

Upāli Sutta

The Discourse to Upāli

[A famous Jain becomes the Buddha's disciple]

(Majjhima Nikāya 56/1:371-387)

Translated by Piya Tan ©2008

1 Introduction

1.1 SUTTA TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS. The importance and popularity of the Upāli Sutta is attested by the fact that it is found in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. A Chinese parallel of the Upāli Sutta is found in the Madhyama Āgama (優婆離 MA 133).¹ A Tibetan parallel is found in the Tibetan Vinaya (Dulva).² A number of **Sanskrit fragments** have been found, mostly in Central Asia, and published.³

There are two main English translations of the Upāli Sutta (and the Majjhima Nikāya) referred to by scholars, one by **IB Horner**, in *Middle Length Sayings* vol 2 (1957: 36-54), and the other by **Ñāṇamoli & Bodhi**, in *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha* (1st ed, 1995; 2nd ed, 2001: 477-492), a very reliable work done practising Buddhist monks.⁴ A masterly German translation of the Upāli Sutta (and the whole Majjhima Nikāya) has been made by Karl Eugen Neumann.⁵

1.2 SUTTA SUMMARY. The Upāli Sutta is about the conversion of Upāli the householder of Nālandā, an erstwhile leading supporter of Nāta,putta (Mahāvīra) and the Jains [2.1]. **Very briefly**, the Upāli Sutta can be summarized thus: the Jain ascetic Dīgha,tapassī visits the Buddha tells him about the Jain conception of karma. When Nāta,putta hears of this, he allows Upāli the householder, a leading disciple, to debate with the Buddha, but Upāli is converted by the Buddha. Nāta,putta confronts Upāli and is sadly disappointed to know the truth, and dies a tragic death. **A synoptic summary** is given here:

- §§1-3 Dīgha,tapassī cordially meets the Buddha, and on being asked by the Buddha, replies that in Nāta,putta's conception of karma, bodily action (*kāya,danḍa*), literally, "the rod that is the body," is the most reprehensible.
- §4 Dīgha,tapassī asks the Buddha about the Buddhist conception of karma, and the Buddha replies that the mind (*mano,kamma*) is the most reprehensible.
- §5 Dīgha,tapassī returns to Nāta,putta and reports his meeting.
- §6 Nāta,putta approves of Dīgha,tapassī and explains the reason for his statement. [3.2]
- §7 Upāli the householder hears the conversation, and decides to meet the Buddha to convert him! Nāta,putta approves.
- §8 Dīgha,tapassī disapproves of Upāli meeting the Buddha, warning that the Buddha is not so easily converted. On the contrary, he is an "illusionist" (*māyāvī*) with seductive "conversion magic" (*āvattani māyā*), that is, he is skilled in converting others. But Nāta,putta is over-confident, claiming that Upāli would be able to convert the Buddha.
- §§9-10 Upāli meets the Buddha, who recounts the earlier conversation [§§3-4]. Upāli reaffirms the Jain views of karma, and agrees to have a civil discussion with the Buddha.
- §11 The Buddha's first answer. The Buddha points out that when a Jain ascetic dies on account of his asceticism, he is believed by Jains, to reborn as a "mind-bound" (*mano,satta*) deva. Hence, the priority of mental karma. (Upāli is at once convinced, but continues with his questioning to learn more.)

¹ T1.26 = T1.628a18-T1.632c21, http://w3.cbeta.org/cgi-bin/goto.pl?linehead=T01n0026_p0628a18.

² D 4094 = Tib (Beijing ed) 5595* mngon: ju 246a/tu 281a.

³ See Biblio, under "Sanskrit Fragments."

⁴ For an important review of the 1st ed, by LS Cousins, & other Eng translations, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Majjhima_Nikaya & <http://www.buddhistethics.org/4/cous1.pdf>.

⁵ <http://palikanon.de/majjhima/m056n.htm>.

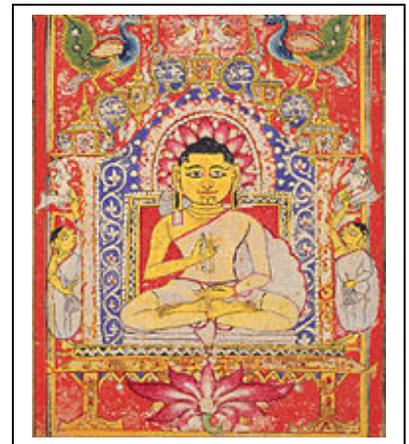
- §12 The Buddha's second answer. In Jain asceticism, intention is central for its proper practice. Upāli still feigns rejecting the Buddha's answer.
- §13-14 The Buddha's third & fourth answers. A mental act, unlike the physical act of even a number of persons, is so powerful that it can devastate whole cities or turn them into forests. Upāli still feigns rejecting the Buddha's answers.
- §15 Upāli approves of the Buddha's answers and takes refuge.
- §16 The Buddha advises Upāli, on account of his status, to consider it carefully. Upāli is further impressed and goes for refuge a second time.
- §17 The Buddha advises Upāli to continue supporting the nirgranthas. Upāli is further impressed and goes for refuge a third time.
- §18 The Buddha gives Upāli a progressive Dharma talk, and then on hearing about the four noble truths, attains streamwinning.
- §19 Upāli returns home and gives new instructions to his door-keeper regarding the nirgranthas.
- §§20-21 Dīgha,tapassī, on hearing of Upāli's conversion, informs Nāta,putta, who is still incredulous. He decides to see Upāli himself
- §§22-23 Nāta,putta visits Upāli. Upāli's door-keeper announces that nirgranthas are not allowed in, but may still receive almsfood from the house. Nāta,putta expresses his wish to meet Upāli personally.
- §§24-25 Upāli, having taken the highest seat, meets Nāta,putta and his entourage. Nāta,putta is outraged and reviles Upāli for falling under the spell of the Buddha's conversion magic.
- §26 Upāli sees "conversion magic" as referring to his attaining of streamwinning, and rejoices in it.
- §27 The parable of Ratta,pāni and the young monkey. Using a parable, Upāli explains to Nāta,putta that a false view may be well presented, but it will not stand the questionings and wisdom of true seekers. [4.1]
- §§28-29 The Upāli Gāthā. Finally, Nāta,putta warns Upāli that the king and country know him to be a nirgrantha follower. Upāli then anjalīs in the direct of the Buddha and sings the famous Upāli Gāthā, his lion-roar of 100 praises of the Buddha.
- §30 Nāta,putta dies a sudden and painful death.

2 The key actors

2.1 THE NIRGRANTHA NĀTA,PUTTA.

2.1.1 Origins. In the late 19th century, G Bühler & H Jacobi have identified the nirgrantha (*nigantha*) Nāta,putta as **Mahāvīra** (b 549-477 BCE),⁶ the historical founder of Jainism,⁷ the last of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras ("ford-makers," ie, saviours). Mahāvīra ("the great hero") was his honorific title, his original name was **Vardhamāna**. Basing his teachings on those of 23rd Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśva,nātha, a 9th-century teacher from Benares (Vārānasī, Uttar Pradesh), Vardhamāna systematized earlier Jain doctrines, and established rules and guidelines for the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, thus reforming the Jain sangha.

Vardhamāna was born into a kshatriya (warrior class) family, growing up in Kṣatriya,kuṇḍa,grāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī (modern Basarh) in Magadha (modern Bihār state). His father had the same name as the Buddha—Siddhārtha—and was a ruler of the Nāta, or



Mahāvīra or the Jina. Guru folio from a manuscript, Gujarat, India, c 1411

⁶ The traditional Jain dates for Mahāvīra are 599-527 BCE, but the preferred scholarly dates are given here. *The Perennial Dictionary of World Religions*, ed Keith Crim, NY: Harper & Row Publishers, 1989: 451.

⁷ See Jacobi's pref to Kalpasūtra (*Sacred Books of the East* 22: Intro vi-ix, xxx): <http://www.sacred-texts.com/-jai/sbe22/index.htm>. See *Cambridge History of India* 1:150 ff; also <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahavira>.

Jñātr, tribe; hence, the early Buddhists referred to him as **Nāta,putta** (Skt *Jñātr,putra*). According to one Jain tradition, his mother was Devanandā, a brahminee. Other traditions name her Triśalā, Videha, dinnā, or Priya, kārini, a kshatriya woman.

The Vardhamāna story varied in its details according to the two main Jain sects: the Śvetāmbaras (the White-clad, whose monks wear a white loin-cloth) and the Digambaras (the Sky-clads, or naked ascetics). He was raised in palatial luxury, and as a younger son, could not inherit the kingdom. At 30 (519 BCE), after marrying a kshatriya woman and having a daughter, he left home to become a monk.

2.1.2 Liberation. According to legend, his parents had died practising the rite of *sallekhana* (voluntary suicide by self-starvation). Thus, when Vardhamāna became an ascetic of Pārśva, nātha's order, to which his parents belonged, he was familiar with self-denial. He spent twelve years of austerities, at first wearing only a loin-cloth for over a year, and then went naked, keeping no possessions at all. Keeping strictly to the rules of non-violence (*ahimsā*), he even patiently allowed bugs to bite him, and took nothing that was offered to him. Wandering about most of the time and meditating, he spent the four months of the rains residing near a village or town.

At the end of the 12 years of austerities, in 507 BCE, Mahāvīra attained "omniscience" (*kevala, jñāna*). By that time, Pārśva, nātha's teachings were on the wane, and he reorganized and revived them; thus he is credited as the founder of Jainism. It is uncertain what he added to Pārśva, nātha's teachings.

According to Buddhaghosa (MA 3:99 f, 4:36), Nātaputta had to be carried on a litter to Pāvā (now in Bihar state, India), where he died shortly after, in 477 BCE. According to Jain tradition, he died (attained nirvana) at the age of 72 years and 4.5 months, on Dīpavalī, the last day of the Indian and Jain calendars. Jains celebrate this as the day that he attained liberation (*mokṣa*).

2.1.3 Teachings. Mahāvīra showed a great interest in mathematics and the movements of celestial bodies. His interest in numbers seems to be related to cosmology and geometry. Based on such ideas are the Jain notions of "manifoldness" or "non-absoluteness" (*anekanta, vāda*), that things exist in mutually opposing groups (such as good and bad, friend and enemy, etc), and that these states are relative (*syad, vāda*) to one another.

He taught that from eternity, every living being, that is, a soul, is in bondage of karmic atoms accumulated by good and bad deeds. On account of karma, the soul seeks temporary and illusory pleasure in materialistic possessions, which are the deep-rooted causes of self-centered violent thoughts, deeds, and speech. These result in further accumulation of karma, bringing on more suffering.

To liberate the soul from contamination of karmic matter, one must practise extreme asceticism, and this can be maintained by showing non-violence to all beings [cf 3.4.2]. To expedite liberation, Mahāvīra teaches the necessity of right faith (*samyak, darśana*), right knowledge (*samyak, jñāna*), and right conduct (*samyak, caritra*). For Jains, right conduct comprises these five observances (*pañca, vrata*):

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|--------------------|-------------------------|--|
| (1) nonviolence | (<i>ahimsa</i>): | not to cause any harm to any living beings; |
| (2) truthfulness | (<i>satya</i>): | to speak only the truth that is harmless; |
| (3) non-stealing | (<i>asteya</i>): | not to take anything not properly given; |
| (4) chastity | (<i>brahmacarya</i>): | not to indulge in sexual pleasure; |
| (5) non-attachment | (<i>aparigraha</i>): | complete detachment from people, places, and things. |

Monks and nuns follow these vows strictly, while common people follow them as far as possible. Both Jainism and Buddhism contributed to the tradition of non-violence (*ahimsa*), reflected especially in the pervasiveness of the vegetarian diet, in Indian society.

Like the Buddha, Mahāvīra attracted people from all walks of life, rich and poor, men and women of all classes. He organized his followers into a fourfold order (*cāturvidha jaina saṅgha*): monks (*sādhu*), nuns (*sādhvī*), layman (*śrāvaka*), and laywoman (*śrāvikā*).

Mahāvīra's discourses were orally compiled by his immediate disciples as the *Āgama Sūtras*, which were orally transmitted for centuries. In the course of time, many of their texts were lost, destroyed, or

2.3 UPĀLI THE HOUSEHOLDER. There are a number of people named Upāli in the Pāli canon:

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|---------------------------------|--|--|
| (1) Upāli Thera (Kapilavatthu) | The Vinaya expert; Shakya; arhat | (V 2:182, 1:325-328 etc; A 4:143; DhA 1:116 f; B 1:61; BA 44): see CPD sv. ¹⁴ |
| (2) Upāli Thera (Kapilavatthu) | Nephew (<i>bhāgineyya</i>) of Upāli (1); Shakya; arhat | (Ap 1.9 f) ¹⁵ |
| (3) Upāli Sāmaṇera (the novice) | Nāgita's nephew; Licchavī | (D 6/1:151 f) |
| (4) Upāli the boy of Rājagaha | Becomes a monk for the sake of ease and comfort | (V 1:77 f ≠ 4:128-130) |
| (5) Upāli Gaha,pati (Nālandā) | The Nālandā householder, erstwhile Jain; streamwinner | (M 56/1:371 f; S 35.126/4:110) |

According to the Aṅguttara Commentary, in the Buddha's time, the nirgrantha (*niraṅṭha*) Nāta,putta¹⁶ had three chief disciples:

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|------------------|---------------------------|--|
| (1) Nālandā | the householder Upāli (5) | (M 56/1:373); |
| (2) Kapilavatthu | Vappa the Shakya | (A 4.195/2:196); and |
| (3) Vesālī | general Sīha | (A 5.34/3:38-40, 7.54/4:79-82; V 1:233-238 = A 8.12/4:179-188) |

All three of them convert to discipleship with the Buddha upon meeting him.

When queried by the nirgrantha Nāta,putta as regards his allegiance, the householder (*gaha,pati*) Upāli of Nālandā recites **the Upāli Gāthā** of 10 stanzas praising the Buddha [§29].¹⁷ The Sanskrit parallel to this paean is called the *Varṇa,śatam* ("The 100 praises") (Waldschmidt 1979). His revenue village (*bhoga,gāma*) is Bālaka,loṇa,kāra,gāma¹⁸ [§5; 3.3]. Upāli is mentioned—along with Ānanda, the householder Citta, the layman Dhammika, and Khuḥḥ'uttarā—as one who has gained the analytic skills (*paṭi-sambhidā*) while still on the level of a learner (*sekha,bhūmi*),¹⁹ that is, as a saint but not yet an arhat. The Commentary records Upāli as becoming a streamwinner (MA 3:92), and says that the Upāli Sutta is an example of how an individual with quick intuition (*ugghaṭitaññu,puggala*) attains liberation (MA 3:100).

The Upāli Sutta (M 56) recounts how on hearing that the Jain ascetic, Dīgha,tapassī, has met the Buddha and explained the Jain doctrine of karma, is moved to meet and convert him to Jainism. Against Dīgha,tapassī's better judgement and protestation against Upāli's meeting the Buddha, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta proudly sends Upāli off on his mission. Upāli meets the Buddha and is at once impressed with his opening answer, so that he plays the devil's advocate to hear everything that the Buddha has to say in answer to his question on karma, and is converted. In fact, the dialogue between the Buddha and Upāli forms the heart and core of the discourse [§§5-18].

The (Upāli) Nālandā Sutta (S 35.126) records Upāli's questioning the Buddha on why some beings attain nirvana in this life and some do not.²⁰

3 Some key words

3.1 PĀVĀRIKA'S MANGO GROVE. Pāvārika's mango grove [§1] at Nālandā is so called because it belongs to a seth (*setṭhī*, a fund entrepreneur) who sold cloth (*dussa*) for cloaks (*pāvāra*). Apparently,

¹⁴ <http://pali.hum.ku.dk/cpd/search.html>.

¹⁵ *Bhāgineyya Upāli*: ApA 367,32, where his story is told, but the Apadāna (Ap 91,19-93,16); said to be his in ApA, is a second Ap of Upāli 1. (CPD: Upāli 4): <http://pali.hum.ku.dk/cpd/search.html>.

¹⁶ Identified by G Bühler & H Jacobi as Mahāvīra, the historical founder of Jainism: see Jacobi's pref to Kalpa-sūtra (*Sacred Books of the East* 22: Intro vi-ix, xxx). <http://www.sacred-texts.com/jai/sbe22/sbe2202.htm>.

¹⁷ M 56.29/1:386,3 f; cf DA 906,16; MA 4:34,17.

¹⁸ MA 4:206,17.

¹⁹ PmA 6,33 = VbhA 388,27 ≠ Vism 14.27/442,13.

²⁰ S 35.126/4:110 (contents identical to that of S 35.118/4:101).

there is his namesake at Kosambī, with whom he is often mistaken.²¹ It was there that the Buddha gives the teachings of **the Kevaḍḍha Sutta** (D 11),²² **the Sampasādanīya Sutta** (D 28)²³ and **the Upāli Sutta** (M 56). Among those who visit the Buddha there are Kevaḍḍha, the householder (*gaha,pati*) Upāli, and the headman (*gāmaṇī*) Asibandhaka,putta.²⁴

3.2 DAṆḌA. One of the Upāli Sutta's key words is *daṇḍa* which is used as a Jain technical term and is alluded to the following passage. If this meaning applies, we can understand Dīgha,tapassī's remark to the Buddha on the Jain view of karma as "punishment" (*daṇḍa*), thus:

When this was said, the nirgrantha Dīgha,tapassī said this to the Blessed One,
 "How many kinds of rod [punishment], does avuso Gotama declare [postulate] for the doing,
 the occurrence, of evil action?"

[§4]

Daṇḍa ordinarily means "tree stem, stick, rod," and as such connotes "punishment, penalty." The Pali-English Dictionary (PED) says that here *daṇḍa* means "(fig) a means of frightening, frightfulness, violence, teasing," and as *mano,daṇḍa*, it means "mind-punishment."²⁵ Buddhaghosa says that the Jain idea was that *kāya,daṇḍa* and *vacī,daṇḍa* are without *citta* (which is present in *mano,daṇḍa*), so that they merely stir (*calati*) and sound (*saddam karoti*) like trees in the wind; but *citta* is declared to be the *mano,-daṇḍa*. (MA 3:52 f). Here, *daṇḍa* should be understood in the Jain senses, as simply meaning "karma."

The Jain sometimes take *daṇḍa* to mean "measure,"²⁶ which could refer to the fact that karma accumulates over time. The Jain use of the word *daṇḍa* in the sense of karma can be found in the Sthānaga Sūtra (or Prakrit, Thānam Sutta) (3.126).²⁷ As in early Buddhism, **karma**, for the Jains, refers actions that are part of the conditionality that results in a cycle of re-births. For the Jains, however, there are also subtle karmic particles that cling to the soul (a Jain belief), obstructing its inherent potency and bliss. It is a complex of very fine matter, imperceptible to the senses, interacting with the soul and causing great changes in it. Hence, to the Jains, karma is something material like a pill which, when taken, produces various effects.²⁸

According to IB Horner, however, "[i]n the present context the word appears to mean affliction, injury, hurt, wrong done. Sometimes of course it means punishment or penalty" (M:H 2:36).²⁹ In the brahmanical legal text, Manu,smṛti (composed between 200 BCE and 200 CE), translated as *The Laws of Manu* (following G Bühler's translation), we find this interesting statement: "That man is called a (true) *tridaṇḍin* in whose mind these three, control over his speech (*vāg,daṇḍa*), control over his thoughts (*mano,daṇḍa*), and control over his body (*kāya,daṇḍa*), are firmly fixed" (*Manu* 12.10)³⁰—which apparently reflects the Jain view.

We find more helpful clues to the meaning of *daṇḍa* in the Jain context from its Sanskrit usages. Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary (SED), for example, defines *daṇḍa* as "power over (genitive or in compound), control, restraint" (and quotes Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 41.22). This ancient usage in the

²¹ DA 3:873; MA 3:52, SA 3:207.

²² D 11/1:211-223 = SD 1.7.

²³ D 28/3:99-116 = SD 14.14.

²⁴ These discourses incl **Asibandhaka,putta S** (S 42.6/4:311-314) = SD 39.9, **Desanā S** (S 42.7/4:314-317) = SD 12.1.3b, **Saṅkha S** (S 42.8/4:318-322) = SD 57.9, (**Asibandhaka,putta**) **Kula S** (S 42.9/4:322-325) = SD 7.11.

²⁵ R Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, ad loc, "infliction"; H Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, "torment" (SBE 1884, 22: 7); EK Neumann, *Mittlere Sammlung*, "Streich" ("blow," 1922, 2:54n).

²⁶ See eg <http://www.jaindictionary.com/d1.html>.

²⁷ See eg, Pravartaka Amar Muni (ed), *Illustrated Sthananga Sutram*, 2 vols, Prakrit-Hindi-English, Eng tr by Surendra Bothra, nd.

²⁸ Helmuth von Glasenapp, *Doctrine of Karman in Jain Philosophy*, tr (from German) G Barry Gifford, rev by author, Bombay, 1942: 2. (Repr Fremont, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 2003.) See <http://www.jainworld.com/pdf/-GLASENAP.pdf>.

²⁹ Cf *paṭidaṇḍa* ("retaliation, exchange of blows") (Dh 133).

³⁰ *Manu* 12.10: see *The Laws of Manu* (tr G Bühler, SBE 25, 1886): <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/manu/-manu12.htm>

Indian texts refers to the “power, authority” of kings and rulers, who had the power or authority to punish, even kill, anyone.³¹

It should be noted that *daṇḍa* here, as used by the Jains for “karma,” refers to bad karma. The ancient Jains regarded karma as an accretion (arising through one’s actions) upon the otherwise pure soul. In other words, unlike the early Buddhists, the Jains regarded karma as essentially negative. Interestingly, in the Commentaries, *daṇḍa* is mentioned as a synonym of *duccarita* (wrong conduct of body, speech and mind) which brings one affliction (SnA 63; Nc 293).

3.3 BĀLAKA. The householder Upāli first appears in the Upāli Sutta at the head of “a large assembly of lay followers from **Bālaka**” seated before the nirgrantha Nāta,putta [§5]. Apparently, the word *bālaka* refers to the inhabitants of **Bālaka, loṇa, kāra, gāma**, which the Majjhima Commentary says is the revenue village (*bhoga, gāma*) of the householder Upāli;³² otherwise, it is only briefly mentioned elsewhere.³³

The word *bālaka, loṇa, kāra, gāma* can mean either “the village of the *Bālaka* salt-makers,” or “the village of the *simple* salt-makers.” From the Upāli Sutta’s usage of *bālīkīniyā*, it is presumably a name meaning, “those of Bālaka” [§5], apparently, in reference to *bālaka, loṇa, kāra, gāma*. The Majjhima Commentary gives two explanations of the *bālaka, loṇa, kāra, gāma*:

- (1) (noun) the name of a village of salt-makers belonging to Upāli the householder;
- (2) (adjective) “consisting of fools” (*bālavatīyā bāl’ussanāya*). (MA 3:55)

In the first case, it is apparently the householder Upāli’s revenue village (*bhoga, gāma*, MA 4:206). It is said that villagers came to Upāli with their revenue and produce (*āya*), and together (*bālaka, gāma, vāsi-niyā...parisāya*), they went to see their teacher, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta.

The second explanation is that the word *bālīkīniyā* here is an adjective meaning “consisting of fools.” In the **Makasa Jātaka** (J 44), there is a reference to *bāla, gāmika, manussā* (“the foolish people of a village” or simply “foolish villagers”).³⁴ It is also possible to interpret the name as “the salt-maker village of Bālaka,” where Bālaka is simply the name of its most prominent inhabitant. The word *bālaka* also means “boyish, childlike, immature.”

It is likely that there are two places called *Bālaka, loṇa, kāra, gāma*, one near Nālandā, and the other near Kosambī. The one near Kosambī is more often mentioned in the texts and commentaries, and is the residence of Bhagu.³⁵

3.4 YĀMA.

3.4.1 The four restraints. The Upāli Sutta alludes to the Jain practice of the four restraints (*cātu,-yāma*) [§12a]. According to **Hermann Jacobi**:

As I have already mentioned elsewhere,³⁶ I think the term *cātu, yāma, saṁvara, saṁvuto* has been misunderstood not only by the commentator, but also by the author of the text. For the Pali *cātu, yāma* is equivalent to the Prakṛta *cātuḥjāma*, a well known Jaina term which denotes the four vows of Parśva in contradistinction to the five vows (*pañca-mahāvīrya*) of Mahāvīra. Here, then, the Buddhists, I suppose, have made a mistake in ascribing to Nātaputta Mahāvīra a doctrine which properly belonged to his predecessor Parśva. This is a significant mistake, for the Buddhists could not have used the above term as descriptive of the Niggaṇṭha creed unless they had heard it from followers of Parśva, and they would not have used it if the reforms of Mahāvīra had already been generally adopted by the Niggaṇṭhas at the time of

³¹ In fact, *daṇḍa* and *dharma* were often regarded as identical, and *daṇḍa* was elevated to the status of divinity: see PV Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra* vol 3: 21 f; *Manu* 8.18; *Matsya Purāṇa* 225.15.

³² MA 4:206.

³³ MA 3:55, 115, 4:206, 230, UA 249—all read ~*gāma*; SA 2:304; J 3:489; DhA 1:56; ThaA 1:380, ThaA:Se 1:380—all read ~*ārāma*.

³⁴ J 44/1:246.

³⁵ See **Anuruddha Upakkilesa S** (M 128) = SD 5.18 Intro (4); **Pārīleyya S** (S 22.81/3:94-99) = SD 6.1 Intro (2); see also V 1:350; M 3:154; DhA 1:47; J 3:489.

³⁶ “On Mahāvīra and his predecessors,” in *The Indian Antiquary* 9: 158 ff.

Buddha. I, therefore, look on this blunder of the Buddhist as a proof for the correctness of the Jaina tradition that followers of Parśva actually existed at the time of Mahāvīra.

(SBE 45 1895: xx f; diacritics standardized): see Biblio; see also Jain 1926: 704 f

Jacobi may well be right in his observation. What is mentioned in the Upāli Sutta is not a historical statement, but an allusion to a Jain practice. Furthermore, the practice of the four restraints is *ascribed* (as a practitioner) to Nāta,putta, but not *attributed* to him as its initiator. So there is no real problem here.

Here *yāma* (Prakrit *jāma*, as in *cātujjāma*), means “restraint, forbearance” (cognate with Skt *yam*, *saṃyama*).³⁷ The Buddhist “fourfold restraint” is given as *the abstinence from killing, from taking the not-given, from sexual misconduct, and from falsehood*, that is, the first four of the five precepts.³⁸

3.4.2 The Jain restraint regarding water. The same section [§12a] records the Buddha as making a wordplay—*sabba,vāri,vārito, sabba,vāri,yuto, sabba,vāri,dhuto, sabba,vāri,phuto*—on the Jain restraint against using cold water, which is regarded as containing living beings (MA 3:57).

The Sutta commentary gives us two meanings of *vāri* (water): (1) he is restrained in regard to all waters (*cārita,sabba,udaka*), or (2) evil is restrained by the total warding off of evil (*sabbena pāpa,vāra-ṇena vārita,pāpo*) (MA 3:58). Elsewhere (DA 1:168; SA 1:126 f), the second alternative is omitted, and these commentaries speak of evil in connection with the three remaining restraints.

IB Horner thinks that “it would seem that MA 3:58 means ‘the total warding off of evil’ if its second alternative to the first clause to include the use of (unfiltered) water, in which there would still be small living things” (M:H 2:41 n4).

AL Basham, in his *History of the Ājivikas*, translates this passage as: “He practises restraint with regard to water, he avoids all sin, by avoiding sin his sins are washed away, he is filled with the sense of all sin avoided.” He adds that this is a “doubtful interpretation on the basis of Buddhaghosa.” (1951: 16).³⁹

It is not that this alliterative phrase (with some variant readings) “does not represent the genuine Jain teaching,” but that it is simply a wordplay or parody or punning, common in an oral tradition. After all, Dīgha,taṇṇasī and the Sutta listener, and we the reader, know exactly what the passage alludes to. The Jains, after all, do have a rule of restraint in regard to water, and *vāri* can mean “water,” “restraint” or possibly “sin,” and also “to ward off” (*vāreti*), but some of the verbal forms are equally dubious. The reference to one “free from bonds” (*nigaṇṭha*; Skt *nirgrantha*) and yet bound by these restraints (whatever they are) is a deliberate paradox.⁴⁰

4 Difficult passages

4.1 THE PARABLE OF THE YOUNG MONKEY AND RATTA,PĀṆI. In §27, Upāli relates a parable to illustrate to the nirgrantha Nāta,putta how his over-confidence or hubris has worked against him. There is a complex wordplay (Skt *śleṣa*) in the two correlated similes which are explained here.

‘Go, brahmin, to Ratta,pāṇi, the dyer’s son [the young dyer], and say this to him:

“Good Ratta,pāṇi, I wish this young male monkey dyed in yellow unguent, well-beaten and softened, and smoothened on both sides.” (*Icehām ’ahaṃ, samma ratta,pāṇi, imaṃ makkata-c,chāpakam pītā,valepanam nāma raṅga,jātam rajitam ākoṭita,paccākoṭitam ubhato,bhāga,-vimaṭṭhan ’ti*). [§27b]

The expressions “**well-beaten and softened**” (*ākoṭita,paccākoṭita*) and “**smoothened**” (*vimaṭṭhm*) is found in **the Nanda Sutta** (S 21.8),⁴¹ where it describes the pressing and smoothening (ie, ironing) of a

³⁷ D 1:57 (D:RD 1:75 n1), 3:48; M 1:377; S 2.30/1:66; Vism 416.

³⁸ D 3:48 f; S 1:66 (S:RD 1:91 n1); DA 1:168; MA 3:58 f. Another meaning of *yāma* is “watch” (as in the 3 watches of the night) (A 1:114, 4:168; Dh 157; J 1:243).

³⁹ See Āyāraṅga Sutta 1.13 (SBE 22), <http://www.sacred-texts.com/jai/sbe22/index.htm>.

⁴⁰ Cf D:W 545 n115 & *Sāmaññanaphala Sutta* (tr Bodhi) 1989: 24.

⁴¹ S 21.8/2:281 f & VbhA 477.

robe.⁴² The idea here, evidently, is to groom the monkey so that its fur is soft, pressed and smooth (like well-ironed clothing)!

Let us now examine the correlated passage:

Even so, bhante, the wise will take [accept] the “staging” (*raṅga*) of the doctrine of the Blessed One, the arhat, the fully self-awakened one, but not so for the foolish; for, it will take [withstand] both their devotion (*anuyoga*) and “smoothening” [investigation] (*vimajjana*), too.

Evam eva kho, bhante, tassa bhagavato vādo arahato sammā, sambuddhassa raṅga-k, khamo c’eva paṇḍitānaṃ no bālānaṃ anuyoga-k, khamo ca vimajjana-k, khamo cā ‘ti. [§27b]

The Pali passage here translates literally as “Even so, there is the tolerance for the *raṅga* of the doctrine of the foolish nirgranthas for the foolish, but not for the wise, nor tolerance for *anuyoga*, nor for *vimajjana*.” Here, we see a wordplay on the polysemy of *raṅga*, which means

- (1) literally, “dyeing,”
- (2) figuratively, “staging, play-staging,” ie falsehood; and
- (3) connotes, etymologically, a sense of “to straighten, put in order, direct” (from Vedic *rju*—from which we get *rjyati*, “to stretch out”—cognate of Pali *uju*, “straight”).

The native commentary explains that for the wise (*paṇḍitānaṃ*), the doctrine of the nirgranthas and others, such as the Mahābhārata or Rāmāyaṇa, are unpleasant (*appiya*). The clause ***na anuyoga-k, khamo no vimajjana-k, khamo*** means that it will not withstand any devotion or investigation (*anuyogaṃ vīmaṃsam vā na khamati*) (by the wise), just as one, having pounded (*koṭṭetvā*) the rough ground (*thūle*),⁴³ looks for husked rice; and like one seeking heartwood, finds the empty and hollow plantain trunk” (MA 3:95). The verb form of *-khamā* is *khamati*, which can mean “tolerate, approve of, withstand, endure, forgive,” depending on the context; its noun is *khanti* (“patience”).

Now there are four main characters in the parable: the old brahmin, his young wife, the young monkey, and Ratta, pāṇi the dyer’s son. It is possible to identify these characters as the main players in the Upāli Sutta. Obviously, the “old brahmin” is Upāli’s caricature of Nāta,putta himself, hinting that despite his age he lacks both wisdom and good judgement. Not only his teachings are wrong views, but that he is so overconfident that he seriously underestimates his rivals. The brahmin’s young wife is Dīgha, tapassī, suggesting that he is a young man and Nāta,putta’s favourite disciple. The monkey is Upāli himself, one who has taken the Jain colouring, but is unable to take being “beaten and softened.” And Ratta, pāṇi, the only person *named* in the parable is clearly the Buddha himself, who makes the only wise statement in the parable.

Upāli’s parable, in short, explains to Nāta,putta that a false view may be well presented, but it will not stand the questionings and wisdom of true seekers. The wise will see through false teachers and false teachings, as Upāli has done. If a foolish holds such a false belief, he may *think* he is right, but ultimately, he would not withstand the questioning of the wise and the test of reality.

4.2 UPĀLI’S VERSES. The Upāli Sutta climaxes with his lion-roar (*sīha, nāda*) or declaration of faith in the Buddha, when challenged by Nāta,putta [§29]. They are well known as **the Upāli Gāthā**,⁴⁴ and its Sanskrit version is called the *Varṇa, śatam* (“The 100 praises”).⁴⁵ Strictly speaking, there are only 98 virtues, since lines cd of verse (2) have only one virtue each. The Upāli Gāthā contains many familiar brahminical terms (such as *veda, tevijja, brahma, nhātaka*) and Jain terms (such as *isi, sattama*), which have been famously buddhicized.

If we accept *manuja* and *nara*, both meaning “man” as epithets of the Buddha, then we have exactly a hundred epithets of the Buddha. Etymologically, *manuja*, “son of Manu,” which, according to brahminical mythology, is a title of the progenitor of mankind, the world’s first king, and who saves mankind from

⁴² Cf DhA 1:37.

⁴³ See BHSD: *sthūla*.

⁴⁴ VA 1:251; VAṬ:VRI (Sārattha, dīpani Ṭīkā) 2:64 f (in full); Vmv:VRI (Vimati, vinodanī Ṭīkā) 1:117; Vjb:-VRI (Vajira, buddhi Ṭīkā) 89. Interestingly, these are all commentarial works on the Vinaya.

⁴⁵ See Waldschmidt 1979. See Paul J Griffiths, *On Being Buddha*, 209 n3

the universal flood. Due to his honesty, he is called *satya, vrata* (“whose vow is truth”). *Nara* is, in brahmanical mythology, the primeval Man or eternal Spirit pervading the universe. These myths are found in the Mahābhārata (whose earliest layers date back to the Vedic period, around 800 BCE). It is clearly possible that Upāli would have been familiar with them.

The best known verse on the Buddha’s qualities is, of course, **the Iti pi so Gāthā**, which lists the nine worthy qualities of the Teacher (*satthu navāraha, guṇa*).⁴⁶ While the Upāli Gāthā has a celebratory mood, the Iti pi so Gāthā is used for the recollection of the Buddha (*buddhānussati*).⁴⁷

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⁴⁶ See **Dhaj’agga S** (S 11.3/1:218-220) = SD 15.5.

⁴⁷ See *Buddhānussati* = SD 15.7.

The Discourse to Upāli

(M 56/1:371-387)

1 Thus have I heard.

At one time, the Blessed One was staying in Pāvārika's mango grove,⁴⁸ near Nālandā.

Dīgha, tapassī visits the Buddha

2 Now at that time, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta, too, was staying near Nālandā with a great company of nirgranthas.

Then the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī, having entered Nālandā for alms, took his almsfood, at the end of which he approached Pāvārika's mango grove to see the Blessed One. [372] Having gone up to the Blessed One, he exchanged greetings with him. When the greetings and cordial words had been exchanged, he stood at one side.

The Blessed One said this to the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī as he stood there at one side:

“There are seats, Tapassī, sit down, if you like.”

3a When this was said, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī took a certain low seat and sat down at one side.

The three rods of action

3b The Blessed One said this to the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī who was seated at one side:

“Tapassī, how many kinds of action [karma] does the nirgrantha Nāta,putta declare [postulate] for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action?”⁴⁹

“Avuso Gotama, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta is *not* of the habit of declaring, ‘Action, action [Karma, karma].’ Avuso Gotama, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta is of the habit of declaring, ‘The rod, the rod (*daṇḍa*).’⁵⁰”

“So, Tapassī, how many kinds of rod, does the nirgrantha Nāta,putta declare [postulate] for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action?”

“Avuso Gotama, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta declares [postulates] three rods for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action, that is to say,

the rod that is the body	(<i>kāya, daṇḍa</i>),
the rod that is speech	(<i>vacī, daṇḍa</i>),
the rod that is the mind	(<i>mano, daṇḍa</i>).” ⁵¹

“How now, Tapassī, is the rod that is the body one thing, the rod that is speech another, and the rod that is the mind still another?”

“The rod that is the body, avuso Gotama, *is* one thing, the rod that is speech another, and the rod that is the mind still another.”

“Of these three rods, Tapassī, thus analysed, thus discerned, which one does the nirgrantha Nāta,putta declare to be the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action: the rod that is the body, or the rod that is speech, or the rod that is the mind?”

“Of these three rods, avuso Gotama, thus analysed, thus discerned, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta declares *the rod that is the body* to be the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action; not so the rod that is speech, nor the rod that is the mind.”

“Did you say, ‘The rod that is the body,’ Tapassī?”

“I say, ‘The rod that is the body,’ avuso Gotama.”

“Did you say, ‘The rod that is the body,’ Tapassī?”

⁴⁸ See Intro (3.1).

⁴⁹ *Kati pana, tapassi, nigantho nātaputto kammāni paññapeti pāpassa kammaṣṣa kiriyāya pāpassa kammaṣṣa pavattiyā ti.*

⁵⁰ *Daṇḍa*: see Intro (3.2).

⁵¹ *Kāya, daṇḍa vacī, daṇḍa mano, daṇḍa*. Cf SnA 63 & Nc 293, where *daṇḍa*, as a synonym for *duccarita* (wrong conduct of body, speech and mind), brings one affliction. See Intro (3.2).

“I say, ‘The rod that is the body,’ avuso Gotama.”

“Did you say, ‘The rod that is the body,’ Tapassī?”

“I say, ‘The rod that is the body,’ avuso Gotama.”

Thus, the Blessed One made the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī confirm his statement up to three times. [373]

The three doors of action

4 When this was said, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī said this to the Blessed One,

“How many kinds of rod [punishment], does avuso Gotama declare [postulate] for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action?”

“Tapassī, the Tathagata is *not* of the habit of declaring, ‘The rod, the rod [Punishment, punishment] (*daṇḍa*).’ Tapassī, the Tathagata is of the habit of declaring, ‘Action, action [Karma, karma].”

“So, avuso Gotama, how many kinds of action [karma], does avuso Gotama declare [postulate] for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action?”

“Tapassī, the Tathagata declares [postulates] three kinds of action for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action, that is to say,

bodily action	(<i>kāya, kamma</i>),
verbal action	(<i>vacī, kamma</i>),
mental action	(<i>mano, kamma</i>).” ⁵²

“How now, avuso Gotama, is bodily action one thing, verbal action another, and mental action still another?”

“Bodily action, Tapassī, *is* one thing, verbal action another, and mental action still another.”

“Of these three kinds of action, avuso Gotama, thus analysed, thus discerned, which one does avuso Gotama declare to be the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action: bodily action, verbal action, or mental action?”

“Of these three kinds of action, Tapassī, thus analysed, thus discerned, the Tathagata declares *mental action* to be the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action; not so bodily action, nor verbal action.”⁵³

“Did you say, ‘Mental action,’ avuso Gotama?”

“I say, ‘Mental action,’ Tapassī.”

“Did you say, ‘Mental action,’ avuso Gotama?”

“I say, ‘Mental action,’ Tapassī.”

“Did you say, ‘Mental action,’ avuso Gotama?”

“I say, ‘Mental action,’ Tapassī.”

Thus, Dīgha, tapassī made the Blessed One confirm his statement up to three times. Then Dīgha, tapassī rose from his seat and approached the nirgrantha Nāta, putta.

Nāta, putta approves of Dīgha, tapassī

5 Now at that time, the nirgrantha Nāta, putta was seated before a large assembly of lay followers from Bālaka⁵⁴ with Upāli at its head. The nirgrantha Nāta, putta saw the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī coming from afar. Seeing the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī, he said this:

⁵² Comy: The nirgranthas held that the first two “rods” create karma independently of the mind (*acittaka*) just as when the wind blows the branches sway and the leaves rustle without the any mental effort (MA 3:53 f).

⁵³ Here, the Buddha evidently wants to show the essential role of intention (*cetanā*), as a mental factor, in the operation of karma, and that without intention, bodily and verbal actions produce no karma. Comy however remarks that the Buddha says this in reference to the wrong view about fixed consequences (*niyata, micchā, diṭṭhi*), and quotes **Micchā, diṭṭhi S**: “Bhikkhus, I see no single thing as greatly blameworthy as wrong view. Attachment to wrong view, bhikkhus, is greatly blameworthy” (*Nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ eka, dhammam pi samanupassāmi evaṃ mahā, - sāvajjāṃ yathayidāṃ bhikkhave micchā, diṭṭhi. Micchā, diṭṭhi, paramāni bhikkhave mahā, sāvajjāni ti*, A 1.18.3/1:33) (MA 3:54). Such wrong views are described in **Apaṇṇaka S** (M 60.5/1:401, 13/1:404, 21/1:407).

⁵⁴ See Intro (3.3).

“Now where have you come from, Tapassī, so early in the day?”

“Bhante, I have come from the presence of the recluse Gotama.”

“And, Tapassī, did you have a discussion [conversation] with the recluse Gotama?” [374]

“I had a discussion with the recluse Gotama, bhante.”

“And what discussion, Tapassī, did you have with the recluse Gotama?”

Then the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī related to the nirgrantha Nāta,putta the whole of the discussion that he had with the Blessed One.

6 Having heard this, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta said this to the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī:

“Good, good, Tapassī! The answer to the recluse Gotama has been given by the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī just like a well-instructed disciple who rightly understands the teacher’s teaching.

For, how does a wretched [trivial]⁵⁵ rod that is the mind shine in comparison to a great rod that is the body?⁵⁶ On the contrary, the rod that is the body is the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action; not so the rod that is speech, nor the rod that is the mind.”

Upāli the householder

7 When this was said, the householder Upāli said this to the nirgrantha Nāta,putta:

“Good, bhante! Good for Tapassī!⁵⁷ The answer to the recluse Gotama has been given by the venerable Tapassī just like a well-instructed disciple who rightly understands the teacher’s teaching.

For, how does a wretched [trivial] rod that is the mind shine in comparison to a great rod that is the body?⁵⁸ On the contrary, the rod that is the body is the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action; not so the rod that is speech, nor the rod that is the mind.

Come now, bhante, I will go and refute the recluse Gotama’s doctrine based on this statement.

If the recluse Gotama maintains this before me just as he has done before Dīgha, tapassī,⁵⁹

then, just as⁶⁰ a strong man, having taken hold of the fleece of a large long-fleeced ram, were to haul it forwards (towards himself), might haul it backwards, might haul it forwards and backwards, even so, shall I, word by word, haul the recluse Gotama forwards, might haul him backwards, might haul him forwards and backwards.

Just as a strong brewer’s workman, having taken a brewer’s strainer and plunged it into a deep tank of water, and taking it by the corner, were to toss it forwards (towards himself), might toss it backwards, might toss it forwards and backwards,

even so, shall I, word by word, toss the recluse Gotama forwards, might toss him backwards, might toss him forwards and backwards.

Just as a sixty-year-old elephant might plunge into a deep pool and enjoy a game of hemp-washing,⁶¹

⁵⁵ *Chava* (“wretched, trivial,” S 2.30/1:66*), which is the opp of *oḷarika*, “great” (*mahanta*) (MA 3:55). Cf “Just as if, Bhāra, dvāja, a woman exposes herself for the sake of a wretched coin, even so, Bhāra, dvāja, you have shown superhuman act of psychic miracle to the laity for the sake of a wretched wooden bowl” (*seyyathāpi, Bhāradvāja, mātuḡāmo chavassa māsa, rūpassa kāraṇā kopinaṃ dasseti; evam eva kho tayā, bhāradvāja, chavassa dāru, patta-ssa kāraṇā gihīnaṃ uttari manussa, dhammaṃ iddhi, pāṭihāriyaṃ dassitaṃ*, V 2:112)

⁵⁶ *Kiñhi sobhati chavo mano, daṇḍo imassa evaṃ oḷārikassa kāya, daṇḍassa upanidhāya*. Cf this wrong view with Mahā Kaccāyana’s Thera, gāthā (Tha 496 f). On *sobhati* = Vedic & BHSD *śobhate*, “looks well, is suitable to” (BSHD).

⁵⁷ *Sādhu sādhu bhante tapassī ti*. I have tr this sentence foll Comy, which says *bhante* refers to Nāta,putta (MA 3:55). This is also confirmed by §10 below, where Upāli makes the same remark.

⁵⁸ *Kiñhi sobhati chavo mano, daṇḍo imassa evaṃ oḷārikassa kāya, daṇḍassa upanidhāya*. Cf this wrong view with Mahā Kaccāyana’s Thera, gāthā (Tha 496 f). On *sobhati* = Vedic & BHSD *śobhate*, “looks well, is suitable to” (BSHD). On the expression, *kiñhi sobhati chavo mano, daṇḍo* (rendered as “What does the trivial mental rod count,” M:ÑB 480), cf §13 below.

⁵⁹ *Sace me samaṇo gotamo tathā patiṭṭhahissati yathā bhadantena tapassinā patiṭṭhāpitam*. Similarly, in **Cūḷa Saccaka S** (M 35.5/1:228) = SD 26.5.

⁶⁰ The foll 4 similes as in **Cūḷa Saccaka S** (M 35.5/1:228 f) = SD 26.5.

⁶¹ This simile as in **Upāli S** (M 56.7/1:374 f); **Anicca, saññā S** (S 22.101/3:155); **Appamāda S** (A 6.53/3:365), 2nd simile. “Hemp-washing” (Ee *saṇa, dhovika*; Be Se *sāṇa, dhovika*). Comy says that men played this game while

even so, I shall sport with the recluse Gotama in a game of hemp-washing!”

“Go, householder, and refute the recluse Gotama’s doctrine based on this statement! For, I myself, householder, would refute the recluse Gotama’s doctrine, or else, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī himself, or you yourself.”

Dīgha, tapassī’s objection

8 When this was said, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī said this to the nirgrantha Nāta, putta:

“Bhante, I do not agree⁶² that the householder Upāli should try to refute this doctrine of the recluse Gotama. For, the recluse Gotama, bhante, is a magician [trickster] and knows conversion magic [has seductive charms]⁶³ to convert disciples of other sectarians!”⁶⁴

“It is impossible, Tapassī, there is no chance that the householder Upāli would ever go over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama. But it is possible that the recluse Gotama would go over to discipleship with the householder Upāli.

Go, householder, and refute the recluse Gotama’s doctrine based on this statement! For, I myself, householder, would refute the recluse Gotama’s doctrine, or else, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī himself, or you yourself.”

For the second time, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī said this to the nirgrantha Nāta, putta...

For the third time, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī said this to the nirgrantha Nāta, putta,

“Bhante, I do not agree that the the householder Upāli should try to refute the doctrine of the recluse Gotama. For, the recluse Gotama, bhante, is a magician [trickster] and knows conversion magic [seductive charms] to convert disciples of other sectarians!”

“It is impossible, Tapassī, there is no chance that the householder Upāli would ever go over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama. But it is possible that the recluse Gotama would go over to discipleship with the householder Upāli.

Go, householder, and refute the recluse Gotama’s doctrine based on this statement! For, I myself, householder, would refute the recluse Gotama’s doctrine, or else, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī himself, or you yourself.”

Upāli visits the Buddha

9 “Yes, bhante,” answered the householder Upāli in assent. He rose from this seat, and having saluted the nirgrantha Nāta, putta, keeping his right side to him, left for Pāvārika’s mango grove to meet the Blessed One. [376]

Having approached the Blessed One, he saluted him and sat down at one side.

Seated thus at one side, the householder Upāli said this to the Blessed One,

“Bhante,⁶⁵ did the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī come here?”

“The nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī did come here, householder.”

“Bhante, did you have some discussion with him?”

preparing hemp. They tied up handfuls of rough hemp (*saṇa, vāka*), immersed them in water; then beat them on planks (*phalaka*) to the left, to the right, to the middle. A royal elephant saw this game, and plunging into the water, took water in his trunk and sprayed it on his belly, his body, both sides, and the groin (MA 2:272). In the Brahma-jāla Somy, *sāṇa, dhovana* refers to a game of the outcastes (*caṇḍāla*), played with an iron ball (*ayo, guḷa, kīḷā*) (DA 84). See PED: nicchodeti & *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1917: 53.

⁶² “I do not agree,” *na kho me ... ruccati*.

⁶³ *Āvaṭṭaniṃ māyā*, used derogatorily by outsiders to describe the Buddha’s power of conversion (M 56.8/-1:375,13 = 56.21/381,27 (MA 3:56,4: it means “having converted, he binds them,” ~*an ti āvaṭṭetvā gahaṇa, māyāṃ*) = A 2:193,26 = 193,34; M 56.26/1:383,31). Used in a positive sense (M 56.26/1:383,33 = A 2:191,1). See also J 2:330,-10*, 330,17 = 5:451,3*. As *āvaṭṭanī, māyā* (MA 3:56,4); as *āvaṭṭani, māyā* (AA 3:296,23+35).

⁶⁴ *Samaṇo hi, bhante, gotamo māyāvī āvaṭṭaniṃ māyāṃ jānāti yāya añña, titthiyānaṃ sāvake āvaṭṭeti ti*. This is a common accusation that non-Buddhists make against the Buddha: see eg **Bhaddiya S** (A 4.193/2:190) = SD 45.8.

⁶⁵ Notice that Upāli addresses the Buddha as *bhante* right from the start: this shows that either he has respect for the Buddha, or is by nature a respectful person.

“I had some discussion with the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī, householder.”

“The discussion that you had with the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī—what was the talk like?”

Then the Blessed One related to Upāli the householder the whole of the discussion that he had with the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī.

10 When this was said, the householder Upāli said this to the Blessed One:

“Good, bhante, good for Tapassī!

The answer to the recluse Gotama has been given by the venerable Tapassī just like a well-instructed disciple who rightly understands the teacher’s teaching.

For, how does a wretched [trivial] rod that is the mind shine in comparison to a great rod that is the body?⁶⁶ On the contrary, the rod that is the body is the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action; not so the rod that is speech, nor the rod that is the mind.”

“Householder, if you would discourse [discuss] on the basis of truth, we might have a discussion here.”⁶⁷

“I will discourse on the basis of truth, bhante. Let us have a discussion.”

The first answer: the “mind-bound” devas

11 “What do you think, householder? Here, some nirgrantha might be afflicted, suffering, gravely ill, but *he refuses cold water, but uses only hot water*.⁶⁸ Not getting cold water, he might die. Now, householder, where does the nirgrantha Nāta,putta declare he would be reborn?”

“Bhante, there are devas called ‘the mind-bound’ (*mano, satta*)⁶⁹—he would be reborn there. What is the reason for this? Because when he died, he was still bound to his mind.”⁷⁰

“Pay attention, householder! Having paid attention, householder, then answer.⁷¹ What you said earlier, householder, is not connected with what you said later, nor what you said later with what you said earlier!”⁷²

Yet, you made this statement, householder, ‘I will discourse on the basis of truth, bhante. Let us have a discussion.’”

“Bhante, even though the Blessed One has spoken thus, *still* the rod that is the body is the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action; not so the rod that is speech, nor the rod that is the mind!”⁷³

⁶⁶ *Kiñhi sobhati chavo mano, daṇḍo imassa evaṃ oḷārikassa kāya, daṇḍassa upanidhāya*: see §7 above.

⁶⁷ *Sace kho tvam, gahapati, sace patitthāya manteyyāsi siyā no ettha kathā, sallāpo* ‘ti.

⁶⁸ That is, his illness needs to be treated with cold water, which his vows prohibit. However, he takes only hot water (which is allowable)—thus keeping to his vows—but actually he *mentally* longs for cold water. Buddhaghosa notes that the Jains were aware that there are conscious beings in cold water (MA 3:57).

⁶⁹ Comy: The devas called “mind-bound” are beings that are bound by bonds in their minds (*Mano, sattā nāma devā ti manamhi sattā laggā laggitā*, MA 3:57). See also *mano, paṭibaddha* in the foll sentence: as such, we can assume that *satta* here is pp of *sajjati* (“it clings to, is attached to”) (see M:H 2:41). See foll n.

⁷⁰ *Asu hi, bhante, mano, paṭibaddho kālam karotī ti* See 2 prec nn: The nirgranthas do not use cold water because they regard it as containing living beings. By bodily and verbally refusing to use cold water, he is morally virtuous to those extents, but since he longs for cold water, his mental conduct is wanting, thus is he reborn amongst the ‘mind-bound’ devas. See M:ÑB 1258 n583.

⁷¹ *Manasi karohi, gahapati, manasi karitvā kho, gahapati, vyākarohi*. I take *karohi* and *vyākarohi* as imperative. M:ÑB however renders this sentence as “Householder, householder, pay attention how you reply!” throughout, which is too free.

⁷² *Na kho te sandhiyati purimena vā pacchimaṃ pacchimena vā purimaṃ*, lit “Your rear is not linked with your front, nor your front with your rear.”

⁷³ Below at §15 Upāli declares that at this point, he is already convinced by the Buddha, but continues to contradict the Buddha’s answers because he wishes to hear all the various answers of the Buddha.

The second answer: Karma is intention

12a “What do you think, [377] householder? Here, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta⁷⁴ is restrained by the four restraints,⁷⁵ that is to say, where the nirgrantha is⁷⁶

restrained by the restraint	regarding all waters	(<i>sabba,vāri,vārito</i>),
bent on the restraint	regarding all waters	(<i>sabba,vāri,yuto</i>),
meticulous in the restraint	regarding all waters	(<i>sabba,vāri,dhuto</i>),
preoccupied with the restraint	regarding all waters	(<i>sabba,vāri,phuṭo</i>).

But, when going forward or backward, he causes the destruction of many lives, large and small. What is the result, householder, that the nirgrantha Nāta,putta declares for this?”

“Bhante, the unintended is declared by the nirgrantha Nāta,putta as being of no great blame.”

“But, householder, what if one intends it?”

“Then, bhante, it is greatly blameable.”

“But, householder, under what category does the nirgrantha Nāta,putta declare intention to be?”

“Under *the rod that is the mind*, bhante.”⁷⁷

12b “Pay attention, householder! Having paid attention, householder, then answer. What you said earlier, householder, is not connected with what you said later, nor what you said later with what you said earlier!

Yet, you made this statement, householder, ‘I will discourse on the basis of truth, bhante. Let us have a discussion.’”

“Bhante, even though the Blessed One has spoken thus, *still* the rod that is the body is the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action; not so the rod that is speech, nor the rod that is the mind!”⁷⁸

The third answer: Intention is a mental act

13a “What do you think, householder? Is this Nālandā powerful and prosperous, crowded and teeming with people?”

“Yes, bhante, this Nālandā is powerful and prosperous, crowded and teeming with people.”

13b “What do you think, householder? Suppose a person were to come here, brandishing a sword, and were to say: ‘In a moment, in an instant, I will make all the living beings in this Nālandā into a single pile of flesh!’

What do you think, householder? Would this man be able to make all the living beings in this Nālandā into a single pile of flesh?” [378]

“Bhante, even if ten persons, bhante, or twenty persons, bhante, or thirty persons, bhante, or forty persons, bhante, or fifty persons, bhante, would not be able to make all the living beings in this Nālandā into a single pile of flesh. What is there to say of a single wretched [trivial] person?”⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Be Se reads *nigaṇṭho nātaputto*; Ce Ee omits *nātaputto*. Cf similar passage at **Sāmañña,phala S** (D 2.28/-1:57) = SD 8.10, where Nigaṇṭha Nāta,putta is referred to, and which I follow. It should be noted that either reading makes sense here.

⁷⁵ *Cātu,yāma*: see Intro (3.4.1).

⁷⁶ “Here... all waters,” *idh’assa nigaṇṭho cātu,yāma,samvara,samvuto sabba,vāri,vārito sabba,vāri,yutto sabba,vāri,dhuto sabba,vāri,phuṭo*. See Intro (3.4.1).

⁷⁷ *Daṇḍa*, on “rod,” see Intro (3.2). Here the Buddha points out to Upāli a contradiction in the Jain view that even when there is no intention the “rod that is the body” is the most blameworthy of all, and that when there is intention the moral character of an action is significantly altered.

⁷⁸ Below at §15 Upāli declares that at this point, he is already convinced by the Buddha, but continues to contradict the Buddha’s answers *for the second time*, because he wishes to hear all the various answers of the Buddha. The first contradiction is in the prev section [§11]. In that case, Upāli is evidently playing the devil’s advocate to test the Buddha.

⁷⁹ *Kiñhi sobhati eko chavo puriso’ ti*: as §7 above, this is an obscure expression, which I have rendered contextually.

13c “What do you think, householder? Suppose a recluse or a brahmin with psychic powers, accomplished in the mastery of the mind, were to come here, and were to say: ‘I will reduce this Nālandā to ashes with a single evil thought!’⁸⁰

What do you think, householder? Would the recluse or the brahmin with psychic powers, accomplished in the mastery of the mind, be able to reduce this Nālandā to ashes with a single evil thought?”

“Bhante, even ten Nālandās, or twenty Nālandās, or thirty Nālandās, or forty Nālandās, or fifty Nālandās, could be reduced to ashes with a single evil thought. What is there to say of a single wretched [trivial] Nālandā?”

13d “Pay attention, householder! Having paid attention, householder, then answer. What you said earlier, householder, is not connected with what you said later, nor what you said later with what you said earlier!

Yet, you made this statement, householder, ‘I will discourse on the basis of truth, bhante. Let us have a discussion.’”

“Bhante, even though the Blessed One has spoken thus, *still* the rod that is the body is the most blameable for the doing, the occurrence, of evil action; not so the rod that is speech, nor the rod that is the mind!”

The fourth answer: The origin of the great forests

14a “What do you think, householder? Have you heard of how the Daṇḍaki forest,⁸¹ the Kālinga forest,⁸² the Majjha forest,⁸³ and the Mātāṅga forest⁸⁴ became forests?”⁸⁵

“Yes, bhante.”

“What do you think, householder? As you have heard it, how did the Daṇḍaki forest, the Kālinga forest, the Majjha forest, and the Mātāṅga forest become forests?”

“Bhante, as I have heard it, they became forests on account of a single evil thought of the rishis [the seers].”

14b “Pay attention, householder! Having paid attention, householder, then answer. What you said earlier, householder, is not connected with what you said later, nor what you said later with what you said earlier!

Yet, you made this statement, householder, ‘I will discourse on the basis of truth, bhante. Let us have a discussion.’”

Upāli takes refuge

15a “Bhante, I had approved of and was satisfied with the Blessed One’s very first simile [parable].⁸⁶ Even then, I thought that I would contradict the Blessed One *simply out of the desire to hear the Blessed One’s various insights into the problem.*⁸⁷

⁸⁰ *Ahaṃ imaṃ nālandāṃ ekena mano, padosena bhasmaṃ karissāmi ‘ti.*

⁸¹ *Daṇḍakīraṇṇa*, also called *Daṇḍak’āraṇṇa*: **Indriya J** (J 423/3:463), **Jayaddisa J** (J 513/5:29 ×2), **Te, sakuṇa J** (J 521/5:114), **Sarabhaṅga J** (J 522/5:133-145), **Saṅkicca J** (J 530/5:267); **Miln** 130.

⁸² *Kāliṅg’āraṇṇa*: **Sarabhaṅga J** (MA 3:69 alludes to J 5:144*); **Miln** 130.

⁸³ *Majjh’āraṇṇa*, also *Mejjh’āraṇṇa*: **Vighāsa J** (J 393/3:310 ×2); **Mātāṅga J** (J 497/4:389, *Mejjha*~), **Saṅkicca J** (J 530/5:267); **Miln** 130; **ItA** 217; cf J 4:368 f.

⁸⁴ MA 3:68; **Te, sakuṇa J** (J 521/5:114), **Saṅkicca J** (J 530/5:267); **Miln** 130.

⁸⁵ These forests were once cities and countries which were devastated by the evil minds (*mano, padosena*) of rishis or seers.

⁸⁶ *Purimen’evāhaṃ bhante opammena bhagavato attamano abhiraddho.* See §11. Also at **Pāyāsi S** (D 23.30/-2:352), where Pāyāsi says this to Kumāra Kassapa. *Opamma*; the first two answers are actually *not* similes; only the last two are.

⁸⁷ *Api cāhaṃ imāni bhagavato vicitrāni paṇha, paṭibhānāni sotukāmo evāhaṃ bhagavantam paccanīkātabbam amaññissam.* “Insight into the problem” (*paṇha, paṭibhāna*), as at **Mahā Sīha, nāda S** (M 12.63/1:83), which IB Horner renders as “ways of putting questions” (M:H 2:44); Ñānamoli/Bodhi: “replies to questions” (M:ÑB 484), which follows Buddhaghosa’s gloss as *paṇha, vyākaraṇam* (“question-answering”) (MA 3:88 = 2:53), but :[t]his

15b Excellent, bhante! Excellent, bhante! Just as if one were to place upright what had been overturned, or were to reveal what was hidden, or were to show the way to one who was lost, or were to hold up a lamp in the dark so that those with eyes could see forms, even so, in numerous ways, has the Dharma been made clear by the Blessed One.

Bhante, I go to the Blessed One for refuge, [379] to the Dharma, and to the community of monks. May the Blessed One remember me as a lay follower who has gone for refuge from this day forth for life.”

Upāli takes refuge a second time

16 “Investigate carefully, householder, it is good for well-known people like you to investigate carefully.”⁸⁸

“Bhante, with that, I approve of and am satisfied with the Blessed One even more so, when the Blessed One says thus:

‘Investigate carefully, householder, it is good for well-known people like you to investigate carefully’!

For, other sectarians, on having me as a disciple, would carry a banner all over Nālandā, proclaiming, ‘The householder Upāli has chosen discipleship with us!’

But, as for the Blessed One, he says thus: ‘Investigate carefully, householder, it is good for well-known people like you to investigate carefully’!

For the second time, bhante, I go to the Blessed One for refuge, to the Dharma, and to the community of monks. May the Blessed One remember me as a lay follower who has gone for refuge from this day forth for life.”

Upāli takes refuge the third time

17 “Householder, long indeed has your family been a wellspring to the nirgranthas, and please consider that almsfood should still be given to them when they come.”⁸⁹

“Bhante, with that, I approve of and am satisfied with the Blessed One even more so, when the Blessed One says thus:

‘Householder, long indeed has your family been a wellspring to the nirgranthas, and please consider that almsfood should still be given to them when they come’!

Bhante, I have heard it said that the recluse Gotama speaks thus:

‘Giving should only be made to me; giving should not be made to others. Giving should only be made to my disciples; giving should not be made to the disciples of others. Only giving made to me are of great fruit; giving made to others are not of great fruit. Only giving made to my disciples are of great fruit; giving made to the disciples of others are not of great fruit.’⁹⁰

But, the Blessed One bids me to undertake to give alms to the nirgranthas. Regarding that, bhante, we will know the time for it.

perhaps slightly misunderstands him” (Cousins 1997: 269). BHSD: *Pratibhāna* refers to “readiness in speech..., presence of mind, self-confidence or brilliance, esp as manifested in speech; quick-wittedness, inspiration”. “Of course, as Buddhaghosa indicates, this could manifest here precisely in the manner of replying.” (Cousins, id)

⁸⁸ *Anuviccekāram kho, gahapati, karohi, anuviccekāro tumhādisānam nāta,manussānam sādhu hoti ti.* As in the case of the general Sīha’s conversion (V 1:236 = A 4:185).

⁸⁹ *Dīgha,rattam kho te gaha,pati nigaṇṭhānam opāna,bhūtam kulam, yena nesam upagatanam piṇḍakam dātabam maññeyyāsī ti.* As in the case of the general Sīha’s conversion (V 1:236 f = A 4:185 f). Comy: *opāna* (“well-spring”) = *udapāna*, “a well” (MA 3:89); cf V 1:236; M 1:379; Miln 411; DA 1:298 & *Vinaya Texts* 2:115 n.

⁹⁰ See (**Dāna**) **Vaccha,gotta S** (A 3.57/1:160-162) = SD 22.1; cf **Dakkhiṇa Vibhaṅga S** (M 142.5-7/3:254-256) = SD 1.9.

For the third time, bhante, I go to the Blessed One for refuge, to the Dharma, and to the community of monks. May the Blessed One remember me as a lay follower who has gone for refuge from this day forth for life.”

The gradual teaching and streamwinning

18 Then the Blessed One gave the householder Upāli a **progressive talk**—that is to say, he spoke on giving (*dāna*), on moral virtue (*sīla*) and on the heavens (*sagga*); and explained the danger, the vanity and disadvantages of sense-pleasure (*kām’ādīnava*), and the advantages of renunciation (*nekkhamm’ānisaṃsa*).

When the Blessed One knew that the householder [380] Upāli’s mind was prepared, pliant, free from obstacles, elevated and lucid, then he explained to him the teaching peculiar to the Buddhas,⁹¹ that is to say, suffering, its arising, its cessation, and the path.⁹²

And just as a clean cloth, with all its stains removed, would take dye,⁹³ even so, in the householder Upāli, while right there on his seat, there arose the dust-free stainless Dharma-eye [vision of truth],⁹⁴ thus:

“**What is of the nature of arising, all that is of the nature of ending.**”

(*Yam kiñci samudaya, dhammaṃ sabbantaṃ nirodha, dhammaṃ ti.*)⁹⁵

Then the householder Upāli, who has seen the Dharma [truth],⁹⁶ won the Dharma, knew the Dharma, plunged into the Dharma, crossed over doubt, abandoned uncertainty, who has gained full confidence [intrepidity]⁹⁷ in the Teacher’s Teaching, one independent of others,⁹⁸ said this to the Blessed One:

“Bhante, we must now take leave. Many are our duties; there is much to be done.”

“Please, householder, do as you deem fit here.”⁹⁹

⁹¹ *Buddhānaṃ sāmukkaṃsikaṃ desanā.*

⁹² This is stock: V 1:15, 2:156, 192; D 1:110, 148, 2:41; M 1:379; A 3:184, 4:186, 209; U 49.

⁹³ See **Vatthūpama S** (M 7.2/1:36) = SD 28.12.

⁹⁴ *Evam eva upālissa gahapatissa tasmim̐ yeva āsane virajam̐ vīta, malaṃ dhamma, cakkhuṃ udapādi.* Comy says that here, the “Dharma-eye” (*dhamma, cakkhu*) is the path of streamwinning (MA 3:92): in **Brahmāyu S** (M 91.36/ 2:145), it refers to the 3 paths (*tiṇṇaṃ maggānaṃ*) (ie culminating in non-return); in **Cūḷa Rāhul’ovāda S** (M 147.9/ 3:280), the destruction of the influxes (*āsava-k, khaya*) (ie arhathood). The following sentence: “All that is subject to arising is subject to ending,” shows the mode in which the path arises. The path takes ending (nirvana) as its object, but its function is to penetrate all conditioned states as being subject to arising and ending.” (MA 3:92)

⁹⁵ See **Skillful Means** = SD 30.8 (3.4.2).

⁹⁶ “The truth” (*dhamma*) here refers to the 4 noble truths. Having seen the truth for himself, he cuts off the fetter of doubt and now has “the noble and liberating view that accordingly leads the practitioner to the complete destruction of suffering” (*yā ’yam dīṭṭhi ariyā niyyānikā niyyāti tak, karassa sammā, dukkha-k, khayāya*, **Kosambiya S**, M 48.7/1:322)

⁹⁷ **Vesāraja**. Comy on **Tha 289** defines “intrepidity” (*vesāraja*) as “with all the influxes completely destroyed, the teacher has no fear from any quarter” (*sabb ’āsava, parikkhūnam̐ satthāram̐ akuto, bhayam̐*) (ThaA 2:122). **Mahā Siha, nāda S** (M 12) says that there are 4 kinds of intrepidity, that is, no one can justly the Buddha that (1) his awakening is incomplete, (2) that he has not destroyed all the influxes, (3) that mental obstructions, as defined by the Buddha, do not obstruct them, and (4) that when he teaches the Dharma, it does not lead to the complete destruction of suffering (M 12.22-28/1:71 f).

⁹⁸ *Atha kho kūṭadanto brāhmaṇo dīṭṭha, dhammo patta, dhammo vidita, dhammo pariyogāḷha, dhammo tiṇṇa, vicikiccho vigata, katham̐, katham̐ vesāraja-p, patto apara-p, paccayo satthu, sāsane.* As at **Ambaṭṭha S** (D 3.2.21-22/1:110); **Kūṭadanta S** (D 1:150); **Cūḷa Saccaka S** (M 5/1:234 f x2); **Upāli S** (M 1:380); **Mahā Vaccha, gotta S** (M 1:491); **Dīgha, nakha S** (M 1:501); **Brahmāyu S** (M 2:145); **Sīha S** (A 4:186); **Ugga S 1** (A 4:209); **Ugga S 2** (A 4:214); **Kuṭṭhi S** (U 5.3/49).

⁹⁹ *Yassa dāni tvam̐ gahapati kālam̐ maññasī ti,* lit “Please do what you think it is now the time to do.” This is stock: **Sāmañña, phala S** (D 2.103/1:85 = SD 8.10); **Mahā Parinibbāna S** (D 16.3.6/2:104 = SD 13); **Sekha S** (M 53.3/1:354 = SD 21.14); **Kaṇṇaka-t, thala S** (M 90.17/2:132 f = SD 10.8); **Puṇṇ’ovāda S** (M 145.6/3:269 = S 35.88/4:62, 31 = SD 20.15); **Avassuta S** (S 35.243/4:183, 15, 30); **Khemā Therī S** (S 44.1/4:379, 29); **Vesālī S** (S

Upāli instructs his door-keeper

19 Then, the householder Upāli, having approved of and rejoiced in the Blessed One's word, rose from his seat and, keeping his right side to the Blessed One, left for his own house.

He approached and addressed the door-keeper,

“Good door-keeper, from this day forth, I close my door to the nirgranthas and the nirgranthis. The door is open to the Blessed One's monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen.

If any nirgrantha comes, tell him thus: ‘Stop, bhante, do not enter. From this day forth, I close my door to the nirgranthas and the nirgranthis. The door is open to the Blessed One's monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. Bhante, if you want alms, wait right here. They will bring it to you here.’”

“Yes, bhante,” the door-keeper replied to the householder Upāli.

Dīgha, tapassī hears about Upāli

20 The nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī heard thus:

“Bhante, it is said that the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama.”

Then the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī approached the nirgrantha Nāta, putta. Having approached the nirgrantha Nāta, putta, he said this to him:

“I have heard, bhante, that the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama.”

“It is impossible, Tapassī, there is no chance that the householder Upāli would ever go over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama. But it is possible that the recluse Gotama would go over to discipleship with the householder Upāli.” [381]

For the second time, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī said this to the nirgrantha Nāta, putta...

For the third time, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī said this to the nirgrantha Nāta, putta

“Bhante, it is said that the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama.”

“It is impossible, Tapassī, there is no chance that the householder Upāli would ever go over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama. But it is possible that the recluse Gotama would go over to discipleship with the householder Upāli.”

“Bhante, shall I go and find out whether or not the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama?”

“Go, Tapassī, and find out whether or not the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama.”

Dīgha, tapassī meets Upāli

21 Then the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī went to the householder Upāli's house. The door-keeper saw him coming from afar. Seeing him, he said this to the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī:

“Stop, bhante, do not enter. From this day forth, the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama. The door is closed to the nirgranthas and the nirgranthis. The door is open to the Blessed One's monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. Bhante, if you want alms, wait right here. They will bring it to you here.”

“I do not want alms, avuso.”

Turning back, he returned to the nirgrantha Nāta, putta and said this to him:

“Bhante, it is true indeed that the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama.

54.9/5:321,16, 17) & **Thapatayā S** (S 55.6/5:348,27). See Joy Manné, “On a departure formula and its translation,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 10, 1993: 27-43.

Bhante, I did not obtain your consent when I said, ‘Bhante, I do not agree that the householder Upāli should try to refute this doctrine of the recluse Gotama. For, the recluse Gotama, bhante, is a magician [trickster] and knows conversion magic [seductive charms] to convert disciples of other sectarians!’¹⁰⁰

Now, bhante, your householder Upāli has been converted by the recluse Gotama with his conversion magic!”

“It is impossible, Tapassī, there is no chance that the householder Upāli would ever go over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama. But it is possible that the recluse Gotama would go over to discipleship with the householder Upāli.”

For the second time, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī said this to the nirgrantha Nāta,putta...

For the third time, the nirgrantha Dīgha, tapassī said this to the nirgrantha Nāta,putta,

“Bhante, it is true indeed that the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship [382] with the recluse Gotama.

Bhante, I did not obtain your consent when I said, ‘Bhante, I do not agree that the householder Upāli should try to refute this doctrine of the recluse Gotama. For, the recluse Gotama, bhante, is a magician [trickster] and knows conversion magic to convert disciples of other sectarians!’

Now, bhante, your householder Upāli has been converted by the recluse Gotama with his conversion magic!”

“It is impossible, Tapassī, there is no chance that the householder Upāli would ever go over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama. But it is possible that the recluse Gotama would go over to discipleship with the householder Upāli.

I shall myself go and find out whether or not the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama!”

Nāta,putta goes to Upāli’s house

22 Then the nirgrantha Nāta,putta along with a great assembly of nirgranthas went to the householder Upāli’s house. The door-keeper saw the nirgrantha Nāta,putta coming from afar. Seeing the nirgrantha Nāta,putta, he said this:

“Stop, bhante, do not enter. From this day forth, the householder Upāli has gone over to discipleship with the recluse Gotama. The door is closed to the nirgranthas and the nirgranthas. The door is open to the Blessed One’s monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. Bhante, if you want alms, wait right here. They will bring it to you here.”

“In that case, good door-keeper, approach the householder Upāli, and say this to him: ‘Bhante, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta is standing [waiting] at the outer porch with a large assembly of nirgranthas. He wishes to see you.’”

“Yes, bhante,” the door-keeper replied to the nirgrantha Nāta,putta, and approached the householder Upāli. Having approached the householder Upāli, he said this:

“Bhante, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta is standing [waiting] at the outer porch¹⁰¹ with a large assembly of nirgranthas. He wishes to see you.”

“In that case, good door-keeper, prepare seats in the middle-entrance hall.”¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ *Etam kho te aham, bhante, nālattham, na kho me, bhante, ruccati yam upāli gahapati samaṇassa gotamassa vādam āropeyya*: see §8 above.

¹⁰¹ “The outer porch,” *bahi, dvāra, koṭṭhaka*. See foll n.

¹⁰² “The middle-entrance hall,” *majjhima dvāra, sāla*. Comy says that for a house with 7 porches, the middle one is the fourth; if 5 porches, the middle one is the third; if 3 porches, then the second porch with a door is called the middle-entrance hall (MA 3:93). Cf **Raṭṭha, pāla S** (M 82.17/2:61), where Raṭṭha, pāla’s father, sitting in the middle-entrance hall of his house, having his hair dressed, could see Raṭṭha, pāla coming. The house has 7 porches (MA 3:295). It is unlikely that such a porch would be in the outermost perimeter of the house. More likely, the 7 porches would refer to seven concentric walls with entrances (some with halls serving as waiting- or sitting-rooms, or as vestibules). In such cases, the middle-entrance hall would serve as the space in which the household would attend to guests and religious who have come for alms-offerings.

“Yes, bhante,” the door-keeper replied to householder Upāli. Having prepared the seats in the middle-entrance hall, he approached the householder Upāli and said this:

“Bhante, the seats in the middle-entrance hall have been prepared. Please do as you deem fit here.”¹⁰³

23 Then the householder Upāli [383] went to the middle-entrance hall, and there sat down on the foremost, best, highest, and finest seat. Then he addressed the door-keeper:

“In that case, good door-keeper, approach the nirgrantha Nāta,putta and say this to him: ‘The householder Upāli says thus: “You may enter, bhante, if you wish.”’¹⁰⁴”

“Yes, bhante,” the door-keeper replied to the householder Upāli, and then approached the nirgrantha Nāta,putta, and said this to him:

“Bhante, the householder Upāli says thus: ‘You may enter, bhante, if you wish.’”

Then the nirgrantha Nāta,putta along with the large assembly of nirgranthas went to the middle-entrance hall.

Nāta,putta reviles Upāli

24 Now, in the past, when the householder Upāli saw the nirgrantha Nāta,putta coming from afar, he would go out to meet him, then, having dusted clean the foremost, best, highest, and finest seat with his upper robe,¹⁰⁵ would take hold of¹⁰⁶ the nirgrantha Nāta,putta to seat him down.

But now, having seated himself on the foremost, best, highest, and finest seat, he said this to the nirgrantha Nāta,putta:

“There are seats available, bhante, sit down if you wish.”

25 When this was said, the nirgrantha Nāta,putta said this to the householder Upāli:

“You are mad, householder! You are idiotic! You have gone, saying, ‘Bhante, I will go and refute the recluse Gotama’s doctrine!’¹⁰⁷ but you have returned ensnarled in a great tangle of doctrine!¹⁰⁸

Householder, just as a man who goes out as a gelder, were to return, having been himself gelded,¹⁰⁹ householder, just as a person who goes out as a gouger, were to return with his own eyes gouged out¹¹⁰— even so, you, householder, have gone, saying, ‘Bhante, I will go and refute the recluse Gotama’s doctrine!’ but it is *you*, householder, who has been converted by the conversion magic of the recluse Gotama!”

Upāli’s lion-roar

26 “Auspicious (*bhaddika*), bhante, is the conversion magic!¹¹¹ Beautiful (*kalyāṇi*), bhante, is the conversion magic!

Bhante, beloved (*piya*) would be my blood relatives and relations were they to be converted by this conversion magic! It would be for my beloved relatives’ good and happiness for a long time!

Bhante, if all *the kshatriyas* [the noble class] were to be converted by this conversion magic, it would be for their good and happiness for a long time! [384]

Bhante, if all *the brahmins* [the priestly class] were to be converted by this conversion magic, it would be for their good and happiness for a long time!

¹⁰³ *Yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasī ti*: see §18.

¹⁰⁴ *Pavisa kira, bhante, sace ākaṅkhasī ‘ti*. Note here a case of a triple-nested sentence.

¹⁰⁵ *Uttarāsaṅgena*.

¹⁰⁶ “Would take hold of,” (*pariggahetvā*), lit “having taken hold of,” which could refer to “the seat,” but I think it fits the context better this way.

¹⁰⁷ See §7 above.

¹⁰⁸ *Mahatāsi vāda, saṅghāṭṭena paṭimukko āgato*. Cf *taṇhā, saṅghāṭṭa, paṭimukka* (M 38.41/1:271).

¹⁰⁹ *Seyyathā ‘pi, gaha, pati, puriso aṇḍa’ hārako gantvā ubbhatehi aṇḍehi āgaccheyya*. I have softened the strong language here, which lit reads: “Just as if, householder, a person who goes out as a gelder were to return with his testicles removed...”

¹¹⁰ *Seyyathā vā pana gahapati puriso akkhika’ hārako gantvā ubbhatehi akkhīhi āgaccheyya*

¹¹¹ Upāli is saying this in reference to the path of streamwinning that he has won earlier (MA 3:94).

Bhante, if all *the vaishyas* [the business class] were to be converted by this conversion magic, it would be for their good and happiness for a long time!

Bhante, if all *the shudras* [the working class] were to be converted by this conversion magic, it would be for their good and happiness for a long time!

Bhante, if *this world*, along with its gods, its evil one, its high gods, its recluses and brahmins, this generation, with its rulers and people, it would be for their good and happiness for a long time!

As such, bhante, I will give you a simile. For, some of the wise here understand the meaning of what is said by way of a simile [parable].¹¹²

The parable of the monkey and Ratta.pāṇi

27a Once upon a time, bhante, there was a certain brahmin who was old, aged, great in years, and whose wife (*pajā,patī*), a young brahmin girl, was pregnant and near her confinement. Then, bhante, the young brahmin girl said this to the brahmin:

‘Go, brahmin, to the market and buy a young monkey as a playmate for my little boy!’

When this was said, the brahmin said this to the young brahmin girl:

‘Come now, madam, wait till you have given birth. If you, madam, give birth to a son, then I will go to the market and buy a young male monkey as a playmate for the boy. If you, madam, give birth to a daughter, then I will go to the market and buy a young female monkey as a playmate for the girl.’

For the second time, bhante, the young brahmin girl said this to the brahmin...

For the third time, bhante, the young brahmin girl said this to the brahmin,

‘Go, brahmin, to the market and buy a young monkey as a playmate for my little boy!’

27b Then, bhante, the brahmin, his mind bound by passion for the young brahmin girl, went to the market and bought a young male monkey, and having done so, said this to her:

‘Madam, I have bought a young male monkey [385] from the market who will be a playmate for your son.’

When this was said, the young brahmin girl said this to the brahmin:

‘Go, brahmin, to Ratta.pāṇi, the dyer’s son [the young dyer], and say this to him:

“Good Ratta.pāṇi, I wish this young male monkey dyed in yellow unguent, well-beaten and softened, and smoothened on both sides.”¹¹³

Then, bhante, the brahmin, his mind bound by passion for the young brahmin girl, took the young male monkey to Ratta.pāṇi, the dyer’s son, and said this to him:

‘Good Ratta.pāṇi, I wish this young male monkey dyed in yellow unguent, well-beaten and softened and smoothened on both sides.’

When this was said, bhante, Ratta.pāṇi, the dyer’s son, said this to the brahmin:

‘This monkey, bhante, will take the dying, but it will *not* take the beating and softening, and smoothening!’

Meaning of the parable

27c Even so, bhante, fools may take [accept] the “dyeing” (*raṅga*) of the doctrine of the foolish nir-granthas, but not so for the wise, for it withstands neither their devotion (*anuyoga*) nor “smoothening” [investigation] (*vimajjana*).¹¹⁴

¹¹² *Upamāya p’idh’ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa attham ājānanti*. This is stock: **Pāyāsi S** (D 23.9/2:324); **Ratha,vinīta S** (M 24.14/1:148), **Mahā Vedalla S** (M 43.22/1:295), **Upāli S** (M 56.26/1:384), **Sandaka S** (M 52/-1:523), **Anuruddha S** (M 127.16/3:151); **Naḷakalāpī S** (S 12.67/2:114), **Uttara,vipatti S** (A 8.8.5/4:163), **Uttiya S** (A 10.95.4/ 5:194); in verse: **Sonaka J** (J 529/5:255) & **Mahā Narada,kassapa J** (J 544/6:234) [given as J 544 in World Tipiṭaka], Cf **Yamaka S** (S 22.85.38/3:112) = SD 21.12.

¹¹³ *Ichhām’aham, samma ratta,pāṇi, imam makkaṭa-c,chāpakam pītā,valepanam nāma raṅga,jātam rajitam ākoṭita,paccākoṭitam ubhato,bhāga,vimaṭṭhan’ti*. On *ākoṭita,paccākoṭitam*, see **Nanda S** (S 21.8/2:281 f) & **VbhA 477**, where it describes the pressing and smoothening (ironing) of a robe (see below; cf DhA 1:37). The idea here, evidently, is to groom the monkey so that its fur is soft, pressed and smooth (like well-ironed clothing)!

Then, bhante, on another occasion, the brahmin brought a pair of new garments to Ratta,pāṇi, the dyer's son, and said this to him:

'Good Ratta,pāṇi, I wish this pair of new garments dyed in yellow unguent, well-pressed and smoothed on both sides.'

When this was said, bhante, Ratta,pāṇi, the dyer's son, said this to the brahmin:

'This pair of new garments, bhante, will take the dying, as well as the pressing and smoothing.'

Even so, bhante, the wise will take [accept] the "staging" (*raṅga*) of the doctrine of the Blessed One, the arhat, the fully self-awakened one, but not so for the foolish; for, it will take [withstand] both their devotion (*anuyoga*) and 'smoothing' [investigation] (*vimajjana*), too."¹¹⁵

28 "Householder, the congregation and the rajahs know, too, thus:

'The householder Upāli is a disciple of the nirgrantha Nāta,putta.'

Householder, whose disciple should we remember you to be?"

When this was said, the householder Upāli rose from this seat, arranged his upper robe (*uttarāsaṅga*), [386] and put his palms together in anjali in the direction of the Blessed One, and said thus:

The Upāli Gāthā: the 100-virtue lion-roar

29 "In that case, bhante, listen thus to whose disciple I am"¹¹⁶—

(1) *Dhīrassa vigata,mohassa,
pabhinna,khīlassa vijīta,vijayassa
anīghassa susama,cittassa
vuddha,sīlassa sādhu,paññassa
vesaman,tarassa vimalassa
bhagavato tassa sāvako'ham asmi*

Of the wise one,¹¹⁷ whose delusion is gone,
mental barrenness gone,¹¹⁸ victorious conqueror,
anguish-free,¹¹⁹ harmonious in mind,
whose virtue is cultivated, whose wisdom is good,
who has transcended disharmony,¹²⁰ stainless¹²¹—
of that Blessed One am I a disciple.

¹¹⁴ *Evam eva kho, bhante, bālānaṃ nigaṇṭhānaṃ vādo raṅga-k-khāmo hi kho bālānaṃ no paṇḍitānaṃ, no anuyoga-k,khāmo, no vimajjana-k,khāmo*: see Intro (4.1). Comy remarks that neither the Jain doctrine nor any useless historical stories such as the Mahābhārata or the Rāmāyaṇa are liked by the wise (*paṇḍitānaṃ*) (MA 3:95).

¹¹⁵ *Evam eva kho, bhante, tassa bhagavato vādo arahato sammā,sambuddhassa raṅga-k,khāmo c'eva paṇḍitānaṃ no bālānaṃ, anuyoga-k,khāmo ca vimajjana-k,khāmo cā 'ti*: see Intro (4.1).

¹¹⁶ The Skt parallel calls this paean the *Varṇa,śatam* ("The 100 praises"): see Intro (2.3; 4.2).

¹¹⁷ Comy: In the phrase, of the wise one, *dhīra* is called wisdom, ie "the wisdom that knows...right view" (*dhīrassā ti dhīraṃ vuccati paṇḍiccam* "yā paññā pajānanā...pe...sammādiṭṭhi" [Dhs 20 = 297 = 317]) (MA 3:96).

¹¹⁸ A fertility imagery is at play here: *khīla* means "(of land) fallow, waste" (A 3:248); psychologically, it refers to mental barrenness, hardness" Five kinds of "mental barrenness" are explained in detail in **Ceto,khīla S** (M 16/-1:101-104) = SD 31.14, & at D 3:238 = A 4:460; also mentioned at A 5:17; SnA 262. They refer to the 3 unwholesome roots: greed (*rāga*), hate (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*) (S 1:27, 5:57; DA 681). Mentioned with *paligha* ("crossbar; obstacles") (D 2:254): *chetvā khīlaṃ* ("having broken the hardness); *khīlaṃ pabhindati* ("he breaks up the fallowness of the heart) (S 1:193, 3:134; Sn 973; Tha 680). See PED: *khīla* & DP: *khīla*¹, for other meanings and uses; on *khīla* & *khīla*, see S:B 369 n8. The prefix *pabhinna* is pp of *pabhindati*, "it bursts open, broken (like a flower or seed), flowing with juices; usu applied to an elephant in rut (maddened, furious) (M 1:236; Dh 236; DhA 4:24 = Tha 77; J 4:494, 6:488; Pv 1.11.2).

¹¹⁹ Comy glosses *anīgha* as being "free from suffering" (*niddukkha*) arising from defilements (*kilesa*) or its fruits (*vipāka*) (MA 3:96 = J 3:443 = DhA 3:454 = PvA 230; UA 370, beside the gloss *niddukkha*, adds "living an unruffled life like a vehicle, moving without any jolt, *khobha*).

¹²⁰ *Vesaman,tarassa* = *vesama* (*visama*) + *tara* ("crossed over") is Be Se MA readings; Ce *visaman,tarassa*; Ee MAT:Ee *vessantarassa*; MAT:Be *vesantarassa*. Comy: He remains, having crossed over the disharmony (*visama*; vI *visa*, "poison") that are lust etc (MA 3:96). Cf *vissantara* (It 32): this reading is also possible here: "he has crossed over everything (*vissa*)."¹²¹ See It:W 139 n1.

¹²¹ *Vimala*; Comy: free from the taints of lust and so on (*vigata,rāg'ādi,malassa*, MA 3:96) cf SnA 368.

- (2) *Akatham,kathissa tusitassa
vanta,lok'āmisassa muditassa
kata,samaṇassa manujassa
antima,sārīrassa narassa
anopamassa virajassa
bhagavato tassa sāvako'ham asmi* Of the one without perplexity, contented,
who has abandoned worldly things,¹²² altruistic in joy,¹²³
who is done being a recluse amongst humans,
who bears a man's last body,
immeasurable, immaculate—
of that Blessed One am I a disciple.
- (3) *Asamsayassa kusalassa
venayikassa sārathi,varassa
anuttarassa rucira,dhammassa
nikkaṅkhassa pabhāsakassa
mān'acchidassa vīrassa
bhagavato tassa sāvako'ham asmi* Of the wholesome one, free from uncertainty,
one who disciplines,¹²⁴ a noble caravan-leader,
peerless, glorious in nature,
free from doubt,¹²⁵ the light-bringer,
whose conceit is all severed, the hero¹²⁶—
of that Blessed One am I a disciple.
- (4) *Nisabhassa appameyyassa
gambhīrassa mona,pattassa
khemaṇ,karassa vedassa
dhamm'aṭṭhassa saṁvut'attassa
saṅgātigassa muttassa
bhagavato tassa sāvako'ham asmi* Of the herd leader, immeasurable,
profound,¹²⁷ attained to sagely silence,¹²⁸
bringer of security, he is knowledge,¹²⁹
who stands in truth, mentally restrained,
liberated from all kinds of bondage—
of that Blessed One am I a disciple.
- (5) *Nāgassa panta,senassa* Of the naga¹³⁰ of remote haunts,

¹²² “Who abandons,” *vanta-*, which has allusion to “one who vomits,” a word-play here: see **Dh 93** = SD 10.6 (8.4); “the monk who has spewed out worldly things is called ‘one at peace’” (*vanta,lokāmisō bhikkhu | upasanto 'ti vuccati*, Dh 378cd). See **Nivāpa S** (M 25/1:151-160 = SD 61.2) where *lok'āmisa* refers to the cords of sense-pleasures (ie the 5 physical sense-objects) (= MA 3:96)

¹²³ *Muditassa*, ie on account of abiding in altruistic joy (*muditā,vihāra,vasena*), he has altruistic joy, uttering one praise or another (MA 3:96).

¹²⁴ Comy: “to the one who disciplines beings” (*sattānaṃ vinayakassa*, MA 3:97). Used by others in a derogatory sense of “the recluse Gotama”: see **Alagaddūpama S** (M 22.37/1:140) = SD 3.13.

¹²⁵ As at **Parivāmaṇsana S** (S 12.81/2:84) = SD 11.5.

¹²⁶ MA 3:97 reads *virīya*, “energy, effort,” glossing it as “accomplished in energy” (*virīyassa sampannassa*).

¹²⁷ Or, “deep” (*gambhīra*); cf **Aggi Vaccha,gotta S** (M 72.20/1:487) where the Buddha is unfathomable and immeasurable like a great ocean.

¹²⁸ Comy: “accomplished in wisdom” (*ñānaṃ pattassa*, MA 3:97). Early in his ministry, the Buddha is known as the “silent sage” (*muni*): see eg **Muni S** (Sn 1.12/207-221).

¹²⁹ Comy: “*Veda* is called wisdom: (*vedo vuccati ñānaṃ*, MA 3:97). Alt tr (as a line): “of the bringer of the knowledge of spiritual security.”

¹³⁰ *Nāga*. The Buddha is similarly called in **Sakalika S** (S 1.38/1:28) = SD 61.4 & **Paro,sahassa S** (S 740/8.8/-1:192). At the end of **Ratha,vinīta S** (M 24) and **Anaṅgaṇa S** (M 5.33/1:32), Sāriputta and Moggallāna are called *nāga* (M 24.17/1:151). The word *nāga* refers to various types of powerful beings, esp subterranean and riverine dragons, but it can also mean cobras and bull-elephants, and is used as a metaphor for the arhat: see **Vammika S** (M 23.3-4/1:145) = SD 28.13. In relation to the arhat, *nāga* usu refers to a bull elephant, which is admired and sacred in traditional Indian society: see Dh canto 23 (*Nāga Vagga*). The Comys give these “edifying etyms” of *nāga*: “Because they do not go with desire and so on, they are called *nāga*” (*chand'ādīhi na gacchantī ti nāgā*); “they are *nāga* because they do not to the defilements abandoned through the various paths” (*tena tena maggena pahīne kilese na āgacchantī ti nāgā*); “they are *nāga* because they do not commit any kind of crime” (*nāna-p,pakāraṃ āguṃ na karontī ti nāgā*); and it refers to a fuller explanation at Nm 201 f (MA 1:153; SA 1:77). For more etyms, see foll (and respective comys) **M** 1:32 (MA 1:132, refers to Nm 201); **Sn** 166 (SnA 2:208), 522 (SnA 428), 543 (*nāga,-nāga*), 573 (applied t6o monks), 845 (Nm 201), 1058, 1131 (Nc:Ne 215); **Tha** 166, 289, 692, 693 ff (*hatthi,nāga* compared with *purisa,nāga*), 703, 1279. See also S:B 369 n84; Sn:N 181 n166; Tha:N 177 n289. Cf *yakkha*: see verse (10) below & Sn 478: see also Tha:N 181 n166; also *deva* (KR Norman, “Deva and Adhidevas in Buddhism,” JPTS 9 1981: 154).

*khīṇa,saṃyojanassa muttassa
paṭimantakassa dhonassa
panna,dhajassa vīta,rāgassa
dantassa nippapañcassa
bhagavato tassa sāvako'ham asmi*

- (6) *Isi,sattamassa akuhassa
tevijjassa brahma,pattassa
nhātakassa padakassa*

free, having destroyed the fetters,¹³¹
an amicable counsellor who is purified,
whose banner is lowered,¹³² having rid of lust,
disciplined, free from mental proliferation¹³³—
of that Blessed One am I a disciple.

The best of seers,¹³⁴ without deceit,¹³⁵
attained to the perfection¹³⁶ of the three knowledges,
washed clean,¹³⁷ master of the word,¹³⁸

¹³¹ *Saṃyojanā*. The 10 fetters (*dasa saṃyojana*) are: (1) self-identity view (*sakkāya,diṭṭhi*), (2) persistent doubt (*vicikicchā*), (3) attachment to rituals and vows (*sīla-b,bata,parāmāsa*), (4) sensual lust (*kāma,rāga*), (5) repulsion (*paṭigha*), (6) greed for form existence (*rūpa,rāga*), (7) greed for formless existence (*arūpa,rāga*), (8) conceit (*māna*), (9) restlessness (or remorse) (*uddhacca*), (10) ignorance (*avijjā*) (S 5:61; A 5:13; Vbh 377). In some places, no 5 (*kāma,rāga*) is replaced by illwill (*vyāpāda*). The first 5 are the lower fetters (*orambhāgiya*), and the rest, the higher fetters (*uddhambhāgiya*). The abandonment of the lower 5 fetters makes one a non-returner (*opapātika* or *anāgāmi*) (see *Ānāpānasati S*, M 118.10 = 7.13). This verse technically refers to the non-returner, but here is spoken of an arhat, one who has broken all 10 fetters: see *Laṭukikopama S* (M 66.17/1:454) = SD 28.11.

¹³² *Panna,dhaja*, “whose banner is lowered,” ie, whose fight is over, who is magnanimous in victory: the banner is the “I am” conceit (*asmi,māna*): see *Alagaddūpama S* (M 22.35/1:139 f) = SD 3.13. Cf *Alagaddūpama S* (M 22.30/1:130); also *Ceto,vimutti,phala S 1+2* (A 5.71+72/3:84+85).

¹³³ Cf “the goal of perfection (*niṭṭhā*) is for one who does not enjoy proliferation, who does not delight in proliferation, avuso; the goal of perfection not for one who enjoys proliferation, who delights in proliferation” (*nippapañc'ārāmass'āvuso sā niṭṭhā nippapañca,ratino, na sā niṭṭhā papañc'ārāmassa papañca,ratino*) *Cūḷa Sīha,nāda S* (M 11.5/1:55) = SD 49.2; “mankind delights in mental proliferation | the Tathāgatas are rid of proliferations” (*pa-pañcābhiratā pajā | nippapañcā tathāgatā*, Dh 254cd). On *papañca*, see *Madhu,piṇḍika S* (M 18.15-18/1:111 f) = SD 6.14 Intro (2). See also M:NB 1204 n229, 1205 n232.

¹³⁴ A wordplay on *sattama*, “seventh,” and *uttama*, “highest.” The Buddha is so called in *Sakalika S* (S 1.38/-1:28) = SD 61.4 & *Paro,sahassa S* (S 740/8.8/1:192). MA only says that the Buddha comes after other “seers” (*isi*), beginning with (the Buddha) Vipassī (MA 3:97). Comys to Sn & Tha give more details. Comy on Sn 356 lists the six preceding Buddhas: Vipassī, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kassapa (SnA 2:351). Comy on Tha 1240 says that *isi,sattama* is the highest (*uttama*) of the seers (*isi*), namely, the disciples and pratyeka-buddhas, and is the seventh (*sattama*) seer after Vipassī and other fully self-awakened ones: the 7 Buddhas are named at Tha 490; their legend began to develop in *Mahā'padāna S* (D 14/2:1-54 = SD 49.8), so that by the time *Buddha,-vaṃsa* was compiled, there is a total 25 Buddhas, 24 past one and Gotama as the 25th. KR Norman suggests that of these 2 interpretations, “the former is more likely to be correct, cf the Jain epithet *jina,sattama* (Isibh[āsiyāim, W Schubring, Göttigen, 1942-51:] 38.12) where there is no reason for assuming any meaning other than ‘best’.” (Tha:-N 294 n1240). MA 3:97 (on *Upāli S*, M 1:386*) gives only the second explanation, as does SA 1:278 (on S 1:192) and SnA 351 (on Sn 356 = Tha 1276). See also S:B 464 n519. On the past Buddhas, see *Mahā'padāna S* (D 14) = SD 49.8 Intro (2).

¹³⁵ Cf Sn 957: “To that Buddha, unattached, | behold such a one! undeceitful | on behalf of the many who are fettered here | I have come with a question” (*taṃ buddhaṃ asitaṃ | tādiṃ akuhaṃ gaṇim-āgataṃ | bahunnaṃ idha baddhānaṃ | atthi pañhena āgamaṃ*); cf Sn 86, 219.

¹³⁶ *Brahma,pattassa = seṭṭha,pattassa*, “of the one who has attained the best” (MA 3:98; SA 1:237): cf *brahma,patti* (“the supreme attainment”) (*Sundarika S*, S 647/7.9/1:169) = SD 22.3; cf D 3:84 (*brahma,bhūta*); It 57 (*brahma,bhūtam tathāgataṃ | buddhaṃ...*, the Tathāgata who has attained perfection, | the Buddha...). In *Aggañña S* (D 27), the arhat is said to be the foremost (*agga*), a syn of *brahma* (adj) (D 27.32/3:97) = SD 2.19.

¹³⁷ *Nhataka*, in its brahminical sense, *snātaka*, refers to a brahmin who has undergone the ceremonial bathing, or baptism, marking the end of the *brahma,cārī* stage of his life. The Buddha rejects any such rituals and their efficacy, but uses the term metaphorically, ie “in the ultimate sense, *nhātaka* is the total washing away of defilements and impurities by the water that is the eightfold path” (*aṭṭhaṅgika,magga,jalena suvikkhālita,kilesa,malatāya paramatthato nhātako*, ThaA 2:85,12-13 ad Tha 221); see also Tha 24. See *Vatthūpama S* (M 7.19-20/1:39) = SD 28.12. See KR Norman, *Buddhist Forum* 2, 1991: 197 = 1993: 276.

¹³⁸ *Padaka*, traditionally refers to one of the aspects of a brahmin’s knowledge (D 1:88; M 2:138; A 1:63). Comy: “Having put together the syllables (*akkhara*), etc, he is skilled in making verses and lines (*pada*)” (MA 3:98).

- passaddhassa vidita, vedassa
purin, dadassa sakkassa
bhagavato tassa sāvako 'ham asmi*
- mentally stilled, having known true knowledge,
the capable destroyer of cities¹³⁹—
of that Blessed One am I a disciple.
- (7) *Ariyassa bhāvit'attassa
patti, pattassa veyyākaraṇassa
satimato vipassissa
anabhinatassa no apanatassa
anejassa vasi-p, pattassa
bhagavato tassa sāvako 'ham asmi*
- Of the noble one whose mind is cultivated,
having attained what is to be attained,¹⁴⁰ expounds it,
who is mindful, who has penetrative insight,¹⁴¹
who leans neither forwards or backwards,¹⁴²
attained to the mastery of the unperturbed¹⁴³—
of that Blessed One am I a disciple.
- (8) *Samuggatassa jhāyissa
ananugat'antarassa suddhassa
asitassa appahīnassa
pavivittassa agga-p, pattassa
tiṇṇassa tāra, yantassa
bhagavato tassa sāvako 'ham asmi*
- Of the one who has rightly fared in meditation,
whose mind is unobstructed¹⁴⁴ and pure,
unattached (to goodness),¹⁴⁵ goal-free,¹⁴⁶
who lives secluded, having attained to the foremost,
having crossed over, he leads others across—
of that Blessed One am I a disciple.

IB Horner suggests a connection with the Buddha footprint (*tathāgata, pada*), referring to the 1st dhyana: see **Cūḷa Hatthi, padopama S** (M 27.19+20/1:181) = SD 40a.5.

¹³⁹ Or, “of the Shakyas who breaks up cities,” where *purin, dada* (“town-breaker,” from Vedic *puram, dara*, “fortress destroyer”), an epithet of Shakra (king of the gods); *sakkassa* can read as either adjective (“of the capable one”) or as a proper noun (“of the Shakyas,” ie the Shakyas, muni, the Buddha). The Vedic *puram, dara* shatters the cloud-fortresses, to bring the earth its life-giving rains (cf RgV 1.102.7; CE Godage, “The Place of Indra in Early Buddhism,” *Univ of Ceylon Review* 1945: 49). Here, “destroyer of cities” can mean either that the Buddha removes sufferings arising from urbanized living, or that he causes people to renounce crowded lives for the spacious lives of renunciants. Comy takes the line as 2 words: the former, meaning the giver of the Dharma-gift; the latter, able, strong, capable (*samattha*) (MA 3:98). *Purindada* is, of course, an epithet of Shakra (P *Sakka*); but here possibly to make a “hundred” praises, the expression is split into two. Here, in the Upāli Gāthā, the Buddha is addressed as Sakka. He was indeed Shakra *purindada* in the past (Bu 16.9). See M:H 2:52 n5.

¹⁴⁰ *Patti, patta*. Comy: “who has attained those virtues worth attaining (*pattaba*)” (MA 3:98). Cf “who here has attained what is attainable in terms of conduct” (*yo idha caraṇesu pattipatto*, Sn 536a); “having attained that which is to be attained, who has mastery, is without influxes” (*taṃ pattipattam vasimam anāsavam*, It 32*).

¹⁴¹ *Vipassissa*. Cf “we have come to the one who has penetrative insight, who knows” (*vipassinam jānam upāgamimha*, Sn 349); “having thus given gifts, we praise the one with penetrative insight” (*evam dinnāni dānāni vaṇṇayanti vipassino*, A 4:244).

¹⁴² He is neither attracted to anything nor repulsed by them (see M:ÑB 1260 n597), or has let go of the past and the future. Comy reads as *anabhinatassa*, glossing it as “arhatness” (*arahatta*, MA 3:98).

¹⁴³ “The unperturbed,” *aneja*, also *aneñja*, glossed as “unshakable” (*acala*, VA 157), ie undisturbed by craving; an important description of the 4 formless attainments (MA 3:171). See **Eja S 1+2** (S 35.90=91/4:64-67) = SD 29.-10+11 & **Mahā Suññata S** (M 122) = SD Intro (3.1).

¹⁴⁴ *Ananugat'antarassa* = *na + anugata + antara*. Comy explains this as the mind being unobstructed by defilements (*kilesehi ananugata, cittassa*, MA 3:98).

¹⁴⁵ Here I follow Ce Ee. Be Se *asitassa hitassa*, “not attached of [independent of] the good.” Both readings obtain. *Asita* is usu glossed as *anissita* (“unattached, free,” eg SA 1:279; ThaA 3:196), esp unattached to craving and views (Nm 2:458; SA 1:289; 2:131). “Being independent of good” refers to the arhat’s state, one that has abandoned both good and evil (*puñña, pāpa, pahīna*, Sn 520; Dh 39; Vv 5.13.18/58; DhA 1:308). See foll n (on *appahīnassa*).

¹⁴⁶ “Goal-free” (*appahīnassa*), or more freely “of purpose-free mind,” ie without longing; another wordplay: ordinarily the word means one whose unwholesome roots are “not-abandoned” (*ap-pahīna*) (M 3:114, sc *chanda, rāga*; It 56: see Comy; It 57). Here, it is syn with *appaṇihita* (pp of *paṇidhati*, “he applies, directs, is bent on”), of a mental concentration that is “undirected” (*appaṇihita*), ie free from desire: see **Cūḷa Suññatā S** (M 121) = SD 11.3 Intro (8). See M:H 2:53 n2 & also prec n (on *asitassa*).

- (9) *Santassa bhūri, paññassa mahā, paññassa vīta, lobhassa tathāgatassa sugatassa appaṭipuggalassa asamassa visāradassa nipuṇassa bhagavato tassa sāvako 'ham asmi* Of the peaceful one¹⁴⁷ with abundant wisdom, of wisdom great, having pushed away greed,¹⁴⁸ the thus-come who is well-gone, peerless and without equal, mature [intrepid]¹⁴⁹ and masterly— of that Blessed One am I a disciple.
- (10) *Taṇha-c, chidassa buddhassa vīta, dhūmassa anupalittassa āhuneyyassa yakkhassa uttama, puggalassa atulassa mahato yas 'agga, pattassa bhagavato tassa sāvako 'ham asmī ti.* Of the awakened one who has cut off craving, who is rid of smokiness,¹⁵⁰ undefiled, the yaksha¹⁵¹ worthy of offerings, the highest individual who is without measure, the great one attained to the peak of fame— of that Blessed One am I a disciple.

30 “But when, householder, did you compose¹⁵² this praise [paean]¹⁵³?”

“Bhante, just as from a great heap of various flowers¹⁵⁴ [387] a skillful garland-maker or his apprentice would weave together a colourful array of garlands, even so, bhante, the Blessed One is one of innumerable praiseworthy splendours, of many hundred praiseworthy splendours. Who, bhante, would not praise the praiseworthy?”

31 Then, on account of his inability to bear the honour accorded to the Blessed One, hot blood issued forth right there from the mouth of the nirgrantha Nāta,putta.¹⁵⁵

— evaṃ —

¹⁴⁷ *Santa* (“at peace”), ie, peaceful through the stiling of opposing defilements (AA 3:85 f).

¹⁴⁸ Ie, without greed for the five cords of sense-pleasures (*kāma, guṇa*).

¹⁴⁹ Cf *sārajjā: Piṇḍolya S* (A 5.101) = SD 28.9a Intro (3).

¹⁵⁰ *Vīta, dhūma* (*vīta*, “without” + *dhūma*, “smoke”) (D 2:134; M 1:365; M 1:74 = S 2:99 = 4:188; J 1:15, 153, 3:447, 5:135; DhA 2:68; Vism 301) = *vidhumo* (*vi*, “away” + *dhūma*), “not fuming” (Sn 1048), ie, free from the fumes (or smoke) of anger (AA 3:86); or, rid of the fumes of evil deeds of the body etc (*kāya, duccharit 'ādi, dhūma, -virahito*, SnA 590).

¹⁵¹ *Yakkha*. Cf “to a pure being” (ie the Buddha) (*yakkhassa suddhi*, Sn 478, 876). Comys simply gloss *yakkha* as “person” (*purisa*, SnA 411), syns for “man, etc”: *yakkhassā ti sattassa narassa māṇavassa posassa puggalassa jīvassa jagussa jantussa iindagussa manujassa* (Nm 281 ad Sn 875). On *yakkha* as Skt *yakṣa* (ie as a pre-Buddhist term, with ref to the Buddha), see Nakamura 1983: 318; cf *nāg*: see verse (5) above. KR Norman leaves it untr (Tha:N 238 n478).

¹⁵² *Saññūlha*, cf *Sakka, pañha S* (D 21), where the Buddha asks Pañca, sikha, the celestial musician, a similar question, “When did you, Pañca, sikha, composes these verses” (*kadā saṃyūlhā pan ate Pañca, sikha imā gāthā*, D 22.6/2:267).

¹⁵³ *Vañṇa*, evidently the noun from *vaṇṇeti*, “he praises.”

¹⁵⁴ Cf Dh 53; Miln 347.

¹⁵⁵ Comy says that a heavy sorrow overcame him from the loss of his lay supporter, leading to a bodily disorder causing him to vomit blood, and fell down on his knees. He was then taken outside the town on a litter, and on to Pāvā, where he died. For, few beings live after discharging blood (MA 3:99 f). Historically, Nāta,putta predeceased the Buddha. *Pāsādika S* (D 29.1/3:117), *Sañgīti S* (D 33.1.6/3:210), and *Sāmagāma S* (M 104.2/2:243), all agree that he died at Pāvā while the Buddha was alive, but they do not agree on where the Buddha was at the time.

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