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# NAGASENA BHIKSU SUTRA



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VOLUME II



*English Translator*  
Venerable Guang Xing, Ph.D.

*Nagasena Bhiksu Sutra*  
Translated by Venerable Guang Xing, Ph.D.

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# 《那先比丘經》

中翻英者：廣興法師

佛光版英譯大藏經

總監修：星雲大師

總編輯：依法法師

副編輯：Peter Matthew Romaskiewicz

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## ABBREVIATIONS



**A** E. Hardy, ed., *Anguttara-Nikāya*. London: PTS, 1899; trans. E.M. Hare, *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*. London: PTS, 1935.

**Asl.** E. Muller, ed., *Atthasalini*. London: PTS, 1897; trans. Pe Muang Tin, *The Expositor*, London: PTS, 1920.

**CBETA** Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association

**D** T.W. Rhys Davids, J. Estlin Carpenter, eds., *Dīgha-Nikāya*, 3 Vols., London: PTS, 1889-1910; trans. T.W. Rhys Davids, C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *The Dialogues of the Buddha*, 3 Vols. London: PTS, 1899-1921.

**DA** T.W. Rhys Davids and J.E. Carpenter, eds., *Dīgha-Nikāya-Aṭṭhakathā*. London: PTS, 1929-32.

**Demieville** Paul Demieville, “Les versions

chinoises du Milindapañha,” in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. 24 (1924), pp. 1-258.

**DPPN** G.P. Malalasekera, ed., *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 2 Vols. London: PTS, 1937-8.

**GBI** W.W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1938.

**Hist.** Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien, des origines à l'ère Śaka*. Louvain: 1958; trans, S. Webb-Bion, *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era*. Louvain: Peeters Press, 1988.

**IB** Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.

**J** V. Fausböll, ed., *Jātaka*, 6 Vols. London: PTS, 1877-96; trans. E.B. Cowell, *The Jaataka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, 6 Vols. London: PTS, 1895-1907.

**JPTS**                      *Journal of the Pali Text Society*

**JRAS**                      *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

**KIK**                      HIGATA Ryusho 干瀉竜祥,  
“[*Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra*] 那先比丘經,” in  
*Kokuyaku issaikyō: Indo senjutsubu* 國譯一切經：  
インド撰述部, Vol. 76. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppan, 1926  
–1936.

**M**                      V. Trenckner, ed., *Majjhima-Nikāya*, 3 Vols. London: PTS, 1887-1902; trans. I. B. Horner, *Middle Length Sayings*, 3 Vols. London: PTS, 1954-9.

**Miln.**                      V. Trenckner, ed., *Milindapañha*. London: PTS, 1880.

**MNBS**                      Thich Minh Chau, *Milindapanha and Nagasenabhikshu Sutra: A Comparative Study through the Pali and Chinese Sources*. Calcutta: 1964.

**MQ**                      I. B. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*,

2 Vols. London: PTS, 1963-4.

**NSB** *Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra* 那先比丘經

**NBS-A** Taisho no. 1670 A. *Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra* 那先比丘經.

**NBS-B** Taisho no. 1670 B. *Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra* 那先比丘經.

**PED** T. W. Rhys Davids, William Stede, eds. *Pali-English Dictionary*. London: PTS, 1921.

**PTS** Pali Text Society

**QKM** T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda, Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 35-6. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1890-4.

**RMP** Kogen Mizuno, "On the Recensions of Milindapanha," in *Summary of the Research Studies of the University of Komazawa*, Vol. 17. (1959).

**S** L. Feer, ed., *Samyutta-Nikāya*, 5

Vols. London: PTS, 1884-98; trans. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, 5 Vols. London: PTS, 1917-30.

**SBE**                      *Sacred Books of the East*

**Takakusu**            J. Takakusu, “Chinese Translations of the Milinda Panha,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1896), pp. 1-22.

**Thag.**                    H. Oldenberg, ed., *Theragāthā*. London: PTS, 1883; trans. K.R. Norman, *Elder’s Verses*, 2 Vols. London: PTS, 1969-71.

**Vin.**                     H. Oldenberg, ed. *Vinaya-piṭaka*, 5 Vols. London: PTS, 1879-83; trans. I. B. Horner, *The Book of Discipline*. London: PTS, 1938-66.





## ENDNOTES



### THE NĀGASENA BHIKSU SŪTRA

1 There are two versions of the text found in the *Taishō* (hereafter T) in Vol. 32: nos. 1670A and 1670B, pp. 694-719. I have selected version B of the *Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra* as the basis of my translation since it is considered to be the complete version, an opinion advanced by W. Pachow. The differences in version A are noted in the footnotes. Although the text clearly states that it is a series of discussions held between King Menander and the Sage Nāgasena, it is still called a sūtra. This shows that the transmitters regarded it as an authoritative text equal to the words of the Buddha. This is already evidenced by the Buddhists in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Myammar who treat the Pāli counterpart of the text, the *Milindapañha*, as an authoritative text for reference.

2 The translator's name is lost and this text is included in the list of the *Catalogue of the Eastern Jin Dynasty* (317-420 CE). This remark also appears in Fei Zhangfang's *Lidai Sanbaoji* 歷

代三寶紀 (*Catalogue of the Triratana through the Dynasties*) compiled in 597 CE.

3 All dialogues in the original Chinese translation are without heading or subheading. For the purpose of easy reference, the present translator has added all the subheadings with numbers.

4 Note that this text, though it is called a *jing* 經 (i.e. a sutra), does not begin with the traditional “Thus I have heard,” *Evaṃmayā śrutam*, and instead starts directly with the narrative “The Buddha once dwelt in Śrāvastī...”

5 At the time of the Buddha, there were various religious traditions and philosophies. In the Pāli tradition, they are referred to as the sixty-two views while in Mahāyāna scriptures, the number becomes ninety-six. For more information see the *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the Pāli *Dīghanikāya*, and the *Sutra of Ninety-Six Views* 六十二見經 in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (T1.1.88b13-94a13).

6 Version A of the *Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra* (hereafter NBS-A) simply states, “In the deep

forest” and Jiaoluo 校羅 is omitted. J. Takakusu, in his “Chinese translation of Milindapañha,” uses “Kiao-lo.” In his footnote, he explains “*kosala*, ‘black pepper’? Or do the three characters stand for a name something, *pongamla glabra*.” See Takakusu, p. 5. But NBS-A mentions *touluo* 頭羅. So according to Higata, it probably is *thūla* in Pāli, or *sthūla* in Sanskrit. According to Demieville, *jiaoluo* 校羅, and *touluo* 頭羅 are probably transliterations from the Sanskrit word *sāla*. He quotes much evidence to prove his point. In the Madhyamāgama and the *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, *bhadrasāla* is translated as batuopoluo 跋陀婆羅; and in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, *sāla* is translated as *poluo* 婆羅. See Demieville, p. 76.

7 Demieville, p. 76, gives it as *vṣkṣadevatā*.

8 NBS-A does not contain “among them, there were males and females, large-tusked, medium-tusked, and small-tusked.” Takakusu, p.6, states in his footnote these may be “advanced in age, middle-aged and young.”

9 This is the page number of the *Nāgasena*

*Bhikṣu Sūtra* in T Vol. 36. Here the author of NBS perhaps refers to the Kosambi incident when the Buddha left the monks and went into forest alone.

10 Here the Chinese word is *xin* 心 literally “heart”; *hr̥daya*. At other times it might mean “mind”; *citta*.

11 Yijing, a Chinese traveller to India (671-695), mentions *cankrama* (meaning “act of walking”) of the Nalanda monastery in his *Record of Buddhist Practises in India and the Island of the Southern Sea*.

12 In NBS-B the Chinese character is *ri* 日 which means “day,” but in NBS-A it is *yue* 曰 which means “speak.” According to the context, it should be day, not speak.

13 The Chinese phrase *wuwei nihuan dao* 無爲泥洹道 literally means “actionless (unconditioned) *nirvāṇa* path (wisdom).” NBS-A has *bonihuan* 般泥洹 which means *parinivāṇa*.

14 For Jialuohuan 迦羅洹, Demieville says,

“*Sans doute Kalavana.*” See Demieville, p. 77.

15 NBS-A gives the six fast-days as the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23rd, 29th, 30th. I translate *jing* 經 as *sūtra*, but in many passages in our text, this term corresponds to Dharma. That is why this word sometimes is translated as *sūtra* and sometime as Dharma as the context demands. In this case it is not a method of reading *prātimokṣa*, but of recitation of *Vinaya* rules. According to the *Mahāvagga*, the *prātimokṣa* was not recited on the 8th, 14th, 23rd and 29th days of every month. On the contrary, it was recited on the days of *upavasatha*. This recitation was authorized as shown by H. Kern, *Histoire du bouddhisme en Inde*, Vol II, Paris, 1903, pp. 205-206. In a passage, concerned with the days of *upavasatha*, (A i. 142; 170.) the Chinese text of *Ekottarāgama*, (T1, 64b) specifies the 8th and 14th days of each half of a month, as being the days of fasting. The 15th is the day for recitation of the *Vinaya*. According to the *Vinaya* of the *Mahīsāsaka*, the Buddha, on the suggestion of King Bimbisara, fixed the days of *upavasatha* as follows: “It is permitted on the 8th and 14th days of a month

to preach the Law, on the 15th days to celebrate the *upavasatha*, that is to say to recite the *prātimokṣa*. The *bhikṣus* did not know what law was to be preached, so the Buddha says, ‘the triple gem should be praised, then *smṛtyupasthāna*, then *saṃyakpradhāna*, then *ṛddhipāda*, then *indriyabala*, then the path to enlightenment. For all the *dānapatis*, the *devas* should be praised.’” Another series of 20 days was recognised by the Dharmaguptaka (*Sifen lu* 四分律 TT. XV. 5. 31a) as the Buddha, on the suggestion of Bimbisara, fixed the 8th, the 14th and 15th days for the meetings in imitation of those of *Brahmacārins* 梵志: ‘The *bhikṣus*, who came to these meetings, observed silence. Then the master told the *bhikṣu*, ‘We wish to live by listening to the law.’ The Buddha gave permission to preach the law. They did not know which law was to be preached. The Buddha said, ‘From now on it is permitted to preach these *sūtras*.’ Then the *bhikṣu* wanted to meet at night in order to preach the law, the Buddha permitted this, but the *bhikṣu* did not know which days they should meet. The Buddha said, ‘It is permitted to hold meetings on 15th, 14th, 13th, 10th, 9th, 8th, 5th, 3rd, 2nd, and 1st days in order to preach the

law. Then the Buddha instituted the recitation of *prātimokṣa* on the days of *upavasatha*, the 14th and 15th days of each fortnight.” So following the royal instructions of the king, changes were made on the days. See also Demieville, p. 78.

16 NBS-B: *jin yu siban* 近於寺邊, “near the monastery”; NBS-A: *zhi yu sizhong* 止於寺中, “living in the monastery.”

17 NBS-B: *xianguan* 縣官, “district magistrate”; NBS-A: *xuan* 懸, “to suspend,” according to Takakusu, it should be *xuankong* 懸空 “lodged in mid-air” as an adjective referring to the “human life.”

18 NBS-A: “seek after the path of an *arhat* for *nirvāṇa*.” It omits “saving the world.”

19 NBS-A omits “His parents.”

20 Chinese: Milan 彌蘭; Pāli: Milinda; Greek: Menander. See QKM i, xviii.

21 NBS-A: “who wished to become a *śramaṇa*

to seek the quiet path of *nirvāṇa* for arahatship.”

22 NBS-A omits “in the district of Kashmir.”

23 Or *dharma* or *dharin* which means “keeping.” Here it probably means Nāgasena kept his skin robe with him when he was born.

24 NBS-A: *rou jiasha* 肉袈裟, “skin robe.” This means that Nāgasena was born with a skin robe.

25 NBS-A omits “in consequence of his vow made in his former life.”

26 This parenthetical portion is added by me as explanation.

27 Naxian 那先, Sanskrit: Nāgasena. The introductory passages describing the former lives of Menander and Nāgasena are totally different from that in the Pāli text.

28 Louhan 樓漢 ; Pāli: Rohana. He is Nāgasena’s mother’s brother, but in the Pāli version Rohana is not Nāgasena’s uncle, he is sent by *deva*

Assagutta to ordain Nāgasena in order to defeat King Menander in debate.

29 NBS-A adds “He had already attained arahathood.” According to the Pāli text, Rohana is also an *arahat*.

30 NBS-A: *divyacakṣu*, Demieville, p. 83.

31 NBS-B: *divyaśrotra*, *ibid*.

32 That means he knew his former life.

33 Thich Minh Chau understood the Chinese word wujian 無間 as “Never ceasing Hell,” which is, in fact, not the correct meaning of the word here in this context. Demieville renders it as “interstice,” see Demieville, p. 83.

34 NBS-B only mentions five of the six higher knowledges (Skt: *abhijñā*, Pāli: *abhiññā*), which were all possessed by Louhan except for the last one. They are (1) supernatural power (Skt: *rddhi-viddhi*, Pāli: *iddhi-vidhā*), (2) the divine ear (Skt: *divyaśrotra*, Pāli: *dibba-sota*), (3)

penetration of the minds of others (Skt: *paracittajñāna*, Pāli: *ceto-pariya-ñāṇa*), (4) memory of former existences (Skt: *pūrvanivāsānusr̥ti*, Pāli: *pubbe-nivāsānussati*), (5) the divine eye (Skt: *divyacakṣus*, Pāli: *dibba-cakkhu*), and (6) extinction of all cankers (Skt: *āśravakṣaya*, Pāli: *āsavakkhaya*). This means that Louhan is not an arhat yet. NBS-A mentions also “knowing others’ previous births,” but it misses the first two higher knowedges of seeing distant things and hearing distant sounds. So NBS-A is corrupted.

35 Here Nāgasena loved the Buddha’s teaching and wanted to become a *śrāmaṇera*, but in the Pāli version, it is said that Nāgasena wanted to learn the best hymn, so he became a *śramaṇa* under Rohana.

36 Nāgasena, when he was an elephant, had done good deeds by serving the Buddha and listening to the recitation of the *sūtra*.

37 Here the Chinese word is *yao* 要 which means “essence,” “gist” etc., in this context. This word is not found in NBS-B, but in NBS-A.

38 Nāgasena had not become a *bhikṣu* yet. This sentence is not found in NBS-A.

39 NBS-A: Hezhan 和戰, NBS-B: Hechan 和禪, in the Song edition of the Chinese *tripiṭaka*, it is Hedan 和鄆. Pāli: *vattaniya*.

40 Eboyue 頰陂曰; *Aspayutta*, Skt: *Aśvagupta* = Pāli: *Assagutta*. See Demieville, p. 84.

41 Here both NBS-A and NBS-B are the same, “precept sūtra” which means the *bhikṣu* precepts. According to the Buddhist tradition, monks should recite their precepts, *prātimokṣa*, every fortnight. Anyone who has violated the rules should confess before the assembly of *bhikṣus*. In accordance with his offence, he is to be punished. He will be expelled from the *saṅgha* if he has violated the four main rules, which are not to take life, not to steal, not to have sex and not to lie. He is temporarily expelled from the *saṅgha* if he has violated any of the 13 *saṅghādisesas*, and he should confess his offence before the assembly as a punishment if he has violated the other minor rules. See *Vinaya* VI.

42 The *Sūtra of Parables* is not found in NBS-A. But in the *Tripīṭaka* of the Northern tradition, there is a sūtra called *Sūtra of the Parables* in which parables were collected from the *Tripīṭaka* and then was compiled into a single book.

43 According to the Buddhist tradition, novices (*śrāmaṇera*) are not allowed to attend the fortnight *prātimokṣa* recitation. Therefore Nāgasena had such a thought. But here we are not sure whether Nāgasena had obtained the higher ordination yet. In the text, it just says that Nāgasena came for higher ordination, so it is not clear.

44 Assagutta was an *arahat* and so he had the ability to read other's mind. Therefore he knew Nāgasena's thoughts.

45 NBS-A: “Assagutta wanted to ask Nāgasena to stay...”

46 NBS-A: Jiaweiyue 加維曰, NBS-B: Jiaweiyue 迦惟曰, Skt: Kavigupta (?).

47 In the Pāli text, it is not an *upāsaka*, but a *upāsikā* who gave alms to Kavigupta for thirty years.

48 Here “*śramaṇa*” probably means the Buddhist monk.

49 NBS-A: “no one preaches the Dharma to me.” Here it is in contrast with NBS-B. But according to the tradition, after a meal, monks should give some short talks on *dharma* to those who offered the meal.

50 NBS-A omits “of wisdom and of intelligence.”

51 NBS-A adds “in a poor family.”

52 They are the hells, hungry ghosts and animals.

53 NBS-A omits “But if a person does not observe the Dharma and moral precepts, he suffers in the present world and in the next life, and will fall into the three realms for an indefinite period.”

Here the NBS-A is in accordance with the Buddhist teaching because after the bad *karma* is exhausted, the person can be reborn somewhere else.

54 Here the Chinese word is *shenjing* 深經, which means the philosophy of the Buddha's teaching. But the Pāli text states that Nāgasena taught the devotee on the *Abhidhamma*.

55 This sentence is not found in NBS-A.

56 Here Nāgasena preached to the *upāsaka* by means of a gradual method of talking, *anupubbekathā*, starting from the topic of giving, and gradually to the philosophy of the Buddha's teaching. This is a usual method of preaching of the Buddha. See *Mahāvagga*, I, 7, 5 (Vin., Vol.I, 15)

57 Here the agreement of the monks in Hechan monastery is perhaps that of taking alms from the *upāsaka*'s house without preaching, because we saw earlier that Nāgasena's teacher asked him to go to the *upāsaka*'s house to take alms with his mouth filled with water. It means that Nāgasena should not speak. And also in NBS-A, the *upāsaka* told

Nāgasena, “I have been offering alms to monks for a long time, but no one preaches the *dharma* to me.” (see also note 49)

58 Here Nāgasena should not be expelled from the *saṅgha*, because according to the Vinaya rules, only the one who violated the four main precepts (not to kill any form of life, not to take what is not given, not to commit sexual act with any woman and not to tell a lie about being an *arahat* when he actually is not an *arahat*) is to be expelled from the *saṅgha*, not otherwise. If one has violated the 13 *saṅghādisesa*, he is temporarily suspended from the *saṅgha*.

59 Here in the text, the Chinese word *piyujing* 譬喻經 can be translated in two ways: *Sūtra of Parables* (in the present translation. About this *sūtra*, see also note No.42), or “simile.” NBS-A here has no *jing* 經 “*sūtra*.”

60 Here in the Pāli version, Venerable Assagutta ‘burst forth into applause’ when he knew that both Nāgasena and the laywoman devotee had obtained the fruit of *srotapanna* by his *dhamma* vision.

61 According to the Mahāvagga, a monk should confess himself before the assembly publicly when he has violated the precepts.

62 Here the four kings of the first heaven (P: *tāvātimsa*, Skt: *trāyāstrimśa*) are: In the east is *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* whose color is white; in the south is *Virūdhaka* whose color is blue; in the west is *Virūpākṣa* whose color is red; and in the north is *Vaiśravaṇa* whose color is yellow. The king of all gods is Indra (Śakra). Then there follows the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh heavens, and Brahma (also known as *Mahābrahma*) is at the top.

63 Shejie 舍竭, Pāli: *sāgala*.

64 Xiedijia 泄氐迦, Pāli: *sankheyya*. Miln, 22.

65 This includes wandering teachers, Brahmans, the heads of some schools or the monastic community or the master of some bands of pupils.

66 Daqin 大秦; Yonaka, or Bactria.

67 The literal meaning is “internal and external.”

68 NBS-B: the Chinese word is chengmen 乘門, which means wealthy people who have vehicles, but in the Gun edition, it is pomen 陂門. Demieville misunderstood it as a transliteration of *śramaṇa*. Here the author of NBS tried to list all classes of Indian people.

69 NBS-A omits “In the palace...ordinary people.”

70 This sentence is omitted in NBS-A.

71 This sentence is omitted in NBS-A.

72 Here the Pāli text far excels the Chinese text in its description of *Sāgala* although all the details in the Chinese text are found more or less in the same form in the Pāli text. The description of the city of *Sāgala* in the Pāli text is far better than the Chinese counterpart in richness, details, romantic background and in dazzling style.

73 This reference to the past, present and future might suggest the inclination of the Chinese text toward *Sarvāstivāda* theory “*sarvam asti.*”

74 NBS-A omits “arts of warfare.”

75 The description of Menander’s outstanding virtues in the Chinese version is far less impressive than the Pāli version which says that Menander was learned in the nineteen arts and sciences.

76 According to a Japanese scholar R. Kiyohara who translated NBS into Japanese, the portion in brackets is added later. See KIK, p. 329. But Fang Guangchang thinks that it is a transposition as he informed me personally. It should be placed before section 10 provisionally titled “King Menander’s Learning.” In section 10, Manander asked his minister if anyone could converse with him on religious matters. And after the description of *Sāgala*, this dialogue continues on again, and the minister directed Menander to Āyupala.

77 NBS-A omits “At that time...I am the king.”

78 This sentence is omitted in NBS-A.

79 Zhanmili 沾彌利; Pāli: Devamantiya; Greek: Demetrios (?); Wangqun 望群; Pāli: Mankura; Greek: Pakor (?). See GBI, p. 422.

80 Yeheluo 野和羅, Pāli: *āyupala*.

81 The Pāli version gives the name of the monastery as “*sankheyya*” where *Āyupala* lived.

82 NBS-B has *zhongzheng* 忠政, “loyal government,” or “loyal,” but NBS-A has *zhongzheng* 中正 meaning “righteousness” or “justice,” which is in accordance with Miln., 19, *dhammācariya*.

83 According to the *Subha Sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*, a similar question was put to the Buddha by a Brahmin named Subha: Is it the monk or the layman who can succeed in attaining what is right, just and good, the Buddha says that in this particular context (*ettha*), it is necessary to give an analytical answer. For what determines the answer is not whether the person is a monk or a layman but

the practice of good conduct (*sammā patipanna*). M ii 197. The same is also found in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyamāgama* 中阿含經, see CBETA, T1.26.667a28-b3.

84 These twelve divisions of Buddhist scriptures are recognised by the northern tradition as against to the nine divisions recognised by the southern tradition. The twelve divisions are *Sūtra*, *Geya*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Gāthā*, *Udāna*, *Itiyuktaka* (P: *Itivuttaka*, Skt, *Itivṛttaka*), *Jātaka*, *Vaipulya*, *Adbhutadharmā*, (the above are nine divisions) *Nidāna*, *Avadāna*, *Upadeśa*.

85 In classical Chinese, there are no paragraphs and punctuations in a passage. Therefore for a scholar to read classical Chinese, he should be able to make out paragraphs and sentences by punctuating the given passage. So this part is perhaps added by the Chinese translators.

86 NBS-A omits “He could dispel all doubts and could enlighten the speculators.”

87 NBS-A omits “A place of refuge and an

object of respect for the wise men.”

88 In the Pāli version, the number of monks that followed Nāgasena was up to 80,000.

89 NBS-A omits “I am not as great as Nāgasena.”

90 In NBS-A, it is the king who came forward and exchanged greetings and compliments of friendship with Nāgasena. This should be the tradition of the elders, no matter whosoever comes, monks should not go out and exchange greetings first.

91 This paragraph is missing in Miln. In our text, Nāgasena started to preach first, but in the Pāli text, the king asked the name of Nāgasena first. This passage is quoted from the Chinese *Dharmapada*, chapter thirty-six on *nirvāṇa*, T4, 573a, but the wording is slightly different. Also see *Dhammapada*, verse no. 204.

92 NBS-A: Shounaxian 首那先; NBS-B: Shouluoxian 首羅先; Pāli: *Surasena*.

93 Here the Chinese word is *yanse* 顏色 which literally means “complexion.” Demeiville translates as “external appearance.” Demieville, 97. Miln., 26: *rūpa*.

94 Here the Chinese word is *kule* 苦樂 which literally means “suffering and happiness.” Miln., 26: *vedanā*.

95 Here the Chinese word is *shane* 善惡 which literally means “meritorious deeds and demeritorious deeds.” Miln., 26: *saññā*.

96 Here the Chinese word is *shen* 身 which literally means “body.” But in the text, it is one of the five aggregates. Miln., 26: *saṅkhāra*.

97 In Buddhist scriptures, a human usually is analyzed into five aggregates as form, sensation, perception, volitional formation and consciousness. Due to the combination of these five, a person comes into being.

98 This passage is quoted from *Samyuktāgama*, T2, 327b. But in the Pāli version, it is attributed to

a nun called Vajira, S i,135.

*Just as when the parts are rightly set,  
The word 'chariot' is spoken,  
So when there are the khandhas,  
It is the convention to say 'being.'*

99 Here in the Pāli version, there is one more dialogue regarding the years of Nāgasena's ordination, Miln. 28. This dialogue seems to be natural and suits the situation. As King Menander was a layman as well as a foreigner, he would naturally raise a question such as this, 'How many years have you been a monk?' It seems that this section of the dialogue is missed out in the Chinese version.

100 Here the Chinese has *zhizhe* 智者 which literally means "wise ones." That means the wise men.

101 Here the Chinese has *jiaogui* 驕貴 which literally means "an arrogant and high rank person." Here it means "the king." In NBS-A, it adds one more, "a foolish man." This is not found in either NBS-B or the Pāli text.

102 Here the meaning in the text is not clear. Thich Minh Chau renders it as “The wise men speak words of contention, words of explanation, words that are high, words that are low, words that bring in victory, words that bring about defeat, right words, wrong words.” MNBS, p. 49.

103 NBS-A adds “when a foolish man talks, he does not know words that are correct, words that are incorrect, and tries to win over by inconsiderate compulsion.”

104 This is very strange, because earlier, at the beginning of this discussion, it is said that Nāgasena already went to the palace. But here it again says, “to invite Nāgasena to the palace.” These discussions might have been held several times, not once.

105 Here the Chinese word *qian* 慳 literally means “stingy” or “miserly,” probably a transliteration from the Sanskrit word *datta* or Pāli word *dinna*. For instance, *tissa* is transliterated into Chinese as *zhi* 眞; Pāli: *sabbadinna*; Miln., 29: *dinna*, 56. There is much dispute over the name

*sabbadinna* as to whether the person was a Greek or not and if the person was a Greek, then what is the corresponding Greek word for it. According to W. W. Tarn, *sabbadinna* is probably from the Greek word *sabbadotos*, “the gift of (the goddess) *sabba*.” *Dinna* is a mere adjustment. GBI, p. 423.

106 Here *sabbadinna* said three times: “Let him come with ten.” According to W.W. Tarn, “This number only has meaning in reference to the ten Alexander-questions, and presumably comes from the Greek questions of Menander (which no doubt, like the questions of Ptolemy II, were not confined to ten questions); what *sabbadinna* in effect says is ‘you ought to follow the Greek tradition’ and Menander says “No.” GBI, p. 433.

107 This simile is omitted in NBS-A.

108 According to Demieville, *shenzhongshi* 身中事 corresponds to the Pāli *kāyasamkhāra*, Miln., 31.

109 Here the Chinese word is *xinshi* 心事 which literally means the matter of the heart, because

the Chinese word *xin* 心 means heart. In ancient China people (and perhaps people of other parts of the world also) thought that it was the heart that thought, not the mind.

110 This sentence is omitted in NBS-A.

111 The Pāli version has the king, not the county magistrate.

112 Here the Pāli version adds one more, “some go forth for fear of thieves.” In her translation, I. B. Horner gives a reference in the footnote, “As at M i,463; S.iii.93.” See MQ, p. 42.

113 This pair of questions and answers is not available in NBS-A.

114 NBS-A has *yixin nian zhengfa* 一心念正法 which literally means “thinking of *saddharma* whole-heartedly,” but NBS-B has *yixin nian zhengfa shan* 一心念正法善 which literally means “thinking of righteousness and virtue whole-heartedly.” Demieville translates it as “*Si un homme pense a la Loi correcte et au bien en*

*unifiant sa pensee.*” Here he translates *zhengfa* 正法 as “*Loi correcte.*” Demieville, p. 104. In the Pāli version, it is *yoniso manasikāra*, translated as “reasoning” by Rhys Davids, QKM, p. 50; “attentive consideration” by I.B. Horner, and further, I.B. Horner explains that the Pāli word can be rendered as “proper mind-work,” “ordered thinking,” or “orderly reasoning,” MQ, p. 43.

115 NBS-A: *nian zhengfa zhihui* 念正法智慧, it literarily means “consideration of right dharma and wisdom”; NBS-B: *nian zhengfa nian shan zhihui* 念正法念善智慧, this literarily means “consideration of right *dharma*, *kuśala dharma* and wisdom.” The Pāli version speaks of only two factors: *yoniso manasikāra and paññā*. I.B. Horner translates it as “attentive consideration and wisdom.” MQ, p. 43. Rhys Davids translates it as “reasoning and wisdom.” QKM, p. 50. Therefore here right *dharma and kuśala dharma* actually imply the one and same thing.

116 Here it is different from Pāli version which says that animals have reasoning mind, but not wisdom. Miln., 32. This is far clearer than NBS-B.

117 Demieville translated *xiaoshun* 孝順 as “*l’obeissance filial*.” According to him, it actually means *sīla*. There he quotes from *Ekottarāgama*, (= *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Vol.I, 61-62), *Fumu enzhong nanbao jing* 父母恩重難報經 (*Sutra on the Difficulty in Repaying the Profound Kindness of Parents*), *Xiaozi jing* 孝子經 (*Sutra on Filial Sons*) etc., where *sīla* is translated as *xiaoshun* 孝順. Demieville, p. 107. According to H. Nakamura, “When Buddhism was introduced into China, Buddhism was forced to teach filial piety to common people. The most important virtue in Confucianism was, of course, filial piety which expected a one-sided obedience from children, the younger people, in a family to their parents, who were the venerated ones of the family. This idea, however, was not excessively emphasized in Indian Buddhism, as can be seen in the original Sanskrit and Prakrit texts where there is no such term corresponding to the idea of xiao (孝), filial piety, although this character is found frequently in Chinese versions of Buddhist scriptures. Thus the translators must have added this term. This virtue, of course, which corresponds to the idea of filial piety, is taught in the original Buddhist sūtra, but only as one of the virtues and it

is not esteemed as the supreme virtue. The Chinese could not be satisfied with the family moral taught in Buddhism. The concept of the filial piety in the Chinese sense was not taught in Buddhist *sūtras* so that, as a last resort, spurious *sūtra* such as the *Fu-mu-en-chung-ching* (父母恩重經 the “Filial Piety *sūtra*”) and the *Tai-pao-fu-mu-en-chung-ching* (大報父母恩重經) which teach filial piety, were composed.” IB, p. 227.

The concept of filial piety is also emphasized in the *Ullambana* (*Yu-lan-pen* 盂蘭盆經 in Chinese and *Urabon* in Japanese) which has acquired great importance among people of China. The origin of the rites of *Ullambana* can be traced to scriptures of Early Buddhism (such as the *Tirokuddasutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha*). The rite *Ullambana* was extolled in the *Ullambana Sūtra* in which the Buddhist concept of filial piety was explicitly expressed in the acts of offering for the dead parents. According to C. Iketa, (*Shukyo Kenkyu*, published by the Japanese Association for Religious Studies, Tokyo, III, 1, 59f.; Prabodh Chandra Bagchi: *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine. Les Traducteurs et les Traduction*. Tome I & II, 1927 & 1938, Paris.), this seems to be a *sūtra*, with additions by Chinese

scholars, to the kernel of an original which had been produced in India.

118 In the Pāli version, the five things are *sīla*, *saddhā*, *viriya*, *sati* and *samādhi*, without thinking of goodness and wisdom. But in the explanatory passage that followed, *paññā* is there. Instead of *sīla* the Chinese text has *xiaoshun* 孝順 which literally means “filial obedience,” but the passage following this explains that *xiaosun* 孝順 is the basis for all other good qualities. So the original Sanskrit of Chinese word *xiaoshun* 孝順 should be *sīla*, “morality,” since it is the foundation of all spiritual attainment.

119 Here *wue* 五惡 also called *wuzhuo* 五濁 five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*). In NBS-A and NBS-B, the five are almost the same with little difference:

1. NBS-A: *yin* 姪; NBS-B: *tanyin* 貪姪; Pāli: *kāmacchanda*.
2. NBS-A: *chennu* 瞋怒; NBS-B: *chenhui* 瞋恚; Pāli: *vyāpāda*.
3. NBS-A: *shuimian* 睡眠; NBS-B: *shiwo* 嗜臥; Pāli: *styāna-middha*.
4. NBS-A: *geyue* 歌樂; songs and enjoyment;

NBS-B: *xiyue* 戲樂; sports and enjoyment;  
Pāli: *auddhatya-kaukr̥tya*.

5. NBS-A: *yi* 疑; NBS-B: *suoyi* 所疑; Pāli:  
*vicikitsā*.

Here the Pāli text just mentions hindrances without detail explanation.

120 This name of a river is unidentified. Here the Pāli text does not give a name.

121 According to Demieville, *jing jin cheng xin* 精進誠信 means ‘the spiritual progress’. Demieville, p. 106. Here the Pāli word is *sampakkhandanakkhaṇa saddhā*. Rhys Davids translates it as “aspiration of faith,” I. B. Honer translates it as “leaping forward.”

122 NBS-A: 佛諸弟子自相見輩中說諸清淨, “the Buddha’s disciples, having seen among their colleagues, some speak of their purity.” NBS-A has *shuo* 說, “speak”. Comparing it to the Pāli text, it should be *tuo* 脫 to eliminate, as it is in NBS-B.

123 Here Higata traces this to the *Samyuktāgama*, No.1321, T2, 365.

124 Here it is *śīla*, which means virtue.

125 *sanshiqi pinjing* 三十七品經, is an archaic translation, with the newer Chinese translation being *sanshiqi daopin* 三十七道品; Pāli: *bodhipakkhiyādhammā*, Miln, 33

126 Literally, *siyizhi* 四意止 means “the four resting places of the mind.” This is an archaic translation.

127 Here the Chinese word is *jueyi* 覺意 which literally means “enlightening of the mind.”

128 NBS-A omits “the thirty-seven factors...the noble eight fold path.”

129 Here in NBS-A: the four states of mindfulness are given in a different way:

1. Contemplation of one’s own body, outwardly and inwardly;
2. the knowledge of the mind being pleasant or unpleasant;
3. the knowledge of the heart being meritorious or demeritorious;
4. the knowledge of the right *dharma*.

The above translation is the archaic translation.

According to the new translation, the four states of mindfulness are: 1. to observe the body which is not pure and which consists of skin, flesh, blood, perspiration, urine, human waste and other things. 2. To observe sensation as suffering. Because the five organs come in contact with the five external objects, one experiences pleasant, unpleasant and neutral feelings. This is the root of suffering. 3. To observe the mind as impermanent, because the mind changes from moment to moment and cannot last for two consecutive moments. 4. To observe the *dharma* as no-soul or no-self. All *dharma* are without a self or a soul. So we cannot take anything as “I” or “the Soul”.

130 Here it is very different from the definition given in the Pāli version. NBS-A mentions four things which are similar to the Pāli version. The four spiritual exertions are: (1) to check one’s own mind; (2) to prevent unwholesome *dharma* from entering the mind; (3) to remove all unwholesome *dharma* in the mind; (4) and causing wholesome *dharma* to arise and to prevent wholesome *dharma* in the heart from vanishing away. Thus this is closer to Pāli version.

131 These four psychic powers refer to the four of the six higher knowledges (*callabhiññā*). But NBS-A mentions four different qualities: (1) elimination of craving; (2) exertion; (3) control of one's mind; and (4) reflection or meditation. In his work MNBS, Thich Minh Chau translates the first one as “wish” instead of elimination of craving.

132 NBS-A omits this.

133 These five mental powers are totally different from the Pāli version. In the Pāli version, they are: faith, exertion, mindfulness, meditation and wisdom. But NBS-A is the same as the Pāli version.

134 These seven bases of enlightenment are not given in detail in NBS-A. It just says that again there are seven things which eradicate bad *dharma* and which are called the seven wholesome *dharmas* or the seven factors of wisdom. In Xuanzang's translation, the last one is “equanimity,” not “protection” as appears in NBS-B.

135 Here this archaic translation uses *zhi* 直,

lit. “straight,” for *sammā* in Pāli. But in the later translation, it uses *zheng* 正, “right,” which is correct. NBS-A says, “Again there is the noble eightfold path and it is also called *ahou* 阿姪. According to Higata, *ahou* probably is a transliteration from the Pāli word *aṅgika* or *a-haṅgika*. See KIK, p. 339. But according to Demieville, it is probably from *ango*. See Demieville, p. 110.

136 NBS-A: *jin* 金 “gold”; NBS-B: *zhong* 重 “load.”

137 NBS-A: *changji* 倡伎, lit. “leading talent”; NBS-B: *jiren* 伎人, lit. “talented person.”

138 NBS-A mentions “doing good deeds.”

139 This last pair of questions and answers is omitted in NBS-A.

140 NBS-A omits this, only “To support good qualities...” is there.

141 These five good qualities and five bad

qualities are not given in detail in the text, but NBS-A mentions clearly that observing the five precepts are the five good qualities.

142 This last sentence is attributed to the Buddha in NBS-A as well as in Pāli version, but remains untraced in *tripiṭaka*.

143 Here black means bad, white means good. But in NBS-A, the meaning of this passage is not clear.

144 Here the Chinese is *shen* 身 which means “body,” but the cravings are in the mind, they cannot be in the body.

145 The *Samyuktāgama*, T2, 56a.

146 Here the Chinese *yiqixin* 一其心 literally means “one-pointedness of the mind.”

147 The *Samyuktāgama*, T2, 12b. The quotation in Miln. is “Monks develop concentration; he who is concentrated knows as it really is.” This is a translation given by I.B. Horner, and she traces this

quotation from the Pāli *Tipiṭaka*, S iii, 13, v, 414; cf. Asl.162.

148 NBS-A: *zhi* 智, “wisdom”; NBS-B: *zhihui* 智慧 “wisdom”; Miln: 39. *paññā*.

149 Here this explanation of wisdom is the same as the explanation of wisdom found in group A.

150 Here the Chinese *shen* 神 literally means “spirit.” It can be rendered in several ways as “vitality,” “the subtle,” “recondite,” etc. But in this text, it means the soul, because most Indian religions believe in a soul. The king would naturally ask about the transmigration of soul.

151 It literally means “turbid,” *jingzhuo* 精濁.

152 This last simile of the guilty man is omitted in NBS-A.

153 According to Demieville, this passage is also found in S ii, 86.

154 The corresponding Pāli passage is translated

by Rhys Davids as: “Just so, O king, is the continuity of a person or thing maintained. One comes into being as another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. Thus neither as the same nor as another does a man go on to the last phase of his self-consciousness.” QKM. 64.

155 *ruzhong* 乳湩 “milk”; Pāli: *khīra*; *su* 酥, *suluo* 酥酪 “curd”; Pāli: *dadhi*; *fei* 肥 “butter”; Pāli: *navanīta*; *tihu* 醍醐 “ghee”; Pāli: *ghata* (Skt: *ghnrta*). See Demieville, p. 116.

156 This pair of questions and answers is omitted in NBS-A.

157 According to Demieville, *zhi* 智 is *nāṇa*, *hui* 慧 is *paññā*, or *obhāsana*. Demieville, p. 118.

158 The pair of questions and answers: “Has the ordinary man intelligence?”, “Yes he has.” is omitted in NBS-A.

159 From here, there is a long passage lost in NBS-A which corresponds from 709a23 to 714a16 in NBS-B.

160 This passage is quite similar to the corresponding Pāli passage, Mlin., 42. According to Rhys Davids, this means that an arhat might still be wrong on matters of worldly knowledge, but would be clear in his mind as to the fundamental truths of religion. See QKM, p. 67.

161 In his book MNBS, Thich Minh Chau says, “The effects of wisdom are the understanding of the three characteristics of *anicca*, impermanence; *dukkha*, suffering; *anatta*, no-soul. The Pāli version also gives the same explanation.

162 According to Demieville, p. 119, *wushanxin* 五善心 are the five *kusaladhamma* performed by the *pañca indriya*.

163 Here it probably means to have faith in the belief that good brings good effects, and bad brings bad effects.

164 According to Demieville, p. 119, these five kinds of drugs are given in the *Susiddhikāra-sūtra*, a work translated by Subhakāra between 724-730. We find three versions of the *sūtra* in

the Taisho: 1. *Kaṅtakāri* 軋託迦哩; 2. *vr̥hati*=*br̥hatī* 勿哩訶底; 3. *saha* 娑訶; 4. *sahadeva* 娑河提婆; 5. *sita-girigairika* 稅多擬裏疙哩迦。(CBETA, T18, no. 893b, 651, c26-27; no. 893c, 689, a24-26) These five drugs are almost identical as the five drugs found in *Vajrasekharayoga* translated by Amoghavajra according to Demieville, but we find these five drugs in the *Parṇaśavarīdhāraṇī* (sūtra) also translated by Amoghavajra: 1. *sahacara* 娑賀搗囉; 2. *sahadeva* 娑賀稱縛; 3. *kaṅtkāri* 建; 4. *girikaṅṅā* 儼哩羯羅拏; 5. *vr̥hati* 勿哩荅賀底。(CBETA, T20.1100.449b13-15.)

165 According to Demieville, p. 121, *yi* 意 is equivalent to *cetasikā vedanā*, Miln., 44.

166 *shenjian* 身見, the view that there is a real self, is one of the five wrong views. The five wrong views are: 1) *satkāyadr̥ṣṭi*, the view that there is a real self, an ego, and a mine and thine; 2) *antagrāha*, extreme views e.g. extinction or permanence; 3) *mithyā*, perverse views, which, denying causes and effects, destroy the foundations of morality; 4) *dr̥ṣṭiparāmarśa*, stubborn perverted views, viewing inferior things as superior, or

counting the worse as the better; 5) *sīla-vrata-parāmarśa*, rigid views in favour of rigorous ascetic prohibitions, e.g. covering oneself with ashes. Views are mental matters, not bodily matters. Demieville, p. 121, translates it as, “*Ce qui fait que le corps éprouve de la douleur, c’est que ce corps existe presentement: voila pourquoi il éprouve de ladouleur.*” The corresponding Pāli passage is ‘*tassa hetussa tassa paccayassa anuparama.*’

167 Miln. gives the verse as:

*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.*

In her footnote, Horner says, “These verses quoted at DA. 810, are attributed to Sariputta at *Theragāthā*, 1002, 1003, but these are in reverse order and with one variation. Cf. also *Thag.* 20, 196, 606, and *Manu*, vi.45.” But this has not been traced yet in the Chinese *Tripitaka*. See MQ, p. 62.

168 Here in the text, it misses “Nāgasena replied

...” So it makes the text unclear.

169 According to Pachow, here in the text it misses a word *wuwei* 無爲 *asaṃskṛta*. The Pāli text is quite different from the Chinese text. The Pāli text only mentions three characteristics: “... *sukhā vedanā kusalā vā akusalā vā abyākatā vā ti*”. See Miln., 45.

170 Here it is difficult to understand. Higata says, “It has no correspondence in the Pāli version, so it is probably a mistake of words.” KIK, p. 344. But he does not say which words are mistaken.

171 Where it says, “In a Buddhist sutras...” the Pāli version says, “The subject drawn from *Abhidharma*...”

172 *xi* 喜 “joy”; *chou* 愁 “sadness”; Saṅghadeva translates *xiyou* 喜憂; Pāli: *somanassa-domanassa*. *Vedanā* feeling is psychological; *dukkha* and *sukha* contrast.

173 According to Demieville, p. 123, it is religious joy.

174 According to Demieville, p. 123, the text is quoted from *Madhyamāgama*, translated by Saṅghadeva, TT. XII, 7, 7a,b. Here the text mentions four sets of six things. But according to the passage, there are six sets of six things. The additional two sets of six things are: The six external things arousing sad feelings in man and the six things arousing joyful feelings in man.

According to Demieville (123), these six sets of feelings are, without doubt, interpolated in China. The complete text is found in *Madhyamāgama*.

In the Pāli version, it quotes from the *Abhidharma* as having six sets of six things which are different from the Chinese versions. Here I quote the whole passage from Horner's translation, see MQ, p. 63.

“Sire, six are these happiness connected with the world, six are the happiness connected with renunciation, six are the sorrows connected with the world, six are sorrows connected with renunciation, six are the equanimities connected with the world, six are the equanimities connected with renunciation — there are these 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.” But in her footnote to it, Horner traces it as in M I, 397-398; S. iv, 231,232.

175 *xin* 心, Pāli: *manas*; *shou* 受 Pāli: *vedanā*, Miln, *dhamma*; Saṅghadeva tr. *dharma*. See Demieville, p. 123.

176 According to Demieville, p. 124, these six are secular joys.

177 According to Demieville, p. 124, these are religious joys.

178 According to Demieville, p. 124, these are secular sorrowful feelings.

179 According to Demieville, p. 124, these six are religious feelings. The six question questions (a) to (f) are not found in the Pali version.

180 In the Pāli version, it is a mango tree.

181 Here the Pāli version mentions “rice and sugarcane.”

182 Here the Pāli version mentions that the fire burns the field of others.

183 Thich Minh Chau translates it as torch, but it should be candle. In Pāli version, it is lamp.

184 In MNBS, Thich Minh Chau mentions only the first four similes and omits the last two similes which are present in Pāli version.

185 In the Pāli version (Miln., 44) it has “whatever is gross therein that is form, whatever is subtle, mental that is name.”

186 *jiuzhe* 久者 = *addhāna*.

187 The corresponding Pāli passage (Miln., 49) goes thus: “The past is (saṃsāric) time, the future is (saṃsāric) time and the present is (saṃsāric) time.” Here the NBS does not affirm the three existences of time, but gives just a simple definition. According to the *Kathāvatthu*, I, 6-8,

the Sabbatthivādins maintain that all the *dhamma*, the past, the present and the future do exist. The Theravādins deny the existence of past and future, but admitted the existence of the present. They refer to a *sūtra* found in S iii, 71, that the Buddha teaches that we cannot talk of existence except in the regard to the present aggregates. On this issue see *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, V, (translated first by Paramārtha, second by Xuanzang), the discussion between Sarvāstivādins and Sautrāntikas. The Sautrāntikas deny the existence of the past and the future, the same as Mahāsāṃghika (see Vasumitra, translated by Vasilve, *Buddhismus*, Vol I, pp. 265-266), the *Kośa* and *Mahāvibhāṣā*, II, IV, 7 (trans. by Buddhavarman 浮陀跋摩 and Daotai 道泰, et al., in 437-39, see T no. 1546; and trans. by Xuanzang 玄奘 in 656-9, see T. no 1545) the doctrines of the four Sarvāstivādin masters: Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva. But Demieville, p. 130 thinks that in our passage, the time is presented in the same way as in the following passage as *Madhyamaka-śāstra*: “The present thought and the *dharma* of present thought do not have duration... If they had any duration, they would not have been

composed *dharma*, why? Because all the composed dharmas have the character of disappearing constantly... The Buddha says, ‘All the composed *dharma* disappear within the cause of each and every thought moment. They do not have duration except of one thought.’ Comparing this passage with the following paragraph where it is said, “time does not exist for those who have attained the Path.” See also the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, in which there is a discussion concerning the composed and uncomposed *dharma*.

188 The passage in brackets was probably interpolated later or misplaced here. It is not present in the Pāli text.

189 *ben* 本; Miln., 50: *mūla*.

190 Higata, KIK, p. 350, as well as Demieville, p. 131, are of the opinion that *shen* 神 is probably equivalent to the Pāli word *viññāṇa*, which means consciousness.

191 *shen* 身 = *samkhārā*.

192 According to the traditional pattern of *paiccasamuppāda*, with *viññāṇa* as the conditon, name-and-form arise together, not one after the other. Therefore Higata, KIK, p. 350, is of the opinion that this passage probably was added later by the hand-copier.

193 *liuzhi* 六知; Miln., 50: *salāyatana*,

194 *enai* 恩愛 = *taṇhā*, Demieville translates it as “love.”

195 *tanyu* 貪欲 = *upādāna*.

196 According to Higata, *youzhi* 有致 is equivalent to Pāli: *bhava*. See KIK, p. 350. But Demieville explains that it literally means “the arrival of the existence,” so he translates it as ‘existence.’ See Demieville, p. 131.

197 The Pāli version only mentions 12 nidānas from *avijjā* up to *jarā-maraṇa-soka-parideva-dukkha -domanassa-upāyāsa*.

198 Here the text is corrupted, literally meaning

“the origin of the old body of a man cannot be obtained.” Demieville suggests that it should be *gu renshenben bukede ye* 故人身本不可得也 which means “the root of the human body cannot be obtained.” There Demieville also gives the Pāli sentence as “*etassa kevalassa addānassa purimā koṭi na paññāyati*. See Demieville, p. 132.

199 The Pāli version mentions “a tiny seed.”

200 The Pāli version mentions “end,” but here “angle”; *jiao* 角 in Chinese has the same meaning “end.”

201 *Samyuktāgama*, tr. by Gunabhadra = *Samyuttanikāya*, Vol. I, 109: *nāccayanti ahorattājīvatam nuparujjhati āyu anupariyāti maccaṃ nemi va ratha kubbaranti*. This quotation is not absent in the *Milindapanha*.

202 From “from craving, ... there again arises birth” is omitted in the Pāli Version. The same is omitted in the description of organs, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind.

203 *ben* 本; Miln., 51: *purimā koṭi*, the original cause of *saṃsāra*.

204 In the Pāli version, the king asked about “the ultimate point of time,” not “the root cause of birth and death of a man.”

205 There is a mistake here according to Pachow. The word is *you* 有 which means “there is,” but actually it should be *wu* 無 which means “no.”

206 Here the question is, “Are there other causes or reasons that would continue the birth and death of a man besides craving?”

207 Here in the text, it adds “man,” but the question is not about man, but about insects. I omit it.

208 The hint of the king is of no use because he could see in the course of the preceding conversation that *saṃsāra* exists only for the men of this world in their present existence. Nāgasena refuses to get involved in any of the speculations concerning the root or the origin or the beginning

of existence. Demieville says, “Considering from the point of view of ultimate metaphysics, this root is the faculty of love, the causes of the future of existence. In suppressing this cause, from a moral and religious view, it is possible to obtain the deliverance that is important for salvation.” The passage is as obscure as it is in Pāli. In order to support my interpretation of this passage, we can mention the following texts.

1. The Pāli version adds this sentence: “Formerly, O king, everything in every form, everything in every mode, was ignorance. It is to us as if it were not. In reference to that the ultimate beginning is unknown. But that, which has not been, becomes; as soon as it has begun to become it dissolves away again. In reference to that the ultimate beginning is known.” (QKM, p. 81). M. Oldenberg (*Buddha*, 7 ed, 1920, p. 271) quoted this passage of A v, 113: “The previous limit of ignorance, O brothers, cannot be known, so the ignorance is shown as originating from a cause.” This cause of ignorance is defined in the same text of the *Anguttaranikāya* as “food” (*āhāra*) that is to say by series of conditions of which the first is contact with bad human beings and the last is ignorance. All the Chinese texts

replace ignorance by love (*ai* 愛, *trṣṇā*, see *Benxiang yizhi jing* 本相猗致經, trans. by An Shigao 安世高, T no. 36 7b-8a; and *Yuanben zhi jing* 緣本致經, T no. 37. In the later texts, *purimā koṭi* is translated as “the original limit”; it is worthwhile comparing the replacement of ignorance by love with the following formula: *bhavatrṣṇā pūrvakotir na prajñāyate*, in La Vallee Poussin, Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra, 338) which is enough to the interpretation of M. Wallwser, who wants to find in this passage the theory of the origin of time (*Buddhistische Philosophie*, I, Heidelberg, 1904, 127-133).

2. *Āṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. I. 152: “There are three characteristics of the composed. Which three? They are appearance, disappearance and change in duration (*upāda, vaya, ṭhitassa aññathatta*). And there are three characteristics of the uncomposed. Which three? They are appearance... which are not cognisable.”

3. The motto of this whole chapter of *Samyuttanikāya*, (XV) is as follows: “Incalculable is the beginning, brother, of this faring on (*samsāra*). The earliest point (*pubbakoṭi*) is not revealed of the running on, faring on, of beings

cloaked in ignorance, tied to craving”. (See similar in the *Samyuktāgama*, see TT. XIII, 3, 97a, and 5, 104b, a text which is quoted under the title of *Wudai jing* 無給經 and the *Wubenji jing* 無本際經, in the *Madhyamaka-sāstra*, see TT, XIX, 1, 36a, 8 and 43a, 1). And the commentary of Buddhaghosa: “The first boundary is not seen, the beginning of which is the first point. Nor is the last extreme revealed. Just in the middle beings are passing on.” (translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Kindred Sayings*, II, 118; also *Āṅguttaranikāya*, Vol. III, 149).

4. Among these speculations, to which the Buddha prefers salvation, the most important ones are concerned with the primary origin (*Brahmajāla Sutta*, I, 29 and II, 35). See also Demieville, p. 134.

209 Here the text also adds “man.”

210 *liuqing* 六情= *ṣaḍindriyāni*, the six faculties of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind.

211 Here the Pāli version only mentions eye, form and eye-consciousness. Then it goes to sensation, longing, grasping and so on.

212 According to Demieville, p. 135, the passage in brackets, about forty-one Chinese characters, is an interpolation.

213 This formula of *paiccasamuppāda* occurs in many places in the *Tipiṭaka* such as S ii, 72. See also section 16.

214 Here the Chinese word is *jue* 覺 which has many meanings as “enlightening,” “feel,” “awareness,” etc.

215 Here the Chinese word is *wu* 物, Demieville gives the Pāli word *saṃkhāra* for it. See Demieville, p. 136.

216 *yangsuigou* 陽燧鉤, Pāli: *maṇi*. For this, see Demieville, p. 136, footnote 7.

217 The Pali version has a total of seven similes, the additional simile being the trees and plants, which is found after the simile of the house.

218 Here the Chinese glyph is *ren* 人 which literally means “human,” but in this context

it refers to *vedagū*, *atman*, *pudgala* (i.e., an independent, unitary, eternal, and blissful self). The corresponding Pāli passage in Miln., 52, is: *vedagū, upalabbhati*.

219 The Chinese word is *ming* 命 which means “life,” “soul,” or “living principle.” Pāli word is *abhantare jīvo*, Miln., 54.

220 Here, orifice means the six organs: eye, ear, nose, mouth, body and mind.

221 Here the text omits “it could not see the material forms through the nose.” But logically and also according to the context, here the text should have this sentence.

222 Here the chinese word is *shendong* 神動 which actually means *vicāra*, but here it means *viññāṇa*.

223 *kule* 苦樂; *vedanā*.

224 *yi* 意; *saññā*, Demieville, p. 139, translates it as “notion.”

225 *nian* 念; *cetanā*, Demieville, p. 139, translates it as “thought.”

226 *changzhu* 常住; Mlin, 56, *vedagū*.

227 *yan* 眼, *shen* 神; Miln., 57: *cakkhuviññāṇa*, *mano viññāṇa*.

228 *xiaxing* 下行; *ninnatā*.

229 *xiangmen* 向門; *dvāratta*.

230 The Pāli version gives the simile of a frontier city defended with towers and bulwarks. Miln., 58.

231 *xingche* 行轍; *ciṇṇattā*.

232 Pāli: *muddā* (omitted in Chinese) *gaṇanā* (*xiaoji* 校計), *saṃkhā* (*shu* 數), *lekhā* (*shushu* 書疏), *sippaṭṭhānesu* (*xuemen* 學問). See Demieville, p. 141.

233 The original Chinese can be translated as “When the eyes of a person are developed, do the painful and pleasant feelings arise together with

the eyes?” This is not clear. So I have translated it according to Demieville, p. 142.

234 Higata says, ‘Here there must be something missing in the Chinese translation. The correspondent part of Pāli version is ‘Where mental consciousness arises there sensory impingement arises and there feeling arises and there perception arises and there volition arises and there applied thought arises and there sustained thought arises, and all mental states arise where they are headed by sensory impingement.’”

235 In the Pāli version, we do not find this simile of the hands, we only find two similes with rams and cymbals, there is no third simile. But in NBS-B, we find four similes: rams, hands, stones, and stones again.

236 Here in Miln, 60, it gives the simile of cymbals, not stones.

237 In the text, tongue is omitted.

238 In the text, the Chinese word is *yu* 雨 which

means “rain.” So it is not in accordance with the context. But in Song, Yuan, Ming three editions, it is *liang* 兩 in Chinese which literally means “two,” this is logical.

239 According to Demieville, p. 142, *shen* 神 = *manas*, *zhi* 志 = *dharmā*.

240 Higata says that here the word should be *vedanā*, feeling, and according to the general rule adopted by the translator, whenever he met *vedanā*, he translated as “suffering and happiness.” Therefore he must have missed one word “suffering.”

241 *jue* 覺 = *saññā*.

242 Demieville, p. 143, gives it as *sañjānanalakkhaṇā saññā*.

243 The Pāli version does not give this in detail.

244 *renyousuozhi* 人有所念 = *cetanā*, Demieville, p. 143.

245 Demieville, p. 143, gives the Pāli version as: *cetayikalakkhaṇā cetanā abhisamkhāraṇalakkhaṇāca*. Here *cetanā* is a causative form, “the principle cause of thought, the volition,” cf. S. Z. Aung and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy*. London: PTS, 1910, pp. 235-236.

246 Here the Pāli version also gives the simile of drinking ghee, butter, oil, honey and molasses and one who performs good deeds in this life, and those who follow him, will reap the good fruit after death. Miln., 61-2.

247 There are another two dialogues after this dialogue on the characteristic of thought in the Pali version: the characteristic of consciousness (*viññāna*) and the characteristic of applied thought (*vitakka*). But these two are absent in NBS.

248 Here the Chinese word is *neidong* 內動 which literally means “inner-move,” but it should mean “the activities of the mind.” In his *Intercourse of the Ideas Between India and Greece*, appendix, p. 41, Nakamura gives the corresponding Pāli

word as *vitakka* — initial thought or reflection. But Demieville, p. 143, gives the Pāli word as *vicāra* and also quoted a sentence from *Atthasālinī*, 143, to support his explanation: *vicaraniddese ārammane caranakavasena cara; idam assa sabhavapadam*. But here “inner-move” should be reflection or initial thought, not investigation or sustained thought. Because in the following simile, it clearly shows “when the bronze plate is beaten, it is called reflection, when it gives lingering sound, it is called investigation.” Therefore it is *vitakka*, not *vicāra*.

249 *zhinian* 志念, Demieville, p. 143, gives the Pāli as *anumajjanalakkhaṇo vicāro*. *anumajjana* means considering, threshing out’ (See Morris, JPTS (1886), p. 118).

250 According to Higata, KIK, p. 359, the actual Chinese word *ji* 擊 which means “to beat,” is mistaken for *shao* 燒 which means “to burn.”

251 Here in this NBS-B, the Chinese word is *yu* 乎 which is just a particle, it has no meaning. But in the Song, Yuan, and Gong Editions, it is *shou* 手

which literally means “hand.” So this sentence can be translated as “when he raises his hands, there is sound.” However this meaning is not in accordance with the context.

252 Here the Pāli version adds two more dialogues. One is about the distinguishing mark of consciousness, the other is the dialogue about sustained thought. Besides, what is more is that this beating of bronze plate is used to explain sustained thought in the Pāli version.

253 According to Demieville, p. 144, *he* 合 = *phassa*.

254 Ibid; *zhi* 智 = *vedanā*?

255 Ibid; *nian* 念 = *saññā*?

256 Ibid; *yi* 意 = *cetanā*?

257 Ibid; *dong* 動 = *vicāra*.

258 In Miln., 63, the ingredients are different: “curd, salt, ginger, cumin seed, black paper,” and it

also adds, “sourness, saltiness, pungency, acidity, astringency, and sweetness.”

259 Here the flavour of meat is missing in NBS-B.

260 Miln., 63, here adds, “But each flavour would nevertheless be distinctly present by its characteristical sign.”

261 In Pāli version, there is another sentence, “Here ends the question of Nāgasena by Menander.” T.W. Rhys Davids says, “This is again most odd.” (KMQ, 99) But according to Horner, the Siamese script does not have the little colophon and it proceeds straight to the Fourth Division. (MQ, 88)

262 *wuzhi* 五知; Miln., 65, *pañca āyatanāṇi*.

263 From here to the end of the text, the contents of both NBS-A and NBS-B are the exactly the same except for a few words.

264 NBS-A omits “some are from great families,

others are from small families.”

265 NBS-A omits, “some are really sour.”

266 Here NBS-A is “because each person has done differently.” According to Buddhist philosophy, this is because of karmic action.

267 NBS-A: “the noble, the poor, the beautiful and the ugly, all are due to their actions, as a result of the good and bad done in the past.” The Chinese version is similar to the passage in the *Madhyamāgama*. For the counterpart in Miln., it is reproduced from M iii, 203 and 206.

268 NBS-A omits “but the good deeds done previously are beneficial to man.”

269 NBS-A has “to plough, to sow.” The Pāli version has “Asking people to plough the field, to sow the seeds, and to harvest the crops.”

270 NBS-A omits “Could the king order people to train horses, elephants and men in warfare and also to make weapons?” The Pāli version has “To

dig the moat, to build ramparts, watch-towers, and stronghold, to store crops, and train yourself in the warfare about elephants, horses, chariots, bows, and swords.”

271 The last two sentences are not found in NBS-A.

272 Here in NBS-B, we find an insertion “Nāgasena said, “Great king, you...” which is absent in both the NBS-A and the Pali version. This insertion makes the mistake that the latter part of the quotation seems to be said by Nāgasena. This is perhaps due to the copyeditor’s wrong reading of the text.

273 NBS-A: *zhogzheng* 中正, “center and righteous”; NBS-B: *zhonzheng* 忠正, “loyal and righteous”; NBS-A and NBS-B: *buzheng* 不正, “diverse”; Demieville, p. 148, gives them as *dharma* and *adharmā*.

274 In her translation, Horner traces the quotation as from S i.57. The counterpart is in the Chinese translation of the *Samyuktāgama* 雜阿含經,

see CBETA, T2.99.350c29-351a8. But the contents are not the same as quoted in our text.

275 NBS-A omits “female crabs,” but the Pāli version mentions “female sharks, female crocodiles, female pigeons, pea-hens and female tortoises.”

276 Here the Chinese word is *xianglu* 相祿 which literally means “merits and virtue,” but here it means “meritorious *karma*.” According to Demieville, p. 149, the Pāli word in Miln., 67, is *kammadhitena*.

277 In the Pāli version this passage is attributed to the Buddha, “He would not die as long as his bad karma has not been exhausted.”

278 NBS-A gives, “lionesses, tigresses, female wolves.” Miln mentions, “lionesses, tigresses, leopardesses and female dogs.”

279 This last paragraph is lost in NBS-A.

280 NBS-A omits, “she-donkey.” The Pāli

version does not have this simile.

281 This simile is absent in Miln.

282 NBS-A only mentions “woman.” The Pāli version has it differently, “Delicately nurtured ladies of the Yanakas, of noble caste, of Brahmin caste, of householders who eat hard food and meat.”

283 The last phrase in the Pāli version is attributed to the Buddha. Demieville, p. 150, traces it in NBS-A. See M, Vol.I, 141, and Vol.III, 183.

284 This is the traditional Buddhist view of the construction of the world.

285 Here the Pāli word is “*dhammakāraka*.” In QKM, Rhys Davids explains in the footnote, “the passages show that this was a pot so made that no water could pass from it except through a filtering medium when not being actually used the water was no doubt kept at a certain height in it by the pressure of the atmosphere.”

286 This pair of questions and answers is omitted in NBS-A.

287 *nihuandao wusuofuyou* 泥洹道無所復有; Miln., 68: *niroddho nibbānan ti*.

288 This passage is corrupted, NBS-A: 愚癡文人貪身惜坐, NBS-B: 愚癡文人徑來索內外身受坐. Demieville, p. 150, gives in Pāli: *sabbe bālā puthujjanā ajjhattika bāhiāyatane abhinandanti abhivadanti ajjhosayā totthanti*.

289 NBS-A also includes rebirth.

290 In our present text, there is only, “they have never experienced the painfulness of having their hands and feet cut off.” So here the text omits the question part of the sentence. But in NBS-A, we find this part.

291 These five rivers are identified by Kogen Mizuno (RMP p. 47) as *Gaṅgā*, *Sindhu*, *Śītā*, *Oxus* and *Sarasvatī* and the first four are mentioned in many *sūtras* in Chinese translation as the four great rivers. Here we list them as follows:

<i>Sūtras</i> in Chinese Translation	<i>Gaṅgā</i>	<i>Sindhu</i>	<i>Śītā</i>	<i>Vakṣu</i> or <i>Oxūs</i>	<i>Sarasvatī</i>
《薩鉢多酥哩踰捺野經》(CBETA, T1.30.812.a12-13.)	恒河	信度	細多	嚩芻	
《增壹阿含經》(CBETA, T2.125.736b5-6.)	恒伽	私頭	死陀	婆叉	
《增壹阿含經》(CBETA, T2.125.658b28-29.)	恒伽	新頭	私陀	婆叉	
《雜阿含經》(CBETA, T2.99.222b20-21.)	恒河	新頭	司陀	搏叉	
《最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經》(CBETA, T10.309.1011a12-14; a15-19.)	恒伽	私頭	私陀	婆叉	
《大樓炭經》(CBETA, T1.23.279a4-10.)	大流河	信陀	斯頭	和叉	
《起世經》(CBETA, T1.24.313a2-7.) 《起世因本經》(CBETA, T1.25.368a9-14.)	恒伽	辛頭	斯陀	薄叉	
《佛本行集經》(CBETA, T3.190.683a15.)	恒河	辛頭	斯多	博叉	
《大般涅槃經》(CBETA, T12.374.464a9-11.)	洹河	辛頭	悉陀		
《大般涅槃經》(CBETA, 12.374.477a1-2; 511c11; 706b17-19; 719c28-29; 755c10.) 《佛說諸法勇王經》(CBETA, T17.822.848a9-10.) 《大方等大集經》(CBETA, T13.397.349c10-11.)	洹河	辛頭	私陀	博叉	

《阿毘達磨俱舍論》 (CBETA, T29.1558.58a21-22.)	恒伽	信度	徒多	縛芻	
《大方廣佛華嚴經》 (CBETA, T10.279.222a21-23.)	恒伽	信度	私陀	縛芻	
《阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論》(CBETA, T27.1545.22a4-5; 691a22.) 《阿毘達磨順正理論》 (CBETA, T29.1562.516a15-17.) 《瑜伽師地論》 (CBETA, T30.1579.287b14-15.)	殑伽	信度	私多	縛芻	
《阿毘達磨藏顯宗論》 (CBETA, T29.1563.851a1-2.) 《大唐西域記》* (CBETA, T51.2087.869b12-17.)	殑伽	信度	徒多	縛芻	
《阿毘曇毘婆沙論》 (CBETA, T28.1546.14c26-27.)	恒伽	辛頭	私陀	博叉	
《阿毘達磨俱舍釋論》 (CBETA, T29.1559.215b14-15.)	恒伽	辛頭	私多	薄搜	
《佛說一切法高王經》 (CBETA, T17.823.854b22.)	強伽	辛頭	斯陀	博叉	
《大智度論》(CBETA, T25.1509.114a19-21.)	恒河	辛頭	私陀	婆叉	
NBS, A. (CBETA, T32.1670A.699c21-23.)	恒	信他	私他	縛叉	施披夷爾

NBS, B. (CBETA, T32.1670B.715b15-17.)	恒	信他	私他	諱叉	施披夷
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\* According to the *Great Tang Record of the Western Kingdoms* 大唐西域記：“笮伽河（舊曰恒河，又曰恒伽，訛也），信度河（舊曰辛頭河，訛也），縛芻河（舊曰博叉河，訛也），徙多河（舊曰私陀河訛也）”(CBETA, T51.2087.869b12-17.)

The Pāli version also mentions five rivers, but the names are different from the above list: *Gaṅgā*, *Yamunā*, *Aciravatī*, *Sarabhū*, and *Mahī*. See also *The Dictionary of Proper Names of Indian Buddhism*, (印度佛教固有名詞辭典) edited by Akanuma Chizen (赤沼智善), p. 479. The names of these five great rivers are also mentioned in Chinese translations of different *sūtras*:

<i>Sūtras</i> in Chinese Translation	<i>Gaṅgā</i>	<i>Yamunā</i>	<i>Sarabhū</i>	<i>Aciravatī</i>	<i>Mahī</i>
《中阿含經》(CBETA, T1.26.428b16-18; c25-27.)	恒伽	搖尤那	舍勞浮	阿夷羅婆提	摩企
《海八德經》(CBETA, T1.35.819a26-28.)	恒	邪云	沙陸	阿夷越	墨
《雜阿含經》(CBETA, T2.99.215a18-19.)	恒河	耶菩那	薩羅由	伊羅跋提	摩醯
《雜阿含經》(CBETA, T2.99.262a26.)	恒河	耶蒲那	薩羅由	伊羅跋提	摩醯

《阿毘達磨發智論》 (CBETA, T26.1544.918c11-13.)	殑伽	閻母那	薩洛踰	阿氏羅筏底	莫醯
《阿毘達磨大毘 婆沙論》(CBETA, T27.1545.21, c7-9.)	殑伽	閻母那	薩落瑜	阿氏羅筏底	莫醯

292 *jinglu* 經戒; Miln., 71: *dhammam*.

293 Here the Chinese word *kuai* 快 is not translated by Thich Minh Chau. He gives a question mark. Here the word *kuai* 快 means “excellent” or “good.”

294 Here Milin has one more dialogue on seeing the Dhamma. But this is absent in NBS.

295 Here the meaning is that Nāgasena asked the king whether his teacher still knows the scriptures and books and if the king had learned all the scriptures and books from his teacher. But in the present NBS-B, it is not clear. It just says, “still have his scriptures and books.” So it gives the impression that the teacher still has the knowledge of scriptures and books. But NBS-A states clearly, “Great king, you have taken (learned) all (the knowledge from) the scriptures and books.” Here

this meaning is appropriate to the context. So NBS-B misses the words *wang* 王 “king.” And also NBS-A has “the king has taken all,” but NBS-B has “still is.”

296 Here the Chinese word is *zhi* 智 which normally means “wisdom,” but here it means “spirit.” Miln., 71: *vedagu upatabbhati*.

297 In Miln., this dialogue ends here and then it starts another dialogue as: “The king said, ‘Is there any being, Nāgasena, who transmigrates from this body to another?’ ‘No, there is not.’ ‘But if so, would it not get free from its evil deeds.’ ‘Yes, if it were not reborn; but if it were, no 1.’ Then Nāgasena gives a simile. So I think that the Chinese translation of both NBS-A and NBS-B lost this part.

298 Here Thich Minh Chau translates the Chinese word *zhuang* 狀 as “excuse” with a question mark. But here *zhuang* 狀 means “complaint,” when the thief finds that he is not guilty, he would make a complaint before the judge.

299 Here in NBS-B, the king's question is not clear. Thich Minh Chau, translates it as “Is it by reason of the performance of good and bad actions of the old body that new good and bad (result) come into existence?” But this translation does not fit into the context. In NBS-A, it says, “The king asked, ‘Where are the good and bad actions done by this old body?’” When Nāgasena said that by reason of the performance of good and bad actions in the present life, he will be born in the next life and will obtain a new body. Hence, NBS-A is correct, because it fits the context.

300 NBS-A: 佛已泥洹去; NBS-B: 佛已般泥洹去, Miln., 73: *parinibbuto bhagavā*.

301 This quotation is in many places in the Chinese translation of Tripitaka, the *Saṃyuktāgama* 雜阿含經：“是時佛告諸比丘：是身有肌膚髓血生肉，含滿屎尿，自視身，見何等好，常有九孔惡病，常不淨，常洒可足慚。”(CBETA, T2.101.495b8-13.); the *Chinese Dharmapada* 法句經 (泥洹品)：上智饜腐身，危脆非實真，苦多而樂少，九孔無一淨。(CBETA, T4.210.573c26-27); the Chinese translation of the Mahāyāna version of

the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* 大般涅槃經, translated by Dharmarakṣa : 是身不淨九孔常流。(CBETA, T12.374.367b1). But this has no counterpart in the Pāli *Dhammapada*. In Miln., it gives as:

*Covered with moist skin, the nine-doored  
(thing), a great sore,  
Oozes evil-smelling bodily secretion all  
round.*

302 According to the Buddhist theory, there are only two great beings in the world that have these thirty-two bodily marks and eighty subsidiary characteristics of a great being. They are the fully Enlightened One and the *cakkavattin*. See also *Madhyamāgama*, 59th *Sūtra* and *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, chapter 4 and 89.

303 In NBS-A and the Pāli version, the example is elephant, not bird. In NBS-A, Nāgasena asked, “What is the cry of a elephant like?” the king replied, “The cry (lit. trumpet) is like the cry of a wild goose. But in Pāli version, the cry of an elephant is compared to the cry of a heron.

304 *jinglu* 經戒; *dharma* and *vinaya*. The Pāli

version (Miln., 76) is *upasampadā*, “ordination.”

305 *fojing* 佛經, literally means *Buddhasūtra*, Miln., 77, *dhamma*.

306 NBS-A omits “he who is not liberated.”

307 Here the Pāli version has two more dialogues; one is on the dwelling place of wisdom and the other is on *saṃsāra*.

308 Here the Pāli sentence is *kena atītaṃ cirakataṃ saratī*, Miln., 77.

309 *zhi* 志, Demieville, p. 160, translates it as thought, and gives the Pāli word as *citta*.

310 *nian* 念 can be rendered in two ways: if it is used as a verb, it means “remember”; if used as a noun, it means “mindfulness.” Demieville, p. 160, gives the Pāli word as *sati*.

311 NBS-A: *zhi* 志; NBS-B: wang 忘, “to forget,” which is an orthographic mistake.

312 Here the text is corrupted.

313 Miln., 78, says that the text is corrupt. According to Demieville, p. 160, Nāgasena distinguishes only two kinds of memories: *abhijānantī'pi mahārāja sati uppajjati. ka?umikā'pi satī' ti.*

314 The text is corrupted.

315 Here in the Miln., there are two more dialogues; one on the dwelling of wisdom and on transmigration which are absent in both NBS-A and NBS-B.

316 The Chinese word is *shi* 識 which literally means “consciousness” or “recognition,” but the Pāli text, Miln., 78, uses another word “*muddā*” which is translated by Rhys Davids as “suggestion.” QKM, p. 121. See also R. O. Franke, *Digha Nikaya*, Gottingen, 1913, p. 18 with note (he marks *muddā* “Finger-rechnen” with?). See PED published by PTS, 538, under “*muddā*” entrance.

317 Here the Pāli text uses the word *dhamma*

which can be rendered as “learning by heart.” QKM, p. 123. Rhys Davids gives a footnote on it: “*dhāranato*. The noun *dhārnaka* is only found here (where I follow the Sinhalese interpretation) and at J. II, 203 (where it means ‘debtor’ as in Sanskrit).”

318 Here the Chinese word is *dushu* 讀書 which can be translated in two ways as “reading books” here in the present work, or “learning.” But the corresponding Pāli word is *potthakanibandhana* which literally means “tying books” or “binding books.” So it is quite different from the Chinese translation.

319 Miln., 78: *Khujjuttarā*. She is the foremost of the lay women devotees, who has heard (learned) much, A. i. 26. But neither she nor Ānanda seems specially connected with the power of remembering the former “habitations.” However, A. i. 28 it is said that the Discourses in *Itivuttaka* are those that *Khujjuttarā* learned by heart from the Buddha and later repeated to *Samavatī* and her five hundred women attendants.

320 Here I keep the repetition as the original

in NBS-B in order that the reader may get a full knowledge and presentation of the Chinese text.

321 The Pāli is *kaṭumikāya sati uppajjati*. Here *ka?umikā* means the acts committed at present. See Demieville, p. 162.

322 *siwei* 思維, ordinarily translated as *cintanā*.; Miln., 78: *sabhaga-nimittato*. Demieville, p. 163, says that the Chinese text is corrupt. *Jiashi* 家室; Pāli is *mātaraṃ vā pitaraṃ*; *zongqin* 宗親; *bhātaraṃ vā bhaginiṃ*. The memory arises by association with those people.

323 This means seeing a similar kind of man or cow or horse etc., one calls to mind the man, or the cow, or the horse, etc. QKM, p. 122: “from similarity of appearance, as on seeing one kind of them we call to mind the mother or father or sister or brother or on seeing a camel or an ox or an ass, we call to mind others like them.”

324 Here NBS-A has “Just as a man who is in debt, thinks that he should repay his debt.” There is no “see the drum” in NBS-A. According to

Pachow, it should be *wu* 物, “goods,” not *gu* 鼓, “drum.”

325 Pāli: *potthaka-nibandhanato*; Miln., 80.

326 Pāli: *upanikkhepato*; Miln., 80.

327 With regard to the all-knowing of the Buddha, the *Sabba Sutta* of the *Samyuttanikāya* refers to all as “the eye and forms, the ear and sounds, the nose and odours, the tongue and tastes, the body and tactile objects, the mind and mental phenomena.” (S. IV. 15) Then in the *Paṃhamāparijānana sutta* of the same Nikāya, the Buddha further said: “Bhikkhus, without directly knowing and fully understanding the all, without developing dispassion towards it and abandoning it, one is incapable of destroying suffering.” These sutras are also found in the Chinese translations of the *Samyuktāgama*. 雜阿含經, see CBETA, T2.99.55a27-b5. So “all-knowing” does not mean that the Buddha knows everything in this world (i.e. omniscient) but everything in the world we comprehend through the five faculties.

328 *shoujingjie* 授經戒, Miln., 80: *sikkhāpadam paññāpeti*.

329 Here it is interesting to notice that one can be saved by mindfulness of the Buddha even if he has done evil deeds during life time. That means he can be saved by the power of the Buddha. This idea is precisely the idea of Pure Land Buddhism which teaches that one can be saved by the recitation of the names of the Buddhas such as Amitabha Buddha.

330 *sui you bene* 雖有本惡; Demieville, p. 166, translates it as ‘*Quoiqu’un homme ait [un karma] foncierement mauvais*’. *yishi nian fo* 一時念佛; Miln., 80: *ekam buddhagataṃsatim paṭilabheyya*; cf. S i, 211. There is a verse in *Sahassa Vagga* of Dhammapada:

*māse māse sahasseṇa yo yajetha satam samam  
ekañca bhāvitattānaṃ muhuttampi pūjaye  
sā yeva pūjanā seyyā yañce vassasataṃ hutam.*  
106

Though, month after month with a thousand, one should make an offering for a hundred years, yet, if only for a moment, one should honour (a

saint) who has perfected himself, — that honour is, indeed, better than a century of sacrifice. (trans. Narada)

331 Here the Pāli text adds “good deeds are similar to a boat” Miln., 80. According to Demieville, p. 167, this is an interpolation which is completely illogical. It shows that those who revised the Pāli version did not understand the doctrine based on which the discourse is made. Here we also find this in our Chinese texts so it could not be added by the people who revised the Pāli text. It must be there in the original text. This just suggest that the belief of the mindfulness of the Buddha was already a widely spread faith.

332 Here the questions and answers seem to have not come to an end and something is missing.

333 NBS-A: six days, Miln., 81: four months

334 Here, *li* is a Chinese measurement, one kilometer is equal to two *li*.

335 Alisan 阿荔散; Miln., 82: *Alasanda*; Greek:

Alexandria. Located in Bactria built on an island in the Indus. Horner says that DPPN takes this name (*Alasanda*) as feminine, but here it is masculine. Probably “Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus — Alasanda of the Yonas, as it is called in the *Mahāvamsa* (XXIX. 39),” See E. J. Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*. New York: Macmillan, 1922, p. 550. See W. Geiger, *The Mahāvamsa*, London: PTS, 1912, p. 194, note 3, which explains 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 Paropanisadae near Kabul. See Arrian, *Anabasis* iii. 28, iv. 22.” See *Hist.*, p. 414, for some varying views as to the identity of this *Alasanda*.

According to Demieville, the name *Alasnada* “refers to, without any doubt, Alexandria of Egypt as pointed by M. Pelliot. The Chinese version locates this explicitly in the Kashmir of India. For *Sakala* is in the kingdom of Da-qing in the territory of India. So it is permitted to suppose that the author locates the place of birth of Menander in India. But nothing like that appears. In the *Cambridge History of India*, 550, M. Rapson proposes to locates *A-li-san* in the region

of Charikar between the rivers of Panjshir and Kaboul.” Demieville, p. 168.

336 *One yojana* is equal to a league of seven miles. NBS-A says: “It is 2,000 *yojanas* which equals 80,000 *li*. But the Miln., 82, gives about 200 *yojanas*.”

337 Here the Pāli version gives as 12 *yojanas*. A *yojana* is equal to 40 *li*, and seven hundred and twenty *li* is equal to 18 *yojanas*.

338 NBS-A: this pair of questions and answers is omitted.

339 The Miln. does not list all the seven factors. *qijuezhi* 七覺支; *bodhyaṅga*. The seven ways are different than the usual *satta-bojjhaṅga*. The Pāli version just gives the names without detail. The following is a list of the *bodhyaṅgas* in different schools. 1. The *Hīnayāna* texts in Chinese and Pāli texts. 2. From the *Mahāyāna* texts in Sanskrit and Chinese. 3. From the numerical encyclopaedia compiled by Mahāyānist authors at the sixth century A.D.

I. *Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra*, NBS-B

(1) *yi* 意, “mindfulness” (*smṛti*); (2) *fenbie* 分別, “discrimination” (*vicaya*); (3) *jingjin* 精進, “exertion” (*vīrya*); (4) *ke* 可, “satisfaction,” or “joy” (*prīti*); (5) *yi* 猗, “serenity” (*praśrabdhi*); (Demieville: *appui*), (6) *ding* 定, “concentration” (*samādhi*); (7) *hu* 護, protection (*upekṣā*).

II. *Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra*, NBS-A, (T no. 1670A.702b; NBS-B. T no 1670B.717c.)

(1) *nian shanezhishi* 念善惡之事, “thinking of the good and bad” (*vicaya*); (2) *jingjin* 精進, “exertion” (*vīrya*); (3) *ledao* 樂道, “delight in the Path” (*prīti*); (4) *fuyi weishan* 伏意爲善, “controlling the mind and directing it towards good” (*praśrabdhi*); (5) *niandao* 念道, “mindfulness of the Path” (*smṛti*); (6) *yixin* 一心, “concentration” (*samādhi*); (7) *shi* 適 (NBS-B: *shishi* 適遇無所增愛), “non hatred and affection” (*upekṣā*).

III. *Chanxing sanshiqi pin jing* 禪行三十七品經, T no. 604, trans. by An Shigao.

(1) *shanfanian* 善法念, “mindfulness on the good Law” (*smṛti*); (2) *fajie* 法解, “analysis of the Dharma” (*vicaya*); (3) *jingjin* 精進, “exertion”

(*vīrya*); (4) *ai* 愛, “love” (*prīti*); (5) *zhi* 止, “fixing” (*praśrabdhi*); (6) *ding* 定, “concentration” (*samādhi*); (7) *hu* 護, “protection” (*upekṣā*).

IV. *Dīghanikāya*, Vol.III, p. 303-304: *satta bojjhaṅgāni*.

(1) *sati*; (2) *dhammavicaya*; (3) *virīya*; (4) *pīti*; (5) *passaddhi*; (6) *samādhi*; (7) *upekkhā*.

V. *Madhyamāgama* 中阿含經, T. no. 26, trans. by Saṅghadeva 僧伽提婆 in 397-398.

(1) *nian* 念, “thought” (*smṛti*); (2) *zejin* 擇進, “selection of the Dharma” (*vicaya*); (3) *jingjin* 精進, “exertion” (*vīrya*); (4) *xi* 喜, “joy” (*prīti*); (5) *xi* 息, “rest” (*praśrabdhi*); (6) *ding* 定, “concentration” (*samādhi*); (7) *she* 捨, “equanimity” (*upekṣā*).

VI. *Ekottarāgama* 增壹阿含經, T no. 125, trans. by Dharmanandin in 384-385, second translation by Saṅghadeva.

(1) *nian* 念, “mindfulness” (*smṛti*); (2) *rulai zhi suoshuofa* 如來之所說法, “the Dhamra preached by the *Tathāgata*” (*vicaya*); (3) *jingjin* 精進, “exertion” (*vīrya*); (4) *xi* 喜, “joy” (*prīti*); (5) *qi* 倚, “rest” (*praśrabdhi*); (6) *ding* 定, “concentration”

(*samādhi*); (7) *hu* 護, “protection” (*upekṣā*).

VII. *Lalitavistara*, Lotus, 796: *sapta bodhyāṅgāni*  
(the same list as in *Mahāvīyutpatti* XLIII)

(1) *smṛti*; (2) *dharmapracaya*; (3) *vīrya*; (4) *prīti*;  
(5) *praśrabdhi*; (6) *samādhi*; (7) *upekṣā*.

VIII. *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra* 瑜伽師地論, T no.  
1579, trans. by Xuanzang 玄奘 in 646-8: *qijue zhi*  
七覺知, “seven branches of awakening”

(1) *zefa* 擇法, “selection of Dharma” (*vicaya*); (2)  
*jingjin* 精進, “exertion” (*vīrya*); (3) *xi* 喜, “joy”  
(*prīti*); (4) *an* 安, “peace” or “ease” (*praśrabdhi*);  
(5) *ding* 定, “concentration” (*samādhi*); (6) *she* 捨,  
“equanimity” (*upekṣā*); (7) *nian* 念, “mindfulness”  
(*smṛti*).

IX. *Fajie cidi chumen* 法界次第初門, T no. 1925,  
trans. by Zhiyi (538-598); (the same order as in  
*Daming sanzang fashu* 大明三藏法數 and *Fanyi  
mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集).

(1) *zefa* 擇法, “selection of Dharma” (*vicaya*); (2)  
*jingjin* 精進, “exertion” (*vīrya*); (3) *xi* 喜, “joy”  
(*prīti*); (4) *chu* 除, “ease” (*praśrabdhi*); (5) *she* 捨,  
“equanimity” (*upekṣā*); (6) *ding* 定, “concentration”

(*samādhi*); (7) *ding* 念, “mindfulness” (*smṛti*).

We can see that the first list given in NBS-B follows the order of the *Hīnayāna* list reproduced with the exception of *vicaya*, as in the terminology of *Ekottarāgama* translated in the Eastern Jin. Therefore Demieville comes to the conclusion that this list which is missing in NBS-A and in the Pāli text is an interpolation in NBS-B. The translation of the second list on the contrary appears to be close to the original. We can note that the order is close to *Mahāyāna* lists where *vicāra* appears as first. But according to the present passage *vicāra* consists in discerning or differentiating the good from the evil. In the *Mahāyāna* scholarship, on the other hands, it differentiates the unreal from the real, the real *dharmas* from the illusory *dharmas*. See also Demieville, p. 169.

340 *fu* 福, “merit”; *puñña*; *yin* 殃, “demerit”; *apuñña*; Miln., 84.

341 In MQ, Horner says: “Ninety one eons appears in the Pāli 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 Ja I, 390 says that 91 eons ago the *Bodhisatta* went forth as a Naked Ascetic — almost certainly the one the Buddha refers to as M I, 483 as gaining heaven. See also S iv, 324.”

342 Miln. 84, *jānanto*, *ajānanto*. The Chinese *zhizhe* 智者 “endowed with *prajñā*” and *yuzhe* 愚者 (NBS-A: *yuren* 愚人): *bāla*, *avidyā*. According to the Chinese text, the question is not of who does evil consciously or unconsciously, but it is concerned with the evil-doers who are endowed with knowledge and the evil-doers who are ignorant. That is to say those who are instructed in the Buddhist doctrine and those who are not. The sages would know how to repent their evil deeds, but the ignorant ones have no means to diminish their evil deeds. That is why their evil is of a worse kind. Demieville considered this interpretation is clearer to the Buddhist ideas, and is preferable to that suggested in the abridged Pāli version. In fact it would be quite against the spirit of Buddhism to consider the unconscious evil-doer’s evil to be greater than the evil which is done consciously.

And Vasubandhu repudiates rightly this opinion as given in the heretical teaching of Nirgrantha, that is to say the Jaina (*Abhidharmakośa*, translated by Paramārtha, TT. XXIII, 1, 69b; second translation by Xuanzang, TT. XXII. 10, 49a-b). See also Demieville, p. 173.

343 NBS-A: Yudanyue 鬱單越; NBS-B: Yudanyue 鬱單曰, *Uttaravatī*. According to DPPN, II. 355, *Uttarakuru* is a name of a country often mentioned in *Nikāyas* and later literature as a mythical region. A detailed description of it is given in the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* of D i, 199, where *Uttarakuru* is spoken of as a city (*pura*). See also “*Uttarakuru*” in E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Biblio and Tannen, 1969, esp. p. 186. The men who live in that country own no property nor have wives of their own, and they do not have to work for their living. The corn ripens by itself and sweet-scented rice is found boiling on hot oven-stoves. The inhabitants go about riding on cows, on men and women, on maids and youths. Their king rides on an elephant, horse, celestial cars and state palanquins. Their cities are built in the air. This mythical region is also found in *Mahāyāna*

Buddhism, *Dīrghāgama*, where it is described as one of the four continents (the four continentals are *Pūrva-videha*, *Apara-godānīya*, *Jambudvīpa* and *Uttarakuru*).

The country is always spoken of as being to the north of Jambudvīpa. It is eight thousand leagues in extent and is surrounded by the sea (D ii, 623). Sometimes it is spoken of as one of the four *Mahādīpa* (the others are *Aparagoyana*, *Pubbavedeha* and *Jambudīpa*) each being surrounded by five hundred minor islands. These four make up a *cakkavala*, with Mount Meru in their midst, a flat-world system. A *cakkavatti*'s rule extends over all these four continents (D.N. ii, 173), and his chief queen comes either from the race of king *Madda* or from *Uttarakuru*; in the latter case, she appears before him of her own accord, urged on by her own virtue.

Several instances are given of the Buddha having gone to *Uttarakuru* for alms (A ii, 396). *Pacceka Buddhas* and various ascetics are mentioned as having visited *Uttarakuru* on their begging round (A v, 316).

344 *Zhang* 丈 is a Chinese measurement, one

*zhang* is equal to 3.33 meters.

345 Here the Pāli text gives as 100 leagues.

346 We do not know what kind of fish *zhi* 質 would be. Since it is so large and as long as 28000 *li*, it probably is whale.

347 Here the Pāli version gives it as 500 leagues.

348 In the Chinese text this phrase does not appear, but the next question is irrelevant to the previous passage, so here should end the question.

349 *zhi* 志, Demieville, p. 174, translates it as “esprit” (mind) and in his footnote 6, he gives the Pāli term as “manas.” Miln., 85: *kākacchamāno*.

350 This passage is corrupt. The meaning is not clear.

351 Here the Chinese word is *renshen* 人神 which is very difficult to translate, it can also be rendered as “mind,” “life principle” or “spirit,” etc. Demieville, p. 176, translates it as “La conscience

de l'homme" ("the conscience of man"). Miln., 86: *viññāṇa*. Horner also translates it as consciousness, MQ, p. 120.

352 *zhi* 智; Miln., 86: *paññā*.

353 *ziran* 自然; Miln., 86: *bhūtaśmim jīvo*, translated as *prakṛti* or *svabhāva*; see *Mahāvīyūtpatti*. We are concerned, according to the Chinese version, with the existence of the non-conditioned by the previous causes. The entire negation is an object of the same work. We know that the *Sāṅkhya* system proposes a metaphysical principle at the beginning of all existence which is permanent and unconditioned, that is *prakṛti*. See also Demieville, p. 176.

354 *jue* 覺; Miln., 86.: *vijānana*. Demieville, p. 176), translates it as "perception."

355 *xiaodao* 曉道; *ibid*: *pajānanā*.

356 *wuyouren* 無有人; *ibid*: *bhūtaśmim jīvo va upalabbhati*.

357 *suonianshi* 所念事 means “what is deliberated by mind,” such as thoughts and ideas. The corresponding word in Miln. is *cetanā* as pointed by Demieville, p. 177.

358 *shenshi* 神事; *viññāṇa*? Concerning the all-knowing of the Buddha,

359 *xinnian* 心念, Demieville, p. 177, gives the Pāli word as *ārammaṇa*?

360 This passage has a very subtle meaning. The text says literally: “From the thought of the heart, we get into that which is seen by the eye. From the thought of the heart, we get into that which is heard by the ear...” Demieville explains that this could be translated as “Due to the fact that the mind thinks, we are able to see with our eyes. Due to the fact that the mind thinks, we are able to hear with our ears...” So the object of the sensation or sensation itself would depend only on thought and would result from it. But this conception which is fully idealistic would be contrary to the doctrine as exposed in the whole of *Milindapañha*, and in particular in the present passage. The doctrine,

according to which, thought, conscious and the soul are essentially complex and compose. The Pāli version is revised as follows, (Miln., p. 87): “The fixing of those mental conditions (*dharmas*) which depend on one organ of sense (*ārammaṇa*), telling us that such is contact, and such sensation, and such idea, and such intention, and such thought.” (QKM, p. 133). The *ārammaṇa* can refer either to six objects of the senses, form, sound, smell, etc... or to the thought in general. According to the Chinese version, the first meaning should be adopted here. See also Demieville, p. 178.

361 *diezhong* 疊中; Miln., 87: *cattāri paṭākāni āṇattāni*. Rhys Davids translates: “The four banners are ordered.” See also Demieville, p. 178.





## APPENDIX



The subtitles of each dialogue as well as in Part I of the secular narratives in the *Nāgasena Bhkṣu Sūtra* are my insertions while the subtitles in the *Milindapañha* are added with reference to both W. Pachow's Chinese and Finot's French translations of the Pali text.

Comparison of contents of the *Nāgasena Bhkṣu Sūtra* Version B and the first three books of the *Milindapañha*.

	Nāgasena Bhkṣu Sūtra Version B	Milindapañha
<b>Part I: The Secular Narrative</b>		
1	Introduction	
2	Nāgasena's Previous Life as an Elephant-king	2. Previous Births of Milinda and Nāgasena
3	The Elephant-king's Listening to the <i>Sūtra</i> -recitation	
4	Relation Between Nāgasena and Menander in Their Previous Lives	
5	The Births of Nāgasena and Menander According to Their Vows in Previous Lives	4. Birth Story of Nāgasena (long story)
6	Nāgasena's Admission into the Sangha	5. His Admission as a Novice into the Order

7	His Conversion	6. His Conversion
8	His Attainment of Arahathood	7. His Attainment of Arahathship
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14	Menander's Invitation to Nâgasena	10. Milinda Goes to Him

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9	Aspiration of Faith	
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20	Different Kinds of Feelings (Here NBS explains in detail the six kinds of feelings which is not found in Pali version)	20. Three Characteristics of Sensation
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