

MILINDAPAÑHA  
AND  
NÀGASENABHIKSHUSÙTRA  
(A COMPARATIVE STUDY)

(Through Pàli and Chinese sources)

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## FOREWORD

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The title *Milindapañha*, a combination of foreign and Pāli word, indicates that the treatise was primarily meant for the people, who were cognizant of, or associated with the name of King Menander. Many of them were evidently non-Indians, who had a critical mind and were not inclined to accept, out of veneration for the great Teacher, all the views and sayings attributed to Him.

The first problem discussed in the text is one of the most controversial doctrines of the Buddhists. In this, the question of relation through Kamma between one existence and another of a being was taken up. It may be mentioned here that this is also the first problem taken up in the *Kathāvatthu*, an Abhidhamma text (*Puggalo upalabbhati*).

The Buddhists were the only school of thought to advocate the transference of Kammic effects from one existence to another without admitting the existence and/or transmigration of a Soul (*puggala*).

In the Pre-Christian eras, logic was in its elementary stage and so, most of such tough problems were solved with the aid of similes and not by logical arguments. The similes were also of the popular type, and were very likely meant not for the intelligentsia but for the common people among whom there must have been many Indo-Greeks and Indo-Bactrians.

The arguments found in the *Kathāvatthu*, which is a much

earlier text than the Milinda-pañha, is of a higher order. The latter, though written in a popular style, with similes of everyday life, offers a clear exposition of the fundamentals of the Buddhist doctrines, disciplinary rules and moral teachings.

As early as 1860, the learned editor of the Milindapañha, V. Trenckner, assigned the text to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. and came to the conclusion on the basis of the use of the phrase "*Tam yathà nusūyata*" instead of the usual Pāli words "*Evam me sutam*" that the original text was in Sanskrit and was composed in N.India, where King Menander had his dominion, and that it could have no connection with Ceylon.

This view, I think, still holds good notwithstanding the tradition that Gunabhadra (393-468) carried with him a copy of this text to China from Ceylon, as referred to by Prof. Demieville (vide BEFEO. XXIV. 1924). There are eleven versions of this text in Chinese, the translations having been made from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. (1) The Chinese translated the Sanskrit Tripitaka, mostly found in N. India and Central Asia, which were the centres of the Sarvastivadins and the Dharmaguptas, who compiled the Tripitaka in Semi-Sanskrit.

In fact, there are no Chinese translations of the Pāli text except perhaps the *Samantapāsādikā*, and the *Vimuttimaggā*, about the exact relation of which to the *Visuddhimaggā* of Buddhaghosa has not yet been ascertained.

On a comparison of the available text of the Sanskrit Tripitaka with their Pāli counterparts and Chinese translation, it appears that there was a considerable difference between the Sanskrit and the Pāli versions while there was close agreement between the Sanskrit texts and Chinese translations. Hence, it cannot be expected that the Chinese versions of the Milindapañha would faithfully correspond to the Pāli version. The present editor Dr. Thich Minh Chau has amply corroborated this fact by his close examination of the Pāli and

Chinese versions of the Milindapañha as also of other Sutras of the Nikāyas.

In Chinese translation are available only the first three parts of the Milindapañha. According to the opinions of Dr. Thich Minh Chau as also of the Japanese and European scholars, these three chapters formed the original, and the other portions are later accretions from century to century as was the practice with the Indian authors and commentators of the early days. It is very likely that the Chinese translation followed the Sanskrit original closely.

In BEFEO (XXIV), Prof. Demieville briefly compared the introductory chapters and surveyed the contents of the Pāli and Chinese versions and translated the Chinese version into French. He made critical study of Menandre, Sākala, Nāgasena as an arhat, a schismatic and author of the Trikāyasāstra, etc.

In the present work, the author filled up the gap left by Prof. Demieville. He compared the Pāli and Chinese versions line by line and pointed out the marked differences between the two versions exhaustively.

He mentioned incidentally that there was a difference in approach to the Buddhist texts by the Indian and Chinese thinkers and writers. On a close comparative study of the two versions, he arrived at the conclusion that the present available Pāli text is an enlarged version of an earlier Pāli text, which was a translation of the original text, and the latter actually formed the basis of the Chinese versions, and that the remaining four parts of Trenckner's edition were added later by the compilers of the Pāli text.

In the chapter on "*Probe into the anteriority and fidelity of the Pāli and Chinese versions*", he adduced forceful arguments, which had a value of their own.

The author has dealt with the following topics :

- (i) Previous lives of Nàgasena and Millinda;
- (ii) Doctrines mentioned in the text; and
- (iii) Similes, citations and gāthàs.

The author, a monk of Vietnam, mastered both Pàli and Chinese languages and gave finishing touch to his knowledge of Pàli at the Nàlandà Pàli Institute. Being well-versed in the two languages, he could compare the two versions in original, problem by problem, and point out their agreements and differences. His findings, therefore, are very valuable.

His presentation of the materials is clear and impressive. By this work, he has rendered a distinct service to the cause of Buddhistic studies, in which the present day scholars are getting more and more interested. I hope he will carry on such further comparative studies of Pàli and Chinese texts, and open up a new vista in our knowledge of the history of Buddhism in Asia.

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PART I  
INTRODUCTION

**Previous works on the subject :**

The Pāli *Milindapañho* and its Chinese counterpart, *Nahsien-pi-ch'iu-ching* have enjoyed much popularity among Western and Eastern Scholars, and numerous are the translations of the two above texts into various languages, some of these translations are mentioned below :

1. Louis Finot : *Les Questions de Milinda*, Paris 1923 (French translation of Book I-III).
2. Rhys Davids : *The questions of King Milinda* (English translation 1925)
3. Nyānatiloka : *Fragen des Milinda*, Munchen 1919 (Complete German translation).
4. F. Otto Schrader : *Die Fragen des Konigo Menandros*, Berlin 1905 (German translation of the portions held to be original by the translator).
5. Specht and Levi : *Deux traductions chinoises de Milindapañho* : Oriental Congress IX, London, 1892, Vol.I, p.518ff.
6. Sogen Yamagami : *Sūtra on Questions of King Milinda* (Japanese translation from the Chinese text).
7. Sei Syu Kanamoli : *Questions of King Milinda* (Japanese translation from the Pāli text).
8. Paul Demieville : *Les versions Chinoises du*

Milindapañha, BEFEO, Vol.XXIV, 1924.

Dissertations on the 2 Pāli and Chinese texts, and comparative studies of them have captured the attention of many learned Pandits. Some of these dissertations and comparative studies are cited below:

1. Garbe : Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte Belin, 1903.
2. Mrs Rhys Davids : The Milinda Question, London 1930.
3. Rhys Davids : Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol.VIII,p.631ff., article on "Milindapañho"
4. Taisho edition of the C Tripitaka edited by Takakusu and Watanabe, Vol.32, No.1670 (a&b).
5. Winternitz : History of Indian Literature, Vol.II, pp.174-183.
6. Siegfried Behrsing, Beitrage zu einer, Milinda Bibliographie, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VII, 3. pp.516ff.
7. B. C. Law : A history of Pāli Literature Vol. II, pp. 353-72.
8. J. Takakusu : Chinese Translations of the Milindapañha JRAS, 1896.
9. Dr. Kogen Mizuno : On the Recensions of Milindapañho.

#### **Aims and structure of the present work :**

But unfortunately, most of the above work, such as those in German, French and Japanese, are not easily available to the scholars and students of Buddhist literature in India. My present work is an attempt to fill this lacuna, and present a fresh and systematic comparative study of the P and of the C texts. It gives an exhaustive and detailed study of the two texts, and places side by side all the corresponding C and P passages, at

the same time taking notes of all similarities and dissimilarities between the two versions. Thus the readers have all the data before them and will be able to formulate their own conclusion, if such is their desire. In addition to this, my work is also a probe into the anteriority of the P and the C texts, by making use of the conclusions in some of my predecessors' works which (unfortunately not many) are at my disposal, and also by quoting all internal and external evidences available so as to prove my standpoint and conclusion upon this problem. Up to now, we can affirm with certainty that the original of the Chinese text is earlier than the Pāli text, as proved in the chapter : "*A probe into the anteriority and fidelity of the P and the C versions.*" (See infra p.24-35).

#### Texts adopted :

Here I have selected the Milindapañho, the Pāli text edited by V. Trenckner to use in my comparative study. For the C text, I have to adopt the Japanese Hsu ts'ang edition, case Ts'ang as it is handy and the T'ai sho edition is not available at Nālanda. I wish that the Nālandā authorities would remedy this deplorable lacuna, because the T'ai sho edition has been widely used by scholars all over the world; and references to another edition, as I have done in this work, are not much welcomed by scholars in general.

The C Na-hsien-pi-ch'iu-ching has two texts, one of two volumes, mentioned in my work as K. E. (Korean Edition), and the other of three volumes. I have opted for the three-volume one, as the former text is too much corrupted, with 17 dialogues missing<sup>25</sup>, and with the order of some dialogues altered although in some passages, it stands closer to the P version. But in my comparative study, all the main differences between the two

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<sup>25</sup> from Dialogue No. 14 to Dialogue No. 30, according to R.M.P. p. 25-26.



Chinese texts are quoted so as to enlighten the readers of any great differences between the two versions.

### **Acknowledgement :**

When I had finished the comparative study of the P Milindapañho with the C Na-hsien-pi-ch'iu-ching, but not yet the introduction, I received the Japanese book "On the Recensions of Milindapañho" by Dr. Kogen Mizuno, sent to me by a Japanese scholar, Mr. Egaku Malda.

Mr. Nagasaki, a Japanese scholar of the Nava Nàlandà Mahāvihāra was kind enough to translate this book into English for me, and I am quite happy to find that Mr. Kogen Mizuno's conclusions quite tally with my own, and what is more gratifying, he has brought out some new and convincing proofs as to the anteriority of the two texts.

So in recognition of his competent scholarship, I have quoted some of his findings in my work to support my view, at the same time, I try to bring some portions of this valuable work to the notice of the readers at large.

My heartfelt thanks are hereby conveyed to the three above Japanese scholars, who have contributed much to the improvement of my present work. I am much indebted to Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt, former Head of the Pāli Department, Calcutta University, who has been kind enough to write a foreword to this work, thus enhancing its prestige and quality by his enlightened scholarship.

My thanks go out also to Prof. P. V. Bapat of Poona who has gone through my work with the conscientiousness of a seasoned scholar and has offered many valuable suggestions and rectifications. His knowledge of both the Pāli and the Chinese languages is really a precious asset that commands respect and makes his advice highly valuable.

As always, the Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra with its peaceful atmosphere and its rich library offers me a veritable sanctuary where I can devote all my time to research works and studies, undisturbed and unhindered. May its Director, its staff and its inmates receive here the expressions of my thanks.

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## CONTENTS

FOREWORD

PART ONE.

INTRODUCTION

I. Points in Common in the P and the C versions

II. Points of difference

(A) Titles :

(B) Plan of the work :

(C) Dialogues

(D) Previous lives of Nāgasena and Milinda

(E) Differences in details

(F) Differences in doctrines :

1. Abhidhamma
2. 37 Bodhipakkhiyas
3. Patīccasamuppāda
4. Vedanā
5. 3 Lakkhaṇāni
6. 7 kinds of wisdom
7. Yoniso manasikāro and Paññā
8. Nibbāna
9. Saddhā or faith
10. High ordination and wisdom
11. Sati
12. Viññāṇam, Paññā, Jīva

(G) Similes

(H) Gāthā and quotations

III. Schools to which the P and the C versions belong

IV. A probe into the Anteriority and Fidelity of the  
P and the C versions

## PART TWO

Comparative study of the P and C text passages  
by passages (see pages 2,3,4,5)

### BOOK I : BÀHIRAKATHÀ OR INTRODUCTORY SECTION

- A. Opening of the Text
- B. Previous lives of Na-t sien and Mi-lan
- C. Description of Sàgala
- D. Milinda
- E. Meeting of Ayupala with Milinda
- F. Meeting between Nàgasena and Milinda

### BOOK II : LAKKHANA PAÑHA

#### A. Chapter 1

1. Questions about a name
2. Seven years of ordination
3. Ways of discussion
4. Invitation to come again for discussion
5. Talk between Anantakàya and Nàgasena
6. Another meeting between Nàgasena and Milinda
7. Aim of adopting a religious life
8. About Rebirth
9. Other good qualities
  - a. Other six qualities
  - b. Faith
  - c. C : Filial piety = P : Sila
  - d. Exertion
  - e. Mindfulness
  - f. Concentration
  - g. Wisdom
  - h. The Meritorious Dharmas.

## B. Chapter 2.

1. Does the person who is reborn remain the same ?
2. Is the person freed from rebirth aware of this ?
3. Intelligence and wisdom.
4. Feeling suffered by the emancipated one
5. Different kinds of feelings
6. What is reborn ?
7. Is Nāgasena reborn ?
8. Name and form are not reborn separately.
9. Time that exists and time that does not exist

## C. BOOK II Chapter 3a

1. The root of the past, future and present.
2. Birth and Death have no end.
3. The root cause of birth and death cannot be obtained
4. The positive and negative aspects of the Law of Dependent Origination.
5. Everything is originated from one causes
6. Is there an individuality or a soul ?
7. Eye consciousness and mind consciousness
8. Contact
9. Feeling
10. Perception
11. Volition
12. Consciousness and Initial thought
13. Sustained Thought

## D. Chapter 3b

1. No possibility of distinguishing the Dhammas
2. Can Salt be weighed ?

## BOOK III :

### E. Chapter 4

1. The five knowledges are produced by various actions.
2. Different kinds of actions lead to different types of people.
3. Good deeds should be done in the past.
4. Fire in Hell is far hotter than ordinary fire.
5. Wind element supports water element.
6. A definition of Nibbàna.
7. Do all Dharma-learners obtain Nirvāna ?
8. Nirvāna is happiness

#### F. Chapter 5

1. The Buddha exists.
2. The Buddha is incomparable.
3. The Buddha's incomparability is known through his teachings.
4. The teachings of the Buddha should be practised for life.
5. Rebirth without transmigration.
6. Good and bad actions follow the doer.
7. Good and bad action cannot be pointed out.
8. One who is reborn knows that he will be reborn.
9. The Buddha after Parinibbàna cannot be pointed out.

#### G. Chapter 6

1. Religious ones do not love their body.
2. The Buddha is omniscient.
3. The 32 marks of the Blessed One.
4. Is the Buddha a disciple of the Brahmā ?
5. The Buddha has no teacher.
6. Two kinds of tears.
7. The man with passion and the man without passion.

8. Where does wisdom dwell ?
9. The meaning of transmigration.
10. Memory and mind.
11. Learning and Memory

#### H. Chapter 7.

1. Memory springs up in 16 ways.
2. Power of one thought of the Buddha.
3. To remove suffering in the future.
4. How far is the Brahmà world ?
5. The speed taken by a living being in his rebirth
6. Seven kinds of wisdom.
7. Merit is greater than Demerit.
8. To do evil without knowing, and to do evil knowingly.
9. Power of travelling.
10. Very long bones.
11. Stop breathing.
12. The Ocean.
13. Saltiness.
14. Power of wisdom.
15. There is no spirit in body.
16. Very difficult is the work done by the Buddha.

#### CONCLUSION

#### PART THREE

#### APPENDIX

Some remarks on the Chinese Translation

## ABBREVIATIONS

- B. E. F. E. O* : Bulletin d' Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient.
- C.* : Chinese. Chinese text.
- Dial* : Dialogue
- G. B. I.* : The Greeks in Bactria and in India.
- K. E.* : Korean edition.
- L. T.* : Later translation.
- N. Edition* : Nàlandà edition.
- P.* : Pàli. Pàli text.
- P. M. P.* : Pàli Milindapañha.
- Q. K. M.* : The Question of King Milinda.
- R. M. P.* : On the Recensions of Milindapañha by Dr. Kogen Mizuno
- S.* : Siamese.
- S. M. P.* : Siamese Milindapañha
- For reference P* : 60b, 6-10, means Chinese text, page 60b, lines 6 to 10.
- C* : 87, 21-26; 88; 89, 1-16, means Pàli text p.87, from line 25 to line 26; the whole page 88; page 89 from line 1 to line 16.



## I. POINTS IN COMMON IN THE P AND THE C VERSIONS

A comparative study of the P *Milindapañha* and the C *Na-hsien-pi-ch'iu ching* shows clearly that both versions derive from the same source as they have many points in common between them.

Except for the accounts of the previous lives of Milinda and Nàgasena, where divergences abound and the last four books of the P text, which are not available in the C version, the remaining passages can be said to be similar, barring some additions and omissions here and there; the trend of the dialogues is almost identical, the dialogues veer round the same theme, with unimportant divergences scattered unevenly.

Even in the widely divergent accounts of the previous lives of Nàgasena and Milinda, seven points of similarities between the two versions are listed below, thus showing unmistakably the same source from which the respective compilers drew their inspirations.

1. In the Pàli, the novice and the monk both made vows and they were later born as King Milinda and monk Nàgasena in accordance with their vows. In the Chinese, the Bràhmana who was an elephant in his previous life and the Bràhmana who was a hermit and friend of the first Bràhmana made each a vow and both were born as Na-hsien and Mi-lan, in conformity with their aspirations.

2. The P mentions Nàgasena's birth as a son in a Bràhmana family. He was taught the three Vedas and

Brahmanical knowledge and did not know the Dhamma and the monks.

In the C, the elephant was reborn also as the son of Brāhmana family and when he grew up, he did not hear the Buddha-Dharma and did not see the monks. Afterwards, he left the world and studied heretical doctrines.

3. The P mentions Ven. Rohana who was taken to task by Ven. Assagutta for being absent when the whole company went to request God Mahāsena to be born in the world.

Ven. Assagutta assigned to him the duties of going to Nāgasena's parents' house to beg for alms for seven years and a half and to draw Nāgasena away from the household life and to ordain him.

In the C text Na-hsien had an uncle called Lou-han, an Arahant who ordained Na-hsien and gave the ten precepts. Lou-han can be identified with Rohaṇa.

4. The P mentions Arahant Assagutta who dwelt at Vattaniya hermitage and under whom, Nāgasena passed three months of the rainy season. The C speaks of a Buddhist temple called Ho-ch'an in which dwelt 500 Arahant monks having for leader Ven. O-po-yueh, whose temple Na-hsien resorted to. Thus Vattaniya hermitage can be equated with Ho-ch'an Buddhist temple and Arahant Assagutta with Arahant O-po-yueh.

5. In the P, Nāgasena preached the Abhidhamma to the lady-disciple and both the preacher and the listener attained the Sotapatti stage to the great joy of Assagutta who said that Nāgasena had hit two quarries with an arrow-shot.

In the C, Na-hsien preached the Dharma to a layman devotee and both also attained the stage of stream-winner and Na-hsien was praised by Ven. O-po-yueh as having hit two targets with one arrow-shot.

6. In the P, Ven. Dhammarakkhita blamed Nàgasena on his failure to attain Arahantship. On that very night, Nàgasena strove hard and attained Arahantship. In the C, Na-hsien was expelled from the Sangha owing to his disobedience to his teacher's order, and out of repentance he strove hard and attained arahantship.

7. In the P, after his attainment of Arahantship, Nàgasena went to the city of Sàgala and stayed at Sankheyya hermitage to challenge King Milinda; in the C, Na-hsien came to the country of She-chieh and stayed at Hsieh-chih (or ti)-chia temple to challenge King Mi-lan.

From the above seven points of similarities, we might come to the conclusion that although so many details differ, both versions derive from the same source of documentation and have a common background, that is the original of the C and the P translations.

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## II POINTS OF DIFFERENCE

But the points of difference are far more interesting and important as they show the trend in the mind of the compilers, the objectives they are aiming at in these accretions and omissions, thereby helping to detect the sects they belong to and serve as a probe into the question of anteriority and nearness to the original of each version.

### A. TITLES

*C* : *Na-hsien-pi-ch'iu-ching: Na-hsienbhikshusùtra*

*P* : *Milindapanho : The Questions of Milinda.*

Thus the C classifies this text as one among the sùtras, although it does not begin with the traditional "*Evam me sutam*". Here the C selects the name of the monk to be the title of the text, while the P prefers that of the king.

### B. PLAN OF THE WORK :

The C text comprises three books, the first book from page 52a to p.57a, the second from p.57a to p.61b; the third book from p.61b to p.64b, without any headings, endings and divisions into paragraphs, except at the end and at the beginning of a book.

The P text is divided into seven parts :

Part 1: Bâhirakathâ or introduction with the account of the previous lives of Nâgasena and Milinda, from p. 1 to p. 24.

Part 2: comprises Lakkhanapañha from p. 25 to p. 64.

Part 3: Vimaticchedanapañha from p.65 to p.89

Part 4: Mendakapañha from p.90 to p. 328.

Part 5: Anumànapañha from p. 329 to p. 347.

Part 6: Dhutangapañha from p.348 to p. 362

Part7: Opammakathapañha and Milinda's Arahantship from p.362 to p.420

Thus the C version omits Parts 4 to 7 of the Pàli Version.

## C. DIALOGUES

### (a) Number :

According to the ingenious chart drawn by Dr. Kogen Mizuno<sup>26</sup>, the C has only 69 dialogues while the P adds 12 dialogues more in its own version :

1. Dial. No. 3 (P.M.P.,p.32) on Manasikàro which is considered as one of the factors leading to emancipation.
2. Dial. No. 18: (P.M.,p.48), in which conditions for not being reborn are enumerated.
3. Dial. No.23: (P.M.P.,p.50), on the impossibility of knowing the beginning in the past.
4. Dial. No. 25: (P.M.P.,p.52) on the rise of sankhàra not without conditions.
5. Dial. No. 32: (P.M.P.,p62) on the characteristic of viññānam.
6. Dial No. 34: (PMP.,p.62) on the characteristic of vicàra.
7. Dial. No. 48: (P.M.P.,p.71), on Dhammas seen by Nàgasena.
8. Dial. No. 51: (P.M.P., p.72) on the absence of any being transmigrating from one body to the other.

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<sup>26</sup> R. M. P. p.23-28

9. Dial. No. 62: (P.M.P.,p.77), on the dwelling place of Pañña.

10. Dial. No. 63: (P.M.P., p.77), on the meaning of transmigration.

11. Dial. No. 65: (P,M.P., p.78), on the rise of Sati either by abhijànantà or by katumikà.

*(b) Order of the Dialogues :*

The Order of the dialogues can be said to be identical, except in two instances : 1) The C places *faith* before *precepts*, while the P puts *Sila* before *addha*.<sup>27</sup> Again, the dialogue on *the omniscience of the Buddha* is placed farther in the P version.

#### D. PREVIOUS LIVES OF NÀGASENA AND MILINDA

*(a) Divergences :*

The account of the previous lives of Nàgasena and Milinda are totally different in both versions, as testified by the following divergences :

1. The P places the story in the time of Kassapa Buddha and refers to a novice who was heedless of the order given three times by a monk, and received a blow of the broom-stick from the latter. The novice, while crying and performing his duties, made his first aspiration to become powerful and glorious like a midday sun.

Again, when he saw the mighty waves of the Ganges bellowing and rushing forth, he made a second aspiration to be able to carry away all the debates like the billows of the Ganges. Due to these aspirations, the novice was reborn as Milinda, King of Sàgala in India.

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<sup>27</sup> R. M. P. p. 33-35

The monk, when going down to the river to take bath and on hearing the novice's aspiration, also made a wish to be able to unravel and solve any puzzles asked by this young novice. Due to this aspiration, the monk was later born as Nāgasena.

The C is totally different here. It traces the past up to the time of the present Buddha only, not up to Kassapa Buddha. It refers to the episode of the Buddha when he was tired by the affluence of his listeners and retired to a secluded place. There he was followed by an elephant-king who also wanted to flee away from the disturbances of his herd.

The Buddha, knowing the elephant's mind, preached the Dharma to him and the elephant attended upon the Buddha, sweeping, watering and trampling down the path on which the Enlightened One used to take his walk.

Later the elephant died and was born as the son of a Brāhmana family who, when grown up, left his family, studied heretical doctrines and stayed in the forest. Near by lived a hermit and both became well acquainted. One of them made a vow to become a recluse and strive after Arahantship and he was reborn as Na-hsien. The other man made a vow to become a king and make all people follow his teachings and he was reborn as King Mi-lan.

2. In the P, there is a protracted passage which refers to the innumerable company of Arahants asking God Mahāsena to be born into the world so as to defeat King Milinda and protect the Dhamma, Mahāsena's rebirth as Nāgasena in Brahmana Sonuttara's family, his study of Vedic and Brahmanical lores, Ven. Rohana's assignment to initiate Nāgasena into the religious life and into the Dhamma, Rohana's begging for alms for seven years and ten months, his meeting with Nāgasena, his ordaining Nāgasena as a novice and his teaching the Abhidhamma to Nāgasena.

In the C, it mentions simply that Na-hsien, at the age of 14 or 15, had a paternal uncle named Lou-han who was an Arahant and possessor of psychic powers. Na-hsien came to see him, told him of his delight in the Buddha doctrine and begged for ordination. Lou-han pitied Na-hsien and ordained him as a sâmaṇera.

Na-hsien daily recited the doctrine, pondered over the Dharma and Vinaya, attained the four dhyânas and grasped the essence of the doctrine. Here there is no mention of teaching first the Abhidharma to Nâgasena.

3. In the P, Nâgasena preached to the lady-devotee the deep Abhidhamma and the doctrine related to emptiness (suññatâ), while in the C, Na-hsien preached to a layman-disciple first about charity, morality, heaven. Then when he found that the layman was glad at heart, he preached to him the deeper Dharma, that all impermanent Dharmas were liable to suffering. Here also, there is no mention of Abhidharma.

*(b) Passages missing in either version :*

In either version, there are certain passages and details missing :

*Not available in the C text :*

1. The monk and the novice were born and reborn in countless existences as gods and men between Buddha Kassapa and Buddha Gotama and the latter had predicted about them as he had predicted about Moggaliputta Tissa, that 500 years after the Buddha's Parinibbâna, these two would appear in the world, propound the Dhamma and help disentangling knotty points of the doctrine.

2. The P refers to the six heretical teachers and the conversation of King Milinda with Pûraṇa Kassapa and Makkhali Gosâla, whose replies did not satisfy the king and



made him proclaim that all Jambudīpa was empty of recluses and Brāhmaṇas capable of holding discussion with him.

3. The C text is also silent about the episode beginning with the company of Arahants begging God Mahāsena to be born in the world so as to challenge King Milinda and protect the doctrine, and also about the episode in which Ven. Rohaṇa is described to have gone for seven years and ten months to Brāhmaṇa Soṇuttara's house and to have taught the Abhidhamma.

4. Five times the P mentions the Abhidhamma, first in the introductory gāthā where Nāgasena was mentioned as an expert in Abhidhamma, secondly when Rohaṇa taught Nāgasena the seven books on Abhidhamma from Dhammasaṅgaṇi up to Paṭṭhāna, thirdly when Nāgasena recited to the company of Arahants the seven Abhidhamma texts in full, to the thunderous applause of Brahmā God and the shower of Mandārava flowers. Again Nāgasena preached the Abhidhamma to the lady-devotee and both attained the Sotapatti stage. Last of all, Nāgasena on his way to Pāṭaliputta expounded the Abhidhamma to the merchant who played the host to him.

5. Nāgasena, while accompanying his teacher in his begging round, mentally blamed his teacher of being empty-headed and foolish to have taught him first the Abhidhamma and due to that, he was told by his teacher to go and challenge King Milinda so as to atone for his unholy thoughts.

6. Nāgasena went to Ven. Dhammarakkhita in Pāṭaliputta to study the three Piṭakas under him, and within three months he mastered the whole of it.

*Not available in the P text :*

There are certain passages which are missing in the P text but available in the C text :

1. Missing in the P text are the story of the present

Buddha and the elephant seeking solitude (which is reminiscent of the story of the monks of Kosambi), the story of the elephant who, after the Buddha's demise, came to the temple to listen to the recital of the doctrine, his rebirth in a Brāhmaṇa family, his growth into a youth who did not hear the Buddha-doctrine and did not see the monks, his adoption of a hermit life, his acquaintance with another hermit, their vows and their being born as Na-hsien and Mi-lan.

2. Na-hsien's expulsion from the Sangha due to his disobedience to his teacher's order, his repentance, his striving for and attainment of Arahant hood and his rehabilitation into the Order are not found in the P text.

3. After his Arahant hood, Na-hsien's preaching tour from village to village, from town to town, the spiritual attainment of his audience, the welcome he received not only from men but also from Inda, Brahmā etc.... these details are missing in the P text.

Thus the accounts of the previous lives of Nāgasena and Milinda differ widely in both versions, although points in common are not lacking. The moderation in the C version speaks highly for its originality and we have reason to believe that the original version was altered by the P compilers to suit their own doctrine and school.

### (E) DIFFERENCES IN DETAILS

In the attitudes of the personages, in the quotations of the places, rivers, distances, there are some differences in the two versions, and some of them are listed below :

I. In the P, King Milinda, after having sent a messenger, came to see Elder Āyupāla along with 500 Yonakas; in the C, first Ven. Ye-ho-lo was invited to come and meet King Mi-lan.

The monk replied that the king should come but not he; and the king came along with 500 attendants.

2. In the P, the king, after having sent a messenger, came himself with 500 Yonakas to pay a visit to Nāgasena; in the C, King Mi-lan sent an invitation to Na-hsien to come to the place, and Na-hsien accepted the invitation and came himself with a retinue.

3. In the P, King Milinda himself detected Nāgasena sitting in the middle of the Sangha and he rejoiced to have recognised Nāgasena without any help: in the C, it was the king who asked the minister: "*Who is Na-hsien ?*" and when the minister pointed out the monk to him, King Mi-lan said that his guess was right.

4. The C starts the conversation between the king and the monk, first with Na-hsien preaching the Dharma to King Mi-lan without the latter asking him. He preached that the Buddha doctrine proclaimed that *men's safety was the highest profit; men's contentment was the greatest wealth, men's faith was the highest blessing and Nirvāṇa was the highest happiness.*<sup>28</sup> The P omits this passage and starts the conversation with King Milinda asking about Nāgasena's name.

5. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the conversation, the C mentions that Na-hsien was accompanied by 80 monks including Ven. Yeh-ho-lo, while the P refers up to 80,000 monks and omits Āyupāla. In the C, it was Chan-mi-li-wang-ch'un, who came alone to Na-hsien and asked Na-hsien some questions, while the P mentions the coming of Devamantiya, Anantakāya and Mankura and it was Anantakāya who asked questions.

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<sup>28</sup> Ārogyaparamā labhā, santutṭhi paramam dhanam;vissāsa Paramā ñāti, Nibbānam paranam sukham (Dhammapada,204).

6. The second reception of King Milinda to Nàgasena is almost the same in both versions, except that in the C, King Milan paid homage to Na-hsien and after the meal, offered to each monk a robe with a pair of sandals, and to Na-hsien and Yeh-holo a set of three robes and a pair of sandals. And when only ten monks remained behind with Na-hsien, Mi-lan ordered his lady-folks to sit behind a curtain and witness the conversation.

The P omits the offering of sandals, the presence of Àyupàla and that of the lady-folks. It adds that King Milinda took a lower seat and sat down.

7. The C quotes five rivers: (a) Heng, (b) Hsin-t'a, (c) Ssu-t'a, (d) Po-ch'a, (e) Shih-p'i-i, while the P quotes Gangà, Yamunà, Aciravati, Sarabhù and Mahì. Dr. Kogen Mizuno<sup>29</sup> identifies the five rivers quoted in the C version as Gangà, Sindhù, Sità, Vakshù and Sarasvati. These five except the Gangà, are the great rivers which flow through N. W. India, while four of the five rivers mentioned in the P are flowing through the Eastern parts of India.

8. The C mentions that a big rock like the king's palace takes six months to reach the earth if dropped from the seventh Brahmà heaven, while the P mentions that if a rock like a Kùtågàra falls down from the Brahmà-heaven, at a speed of 48.000 yojanas day and night, it takes four months to reach this earth.

The C mentions A-li-san as distant from She-chieh of 2000 yu-hsùn (yojana), while the P mentions that Alasanda island is distant from Sàgala about 200 yojanas.

The discrepancy in the distance between the P and the C versions makes W.W. Tarn<sup>30</sup> remark that the C translation

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<sup>29</sup> R.M.P.p.47.

<sup>30</sup> G.B.I.p.421.

altered the locality of Menander's birth, making Alasanda as 2000 yojanas from Sàgala instead of 200. He complains as unfortunate that a number of French scholars (Pelliot, Démiéville, Finot, Grousset, Lévi) should have championed this against the P version. According to him, the C translator had never heard of Alexandria of the Caucasus and knew only of Alexandria in Egypt and altered 200 yojanas to 2000 accordingly. But on the same page (Note 4), Tarn remarks that the name Alasanda occurs three times in Part II (Pàli text p.327, 321 and 269) and in the last passage, it is Alexandria in Egypt beyond question, while the other two passages mention Alexandria of the Caucasus. Whatever it might be, at least Tarn concedes that once Alexandria might have belonged to Egypt.

Again the C mentions Mi-lan being born as a prince, while the P refers to Milinda as being born at Kalasigàma (in a village). So Tarn opines that Menander was born as a commoner but the C translator turned him into a prince.<sup>31</sup>

As to Nagasena, the C mentions him as being born in a village called Kajangala under the Himàlāya while the C mentions Chi-pin (Kashmir) as being his place of birth. Mr. Tarn seems to place too much trust in the fidelity of the P version. But our present study shows that alterations and interpolations are galore in the P version and it is not without reason that the French scholars favour the C version.

Anyhow, the Milindapañha, being a book "*of didactic ethics and religious controversy cast into the form of historical romance*"<sup>32</sup> should not be referred to as historical evidence and we all are aware that we should not expect much historical data from our Milindapañha.

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<sup>31</sup> G.B.I. p.420-421.

<sup>32</sup> Q.K.M. p. xxiv.

Again Chi-pin is mentioned as 720 li distant in the C, while the P mentions only 12 yojanas being the distance between Kashmir and Sāgala. Further the C speaks of bones of 4000 li long and a big fish called Chih of 28.000 li long, but the P mentions only 100 leagues and 500 leagues respectively.

9. When the conversation came to an end, according to the C version, Na-hsien said that it was past midnight and he wanted to go. Then the king ordered his attendants to have four rolls of cloth dipped in oil to serve as torch and see Na-hsien to his place, with all due respect to Na-hsien as if to himself, saying that with a teacher like Na-hsien and a disciple like himself, the realization of the Dharma would be quick, as all his questions were given suitable answers by Na-hsien.

Here the P first adds Nāgasena's enquiry as to the time and the king replied that, the first watch had passed, the second watch was ushered in, the torches were lit, the four banners were raised and the gift from the king would come from the treasury. Here the P adds that the Yonakas praised, Nāgasena as a paṇḍita and the king approved of their praises saying that with such a teacher as Nāgasena, and such a disciple as himself, a scholar would realize the Dhamma before long.

10. The king was pleased and ordered clothes worthy of 10.000 (golden coins) to be offered to Na-hsien from the treasury and informed him that from now on, he together with 800 monks, would be invited to take their daily meals in the palace and provided with what they desired.

The P is almost the same, but it refers not to 800 monks but to 800 meals (atthasatabhattam). The P adds the king's saying that if he were to adopt the religious life, he would not live long because he had many enemies.

11. At the end, the C mentions Na-hsien's departure and the king paying homage to the monk. The P omits both but

mentions instead that both great men praised each other.

## (F) DIFFERENCES IN DOCTRINES

Differences in doctrines are found scattered here and there in both versions, and they are interesting and important as they reveal the sect of the compilers and the age of the texts in question.

### 1. Abhidhamma :

Throughout the three books in the C version, not even for once is Abhidharma mentioned. On the contrary, within the first three books of the P version, Abhidhamma is mentioned eight times:

(i) In the introductory gāthā, Nāgasena is mentioned as an expert in Abhidhamma<sup>33</sup>

(ii) Rohaṇa taught Nāgasena the seven books on Abhidhamma from Dhammasangani up to Paṭṭhānā.<sup>34</sup>

(iii) Nāgasena recited to the company of Arahants the seven Abhidhamma texts in full to the thunderous applause of Brahmā gods and the shower of Mandārava flowers.<sup>35</sup>

(iv) Nāgasena preached the Abhidhamma to the lady-devotee and both obtained the Sotapanna stage.<sup>36</sup>

(v) On his way to Pātaliputta, Nāgasena expounded the Abhidhamma to the merchant who played host to him.<sup>37</sup>

(vi) Nāgasena referred to Abhidhamma in his answer to Anantakāya's question with such effect that the latter became a lay-disciple.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> P.M.P. p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> P.M.P. p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> P.M.P. p. 13.

<sup>36</sup> P.M.P. p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> P.M.P. p. 17.

(vii) Nāgasena again refers to Abhidhamma classification of 108 kinds of feelings.<sup>39</sup>

(viii) Nāgasena explained the non-existence of the soul with reference to the Abhidhamma exposition.<sup>40</sup>

Again the P speaks of the seven *Sabbacittasādhāraṇā cetasikā*, such as *phasso*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, *cetanā*, *ekaggatā*, *jīvitindriyam*, *manasikāro*, which can be found only in the P Abhidhamma, as other sects do not accept *Jīvitindriyam* to be classified as *sabbacittasādhāraṇācetasikā*.<sup>41</sup>

## 2. The 37 Bodhipakkhiyas :

The C has given the 37 factors of enlightenment which are almost the same as the usual Pāli ones, but their definitions are not exactly the same. Thus the *cattāro satipaṭṭhānā* can be said to be almost similar to the P ones, but for the *four sammappadhānā*, the C translates as *Ssu-i-tuan*, *the four eradications of the mind*, due to the confusion between *pradhāna* and *prahāna*.

The definition is rather curious: "The Buddha said: "Having analysed the four resting places of the mind, one would not think of any further, this is called the four eradications of the mind." Thus it is far different from the usual P definitions for *sammappadhāna*.

The same can be said of the four psychic powers which the C defines as : "*The eyes can see everything; the ears can hear everything; the mind knows others' mind; the body can fly*",

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<sup>38</sup> P.M.P. p. 31.

<sup>39</sup> P.M.P. p. 45.

<sup>40</sup> P.M.P. p. 56.

<sup>41</sup> Among the 46 caitasikas of the Sarvāstivādins, *Jīvitindriyam* is not classified among the ten *mahābhūmikā* along with *vedanā*, *saññā*, *cetanā*, *sparsa* etc, but it is classified in *cittaviprayukta dharmā* ( Early monastic Buddhism, p. 141-142, Note 2).



which differs greatly from the usual P *chaddhipàdo*, *cittidhipàdo*, *viriyiddhipàdo* and *vimansiddhipàdo*.

Again the *five faculties and the five powers* are also not the same. The five faculties, are defined as "not attachment of the mind to good and bad shapes, sounds, odours, tastes, touches; the five powers, defined as control of eyes, ears, nose, mouth, body", which are different from the P *Saddhindriyam*, *viriyindriyam*, *satindriyam samàdhindritam*, *paññindriyam*, *saddhàbalam*, *viriyabalam*, *satibalam*, *samàdhibalam*, *paññàbalam*.

As for the *seven factors of wisdom*, the C enumerates as follows: (a) i (*mind*) for *sati*. (b) kho (*joy*) for *Piti*, (c) i (*serenity*) for *passaddhi*, (d) hu (*protection*) for *upekkhà*, the remaining three are the same with the P. The Eight-fold Path is almost the same in both versions except that the C uses the term *straight* for the P term *sammà* and *fang-pien* (means) for the P *vàyàmo*.

### 3. Paticcasamuppàda or the Dependent Origination :

It is almost the same in both versions, but the terminology adopted in the C is not so clear-cut and somewhat unusual for some expressions. They are as follows in the C : (i) *ignorance*, (ii) *spirit (shén)*, (iii) *body*, (iv) *name*, (v) *form*, (vi) *the six knowledges*, (vii) *their touches with their respective objects*, (viii) *knowledge of pain and happiness*. (ix) *attachment, craving*; (x) *lust and, desire*, (xi) *becoming*, (xii) *birth*, (xiii) *old age*, (xiv) *disease*, (xv) *death* (xvi) *lamentation*, (xvii) *grief* (xviii) *inner despair*.

If we put *name and form* together, *old age, disease, death, lamentation, grief, inner despair* together, it comes to the same number twelve as in the P.

The C *soul* for *sankhàra*, *body* for *viññànam*, *six knowledges* for *salàyatanaṃ*, *lust and desire* for *upàdànam* are rather forceful and show that the C translator was not yet acquainted with the exact rendering in C of these terms at the

time of the compilation of the C text.

Again, this law is explained in the negative order as follows in the C : "*The wise men, who had learned the Dharma, did not cling to the internal and external body, had no craving. Having no craving, they had no sense-desires. Without sense-desires, there was no pregnancy in the womb. Without pregnancy in the womb, there were no birth, no old age. Having no birth no old age, there were no sickness, no death, Having no sickness, (no death), they had no grief, no lamentation. Having no grief, no lamentation, they had no inner pain, they obtained Nirvāṇa.*"

Again here we remark that the C formula is still in a fluid condition, not yet solidified into an unyielding shape. This is starting somewhere in the middle and we have similar cases in the Mahānidānasutta of the Dīgha, vol.II.

Also in Visuddhimagga, Chapter XVII, we have different methods of contemplation upon this law. We may begin at the middle and go backward or forward, or we may commence with the last and go backward (paṭiloma), as we can go forward (anuloma).

#### 4. Vedanā or feelings :

The P refers to the Abhidhamma classification of 108 kinds of feelings; but the C omits the Abhidhamma reference and classifies them as follows: (i) *six things arousing internal joyful feelings in men;* (ii) *six things arousing external joyful feelings in men;* (iii) *six internal things arousing internal sorrowful feelings in men;* (iv) *six external things arousing not joyful feelings in men;* (v) *six things arousing neither sorrowful nor joyful feelings in men;* (vi) *six external things arousing sorrowful feelings in men.*

#### 5. The three characteristics :

While the P mentions the three characteristics as *anicca*,

*dukkha, anatta* realized by those who possess wisdom, the C offers a slightly different reading, although the purport is the same.

#### 6. Seven kinds of wisdom :

The P refers to seven *bojjhangas*, while the C mentions the following seven: (i) *thinking of good and evil things*; (ii) *exertion*; (iii) *to enjoy the Dharma*; (iv) *to subdue the mind in doing good*; (v) *thinking of the Path*; (vi) *onemindedness*; (vii) *to meet things without attachment, without hatred*<sup>42</sup>.

#### 7. *Yoniso manasikaro* and *paññā* or Right consideration and wisdom :

The P states that sheep, goats, oxen, buffaloes, camels, asses have *yoniso manasikaro* but not *paññā*; but the C states that oxen, horses, the six domestic animals have wisdom but their heart is different.

#### 8. *Nibbāna* :

C: *Niehan path* (means that) having gone past, there would be no more becoming = P: *Nibbānam nirodho ti*.

#### 9. *Saddhā* or faith :

In the definition of *faith*, the C omits its *lakkhaṇa*, but says simply that *faith* means *without doubts* and adds: "*Faith in the existence of the Buddhas, the Buddha-dhamma and the Order of monks; faith in the existence of arahants, in the existence of the present world, of the next world; faith in the existence of filial piety towards parents; faith in good remuneration for good actions, in bad remuneration for bad actions.*"

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<sup>42</sup> These seem to differ from what are mentioned on p.14 as factors of wisdoms, only in expressions.

## 10. High ordination and wisdom :

As to the dialogue about the Buddha having no teacher, the C says that *when the Buddha obtained his enlightenment, he knew by himself the Dharma, the Path*, unlike his disciples who should learn and know the Buddha's teachings and practise them till old age. But the P refers to the *High ordination (Upasampadà)* saying that he did not receive High ordination from others in the way the Blessed One laid down the precepts for his disciples to observe till the end of their lives.

## 11. Sati or mindfulness :

Both versions enumerate 16 ways from which memory springs up; they are in the same order, but their explanations are not the same and the P adds another extra, the 17th *anubhùta*, meaning *experience* although it mentions only 16.

## 12. Viññam, Paññà, Jiva or consciousness, wisdom and life-principle :

While the P refers to *viññam, paññà and jiva* in a living being, the C mentions instead *the spirit* of a man, *wisdom and the natural*. The C defines these three dharmas as follows: "*The spirit of a man knows, wisdom realises the Path and the natural is emptiness, without any individual*". The P defines that the characteristic of *consciousness is knowledge, that of wisdom is realization and there is no life principle in the living being*.

## (G) SIMILES

### (1) Similarities and dissimilarities.

Similes abound in *Milindapañha* and *Nāgasena bhikshu sutra*, and a comparative study of them shows clearly that both versions derive from the same source as they are almost the same. But we notice a deliberate attempt on the part of the compilers not to follow the original blindly, but to add more or less details so as to show their own originality.

Thus the six similes used by Nāgasena to prove the link between the present *nāma-rūpa* and the next one, are almost the same in both versions, with the following differences.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> simile: C: *fruits of plants*

=P: *mango fruit.*

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> simile: C: *crops and ripe grains*

=P: *rice and sugareane.*

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> simile: C: *the fire burns walls, rooms, and houses*

=P: *the fire burns the fields of others.*

In the 4<sup>th</sup> simile: C *a man lights a torch, places it on the wall so that he can eat his food; the torch burns wall, bamboo, wood, house and town*

=P: *a man lights a lamp, ascends the pavillion, the lamp burns grass, village.*

To illustrate the definition of *contact (phassa)*, three similes are used. The 1<sup>st</sup> two similes about the *two rams, the two hands clapping each other* are the same. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> one, the C refers to *two stones*, while the P mentions *two cymbals (samā)*.

Again the simile of a treasurer who opens a king's treasure is almost the same in both versions, except that the objects seen are different.

C: *Coins, gold, silver, gem, jade, silken fabrics, cotton, mixed scents, mixed colours*

=P: *Treasures of the king, of blue, yellow, red, white, crimson colours.*

## (2) Different explanations.

Sometimes, the explanations of the similes are not the same. Thus in the simile to illustrate *Vicāra*, the P refers to a *copper vessel which is beaten (ākotitam)* and produces a *humming sound (anuravati)*; when it is beaten, it is initial

*thought: when it produces sound, it is sustained thought*

=C: *When the copper plate is put into fire by a man, there is sound; when he raises his hand (?), there is sound; thus when there is thought, there is inner move.*

Again there is a slight difference in the interpretation of the simile about the *impossibility of pointing out bad and good actions*, the C wants to show that those who are not yet emancipated cannot point out the position of good and bad actions, so in the simile, it shows that when the fruits are not yet formed, it is impossible for anyone to foretell that this branch has no fruits.

The P also wants to show that it is impossible to point out the position of good and bad actions, but in the simile, it shows that when the fruits are not yet formed, it is impossible to point out the position of the fruits in such and such a place.

### (3) P with more details.

Instances are not rare when the P offers more details than the C. Thus the P refers to the simile of *wheat-reapers, who with their left hand take hold of the wheat and with a sickle in their right hand, cut the wheat* to illustrate that the recluse with *right consideration (yoniso manasikàro) takes hold of the mind and by wisdom, cuts off his depravities.*

But the C, while quoting the same simile, mentions simply that people endowed with wisdom eradicate craving and sense-desire just like wheat reapers.

Again both versions resort to four similes to illustrate that *good qualities depend upon Sila or morality as foundation*. They are not in the same order and the P offers more details.

C1=P2; C2=P1; C3=P3; C4=P4.

Thus in C3=P3, the C mentions simply that if an architect wants to build a big town, first he should measure and lay the

foundation, then he would be able to build the town. But the P mentions more details, such as *clearing the place where the town is located, the removal of all stumps and thorns, the levelling of the earth, then the laying out of streets, squares, cross-roads, etc.* and so he builds the city.

About *volition*, both versions refer to the same similes about *a man drinking poison and causing others to drink*, about his bad actions and inducing others to perform bad actions. But here the P adds two more similes, the case of a man *who drinks ghee, butter, oil, honey, mōllasses and causes others to drink*, and the case of a man who performs good actions and induces others to do the same.

#### (4) C with more details.

Sometimes the opposite is witnessed, that the C offering more details. Thus in the first simile about *exertion*, the P speaks of *a falling house*, the C adds one more instance, that of *a wall on the verge of collapsing*. In the dialogue about wisdom, the C adds the simile of *a man cutting down a tree with a knife* to show that wisdom is like a sharp knife cutting down demeritorious dharmas.

We can see that the same source inspires the C and the P compilers as to the similes to illustrate the explanations. But the compilers seem not to content themselves with a faithful reproduction of the original. They added new similes to be more convincing, reduced some which looked rather out of the mark, and resorted to new materials to suit the local colour, thus bringing about all these differences which we find in the similies of the tow versions.

## (H) GĀTHĀ AND QUOTATIONS

### 1) Gāthā.

As far as gāthas are concerned, we can say that there is no gāthā in the C version. The P contains ten gāthās within the first three books, six gāthas having no corresponding passages in the C version, and four gāthas having the C corresponding prose passages.

The following six gāthas are not found in the C version :

(i). A gāthā in which Milinda and Nāgasena are introduced with their outstanding qualities at the beginning of the text.<sup>43</sup>

(ii). A gāthā in praise of Nāgasena's fine qualities and learning and announcing his staying at Sankheyya hermitage.<sup>44</sup>

(iii). A gāthā describing Milinda's forebodings in the presence of Nāgasena.<sup>45</sup>

(iv). Sister Vajirā's gāthā about the conventional name of a cart and of a living being quoted by Nāgasena in support of his explanation.<sup>46</sup>

(v). Two gāthas put together, quoted by Nāgasena as spoken by the Buddha in praise of Sila which is the foundation upon which Samādhi, Paññā and the growth of all good qualities are built up.<sup>47</sup>

(vi). One gāthā quoted by Nāgasena as spoken by the Blessed One praising the virtue of *Saddhā*, *Appamāda*, *Viriya* and *Paññā*.<sup>48</sup>

The following four gāthas are put under the gāthā garb by the P text, while the C uses the prose form for them.

(vii). Sāriputta's attitude towards death and life.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> P.M.P. p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> See P.M.P. p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> P.M.P. p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> P.M.P. p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> P.M.P. p. 34.

<sup>48</sup> P.M.P. p. 36.



(viii). The Buddha's advice not to be like a carter who engaged the cart in an uneven path and had his axle broken.<sup>50</sup>

(ix). The Buddha's admonition describing the body as a place of nine apertures, ill-smelling and impure.<sup>51</sup>

Thus the gāthās which cannot be found in the C might be added later on by the P compilers and that the prose form in the C version for the corresponding gāthā in the P version might be considered to bear a stamp of more pronounced antiquity when compared with the P version.

## 2) Quotations.

As far as quotations are concerned, they are not exactly the same in both versions. Thus speaking about the emptiness of a cart, the C mentions that the Buddha sūtra said that *with the coming together of wood, with the necessity of making a carriage, people obtained a carriage.*<sup>52</sup> But the P text quotes Sister Vajirā's gāthā<sup>53</sup> as follows :

"*Yathā hi angasambhārā hoti saddo ratho iti*"

"*Evam khandhesu santesu hoti satta ti sammuti*"

Again speaking about *sati (mindfulness)*, the C quotes a sūtra as saying that *one should protect and check one's own mind and the six cravings in the body. With the strict check and holding fast of the mind, one can transcend the world.*<sup>54</sup>

But the P mentions that the Blessed One said that mindfulness was useful to all.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> P.M.P. p. 45.

<sup>50</sup> P.M.P. p. 74; C; 62a, 18-19.

<sup>51</sup> P.M.P. p.74.

<sup>52</sup> C; 54a, 14-15.

<sup>53</sup> P.M.P. p. 28.

<sup>54</sup> C: 56a, 4-5.

<sup>55</sup> P.M.P. p. 38.

Again explaining the difference among the various types of people, the C quotes the Buddha as saying that *in accordance with one's own bad or good actions, one would reap their result*,<sup>56</sup> while the P refers to the Buddha's words: "*Kammassakà mánava sattà, kammadàyàdà, kammayoni, kammabandhù, kammapañisaraṇà, kammam satte vibhajati, yad idaṃ hinappanitatàyati*."<sup>57</sup>

Another instance of the difference in the quotations is the passage to illustrate that the body is foul, impure. The C quotes<sup>58</sup>: "*The Buddha sùtra said : People have nine apertures like nine wounds caused by spear. The nine apertures are ill smelling and places of impurity.*" The P quotation is slightly different: "*Covered by living skin, with nine apertures, a big wound, from where completely ooze out impure and ill-smelling things.*"<sup>59</sup>

From these quotations of the same purport but of different wording and details, we can surmise that the C and the P translators and compilers might have quoted from their own sources.

But another feature is witnessed here in this comparative study of the quotations in the C and the P versions. The C merely quotes: "*The Buddha sùtra said*", and in one passage<sup>60</sup>, it refers to *Sùtra and Vinaya of the Buddha* or rather *Dharma and Vinaya of the Buddha*.

Here we observe that the C never mentions the Tripitaka or quotes any Àgamas. But the P text within the first three books profusely quotes from the Tipitaka, and mentions even the

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<sup>56</sup> C: 60b, 17-18.

<sup>57</sup> P.M.P. p. 65.

<sup>58</sup> C: 62a, 18-19.

<sup>59</sup> P.M.P. p. 74.

<sup>60</sup> C: 56a, 3.

name of the Sutra, the Nikāya, the seven Abhidhamma books and last of all, the name Tipiṭaka. Thus the name of *Mahāsamayāsuttanta*, *Mahāmaṅgalāsuttanta*, *Samaci-ttapariyāyāsuttanta*, *Rāhulovādasuttanta*, *Parābhava* are mentioned in the P text, respectively at p. 19,20.

The *Samyuttanikāya* is quoted at p. 36. The word *Abhidhamma* is mentioned in the P text at the following pages: 1, 12, 16, 17, 45 and 56. The term *Abhidhamma* books are enumerated at p. 12 from *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* to *Paṭṭhāna*.

Again the term *Tipiṭaka* is mentioned at pp. 18 and 21; and at p. 1, the three *Vinaya*, *Suttanta* and *Abhidhamma* are quoted. All these show that the P text was compiled at a time when the division into Suttanta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma, and the classification of the Suttas into Nikāyas were already current and more or less solidified.

The quotation of all the seven books on *Abhidhamma* signifies that the P version was compiled after the 3<sup>rd</sup> Council, when the Abhidhamma text were supposed to be collected, and also after the complete growth of the Abhidhamma literature.

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### III. THE SCHOOL OR SECT TO WHICH THE P AND THE C VERSIONS BELONG

It is crystal clear that the P text belong to the Theravàda school, which adopts the Pàli as its language. The quotation of the seven Abhidhamma books, the reference to the seven Sābbacittasādhà-raṇacetasikas, and the stereotyped formula of the Paṭiccasammuppāda speak out clearly that the P Milindapañha belongs to the Theravàda school.

But it is really difficult to guess the probable sect of the C text, as there are absolutely no evidences to help us to detect what sect it is likely to belong to. All the proofs above show that the C original was compiled at a time when the growth of the Abhidhamma had not yet matured and that the classification of the Buddha-dharma into Àgama or Nikàya was not yet widely adopted.

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#### IV. A PROBE INTO THE ANTERIORITY AND FIDELITY OF THE P AND C VERSIONS

With the comparative study of the two versions done above with the main similarities and divergences pointed out and explained, now we have enough data and materials to probe into the anteriority and fidelity of each version.

Mr. Rhys Davids in his *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p.x, has expressed his opinion on this subject as follows: "*Whether (as M. Sylvian Levy thinks) it (the Pāli Milindapañha) is an enlarged work built up on the foundation of the Indian original of the C books, or whether (as I am inclined to think) that original is derived from our Milinda...*", thus Mr. Rhy Davids is of the opinion that the P text is earlier than the original from which the C translation is made.

But he did not elaborate further and advanced no proofs to support his view, except offering a preference and a mere guess. After a close study of the two texts, I am inclined to disagree with Mr. Rhys Davids and subscribe fully to Mr. Sylvian Levy's opinion. "*The P text is nothing but a later enlarged recension of the P translation of the original from which is derived our C text, this original being in Sanskrit or a kind of Prakrit prevalent in N.W. India. Thus the C text can claim to be earlier and closer to the original than its P counterpart.*" The following external and internal evidences amply and convincingly speak in favour of the anteriority and fidelity of the C version:

- (1) Anachronism in the P text.
- (2) P reference to Abhidhamma.

- (3) P reference to Tipiṭaka and Nikāya.
- (4) C formulas of doctrine not yet solidified.
- (5) C text prior to the formation of schools or sects;
- (6) Genuineness of the C version.
- (7) Abundance of miracles in P version.
- (8) Moderation of the C version.
- (9) Addition of the last four books in the P version.
- (10) Divergences between the Roman and the Siamese editions.
- (11) Divergences between Buddhaghosa's quotations and the readings of the Milindapañha.
- (12) The P text is but an enlarged translation.

### 1. Anachronism in the P Text.

The P version, by referring to the six heretical teachers and the conversation of King Milinda with Pūraṇa Kassapa and Makkhali Gosāla<sup>61</sup> commits a gross anachronism, which is condemned even by Rhys Davids<sup>62</sup> as: "*And the plagiarism is all the more inartistic as the old names are retained, and no explanation is given of their being born twice at an interval of 500 years...*"

The six heretical teachers who were contemporary of the Buddha could not possibly live long enough to enter into philosophical conversation with our King Milinda.

Some scholars tried to explain away this glaring anachronism by saying that these persons were only the six teachers' disciples, who happened to bear the same name with

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<sup>61</sup> P.M.P. p.4-5.

<sup>62</sup> Q.K.M. p. 8, note 2.

their teacher's, However ingenious this argument might appear at first glance to be, it cannot stand a close scrutiny.

We can concede the possibility of one disciple bearing the same name with his teacher, but with no stretch of imagination can we picture that six disciples holding together the same with their respective six teachers assembled together a century later to propound the doctrine of their teachers to King Milinda.

Moreover, it is clear that the Pāli compilers wanted to re-enact the meeting of King Ajātasattu with the six heretical teachers in Sāmaññaphalasutta with Milinda and Nāgasena playing the role of Ajātasattu and the Buddha respectively. The omission of this obvious anachronism in the C text speaks strongly in favour of the originality of the C version.

## 2. Pāli references to Abhidhamma :

The absence of any reference to the Abhidhammapiṭaka in the C text scores another point in favour of the originality of the C version. The P within the first three books, mentions as many as eight times the Abhidhamma literature. As the growth of the Abhidhamma literature was rather late when compared with that of the Suttapiṭaka and the Vinayapiṭaka, the C version with the total absence of any reference to Abhidhamma convincingly strikes an earl note,earlier than its P counterpart.

Here we can infer that at the time of the compilation of the P.M.P., the position of the Abhidhamma was not yet strongly consolidated; so its sponsors had to strengthen its position by even relegating the Suttanta to the background.

Thus Nāgasena started first with the study of the Abhidhamma; and only after he had realized the anomaly of such a programme did he come to study the Suttanta under Ven. Dhammarakkhita. Again when he preached the Dharma to the lady-devotee and to the merchant, he bypassed the Suttanta and preached to them the Abhidhamma.

### **3. P References to the Tipitaka and Nikàya :**

As seen above<sup>63</sup> the P has quoted the term Tipitaka at p. 18 and p. 21; and at p. I, all the three Vinaya, Suttanta and Abhidhamma are mentioned. Again the term Samyuttanikàya is quoted at p.36. These quotations show that the P text was compiled at a time when the Buddhavacanas were already classified into Suttanta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma and that the Suttanta was already subdivided into Nikàyas.

But the C ignores all these references, and mentions only Buddha, Buddhasùtra, or Sùtravinaya<sup>64</sup> thereby showing that it was compiled at a time, very near to the demise of the Buddha, when the above divisions and classification had not yet been in vogue. Thus the C steals another step ahead of the P text, as far as the question of anteriority and fidelity is concerned.

### **4. Formulas of doctrine :**

The comparative study of sets of doctrine, such as the Pañicasamuppàda, the 37 Bodhipakkhiyà as seen above show that the P formulas have already assumed a codified form, strictly stereotyped, common throughout the Tipitaka. But the C ones are still liable to change and did not reach yet the solidified form of later stages. Thus the C version shows once more the stamp of antiquity and anteriority over the P text.

### **5. The original of C text might be prior to the formation of Buddhist schools :**

This stamp of antiquity of the C text is again enhanced by the fact that the original of the C text might have been composed prior to the formation of the Buddhist schools, because we cannot detect any characteristic in the C text which helps

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<sup>63</sup> See ante p. 22.

<sup>64</sup> See ante p. 22.



classify it into one of the 20 Buddhist schools which sprang up after the demise of the Buddha.

But it is crystal clear to everyone that the P version belongs to the Theravāda school, with its references to the seven books on Abhidhamma, with its classification of the Cetasikas into seven Sabbcittasādhāranas etc...<sup>65</sup> Thus the original of the C text can be considered earlier than that of the P text.

## 6. Genuineness of the C version

Some details in the C, when compared with their P counterparts look far more convincing and genuine than those found in the P version, and this genuineness of the C text tilts further the scale of anteriority and antiquity in its favour.

(a) In the P, when Nāgasena preached to the lady devotee, he expounded first the Abhidhamma doctrine about *Suññatā*, thus ignoring the Suttanta; but the corresponding C passage faithfully reflects the very teachings preached by the Buddha in his early days of setting the Dharma in motion. Na-hsien preached as follows: *"People should give charity, perform meritorious acts and observe moral precepts. In the present life, they will be safe, in the next life, they will be reborn either in the heaven or in the world as men of wisdom, intelligence and wealth. They will not be reborn in the Hell, in the Kingdom of hungry ghosts, or in the animal Kingdom. People who do not observe the Dharma and moral precepts suffer in the present world and in the next life, will fall into the three evil realms for an indefinite period. Na-hsien knew that the lady-devotee was glad at heart, then he preach the deeper Dharma, that all things are passing away, impermanent; being impermanent, they are subject to suffering"*. This passage is almost the same with that preached by the Buddha to Yasa in Mahāvagga : *"Bhagavā*

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<sup>65</sup> See ante p. 14.

*anupubbim̐ kathesi, seyyathid-am̐ dānakatham̐ silakatham̐ saggakatham̐ kāmānam̐ ādinavam̐ okāram̐ sankilesam̐, nekkhamo ānisamsam̐ pakāsesi; yadā Bhagavā aññāsi Yasam̐ Kulaputtam̐ kallasittam̐, mucittam̐ vinivaraṇacittam̐ udagga-cittam̐ pasau nacittam̐; atha yā Buddhānam̐ sāmukkamsika dhammadesanā tam̐ pakāsesi-dukkham̐ samudayam̐ nirodham̐ maggam̐.*" Thus the C version reflects the tradition of early days of Buddhism, when Lord Buddha just started His preaching, as recorded in Mahāvagga.

(b) Again when Na-hsien first met King Mi-lan, he preached at one to the king without the latter asking him. He preached thus: "*The Buddha doctrine proclaims that men's good health is the highest benefit, men's contentment is the greatest wealth, men's faith is the highest blessing, and Nirvana is the highest happiness.*"<sup>66</sup> This passage is omitted in the P version, which starts at once with the king's question about the philosophical meaning of a name. Thus the Pāli procedure cannot be said to be as natural as that of the C text.

(c) In the P, King Milinda detected Nāgasena sitting in the middle of the Sangha and rejoiced to have recognised Nāgasena without any help. In the C, it was the king who asked the Minister "*Who was Na-hsien ?*" and when the minister pointed out the monk to him, King Mi-lan said that his guess was right.

This feat of King Milinda draws this comment from Rhys-David : "*In the corresponding passage of the Sāmaññaphalasutta, Jivaka points out the Buddha to Ajātasattu, this would be in the memory of all his readers, and our author alters the story in this case to show how superior Milinda was to the royal interlocutor in the older catalogue.*" The C version, which

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<sup>66</sup> Arogyaparama lābhā, santutthi paraman dhanam, vissāsaparamā ñāti, nibbānam paraman sukham Dhamapada, 204

sticks to the earlier tradition, looks far more genuine and older than its P counterpart.

(d) Again another feature bears testimony to the accuracy of the C passage against the P corresponding one. Speaking about the incomparability of the Buddha, the P quotes the simile of five great rivers : *Gangà, Yamunà, Aciravatì, Sarabhù, Mahì*, while the C mentions *Heng, Hsin-t'a, Ssu-t'a, Po-ch'a, Shih-p'i-i*<sup>67</sup>

The five rivers in the C text are identified by Dr. Kogen Mizuno as Ganga, Sindhù, Sità, Vaksù and Saravati. These five, except the Ganges, are the great rivers which flow through N. W. India, while all the five rivers mentioned in the P are flowing through the Eastern parts of India.

As we know, the *Milindapañha* with its reference to King Milinda should be composed somewhere in the Western parts of India, where the memories of the Greek king were still fresh, and it was but natural that its compilers should refer to the big rivers which they were well-acquainted with, i.e. in N. W. India. Exception should be made of the Ganges which was well-known throughout India by its long course and its holiness.

So the C which mentions the four big rivers belonging to the N. W. India lends favour to the conception of its being closer to the original than its P counterpart. Dr. Kogen Mizuno is of the opinion that when the original of the C *Na-hsien-pi-ch'iu-ching* was adopted and changed by the Pàli Buddhists, then the four rivers in the N.W. were not familiar with the people in the Eastern part, so they were changed to Yamunà, Aciravatì, Sarabhù and Mahì, all well-known to the Eastern people of India.

Moreover, the P mentions many of places which were

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<sup>67</sup> R.M.P. p. 47.

located in the East such as Kajangala, where Nāgasena was supposed to be born, Pāṭaliputta and Asokārāma where Nāgasena went to study the Suttanta under Ven. Dhammarakkhita.

According to Dr. Kogen Mizuno, Hsuan Tsang refers to Kajangala as *Chieh-chu-wen ch' i-lo* which was situated in the Eastern part of Champā in Magadhā, probably in the Eastern part of Pāṭaliputta, 100 yojanas distant. But the C does not refer to any place in the East. This fact shows that the original Indian text might have been revised by compilers living in Eastern India and well-acquainted with rivers and places located in the East; while the original of the C version, with the almost complete absence of any localities in the East (except the Ganges) shows that it was really composed in the N.W. part of India, therefore it is more genuine and more trust-worthy than its P counterpart.

#### (7) Abundance of Miracles in the P version :

Another fact which proclaims the nearness to the original of the C version against the P version is the abundance of miraculous feats in the P version, while the C prefers rather a mantle of simplicity and moderation, which are the main features of early Buddhism. Thus in the birth story of Nāgasena, the P traces back the story up to Buddha Kassapa, while the C refers to our Lord Buddha only.

Miracles are not rare in the P version of the previous life of Nāgasena. Thus the whole company of Arahants led by Ven. Assagutta vanished from Yugandhara mountain and appeared in the Tāvātimsa heaven, where they were welcomed by Sakka, the king of gods, who in turn introduced God Mahāsena to the company of Arahants.

Three times Sakka on behalf of the brethren requested God Mahāsena to be born in the world of men so as to refute

King Milinda of his heretical views, three times Mahàsenà refused. When Mahàsenà was born in the womb of Soṇuttara's wife, three miracles happened. Weapons became ablaze, grains ripened in a moment and there was a heavy rain out of season.

Further, Nàgasena is depicted to have known by heart all the seven books on Abhidhamma, after hearing them only once. Again in seven months, when Nàgasena recited the whole of Abhidhamma in full, the earth quaked, the Gods applauded, the Brahmà Gods clapped their hands and from heaven showered down sweet-scented sandalwood dust and Mandàrava flowers. The same phenomenon greeted Nàgasena once again when he attained Arahantship.

To this profusion of miracles, the C counterpart strikes rather a note of admirable moderation and genuineness. There are absolutely no miracles, except that Na-hsien and his uncle were said to obtain the five Abhiññà (superknowledges), being able to fly through the air, acquiring the divine ear, the divine eye, knowing places of rebirth etc....., but no one demonstrated his miraculous powers, and when Na-hsien obtained Arahantship, there was no mention of the Gods' applause, of the shower of Mandàrava flowers and scented sandal-wood dust to celebrate the event.

Again the P mentions the name of Moggaliputta Tissathero, the famous convener of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Buddhist Council, along with the Buddha's prediction as to the future life of Milinda and Nàgasena, with the obvious reference to Moggaliputta being also predicted by the Buddha to be the future convener of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Buddhist council.

Here the Siamese edition adds the name of Ven. Assagupta, being also predicted by the Buddha. Of course, the C maintains a meaningful silence over these two names and thereby scores another point of nearness to the original against the P tradition.

### 8. Moderation in the C version :

While the P mentions that Nàgasena was surrounded by 80.000 monks (*asitiyà bhikkhusahassee-hi*) in his first meeting with the king, the C refers only to 500 monks who accompanied Na-hsien when he met the king.

Again Àyupàla mentioned that 18 kotis of Brahmà deities and an innumerable company of other gods attained the eyes of wisdom when the Buddha preached the first sermon; and when he expounded *the Mahàsamayāsutta, the Mahà mangalāsutta, the Samacittapariyāyasutta, the Ràhulovādasuttanta*, innumerable was the multitude of gods who attained the *Dhammābhisamaya*, penetration of truth. But A-yeh-ho in the corresponding C passage replied simply in the affirmative without mentioning all these details. Once more the moderation of the C truly reflects the simplicity and anteriority of the C version.

Further more, the sobriety in the C descriptions matches very fittingly with the simplicity of the early Canon, while the P seems to delight in poetical verbosity and lengthy description, as seen clearly in the description of Sàgala, Milinda and Nàgasena and in Milinda's challenge to one statement of Nàgasena.

### 9. Addition of the last four books in the P version :

One more factor which enhances the originality of the C is its ending with the third book, while the P adds four more books on *Meṇḍakapañha, Anumānapañha, Dhutangas and Opammakathapañha*. A survey of these added books shows unmistakably that they were later additions to the original one by the P compilers.

Ven. Ananda Kausalyàyana in his article on Milindapañha<sup>68</sup> is of the opinion that the C translators might

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<sup>68</sup>2500 years of Buddhism p. 207.

have dropped the last four books, but he did not elaborate any further and did not advance any conclusive proofs as to the omission of the C translators. But the following reasons induce us to believe that the original of the C text really stops with the third book.

(a) The end of the third book already constitutes a befitting conclusion to the book. After the second conversation, all questions and answers appeared to be already exhausted, the gifts were sent and both took leave of each other, without any hints as to another meeting. Moreover, the P text ends this book with the following words: "*Milindapañhanam pucchavis-sajjanàsamattà*"<sup>69</sup> which conveys the impression that the conversation and thereby the book have ended.

(b) The doctrine in the last four books is not easily understandable to the simple folk in general, such as the Greeks at that time. The first three books refer generally to the doctrine about *the existence of atman, Nirvāna, about rebirth and death, samsāra, the activities of citta, cetasikas and their characteristics*. The explanation is enlivened with simple and easy similes. So people of no deep knowledge in Buddhism like the Greeks at the time of Menandros could follow and understand easily.

But the doctrine which is tackled in the four added books is more complicated, more subtle, and which requires a thorough understanding not only of the Suttapitaka, but also of the Atthakathā. Dr. Kogen Mizuno is of the opinion that the last four books are not historical dialogues between Nāgasena and Milinda, but they are rather works of several intelligent and learned monks well versed not only in the Suttapitaka but also in the commentaries.<sup>70</sup>

Again we can accept Menandros or Milinda as a Buddhist

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<sup>69</sup> P.M.P. p. 89.

<sup>70</sup> R.M.P. p. 47.

who esteemed and favoured Buddhism. But to depict him as undertaking the eight vows, dressing in yellow robe, with all the appearance of a hermit, only after two days' discussion with Nāgasena is already too far-fetched. However, our credulity receives a severe shock, when Milinda was described as adopting the religious life and attaining Arahantship as well.<sup>71</sup>

All the above descriptions, which go against historical facts and common acceptance, serve to expose the unguineness of the last four books of the P version and reveal the fidelity of the C version.

#### 10. Divergences between the Roman edition and the Siamese edition :

One more proof of the volatile character of the P version is the difference between the Roman edition, which is based mostly upon the Cingalese version, and the Siamese edition. I avail myself of the data collected by Dr. Kogen Mizuno in his "*On the recension of Milindapañha*"<sup>72</sup> confining myself to checking the accuracy of his statement, and adding the corresponding pages of the Siamese edition together with some more instances, if need be.

(a) Between the 34<sup>th</sup> and the 35<sup>th</sup> dialogues of the Roman edition, the Siamese edition adds two lines more on *manasikàro*<sup>73</sup>

(b) Between the 70<sup>th</sup> and the 71<sup>st</sup> dialogues of the Roman edition are inserted two dialogues about colour to be seen by one who after death in one world is born into another and about the door by which a *Paṭisandhi* consciousness enters the womb<sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>71</sup> P.M.P. p. 420.

<sup>72</sup> R.M.P. p. 37-40.

<sup>73</sup> S.M.P. p. 87.

<sup>74</sup> S.M.P. p. 117-121.



(c) The 59<sup>th</sup> dialogue is amplified in the S edition. In the Roman edition, the dialogue has only eight lines and the C translation only five lines, but the S edition extends up to three pages.<sup>75</sup>

(d) After the 7<sup>th</sup> chapter and before *Meṇḍakapañ-ha*, the S edition adds the *Visesapañha*.<sup>76</sup>

(e) In the Roman edition p. 80 about *Vassasata*, the S edition, adds an extra gāthā.<sup>77</sup>

(f) In the Roman edition p. 86, about differences between *viññāṇam*, *paññā*, and *jīva*, the S edition adds one paragraph of four lines about "*Where is Paññā ?*"<sup>78</sup>

Thus the above quotations clearly show that even the P traditions are not homogeneous and final, but liable to additions and growth as testified to by these differences between the Roman edition and the Siamese edition.

#### 11. Buddhaghosa's quotations from *Milindapañha* :

One curious fact which was revealed by Rhys Davids in his translation of the *Milindapañha*<sup>79</sup> should be taken note of here. He pointed out that the actual words quoted by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the "*Book of the Great Decease*" and on the *Ambaṭṭhasutta*, are not the same as those of our author at the corresponding passages of Mr. Trenckner's text, although they are the same in substance. Two other quotations are cited by Dr. Morris<sup>80</sup>.

Mr. Davids is of the opinion "*It is premature to attempt to*

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<sup>75</sup> S.M.P. p. 104-207.

<sup>76</sup> S.M.P. p. 129-132.

<sup>77</sup> S.M.P. p. 113.

<sup>78</sup> S.M.P. p. 127.

<sup>79</sup> Q.K.M. p. XIV-XV.

<sup>80</sup> Q.K.M. p. XV.

arrive at the reason of this difference between Buddhaghosa's citations and Mr. Trenckner's edition of the text." but at least we can say that the P Milindapañha text passed through several redactions with accretions and omissions till we have it now in the Cingalese and Siamese editions.

## 12. The Pàli text is but an expanded translation :

Mr. Rhys Davids also has pointed out: "*It is stated in the preface (of a Cingalese translation of the Pàli Milindapañha) that the account of the celebrated discussion held between Milinda and Nàgasena about 500 years after the death of the Buddha, was translated into the Magadhi language by 'teachers of old' (Pūrvacarīn wisin).*"<sup>81</sup>

We do not know from what original it is translated, but what we can say is that the P version is but a translation which is open to accretions and omissions and this fact and the above one speak strongly in favour of the C version being nearer to the original than the P version.

We can say that except the dissident voice raised by Rhys Davids in favour of the P text, almost all the Western and Eastern scholars, such as Sylvian Levy and Dr. Kogen Mizuno favoured the nearness to the original of the C version and considered the P version a later amplified recension of the original work, of which the C is a more faithful translation, of course with some moderate changes.

The P compilers based their work upon this original, added profusely items and doctrines in consonance with the tenets of the Theravàda school and expanded the original into its present bulk.

Prof. Demieville in his book: *Les Versions Chinoises du Milindapañha* (B.E.F.O. Vol XXIV, 1924, p. 34-35) has given his

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<sup>81</sup> Q.K.M. p. XII.

findings and views on this problem as follows:

*"The original text contains :*

1. *An introduction with the following elements: Description of localities, biographical sketch of Nāgasena tracing the various stages of his religious life (noviciate ordination, entering the stream, Arahatsip), with some traditions on his monastery and his Teachers; introduction of Milinda and record of his fruitless controversy with one Buddhist monk; meeting of Milinda and Nāgasena.*

2. *Record of the controversy. The second portion of this book seems to be subjected to ancient additions; the first portion reaches us almost intact in the two versions.*

To the introduction were added later on the *Avadānas* of the two heroes and the biography of Nāgasena was altered and amplified and this brought about two different recensions, one of which was translated into Chinese toward the 4<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. and the other into Pāli in the 5<sup>th</sup> Century A.D... The Chinese version was codified into two recensions complete and incomplete with not much difference from each other.

On the contrary, the Pāli version underwent many alterations. Considerable passages were interpolated in the preliminary portion in Ceylon, posterior to the 5<sup>th</sup> Century. The legend of Milinda suggests reminiscences of Ajātaśāstru and Aśoka. As to the four supplementary books, they were probably added in Ceylon, where the first part was already found since the fifth century."

Although it is rather difficult to prove that the four supplementary books were added in Ceylon as asserted by Prof. Demieville, his views amply support the anteriority and the fidelity of the Chinese version over the Pāli version.

PART TWO  
DETAILED COMPARATIVE STUDY,  
PASSAGE BY PASSAGE

BOOK I

BÀHIRAKATHÀ OR INTRODUCTORY SECTION

(A) Opening Of The Text

The C opens at once with the previous life of Na-hsien and of the king; while the P starts with an introductory gāthà in which Nāgasena and Milinda are introduced with their outstanding qualifications quoted and praised. It adds an exhortation to listen to the questions and answers asked and replied by the king and the monk respectively. Then the prose starts with "*Tam yathà anusūyate*" and the description of Sàgala.

(B) Previous Lives Of Na-Hsien and Mi-Lan

As the P text is already widely known, only a detailed account of the previous lives of Na-hsien and Mi-lan according to the C text is given below.

(C: 52a,5-19; 52b;53a, I-14)

Lord Buddha was at She-Wei (Sàvatthi) Ch'i trees (Jetavana), Kei-ku-tu garden (Anàthapindikàrà-ma). Daily more than 10,000 people, bhikshus, bhikshunis, layman disciples, laywoman disciples, deities, kings, great ministers, honourable men, people and followers of 96 heretical religions, (more than

10.000 people) came to Lord Buddha to listen to the Dharma.

Being weary by this large attendance. Lord Buddha entered the mountain, came under a clump of Hsiao-lo trees and pondered over the pure Dharma. Not far from his place, there was a herd of more than 500 elephants with an elephant king who was virtuous, sage, and knew how to discern good actions from bad actions.

The herd of elephants surrounded him and the little ones, while drinking water, made it dirty, while eating grass and young plants, trampled upon them. Thus the elephant king could not drink pure water and eat clean grass.

So the elephant-king left the herd, entered the mountain and came under a clump of Hsiao-lo trees. He saw the Buddha sitting under the tree, became happy, lowered his head, kneeled down to pay homage to Lord Buddha and stood at one side. The Buddha thought: *"I left my crowd of people to come to this place; the elephant-king also left the herd and came to this place. Both shared the same purpose."*

Then the Buddha preached the doctrine to the elephant and showed the similarity between the two concerning their highest position among their respective followers and their desire for solitude. The elephant-king understood what the Buddha had said.

He saw the Buddha walking to and fro on the circumambulatory path. He took water from the pond, watered the path, used the plant-leaves to sweep it clean and with his feet, he trampled down the path and levelled it.

Thus the elephant-king served the Buddha day and night. After the Buddha's Parinirvāna, he wandered round in search of the Buddha but could not find him and used to cry with bitterness and to abstain from food.

At that time, there was a Buddha monastery on the top of

a mountain called Chia-yuan. In this vihàra, dwelt 500 monks who had attained Arahantship and who used to recite the Dharma up to morning. He knew the six days of recital and would come on those days (K.E. adds : The 8<sup>th</sup>, the 14<sup>th</sup>, the 15<sup>th</sup>, the 23<sup>rd</sup>, the 29<sup>th</sup> and the 30<sup>th</sup>).

The monks came to know of this and waited till the arrival of the elephant to start the recitation of the Dharma. The elephant-king used to listen to the Dharma up to morning without sleeping, lying down and moving. He died and owing to his listening to the Dharma and his service to the Buddha, after long time, he was born as a son in a Brahmin family.

When he came of age, he did not hear about the Buddhadharma and did not see the monks. Afterwards, he left the household life, entered the forest and was engaged in the study of Brahmanism (K.E. Of heretical religions), at the top of a mountain. Near by, lived a Brahmin hermit and both became well-acquainted.

One of them thought: *"If in this world I am unable to overcome sorrow, suffering, old age and sick ness, after my death, I shall be born in the Hell, in the animal Kingdom, in the Kingdom of the departed spirits or in a poor family. To escape all these, I make a vow to become a recluse, wear the yellow robe and strive after transcendental attainment and Nirvāṇa (K.E. Arahantship and Nirvāṇa)".* The other man thought: *"I hope to become a powerful king, reigning all over this world and making all people obey my command."*

Afterwards, both died and were born as men. The one who made vow to become a king was born as a prince of a city near the sea and was named Mi-lan. The other who made a vow to become a monk and strive after transcendental attainment and Nirvāṇa was born in Tien-chu (Jambudipa), in the district of Chi-pin (Kashmir) and was named T'o-la. He was born along with the yellow robe on him owing to his vow in his previous

life.

In this house, an elephant was born on the same day. As in T'ien-chu, an elephant was called Nàg, so the father named his son Na-hsien. Na-hsien grew up and reached 14, 15 years of age. He had a paternal uncle named Lou-han who was a recluse, peerless, endowed with heavenly eye, with heavenly ear, capable of flying through the air, entering the Never Ceasing Hell, endowed with miraculous powers, and knowing how to read the thoughts of all creatures from deities, men up to insects, and the places of their rebirth.

Na-hsien came to see his uncle, told him of his own delight in the Buddha doctrine and requested his uncle to ordain him and to receive him as his disciple. Lou-han knew Na-hsien's good deeds in his previous life and his wisdom, so Lou-han gave him the ten precepts and ordained him as a novice.

Na-hsien daily recited the doctrine, pondered over the Dharma and the Vinaya, attained the four Dhyānas and grasped the essence of the doctrine, but he did not obtain the high ordination. At that time, there was a Buddhist temple called Ho-ch'an in which dwelt 500 recluses who had attained Arahantship.

The highest among them was O-po-yueh who knew the past, the present and the future of things in the world. When Na-hsien reached 20 years of age, he received high ordination and came to the Ho-ch'an temple, at Ven. O-po-yueh's place.

At that time, it was a full moon day and for the sake of reciting the rules of the great recluses (Prātimoksha), the monks entered the hall, Na-hsien entered also and sat among them. Ven. O-po-yueh saw that all the monks were Arahants except Na-hsien. He said that just like black grains of rice among white grains of rice, Na-hsien was black and not an Arahant while all the monks were white and pure.

On hearing this, Na-hsien felt deeply sorrowful, worshipped the monks, went out of the hall and thought: "*It is unbecoming of me, who am not yet emancipated to sit in the assembly of monks who are already emancipated. It is like a jackal sitting among the lions. From now on, if I do not attain Arahantship, I shall not enter the hall.*"

O-po-yueh knew Na-hsien's thought, stroke Na-hsien's head and said: "*Before long you will attain arahantship, do not worry*", and he asked Na-hsien to stay there. Na-hsien had a teacher more than 80 years old named Chia-wei-yueh. There was a great layman-disciple who daily offered food to Chia-wei-yueh's disciple (K.E.: To Chia-wei-yueh).

Na-hsien was told by the teacher to go to this layman-disciple with his begging bowl and bring back food. The teacher asked Na-hsien to fill his mouth with water and proceed to the layman's house to take food.

The layman-devotee saw Na-hsien young, good looking, far above common people, of sharp intelligence and capable of expounding the Dharma. When Na-hsien entered his house, the layman-disciple paid homage to him and said that he had offered food to the monks for a long time and the monks had preached the Dharma to him (K.E.: Not preached). Now he asked Na-hsien to expound the Dharma to him so that his mind might be emancipated. Na-hsien thought that his teacher ordered him to fill his mouth with water and not to speak. If now he spat out the water and spoke, he would disobey his teacher's order. So how should he act now?

Then he thought: "*The lay-devotee is intelligent and of noble aspiration. If I preach to him, he may attain the truth.*" So Na-hsien spat out the water and expounded the Dharma: "*People should give charity, perform meritorious acts and observe moral precepts. In the present life, they will be secure; in the next life, they will be reborn either in the heaven or in this world as men*



*of wisdom, of intelligence and of wealth (K.E. omits: Of wisdom and of intelligence). They will not be reborn in the Hell, in the Kingdom of hungry ghosts, in the animal Kingdom (K.E. adds: In a poor family). People who do not observe Dharma and moral precepts suffer in the present world and in the next life, will fall into the three evil realms, for an indefinite period." (K.E. omits the whole passage.)*

Na-hsien knew that the lay-devotee was glad at heart, then he preached the deeper dharma, that all things were passing away, not permanent; being impermanent (K.E. Being conditioned), they were subject to suffering. The men's body in the world was the same. But people in the world considered their body as being their self (K.E. not available), so they were not independent. The path to Nirvāṇa was all happiness. He who attained Nirvāṇa was not subject to birth, old age, sickness, death, sorrow and to dejection. All his evil and suffering were eradicated."

When Na-hsien finished his preaching, the lay-devotee attained the first stage of Stream-winner and Na-hsien himself obtained the same attainment. The lay-devotee was overjoyed and offered excellent, delicious food to Na-hsien. Na-hsien asked him first to fill the teacher's bowl with food.

After his meal, Na-hsien (K.E. adds: washed his hands and rinsed his mouth), took the bowl filled with food and brought it to his teacher. The teacher on seeing him said: "You have brought very good food with you, this means that you have acted against the Sangha, so you should be expelled and will not be allowed to stay among the Order."

Ven. O-po-yuch said : "Just like a man who, with one arrow, shoots two targets, such a man should not be expelled. Na-hsien attained the Stream-winner stage, so did the lay-devotee. Do not expel him." Ven. Chia-wei-yueh said: "Even if with one arrow, he shoots 100 targets, he still commits an offence against

*the Sangha, he is not allowed to stay in the middle of the Order. The observance of the rules by others cannot be equated with the attainment of Na-hsien. It is better to punish Na-hsien to serve as a reminder for the future."*

The Sangha kept silent. So the teacher expelled Na-hsien. Na-hsien worshipped his teacher and the Order, went out of the monastery, entered a deep mountain, sat under a tree and exerted himself, reflecting upon the Dharma day and night without break and attained Arahantship.

Now he could fly, had divine eye and ear, knew the minds of others and previous births. When Na-hsien attained Arahantship, he re-entered Ho-ch'an temple, came before the Sangha, confessed his offence and asked for rehabilitation. The Sangha accepted his request.

Then Na-hsien worshipped the Order, undertook a preaching tour from village to village, from town to town, and exhorted people to perform meritorious acts. Some people received the five precepts and attained the Stream-winner stage, the Once-returner stage, the No-returner stage; some become monks and attained Arahantship.

The four heavenly kings of the first heaven Tao-li-t'ieh (*P: Tāvātimsa*), Ti-Shih (*P: Inda*) of the second Tushita heaven, Brahmā of the seventh heaven came, worshipped Na-hsien, and Na-hsien preached the Dharma to them. Na-hsien's fame was well-known in the heaven. Wherever he went, deities, human beings, spirits, dragons welcomed him, were happy to see him and obtained merit.

Then Na-hsien came to the country of She-chieh (*P: Sāgala*) and stayed at Hsieh-chih(or ti)-chia temple. At that time, at the seaside, there was a prince, Mi-lan by name. When he was young, he studied and knew heretical religions well and no heretical teachers could beat him in arguments. When his

father died, Mi-lan became king. The king asked his minister if in the country there were any religious men or lay people who were able to hold discussions with him about religions. The minister replied that there was a Buddhist monk who was intelligent and clever, and who would be able to discuss religious doctrine with the king.

### (C) Description of Sàgala :

(C: 53a, 17-20):

*"In the North of Ta-ch'in country there was a Kingdom called She-chieh, a citadel of ancient kings. This country enjoyed internal and external peace and its people were good and honest. The city was surrounded on all four directions by an underground road (Futao ?). The gates of the citadel were adorned with sculptures and engravings.*

*In the palace, the ladies had (special) apartment. The streets and markets were aligned rows after rows. Roads and thoroughfares were large, with shops ranged on both sides. Elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, gentlemen and ladies were prosperous and crowded; recluses, religious men, relatives, workers, people together (K.E. not available) with small Kingdoms were wise and noble.*

*People were dressed in dazzling colours. The women and girls were white (Ch'uan-pai ?) and they adorned themselves with jewels (K.E., not available). The land was high, dry and rich in precious stones. Customers from four directions came for trade and paid for their trade in golden coins; five kinds of crop were in plenty and even modest families had savings. Stalls near market were selling pastry and foodstuffs to satisfy every hunger, and grape juices and various sorts of wine slacken all kinds of thirst (K.E., not available). (All) were enjoying happiness difficult to describe."*

(P: I, 13-21; 2,1-15):

Here the P far excels the C in its description of Sàgala. While all the C details are found more or less in the same form in the P text, the P description of the city far outdoes the C counterpart in richness of details, in romantic background and in dazzling style.

Thus the city of Sàgala is eulogized in such a beautiful and romantic description: *nadi-pabbata-sobhitam ramaṇiya-bhūmippadesabhāgam àrāmuy-yānopavana-talāka-pokkha-raṇi-sampannam nadipab-bata-vana-rāmaneyyakam* (a beautiful country well-decorated with rivers and mountains; abounded in delightful parks, gardens, groves, lakes, ponds, rivers, hills, forests).

While the C mentions simply that the city was surrounded in four directions by an underground road running round and with gates adorned with sculptures and engravings, the Pàli describes: "*Vividha vicitra-dalha-matṭāla-kotṭakam varapavara-gopurat-oraṇam gambhīraparikhā-pandarapākāra-parikkhitta-antepu-ram* (with various strong ramparts and towers, gateways, archways, deep moats, white walls, inner town.)

The same can be said of the C description of people dressed in fine dazzling colours, while the P speaks of Sàgala streets crowded with elephants, horses, carriages, pedestrians, a resort for handsome men and beautiful women and people of all classes and conditions, with shops selling Kāsi cloths, Kotumbara stuffs and a variety of other linens.

While the C refers simply to the country full of precious stones and pearls and that the merchants paid their wares in golden coins, the P poetically speaks of an abode of dazzling hidden treasures (*pajjotamānanidhi-niketam*) full of golden coins, silver, gold, copper and earthenwares. At the end, the P compares the city of Sàgala as the city of the gods (Devapura)

like Alakam-andà and like Uttara-kuru in crops.

(D) Milinda :

(C: 53b, 1-2;)

The C text refers to King Mi-lan in the following terms: *'King Mi-lan governed the country in accordance with the right Dharma. He was skilful and clever, knew well the religious theories of the world and capable of asking puzzling questions concerning the past, the future and the present.'*<sup>82</sup> (K.E. not available) *He was expert in administrative works and arts of warfare (K.E. not available). As far as strategies in warfare were concerned, he mastered them all. He knew the 96 heretical doctrines. Inexhaustible were the questions put to him and he guessed at once the meaning of the words scarcely uttered.*

(P: 3, 26-32; 4-I-5):

Here again the P far excels the C in the description of Milinda's outstanding qualities. He is described as *paṇḍito byatto medhàvi paṭibalo, well learned in 19 arts and sciences such as Suti Sammuti, sankhyà, yogà, niti, visesikà, gaṇikà, gandhabbà, tikicchà, càtubbedà, puràṇà, itihàsà, jotisà, màyà, hetu, mantanà, yuddhà, chandasà, muddà (tradition, lore, Sankhyà, Yogà, Nyàya philosophy, Vaisesika philosophy, arithmetic, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Puràṇas, the Itihàsas, astronomy, mystic formular, logic, mantra spells, warfare, poetry, art of calculation). As a debater, he is duràsada, duppasaho (hard to challenge, hard to overcome) and was recognised as leader of all heretical heads. He was matchless in strength, in agility, in valour, in wisdom, very wealthy, very prosperous and with countless army forces.*

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<sup>82</sup> This reference to the past, present and future does not warrant us the suggest the inclination of the Chinese text toward Sarvāstivāda theory "Sarvam asti."

### (E) Meeting of Ven Ayupala with King Milinda :

(C: 53b. 2-11) : (P: 19, 7-32)

(1) In the P, King Milinda asked his privy councillors as to whom he might visit to discuss the Dhamma and the five hundred Yonakas answered the king. In the C, the king addressed to his ministers by his side and minister Chan-mi-li-wang-ch'un answered his question.

(2). In the P, King Milinda, after sending a messenger, came to see Elder Ayupàla along with 500 Yonakas; in the C, first the monk Yeh-ho-Lo was invited to come and meet King Mi-lan, the monk replied that the King should come but not himself, and the king came along with 500 attendants.

(3). Milinda's question is almost the same in both versions; in the P, Ayupàla answered that for the sake of living in righteousness and living in spiritual calm (Dhamma-cariyasamacariyatthà) the monks adopted the religious life; in the C, Yeh-ho-Lo replied that they learned the Buddha doctrine so as to live in righteousness and to obtain merits in the present and also in the next life.

(4) While in the C, the monk Yeh-ho-Lo merely replied in the affirmative, when King Mi-lan asked whether there were laymen who could live in righteousness and obtain merits in the present and in future lives; in the P, Ayupàla added to his affirmative answer five instances to support his reply : when the Buddha delivered the *Dhammacakkapavattanasutta*, the *Māhasamayāsuttanta*, the *Mahāmangalasutta*, the *Samacittapariyāyasuttanta* and the *Rāhulovādasuttanta*, 18 kotis of Brahmāgods and other deities who were not monks attained the penetration of truth (Dhammābhisamaya).

(5) In the C, King Mi-lan simply said that Yeh-ho-Lo had given up his worldly life in vain and Yeh-ho-Lo could not answer the king; in the P, King Milinda added a long passage in which

he pointed out that the present practice of the 13 *dhutangas* by the monks was not moral practice (*sīla*), was not ascetism, was not purity of life but rather a kind of punishment for their misdeeds in the past and to this long invective, Ayupāla kept silent.

(6) The C adds a sentence in which the ministers declared the king winner and Ven. Yeh-ho-Lo accepted his defeat. The P also adds a passage in which King Milinda declared Jambudīpa to be empty of recluses and brāhmaṇas able to discuss with him and solve his doubts.

### (F) Meeting between Nāgasena and Milinda :

(C: 53b. 11-20; 54a, 1-2) : (P: 21,12-21;22;23;24)

#### 1. Nāgasena's learning and qualities :

The C refers to Na-hsien as *the teacher of monks, the knower of the essence of the Dharma, clever in explaining the twelve divisions of the Scriptures,*<sup>83</sup> *expert in making out chapters and sentences, the knower of the Path to Nirvāṇa, unchallenged, unconquered, the dispeller of doubts* (K.E. not available), *with wisdom like the ocean, the tamer of the 96 heretical doctrines, well respected by four categories of disciples of the Buddha* (K.E.: simply disciples of the Buddha), *a place of refuge and an object of respect for the wise men* (K.E. not available), *the teacher of the Dharma. Again Na-hsien is referred to as a fierce lion, with subtle wisdom, with clear understanding of the abstruse points in the sacred lore, able to remove doubts.*

All the above details count nothing if we compare them with the corresponding ones of the P version which sails itself in a long eulogy of Nāgasena's qualities far outstripping the C texts in rich metaphors and romantic settings. Thus Nāgasena was

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<sup>83</sup> 12 divisions recognised in Sanskrit texts as against nine recognised in P texts.

described as *Sàgaro viya akkhobbho* (unshakable like the sea), *gìrìràjà viya niccalo* (imperturbable like the king of mountain) etc...*dhàrento dhammapajjotam* (the upholder of the torch of Dhamma)..... *paggaṇhàpento dhammad-dhajam* (holding aloof the banner of Dhamma), *uppalàsento dhammasankham* (blowing the conch of Dhamma), *àhananto dhammabherim* (beating the drum of Dhamma). Among the details in the P version, the following points are interesting. The P mentions Nàgasena as *Tepitako*, master of the three baskets, thus including the *Abhidhamma* in the Canon. It refers also to *navaṅgasatthusàsana pariyattidharo*, thus opting for the nine divisions of the Scriptures instead of the twelve divisions mentioned in the C. The number of monks following Nàgasena in the P text mounts up to 80.000 which strikes a rather exaggerated note, while the C text simply mentions the followers of *Na-hsien*.

## 2. Meeting between Nàgasena and King Milinda :

(a) In the P version, when King Milinda heard his attendants mention Nàgasena's name, he suddenly felt afraid and was also frightened when he was in the presence of Nàgasena with a foreboding of approaching defeat. The C omits the first passage in which King Milinda became afraid at the mere name of Nàgasena (K.E. adds Chan-mi-li-wang-ch'un saying that Na-hsien was able to discuss the Dharma with Brahma-deities of the 7<sup>th</sup> heaven, what to speak of the king of human beings).

(b) In the P version, the king himself, after having sent a messenger, came with 500 Yonakas to pay a visit to Nàgasena, while in the C version, King Mi-lan sent an invitation to Na-hsien to come to the palace and see him and Na-hsien accepted the invitation and came himself with a retinue.

(c) Both versions mention King Milinda's fear when



brought into the presence of Nàgasena, but the P adds a passage in which the author resorts to a long series of similes to describe the king's fear such as an elephant surrounded by rhinoceroses, a serpent surrounded by garulas etc.

(d) In the P, King Milinda himself detected Nàgasena sitting in the middle of the Sangha and rejoiced to have recognised Nàgasena without any help; in the C, it was the king who asked the minister: "*Who was Na-hsien ?*", and when the minister pointed out Na-hsien to him, King Mi-lan said that what he guessed was right.

(e) The P adds two gàthas, the first of which is a eulogy of Nàgasena's qualities, and the second mentions Milinda's foreboding when he came into Nàgasena's presence.

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BOOK II  
LAKKHANA PAÑHA :  
QUESTIONS ABOUT CHARACTERISTICS

CHAPTER I

1. Questions about a name :

(a) (C: 54a.2)

The C version starts first with Na-hsien Preaching the Dharma to King Mi-lan, without the latter asking him. He preached thus: "*The Buddha's doctrine proclaims that men's good health is the highest benefit, men's contentment is the greatest wealth, men's faith is the highest blessing (Hou) and Nirvāṇa is the highest happiness.*"<sup>84</sup> This passage is missing in the P.

(b) (C; 54a.2-4).

The king then asked Na-hsien: "*What is your name ?*" Na h-sien replied : "*My parents gave me the name Na-hsien and called me Na-hsien. Sometimes they called me Wei-hsien, sometimes they called me Shou-lo-hsien (K.E-: Shou-na-hsien), sometimes they called me Wei-chia-hsien. Due to that, people came to recognise me. People in the world have names only.*"

(P:25, 1-27; 26, 1-3):

The P is with more details. It adds that Nāgasena also referred to his Brahma-farers calling him by the name Nāgasena. The C speaks of four names given by his parents, Na-

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<sup>84</sup>sec ante p.8, Note 1.

*hsien, Wei-sien, Shou-lo-hsien, Wei-chia-hsien.* The P also quotes four names: *Nāgasena, Sūrasena, Virasena, Sihasena.*

While the C refers simply: "*Due to that, people came to recognise me. People in the world have names only,*" in the P, Nāgasena referred to his names as mere conventional terms, mere names without any individuality therein: "*sankhā samaññā paññatti vohāro nāmamattam...na h'ettha puggalo upalabbhati*"

And the P adds a long passage in which Milinda called the Yonakas and the monks to witness this declaration of Nāgasena and he asked Nāgasena a series of questions to prove the falsity of Nāgasena's declaration, such as: *if there was nō individuality, then who gave the four requisites to the monks, who enjoyed them, who observed the precepts ? etc....*

(c) (C: 54a, 4-10):

King Mi-lan then asked Na-hsien a series of questions to which the latter replied in the negative such as: "*Is the head Na-hsien ?*", "*Are the eyes Na-hsien ?*" The matters referred to are in the following order: "*Head, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, neck (K.E.adds I: chin), shoulder, arms, feet, hands, buttocks, legs, complexion, painful feelings, meritorious, demeritorious body, liver, lungs, heart, spleen, arteries, intestines, the coming together of material forms, painful and pleasant feelings, meritorious, demeritorious body and mind, the non-coming together of material forms, sound, echo, cough, breath. In all there are 30 matters.*

(P: 26, 5-24):

The matters referred to are not the same and not in the same order, They are as follows: *hairs, hairs of the body, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow, kidney, heart, liver, diaphragm, spleen, lungs, intestines, mesentery, stomach, excrements, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, skin-grease, saliva, nasal mucus, oil of the joints, urine, brains,*

*material form, feelings, perception, mental tendencies, consciousness, all the five aggregates together, others than the five aggregates.* Here in the P, King Milinda accused Nàgasena of speaking falsehood as he saw Nàgasena in flesh before him, but the monk spoke of Nàgasena as merely a name.

(d) (C: 54a, 10-16):

Then Na-hsien asked King Mi-lan what the carriage was, while referring to many parts in a carriage such as *axle, felloe, spokes, hub, shaft, yoke, bottom of a carriage, pole, roof, the putting together of wood, the non-putting together of wood, sounds, noise.* (K.E.: *Axle, hub, spokes, felloë, shaft, yoke, bottom of a carriage, roof, the putting together of wood, sounds.*) To all these questions King Mi-lan replied in the negative.

Then Na-hsien asked: "*What is the chariot ?*" To such a question, King Mi-lan kept silent. Then Na-hsien said: "*The Buddhasùtra said that with the coming together of wood, with the necessity of making a carriage, people obtain a carriage. A man is the same. With the coming together of head.....up to...meritorious, demeritorious body, mind, it comes to be known as a man.*" The king said: "*Very good, very good*".

(P: 26, 25-32; 27; 28, 1-12):

Here again the P offers more details. It adds a long passage in which Nàgasena referred to the delicate upbringing of the king and of his coming in a carriage. Then Nàgasena asked what a carriage was. The matters referred to here are in the following order: *Pole, axle, wheels, framework, shafts, yokes rope, goad, the putting together of these parts, things outside these parts of the carriage.*

Here the P adds another long passage in which Nàgasena now accused King Milinda of speaking a falsehood as the king said that he came in a carriage, whereas Nàgasena found that a carriage was merely a name. He called upon the Yonakas and

the monks to bear witness to the king's declaration. And the Yonakas shouted their approval and challenged the king to come out of this impasse. Then the king denied having spoken an untruth. Due to the coming together of these different parts of a carriage, the conventional term "carriage" was used.

Then Nàgasena approved of the king's answer and said that it was due to the coming together of 32 organic matters and of the five aggregates that the conventional appellation "Nàgasena" was used. Then he quoted sister Vajirà's gāthā to prove his explanation, Here also King Milinda praised Nàgasena's reply as *wonderful and marvellous, saying that he had solved the most puzzling question and would elicit the Buddha's approval were the Buddha alive.*

## 2. Seven years of ordination :

(P:28, 13-27).

The passage in which King Milinda asked Nàgasena about his years of seniority is missing in the Chinese text.

## 3. Ways of discussion :

(C: 54a, 16-20; 54b, 1-2) = (P: 28, 28-33;29,1-15)

Almost the same, with the following slight differences.

C: *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. Wise men know what is right, what is wrong; that is the highest wisdom. Wise men do not become angry. Thus do wise men discuss* = P: Here the P refers to *Àvethanan* (explanation, winding up), *nibbethanam* (unravelling), *niggaho* (censure), *paṭikammam* (redress), *viseso* (distinction), *paṭiviseso* (sub-discrimination) and says that wise men are not angry during the discussion. As to the discussion of a king, it is almost the same in both versions. (K.E. 45b, 10-15, adds another way of

discussion, that of a foolish man who does not know words that are correct, words that are incorrect, and tries to win over by inconsiderate compulsion.)

Again the C adds two more sentences to the verbal dual between the king and Nàgasena. The P stops with these words. "*Kim pana Bhante tayà vissajjanti ?*" (What have you answered?) "*Kim pana mahàràja tayà pucchitanti*" (What have you asked, O King ?) the C adds two more sentences: "The king said: "I asked nothing", Na-hsien replied: "I replied nothing."

#### 4. Invitation to come again for discussion :

(C: 54b,2-9)=(P: 29,16-32; 30,1-16)

Almost the same in both versions with the following differences:

(a) The C mentions *Chan-mi-li-wang-ch'un* and other attending ministers=P: *Devamantiyo ca Anantakàyo ca Mankuro ca Sabbadinno ca*.

(b) In the C version, King Mi-lan became angry and threatened to punish the minister called the Stingy One (P: *Sabbadinna*), when the latter insisted on Na-hsien coming accompanied by ten monks only while in the P, *Sabbadinna* was simply rebuked and silenced by the king.

(c) Both versions mention that the king departed on horse back, while muttering the name of Nàgasena The C adds that the king thought of Na-hsien up to the next morning.

#### 5. Talk between Anantakàya and Nàgasena :

(C: 54, 9-17)=(P: 30,17-31; 31,1-11)

Almost the same. The C mentions that Na-hsien accompanied by 80 monks including Yeh-ho-Lo, while the P refers up to 80.000 monks and omits Ayupàla. In the C, it was Chan-mi-li-wang-ch'un who came alone to Na-hsien and asked

Na-hsien some questions, while the P mentions the coming of Devamantiya. Anantakàya and Mankura, and it was Anantakàya who asked question.

The conversation between Nàgasena and Ananta-kàya is almost the same with the following difference:

(a) C: *A man who blows a reed whistle, a man who blows a goldsmith pipe, a man who blows a horn* =P: *Vamsadhamaka, Singadhamaka*. (K.E. refers to only two cases and omits a person who blows a horn).

(b) In the P, Anantakàya confessed his inability to converse with such a mighty arguer, in the C, *Chan-mi-li-wang-ch'un* said that he did not know the interval between breathing in and breathing out and requested Na-hsien to reply.

(c) In the P, Nàgasena explained that there was no *Jiva* (principle of life) and that breathing in and out are *kàyasankhàra* (*activities of the body*); in the C, Na-hsien explained that breathing in and breathing out were functions of the body, speaking was a function of the tongue, and doubt in the mind was a function of the mind, each had its own master; but if one analysed and looked at them, it was only empty space, there was no Na-hsien.

(d) The P mentions that Nàgasena referred to Abhidhamma to explain to Anantakàya with such an effect that the latter became a lay-disciple; in the C, there is no mention of Abhidharma, *Chan-mi-li-wang-ch'un* understood Na-hsien's explanation, accepted the five precepts and became a lay-disciple.

#### 6. Another meeting between Nàgasena and King Milinda :

(C: 54b, 17-20; 55a,1) = (P: 31, 12-26)

King Milinda's reception to Nàgasena is almost the same in both versions, except that in the C, King Mi-lan paid homage

to Na-hsien and after their meal, offered to each monk a robe with a pair of sandals and to Na-hsien and Yeh-ho-lo a set of three robes and a pair of sandals. And when only ten monks remained behind with Na-hsien, King *Mi-lan* ordered his lady-folk to sit behind a curtain and witness the conversation. The P omits the offering of sandals, the presence of Ayupāla and that of lady-folk. It adds that King Milinda took a lower seat and sat down.

#### 7. Aim of adopting a religious life :

(C: 55a, I-6)=(P: 31, 27-32, I-II)

Milinda's question is almost the same in both versions, except that the C puts the highest aim of religious life first, while the P puts it after. Nāgasena's answer is not exactly the same.

C: *"We want to eradicate suffering of the present world and do not want suffering of the next world. For this purpose, we adopt the religious life. We consider it to be the highest good".*

=P: *Our adoption of a religious life is to eradicate this suffering and to prevent other suffering to arise. Our supermundane aim is the Parinibbāna without clinging."*

Among the categories of monks who go forth, the P adds one extra, those who go forth for fear of robbers. C: *Those who go forth for fear of officials.*

=P: *Those who go forth for fear of kings.*

C: *Those who go forth because of poverty.*

=P: *Those who go forth for the sake of livelihood.*

C: *There are those who really want to eradicate suffering of the present life and of the next life, so they go forth*

=P: *Those who go forth rightly are those who go forth for the only purpose (of eradicating this suffering and preventing*



further suffering to arise.) The rest is almost the same, except that the wording is slightly different.

**(8) About rebirth :**

(C: 55a, 6-10)=(p: 32, 12-32; 33. 1-10)

Here the C uses one paragraph, while the P uses three paragraphs with Milinda's praise: "*Kallo si Bhante Nàgasenàti*" separating them. Both versions are almost the same. With the following differences:

C: "*People who have craving and longing for sense-desires are to be reborn in the next life, those who have no craving, no longing for sense-desires are not to be reborn in the next life*"

=P: "*He who is with depravity (sankilesa) will be reborn, he who is without depravity (nikkilesa) will not be reborn.*"

Here the P adds that when questioned by the king if he were to be reborn or not, Nàgasena replied that if he were with clinging, he would be reborn; if he were without clinging, he would not be reborn. Both versions agree that it is on account of three factors that one was not to be reborn.

While wisdom and other good qualities are the same, the C mentions: "*Thinking of the right dharma with one-mindedness,*" While the P prefers *Yoniso manasikàro* for the first factor. The difference between *Pañña* and *Yoniso manasikàra* is clearly stated in the P, that *sheep, goats, oxen, buffaloes, camels, asses have right consideration but not Pañña*, but the C states that *oxen, horses, the six domestic animals have wisdom but their heart (or mind) is different.*

In the P, *Uhana (examination)* is considered to be the characteristic of *right consideration* and *chedana* as the characteristic of *wisdom*. Here Nàgasena quoted the simile of *wheat reapers (yavalàvakà)*, who with their left hand took hold of the wheat, and with sickle in their right hand cut the wheat, to

illustrate that the recluse by right consideration took hold of the mind and by wisdom cut off his depravities.

But the C, while quoting the same simile, mentions simply that men endowed with wisdom, eradicate craving and sense-desire just like the wheat-reapers. Here the P is far clearer than the C.

**(9) Other good qualities :**

(C: 55a, 10-20; 55b. I)=(P: 33, II-14; 34, 26-30; 35; 36, I-18)

(a) *Other six qualities: C: Faith, filial piety, exertion, thinKing of good, one-mindedness, wisdom*

=P (Only five): *Morality, faith, exertion, concentration, wisdom.*

(b) *Faith:* Almost the same with the following differences: The P omits the definition of *faith*, as described in the following terms in the C text: "*Faith means without doubts. Faith in the existence of the Buddha, the Buddha-dharma and of the Order of monks; faith in the existence of Arahants, in the existence of the present world, of the next world; faith in the existence of filial piety towards parents; faith in good remuneration from good actions, in bad remuneration from bad actions.*"

While the P mentions the characteristic of faith as *sampasàdanà* (tranquillizing, serenity) and *sampakkhandanà* (aspiration, emulation) the C mentions simply: "*When one obtains faith, the mind becomes pure and the five bad qualities are eradicated.*

C: *Five bad qualities* =P: *Nivaraṇàni.*

C: "*If these five bad qualities are removed, then the mind is pure.*"

=P: "*When faith arises, the hindrances are eradicated. The mind, free from hindrances, becomes clear, purified, unstained.*"

The simile of the purifying gem is almost the same except that the P offers more details.

C: "*Water-purifying gem (or) gem clear like a brilliant moon*"=P: "*Udakappasàdako mani*".

The five bad qualities mentioned by the C are: *lust, anger, sloth and torpor (K.E.: proness to lying down), sport and enjoyment (K.E.: Songs and enjoyment), doubt*, while the P mentions simply *Nivaraṇāni*.

As to the second characteristic of faith, the C puts it into another paragraph while the P combines the two characteristics into one. Here both versions are almost the same.

C: '*Faith as exertion or endeavour*'

= P: "*Sampakkhandanalakkhaṇā*."

The simile is almost the same but the quotation is rather different.

C: "*He whose heart has faith can save himself. People of the world can check and overcome the five sense-desires by themselves. He who knows that body is suffering can save himself. People with the help of wisdom achieve their morality*" (1)<sup>85</sup>

=P: "*With faith he crosses the ocean; by vigilance, the ocean of life; by exertion, he gets over suffering; by wisdom, he purifies (himself)*."

(c) C: *Filial piety* = P: *Sīla*:

(C: 55b. 1-13) = (P: 33, 14-32; 34, 1-25)

The C translation of *Filial piety* is rather misleading, although the definition in both versions is almost the same. The C mentions *the 37 qualities (leading) to Bodhi* and follows the

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<sup>85</sup> I refer to the K.E. text (46b,8-9) as it is clearer.

usual order, while the P mentions: *indriya-bala-bojjhanga-magga-satipaṭṭhàna-sammappadhàna-iddhipàda-jhàna-vimokkha-samàpatti*. Here the C is more with details as it gives the definition of all the 37 qualities, which makes an interesting study when compared with the usual P definition.

(1) *The four resting places of the mind:*

C: (*Ssu-i-chih*): with *sati* translated as I and *upaṭṭhàna* as *chih* (meaning to rest). The later translators prefer *Ssu-nien-ch'u* which interprets *upaṭṭhàna* as place. The four are: *Kuan-shen-shen chih* (not *shen-shen-kuan-chih* as in the text): Resting of the mind on the body with the consideration of the body

=P: *Kàyànupassan-àsatipaṭṭhànam*

(K.E.: *Contemplation of one's own body, outwardly and inwardly*);

*Kuan-t'ung-yang-t'ung-yang-chih*: Resting of the mind on pain and itching with the consideration of pain and itching

=P: *Vedanà-nupassanà satipaṭṭhànam*

(K.E.: *Knowledge of the mind being pleasant or unpleasant*)

*Kuan-i-i-chih*: Resting (of the mind) on mind with the consideration of the mind:

=P: *Cittànupassanà satipaṭṭhànam* (K.E.: *knowledge of the heart being meritorious or demeritorious*);

*Kuan-fa-fa-chih*: Resting of the mind on dharmas with the consideration of dharmas:

=P: *Dhammànupassanà satipaṭṭhànam* (K.E.: *Knowledge of the right dharma*). Thus the K.E. definitions are closer to the P ones.

(ii) C: *Ssu-i-tuan* = P: *Cattàro Sammappadhàna*.

The C refers to *the four eradications of the mind*, while the usual P is *Sammappadhàna* (the four right exertions). Here the

C translator interpreted *padhàna* as *pahàna*. The later translators opted for the term *Ssu-cheng-chin* (the four right exertions). The definition here is rather curious: " *The Buddha said: Having analysed the four resting places of the mind, one would not think any further, this is called the four eradications of the mind*". Thus it is far different from the usual P definitions.

(K.E. mentions simply four things which are as follows: *Check on one's own mind, prevention of bad dharmas from entering the heart; removal of bad dharmas from the heart; prevention of good dharmas in the heart from vanishing away.* Here the K. E. is closer to the P version.)

(iii) C: The four psychic powers =P: *Cattàro iddhipàdà*

C: Here the C refers to four of the five *Abhiññà*. "*The eyes can see everything, the ears can hear everything; knowledge of others'mind; the body can fly.*" The C here is totally different with the usual P *chandiddhipàdo, cittiddhipàdo, viriyiddhipàdo, vimansiddhipàdo*.

(K. E.: "*Again there are four things which one can perform as one likes: wish, exertion, check of the heart, reflection.*" Thus the K.E. definitions are nearer to the P definitions)

(iv)C: The five faculties=P: *Pañcindriyàni*

C: "*The eyes see good material shapes, bad material shapes, but there is no attachment of the mind to them; the ears hear good sounds, bad, abusive sounds, but there is no attachment of the mind to them; the nose smells good odours, bad odours, but there is no attachment of the mind to them; the mouth receives delicious tastes, bitter tastes, astringent tastes, but there is no attachment of the mind to them; when the body receives harsh, rough touches, there is no dislike.*" Thus here the C interpretation is totally different from the usual P explanation: *saddhindr-iyam, viriyindriyam, satindriyam, samàdhi-ndriyam, paññindriyam*.

(K.E. explanation is as follows: *faith, filial piety, exertion, wholeheartedly thinking of good, wisdom*. Thus it is nearer to the P.)

(v) C: The five powers: P: Pañcabalàni:

C: "*Control of the eyes, control of the ears, control of the nose, control of the mouth, control of the body so that the mind does not fall* (in the wrong way). (K.E. not available). Thus the C interpretation is totally different from the usual P interpretations : *Saddhàbalam. viriyabalam, satibalam, samàd-hibalam, paññàbalam.*

(VI) C: Ch'i-chueh-i=P: Sattabojjhangàni

Here the C uses the expression *I* (mind) for *anga*. The later translators preferred *Ch'i-chueh-chih* which renders the exact meaning of the expression. C: *Mind, discrimination, exertion, joy, serenity concentration, protection*. Here the C uses *I* (mind) for *mindfulness* (*sati*), *Kho* for *piti*, *I* (serenity) for *passaddhi*, *Hu* (Protection)<sup>86</sup> for *upekkhà*. The later translators preferred *Hsi* for *piti* and *ching-an* for *passaddhi* and *Ch'e* for *upekkhà*.

(K.E. *Again there are seven things which eradicate bad dharmas and are called the seven good dharmas or the seven factors of wisdom*).

(VII) C: The Eight fold Path = P: Atthangiko Maggo

C: *Straight view, straight thought, straight speech, straight livelihood, straight action, straight means, straight mind, straight concentration*. Thus we remark here the C uses the term *straight* for the P *sammà*; the later translators preferred the term *straight* for the P *Sammà*; the later translators preferred the term *Cheng* which means *right*. Here the C uses the term *Nien* (Thought) for the P *sankappo*; the term *Chih* livelihood.) for the P *àjivo*; the term *Fang-pien* (means) for the P *vàyàmo*; the

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<sup>86</sup> Guarding one's mind so as not to let it be swayed by hatred and attachment.

term *I* (mind) for the term *sati*. The later translators opted for *ssu-wei* (*Sankappo*), *ming* (*Àjivo*), *Ching-chin* (*Vàyàmo*) and *nien* (*Sati*).

(K.E. The Eight fold path which is also called *A-kou* ?)

(viii) *Similes*

Both versions resort to four similes to illustrate that good qualities depend upon *Sila* or morality as foundation. They are not exactly in the same order and the explanations are almost the same with the P offering more details.

C 1=P 2; C 2=P 1; C 3=P 3; C 4=P 4.

Thus in C 3=p 3, the C mentions simply that if an architect wants to build a big town, first he should measure and lay the foundation then he will be able to build the town. But the P mentions more details, such as clearing the place where the town is located, the removal of all stumps and thorns, the levelling of the earth, then the laying out of streets, squares, cross-roads, etc and so he build the city.

The C concludes this passage with Na-hsien saying that *if one thinks of the Dharma with one-mindedness, lust and craving would cease by themselves*. The P here quotes two gāthās, the first is the same with the introductory gāthā of *Visuddhimag-ga* and both gāthas emphasize that *Sila should be the basis for all spiritual developments and attainments*.

(d) *Exertion*

(C: 55b, 13-17)=(P: 36, 19-41; 37, 1-4)

Almost the same.

C: "*To hold fast to good qualities, to support good qualities*". (K.E. Only to support good qualities)

=P: "*With the support of exertion, all good qualities do not vanish away*". In the first simile, the P speaks of a falling house, the C adds one more instance, that of a wall on the verge of

collapsing.

The second simile is almost the same in both versions, except that the C adds that people with bad qualities are like the weak army. When people use good qualities to destroy bad qualities, it is like the king who sends reinforcements to the weak army. With the help of five good qualities, one destroys the five bad qualities, just as the reinforced army wins over the battle.

In the C, Na-hsien concluded this paragraph by saying that exertion helped people attain the meritorious path, and go beyond the worldly path without falling back again; the P quotes a saying of the Blessed One, explaining that *the noble disciple with the help of exertion eradicates evil, cultivates good qualities, eradicates what is faulty, cultivates what is not censurable and thus purifying himself.*

(e) C: Mindfulness=P: Sati

(C: 55b, 17-20; 56a. 1-2)=(P: 37, 5-34; 38, 1-17)

Here the C uses the term *I* (Mind) to translate the term *Sati*. C: "*Mind thinks of demeritorious dharma* =P: "*Sati apilāpanalakkhaṇā.*"

Here the C explains that the trainee in the Dharma should be mindful of the 37 qualities leading to enlightenment. With his mindfulness, he knows the meritorious and the demeritorious, what should be practised, what should not be practised; he distinguishes between the black ones and the white ones. Having pondered over he then gives up the demeritorious and cultivates the meritorious. The P explanation is almost the same and it adds more good dhammas such as *samatho, vipassanā, vijjā, vimutti.*

As for similes, the C adds an extra one about a man who uses a thread to string various flowers together and thus they are not scattered by the wind.



The simile of a treasurer of a universal monarch is almost the same in both versions, except that the C simile omits the enumeration of elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, adds gem, jade, glassy matters, precious stones. In the second explanation, the C mentions that mindfulness helps to allow in only meritorious dharmas and to keep out demeritorious dharmas.

Here the P mentions *upagaṇhana* as the second characteristic of Sati in the sense that Sati helps to select out the qualities which are beneficial from those which are not beneficial, the good qualities from the bad ones. The simile is almost the same in both versions. The C adds a quotation from a sūtra by Na-hsien as follows: "*One should protect and check one's mind and the six cravings in one's own body (?). With the strict check and holding fast of the mind, one can transcend the world*", while the P mentions that Sati is useful to all.

(f) C: Concentration=P: Samādhi

(C: 56a, 2-5)=(P: 38, 18-32; 39, 1-4)

Almost the same in both versions. Except some epithets more or less. In the C, the concluding sentence is a quotation from the Scriptures as follows: "*One-mindedness is the foundation of all good qualities. The trainee in the Dharma should first take refuge in one-mindedness. The man's body is subject to birth and death so many times in the past, just like the water flowing down the current, always in constant succession, without interruption.*" The P quotes the Blessed One saying: "*O monks, you should cultivate concentration; he who is concentrated knows things as they really are.*"

(g) C: Wisdom=P: Paññā

(C: 56a, 5-8)=(P: 39, 5-21)

Almost the same in both versions. C: "*To lighten the meritorious dharmas*"=P: *Obhàsanalakkhaṇà*. Here the P adds that wisdom makes the four noble truths clearer and helps the

yogàvacara realise the three characteristics of impermanence, suffering and no-self, while the C simply refers that the man endowed with wisdom is able to transcend the suffering of birth and death. Here the C adds another simile of a man cutting down the trees with a knife to show that wisdom is like a sharp knife cutting down demeritorious dhammas. The other similes are almost the same.

(h) The meritorious dhammas

(C: 56a, 8-10)=(P: 39, 22-32)

Almost the same. In this passage, Nàgasena shows that although meritorious dhammas are different, they serve the same purpose of eradicating the demeritorious dhammas. The simile is almost the same. At the end of Mi-lan's praise, the C adds the king saying that Na-hsien quoted the Scriptures very readily.

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BOOK II  
CHAPTER 2

(1) **The person who is reborn, does he remain the same or become another ?**

(C: 56a, 10-20; 56b, I) (P: 40; 41, 1-10)

The explanation is almost the same in both versions, but the expressions used and the details contained therein are not exactly the same. C: "*When a man dies and is reborn in a meritorious or in a demeritorious realm, the spirit of the body who is reborn, does it remain the same as the old one or not remain the same ?*" =P: "*He who is reborn does he remain the same or become another ?*"

Here the C uses the expression: "*The spirit of the body.*"

Nāgasena asked the king whether the latter was the same or another when he was a baby and now he grew up, the latter replied that he and the child were different.

Then Nāgasena objected that if it were so, then the King had no mother, no father, no teacher, no learning, no morality, no wisdom. The C is the same but it omits the objection raised by Nāgasena.

The next question is rather different in both versions. C: Na-hsien asked "*When a man is in the womb of the mother, the embryo which is just formed and the embryo which become turbid, and when it assumed skin and flesh; when he is newly born and when he is some years old, is the old embryo the same throughout ? When a man learns a book, can another man do that work for him ?*" The king replied that another man could

not do the work for him.

Again Na-hsien asked: "If a man infringes the law and is punished, can a non-guilty one replace him?" The king replied: "This cannot be." In the P, Nāgasena asked: "Is the mother of the embryo in abbuda...pesi....ghana stages... Is the mother of a child of some years old different from the mother of a grown-up person? Is the person in the training stage different from the person who has finished his training? Is the person who is an evil doer different from the person who has his hands and feet cut off? And the king replied: "Certainly not."

The simile of a lamp burning throughout the night and of the milk turning simultaneously into curd, butter, ghee are almost the same in both versions. with some differences in details and expressions.

But the summing up passage offers an interesting reading in both the C and the P text. C: "The spirit of a man goes on continuously like this, one goes away, one comes into being. From one spirit, one is born, becomes old and dies. From the last spirit, one is reborn again to a new life and goes on continuously, thus it is not the same with the old spirit nor it is different from the old spirit. After death the spirit would go to be reborn again."

The P is rather simpler: "Thus, O King, the continuity of states is maintained, one comes into existence and another passes away, the continuity seems to be neither earlier nor later. Thus, it is neither the same nor the other, but the being goes together with the last consciousness.

"*Evam eva kho mahārāja dhammasantati, sandahati, añño uppajjati añño nirujjhati, apubbaṃ acarimaṃ viya sandahati, tena na ca so na ca añño pacchimaviññāṇasangaham gacchatīti.*"

**(2) The person who is free from rebirth, is he aware of this ?**

(C:56b, 1-5)=(P: 41, 11-28)

There is not much difference between the two versions, except the following: C: "*When he knows by himself that there is no craving no sense-desire, no use of bad qualities, then he knows that he will not be reborn*"

=P: "*With the cessation of cause (hetu) and condition (paccaya), he knows that he will not be reborn.*"

The simile is almost the same, with the P offering more details. While the P adopts the same concluding passage, the C offers a slightly different reading. "*The man who obtains the Path is the same. When he knows by himself that he has already eradicated craving pleasant and painful feelings, with a mind devoid of desire, then he knows that he will not be reborn.*"

### (3) Intelligence and wisdom.

(C: 56a, 5-20)=(P: 41, 29-31; 42, 1-18)

The subject-matter is the same, but there are many different details between the two versions. The P begins with a question put by the king as to a man who had intelligence, if he also possessed wisdom and to the positive reply of Nāgasena, the king asked if both were the same and Nāgasena replied also in the positive.

The C starts with a question not available in the P: "*The man who is not to be reborn again, does he possess wisdom which is different from (other) people?*" And Na-hsien replied: "Yes".

The next two questions are similar to the P ones. While the C simply mentions that what he did not learn before was beyond his understanding, the P adds two more that is: *Agatapubbadisàya* and *assutapubbanàmapaññattiya* (places not yet visited and names and expressions not yet heard).

While the P mentions the three characteristics *anicca*, *dukkha* and *anatta* (impermanence, suffering and no-self) which

are realized by those who possess wisdom, the C text presents a slightly different reading: "*The man endowed with wisdom sees that people and things are always gone to the past (anicca) return to emptiness (suññata) and not independent (anatta); what the man's heart craves for and delights in are the source of all suffering and are leading to suffering. The man endowed with wisdom knows the impermanence, the rise and the fall of all matters.*"

As to the passage in which Nāgasena showed to King Milinda that wisdom having done its work would disappear while the work (that is understanding of the three characteristics of impermanence, suffering and no-self) would remain, both versions are almost the same. The simile of a letter written at night, of the five pots to put out the fire, of the doctor using five kinds of medicine, of the warrior using five arrows is almost the same with some details more or less.

One difference here is to be noted.

The five good qualities mentioned are not exactly the same.

C: (i) *Faith in goodness and in the existence of evil (?)*, (ii) *not infringing the precepts*, (iii) *energy*, (iv) *endowed with wisdom, mindful of good*, (v) *one-mindedness in reflecting on the Dharma*.

=P: *Saddhindriyaṃ, viriyindriyaṃ, satindriyaṃ, samādhindriyaṃ, paññindriyaṃ.*

(K. E. Only the 1<sup>st</sup> portion is available. Its last portion refers to something else, which is not relevant to the passage in question).

#### **4. Feeling suffered by the emancipated one :**

(C: 56b, 20; 57a, 1-4) (P: 44, 19-34; 45, 1-7)

Almost the same, with these two differences:

C: "He is liable to suffer bodily pain because the view on body still exists; he is not liable to mental pain, because the mind has got rid of demeritorious dharmas, without any desire".

=P. "He is liable to suffer bodily pain because the cause and the condition of bodily pain still exist; he is not liable to suffer mental pain because the cause and the condition of mental pain do not exist. The Blessed One has said: "He feels only one kind of feeling, bodily feeling, not mental feeling."

The rest is almost the same, but the C text seems to have missed one line with these questions from the king in succession. Sàriputta's gāthā is not exactly the same in both versions.

C: "I do not seek for death, I do not seek for birth. I only bide my time; when my time comes, I shall go" (Not exactly in gāthā form).

P: "Neither death nor life I welcome. I bide my time, aware and mindful". (K.E. not available).

## 5. Different kinds of feelings

(C: 57a, 9-19; 57b, 1-10)=(P: 45, 8-30; 46, 1-40)

Not exactly the same in both versions. In the P, the king asked if a pleasant feeling was good, or evil or neutral, and Nāgasena replied that it might be any one of these three, then the king refuted that if these dhammas were good, they could not be painful; and if they were painful they could not be good, the good dhammas could not be painful.

The C is different and not so clear. The king asked if a man is unhappy, is it *kusala* or *akusala*? (The Buddha's reply is given in words which are not clear). The king said: "It is as if the conditioned dharmas have no suffering" (?).

The next passage in which Nāgasena used the simile of a man holding at the same time a hot iron ball and a lump of ice is almost the same in both versions.

But the passage in which Nāgasena explained various kind of feelings is different.

The P refers to the Abhidhamma classification of 108 kinds of feelings: Three kinds of pleasant, unpleasant and neutral feelings, each divided into six kinds of feelings connected with the world and six kinds of feelings connected with renunciation, then it comes to 36 feelings. These feelings are again subdivided in feelings of the present, of the future and of the past, thus one arrives at a total of 108 feelings.

In the C, there is no mention of Abhidharma. Na-hsien quoted from the sutra itself and mentioned only 36 kinds of feelings as follows:

(a) *Six things arousing internal joyful feelings in men :*

(i) *Eyes see pleasant things and expect to see them again;*  
(ii) *ears hear pleasant sounds and expect to hear them again;* (iii) *nose smells good odours and expects to smell them again;* (iv) *tongue tastes nice savours and expects to taste them again;* (v) *body touches smoothness, softness and expects to touch them again;* (vi) *mind obtains pleasant feelings and expects to obtain them again. That is why they arouse internal pleasant feelings.*

(b) *Six things arousing external joyful feeling in men :*

(i) *Eyes see pleasant material forms, one thinks of them as not frequently to be obtained and (therefore) should be discarded; thus having pondered and analysed impermanence, this arouses external pleasant feelings in men. ( The same way with other 4 sense-organs and the mind with their respective objects).*

(c) *Six internal things arousing internal sorrowful feeling in men :*

*To see what our eyes dislike to see arouses internal sorrowful feelings. (The same way with the other four sense-organs, the mind and their respective objects)*



(d) *Six external things arousing not joyful feelings in men :*

*Eyes see evil material forms and this arouses not joyful feelings in men.* (The same way with the other four sense-organs, the mind and their respective objects).

(e) *Six things arousing neither sorrowful nor joyful feelings in men :*

*Eyes see things but there are neither pleasant nor unpleasant feelings.* (The same way with the other four sense-organs, the mind and their respective objects).

(f) *Six external things arousing sorrowful feelings in men :*

*Eyes see dead body and one ponders over the impermanence of the body and of all external matters. He thinks that with such a pondering, why does he not obtain emancipation ? Due to such thinKING there arises external sorrowful feelings.* (The remaining ones are dealt with in the same way.)

Thus the C text abstains from mentioning the Abhidharma and its explanation is quite different from that of the P text.

(K. E. not available).

(6) **What is reborn ?**

(C: 57b, 10-20; 58a, 1-15)=(P: 46, 5-31;47;48,1-29)

The passage in which Nāgasena explained the rebirth of *nāma* and *rūpa* and the link between the present *nāmarūpa* and the next *nāmarūpa* is almost the same in both versions, but the C is not so clear and it is sometimes misleading. Here the C uses the term *ming-shen* (name and body) for *nāma-rūpa*. The later translators preferred *ming-se* (name and material from).

The six similes used by Nāgasena to prove that the present *nāmarūpa* and the next one are linked together are almost the same in both versions except the following

differences:

In the 1<sup>st</sup> simile :

C: *Fruits of plants* =P: *Mango fruit*.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> simile :

C: *Crops and ripe grains* =P: *Rice and sugarcane*.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> simile :

C: *The fire burns walls, rooms and house*.

=P: *The fire burns the field of others*.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> simile : C: "A man lights a torch, places it on the wall so that he can eat his food. The torch burns walls, bamboos, wood, houses and town"

=P: "A man lights a lamp, ascends the pavillion, the lamp burns grass, houses, village. "

(K. E. not available)

**(7) Is Nàgasena reborn ?**

(C; 58a, 15-19) = (P: 48, 30-32; 1-12)

Almost the same.

C: "If I have desire and craving"

=P: "Sa upàdàno bhavissàmi."

The rest is almost the same. (K.E. not available).

**(8) Name and form are not reborn separately.**

(C: 58a, 19-20; 58b, 1) = (P: 49, 13-27)

Almost the same, except this difference:

C: "What is seen now is the body (form), what the mind is thinking is name

= P: "What is coarse is form; whatever is subtle and mental is name." At the end, the P adds: "Evam etam digham

*addhànam sambhàvitam*. (Thus it happens from time far off in the natural way). (K.E. not available).

**(9) Time that exists and time that does not exist.**

(C: 58b, 1-3) = (P: 49, 28-32; 50, 1-8)

Slightly different:

C: "*What is long time ? The past is long time, the future is long time, the present is not a long time*"

= P: "You spoke of long time. What does such a word as time mean ?" "Past time, present time and future time".

C: "*To those who obtained enlightenment and Nirvāṇa, time is not long; to those who do not obtain enlightenment and Nirvāṇa, time is long*"

= P: "*To those sankhàrà (karmic formations) which are things of the past, which have gone away, ceased, transformed, there is no time. But the dhammas which are vipàka (results), which give rise to vipàka, which lead to rebirth, to them, there is time. The beings who after death are to be born, to them there is time; the beings who after death are not to be reborn, to them, there is no time. The beings who have attained Nibbàna, for them, there is no time; the beings who have not attained Nibbàna, for them, there is time*".

At the end, the C adds: "*People who in the present world like to give charity, to be filial to parents, would obtain merits in the next life*".

K. E. not available).

BOOK II  
CHAPTER 3a

**(1) The root of the past, of the future, of the present :**

(C: 58b, 3-8) = (P: 50. 10-22)

Both versions explain that *ignorance* is the root cause of the past, of the future and of the present, but while the P follows this explanation with the Law of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* along with the usual twelve *nidānas* from *avijjā* up to *jarā-maraṇaṃ-soka-parideva dukkha-domanass-upāyāsā*, the C also adopts the same explanation but this chain of causation is not the same as that of the P.

The C order is as follows: (1) *ignorance*, (2) *spirit (shen)*, (3) *body*, (4) *name*, (5) *form*, (6) *the six knowledges*, (7) *their touch with their respective object*, (8) *knowledge of pain and happiness*, (9) *attachment, craving*, (10) *lust, desire*, (11) *becoming*, (12) *birth*, (13) *old age*, (14) *disease*, (15) *death*, (16) *lamentation*, (17) *grief*, (18) *inner despair*.

If we put *name* and *form* together, *old age, disease, death, lamentation, grief, inner despair* together, it comes to the same number twelve as in P. The C *soul* for *sankhārā*, *body* for *viññāṇa*, *six knowledges* for *salāyatana*, *lust and desire* for *upādāna* are rather forceful and testify that the Chinese translator was not yet fully conversant with the terms of the law and could not properly render them into Chinese. The later Chinese translators adopted the same terminology with the P text. (K. E. not available).

**(2) Birth and death have no end.**

(C: 58b, 8-19) = (P: 50, 23-27; 51, 1-24).

Almost the same in both versions. C: "*Due to that, birth and death have no end the old former body cannot be obtained*".

=P: "*The ultimate point in the past is not known.*" The three similes to illustrate this passage are almost the same in both versions. The P further quotes an explanation of the Buddha about the Law of Paticcasamuppàda, starting with the eyes: "*Dependent on eyes and material forms, eye consciousness arise. The meeting of these three factors is touch. Dependent upon touch, arise feelings; dependent upon feelings arises craving; from craving arises action (kamma); from kamma, eyes arise; then the circle starts again.*" The C explanation is almost the same. But it adds: "*From craving arise lust and desire; from lust and desire arises becoming; from becoming, arises birth; from birth there arise good activities and bad activities; from good and bad activities, birth arises.*" (In the same way, with the other àyatanas and their respective objects). (K. E. not available).

**(3) The root cause of birth and death cannot be obtained :**

(C: 58b, 19-20; 59a, 1-3) = (P: 51, 25-35; 52, 1-9)

Both versions are not the same. Some passages of the C text are rather obscure to understand as some lines are missing. The C explains that the root-cause of birth and death cannot be obtained and for mankind, craving and desire are the root cause of birth and death.

The P mentions that the ultimate point in the past can not be perceived, but some can be perceived. The point of the past before the start of the origin cannot be perceived. But the beginning of each link can be perceived. (K. E. not available).

**(4) The positive and negative aspects of the Law of Dependent Origination.**

(C: 59a, 3-10) = (P: 52, 10-27)

Almost the same in both versions except some differences in expressions. The C starts first with the coming together of the sense organs, their respective objects and their respective consciousnesses. From this coming together arise painful and pleasant feelings, which give rise to craving; from craving, attachment and desire arise; from attachment, from desire arise the aggregates of suffering which constitute a human being. Eyes, ears, mouth, body, soul (mind), consciousness, cause touch (?) to arise; from touch arise painful and pleasant feelings; from painful and pleasant feelings arises craving; from craving arise desire and attachment; from desire and attachment arises becoming; from becoming arise birth; from birth arise old age and disease, from disease arise death; from death arises grief, from grief arises lamentation; from lamentation arises pain in the heart. Human life is like that.

Then the C deals with this Law of Dependent Origination in the negative way, starting first with the non-existence of eyes, the non-seeing of material form, resulting in non-knowledge (or rather non-consciousness). Due to non-knowledge, there is non coming together; due to the non-coming together, there are no painful, no pleasant feelings; due to no-painful, no pleasant feelings, there is no craving; due to no-craving there is no desire, no attachment; due to no-desire, no attachment, there is no becoming; due to no-becoming, there is no birth, no old age; due to no birth, no old age, there is no sickness, no death; due to no sickness, no death, there is no grief, no lamentation; due to no grief, no lamentation, there is no suffering in the inner heart; due to no such suffering, one is emancipated and obtains Nirvāna. (The same is said of the other sense-organs).

**(5) Everything is generated from some causes, not without causes :**

(C: 59a, 10-15) = (P: 52, 28-32; 53; 54; 1-16)

Almost the same. While the P uses the term *sankhàrà* which come into being not without a gradual becoming (*bhavanta*), the C mentions in a general way that in the world, everything is generated from causes, not without causes; and as a summing up for each simile, the C mentions that due to the coming together of elements (*dhàtus*), a man comes into being.

As to the similes, the C mentions only six similes while the P adds another extra, about trees, which come into existence due to sowing seeds in the earth. The remaining six similes are of the same purport, but there are some slight differences as to the wording and the expressions.

C1 = P1:

C: "*Wall, mud, soil come from earth*"

= P: "*This mud come from the earth*". It adds: "*With the exertion of women and men.*"

P2 = C no. "*Trees come into being owing to the sowing of seeds in the ground, and they grow up and yield fruits and flowers.*"

C2 = P3:

C: "*A potter takes the earth, water, makes it into mud, shapes it into various forms and burns them*"

= P: "*A potter digs up the clay out of the earth and shapes it into various vessels.*"

C3 = P4:

C: "*A lute without strings, without frame, without people playing cannot produce sound*"

= P: "*A lute without sling (patta), without leather, without belly (doni), without arm, without neck, without strings, without plectrum, without man's effort.*"

C4 = P5 :

C: *Without both sticks, without man's twirling"*

=P: *"Without lower piece of wood (araṇi), without twirling stick (araṇipotako), without twirling cord (araṇiyottakam), without upper piece of wood (uttarāraṇi) without tinder (colakam), without man's effort."*

C5 = P6 :

C: *"Without holding a speculum, without sun, without sky".*

=P: *"Without gem, without heat, without cow-dung, fire cannot be produced."*

C6 = P7 :

C: *"Without mirror, without light, if one wants to see one's own image."*

=P: *"Without mirror, without light, without face." (K. E. not available).*

**(6) Is there an individuality or a soul ?**

(C: 59a,19-20;59b,1-16)=(P; 54,17-64;55;56;57,1-3)

Almost the same, but the wording as well as the exposition is rather different. In the P, the king asked if there was a thing called Vedagù (soul) and Nàgasena asked what *vedagù* was. Then the king explained that *vedagù* was the living principle inside the body, which saw forms with the eyes, heard sounds with the ears, smelt odours with the nose, savoured tastes with the tongue, felt touches with the body and thought if things with the mind, just as they were sitting in the palace and looked out of any window,

Then Nàgasena asked if it was possible for the living principle in the body to see forms not only through the eyes, but through the other organs as well and the king replied in the negative. The same should be said of the other four sense-organs



and the mind.

The C is rather different. It starts with the king's question if in the world there was what was called a man (not a soul) and Na-hsien replied in the negative and he asked the king what he meant by a man. And the king replied that the living principle in the body was called a man.

Then Na-hsien asked the king if that man in the body could use eyes to see material forms, use the mind to think, and the king replied in the positive. Then Na-hsien asked the king if it was possible for them to see anything they liked through the windows, now that they were sitting in the palace with windows open to four directions and the king replied in the positive.

Then Na-hsien asked the king if it was possible for the living principle in the body to use any kind of orifice to see material forms, such as the ears to see material forms, the nose to see material forms... and the king replied in the negative. The same should be said of the other four sense-organs and the mind.

C: *"The king's speeches before and after did not agree to each other"*.

=P: "Ma kho te mahàràja yujjati purimena và pacchimam pacchimena và purimam (What you said later did not agree to what you had said before, what you had said before did not agree to what you said later)".

The other three instances were used by Nàgasena to show that while the sense-organs in appropriate conditions could work far and wide, the living principle inside the body was limited by the powers of the sense-organs themselves. These instances are almost the same in both versions, except the following differences:

C: *The treasurer or storekeeper* = P: *Dinna*.

C: *A big jar of wine* =P: *A trough full of honey*.

But the conclusion of this passage is rather different. Here Nāgasena explained the non-existence of the soul with reference to the Abhidhamma exposition, that due to eyes and material forms, eye-consciousness arises and with the coming together of these three factors the following dhammas arise together: *phasso, vedanā, saññā, cetanā, ekaggatā jīvitindriyam, manasikaro*. The remaining sense-organs are dealt with in the same way.

The C explanation is rather different and curious. C: "*Man, owing to the eyes, sees material forms. Then the soul craves for (soul here is in the sense of individual). Due to the soul shaking, there arise painful and pleasant feelings, thoughts, mindfulness which come up together. In the same way with the ears, the nose, the mouth, the body and the mind. Due to the mind and objects of the mind, the soul has craving. Due to the soul craving, there arise painful and pleasant feelings. From painful and pleasant feelings arise thoughts, arises mindfulness and gradually up to the notion of impermanence. (K. E. not available).*

**(7) Eye-consciousness and mind-consciousness.**

(C:59b, 16-20; 60a, 1-11) = (P: 57, 4-30; 58;59;60, 1-2)

In this passage, Nāgasena showed to the king that where eye-consciousness ( as well as other consciousnesses) arose, mind-consciousness also arose, and that the former arose first, the latter came next, but there was no order, no command, no intercourse between them; and such a phenomenon happened *due to bending down, due to the existence of a door, due to habit and due to practice.*

Then Nāgasena explained them with appropriate similes to the king. Both versions are almost the same, with the following differences :

*C: Spirit (shén)=P: Manoviññānam.*

C: *Eye=P: Eye-consciousness.*

C: *Due to the track of the car.*

=P: *Ciṅṇattā (travelled over, made a habit of).*

C: *By repetition (shu)=P: Samudàcaritattā.*

In the third simile, while the P simply mentions that the second cart follows the first, the C says that the second cart follows the track left by the first.

In the fourth simile, both texts are not the same. While the P mentions that in matter of such crafts like muddà gaṇanā sankhà lekhà, the beginner is rather slow and clumsy, but by dint of practice, he becomes an expert, the C is rather different. Here the term used is *shu*, meaning *repetition* and also *counting, calculating; books, commentaries, learning* are called *repetition*. And it proceeds to show that due to the coming together of all the six consciousnesses, there arises knowledge, but not due to one consciousness. (K. E. not available).

#### (8) Contact :

(C: 60a, 11-14) = (P: 60, 3-25)

Although the definition of contact is almost the same in both versions, yet there are some differences in expressions and details. While the P mentions that where mind-consciousness arises, there are also contact, feelings, perception, volition, initial thought, sustained thought, the C refers to the coming together of eye (consciousness), painful and pleasant feelings having contact as root.

The similes are the same in both versions. The first two similes about the two rams, the two hands clashing together are the same. In the third one, the C refers to two stones while the P mentions 2 cymbals (*sammà*). (K. E. not available).

#### (9) Feeling :

(C: 60 a, 14-17) = (P: 60, 26-34; 61, 1-8)

The definition of feelings and the two similes of a man enjoying sense-pleasures due to some service to the King and of a man who enjoys heavenly pleasure due to his meritorious activities in the past life are the same in both versions with some slight differences as follows:

C: *To feel oneself is happiness.*

=P: *Vedayitalakkhanà vedanà anubhavanà lakk-hañà ca* (Experiencing, Enjoying).

C: *Sense-desires* =P: *Five kinds of sense-desires.*

C: *Past meritorious bodily actions, vocal actions and mental actions.*

=P: *Good actions in the past.*

(K. E. not available).

#### (10) Perception

(C: 60a, 17-18)=(P: 61, 9-18)

Slightly different. C: *Chueh* =P: *Saññà*.

C: *To know is perception*=P: *Sañjānanalakkhana-saññà*.

And the P adds : "*He recognises blue colour, yellow, red colour, white colour, crimson colour*". The simile of a treasurer who opens a king's treasure is almost the same except that the objects are different.

C: "*Coin, gold, silver, gems, jade, silken fabrics, cotton, mixed scents, mixed colours*".

=P: "*Treasures of the king of blue-yellow-red-white-crimson colours*". (K.E. not available).

#### (11) Volition

(C: 60a, 18-20)=(P: 61, 19-32; 62, 1-7)

Almost the same, with some slight differences.

C: "*Due to what one thinks, one acts*".

=P: "*Cetayitalakkhaṇà cetanà abhisan-kharāṇa-lakkhaṇà cāti*".

Both similes about a man drinking poison and causes others to drink, about his bad actions and inducing others to perform bad actions are the same. But here the P adds two more similes, the case of a man who drinks ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses and causes other to drink, and the case of a man who performs good actions and induces others to do the same. These two similes are missing in the C.(K.E. not available).

### (12) Consciousness and initial thought

(P: 62, 8-28)

Here the P adds two passages dealing with the characteristic of consciousness and initial thought with appropriate similes. These two passages are not available in the C. (K. E. not available)

### (13) Sustained thought

(C: 60a, 20; 60b, 1-2)=(P: 62, 29-31; 63, 1-3)

Slightly different. C: *Inner move* =P; *Vitakka*.

C: "*When there is thought, then there is inner move*".

=P "*Anumajjanalakkhaṇo vicāro (Investigation)*". The simile is not exactly the same. The P refers to a *copper vessel which is beaten (ākoṭitaṃ), and produces a humming sound (anuravati); when it is beaten, it is initial thought; when it produces humming sound, it is sustained thought.*

=C: "*When the copper plate is put into fire by a man, there is sound; when he raises his hand (?) there is sound. Thus when there is thought, there is inner move.*"

Na-hsien said: "*When it is burnt, there is vibration*

*(perhaps vitakka), when it produces various sound, there is motion, practice (perhaps vicàra)". Here the C is not clear. (K. E. not available).*

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BOOK II  
CHAPTER 3b

**1. No possibility of distinguishing the Dhammas :**

(C: 60b, 2-6) = (P: 63, 5-25; 64, 1-10)

Almost the same. Here the Dhammas referred to are different.

C: *Contact, knowledge, thought, mind, vibration (perhaps vitakka)*

=P: *Phasso, vedanà, saññà, cetanà, viññàṇam, vitakko, vicàro.*

The simile is also almost the same, with difference in ingredients used to make the soup.

C: *soup* = P: *Yùsam, rasam.*

C: *Water, meat, onion, garlic, ginger, salt, glutinous rice*

= P: *Curd, salt ginger. Cummin seed (jìrakam), black pepper (maricam).* The P adds also various tastes such as sourness, saltiness, bitterness, pungency, astringency, sweetness. (K. E. not available).

**2. Can salt be weighed ?**

(C: 60b, 6-10) = (P: 64, II-24)

The purport is the same, but the exposition is rather different.

The C text runs as follows: "*The king again asked Na-hsien: "A man with eyes sees the taste of salt. Can he separately distinguish it ?" Na-hsien said: "O King, do you know like that ?*

*Can you with the eyes, see and know the taste of salt ?" The king said: "Can the eyes know the taste of salt ?" Na-hsien said: "A man uses the tongue to know and distinguish the taste. Man with the tongue can know the taste of salt, but with the eyes cannot know the taste of salt." The king again asked: "Can a man with the tongue know the taste?" Na-hsien said: "A man with the tongue can know the taste". The king asked: "Is the taste of all salt to be known separately by the tongue ?" Na-hsien replied: "The taste of all salt is to be known separately by the tongue." The king again asked Na-hsien: "There is salt brought by chariot, there is salt brought by cow, can the chariot and the cow know the taste of salt ?" Na-hsien replied: "The chariot and the cow cannot know the taste of salt." The king asked Na-hsien: "Can the taste of salt be weighed ?" Na-hsien replied: "O King, you only know how to weigh the taste of salt. The taste of salt cannot be weighed. But its weight can be weighed." The king said: "Very good, very good !"*

The P is not the same in exposition. The P first begins with Nàgasena asking the king if the salt could be known by the eyes. And to the positive reply of the king, the Elder asked him to be careful. Next the king asked: "If all salt is known by the tongue, why does a chariot bring cartloads of salt ? Is not salt (taste) only to be brought ?" Then Nàgasena explained that it was not possible for the salt (taste) to be brought. Those dhammas were one as to their nature, but different as to their range, (*Gocàra*). Besides salt had heaviness. And this weight could be measured, but the taste of salt could not be measured.

Here the P mentions the end of the questions asked by King Milinda to Nàgasena, while the C does not even adopt a new paragraph. (K.E. not available).



BOOK III  
VIMATICCHEDANAPAÑHO  
CHAPTER 4

**(1) The five knowledges are produced by various actions :**

(C: 60b, 10-11) = (P: 65, 1-10)

Almost the same, with the following differences: C: *Five knowledges*: = P: *Pañca àyatanàni* (K. E. not available).

**(2) Different kinds of actions lead to different types of people :**

(C: 60b, 11-18) = (P: 65, 11-29)

Almost the same, with the following differences:

C: "*Men in the world are complete with head, beard, hairs, skin, face, eyes, ears, mouth, body, the four limbs, but among them, some are of long life, others of short life, some with many diseases, others with few diseases, some are poor, others are rich; some are noble, others are mean; some are of great family, others of small family, some are handsome, others ugly; some are enjoying confidence of others, others are suspected; some are intelligent, others stupid. Why are they not the same ?*" (K. E. omits: some are of great family, others of small family)

= P: "*By what reason are men not the same ? some of short life, others of long life; some with many diseases, others with few diseases; some are ugly, others are handsome; some are of few influence, others of great influence; some are of few wealth, others of great wealth; some of low family, others of high family; some are stupid, others are intelligent.*"

C: "*Just like fruits of tree, some are acid, not sweet, some*

are bitter, some are pungent, some are sweet, some are really sour" (K.E. omits the last one).

=P: "All the trees are not the same, some are sour, some are salty, some are bitter, some are pungent, some are astringent, some are sweet."

C: "That is why the Buddha said that in accordance with one's own bad or good actions, one would reap results" (K.E. richness, poverty, handsomeness, ugliness are due to bad and good actions performed in previous lives. One obtains in accordance with one's own actions):

P: "Kammassakà maṇava sattà, kammadàyàdà, kammayoni kammabandhū, kammaṇṇisaṇṇā, kam-ma satte vibhajati, yad idam hinappanītāyāti."

**(3) Good deeds should be done in the past :**

(C: 60b, 18-20; 61a, 1-5) : (P: 65, 30-31;66;67,1-3)

Almost the same in both versions, with the following differences:

While the C starts with the king's question whether people wanting to perform good deeds should have done so in the past or at a later time and Na-hsien replied that he should have performed good actions in the past, as good actions performed later were not useful, the P begins with the king asking if the purpose of adopting a religious life was to eradicate that suffering and to prevent other suffering from arising. And when Nāgasena confirmed that, the king asked again if effort should be displayed in the past or now, and Nāgasena replied that effort at the present moment was *akiccakaro*, but that in the past was *kiccakaro*.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> The term *akiccakaro* is almost equivalent to the term "of no use" in the C. The Q. K. M. rendering (p.101): "Effort is now concerned with what remains to be done" is too far fetched.

The three similes are almost the same, with the following slight differences:

C: *"To dig a well"*

= P: *"To dig a well and a pond"*.

C: *"AsKing people to plough the field, to manure it and to sow crops:"* (K. E. to plough, to sow).

=P: *Asking people to plough the field, to sow seeds, to harvest crops."*

C: *"Ordering people to train horses, elephants, men in the warfare"* (K. E.: to take out war materials)

=P: *"To dig a moat, to build ramparts, watch-towers, strongholds, to store crops, to train yourself in the warfare about elephants, horses, chariots, bows, sword"*.

The concluding passage is not the same.

C: *"Thus the Buddha said: "One should strive to perform bodily good actions in the past, as good actions performed at a later stage are not useful."* Na-hsien advised the king (K. E. omits to mention Na-hsien) not to give up the right path and adopt the wrong path, not to follow the ignorant who discarded good and performed evil and had to lament and wail, without any use; people who discarded righteousness and adopted crookedness had to repent at their death-bed:

=P: The P has some similar passages but all was considered as spoken by the Buddha, unlike the C, which attributes the last portion to Na-hsien advising the king. The P gātha is as follows:

*"Doing before what he knows to be his own welfare, the wise man should exert himself, not to have the thinKing of the carter."*

*"As a carter, having left the smooth highway and engaged in the uneven path, has to lament over the broken axle"*.

*"So the ignorant, who has left the right dhamma and followed the wrong dhamma at his death-bed has to mourn over the broken axle."*

#### **4. Fire in the hell is far hotter than ordinary fire.**

(C: 61a, 5-17) = (P: 67, 4-30; 68, 1-23)

The passage in which King Milinda showed his disbelief in two statements of the Elder is almost the same in both versions with some slight differences:

C: *"You monks said"* = P: *"You said"*.

C: *"A small stone put into ordinary fire, up to evening, does not melt away"*

= P: *"A small stone thrown into ordinary smouldering fire the whole day is not dissolved."*

C: *A big stone*

= P: *A big stone as big as an upper chamber.*

To prove that statement, the C quotes four similes. While the P mentions only three. C 1 = P 1; C 2 = P 2; C 3 = P no; C 4 = P 3.

C 1 = P 1.

C: *"Female sea-serpents, female dragons, female tortoises, female crabs which are pregnant"* (K. E. omits *female crabs*).

=P: *"Makariniyo ( a kind of fish), sumsumàriniyo (female crocodiles), kacchapiniyo (female tortoises), moriniyo (pea-hens), kapotiniyo (female pigeons)"*.

C: *Sand and stones* = P: *Hard stones and gravels.*

C: *"Due to a natural, special favour and characteristic they did not dissolve"* (the translation is rather forced as the passage is not clear).

=P: *"Due to the power of kamma, they did not dissolve."*

The P quotes the Buddha as saying : "*He will not die as long as his bad kammas are not exhausted*", the C refers also to the same passage, but omits to mention that it was the Buddha's words.

C 2 = P 2:

C: *Lionesses, tigresses, female dogs, female cats who are pregnant* (K. E. : *lionesses, tigresses, female wolves*).

= P: *Lionesses, tigresses, leopardesses, female dogs*.

C 3=P no

C: *cows mares, she-donkeys, tailed deer, female stags, which are pregnant who are eating grass, hay*. (K. E. omits *she-donkeys*).

C 4=P 3: C: *women, ladies of rich family who are eating delicious food* (K. E. : *only women*)

=P: *Delicately nurtured ladies of the Yonakas, of noble caste, of brāhmaṇa caste, of householders who are eating hard food and meat*.

**(5) Wind element supports water element :**

(C: 61a, 17-18) = (P: 68, 24-30)

Almost the same. Here the king said that he did not believe in what the monks had said that the great earth rested on the water, the water on the air, the air on the space. To prove that the water rested on the air, Nāgasena took a *dhammakaraka* ( a water-pot with filter) and showed it to the king.

The C uses the expression *shu-shui-shih*; book-water-fitting) which baffles any translation (K. E. : *wang-shu-shui* : king-book-water. ?)

**(6) A definition of Nibbāna :**

(C: 61a, 18-26; 61b. I) = (P: 68, 31-32; 69, 1-15)

The purport is the same, but the exposition rather differs with many expressions uncommon in both versions.

C: *Nieh-pan path* (means that) *having gone past, there would be no more becoming.*

=P: *Nibbànam nirodho.*

C: *"The ignorant people came yearning for, craving for the inner and outer bodies, sitting upon them (rather clinging) so that they could not escape from old age, sickness and death."*

=P: *"All foolish worldling enjoy the internal and the external sense spheres, take pleasure in them and cling to them; so they are carried away by that stream, and are not free from birth, old age and death, from grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, despair; I say that they are not free from suffering."*

C: *"The wise men, those who had learned the dharma, did not cling to the internal and external bodies, had no craving. Having no craving they had no sense-desires. Having no sense-desires, they had no pregnancy in womb. Having no pregnancy in the womb, there were no birth, no old age. Having no birth, no old age, they had no sickness, no death; having no sickness (no death), they had no grief, no lamentation; having no grief, no lamentation, they had no inner pain, they obtained Nirvāna."*

=P: *"The learned ariyan disciple does not enjoy internal and external sense-spheres, does not take pleasure in them, does not cling to them. Having no enjoyment, no taking pleasure, no clinging, craving ceases; craving having ceased, grasping ceases; grasping having ceased, becoming ceases; becoming having ceased, birth ceases; birth having ceased, old age and death cease; grief lamentation suffering, sorrow, despair cease. Thus is the cessation of the whole aggregate of suffering,"*

**(7) Do all learners of the Dharma obtain Nirvāna ?**

(C: 61b, I-2) = (P: 69, 16-22)

Almost the same, with the following differences :

C: "*Do all learners of the Dharma obtain Nirvāṇa?*"

=P: "*Do all people obtain Nibbāna?*"

C: "*Those who rightly bend upon the meritorious path, who learn and know the right thing, those who practise what should be practised, who give up what should not be practised, who think of what should be thought of, who eradicate what should not be thought of, such people would obtain Nirvāṇa*"

=P: "*He who lives righteously, who knows what should be known, who perceives what should be perceived, who gives up what should be given up, who develops what should be developed, who realizes what should be realized, such a man would obtain Nibbāna.*"

**(8) Nirvāṇa is happiness :**

(C: 61b, 3-6) = (P: 69, 23-31; 70, 1-3)

The same in both versions.

Here ends the fourth chapter.

BOOK III  
CHAPTER 5

**(1) The Buddha exists :**

(C: 61b, 6-9) = (P: 70, 5-16)

Almost the same with some slight differences.

C: "*You, your, father, your grand-father*".

=P: "*You, your father.*"

C: "*The place where 500 streams meet together*"

=P: *Uhànad.*"

**(2) The Buddha is incomparable :**

(C: 61b, 13-16) = (P: 70, 17-26; 71, 1-2)

Almost the same, with the following differences: C: *Five great rivers and each great river has 500 tributaries.*

=P: *Five great rivers.*

C: *Heng, Hsin-t'a, Ssu-t'a, Po-ch'a, (K. E. Po-ch'a) Shih-p'i-i, (K. E. Shih-p'i-i-erh).*

= P: *Gangà, Yamunà, Aciravatì, Sarabhù, Mahì.*

*The names of the rivers in the 2 versions P and C do not tally except for the C Heng=P: Gangà.*

C: *Big=P: Deep, immeasurable, unfathomable.*

C: *It is because those who have attained enlightenment have spoken of the incomparability of the Buddha that I believe it".*

=P: "*Thus having seen the great disciples completely emancipated, I know that the Blessed One is incomparable.*"



**(3) The Buddha's incomparability is known through his teachings :**

(C: 61b, 16-19) = (P: 71, 3-11)

The purport is the same, but the C is with more details.

For the P: *Formerly, there was a Master in writing, named Tissatthera; he passed away many years ago. How is he known ? "By his writing".*

The C uses many sentences as follows:

*Na-hsien asked the king: "Who is the master in writing books ?" The king replied: "The master who wrote books was called Chih." Na-hsien asked: "Have you ever seen Chih ?"*

*The king replied: "Chih died long, long ago. I have never seen him."*

*Na-hsien asked: "O King, you have never seen him, then how do you know that Chih is a master in writing books ?" The king replied: "It is because the ancient books and his writings are handed down to us that I know Chih."*

The P adds a passage saying that *"he who sees the Dhamma sees the Lord, the Dhamma being taught by the Buddha."*

**(4) The teachings of the Buddha should be practised for the whole life.**

(C: 61b, 19) = (P: 71, 12-15)

Both versions are not the same.

*C: The king again asked Na-hsien: "Do you see by yourself that the Buddha's teachings should be practised for a long time ?" Na-hsien replied: "The teachings explained by the Buddha, the rules, the sermons are very quick (?) but, they should be practised up to old age."*

*=P: The king asked: "Ven Nāgasena, is the Dhamma seen*

by you ?" *"The disciples should behave up to the end of their life in accordance with the guidance of the Buddha and the concept of the Buddha."*

**(5) Rebirth without transmigration :**

(C: 62a, 1-4) = (P: 71, 16-29)

Almost the same, with the following differences:

C: *"People after death receive a new body but the old body does not transmigrate".*

=P: *"Na ca sankamati, patisandahati."*

The first simile is the same. The second one is slightly different. The C adds one more detail that when the king learnt the sacred books (P: siloham, verse), from the teacher, the teacher continued to know the sacred books.

**(6) Bad and good actions follow the doer :**

(C: 62a, 4-7) = (P: 71, 30-32; 72, 1-18)

Here the C confines this passage to one paragraph while the P extends it to two paragraphs. There are many points in common between the two versions but their interpretation is not the same.

So the C passage is translated textually here: *"The king again asked: 'Is there anything which (can be called) the Knower (P: Vedagù) ?' Na-hsien replied: 'There is nothing which can be called the knower."*

*'For example, there is a thief who steals fruits from the trees of other people, is the thief guilty ?' The king replied 'He is guilty.' Na-hsien said: 'At the time of planting, there was no fruit, why was the thief guilty ?' The king replied: 'If the trees were not planted, what causes the fruits to come into being? That is why the thief has no excuses (chuang) (?).'* Na-hsien said: *"people are the same. By reason of the performance of good and bad actions*

*in the present life, he would be born in the next life and obtain a new body." The king asked: 'Is it by reason of the performance of good and bad action of the old body that new good and bad (results) come into existence?*

Na-hsien replied: "*The performance of good and bad actions follows the doer, just like the shadow that follows the body. When a man dies, only his body is destroyed, but his performance is not destroyed. Just as at night, one lights the fire to write something, when the fire is extinguished, the writing remains. When the fire is lit, it comes into existence. Thus the performance in the present life leads to its formation in the next life and is received accordingly.*"

The king said: "*Very good.*"

P: The P starts with the king's question if there was anything called *Vedagū* and Nāgasena replied that *in the ultimate sense, there was no such thing called Vedagū*. And the king praised Nāgasena.

In the next paragraph, the king said that if there were no transmigration from one body to another, then one would be free from one's misdeeds.

Nāgasena replied that if one were not to be reborn, one would be free; if one were to be reborn, one would not be free.

And Nāgasena quoted the simile of a thief who stole the mango to prove his point. Then he concluded that this name and form performed good and bad actions and due to those kammas, another name and form was reborn and one was not free from was reborn and one was not free from one's own misdeeds.

**(7) Bad and good actions cannot be pointed out:**

(C: 62a, 7-9) = (P: 72, 19-32)

There is a slight difference in the interpretation of the simile of this passage. The C want to show that those who are

not yet emancipated cannot point out the position of good and bad actions, so in the simile, it shows that when the fruits are not yet born, it is impossible for anyone to foretell that this branch has no fruits.

The P wants also to show that it is impossible to point out the position of good and bad actions, but in the simile, it shows that when the fruits are not yet born, it is impossible for anyone to point out the position of the fruits in such and such a place.

**(8) One who is to be reborn knows that he will be reborn :**

(C: 62a, 9-11) = (P: 73, 1-8)

The same in both versions.

**(9) The Buddha after his Parinirvāṇa cannot be pointed out :**

(C: 62a, 11-13) = (P: 73, 9-22)

Almost the same. The C adds: "*The king again asked Na-hsien: "Is there Nirvāṇa or not ?" Na-hsien replied: "There is Nirvāṇa".*

The P adds: "*The Buddha has passed away without any remainder*". It adds also at the end: "*The Buddha can be pointed out through his Dhammakāya, as the Dhamma is preached by the Blessed One.*" The remaining is almost the same.

BOOK III  
CHAPTER 6

**(1) The religious ones do not love their body :**

(C: 62a, 13-19) = (P: 73, 24-28; 74, 1-17)

Almost the same, with some differences in details.

C: *"When taking rest, sleeping, they want to be comfortable; when eating, they want palatable and delicious things, they take good care of themselves"*

=P: *"Kelàyatha mamàyathàti (They take pride in and cherish their body).*

C: *Wounded by the edge of the knife, by spear, by arrow.*

=P: *Wounded by an arrow.*

C: *Using balm to anoint it and cotton, wool to bandage it.*

=P: *Using salve to anoint it, oil to smear it and smooth cloth to bandage it.*

C: *I only want the wound to get cured quickly.*

=P: *So that the flesh might grow up.*

C: *"The recluses are the same, they do not crave for their body. Although they have to drink, to eat, their mind does not enjoy, does not want things to be delicious, to be well-prepared, they do not want beautiful things, they want to keep the body going on so as to follow the Buddha's teachings and precepts".*

=P: *"Thus, the religious ones do not love their body. They look after it, without clinging to it, for the sake of the Brahmà life. Thus the body spoken of by the Blessed One is similar to a*

wound. Therefore the recluse should look after the body like a wound, without clinging to it." The Buddha's quotation is almost the same in both versions with some slight differences.

C: *"The Buddha's sūtra said: "People have nine apertures like nine wounds caused by spear. The nine apertures are ill-smelling and impure places."*

=P: *"Covered by living skin, with nine apertures, a big wound, from where completely ooze out impure and ill-smelling things."*

## **(2) The Buddha is omniscient**

(C: 63a, 16-19) = (P: 74, 18-31)

The C puts this passage far further. Almost the same in both versions with some slight differences.

C: *Does the Buddha know the present as well as the future?*

=P: *Is the Buddha omniscient, all-seeing ?*

The rest is almost the same.

## **(3) The 32 marks of the Blessed One.**

(C: 62a, 19-20; 62b, 1-4) = (P: 75, 1-29)

Almost the same with some differences in expression.

C: *His body is of colour of gold with halo.*

=P: *Suvarṇavarṇo kañicasannibhattaco byāmappabha.*

C: *People give birth to sons who have some features similar to them.*

=P: *A son surely should be like his mother or his mother's family, or he is like his father or his father's family.*

C: *A lotus = P: A lotus of 100 petals.*

C: *This lotus is born of the earth and grows up in the mud, in the water.*

=P: It is born in the mud and thrives in the water.

C: *His colour is extremely fragrant and beautiful, is it similar to that of the mud and of the water ?*

=P: Is it similar to the mud either in fragrance or in taste?...*Is it similar to the water in colour, in fragrance or in taste ?*

The C adds: "*The Buddha was born in the world, grew up in the world but was not similar to things of the world.*"

#### (4) **Is the Buddha a disciple of Brahmà ?**

(C: 62b, 4-7) = (P: 75, 30-33; 76. 1-7)

The purport is the same, but the exposition is slightly different.

C: "*Is the Buddha's conduct similar to that of the Brahmà of the 7<sup>th</sup> heaven, having no intercourse with womenfolk ?*"

=P: "*Buddho brahmacàri ?*"

C: Here at once Na-hsien asked if Brahmà of the 7<sup>th</sup> heaven had mindfulness or not and to the king's positive reply, he pointed out that Brahmà of the 7<sup>th</sup> heaven and the higher heavens should be disciples of the Buddha.

The P puts this passage later, mentions only Brahmà, not the higher heavens. It uses the term *sabuddhiko* and *abuddhiko*, not the term *mindfulness* as in the C.

The simile used by Nāgasena is not the same in both versions.

C: "*What is the cry of that bird like ?*" The king replied: "*(That) bird cries like a wild goose.*" Na-hsien said: "*Then that bird should be a wild goose.*"

The P refers to a king's state-elephant (*hatthipàmokkha*), his trumpeting is like a heron's cry, so it should be said that the state-elephant is a disciple of the heron.

**(5) The Buddha has no teacher.**

(C: 62b, 7-9) = (P: 76, 8-15)

Almost the same with some slight differences in expressions.

C: The king asked Na-hsien: "*The Buddha should learn, know and practise the Dharma and the Precepts, shouldn't he ?*"

Na-hsien replied: "*The Buddha naturally should learn, know and practise the Dhamma and the precepts.*"

=P: *Is high ordination a good thing ? -Yes, O King, high ordination is a good thing.*

C: *The king asked: "From what teacher did the Buddha receive the Dharma and the precepts ?"*

Na-hsien replied: "*The Buddha had no teacher. When he obtained enlightenment; he knew by himself the Dharma, the Path, unlike disciples who should learn, know the Buddha's teachings and practise them till old age.*"

=P: *O great King, the Buddha obtained high ordination at the root of the Bodhi tree when he attained omniscience, but he did not receive high ordination from others in the way the Blessed One laid down the precepts for his disciples to observe up to the end of their life.*

**(6) Two kinds of tears**

(C: 62b, 9-11) = (P: 76, 16-22)

Almost the same, with the following differences:

C: "*The tears at the death of one's father or mother and the tears when one hears the Dharma, these two kinds of tears, are they different ?*"

=P: "*He who weeps at the death of his mother and he who weeps owing to the love of the Dhamma, of these two kinds of weeping, which tears would act as a medicine, which tears would*"



not ?"

C: *"To him who weeps for his father or mother, his tears are due to his attachment, his thinking of, his grief, sorrow, suffering. This kind of sorrow is the sorrow of the ignorant people. To him who weeps while hearing the sermon of the Buddha, his heart is (full) of compassion, as he thinks of the suffering in the world, so his tears come out. He would obtain the greatest merit"*

=P: *"The tears of this one are stained and hot with attachment, hatred and delusion. The tears of the other are unstained and cool. There is medicine in what is cool; there is no medicine in heat (passion)."*

#### **(7) The man with passion and the man without passion**

(C: 62b, 11-13) = (P: 76, 23-31; 77, 1-2)

Almost the same with the following differences:

C: *He who is emancipated and who is not yet emancipated, what is the difference between them ?*

=P: *What is the difference between a man of passion and a man without passion ?*

C: *Na-hsien said: "He who is not emancipated is with attachment and desire. He who is emancipated has no attachment, no desire. He wants to eat only for the sake of keeping alive".*

=P: *One is with craving, the other is without passion (ajjhosito atthiko).*

C: *The king said: " I see, people of the world want their body to enjoy (things of the world), want delicious food without being satiated." Na-hsien said: "He who is not yet emancipated wants things to be delicious and tasty in eating; he who is emancipated, although eating, does not want to enjoy it, does not want it sweet, but only for the sake of keeping alive"*

=P: *The lustful man in eating enjoys both the taste and the lust for taste, the passionless man in eating enjoys the taste of food, but not the lust for taste.*

**(8) Where does wisdom dwell ?**

(P: 77, 3-7)

**(9) The meaning of tranamigration.**

(P: 77, 8-22)

These two passages are not available in the C text.

**(10) Memory and mind.**

(C: 62b, 13-18) = (P: 77, 23-31)

Not exactly the same. The C is with more details. Here a textual translation would serve the purpose.

C: *"The king again asked Na-hsien: "What makes a man, having done some work, remember it far and for a long time ?" Na-hsien replied : "When people are sorrowful, one remembers far and for a long time."*

*The king asked : "By what does one remember, by mind or by memory ?" Na-hsien asked the king : "Having learnt and known something, later on do you remember it ?" The king said: "Having learnt and known something, later on I forget it." Na-hsien asked: "At that time, is it due to your mind that you have forgotten ?" The king said: "At that time, I have no memory." Na-hsien said.....(some corruption in the text cannot be translated).*

*The king again asked Na-hsien: "People remember what they have done, like things done in the past. Now do they use their memory to remember things which are being done in the present? Na-hsien replied: "Things of the past are known by the memory. Things of the present are also known by the memory."*

*The king said: "Thus people can remember only things of the past but cannot remember new things?" Na-hsien said: "If*

*things newly done cannot be remembered, past things would be like that."*

The king said: "*People who just learn books, crafts, do they forget ?*" Na-hsien said: "*People who just learn books and arts have their memory so the disciples who have learned would know. That is why there is memory.*" The king said: "*Very good.*"

The P version is rather different. Nāgasena here wanted to point out to the king that one recollected by the memory, but not by the mind, because if one recollected by the mind, when one forgot things, then there would be no mind, and this would be absurd."

**(11) Learning and memory.**

(P: 77, 35; 78, 1-9).

Not available in C.

Nāgasena showed to the king that memory arose depending upon internal stimulus as well as external stimulus, because without the latter, there would be no need of practice, or art, schooling and there would be no need of teacher.

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BOOK III  
CHAPTER 7

**(1) Memory springs up in 16 ways.**

(C: 62b, 18-20; 63a, 1-16) = (P: 78, 11-24; 79; 80,1-16)

Here both versions are almost the same, with 16 ways, in which memory comes into play. They are in the same order, but their explanations are not all the same and the P adds another extra, the 17<sup>th</sup> Anubhūta, meaning experience.

C I = P I.

C: *By things done far away* (in the past)

=P: *Abhijānato* (by recollection)

C: *There were the Buddha's disciples, such as A-nan, and a lay woman disciple called Chiu-ch'-ou-tan-pa who remembered previous birth and other religious people who remembered the past. Due to that, memory came into being.*

=P: *Ānanda, Khujjuttarā upāsikā aññe pi keci jātissarā jātīm saranti.*

C2 = P2.

C: *By newly learned things* =P: *Katumikā.*

C: *Just like people who have learned accountancy but later forget it. When they see people doing accounts, they remember it.*

=P. *People of forgetful nature are constantly reminded by others.*

C 3 = P 3.

C: *By big event* = P: *Olārikaviññānato.*

C: *Just like the coronation of a crown-prince who remembered the greatness and the magnificence of a King*

=P: *Just like the coronation of a king or the attainment of the stream winner stage.*

C 4 =P 4.

C: *By thinKing of good things*=P: *Hitaviññāṇato.*

C: *Just like a man who has received a hearty and welcome invitation and he thinks of this good and memorable event.*

=P: *When one thinks of happy event.*

C 5 =P 5.

C: *By thinKing of what one suffers* =P: *Ahitaviññāṇato.*

C: *Just like a man who is beaten or is thrown into prison and he remembers these painful events.*

=P: *When one thinks of a painful event.*

C 6 =P 6.

C: *By thinking* =P: *Sabhāganimittato.*

C: *Just like what one has seen frequently, such as one's family, relatives, domestic animals.*

=P: *Having seen similar persons, one remembers one's mother or sister; having seen a camel, a cow, or a donkey, one remember other similar camels, cows, or donkeys.*

C 7 =P 7.

C: *By a mixture of actions* =P: *Visabhāganimittato* (by difference of appearance).

C: *Just like name of people, things of the world, different kinds of letters, material forms, good smell, bad smell, sweetness, bitterness; thinking of them, or speaking of them is called memory by a mixture of actions*=P: *Such a thing, of such a colour, of such a sound, of such a smell, of such a taste, of such a*

*touch.*

C 8 = P 8.

C: *By teaching people =P: Kathàbhiññàto.*

C: *One is prone to forgetfulness; people nearby (The C passage is not clear)... =P: One is forgetful by nature. Other people help him to remember.*

C 9 = P 9.

C: *By similarity =P: Lakkhanato.*

C: *People, cows, houses each has its own characteristic, this is called memory by similarity*

=P: *We remember an ox by a sign or brand.*

C 10 = P 10.

C: *By frequently urging reminders =P: Saraṇato.*

C: *Just like people who suddenly become forgetful, then by thinking much by oneself, one remembers.*

=P: *One is forgetful by nature. He is made to recollect by being urged to be mindful again and again.*

C 11 = P 11.

C: *By consciousness, by recognition.=P: Muddàto.*

C: *One who reads book is searching its letter*

=P: *One knows by learning through writing that such a letter should follow such a letter.*

C 12 = P 12.

C: *By accounting =P: Gaṇanàto.*

C: *Just like one who is trained in accountancy and knows the method very well.*

=P: *By training in accountancy one becomes expert in doing big sums.*

C 13 = P 13.

C: *By incurring debt* =P: *Dhàraṇato*.

C: (explanation not clear)

=P: *A mnemonician who by dint of learning has recollected much.*

C 14 = P 14.

C: *By onepointedness* =P: *Bhàvanato*.

C: *A monk with one-mindedness remembers things in the past thousand lives.*

=P: *A monk recollects his various past lives with their characteristics and modes.*

C 15 = P 15.

C: *By reading a book*

=P: *Potthakanibandhanato*.

C: *The king has a book of high antiquity which refers to such a king of such a period*

=P: *The king recollects through references to a book.*

C 16 = P 16.

C: *By recollecting what one has sent.*

=P: *Upanikkhepato*.

C: *Having sent it, one sees it with one's own eye*

=P: *On seeing things deposited, one recollects. The P adds one more extra Anubhùtato, from experience.*

**(2) Power of one thought of the Buddha :**

(C: 63a, 19-20; 63b, 1-3)=(P: 80, 17-27)

Almost the same, with the following differences.

C: *Depositing mei big stones in a boat*

=P: *Depositing 100 cart-loads of stone in a boat.*

C: *100 big stones in a boat do not sink due to the boat. Although one has done evil in the past, yet with one thought of the Buddha, one does not fall into the Hell and is reborn in the heaven. A small stone that sinks is like people who do evil but do not know the Dharma of the Buddha; when they die, they will fall into the Hell.*

=P: *Good actions should be understood as the boat.*

**(3) To remove suffering in the future :**

(C: 63b, 3-7)  $\doteq$  (P: 80, 28-31; 81; 82, 1-11)

The purport is the same in both versions but the C explanation is very simple.

The P starts with the king's three questions: "*Do you exert yourself for the eradication of past suffering, of future suffering, and of present suffering ?*" (to each question, Nāgasena replied in the negative). These questions are not available in the C.

C: "*For what purpose do you learn the Dharma and become a monk ?*"

=P: *If you do not exert yourself for the eradication of suffering of the past, of the future and of the present, so for what purpose do you exert yourself ?*

C: *For the purpose of eradicating past suffering, future suffering, and not wanting to experience it again, we learn the Dharma and become monks.*

=P: *What for ? For the purpose of stopping this suffering and for preventing other suffering from arising we exert ourselves.*

C: "*If suffering is in the next life, then for what purpose does one prepare to learn the Dharma and become a monk ?*"

=P: Here the king asked Nāgasena if there was such a



thing as suffering in the future and to Nàgasena's negative reply, the king said that Nàgasena was very wise to exert himself for the eradication of some thing which did not exist.

The remaining three similes: to prepare to fight against any would-be enemy, to dig a well and to sow corn are almost the same in both versions, the P giving far more details.

**(4) How far the Brahmà world is ?**

(C: 63b, 7-11) = (P: 82, 12-28)

Almost the same, with some slight differences as follows:

C: *The 7<sup>th</sup> Brahma-heaven is very far. If a big rock like the king's palace is dropped from the 7<sup>th</sup> Brahmà heaven, it takes six months (K. E.: six days) to reach this earth*

=P: *If a rock like a kùtàngàra (upper pinnacle) falls down from that place, at a speed of 48.000 yojanas day and night, it takes four months to reach this earth.*

C: *I was born in Ta-ch'in-kuo named A-li-san*

=P: *Alasando nàma dipo.*

C: *A-li-san is of 2000 yu-hsun (yojanas) distant from here (K. E. or 80.000 li)*

=P: *About 200 yojanas.*

The rest is almost the same.

**(5) The speed taken by a living being in his rebirth.**

(C: 63b, 11-16) = (P: 82, 29-32; 83, 1-20)

Almost the same, with the following difference: C: *Chi-pin of 720 li distant*

=P: *Kasmira of 12 yojanas distant.*

The remaining is almost the same.

**(6) Seven kind of wisdom :**

(C: 63b, 16-20) = (P: 83, 21-30)

Not exactly the same in both versions. While the P refers to *satta bojjhanga*, the C refers to the following seven: (1) *Thinking of good and evil things*; (2) *exertion*; (3) *To enjoy the dharma*; (4) *To subdue the mind in doing good*. (5) *Thinking of the Path*, (6) *One mindedness*, (7) *To meet things without attachment, without hatred*.<sup>88</sup>

C: *The wise take only the wisdom that can distinguish between good and evil, and know the Path, but it is not necessary to use the whole seven.*

=P: *One uses only one factor of wisdom to become wise: the investigation of the Dhamma.*

C: *Although the mind of the man is clear, the investigation of the Dharma should be obtained together with the other six so as to attain wisdom.*

=P: *Without the investigation of the Dhamma, the remaining six factors of wisdom cannot lead to wisdom.*

**(7) Merit is greater than demerit.**

(C: 63b, 20; 64a, 1-3)=(P: 83, 31-32; 84, 1-12)

Although the purport is the same, the exposition is quite different.

C: *The king asked: "People doing good obtain great merit or people doing evil obtain great demerit?" Na-hsien replied: "People doing good obtain great merit, people doing evil obtain small demerit."*

=P: *Which gives more (result), merit or demerit? -Merit is more, demerit is less.*

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<sup>88</sup> This list seems to differ from what we have on page 52 only in expressions, but in import, they are the same.

C: *When people are doing evil daily they repent, so their offence diminishes daily. When people are doing good, day and night they rejoice, so they obtain big merit.*

=P: *He who performs demerit is remorseful and recognises his demerit, so his evil does not increase. He who performs merit, is not remorseful. Being not remorseful, gladness arises; Being glad, joy arises; being joyful, his body becomes light; his body being light, he experiences happiness; being happy, his mind becomes concentrated. Being concentrated, he knows things as they really are. Due to that, his merit increases.*

C: *Formerly, when the Buddha was living, in the country there was a man without hands and feet. He took some lotuses and offered them to the Buddha. The Buddha then told the monks: "This man without hands and feet in 91 kalpas would not fall into the hell, into the animal Kingdom, into the Kingdom of the departed; he would be born in the heaven. Then from heaven, he would be born as man."*

*That is why I know that if people do little good, they obtain great merit; if they do evil, they would repent and their (offence) would diminish and be extinguished. That is why I know that when people do evil, their demerit is small.*

=P: *A man, whose hands and feet were cut off, having offered a handful of lotuses to the Blessed One, would not enter the purgatory for 91 kalpas. Due to this reason, I say merit is more effective and demerit is less effective.*

**(8) To do evil without knowing and to do evil knowingly :**

(C: 64a, 3-7) = (P: 84, 13-25)

Almost the same, with the following differences:

C: *Burning steel.*

=P: *Blazing mass of iron, glowing, burning.*

C: *In my country, according to the law, if a great minister commits offence, his offence is grave; if an ignorant man commits an offence, his offence is light*

= P: *If any of our princes or ministers commits evil, his punishment would be double.*

**(9) Power of travelling :**

(C: 64a, 7-10) = (P: 84, 26-32; 85, 1-9)

Almost the same, with the following differences:

C: *Can any person with this body fly up to the 7<sup>th</sup> Brahmà heaven and up to Yu-tan-yueh or other places, he wishes to go ?*

=P: *Is there anybody who with this body can go up to Uttarakuru or to Brahmà heaven or to other continent ?*

C: *O King, when you were small, did you in playing jump a chang? =P: O King, do you remember having jumped across the ground a vidatthim (span) or a ratanim (cubit) ?*

Here the P adds: *"Ven. Sir, having made up my mind that I should reach such a place, due to this determination of the mind, my body becomes light.*

C: *In the same way, he who realizes the Dharma can take this body and fly up to the 7<sup>th</sup> Brahmà heaven or to Yu-tan-yueh.*

=P: *In the same way, the monk endowed with psychic powers, who has mastery over his mind, with the power of his mind can travel through the air.*

(K.E. Available, but this passage is placed near the end of the book).

**(10) Very long bones :**

(C: 64a, 10-12) = (P: 85, 10-17)

Almost the same with the following differences:

C: *There is a bone of 4000 lo long.*

=P: 100 leagues long.

C: A big fish called Chih of 28.000 li long

=P: Fish of 500 leagues long. (K. E. Available near the end of the book).

**(11) Stop breathing :**

(C: 64a, 12-14) = (P: 85, 18-30)

Almost the same, but in the C, some expressions are rather difficult to understand, with the following differences:

C: *Have you ever heard about chih (determination) ? The king replied: "I have heard about it."*

*Na-hsien asked: "O King, is this Chih inside the body, isn't it ?" The king replied: "I consider the determination to be inside the body."*

*Na-hsien said: " O King, an ignorant man cannot control his body and speech, cannot follow the Dharma and the precepts. Such a man does not enjoy his own body. Na-hsien said: "People who learn the Dharma can control their body and speech, can follow the Dharma and the precepts, can obtain one-mindedness and the 4<sup>th</sup> Dhyàna states so why are they unable to stop their breathing ?"*

Here the P is different. At first, Nāgasena asked the king if he ever heard a man coughing (*kākacchamāno*) and Nāgasena explained that the man could stop coughing by bending his body (*kāyenamite*). Then he concluded: *That man who is not trained in the body, in the precepts, in concentration, in wisdom, can stop his coughing by bending his body, why can a man who is trained in the body, in the precepts, in concentration, in wisdom not stop his breathing ?*

(K. E. available only the last portion. The whole passage is found again at the end of the book. It shows that the K. E. is much corrupted.)

**(12) The ocean :**

(C: 64a, 14-15) = (P: 85, 31-32; 86, 1-3)

Almost the same, with a slight difference in expression.

C: *What is called ocean, is it the water that is called ocean or due to another reason ?*

=P: *Ocean is called ocean; by what reason is the water called ocean ?*

C: *Ocean is called ocean because water and salt mix together by half and half.*

=P: *Because there is as much water as there is salt; and as much salt as there is water. That is why it is called ocean.*

**(13) Saltiness :**

(C: 64a, 15-16) = (P: 86, 4-7)

Almost the same, with the following differences:

C: *For what reason is the ocean salty like the taste of salt ?*

=P: *For what reason has the ocean only one taste, the taste of salt ?*

C: *The ocean is salty because it has been stored up for a very long time and because fishes, turtles have lived together in it (ch'ing-pien ?)*

=P: *Because the water has been stored up for a very long time.*

**(14) Power of wisdom :**

(C: 64a, 16-18) = (P: 86, 8-16)

Not exactly the same. The questions are different, but the answers are rather similar.

C: *He who obtains the Dharmas, can he ponder over all subtle and deep matters ?*

= P : *Can the most subtle thing be divided ?*

C: *He who obtains the Dharma can ponder over all abstruse, subtle and profound matters*

= P: *Yes, all subtle things can be divided.*

C: *Na-hsien said: "The Buddha Dharma is the most abstruse and profound matter, which cannot be fathomed. But it can be divided (or analysed) by knowledge "*

=P: *Dhamma is the most subtle matter, but not all dhammas are like that, as there are expressions of subtleness and coarseness. Whatever can be divided is divided by wisdom, there is no second occasion for being cut by wisdom.*

**(15) There is no spirit in the body :**

(C: 64a, 18-20; 64b, 1) = (P: 86, 17-31; 87, 1-2)

The purport is the same, but there are differences in expressions:

C: *The spirit of a man, wisdom and the nature of things, are these three the same or different ?*

=P: *Consciousness, wisdom and the life principle in a living being, are these dhammas different in meaning, different in expression or are they the same in meaning and different in expression ?*

(Here the C uses the expression *spirit* for *consciousness*.)

C: *The soul of a man knows, wisdom realizes the path and the nature of things is emptiness, without any individual.*

=P: *The characteristic of consciousness is knowledge, that of wisdom is realization and there is no life-principle in a living being.*

C: *How to obtain an individuality ? Eyes see material forms; ears hear sounds; nose smells odour; mouth experiences taste; the body knows coarseness, smoothness; the mind knows*

*good and evil, so how to obtain an individuality ?*

=P: *If there be no life principle, then what sees material forms with eyes, hears sound with ears, smells odours with nose, experiences taste with tongue, feels touch with body and knows things with the mind ?*

C: *If the individuality can make the eyes see, so when the eye-balls are plucked out, can he see farther and wider ? When the ears are torn open and big, can he hear farther and wider ? When the nose is dug out to make it big, can it smell odour farther and wider ? When the mouth is widely open, can he know taste farther and wider ? When the skin is cut and peeled off, can he know coarseness and smoothness ? When the mind is thrown out, can the thought become numerous ?". The king replied: 'No' (Here the C stops without the usual 'well said')*

= P: The P is almost the same with some slight differences in expressions. Here the P adds: "*Thus there is no life principle in a living being.*"

(K. E. has only the 1<sup>st</sup> portion. The last portion is taken from other paragraph and does not fit in with this passage.)

**(16) Very difficult is the work done by the Buddha :**

(C: 64b, 1-6) = (P: 87, 3-19)

The purport is the same but the exposition is different.

C: *Na-hsien said: "What the Buddha has done is very difficult, what the Buddha knows is very subtle".*

=P: "*What the Blessed One has done is very difficult.*"

C: *Na-hsien said: "The Buddha said that (he) knows what is inside the body of a man (or he knows the individuality inside the body if the term jen should be understood in this way), what the eyes see, he understands it all. He understands things concerning the eyes, things concerning the ears, things concerning the nose, things concerning the mouth, things concerning the body, he*



*understands destruction, he understands doubts, he understands what is thought of, he understands the spirit*

=P: (quite different) : Here the Buddha is praised in his analysis of these immaterial dhammas, mind and psychic factors such as: *this is contact, this is feeling, this is perception, this is volition, this is the mind.*

The simile is different but the purport is almost the same.

C: *A man takes some water of the ocean in his mouth, can he know that in his mouth, such portion of is the water of such a spring, such portion is the water of such a stream, such portion is the water of such a river ?" The king said: " All the waters have mingled into one, it is very difficult to distinguish them."*

Na-hsien said: *"What the Buddha has done is very difficult, he knows how to distinguish the tastes of different waters. Now of the ocean water before the eye, O King, you still do not know, (so how about) the spirit inside the body which cannot be seen, about the six things which cannot be seen ?"*

"That is why the Buddha understands all things from the mind and psychic factors up to what is seen by the eyes, what is heard by the ears, what is smelt by the nose, what is tasted by the mouth and what is felt by the body, unpleasant, pleasant, cold, hot, coarse, smooth; from the mind and psychic factors to everything else alike the Buddha knows all and analyses them.

The P simile is not exactly the same. It refers to a man who enters the ocean, takes some water in his hand and tastes it with his tongue. It is very difficult for him to distinguish that this is the water of the Ganges, this is the water of the Yamunà, this is the water of Aciravatì, this is the water of Sarabhù, this is the water of Mahì.

## CONCLUSION

(C: 64b, 6-17) = (P- 87, 21-26; 88;89, 1-16)

Both are almost the same, but the Pāli is far more detailed. C: Here *Na-hsien* said that it was past midnight, he wanted to go, then the king ordered his attendants to have four rolls of cloths dipped in the oil to serve as torches and see *Na-hsien* to his place, with all due respect to *Na-hsien* as if to himself, saying that with a teacher like *Na-hsien* and with a disciple like himself, the realization of the Dharma should be quick, as all his questions were given suitable answers by *Na-hsien*.

Here the P first adds *Nāgasena's* enquiry as to the time and the king replied that the first watch had passed, the second watch was ushered in, the torches were lit, the four banners were raised and the gift from the king would come from the treasury. Here the P adds that the *Yonakas* praised *Nāgasena* as *paṇḍita* and the king approved of their praises saying that with such a teacher as *Nāgasena* and such a disciple as himself, a scholar would realize the Dhamma before long.

C: The king was pleased and ordered clothes worthy of 10,000 (coins) to be offered to *Na-hsien* from the treasury and informed him that from now on, he together with 800 monks would be invited to take their daily meals in the palace and to be provided with what they desired. But *Na-hsien* declined, saying that a religious man had no desire.

The king said that *Na-hsien* should protect him and should also protect himself, because people would blame the king of being miserly as *Na-hsien* had solved the latter's doubts but did not receive any thing from him; people also would blame *Na-hsien* of being unable to solve the king's doubts so the latter did not offer him anything.

And the king added that by receiving his present, *Na-hsien* would protect his fame and help the king to earn merit.

Here the king quoted the simile of a lion in a golden cage longing for freedom outside to illustrate his own case of being imprisoned in the palace but his mind did not relish and longed to leave the country and study the Dharma.

=P: The P is almost the same with the following differences:

C: *Na-hsien together with 800 monks daily=P: Aṭṭhasatabhattam (800 meals).*

C: *A robe worthy of 100.000 =P: Satasahassa-gghàakà kambalà.* Here the P adds: "*The king said that if he were to adopt the religious life, he would not live long because he had many enemies.*"

C: Then *Na-hsien* returned to the temple.

When *Na-hsien* had just left, the king pondered over all the questions put to *Na-hsien* and all the answers given by *Na-hsien* and he realized that all questions had been replied and explained by *Na-hsien* himself.

When he returned to the temple *Na-hsien* pondered over all the questions put to him by the king and all his replied to them and he realized that he had explained all the questions asked by the king. *Na-hsien* thought over these matters up to daylight.

Then he robed himself, took the begging bowl, entered the palace and sat in the royal hall. The king first paid homage to Na-hsien, sat down and informed Na-hsien of what he was thinking on the previous night and said that these thoughts kept him happy up to the morning.

Na-hsien then reported what he was thinking on the previous night and said that these thoughts kept him happy up to the morning. Having said that, Na-hsien wanted to depart. And the king paid homage to Na-hsien.

The P is almost the same except that P adds the expression: "*well put were the questions asked by the king and well replied were the answers given by Nàgasena*". Here the wording is slightly different. The king asked Nàgasena not to think that he had rejoiced the whole night over what he had asked Nàgasena.

Nàgasena also asked the king not to think that he had rejoiced the whole night over what he had answered the king. Here the P omits the departure of Nàgasena and the homage paid by the king at the end, but mentions instead that both great men praised each other.

Here ends the Chinese version, while the P adds the *Meṇḍakapañho*, where King Milinda asked Nàgasena to solve many dilemmas called *Meṇḍaka*, in which two-pronged questions were put to Nàgasena, each question containing two statements which seem contradictory; and to these questions, Nàgasena gave answers to the entire satisfaction of the king.

Next come the three books on *Anumanapañha*, *Dhùtanga*s and *Opammakathapañha*, which are all considered later additions by the Pàli compilers, because the doctrine treated here is more complicated, more subtle and therefore not suitable to such people as the Yonakas at the time of King Milinda. Rather, they are works of several intelligent and well-learned

Elders, well-versed not only in the Suttapitaka, but also in the commentaries. That is why they have expanded the original to the present bulk according to the tradition of their school.

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PART III  
APPENDIX

SOME REMARKS ON THE C TRANSLATION

(I) Some archaic terms :

As the C translation is a very old one, we observe many archaic terms, which cannot be found in later texts :

<i>Pāli</i>	<i>Ourtext</i>	<i>Later translation</i>
Uddhacca-kukkucca	Hsi-lo	Tao-chu
Sīla	Hsiao-shun	Chieh
Cattāro satipatthāna	Ssu-i-chih	Ssu-nien-ch'u
Kāyānupassanāsa- tipatthāna	Kuan-shén- shen-chih	
Vedanānupassanāsa- tipatthāna	Kuan-t'ung-yang t'ung-yang-chih	
Cittānupassanāsa- tipatthāna:	Kuan-i-i-chih	
Dhammānupassanā- satipatthāna	Kuan-fa-fa-chih	
Cattāro sammappadhāna	Ssu-i-tuan	Ssu-chéng-chin
Sattabojjhangāni	Ch'i-chueh-i	ch'i-chueh-chih
Sati	I	Nien
P'ti	Kho	Hsi
Passadhi	I	Ch'ing-an
Upekkhā	Hu	Shé
Sammā:	Chih	Cheng

Sankappa:	Nien	Ssu-wei
Aṭṭhangikamagga:	A-kou	Pa-cheng-tao
Sammāñjiva:	Chih-chih	Cheng-ming
Nāma-rūpa	Ming-shen	Ming-se
Sankhāra	Shen	Hsing
Viññāṇam:	Shen	Shih
Salāyatanam:	Liu-chih	Liu-ju
Phassa:	Pei	Ch'u
Vedanā	Chih-k'u-chih-lo	Shou
Tanhā:	Yin-ai	Ai
Upādānam:	San-yu	Ch'ou
Bhava:	Yu-chih	Yu
Manasikāra:	Chih	Tso-i
Saddhā:	Cheng-hsin	Hsin
Samādhi:	I-hsin	Ting
Sukhavedanā:	Keng-lo	Lo-shou
Dukkavedanā:	Keng-k'u	K'u-chou
Avijjā:	Yu-Chih	Wu-ming
Saññā:	Chueh	Hsiang
Vitakka:	Tung or nei-tung	Hsin
Vicāra:	Hsing	Ssu
Manoviññāṇam:	Shen	I-shih

(2) Some obscure and curious translations :

Sometime we find some obscure and curious translations, rather puzzling and difficult to explain:

*Fu-tao*: Underground road ? *Ch'uan-pai*: White ? *Shu-shui-shih*: Book-water-filling for the P: Dhammakaraka. *Chih*: P: Tissatthere. *Ta-ch'in-kuo*: Country of the Yonakas. *Chih*: A big fish.

Dr. Kogen Mizuno<sup>89</sup> is of the opinion that although the C book mentions that the translation was done in *Tung-hsin*

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<sup>89</sup> R.M.P. pp. 28-34;

period (317-420), it should have been earlier, probably in *Hou-han* period, not later than *San-kuo* period for the following three reason:

The translated terms are archaic; the Gàthà is translated in prose form and the use of the term *Ta-ch'in-kuo*.

In his chart<sup>90</sup>, Dr. Kogen Mizuno points out that the terms adopted by our translators are not the same as those adopted by *An-shih-kao*. It shows that the translation should have been done earlier than *An-shih-kao* period. It couldnot have been dated later than *Tung-hsin* or *Hsi-hsin* period, but rather in *Hou-han* period.

As seen earlier<sup>91</sup>, there is no gàthà form in the C version. Dr. Kogen Mizuno cites the case of the P gàthà: *Arogyà paramà làbhà, santutthi paramam dhanam, vissàsa paramà ñàti, Nibbànam paramam sukham.*

This gàthà is translated by *Chih-ch'ien* of *San-kuo* period as follows:

*Wu ping tsui li,  
Chih tsu tsui fu,  
Hou wei tsui yu,  
Ni-yuan tsui lo.*

*Chu-fu-nien* of *Tung-hsin* period rendered the same gàthà in verse form:

*Wu ping ti i li,  
Chih tsu ti i fu,  
Chih-ch'in ti i yu,  
Ni-yuan ti i lo.*

As the translator of our text adopts the prose form to

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<sup>90</sup> R.M.P. p. 31-32;

<sup>91</sup> See ante p. 20.



translate this P gâthà, the C version should have been older than *San-kuo* and *Tung-hsin* period.

In the C version, the term *Ta-ch'in-kuo* is used to translate the country of the Yonakas.

According to Dr. Kogen Mizuno, the Greek territory was translated into *Ta ch'in* during and after Hou-han period. So there is possibility that our version was dated in *Hou-han* period. With the three reasons mentioned above, Dr. Kogen Mizuno concluded that our Chinese text was dated not in *Tung-hsin* period as mentioned in our text, but the translation was done during, if not earlier than *Hou-han* period.

Mr. Tarn<sup>92</sup> mentions that the C translation was made several centuries later than the P version. This is rather doubtful. First, we should note that the original from which the C derives its translation is earlier than the P text. So even if we suppose that the C translation were made later than the P version, it does not imply that all the data supplied in the C version should be dated later than those of the P text.

Moreover, the date of the P version cannot be ascertained yet and it might have been ranged from 1<sup>st</sup> A.D. to 6 A.D. when Buddhaghosa wrote his *Visuddhimagga*. As to the C translation, Dr Mizuno dated it during the *Hou-han* period (25.A.D. to 189 A.D.) , or according to the date mentioned in the C text (*Tung-hsin* period: 317-419 A.D.) So in either case Mr. Tarn is not justified in referring to the C translation as being made several centuries later than the P version.

THE END

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<sup>92</sup> G.B.I. p. 421.