for pupils, but out of sympathy, compassion and desiring their welfare. And on thinking: ‘ There will be understanding of Dhamma by this one and by the three hundred brahman youths,’<sup>2</sup> he spoke still further about his own special qualities, thus:

‘ A king am I, Sela,  
An incomparable king under Dhamma.’ ”

“ It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, thus do I accept it.”

[Third Division 11 : On Not-Harming]<sup>3</sup>

“ Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord:

‘ Not injuring another in the world, you will be dear and beloved.’<sup>4</sup>

And it was also said:

‘ Restrain<sup>5</sup> (on an occasion) that merits restraint, exert<sup>6</sup> (on an occasion) that merits exertion.’ ”

<sup>1</sup> *dhammassa sabhāva-sarasa-lakkhaṇa*. At *Vin.* ii. 239 it is said that this Dhamma and Discipline have but one flavour or essence, *rasa*, that of freedom. At *Miln.* 185, the distinguishing mark of Dhamma is said to be non-injury.

<sup>2</sup> See *Sn.*, p. 107 and ver. 573, where it is said that this number of brahman youths went with Sela (referred to above as “ this one ”) to see the Lord.

<sup>3</sup> This dilemma has not been listed in the Table of Contents in the 1928 edn. There are 12 dilemmas in this Section and not 11 as there shown.

<sup>4</sup> *ahimsāyaṃ param loka piyo hohisi māmakō; cf. Jā. iv. 71, ver. 9: ahimsāya cara loka piyo hohisi mammiva.*

<sup>5</sup> *niggaṇhāti*, or to punish, rebuke, discourage.

<sup>6</sup> *paggaṇhāti*, to befriend, support, further, encourage.

<sup>7</sup> *Jā. No. 521, ver. 19 (Jā. v. 116).*

[185] Restraint, revered Nāgasena, means the cutting off of the hands, the cutting off of the feet, torturing,<sup>1</sup> imprisoning, punishing,<sup>2</sup> slaying, injuring the continuity.<sup>3</sup> That statement is not suitable from the Lord, and it is not appropriate that the Lord uttered that statement. If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord:

‘Not injuring another in the world, you will be dear and beloved,’

well then, false is that statement which says:

‘Restrain (on an occasion) that merits restraint, exert (on an occasion) that merits exertion.’

If the Tathāgata said:

‘Restrain (on an occasion) that merits restraint, exert (on an occasion) that merits exertion,’

well then, false is that statement which says:

‘Not injuring another in the world, you will be dear and beloved.’

This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve.”

“This too was said by the Lord, sire:

‘Not injuring another in the world, you will be dear and beloved.’

And it was said:

‘Restrain (on an occasion) that merits restraint, exert (on an occasion) that merits exertion.’

This (statement), sire:

‘Not injuring another in the world, you will be dear and beloved,’

<sup>1</sup> *vadha*, or killing.

<sup>2</sup> *kāraṇā*, see *PED*.

<sup>3</sup> *santati-vikopana*. The Sinhalese commentator explains this to mean “injury to the duration of life” (*QKM*. i. 254, n. 5) but RhD. takes it as “degradation in rank.” It may mean no more than the interruption to one’s normal life caused by “restraint” as defined above, but the sequence of the above “restraints” supports the Sinhalese commentator’s view.

is approved of by all Tathāgatas, this is an instruction, this a teaching of Dhamma—for, sire, the distinguishing mark of Dhamma is non-injury—this is a statement of (its) individual essence. But when, sire, the Tathāgata said:

‘ Restrain (on an occasion) that merits restraint, exert (on an occasion) that merits exertion.’

this was (symbolic) language,<sup>1</sup> (meaning) that the agitated mind should be restrained, sire, the sluggish mind exerted;<sup>2</sup> the unskilled mind should be restrained, the skilled mind exerted; unreasoning attention (mind-work) should be restrained, reasoning attention exerted; [186] wrong practice should be restrained, right practice exerted; what is not ariyan should be restrained, what is ariyan exerted; a thief’s (concept)<sup>3</sup> should be restrained, a non-thief’s (concept) exerted.”

“ Let that be, revered Nāgasena, you have come now to my position,<sup>4</sup> you have come round to my meaning concerning what I asked about. But in restraining a thief, revered Nāgasena, how should he be restrained ?”

“ When one is restraining a thief, sire, one should restrain him thus: one to be rebuked should be rebuked; one to be fined should be fined; one to be banished should be banished; one to be imprisoned should be imprisoned; one to be put to death should be put to death.”

“ But, revered Nāgasena, is the putting to death of thieves approved of by Tathāgatas ?”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *bhāsā*, dialect, vernacular, a description, definition; descriptive speech.

<sup>2</sup> On *uddhata citta* and *līna citta* see *S.* v. 112 ff., *Vism.* 133, 136.

<sup>3</sup> The word used here is simply *cora*, a thief, and then *acora*, a non-thief. But the context seems to demand some expansion. “ Thief ” here probably refers to monks who “ live in communion by theft,” *theyyasaṃvāsaka*, i.e., by stealing the signs or marks of a monk but not fulfilling the training; see *Vin.* i. 86, 135, 307, 320, and notes at *BD.* iv. 110, 439. The King, however, takes “ thief ” literally, and Nāgasena falls in with him to some extent.

<sup>4</sup> *visaya*, range, scope.

<sup>5</sup> This part of the dilemma might be read in conjunction with the Lord’s dialogue with Kesi, the horse-trainer, at *A.* ii. 112.

“ No, sire.”

“ Then why is it approved of by Tathāgatas that a thief is to be chastised ?”

“ He who is put to death, sire, is not put to death on the approval of Tathāgatas; he is put to death because of what he himself has done. But yet, would it be possible, sire, for any wise person who is instructed (in accordance with) the instruction<sup>1</sup> of Dhamma to seize an innocent and guiltless man as he was walking in the street and put him to death ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ For what reason, sire ?”

“ Because of his innocence, revered sir.”

“ Even so, sire, a thief is not killed on the approval of Tathāgatas; he is killed because of what he himself has done. But does any defect attach herein to the instructor ?”

“ No, revered sir.”

“ Well then, sire, the instruction of the Tathāgatas is an even instruction.”

“ It is good, revered Nāgasena, so it is; thus do I accept it.”

[Third Division 12: He Dismissed without Anger]

“ Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord:

‘ I am without wrath, gone is (mental) barrenness.’<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is a passage of great difficulty. We get (1) *anusāsaniyo* (of the thief) which I have translated as “ to be chastised,” but the notion of to be admonished, taught or corrected is no doubt implied. (2) *dhammānusatthim anusāsiyati*, “ is instructed with the instruction,” (3) *anusāsako*, the instructor, below, (4) *anusatthi*, instruction, (as in (2)), again below. It seemed to me better to use variations of one English word throughout, except in (1) where “ to be instructed ” obviously would not fit; but whether it would not have been better to have used variations of the word admonish throughout I am not at all sure.

<sup>2</sup> *Sn.* 19. “ Mental barrenness ” or fallowness (of mind) is *khīla*, *khīla*. Cf. *Cetokhila Sutta*, *M. Sta.* No. 16, and *Sn.A.* 30 which refers to the five *cetokhīlā* discussed there.

On the other hand, the Tathāgata dismissed the Elders Sāriputta and Moggallāna with their company.<sup>1</sup> Now, revered Nāgasena, [187] did the Tathāgata dismiss the company when he was angry or did he dismiss it when he was pleased? Please make it known (to me) how this was.<sup>2</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, he dismissed the company when he was angry, well then, wrath was not subdued<sup>3</sup> in the Tathāgata. If he dismissed it when he was pleased, well then, it was dismissed without ground and in ignorance. This too is a double-pronged question: it is put to you, it is for you to solve.”

“This too, sire, was said by the Lord:

‘I am without wrath, gone is (mental) barrenness.’

And the Elders Sāriputta and Moggallāna were dismissed with their company, but that was not through ill-temper. Suppose, sire, that some man stumbled over a root on the great earth or over a stake or a stone or a potsherd or on an uneven piece of ground, and fell down—is the great earth angry<sup>4</sup> that it made him fall down?”

“No, revered sir. There is no ill-temper or satisfaction<sup>5</sup> in the great earth, the great earth is free from approval and repugnance. He stumbled and fell because he himself was careless.”

“Even so, sire, there is no ill-temper or satisfaction in Tathāgatas; Tathāgatas, arahants, Perfect Buddhas are free from approval and repugnance. So (the company) was dismissed on account of what it itself had done through its own fault. And as to this, sire, the great

<sup>1</sup> See Cātuma-sutta, *M.* Sta. No. 67. The episode is referred to again at *Miln.* 209.

<sup>2</sup> See RhD.’s note on “this difficult phrase,” *etaṃ tāva jānāhi imam nāmāti*, at *QKM.* i. 258, n. 2. He thinks the text may be corrupt here. Si. reading of the last word is *jānāmā ti*. Combined with the imperative, *tāva* usually means “please do.” A literal translation might be: Please do make that known (so that) we know it.

<sup>3</sup> *appativattito*, not rolled back; not recoiled.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 424 where it is said that no matter what people cast on to the earth it is not troubled or worried or disgusted thereby.

<sup>5</sup> *pasūda*, joy; confidence, serenity.

ocean does not associate with a dead body, a corpse.<sup>1</sup> Whatever dead body or corpse there may be in the great ocean, it quickly throws it out<sup>2</sup> and pushes it on to the dry land. Now, sire, is the great ocean angry that it throws out that corpse?"

"No, sire, there is no ill-temper or satisfaction in the great ocean; the great ocean is free from approval and repugnance."<sup>3</sup>

"Even so, sire, there is no ill-temper or satisfaction in Tathāgatas; Tathāgatas, arahants, Perfect Buddhas are free from approval and repugnance, so (the company) was dismissed on account of what it itself had done through its own fault. As, sire, one who has stumbled on the earth is fallen down, so one who has stumbled in the Conqueror's excellent teaching is dismissed. As a dead body or corpse is thrown out by the great ocean, [188] so one who has stumbled in the Conqueror's excellent teaching is dismissed. But though the Tathāgata, sire, dismissed these (monks) he desired their welfare, he desired their weal, he desired their happiness, he desired their purification. He dismissed them, thinking 'Thus will these be released from birth, ageing, illness and dying.'"<sup>4</sup>

"It is good, revered Nāgasena; thus it is, so do I accept it."

### The Third Division

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vin.* ii. 237, *A.* iv. 198, *Ud.* 53 where this is one of the eight strange and wonderful things about the great ocean. See also *Miln.* 380.

<sup>2</sup> *nicchubhati*; see also *Miln.* 130, 357; *tīram vāheti* at *Vin.* ii. 237, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *M.* i. 424 where it is said that water is not troubled whatever may be washed in it.

<sup>4</sup> These words are not in the *Cātumasutta*. Four other perils are there spoken of by the Lord after he had allowed the monks to return to his presence.

## [Fourth Division 1 : Moggallāna's Psychic Power]

“Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: ‘Monks, this is the chief among my disciples who are monks possessed of psychic power, that is to say Moggallāna the Great.’<sup>1</sup> On the other hand they say that, beaten (to death) with clubs,<sup>2</sup> his head broken, his bones ground to powder, his flesh and nerves crushed and lacerated, he attained complete nibbāna. If, reverend Nāgasena, the Elder Moggallāna the Great had achieved supremacy in psychic power, well then, false is that statement which says: ‘Beaten (to death) with clubs, he attained complete nibbāna.’ If, beaten (to death) with clubs, he attained complete nibbāna, well then, false is that statement which says he had achieved supremacy in psychic power. How did he who was not able to avert his own murder by psychic power merit becoming a mainstay<sup>3</sup> for the world with its devas? This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve.”

“This too was said by the Lord, sire: ‘Monks, this is the chief among my disciples who are monks possessed of psychic power, that is to say Moggallāna the Great.’ And the venerable Moggallāna the Great, beaten (to death) with clubs, attained complete nibbāna. But that was owing to his being in the power of kamma.”<sup>4</sup>

“Revered Nāgasena, for one who is possessed of psychic power are there not [189] two unthinkable:<sup>5</sup> the range of psychic power<sup>6</sup> and the maturing of

<sup>1</sup> *A.* i. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See *DhA.* iii. 65 ff., *Jā.* v. 125 ff. The two accounts differ in several details.

<sup>3</sup> *patisarāṇa*, arbiter, refuge, shelter.

<sup>4</sup> *kammādhiggahita*, possessed, mastered or gripped by kamma.

<sup>5</sup> *acintiyā*. Cf. the four *acinteyyāni* at *A.* ii. 80 which include the range, *visaya*, of jhāna for a meditator, and the maturing of kamma.

<sup>6</sup> *iddhivisaya*. Cf. *Vin.* iii. 67 where in answer to monks' complaints that Pilindavaccha had led back children who had been kidnapped, the Lord says there is no offence for one possessed of psychic power in the range of psychic power. Cf. *Netti* 23.

kamma,<sup>1</sup> and is an unthinkable to be averted by an unthinkable? As, revered sir, those who want a fruit knock down a wood-apple with a wood-apple or a mango with a mango, even so, revered Nāgasena, if an unthinkable has been knocked down with an unthinkable, can it be averted?"

"One of the unthinkables, sire, is superior to and more powerful (than the other). As, sire, the kings of the earth are equal in kind, yet of these who are equal in kind, one, lording it over all, wields the authority, even so, sire, of these unthinkables the maturing of kamma is superior to and more powerful (than the other); the maturing of kamma, lording it over all, wields the authority; and the remaining actions of one who is in the power of kamma get no chance.<sup>2</sup> This is a case, sire, where some man has offended in a certain matter;<sup>3</sup> neither his mother nor father, nor his sisters nor brothers, nor his friends or companions can protect him; it is the king himself who, lording it there, wields the authority. For what reason? Because (the man) has offended. Even so, sire, of these unthinkables the maturing of kamma is superior to and more powerful (than the other); the maturing of kamma, lording it over all, wields the authority; and the remaining actions of one who is in the power of kamma get no chance. Or as, sire, when a forest fire has broken out on the earth and (a man) is not able to extinguish it even with a hundred jars of water, then the fire, lording it there, wields the

<sup>1</sup> *kammavipāka*. Cf. *UdA.* 93: *yadā pi siyā iddhimantānam iddhivisayo acinteyyo ti taṃ idhā pi samānam kammavipāko acinteyyo ti vacanato*.

<sup>2</sup> Good and bad actions in their kammic aspects are independent of and not balanced against one another. So that if a bad action has been done (and Moggallāna is supposed to have murdered his parents in a former birth), no amount of subsequent good actions can prevent the effects of the bad action from wearing to their kammic close.

<sup>3</sup> *kismicid eva pakaraṇe aparajjhati*, or, on a certain occasion. The meaning is not clear; cf. *D.* i. 98, and *DA.* 267 where *pakaraṇa* is glossed by *dosa*, and the same phrase at *S.* iii. 91, glossed at *SA.* ii. 297 by *kāraṇa*.

authority. For what reason? Because of the ferocity of its heat. Even so, sire, of these unthinkableables the maturing of kamma is superior to and more powerful (than the other); the maturing of kamma, lording it over all, wields the authority; and the remaining actions of one who is in the power of kamma get no chance. Therefore, sire, when the venerable Moggallāna the Great, who was in the power of kamma, was being beaten (to death) with clubs he had no mental concentration<sup>1</sup> on psychic power."

"It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, therefore do I accept it."

#### [Fourth Division 2: Dhamma-Discipline Unveiled]

[190] "Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: 'The Dhamma-and-Discipline, monks, proclaimed by the Tathāgata shines forth when it is unveiled, not when it is concealed.'<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the recitation of the Obligations<sup>3</sup> and the whole of the Vinaya-piṭaka are closed and concealed.<sup>4</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, you

<sup>1</sup> *samannāhāra*. When this word occurs at *M.* i. 190 f. it appears to mean (sensory) impact. Above it might be translated as "gathering together," "mustering of," "focusing of the attention on." The word also occurs at *Kvu.* 466 (with *ābhoga*, ideation, mental concernedness with, and *manasikāra*, mind-work, reasoned attention), and is translated by Mrs. RhD. in *Pts. Contr.* as "co-ordinated application" (*i.e.*, of the mind).

<sup>2</sup> *A.* i. 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Pātimokkhuḍḍesa*. At *Vin.* MV. ii. 16, 8 it was made an offence for monks to recite the Pātimokkha before an assembly that contained a layman. These Pātimokkha rules, at the core of the *Vin. Suttavibhanga*, were recited by monks before monks twice a month. On the derivation and possible meanings of the word see *BD.* i. p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> This statement is explained just below. In theory no one was debarred from hearing Vinaya or knowing about it. In practice it was only in regard to the recital of the Pātimokkha that laymen were excluded, largely no doubt because their presence might have proved to be inconvenient, if, for example, a vote had to be taken. Nor could they take part in carrying out formal and juridical acts of the Order.

were to obtain application<sup>1</sup> in the Conqueror's teaching or attainment<sup>2</sup> or an acquisition<sup>3</sup> (of it), then the regulating of the Vinaya would flash forth unveiled. For what reason? Because the whole training therein, the control, the restraint, the regulating as to the moral habits, special qualities and right behaviour have the flavour of the goal, the flavour of Dhamma, the flavour of freedom.<sup>4</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord: 'The Dhamma-and-Discipline, monks, proclaimed by the Tathāgata shines forth when it is unveiled, not when it is concealed,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'The recitation of the Obligations and the whole of the Vinaya-piṭaka are closed and concealed.' If the recitation of the Obligations and the whole of the Vinaya-piṭaka are closed and concealed, well then, false is that statement which says: 'The Dhamma-and-Discipline, monks, proclaimed by the Tathāgata shines forth when it is unveiled, not when it is concealed.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

"This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'The Dhamma-and-Discipline, monks, proclaimed by the Tathāgata shines forth when it is unveiled, not when it is concealed.' On the other hand, the recitation of the Obligations and the whole of the Vinaya-piṭaka are closed and concealed.

<sup>1</sup> *yutta*, cf. *Iti.*, p. 93. This word and the two following ones have various shades of meaning, and we do not know precisely which ones were intended here.

<sup>2</sup> *patta*.

<sup>3</sup> *samaya*. On meanings of this word see *MA.* i. 7, *DA.* 31, *AA.* i. 10, *KhpA.* 104, *Asl.* 57-58.

<sup>4</sup> *A.* i. 36 says few are the beings that attain these three flavours. *AA.* ii. 39 says *attharasa* means the four fruits of recluseship, *dhammarasa* the four ways, and *vimuttirasa* the deathless nibbāna. Same sequence at *Nd.* i. 143, *Pts.* ii. 88 f., and see *PtsA.* iii. 582 which is not so explanatory as *AA.* ii. 39. At *SnA.* 51 it is said that paccekabuddhas penetrate the flavour of the goal only, and not the flavour of Dhamma. *Dhp.* 354 says the flavour of Dhamma surpasses all other flavours. This is because it is considered as the Dhamma of the 37 things helpful to enlightenment and of the nine transcendental states, *DhA.* iv. 75.

But this is not for everyone; when (an Order) has established a boundary,<sup>1</sup> they are closed. In three ways, sire, is the recitation of the Obligations closed by the Lord after (an Order) has established a boundary: it is closed in accordance with the customary usage<sup>2</sup> of previous Tathāgatas, it is closed out of respect to Dhamma,<sup>3</sup> it is closed out of respect to the monk-stage.<sup>4</sup>

And how is the recitation of the Obligations closed after (an Order) has established a boundary in accordance with the customary usage of former Tathāgatas? This is a customary usage of all previous Tathāgatas, sire, that is to say the recitation of the Obligations in the midst of monks, and closed to remaining (people).<sup>5</sup> As, sire, the password of noble warriors<sup>6</sup> is in use<sup>7</sup> only among noble warriors and is for noble warriors—this is the established custom<sup>8</sup> in the world for noble warriors and it is closed to remaining (people)—[191] even so, sire, this is the customary usage of all previous Tathāgatas, that is to say the recitation of the Obligations in the midst of the monks, and closed to remaining (people). Or as, sire, there exist various groups on earth, that is to

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that *sīmā* should be taken here in its technical and Vinaya sense of the boundary marking out the locality within which a certain Order resides and deals with its monastic business. On boundary, *sīmā*, and marking it out, see *Vin.* i. 106, 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *vaṃsa*, lineage.

<sup>3</sup> So that there may be no disturbance from in-coming monks when the Pātimokkha is being recited; this is to be done by restricting the size of the boundary to some three yojanas, see *Vin.* i. 106.

<sup>4</sup> *bhikkhu-bhūmi*, as at *Mūl.* 164. This is not one of the four kinds of *bhūmi* at *Pts.* i. 83 or of the five kinds at *AA.* iii. 38 ff., or of the eight kinds at *Mhv.* i. 78.

<sup>5</sup> For rules governing the recital of the Pātimokkha see *Vin.* i. 102 ff., 128 ff.; and for the types of persons before whom monks should not recite it see *Vin.* i. 135 f. It would seem quite clear that laity were excluded.

<sup>6</sup> *khattiya-māyā*; see also *DhA.* i. 166 where a khattiya man spoke the *khattiyamāyā* to a khattiya woman at her request.

<sup>7</sup> *carati*, to move, go about; here, to pass.

<sup>8</sup> *paveṇi*.

say: wrestlers, jugglers,<sup>1</sup> contortionists,<sup>2</sup> actors,<sup>3</sup> performers,<sup>3</sup> mimers,<sup>4</sup> dancers,<sup>4</sup> tumblers,<sup>5</sup> boxers,<sup>6</sup> those (who follow the habits of) the Mañibhadda (devas),<sup>7</sup> of the Puññabhadda (devas),<sup>7</sup> of the moon (devatā),<sup>7</sup> of the sun (devatā),<sup>7</sup> those (who are believers in) the devatā of good fortune, in the devatā of bad fortune, in auspicious (occurrences), those (who follow the habits of) the deva of wealth,<sup>7</sup> those (who believe in omens to be drawn from) the formations of the clouds,<sup>8</sup> sword-swallowers,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *atoṇā*. Word hitherto found only here; meaning and derivation uncertain. *PED.* tentatively suggests a class of jugglers or acrobats and *CPD* athletes. Many of the following words for classes of people are also very obscure; some occur in lists at *Miln.* 331, *Vin.* iv. 285 and *Mhvu. Tr.* iii. 110 f. Apparently the Sinhalese version "simply repeats them all, adding only the word *bhaktiyo*, believers in, to the names of the various divinities," *QKM.* i. 266, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *pabbatā*. I take this from *pabba*, a knot, joint, and not as "mountaineers" as in *PED.*, though *pabba* and *pabbata* are related words. The reference may be to entertainers who climb high poles.

<sup>3</sup> *dhammagiriya brahmagiriya*. *PED.*, s.v. *giriya*, says that in *dhamma*- and *brahma*- it is the name of a certain class of entertainers.

<sup>4</sup> *natakā naccakā*; cf. *naṭā nāṭakā* at *Vin.* iv. 285; see notes at *BD.* iii. 298.

<sup>5</sup> *langhakā*, see *Vin.* iv. 285 and *BD.* iii. 298, n. 4 (of women *langhikā*), *Jā.* ii. 142, *Mhvu. Tr.* iii. 111. *VA.* 931 says "those who do tumbling on bamboos and thongs."

<sup>6</sup> *pisācā*. According to *PED.* this refers to the Paisāca district, hailing from that tribe, cf., the term *malla* (above "wrestlers") in same meaning and origin: a sort of acrobat.

<sup>7</sup> Text reads *mañibhaddā puññabaddhā* (correct to *-bhaddā*) *candima-suriya . . . vasudevā*. Cf. *Nd.* i. 89 where in a list of practices followed by recluses and brahmans such as those of the horse, elephant, dog, etc., there then occur: *Vāsudevavattikā . . . Puññabhaddavattikā vā honti*, *Mañibhaddavattikā . . . candavattikā vā honti*, *suriyavattikā vā honti*. At *Nd.* ii. 173, 174, these are listed both as practices (e.g., *Vāsu-deva-vatikānam Vāsudevo devatā*) and as devas (e.g., also *Puññabhadda-deva . . . canda-deva*), and as those to whom reverence should be paid: *ye yesam dakkhiṇeyyā te tesam devatā*.

<sup>8</sup> *ghanikā*. *PED.* tentatively suggests "a class of devas (cloud-gods?)." They are not mentioned however at the lists in *Nd.* i. 89, ii. 173, 174.

<sup>9</sup> *asipāsā*, or is this a class of devas—those who have swords for snares?

and Bhaddiputtā<sup>1</sup>—among each of these groups the secret passes only within each group, and is closed to remaining (people)—even so, sire, this is the customary usage of all previous Tathāgatas, that is to say the recitation of the Obligations in the midst of monks, and closed to remaining (people). Thus is the recitation of the Obligations closed in accordance with the customary usage of previous Tathāgatas when (an Order) has established the boundary.

How, after (an Order) has established the boundary, is the recitation of the Obligations closed out of respect for Dhamma? Dhamma, sire, is venerable and weighty. One who acts with rightness<sup>2</sup> therein attains profound knowledge,<sup>3</sup> (but) whether he achieves this through a succession of acts of rightness therein, or whether he does not achieve this through a succession of acts of non-rightness therein, he thinks: ‘Neither let this Dhamma of the Pith, this excellent Dhamma fall into the hands of those who act not with rightness, and (so) become degraded,<sup>4</sup> despised,<sup>4</sup> looked down upon, derided and found fault with; nor let this Dhamma of the Pith, this excellent Dhamma fall into the hands of the wrong people, and (so) become degraded, despised, looked down upon, derided and found fault with.’<sup>3</sup> Thus, after (an Order) has established the boundary, is the recitation of the Obligations closed out of respect for Dhamma. As, sire, when the choicest and excellent, lovely, fine, genuine red sandal-wood is brought to the city of Savara<sup>5</sup> it is degraded, despised, looked down upon, derided and found fault with, even so, sire, one thinks: ‘Neither let this Dhamma of the Pith, this excellent Dhamma fall into the hands of a succession of those who act not with

<sup>1</sup> At *Miln.* 331 the reading *bhattiputtā* is probably quite a different word.

<sup>2</sup> *sammattakārīn*.

<sup>3</sup> *aññaṃ ārādheti*; cf. *nibbānaṃ ārādheti* at *M.* iii. 4; the whole context appears to point to this as a better rendering than “he convinces another” which might however be equally correct.

<sup>4</sup> *añāta avañāta*; cf. *Miln.*, p. 229, 288.

<sup>5</sup> Savarapura is traditionally taken as a city of Caṇḍālas, see *QKM.* i. 267. A city of country people, *MilnT.*

rightness and (so) become degraded, despised, looked down upon, derided and found fault with; nor let this Dhamma of the Pith, this excellent Dhamma fall into the hands of the wrong people and (so) become degraded, despised, looked down upon, derided and found fault with.' Thus, after (monks) have established the boundary, is the recitation of the Obligations closed out of respect for Dhamma.

[192] How, after (an Order) has established the boundary, is the recitation of the Obligations closed out of respect for the monk-stage? <sup>1</sup> A monk's status, <sup>1</sup> sire, is beyond estimation, <sup>2</sup> immeasurable, beyond price, it is impossible for anyone to price it, estimate it, measure it. Thinking: 'Take care lest anyone who, firm in a monk's status such as this, should become on an exact level (with men) in the world'—(it is for this reason that) the recitation of the Obligations is used only among the monks. As, sire, excellent and lovely kinds of property in the world: garments or spreadings or elephants, swift horses, <sup>3</sup> chariots, gold, silver, gems, <sup>4</sup> pearls, jewels of women and so on, or as valiant men of unvanquished deeds <sup>5</sup> all come to kings, even so, sire, for as long as there is in the world the training (for monks), the tradition of the Well-farer, <sup>6</sup> the scriptures, <sup>7</sup> the restraint (that constitutes) good behaviour, <sup>8</sup> the special qualities of control over the moral habits, all these are taken to the Order of monks. It is thus that, after (an Order) has established the boundary, the recitation of the Obligations is closed out of respect for the monk-stage."

"It is good, revered Nāgasena; thus it is, so do I accept it."

<sup>1</sup> *bhikkhubhūmi* . . . *bhikkhubhāva*; cf. *Miln.* 164.

<sup>2</sup> *atulliya*, cannot be weighed.

<sup>3</sup> *turanga*, as at *Miln.* 352, 364.

<sup>4</sup> *maṇi*; lists at *Miln.* 118, *UdA.* 103, 302; cf. *AA.* iv. 111.

<sup>5</sup> *nījjitakammasūrā*. RhD. used a version which, reading *-surā* following a Sinhalese source (*surā-pānāyēn*, drinking intoxicants) led him to translate as "unsurpassable strong drink," thus not accounting for *kamma* in the compound.

<sup>6</sup> *Sugatāgama*.

<sup>7</sup> *pariyatti*.

<sup>8</sup> *ācūrasamīyama*.

## [Fourth Division 3: Intentional Lying]

“Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: ‘In intentional lying there is an offence involving Defeat.’<sup>1</sup> But again it is said: ‘For intentional lying (a monk) falls into a light offence of a nature to be confessed<sup>2</sup> in the presence of one (monk).’<sup>3</sup> Revered Nāgasena, what is the distinction here, what the reason that for one sort of lie (a monk) ceases to exist (as a monk),<sup>4</sup> but for the other sort of lie he is curable?<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A *pārājika* offence is one involving the offender in Defeat in the sense that he must be expelled from the Order with no hope of being re-ordained. The phrase *sampajānamusū pārājiko* is to be found at *Vin.* iii. 94 ff. (in the Pāli text as *sampajānamusū bhaṅgantaṃ āpattiṃ pārājikaṃ*). In this *Pārājika* the offence is for a monk in any of the four states of further-men: to do so ranks as a conscious lie, a deliberate and intentional lie, as noticed at *Khv.* 82. Apart from this, conscious lying is taken to be a *pācittiya* offence, see *Vin.* iii. 59, 66, iv. 2; also see *BD.* ii. 166, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *desanūvathuka*. For the expression *āpattiṃ desetabbā*, the offence should be avowed, or confessed, see *Vin.* iv. 244. *Desanā* implies showing; perhaps “disclosed” or “revealed” would therefore be nearer the Pali than “confessed.” To tell or “confess” that one has committed an offence to no more than one monk of course implies nothing like the privacy of a “confessional.” It is simply because the offence is a light one, and not serious, that there is no need for the offender to report it to a whole Order or even to a group of monks. On the contrary, one monk will suffice to hear of it and acknowledge the “confession” thus removing the offence from the offender who then becomes “pure” in this respect in virtue of his “confession.”

<sup>3</sup> One monk, not a group (*gaṇa*, i.e., two to four monks) nor an Order (*saṅgha*, five or more monks). Though, with RhD. I have not traced these identical words in the *Vinaya*, or other *Piṭakas*, “the general sense of them is exactly in agreement with the first *pācittiya* rule,” *QKM.* i. 269, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Because he has fallen into an offence involving Defeat and therefore can never be re-ordained or rehabilitated.

<sup>5</sup> *satekiccha* (*sa* with *tekiccha*), as at *Miln.* 221, 344, *MA.* ii. 255, meaning curable rather than pardonable, which is another word the Dictionaries supply. The offence is not pardoned when it is confessed by the offender to one other monk; it is acknowledged, and there is no residue of forgiveness as from a superior to an inferior. To confess an offence is to be purified of it; and so the sense is to be cured, not to ask anyone’s pardon. Devadatta is spoken of as

If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord: 'In intentional lying there is an offence involving Defeat,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'For intentional lying (a monk) falls into a light offence of a nature to be confessed in the presence of one (monk).' But if it was said by the Lord: 'For intentional lying (a monk) falls into a light offence of a nature to be confessed in the presence of one (monk),' well then, false is that statement which says: 'In intentional lying there is an offence involving Defeat.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

[193] "This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'In intentional lying there is an offence involving Defeat.' And it was said: 'For intentional lying (a monk) falls into a light offence of a nature to be confessed in the presence of one (monk).' But (lying) is serious or light according to its subject-matter. What do you think about this, sire? Suppose a man were to give another a blow with his hand, what punishment would you mete out to him?"

"If, revered sir, he says: 'I do not forgive (him),' then we, ourselves not forgiving,<sup>1</sup> would have him mulcted of a *kahāpana*."

"But, sire, suppose that same man had given you a blow with his hand, what would be his punishment then?"

"We would have his hand cut off, sir, and we would have his foot cut off, and as far as his head we would have him cut with the sprout-cutting,<sup>2</sup> and we would have his whole house looted, and we would have his family completely removed down to the seventh (generation) on both (his maternal and paternal) sides."

"And what is the distinction here, sire, what the reason that the punishment for a blow from the hand

*atekiccha*, incurable for an eon, but not unpardonable. Who indeed could pardon him for the deeds he himself has done?

<sup>1</sup> *akkhamamāne*. But the better reading, and the Sinhalese text appears to have yet another (*QKM*. i. 269, n. 4), would be *akkhamamānā*.

<sup>2</sup> *kaḷīracchejja*, apparently a kind of torture.

(given) to one person is a small *kahāpaṇa*, while for a blow of the hand (given) to you, there is the cutting off of the hand, the cutting off of the foot, the sprout-cutting as far as (the head),<sup>1</sup> the taking of the contents of the whole house, the removal of the family down to the seventh (generation) on both sides ?”

“It is due to the difference in the persons (who receive the blow), revered sir.”

“Even so, sire, intentional lying is serious or light according to its subject-matter.”

“It is good, revered sir; so it is, thus do I accept it.”

#### [Fourth Division 4: The Bodhisatta's Investigations]

“Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord in the disquisition on Dhamma concerning natural law:<sup>2</sup> ‘The parents of Bodhisattas are determined<sup>3</sup> beforehand,<sup>4</sup> the enlightenment-tree<sup>5</sup> is determined, the chief disciples are determined, the son is determined, the attendant is determined.’ But then you say: ‘When he was in the Tusita class (of devas)<sup>6</sup> the Bodhisatta investigated the

<sup>1</sup> Omitted here in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Dhammatūddhammapariyāya. I do not know what disquisition is called by this name, unless it is Mahāpadhāna Sutta, §17-30.

<sup>3</sup> *niyata*, assured, fixed, arranged.

<sup>4</sup> *pubbe va*, in the past, *i.e.*, before the Bodhisatta enters on his last birth.

<sup>5</sup> *bodhi*. Commentaries, *e.g.*, *MA.* i. 54, *CpA.* 18, ascribe four meanings to this important term: (1) tree, and so taken by RhD. at *QKM.* i. 270. Specifically, the bodhi-tree is the *ficus religiosa*, and one situated between Bodhi and Gayā was Gotama's Tree of Awakening (*Vin.* i. 8, *M.* i. 170); and though some of the previous Bodhisattas are traditionally held to have gained their Awakening under other species of trees (see *Budv.*, 297), these too are known as Trees of Awakening. It is also traditionally held that when a Bodhisatta is reborn for the last time it is in order to gain Awakening. (2) the ariyan Way, *i.e.*, knowledge, *nāṇa*, of the four ways. (3) *nibbāna*, that is when one has attained *bodhi*, *amata*, *asankhata*, awakening, deathlessness, the unconstructed. (4) omniscience, *i.e.*, the awakening to all things, *dhammā*, in all their modes.

<sup>6</sup> This is where Bodhisattas spend their last birth before finally being reborn on earth.

eight great investigations:<sup>1</sup> he investigated the time (of his birth),<sup>2</sup> the continent (where he would be born),<sup>3</sup> the region,<sup>4</sup> the family,<sup>5</sup> the mother,<sup>6</sup> the life-span (she would have after conceiving him),<sup>7</sup> the month (of his birth), (the time of) the Renunciation (of worldly life).’ [194] Revered Nāgasena, there is no awakening<sup>8</sup> when knowledge is not mature;<sup>9</sup> when knowledge is mature it is not possible to wait even for a moment;<sup>10</sup> a mature mind cannot be gainsaid.<sup>11</sup> (So) why did the Bodhisatta investigate the time (of his birth), thinking: ‘At what time shall I arise (on earth in my last birth)?’ There is no awakening when knowledge is not mature; when knowledge is mature it is not possible to wait even for a moment; (so) why did the Bodhisatta investigate the family, thinking: ‘In what family shall I arise?’ If, revered Nāgasena, the Bodhisatta’s parents had been

<sup>1</sup> *aṭṭha mahāvilocanāni viloketi*. These eight have not been traced in the Pali Canon. *DA.* 428, *Jā.* i. 48, *BudvA.* 54, 273, *MA.* iv. 171-173, discuss the first five given above, calling them the five great investigations. All these Comys. take the mother and her life-span as one investigation; *Miln.* takes them as two. The five are referred to at *DhA.* i. 84.

<sup>2</sup> The birth must not take place either at a time when men’s lives are very long (at the beginning of a world-cycle) or at a time when they are very short (at the end of a world-cycle), for in neither case would they understand birth, ageing and dying with which the Teachings of the Buddhas deal, and so when they were told about impermanence, anguish and not-self (the three marks of the Teaching) they would not listen or develop confidence. The time for a Bodhisatta to be born is when men live to be about a hundred, *MA.* iv. 172, *BudvA.* 273, *Jā.* i. 48. For a good résumé of the conditions attendant on a Bodhisatta’s last birth, see Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1932.

<sup>3</sup> India.

<sup>4</sup> The Middle Country, *Majjhimadesa*.

<sup>5</sup> Always in a khattiya or a brahman family.

<sup>6</sup> She is one to have fulfilled the perfections and to have kept the *sīlas* since she was born.

<sup>7</sup> Ten months and a week.

<sup>8</sup> *bujjhana*, discovering, awakening.

<sup>9</sup> *aparipakka*. Cf. *M.* iii. 277, “mature in Rāhula are the things that bring freedom to maturity.”

<sup>10</sup> *nimesantara*, the interval of a moment. Awakening when it comes comes in a flash, and there is no holding back of it.

<sup>11</sup> *anatikkamanāya*, is not to be violated.

determined beforehand, well then, false is that statement which says: 'He investigated the family.' If he investigated the family, well then, false is that statement which says: 'The Bodhisatta's parents were determined beforehand.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

"The Bodhisatta's parents are determined beforehand, sire, and the Bodhisatta did investigate the family. But how did he investigate the family? He investigated the family thus: 'Are those who are (to be) my parents noble warriors or brahmans?' In eight ways, sire, should what is not known<sup>1</sup> be inspected beforehand. A merchant, sire, should inspect beforehand the goods he has for sale;<sup>2</sup> an elephant should inspect beforehand with his trunk an unknown way; a carter should inspect beforehand an unknown ford; a pilot, when a ship is to be taken in (to a harbour), should inspect beforehand an unknown harbour; a physician, when an invalid is to be visited, should inspect beforehand his age;<sup>3</sup> one should get to know the strength or weakness of a bridge for crossing (a river)<sup>4</sup> before getting on to it; a monk, having reflected beforehand that the time has not yet come (after which he may not eat),<sup>5</sup> may partake of a meal; Bodhisattas should inspect beforehand the family (into which they would be born), either a noble warrior family or a brahman family. These are the eight ways, sire, in which what is not known should be inspected beforehand."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *anāgata*, the future, what has not yet arrived; what is not learnt, not known.

<sup>2</sup> *vikkayabhaṇḍa*, perhaps merchandise, what he may either buy or sell.

<sup>3</sup> *āyu* is the usual word for life-span, duration of life, but here it seems as if it must mean age in the usual sense of the term.

<sup>4</sup> *uttarasetu*, as at *M.* i. 134, *S.* iv. 174 (*uttarasetu*), but *SA.* iii. 11, reading *uttara-*, describes it as a tree-bridge (perhaps such as might be used by animals), a foot-bridge (*i.e.*, for pedestrians), and a waggon-bridge (for carts).

<sup>5</sup> Monks were not allowed to eat after midday until sunrise the following day, *Vin.* iv. 85-86.

<sup>6</sup> Nāgasena's arguments and expositions here seem strangely inadequate.

“ It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, thus do I accept it.”

[Fourth Division 5: Suicide]

[195] “ Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: ‘ Monks, one should not destroy oneself;<sup>1</sup> whoever should do so should be dealt with according to the rule.’<sup>2</sup> But on the other hand you say: ‘ Whenever the Lord was teaching Dhamma to disciples, in many a figure he taught Dhamma for the cutting off of birth, ageing, disease and dying; and whoever had passed beyond birth, ageing, disease and dying, him did he praise with the highest praise.’<sup>3</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord: ‘ Monks, one should not destroy oneself; whoever should do so should be dealt with according to the rule,’ well then, false is that statement which says: ‘ He taught Dhamma for the cutting off of birth, ageing, disease and dying.’ If he taught Dhamma for the cutting off of birth, ageing, disease and dying, well then, false is that statement which says: ‘ Monks, one should not destroy oneself; whoever should do so should be dealt with according to the rule.’ This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve.”

“ This too was said by the Lord, sire: ‘ Monks, one should not destroy oneself; whoever should do so should be dealt with according to the rule.’ And whenever the Lord was teaching Dhamma to disciples, in many a

<sup>1</sup> *na attānaṃ pātetabbam*, as at *Vin.* iii. 82. The phrase has the implication of not destroying or killing oneself by letting or making oneself fall down from a mountain (*Vin.* iii. 82) or into a deep ravine, a pit, or down a steep precipice (*Vin.* iii. 74). To try to kill oneself by such means and to fail does not constitute part of the Pārājika offence in question, the Third. This dilemma has been translated by Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> The rule, *dhamma*, here seems to be the expiation of a *dukkata* offence, see *Vin.* references in the previous note.

<sup>3</sup> This passage, while in full accord with the sentiments expressed in the Pali Canon, has not yet been traced, and indeed sounds more like an epitome of the teaching on escape from *Samsāra* than like one statement.

figure he taught Dhamma for the cutting off of birth, ageing, disease and dying. But there was here a reason why the Lord objected to<sup>1</sup> (a person's destroying himself) and yet also roused<sup>1</sup> (him to do so)."

"But what was here the reason, revered Nāgasena, why the Lord objected (to a person destroying himself) and yet also roused (him to do so)?"

"One who is moral,<sup>2</sup> sire, possessed of moral habit,<sup>2</sup> is like an antidote<sup>3</sup> for destroying the poison of the defilements in beings; he is like a healing balm for allaying the sickness of the defilements in beings; he is like water for carrying off the dust and dirt of the defilements in beings; he is like the precious gem for giving all attainments to beings; he is like a ship for beings to go beyond the four floods;<sup>4</sup> he is like a caravan-leader for taking beings across the desert of births;<sup>5</sup> he is like the wind for extinguishing the three fierce fires<sup>6</sup> in beings; he is like a great rain-cloud for filling beings with (purposeful) thought;<sup>7</sup> he is like a teacher for making beings train themselves in what is skilled; he is like a good guide for pointing out to beings the path of security (from the bonds).<sup>8</sup> It was in order that one who was moral like that might not perish, sire, who was of many special qualities, of various special qualities, of immeasurable special qualities, [196] a mass of special qualities, a heap of special qualities, and bringing welfare to creatures, that the Lord, sire, out of compassion for

<sup>1</sup> *patikkhipi samādapesi ca.*

<sup>2</sup> See Sekha-sutta, *M.* Sta. No. 53, and Sāmaññaphala-suttanta §43-62, for *sīlavant* and *sīlasampanna*.

<sup>3</sup> Some of these comparisons and many more occur at *Miln.* 353-355.

<sup>4</sup> *ogha*, of sense-pleasures, becoming, wrong view and ignorance; the same as the four *āsavā* or cankers, and the four *yogā* or bonds.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g., *Jā.* No. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Of attachment, hatred and confusion, the extinction of which is nibbāna, *S.* iv. 251; spoken of as fires in the "Fire-Sermon," *Vin.* i. 34, *S.* iv. 19, because of which "everything is burning."

<sup>7</sup> *mānasa*.

<sup>8</sup> *khemapatha*. I take the implied meaning to be *yogakkhema*, security from the bonds, see note 4 above.

creatures, laid down this rule of training: 'Monks, one should not destroy oneself; whoever should do so should be dealt with according to the rule.' This was the reason, sire, why the Lord objected (to a person destroying himself).

And this, sire, was spoken by the Elder Kassapa the Boy,<sup>1</sup> a versatile talker,<sup>2</sup> when he was illustrating the world beyond to the chieftain Pāyāsi:<sup>3</sup> 'For as long a time, chieftain, as recluses and brahmans who are moral and of lovely character stand fast, for so long do they fare along for the welfare of the manyfolk, for the happiness of the manyfolk, for the compassion of the world, for the good, the welfare and happiness of devas and mankind.'<sup>4</sup> But for what reason did the Lord rouse (disciples)? Birth is anguish, sire, and old age is anguish, and disease is anguish, and dying is anguish;<sup>5</sup> and grief is anguish, sorrow is anguish, suffering is anguish, lamentation is anguish, despair is anguish; and association with what is not liked is anguish, separation from what is liked is anguish;<sup>6</sup> death of a mother is anguish, death of a father . . . a brother . . . a sister . . . a child . . . death of a wife is anguish,<sup>7</sup> death of a relation is anguish; misfortune concerning one's relations

<sup>1</sup> Kumārakassapa was so called because he went forth into the homeless state when he was young. He was called Kumārakassapa at that time by the Buddha to distinguish him from other Kassapas, and also because he had a princely bearing having been brought up by a king (*ThagA.* ii. 68, *Pss. Breth.*, p. 148, and see *DPPN.*). He was ordained at the minimum age of twenty (*Vin.* MV. i. 75). Two verses of great significance are ascribed to him at *Thag.* 201, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *A.* i. 24, but not many records survive of discourses given by him.

<sup>3</sup> See Pāyāsi-sutta, *D.* ii. 316 ff., where Kumārakassapa convinced Pāyāsi that he was in error in thinking there was no world beyond, no fruit of actions and no rebirth.

<sup>4</sup> *D.* ii. 332.

<sup>5</sup> From "birth is anguish" to here comes from the First Utterance, *Vin.* i. 10. These four modes of man's existence are also to be found stated as the first set of fears at *Vbh.* 376.

<sup>6</sup> These last two clauses are also included in the First Utterance.

<sup>7</sup> For grief and sorrow, etc., being born of affection and arising from the death of a mother, father, brother, sister, son, daughter, husband or wife see *M.* ii. 108 f.

is anguish, misfortune concerning one's health . . . one's wealth . . . one's moral habit . . . misfortune concerning one's views is anguish;<sup>1</sup> and fear due to kings is anguish,<sup>2</sup> fear due to thieves is anguish, fear due to enemies . . . famine . . . fire . . . fear due to water is anguish; and fear due to waves is anguish, fear due to whirlpools . . . crocodiles . . . fear due to fierce fishes is anguish;<sup>3</sup> and fear of self-reproach is anguish, fear of others' reproach is anguish, fear of punishment . . . fear of a bad bourn is anguish;<sup>4</sup> fear of what is fearful in an assembly is anguish, fear for one's livelihood is anguish, fear of dying is anguish;<sup>5</sup> [197] flogging with a cane<sup>6</sup> is anguish, flogging with a whip is anguish,

<sup>1</sup> These five *vyasanā*, misfortunes, losses, deteriorations, are found at *D.* iii. 235, *A.* iii. 147. At this latter passage it is said that the first three misfortunes (also mentioned at *Vin.* iv. 277) do not cause a person to be reborn in the ways of woe while the last two do.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. among the dangers, *antarāya*, at *Vin.* i. 112, 169, the danger from kings, thieves, fire and water. These are grouped together as the second set of four fears at *Vbh.* 376.

<sup>3</sup> At *M.* i. 459, *A.* ii. 123 four fears or perils are those of waves, crocodiles (cf. *Thīg.* 502), whirlpools and fierce fishes, synonyms for angry wrath, gluttony, sense-pleasures and women respectively. It is only one who is not frightened of these four perils that is able to cut through the stream of thirst, *taṇhā*, and see nibbāna, the Beyond, *MA.* iii. 177 f. Waves, etc., also form the third set of four fears at *Vbh.* 376.

<sup>4</sup> These last four fears (the fourth set at *Vbh.* 376) also occur at *A.* ii. 121 ff., where it is explained that a person is so much scared by them that he abandons wrong conduct in body, speech and thought, develops good conduct instead and carries about a pure self, *suddham attānaṃ pariharati*. This *A.* passage describes the fear of punishment in terms of the tortures that the *Miln.* now proceeds to name immediately after the next set of three fears.

<sup>5</sup> These are three of the five fears given at *A.* iv. 364, *Vbh.* 379. One of the five given in these passages, fear of a bad bourn, has already appeared, see above, n. 4, and is, I think, the only "fear" to occur in two lists. The other fear among these five is *asilokabhaya*, fear of a bad reputation, but it is not mentioned in the *Miln.* lists. Cf. the list of fears at *Nd.* i. 371, ii. 470.

<sup>6</sup> See *Miln.* 290, 357, *M.* i. 87, iii. 163, *A.* ii. 122, etc., for this stereotyped list of tortures. For the rendering of their obscure names I follow *Light of the Dhamma*, vol. i, No. 4, July, 1953, where a translation of the *M.* Bālapaṇḍita-sutta is given by the Pali

flogging with a baton is anguish, cutting off the hand . . . the foot . . . the hand and foot is anguish, cutting off the ear . . . the nose . . . the ear and nose is anguish, putting a red-hot iron ball on the head after removing the top of the skull to look like a gruel-pot . . . peeling off the skin of the skull and rubbing it with gravel till it becomes polished like a conchshell . . . kindling a fire in the mouth after opening it wide with spikes . . . wrapping the body or the hand with oil-soaked rags and setting fire to it to make it look like a wreath of flames or a burning lamp . . . peeling off the skin from the neck down to the ankle . . . peeling off the skin from the neck to the waist and from the waist to the ankle and making it hang loose like a bark-garment . . . pinning down a criminal with iron nails (at both elbows and knees) to the ground to resemble the posture of the antelope and encircling him with fire . . . pulling out the flesh with double-edged hooks . . . cutting off coin-sized pieces of flesh from the body . . . combing off the flesh with a comb and applying alkali . . . piercing a criminal lying on one side on the ground with an iron peg through the ear and turning him round . . . beating the whole body so that it would look like a bundle of straw . . . pouring hot oil (over one) . . . dogs being made to bite the flesh of the body . . . impaling when one is alive . . . cutting off the head with a sword is anguish. One who is in saṃsāra, sire, experiences many and various anguishes such as these.

As, sire, when it has rained down<sup>1</sup> on the slopes of the Himalayas the water in the river Ganges spreads all over the sharp stones, the pebbles, the sand,<sup>2</sup> the

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Department of the University of Rangoon, the tortures being invested with a vivid realism. Warren gives extracts from the Commentary to *A.* to explain them, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 439.

<sup>1</sup> *abhivattam*. This appears to be the reading favoured by CPD. Si. reads *-vuttam*.

<sup>2</sup> *pāsāṇa-sakkhara-khara-marumba-*; cf. *Vin.* iv. 33, and *BD.* ii. 224, n. 1. Si. reads as follows: *pāsāṇa sakkhara khara marumaba āvāta gakkara susarukkha kallola ūmi-āvaraṇa nīvaraṇa mūlikasū-*

whirlpools,<sup>1</sup> the eddies,<sup>2</sup> its little waves beating against the bends,<sup>3</sup> (and spreads) among the obstructions and hindrances (to its progress such as) the roots and branches (of trees), even so, sire, one who is in saṃsāra experiences manifold and various anguishes such as these. Anguish, sire, is that which goes on;<sup>4</sup> bliss is that which does not go on.<sup>5</sup> Illustrating the special quality of what does not go on and the peril there is in what goes on, the Lord, sire, for the realization of what does not go on, roused (disciples) to passing beyond birth, ageing, disease and dying. This was the reason, sire, why the Lord roused (disciples)."

"It is good, revered Nāgasena; the question is well unravelled, the reason ably spoken;<sup>6</sup> so it is, thus do I accept it."

*khāsu pariyottharati evam eva kho mahārāja evarūpāni bahuvīdhāni anekavīdhāni dukkhāni saṃsārasatagato anubhavati.* This passage is extremely difficult. Si. appears to mean: spreads all over the sharp stones, the pebbles, the sand, the pits (in the river-bed, *āvāṭā*), the *gakkara* (is this a variant of *gaggara*, *gaggalaka*, *gaggaraka*, something that roars and cackles? See *PED.* s.v. *gala*), *susarukkha* (is this *susu* = (1) a boy, youngster, and therefore a young tree; or = (2) a hissing sound, and therefore a cracking tree; or = (3) a water-animal (and therefore water-animals?) and trees, billows (*kallola*), waves, obstructions and hindrances (to its progress) caused by roots (*mūlika*, text *mūlaka*) and branches (of trees), even so, sire, one who is in the stream of saṃsāra experiences manifold and various anguishes such as these.

<sup>1</sup> *āvatta*.

<sup>2</sup> *gaggalaka*, onomatopoeic.

<sup>3</sup> *ūmikavankacadika*, where *cadika* appears to be unknown. *PED.* suggests *-madika*. But what does this mean? RhD. at *QKM.* i. 278, n. 1, says "perhaps it was *ādika* after all with or without *m* euphonic." Morris, *JPTS.* 1884, p. 92 suggests reading *velika*, surges, though one MS. has *vadika*.

<sup>4</sup> *pavatta*, a proceeding, course of existences, *i.e.*, in saṃsāra. It also means a functioning.

<sup>5</sup> *appavatta*, *i.e.*, nibbāna. Or one might translate: anguish is occurrence (of birth and dying, etc.), bliss is non-occurrence. The meaning would appear to be that anguish and impermanence accompany one another as do bliss and nibbāna, which is always there. See also the two words at *Miln.* 325 f.

<sup>6</sup> Text reads: *sunibbēhito pañho sukathitam kāraṇam.* Si. reads *pañho tayā suniddittho sukathito kāraṇam upaneti ti*, the question, well explained and ably spoken about by you, gives the reason,

## [Fourth Division 6: Advantages of Loving-kindness]

[198] “ Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord:<sup>1</sup> ‘ If the freedom of mind that is loving-kindness<sup>2</sup> is practised, developed, made much of, made a vehicle, made a basis, persisted in, become familiar with and well established,<sup>3</sup> eleven advantages may be expected:<sup>4</sup> one sleeps in comfort,<sup>5</sup> wakes in comfort, dreams no evil dream, he is dear to human beings, dear to non-human beings, devatās guard him, fire, poison and weapons do not affect him, his mind is easily concentrated, the expression of his face is serene, he does his (karmic) time unconfused, and if he penetrates no higher (to arahantship than the attainment of loving-kindness) he reaches the Brahma-world (on deceasing from this life).’ But on the other hand you say: ‘ The boy Sāma,<sup>6</sup> a dweller in loving-kindness, was roaming about in a forest<sup>7</sup> surrounded by a herd of deer when, on being pierced by a poisoned arrow shot by the king Piliyakka,<sup>8</sup> he fell down fainting on that very spot.’ If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord: ‘ If the freedom of mind that is loving-kindness is practised . . . he reaches the Brahma-world,’ well then, false is that statement which says: ‘ The boy Sāma, a dweller in loving-kindness, was roaming about in a forest surrounded by a herd of deer when, on being pierced by an arrow

<sup>1</sup> *A.* v. 342, *Jā.* ii. 61.

<sup>2</sup> This is called immeasurable freedom of mind as are the three other brahma-vihāras at *M.* i. 297, iii. 146.

<sup>3</sup> A stock phrase, recurring at *e.g.*, *D.* ii. 103, *M.* iii. 97, *S.* i. 116, *A.* iv. 150.

<sup>4</sup> Eight at *A.* iv. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Each of these eleven advantages is explained at *Vism.* 311 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Instead of *Sāmo kumāro* *Si.* reads *so Sāmo suvaṇṇo*. He is probably to be identified with *Suvaṇṇasāma* in *Jā.* No. 541 (so called because he was of a golden hue when he was born) who was the Bodhisatta, *Jā.* vi. 95. See also *Śyāmaka Jātaka* at *Mhv.* ii. 209 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *pavana*. For this being forest or wood, see authorities cited in *BHSD* and also Jones, *Mhv. Trans.* ii, 328, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Si.* reads *Pilayakkha*; *Jā.* No. 541 as above. He is identified with *Ānanda* at *Jā.* vi. 95.

shot by king Piliyakkha, he fell down fainting on that very spot.' If the boy Sāma, a dweller in loving-kindness, was roaming about in a forest surrounded by a herd of deer when, on being pierced by an arrow shot by king Piliyakkha, he fell down fainting on that very spot, well then, false is that statement which says: 'If the freedom of mind that is loving-kindness is practised . . . fire, poison and weapons do not affect him.'<sup>1</sup> This too is a double-pronged question, very abstruse, of the utmost delicacy,<sup>2</sup> subtle and profound (enough) to bring out the sweat on the limbs of even the most abstruse (thinking) mortals; it is put to you; untangle this great entangled tangle and by solving it give vision to the future sons of the Conqueror."

"This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'If the freedom of mind that is loving-kindness is practised . . . fire, poison and weapons do not affect him.' And the boy Sāma, a dweller in loving-kindness, was roaming about in a forest surrounded by a herd of deer when, on being pierced by an arrow shot by king Piliyakkha, he fell down fainting on that very spot. [199] But, sire, there was a reason for that. What was the reason for that? These (advantages resulting from developing loving-kindness), sire, are not a man's special qualities; these are special qualities due to developing loving-kindness. At the moment when the boy Sāma, sire, was lifting up his pitcher of water<sup>3</sup> he was neglectful of the development of loving-kindness. At the moment, sire, when a man is filled with loving-kindness neither fire nor poison nor weapons affect him, and when those who desire his woe approach him they do not see him, they have no chance over him. These (advantages resulting from developing loving-kindness), sire, are not a man's special qualities; they are special qualities due to developing loving-kindness. Suppose, sire, a man, valiant in battle,

<sup>1</sup> Our text stops here, probably rightly, but Si. finishes the quotation.

<sup>2</sup> Reading with Si. *paramasaṅha* (text *parisaṅha*); *saṅha* is smooth, soft.

<sup>3</sup> *Jā.* vi, 76; *Mhv.* ii. 213.

should enter a battle clad in impenetrable chain-mail armour—the arrows shot at him then fall (on him) harmlessly,<sup>1</sup> and do not have a chance over him. This, sire, is not a special quality of him who is valiant in battle, this is a special quality due to his being clad in impenetrable chain-mail armour in that the arrows that are shot at him fall (on him) harmlessly. Even so, sire, these (advantages resulting from developing loving-kindness) are not a man's special qualities; they are special qualities due to developing loving-kindness. At the moment, sire, when a man is filled with loving-kindness neither fire nor poison nor weapons affect him, and when those who desire his woe approach him they do not see him, they have no chance over him. These (advantages resulting from developing loving-kindness), sire, are not a man's special qualities; they are special qualities due to developing loving-kindness.

And suppose, sire, a man were to take a deva-like 'disappearing root'<sup>2</sup> into his hand—while that root is in his hand no other ordinary person can see him. This, sire, is not a special quality of that man, this special quality is due to the 'disappearing root' in virtue of which he is not visible in the visual field of ordinary people. Even so, sire, these (advantages resulting from developing loving-kindness) are not a man's special qualities; they are special qualities due to developing loving-kindness. At the moment, sire, when a man is filled with loving-kindness neither fire nor poison nor weapons affect him, and when those who desire his woe approach him they do not see him, they have no chance over him. These (advantages resulting from developing loving-kindness), sire, are not a man's special qualities; they are special qualities due to developing loving-kindness.

Or, sire, it is as<sup>3</sup> a [200] mighty cloud pouring down

<sup>1</sup> *patanti vikiranti*, they fall, they scatter.

<sup>2</sup> *antaradhāna mūla*, some magic root by which a man can make himself invisible. Cf. *antaradhāna manta* at *DhA.* iv. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Si. omits this simile. RhD. omits that of the warrior in armour (by an oversight, I think).

rain is unable to wet a man who has entered a well-made and mighty cave. This, sire, is not a special quality of that man, it is a special quality of the great cave that a mighty cloud in pouring down rain does not wet him. Even so, sire, these (advantages resulting from developing loving-kindness) are not a man's special qualities; they are special qualities due to developing loving-kindness. At the moment, sire, when a man is filled with loving-kindness neither fire nor poison nor weapons affect him, and when those who desire his woe approach him they do not see him, they have no chance over him. These (advantages resulting from developing loving-kindness), sire, are not a man's special qualities; they are special qualities due to developing loving-kindness."

"It is wonderful, revered Nāgasena, it is marvellous, revered Nāgasena, how the development of loving-kindness is a warding off of all evil."

"The development of loving-kindness, sire, brings all special qualities of skill both for those (desiring) weal and for those (desiring) woe. The development of loving-kindness which is of great advantage should be communicated to all those beings who are bound to consciousness."<sup>1</sup>

#### [Fourth Division 7: Devadatta's Births]

"Revered Nāgasena, are the results exactly the same for one who does what is skilled and for one who does what is unskilled, or is there some distinction?"

"There is a distinction, sire, between skill and unskill. Skill, sire, has bliss as a result, it is conducive to (rebirth in) heaven; unskill, sire, has anguish as a result, it is conducive to (rebirth in) Niraya Hell."

"Revered Nāgasena, you say: 'Devadatta is entirely dark, possessed of mental states<sup>2</sup> that are entirely dark;

<sup>1</sup> *sattā viññāṇabaddhā*. This would seem to be another way of saying that meditation on loving-kindness should be widespread and extended to all living beings.

<sup>2</sup> *dhammā*.

the Bodhisatta is entirely bright, possessed of mental states that are entirely bright.<sup>1</sup> But on the other hand, in becoming after becoming, Devadatta was exactly the same as the Bodhisatta in regard to renown and adherents, and was sometimes more eminent. (Thus) when Devadatta was the son of King Brahmadata's household priest in the city of Banaras, the Bodhisatta was then a (member of a) wretched despised class,<sup>2</sup> a sorcerer who, having muttered a charm, produced mango-fruit out of season.<sup>3</sup> Here the Bodhisatta was inferior in birth to Devadatta [201] and inferior in renown.

And again when Devadatta was a king, a great lord of earth provided with all the sense-pleasures, the Bodhisatta was then a bull-elephant possessed of all (suitable) characteristics for the king's enjoyment. But the king, impatient at the charm of the elephant's beautiful gait and wishing for his death, spoke thus to the elephant-trainer: 'The bull-elephant has not been properly trained by you, trainer, make him perform the trick called 'space-walking.'<sup>4</sup> There too the Bodhisatta was inferior in birth to Devadatta, he was a miserable animal.

And again, when Devadatta was a bankrupt he was staying in a wood,<sup>5</sup> and the Bodhisatta was then a

<sup>1</sup> Dark and bright, *kaṇha* and *sukka*; cf. *Dhp.* 87 for *kaṇha sukka dhamma*. At *M.* i. 389 ff., *A.* ii. 230 ff. deeds that are dark, dark in result; bright, bright in result; dark and bright, dark and bright in result; neither dark nor bright, neither dark nor bright in result, are thus stated and explained. Cf. *D.* iii. 230, *Netti* 98, 159, *Asl.* 89.

<sup>2</sup> *caṇḍāla*, an example of "low birth" at *Vin.* iv. 6 which mentions five kinds. See *BD.* ii. 173, n. 4 for further references.

<sup>3</sup> *Amba-jātaka*, *Jā.* No. 474.

<sup>4</sup> *ākāśagamana*, going through space or the air. This is the *Dummedha-jātaka*, *Jā.* No. 122.

<sup>5</sup> Text reads *pavane natthāyika* which *PED.*, s.v. *pavana*,<sup>1</sup> apparently following *QKM.* i. 285, n. 3, says should be "pavanena tthāyiko, who earned his living by winnowing grain." But under *natthāyika* it gives "bankrupt" (which certainly seems to be the meaning at *Miln.* 131). *MilnT.* explains *natthāyika* as *natthadhana*, wealth lost—probably referring to his oxen who escaped while he was not watching them. *Si.* however reads *pavane titthati*. For *pavana* as forest or wood see *Miln.* 91.

monkey called Great Monkey.<sup>1</sup> Here too a distinction is seen between a man and an animal, here too the Bodhisatta was inferior in birth to Devadatta.

And again, when Devadatta was a man, he was a hunter<sup>2</sup> called Soṇuttara; he was strong, stronger than a strong elephant; the Bodhisatta was then the elephant-king called Chaddanta; then the hunter killed the bull-elephant.<sup>3</sup> There too Devadatta was the more eminent.

And again, when Devadatta was a man, he lived as a homeless forester;<sup>4</sup> the Bodhisatta was then a bird, a partridge who studied the (Brahman Vedic) mantras; then too that forester killed that bird.<sup>5</sup> There too Devadatta was the more eminent in regard to birth.

And again, when Devadatta was a king of Kāsi named Kalābu, the Bodhisatta was then an ascetic who professed patient forbearance; then that king, in a rage, had the ascetic's hands and feet cut off like so many bamboo-sprouts.<sup>6</sup> There too Devadatta was the more eminent both in regard to birth and renown.

And again, when Devadatta was a man, a woodman,<sup>7</sup> the Bodhisatta was then a monkey-chief called Nandiya; then too that woodman killed that monkey-chief together with his mother and his younger brother.<sup>8</sup> There too Devadatta was the more eminent in regard to birth.

And again, when Devadatta was a man, he was an unclothed (ascetic) called Kārambhiya; the Bodhisatta was then a nāga-king called Paṇḍaraka.<sup>9</sup> There too Devadatta [202] was the more eminent in regard to birth.

<sup>1</sup> *Miln.* reads Mahāpaṭhavi, Great Earth, but *Si.* reads Mahākapi, Great Monkey, and adds *balavā pañcanāgabaladharo*, he was strong, wielding the strength of five elephants, thus confusing this story with the next. This is the Mahākapi Jātaka, *Jā.* No. 516.

<sup>2</sup> *nesūda*, see *BD.* ii. 173, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Chaddanta-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 514. See Dresden, Story 2, and parallels given *loc. cit.*, p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> *vanacāraṇa*; *Si.* *vanacaraka*.

<sup>5</sup> Tittira-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 438.

<sup>6</sup> Khantivādi Jātaka, *Jā.* No. 313; *Jtm.* No. 28; Dresden, Story 9.

<sup>7</sup> *vanacara*, one who lives in the woods.

<sup>8</sup> Cūḷa-Nandiya Jātaka, *Jā.* No. 222.

<sup>9</sup> This is probably the Paṇḍara Jātaka, *Jā.* No. 518, though Sāriputta is there identified as the nāga-king and the Bodhisatta as the king of the garuḍas.

And again, when Devadatta was a man, he was a matted-hair ascetic (who lived) in a wood; the Bodhisatta was then a large boar called Tacchaka.<sup>1</sup> There too Devadatta was the more eminent in regard to birth.

And again, when Devadatta was a king of the Cetis named Suraparicara,<sup>2</sup> he could go above ground through the air above the level of men's (heads); the Bodhisatta was then a brahman named Kapila.<sup>3</sup> There too Devadatta was the more eminent both in regard to birth and renown.

And again, when Devadatta was a man called Sāma, the Bodhisatta was then a king of the deer called Ruru.<sup>4</sup> There too Devadatta was the more eminent in regard to birth.

And again, when Devadatta was a man, a huntsman wandering in the woods,<sup>5</sup> the Bodhisatta was then a bull-elephant; that huntsman, having cut off that bull-elephant's tusks seven times, (each time) took them away.<sup>6</sup> There too Devadatta was the more eminent in regard to mode of birth.<sup>7</sup>

And again, when Devadatta was a jackal, he behaved as a noble-warrior<sup>8</sup> and made all the regional chieftains

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the Vaḍḍhakisūkara Jātaka, *Jā.* No. 283, and to the Tacchāsūkara Jātaka, *Jā.* No. 492. The name Tacchaka means "belonging to the carpenter." Only in the latter Jātaka is Devadatta identified as the "sham ascetic"; in both the Bodhisatta is identified not as the carpenter's boar but as the tree-devatā.

<sup>2</sup> Si. calls him Uparicara, and *MilnT.* Uparipara. This is the Cetiya Jātaka, *Jā.* No. 422. Here the king is called Upacara, and it is said his name is also Apacara. Among his four *iddhis*, psychic powers, was that of walking aloft and going through the sky, *uparicaro ākāsaḡāmī*; *Miln.* text reads *gagane vehāsaḡamo*.

<sup>3</sup> The family priest (to the king).

<sup>4</sup> This probably refers to the Rurumiga-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 482, and is so held to do by *MilnT.*, though the man there, identified with Devadatta, is a merchant's son called Mahāḍhanaka; moreover, the Bodhisatta is not called Ruru, nor is he identified as king of the deer, though in the story he is so addressed by the king. See *Cp.* II. 6: *mīgarājā Ruru nāma*.

<sup>5</sup> *pavanacara*. Si. gives his name as Susāma.

<sup>6</sup> *Silavanāga-jātaka*, *Jā.* No. 72.

<sup>7</sup> Here *yoniyā* instead of as previously *jāṭiyā*.

<sup>8</sup> *khattiyadhamma*, the behaviour of a noble warrior.

in India his vassals; the Bodhisatta was then a wise man called Vidhura.<sup>1</sup> There too Devadatta was the more eminent in regard to renown.

And again, when Devadatta was a bull-elephant, he destroyed the young of a hen-bird, an Indian quail; the Bodhisatta was then also a bull-elephant, the leader of a herd.<sup>2</sup> There both of them were exactly the same.

And again, when Devadatta was a yakkha named Adhamma, the Bodhisatta was then also a yakkha named Dhamma.<sup>3</sup> There again both of them were exactly the same.

And again, when Devadatta was a mariner, chief of five hundred families, the Bodhisatta was then also a mariner, chief of five hundred families.<sup>4</sup> There again both of them were exactly the same.

And again, when Devadatta was a caravan-leader, chief of five hundred wagons, the Bodhisatta was then also a caravan-leader, chief of five hundred wagons.<sup>5</sup> There again both of them were exactly the same.

And again, [203] when Devadatta was the king of the deer called Sākha, the Bodhisatta was then also the king of the deer called Nigrodha.<sup>6</sup> There again both of them were exactly the same.

And again, when Devadatta was a general called Sākha, the Bodhisatta was a king called Nigrodha.<sup>7</sup> There again both of them were exactly the same.

And again when Devadatta was a brahman (family

<sup>1</sup> Sabbadāṭha-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 241. The Bodhisatta is there called *purohita* instead of *paṇḍita*, and he is not called Vidhura.

<sup>2</sup> Laṭukika-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Dhamma-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 457. The Bodhisatta is there called *devaputta* instead of *yakkha*. This possibly suggests that the old and favourable meaning of *yakkha* (*cf. Sn.* 478, 876) was losing ground, the equally old but unfavourable meaning displacing it. Si. calls the Bodhisatta Sudhamma.

<sup>4</sup> Samuddavāṇija-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 466.

<sup>5</sup> Apañña-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 1. Si. inserts this later.

<sup>6</sup> Nigrodhamiga-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Nigrodha-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 445. Si. omits this. It is interesting to find that Milinda held generals and "kings" (or chiefs, *rājā*) to be equal. But perhaps he only means in eminence and in this particular Jātaka, and not necessarily in rank or always.

priest)<sup>1</sup> called Khaṇḍahāla, the Bodhisatta was then a prince called Candā.<sup>2</sup> Then this Khaṇḍahāla was the more eminent.<sup>3</sup>

And again, when Devadatta was a king called Brahma-datta, the Bodhisatta was then his son, a prince called Mahāpaduma; then the king had his own son thrown down the precipice where thieves (were thrown down).<sup>4</sup> Since fathers are more eminent than sons, above them, there too Devadatta was the more eminent.

And again, when Devadatta was a king named Mahāpatāpa, the Bodhisatta was then his son, a prince named Dhammapāla; then that king had his own son's hands and feet and head cut off.<sup>5</sup> There too Devadatta was the higher, the more eminent.

And today, in the present times, both were born in a Sakyan family. The Bodhisatta was the Buddha, omniscient, leader of the world. Devadatta, having gone forth in the Dispensation of him who was the deva above devas and having produced psychic powers, made pretence to be the Buddha.<sup>6</sup> Now, revered Nāgasena, is all that I have said true or is it not true?"

"The manifold reasons that you, sire, have propounded are all true and not otherwise."

"If, revered Nāgasena, dark and bright are exactly the same (in leading to) the bourns, well then, skill and unskill are exactly the same in result."

"Sire, skill and unskill are certainly not exactly the same in result. Devadatta, sire, was not opposed by

<sup>1</sup> *purohita* is supplied by Si.

<sup>2</sup> Khaṇḍahāla-jātaka, sometimes called Candakumāra-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 542. Cf. *Cp.* i. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Si. inserts another Jātaka here.

<sup>4</sup> Mahāpaduma-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 472. Here, though Devadatta is not identified with this king Brahmadaṭṭa, the Bodhisatta, identified as Mahāpaduma, is nevertheless the son of a king Brahma-datta who wanted to have him thrown down the "Robbers' Cliff."

<sup>5</sup> Culladhammapāla-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 358.

<sup>6</sup> *Buddhālayam akāsi*. This must refer to Devadatta's efforts to displace the Buddha so as to lead the Order of monks himself (*e.g.*, *Vin.* ii. 188) if not to his efforts to enforce stricter behaviour on the monks (*Vin.* ii. 196 ff.).

everyone,<sup>1</sup> neither was the Bodhisatta himself opposed; but his opposition to the Bodhisatta ripened<sup>2</sup> and yielded fruit in this becoming and that. Yet, sire, when Devadatta [204] was established in authority he gave protection to the country districts, had bridges built and rest-houses<sup>3</sup> and halls for (making) merit, he gave gifts according to his desire to recluses and brahmans, beggars, tramps and wayfarers<sup>4</sup>—to those with protectors and those without. It was as the result of this that in becoming after becoming he acquired prosperity. Of whom is it possible to say, sire, that without giving, taming, restraint, without carrying out the Observance he will obtain prosperity? But you, sire, say that Devadatta and the Bodhisatta kept on going on together (from birth to birth). But not (only) at the end of a hundred births was there an association (between them), not (only) at the end of a thousand births, not (only) at the end of a hundred thousand births<sup>5</sup> there was an association (between them) somewhere at some time at the end of many a day and night. But that simile of the Blind Turtle,<sup>6</sup> sire, was made known by the Lord so as (to show the difficulty) of acquiring human status. You, sire, must regard the association of these (two) in the light of that simile. There was an association not only between the Bodhisatta and Devadatta, sire; in many hundred thousand births too, sire, the Elder Sāriputta was the Bodhisatta's father, grandfather, uncle, brother, son, nephew or friend. And in many hundred thousand births too, sire, the Bodhisatta was the Elder Sāriputta's father, grandfather, uncle, brother, son, nephew or friend.

And everything included in the class of creature, sire,

<sup>1</sup> Ajātasattu was an adherent, *Vin.* ii. 187; Devadatta's friends are spoken of at *Vin.* ii. 196 f., iv. 70; and he was a monk favoured by the troublesome nun Thullanandā, *Vin.* iv. 66, 335.

<sup>2</sup> *paccati*, usually connected with being boiled in Niraya Hell, the word being used there in a literal sense.

<sup>3</sup> *sabhā*.

<sup>4</sup> *samaṇa-brahmaṇānaṃ kapaṇiddhikavaṇibbaka*, as at *D.* i. 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf. Miln.* 136, 179.

<sup>6</sup> *M.* iii. 169, *S.* v. 445, referred to at *Thīg.* 500, *Asl.* 60.

that has come into the stream of saṃsāra and is being carried along by the stream of saṃsāra meets (other beings) that are both disliked and liked. As, sire, water that is being carried along by the stream meets what is pure and impure, what is lovely and evil, even so, sire, everything included in the class of creature that has come into the stream of saṃsāra and is being carried along by the stream of saṃsāra meets (other beings) that are both disliked and liked. Devadatta, sire, being a yakkha, and a non-dhamma being of himself<sup>1</sup> and having incited others to non-dhamma, was boiled for fifty-seven koṭis<sup>2</sup> of years and sixty hundred thousand years in the Great Niraya Hell. [205] And the Bodhisatta, sire, being a yakkha, and a Dhamma-being of himself, and having incited others to Dhamma, enjoyed fifty-seven koṭis of years and sixty hundred thousand years in heaven provided with all sense-pleasures. And again, sire, Devadatta having offended in this becoming against the Buddha who should not be offended against and having split the harmonious Order,<sup>3</sup> was swallowed up by the earth.<sup>4</sup> But the Tathāgata, having awakened to all things,<sup>5</sup> attained final nibbāna (in the element of nibbāna in which there is) complete destruction of the basis (for rebirth)."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text reads Adhamma (and Dhamma of the Bodhisatta) as at *Miln.* 202 where Adhamma and Dhamma appear to be proper names. The reading of Si. seems preferable: *yakkho samāno attanā adhammiko samāno* (and *dhammiko* of the Bodhisatto), and I follow this above.

<sup>2</sup> *koṭi* is an extremely high number; uncountable, perhaps approximately a hundred thousand. Devadatta is usually said in the Piṭakas to have to boil in Hell for a *kappa*. See *Miln.* 108 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Vin.* ii. 196 ff., and see *Miln.* 108 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *DhA.* i. 148. See *Miln.* 101.

<sup>5</sup> *bujjhivā sabbadhamme*. The Sinhalese commentator takes the latter word as accusative to *bujjhivā*. *QKM.* i. 293, n. 1. Cf. *pāragū sabbadhammānaṃ* at *M.* ii. 144, *A.* ii. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *parinibbuto upadhisankhaye*. The former expression *bujjhivā sabbadhamme* probably refers to the attainment of nibbāna under the Bo-tree, which was nibbāna of the type known as *saupādisesū nibbānadhātu*; and this latter expression, *parinibbuto upadhisankhaye* probably refers to the nibbāna the Buddha won when he died, known

“ It is good, revered Nāgasena; so it is, thus do I accept it.”

[Fourth Division 8: On Amarā]

“ Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord:

‘ Should they get opportunity or secrecy  
Or get a suitable wooer<sup>1</sup>  
All women would do evil;  
Failing another, then with a cripple.’<sup>2</sup>

And again it is said: ‘ The woman called Amarā who was the wife of Mahosadha<sup>3</sup> stayed in the village while her husband was away on a journey.<sup>4</sup> Remaining in private and alone and making her husband like unto a king, she committed no evil though she was offered a thousand (kahāpaṇas).’<sup>5</sup> If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord:

‘ Should they get opportunity or secrecy  
Or get a suitable wooer  
All women would do evil;  
Failing another, then with a cripple,’

well then, false is that statement which says: ‘ The woman called Amarā who was the wife of Mahosadha

as *anupādisesā nibbānadhātu*, the element of nibbāna in which no fuel for more existences, or no more attachment to becoming, remains. See *Mīln.* 175 ff. on the two almsgivings; one before the Awakening and the other before the *parinibbāna*. Cf. *M.* i. 454: *upadhi dukkhassa mūlam*.

<sup>1</sup> *nimantakam labetha tādīsam*, should obtain an inviter such as that.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is found, not ascribed to the Buddha however, at *Jā.* v. 435, in the Kunāḷa-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 536. Instead of *nimantakam* the *Jā.* reads *nivātakam*, a sheltered place. The sentiment belongs to Indian folk-lore and is not Buddhist.

<sup>3</sup> As in the Mahā-ummagga-jātaka, *Jā.* No. 546. Also at *Mhvu.* ii. 83; see J. J. Jones’s translation, ii. 80 and 81, n. But references to Amarā’s fidelity appear peculiar to *Mīln.* At *Mhvu.* ii. 89 the Bodhisatta is identified as Mahosadha and Yasodharā as Amarā.

<sup>4</sup> *pavutthapatika*; the word is also found at *Vin.* ii. 268.

<sup>5</sup> Fees for courtesans are mentioned as being fifty and also a hundred (*kahāpaṇas*), *Vin.* ii. 268.

stayed in the village while her husband was away on a journey. Remaining in private and alone and making her husband like unto a king, she committed no evil though she was offered a thousand (kahāpaṇas).’ But if the woman called Amarā, the wife of Mahosadha, [206] stayed in the village while her husband was away on a journey and, remaining in private and alone and making her husband like unto a king, committed no evil though she was offered a thousand (kahāpaṇas), well then, false is that statement which says:

‘ Should they get opportunity or secrecy  
Or get a suitable wooer  
All women would do evil;  
Failing another, then with a cripple.’

This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve.”

“ This too was said by the Lord, sire:

‘ Should they get opportunity or secrecy  
Or get a suitable wooer  
All women would do evil;  
Failing another, then with a cripple.’

And it is said: ‘ The woman called Amarā who was the wife of Mahosadha stayed in the village while her husband was away on a journey. Remaining in private and alone and making her husband like unto a king, she committed no evil though she was offered a thousand (kahāpaṇas).’ Sire, would that woman, on receiving the thousand (kahāpaṇas), have committed an evil deed with a suitable man, or would she not have done so even though she had the opportunity or the secrecy or a suitable wooer? Sire, when the lady Amarā was considering the matter she did not see the opportunity or the secrecy or a suitable wooer. Through her fear of censure in this world she did not see an opportunity; through her fear of Niraya Hell in the world beyond she did not see an opportunity; thinking how terrible are the results of evil she did not see an opportunity; not wishing to lose her loved one she did not see an opportu-

nity; because of her esteem for her husband she did not see an opportunity; honouring Dhamma she did not see an opportunity; despising what is not ariyan she did not see an opportunity; not wishing to break her pledge<sup>1</sup> she did not see an opportunity. For many reasons such as these she did not see an opportunity.

And while she was reflecting on secrecy in the world and not seeing it she did not commit evil. If she [207] had got secrecy in regard to men then she could not have got secrecy in regard to non-human beings; if she had got secrecy in regard to non-human beings then she could not have got secrecy in regard to those who had gone forth (into homelessness) and knew the minds of others; if she had got secrecy in regard to those who had gone forth and knew the minds of others then she could not have got secrecy in regard to the devatās<sup>2</sup> who knew the thoughts of others; if she had got secrecy in regard to the devatās who knew the thoughts of others then she could not have got secrecy from herself in regard to evil;<sup>3</sup> if she could not have got secrecy from herself in regard to evil then she could have not got secrecy by means of non-dhamma.<sup>4</sup> Not getting secrecy for many reasons such as these, she did not commit evil.

And while she was reflecting on a suitable wooer in the world (but) not getting one, she did not commit evil. The wise Mahosadha, sire, was endowed with twenty-eight qualities. With what twenty-eight qualities was he endowed? Mahosadha, sire, was courageous, conscientious, he felt shame, he had adherents, was possessed of friends, he was forgiving, moral, truthful, he was

<sup>1</sup> *kiriyaṃ na bhinditukāma*, perhaps the pledge she made on marriage of being always faithful to her husband.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Manu VIII. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *A.* i. 149: "The self in thee, O man, knows what is true and what is false," and see Manu VIII. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *adhammena raho na labheyya*. I am in as great doubt as to the real meaning of these words as was RhD., see *QKM.* i. 295, n. 2. But I think they mean that an action done unrightly could not, in view of the foregoing argument, have been kept secret. Again cf. *A.* i. 149: "there is not a secret place in the world where one can perform an evil deed"; also at *Jā.* iii. 19.

possessed of pureness,<sup>1</sup> he was without anger, without conceit, not envious, he was energetic, active,<sup>2</sup> friendly, generous, kindly in speech, unassuming, gentle,<sup>3</sup> guileless, without deceit, possessed of much subtlety, clever, possessed of knowledge, a seeker after the welfare of his dependents, sought after by everyone, wealthy,<sup>4</sup> renowned. The wise Mahosadha, sire, was endowed with these twenty-eight qualities. When she (Amarā) did not get another wooer such as this she did not commit evil.”

“It is good, revered Nāgasena; thus it is, so do I accept it.”

#### [Fourth Division 9: Arahants' Fear]

“Revered Nāgasena, this too was said by the Lord: ‘Arahants are without fear and trembling.’<sup>5</sup> But again, in the city of Rājagaha when five hundred (arahants) whose cankers were destroyed saw the elephant Dhana-pālaka bearing down on the Lord they abandoned the noble Conqueror and ran away in all directions, one only excepted, the Elder Ānanda.<sup>6</sup> Now, revered sir,

<sup>1</sup> *soceyya*. Three kinds are given and elaborated at *A.* i. 271, 272: *kāya-*, *vacī-* and *mano-soceyya*. See also *D.* iii. 219, *Iti.*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *āyūhaka*, a striver.

<sup>3</sup> *saṅha*, not in text but in *Si*. A word such as this is needed to bring the number of qualities to the stated twenty-eight.

<sup>4</sup> Five kinds of wealth given at *MilnT.* 34.

<sup>5</sup> The exact reference has not been traced, but the Tipitaka holds that arahants have no fear; cf. *Dhp.* 351, *Sn.* 621, *M.* i. 116; also see *MA.* ii. 385 where it is said there is not even one fear for him whose cankers have been destroyed. At *Miln.* 145 it is said: an arahant has passed beyond all fear.

<sup>6</sup> After Devadatta had failed to kill the Buddha with the great stone (see above, p. 189) he schemed to let loose the fierce man-slaying elephant against him (*Vin.* ii. 194). In the *Vin.* version the elephant is called Nālāgiri, the Lord is said to have entered Rājagaha “with several monks” (not five hundred), and there is no mention of Ānanda. The Lord pacified the elephant by the power of *mettā*. At *Jā.* v. 333 ff. (Intr. to the Cullahaṃsa-jātaka) the whole story is more elaborately told. Here the elephant, Nālāgiri, was to be maddened by a quantity of fiery toddy; a great company of monks attended the Buddha who had been forewarned of Devadatta's

did these arahants run away from fear, did they, thinking: 'It will be evident according to his own deed,'<sup>1</sup> run away willing to let Him of the Ten Powers<sup>2</sup> be destroyed, [208] or did they run away hoping to see an incomparable, great and unequalled wonder of the Tathāgata's? If, revered Nāgasena, it was said by the Lord: 'Arahants are without fear and trembling,' well then, false is that statement which says: 'In the city of Rājagaha when five hundred (arahants) whose cankers were destroyed saw the elephant Dhanapālaka bearing down on the Lord they abandoned the noble Conqueror and ran away in all directions, one only excepted, the Elder Ānanda.'

plot; Sāriputta and then the eighty chief Elders all offered to vanquish the elephant instead of letting the Lord expose himself to the risk of being slain by an animal who knew nothing of his merits, but the Buddha refused their offers. Ānanda however, for his strong affection for the Buddha, took up his position in front of him, and because he would not stand back when told to do so by the Buddha, had to be removed by the latter by the exercise of his supernormal power. Here again Nālāgiri was subdued when the Lord suffused him with *mettā*. The people marvelled, and threw all their jewels and ornaments on the elephant's back; henceforth he was known as Dhanapālaka, the guardian of wealth.

The Cullahaṃsa-jātaka is referred to in the Intr. to *Jā.* No. 389 (*Jā.* iii. 293) as an occasion when, in connection with the elephant, here called Dhanapāla, Ānanda would have laid down his life for the Lord's sake. At *Miln.* 349 it is said that when *navuti pāṇakoṭṭiyo* (nine hundred million living beings, see *DPPN*, s.v. Nālāgiri) saw the elephant Dhanapāla tamed they penetrated Dhamma. His beauty is referred to at *Jā.* i. 66.

Though it is impossible for anyone to deprive a Tathāgata of life (*Vin.* ii. 194), that the Buddha Gotama was subject to these attacks is said (*Ap.* i. 299 ff., *UdA.* 263 ff.) to have been due to actions he performed in anterior births. The fruit of once driving his own elephant at a pacceka-buddha was Devadatta's letting loose, with murderous intent, the elephant Nālāgiri against him in this last becoming (*pacchimake bhava*, *Ap.* i. 300, *UdA.* 264 f.). There are some Jātakas where the Bodhisatta's conduct was not exemplary, e.g., Nos. 263, 279, 318, 531.

<sup>1</sup> *paññāyissati sakena kammena*, perhaps meaning that it will turn out in accordance with the resultant fruit of his action of driving his own elephant at the pacceka-buddha, see end of previous note.

<sup>2</sup> The ten powers of a Tathāgata are given in *M. Sta.* No. 12 (*M.* i. 69 ff.).

But if, in the city of Rājagaha when five hundred (arahants) whose cankers were destroyed saw the elephant Dhanapālaka bearing down on the Lord they abandoned the noble Conqueror and ran away in all directions, one only excepted, the Elder Ānanda, well then, false is that statement which says: 'Arahants are without fear and trembling.' This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve."

"This too was said by the Lord, sire: 'Arahants are without fear and trembling.' And in the city of Rājagaha when five hundred (arahants) whose cankers were destroyed saw the elephant Dhanapālaka bearing down on the Lord they abandoned the noble Conqueror and ran away in all directions, one only excepted, the Elder Ānanda. But that was not from fear, nor was it from willingness that the Lord should be destroyed. For, sire, (every) cause why they might fear or tremble has been rooted out by arahants,<sup>1</sup> therefore are arahants without fear or trembling. Does the great earth fear, sire, when (people) are digging it or breaking it up or because it is bearing (the weight of) the sea and the mountain-peaks and ranges?"

"No, revered sir."

"For what reason, sire?"

"In the great earth, revered sir, there is no cause why it should fear or tremble."

"Even so, sire, in arahants there is no cause why they should fear or tremble. Does a mountain-peak fear, sire, if it is splitting or breaking down or falling or being burnt with fire?"

"No, revered sir."

"For what reason, sire?"

"In a mountain-peak, revered sir, [209] there is no cause why it should fear or tremble."

"Even so, sire, in arahants there is no cause why they should fear or tremble. If, sire, in a hundred-thousand world-system all those whoever that are included in the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Miln.* 146: (all) cause for fear has been rooted out by an arahant.

class of creature<sup>1</sup> should, with swords in their hands, attack one arahant so as to make him tremble, there would yet be no faltering<sup>2</sup> whatever in his mind. What is the reason? It is because it is impossible and cannot come to pass. Moreover, sire, this reasoning of mind occurred to those (arahants) whose cankers had been destroyed: 'Today when this most noble and excellent of men, the noble bull<sup>3</sup> among the Conquerors, enters this noble city the elephant Dhanapālaka will rush at him on the road, but the attendant certainly will not abandon the deva above devas; so if none of us abandoned the Lord either, Ānanda's good qualities could not become known nor could the bull-elephant approach the Tathāgata. Come, let us go away, and hence this great body of people will become free from the bonds of the defilements and Ānanda's good qualities will become known.' These arahants ran away in all directions when they thus saw the advantages (of their doing so)."

"The question has been well analysed, revered Nāgasena; thus it is, there is no fear or trembling in arahants; these arahants ran away in all directions when they saw the advantages (of their doing so)."

[Fourth Division 10: Is the Tathāgata Omniscient?]

"Revered Nāgasena, you say: 'The Tathāgata is omniscient.'<sup>4</sup> And again you say: 'When an Order of monks with Sāriputta and Moggallāna at their head was dismissed by the Tathāgata, the Sakyans of Cātumā and Brahmā Sahampati conciliated, pacified and appeased the Lord after they had brought forward the simile of

<sup>1</sup> *sattakāyapariyāpannā*, as above, *Miln.* 204.

<sup>2</sup> *aññathatta*, see *MLS.* ii. 130, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *āsabha*, leader, see *M. Sta.* No. 12 (*M.* i. 69) where the Tathāgata takes the leader's place, the bull's place, *āsabhatthāna*. *MA.* ii. 26 says of this that it is "the best, the highest place. Or, bulls are the previous Buddhas—their place."

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. Miln.* 74.

the seeds and the simile of the young calf.<sup>1</sup> Now, revered Nāgasena, were these similes unknown to the Tathāgata that by them the Tathāgata [210] was conciliated, pacified, calmed and appeased? If, revered Nāgasena, these similes were unknown to the Tathāgata, well then, the Buddha was not omniscient. If they were known (to him), well then, he dismissed (that Order), removing it by force<sup>2</sup> wanting to test it. Well then, a lack of compassion in him is implied. This too is a double-pronged question; it is put to you, it is for you to solve.”

“The Tathāgata was omniscient, sire, and the Lord was pleased, conciliated, pacified, calmed and appeased by these similes. The Tathāgata, sire, is the Lord under Dhamma,<sup>3</sup> and it was by those very similes that had been made known (already) by the Tathāgata<sup>4</sup> that they propitiated, pleased and conciliated the Tathāgata; and the Tathāgata, on being conciliated by these, approved saying ‘Good.’ As, sire, a woman propitiates, pleases and conciliates her husband by means of the wealth that belongs to her husband himself, and the husband approves saying ‘Good,’ even so, sire, the Sakyans of Cātumā and Brahmā Sahampati propitiated, pleased and conciliated the Tathāgata with the very similes that had been made known (already) by him; and the Tathāgata, on being conciliated by these, approved saying ‘Good.’ Or as, sire, a king’s barber propitiates, pleases and conciliates a king when he is

<sup>1</sup> See *M. Sta.* No. 67. This same episode has already formed part of another dilemma, see *Miln.* 186 ff. At *Ud.* 24 ff. the Lord is reported to have dismissed another noisy Order of incoming monks, again saying that the noise they made was like that of fisher-folk bringing in a large catch.

<sup>2</sup> *okassa pasayha*. Though the former word may be always combined with the latter (*PED.*, s.v. *okassati*), the latter may be used alone as at *M.* ii. 99. On the word *pasayha* see *MLS.* ii. 285, n.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhammasāmī*. On this expression see *PED.*, s.v. *Dhamma B.1.a*, *Note*. This epithet of the Buddha often occurs in a stock passage, e.g., at *M.* i. 111, *S.* iv. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *S.* iii. 91.

adorning the king's head with a golden comb shaped like a snake's hood<sup>1</sup> that belongs to the king himself, and the king, on being conciliated, approves saying 'Good,' and gives it as a present according to his fancy,<sup>2</sup> even so, sire, the Sakyans of Cātumā and Brahmā Sahampati propitiated, pleased and conciliated the Tathāgata with the very similes that had been made known (already) by him; and the Tathāgata, on being conciliated by these, approved, saying 'Good.' Or as, sire, when a co-resident pupil has taken the almsbowl that has been carried<sup>3</sup> by his preceptor<sup>4</sup> and is putting it near the preceptor, he propitiates, pleases and conciliates him, and the preceptor, on being conciliated by him, approves saying 'Good,' even so, sire, the Sakyans of Cātumā and Brahmā Sahampati propitiated, pleased and conciliated the Tathāgata with the very similes that had been made known (already) by him, [211] and the Tathāgata, on being conciliated by these and having approved saying 'It is good,' taught Dhamma for freedom from all anguish."<sup>5</sup>

"It is good, revered Nāgasena; thus it is, so do I accept it."

#### The Fourth Division

<sup>1</sup> *paṇaka* = *phaṇaka*. Cf. *phaṇahatthaka*, *Vin.* i. 91, and *hattha-phaṇaka*, *Vin.* ii. 107, and see the notes at *BD.* iv. 116, v. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *yadicchita*.

<sup>3</sup> *ābhata*, or brought (back to the monastery).

<sup>4</sup> On the relations that should exist between a preceptor, *upajjhāya*, and the more recently ordained monk who is staying with him as a student, *saddhivihārika*, see *Vin.* i. 44 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the Cātuma-sutta, he expounded four perils monks should avoid: angry wrath, gluttony, sense-pleasures and women. *MA.* iii. 177 says that if a monk (no longer) fears these four perils then, cutting through the stream of thirst and crossing the water he is able to reach the further shore of nibbāna. It is clear therefore that he is released from anguish and that Nāgasena's final words are correct. See, too, the conclusion of the last dilemma in the Third Division.

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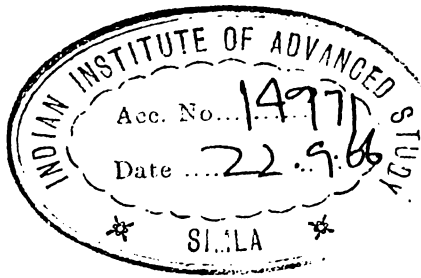
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