[201](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnref2) M.I,78 ([MN 12:46.2–46.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn12/en/sujato" \l "46.2)).

[202](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnref1) M.I,247 ([MN 36:30.1–33.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "30.1)).

[203](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnref3) M.I,166–67 ([MN 26:17.1–17.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "17.1)).

[204](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnref4) Ud.1-2 ([Ud 1.1:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.1/en/sujato" \l "1.2), [Ud 1.2:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.2/en/sujato" \l "1.2)) and Vin.I,1 ([Kd 1:1.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "1.1.1)). In another context it is mentioned at D.II,52-53 ([DN 14:1.8.7, 3.30.6, 3.32.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn14/en/sujato" \l "1.8.7)) where it is just referred to as *assattha*.

[205](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnref5) Ja.I,69.

[206](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnref6) A.I,50. ([AN 2.5](https://suttacentral.net/an2.5/en/sujato))

[207](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnref7) M.I,21-23 ([MN 4:22-26.1–22-26.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn4/en/sujato" \l "22-26.1)); I,246-48 ([MN 36:35-37.1–35-37.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "35-37.1)).

[208](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnref8) M.I,248 ([MN 36:38.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "38.1)).

[209](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnref9) This seems to have been an extension of, and in some way related to, what psychologists call a life review experience (LRE), where a person who has a close brush with death sees their whole life instantly flashing before them. For a scientific evaluation of this phenomena see Katz Saadon-Grosman 2017 [[Katz Saadon-Grosman 2017](#X87c11ba5bee50ec4a411e3858e850288f164ad8)]. So far, the most credible studies of rebirth are those of Ian Stevenson, late Professor of Psychiatry and Director of the Division of Personality Studies, University of Virginia. His decades of research are summarised in his two-volume *Reincarnation and Biology*, 1997 [[Stevenson 1997](#Xe8db6da1306344c73b8113f0f52d52317bfe3dd)].

[210](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefa) A.III,348 ff ([AN 6.44](https://suttacentral.net/an6.44/en/sujato)).

[211](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefb) D.I,81-3 ([DN 2:97.1–98.9](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "97.1)).

[212](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefc) On the other accounts of the Buddha’s awakening experience see Norman 1990 [[Norman 1990](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Norman)] 25 ff.

[213](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefd) M.I,249 ([MN 36:44.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "44.1)). In later centuries at least, the first watch (*purima yāma*) was divided into six *ghāṭikas*: the middle (*madhyayāma*) into two; and the third (*paścima yāma*) into four *ghāṭikas*. The duration of each would have differed according to the season, and it’s difficult to know how they were calculated.

[214](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefe) Sn.442-3 ([Snp 3.2:18.1–19.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.2/en/sujato" \l "18.1)).

[215](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnreff) Sn.425 ff ([Snp 3.2:21.1–25.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.2/en/sujato" \l "21.1)). On metaphors (*pariyāya*), in the Tipitaka see Gombrich 2009 [[Gombrich 2009](#Xe5c710c73ede26a9bcc70c9859e94e7ceba0186)] p.6.

[216](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefg) Sn.436-8 ([Snp 3.2:12.1–14.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.2/en/sujato" \l "12.1)).

[217](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefh) S.I,124 ([SN 4.25:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn4.25/en/sujato" \l "1.2)).

[218](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefi) E.g. William James’ *Varieties of Religious Experience* 1902 [[James 1902](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523James_)]; Rudolf Otto’s *Mysticism East and West* 1932 [[Otto 1932](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Otto_1)]; and Evelyn Underhill’s *Mysticism* 1911 [[Underhill 1911](#Xc09f5418f0c374b7a0cd1ea89b02db4c22d30d1)].

[219](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefj) M.I,247 ([MN 36:34.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "34.1)).

[220](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefk) M.I,247 ([MN 36:30.1–33.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "30.1)).

[221](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefl) S.V,422 ([SN 56.11:5.1–8.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn56.11/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[222](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefm) D.III,55 ([DN 25:22.1–22.31](https://suttacentral.net/dn25/en/sujato" \l "22.1)); A.IV,190 ([AN 8.13:2.18](https://suttacentral.net/an8.13/en/sujato" \l "2.18)).

[223](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefn) Vin.I,1-8 ([Kd 1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali)).

[224](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefo) Ud.1-3 ([Ud 1.1](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.1/en/sujato), [Ud 1.2](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.2/en/sujato), [Ud 1.3](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.3/en/sujato), [Ud 1.4](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.4/en/sujato)).

[225](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefp) M.I,168-69 ([MN 26:19.1–21.10](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "19.1)).

[226](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefq) D.III,126 ([DN 29:16.1–16.28](https://suttacentral.net/dn29/en/sujato" \l "16.1)); S.IV,83 ([SN 35.103](https://suttacentral.net/sn35.103/en/sujato)).

[227](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefr) M.I,170-172 ([MN 26:22.1–25.27](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "22.1)).

[228](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefs) *Mahāvastu [*[*Jones 1949*](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Jones_)*]* III,324 and *Lalitavistara [*[*Dharmachakra 2013*](#Xb0ca0cefa913f1adc8a24531bdd88e432778325)*]* XXVI,6-7 give the Buddha’s itinerary from Uruvelā to Isipatana, but the only place they mention which can still be identified is Lohitavastuka, or, as it is called in the *Lalitavistara*, Rohitavastu, which corresponds to Rohita Vihar in modern Sasaram. This indicates that the Buddha made his way to Bārāṇasī via the Uttarāpatha which today’s Highway19 roughly follows.

[229](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnreft) M.I,171-173 ([MN 26:26.1–28.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "26.1)).

[230](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefu) M.I,173 ([MN 26:29.1–29.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "29.1)).

[231](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefv) Vin.I, 13-14 ([Kd 1:6.38.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "6.38.1)); S.V,420-424 ([SN 56.11](https://suttacentral.net/sn56.11/en/sujato)).

[232](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefw) Vin.I,39 ff ([Kd 1:23.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "23.1.1)).

[233](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefx) M.I,228 ([MN 35:3.1–4.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn35/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[234](#footprints_split_009.html%25252523fnrefy) S.I,193-194 ([SN 8.9](https://suttacentral.net/sn8.9/en/sujato)); A.I,23 ([AN 1.188](https://suttacentral.net/an1.188/en/sujato)); Tha.674-688 ([Thag 15.1](https://suttacentral.net/thag15.1/en/sujato)).

[235](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnref2) Numerous commentators have maintained that when the Buddha was once asked if he was a human being, he denied it. This claim is based on an early translation of the discourse in which the incident occurs where *bhavissati* was wrongly taken to be “Are you…,” whereas it is actually the future tense “Will you become…” A.II,38 ([AN 4.36:2.7–2.8](https://suttacentral.net/an4.36/en/sujato" \l "2.7)). The Buddha was being asked if he would become, i.e. be reborn as, a human being, to which he answered ‘no’, affirming that he had freed himself from the process of birth, death and rebirth. The passage was rendered correctly in F. L. Woodward’s 1933 translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya and appears correct in all subsequent translations. Despite this, both academic and popular writers continue to use the mistranslation to prove or disprove various claims about the Buddha, usually that he saw himself as divine rather than human.

[236](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnref1) See Rhys Davids 1921, Vol. III [[Rhys Davids TW 1921](#X1d5825e6052a4130f5d200fe71aad2e35990b78)] pp.3-4.

[237](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnref3) Vin.I,92-93 ([Kd 1:74.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali?" \l "74.1.1)); Ja.III,305 ([Ja 391](https://suttacentral.net/ja391/en/francis-neil?reference=main/pts&highlight=false" \l "pts-vp-pli305)).

[238](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnref4) For more on the Sakyan’s caste affiliation see Levman 2013 [[Levman 2013](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Levman)] pp.159-160.

[239](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnref5) S.II,25 ([SN 12.20:2.3–2.6](https://suttacentral.net/sn12.20/en/sujato" \l "2.3)).

[240](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnref6) A.I,22 ([AN 1.170](https://suttacentral.net/an1.170/en/sujato)).

[241](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnref7) M.I,46 ([MN 8:17.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn8/en/sujato" \l "17.2)).

[242](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnref8) M.I,369 ([MN 55:7.2–7.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn55/en/sujato" \l "7.2)).

[243](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnref9) Ja.IV,496 ([Ja 510](https://suttacentral.net/ja510/en/rouse" \l "pts-vp-pli496)). M.II,216 ([MN 101:7.1–7.12](https://suttacentral.net/mn101/en/sujato" \l "7.1)) and 259 ([MN 105:24.1–25.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn105/en/sujato" \l "24.1)) describe in detail the extraction of poison arrows and the after-treatment of the wounds.

[244](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefa) A.V,218 ([AN 10.108](https://suttacentral.net/an10.108/en/sujato)).

[245](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefb) E.g. It.101 ([Iti 100:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/iti100/en/sujato" \l "2.1)); M.II,258 ([MN 105:19.1–27.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn105/en/sujato" \l "19.1)); Mil.112 ([Mil 5.1.3](https://suttacentral.net/mil5.1.3)); 233 ([Mil 5.5.10](https://suttacentral.net/mil5.5.10/en/tw_rhysdavids" \l "pts-vp-pli233)), 247 ([Mil 6.1.5](https://suttacentral.net/mil6.1.5/en/tw_rhysdavids" \l "pts-vp-pli247)); Sn.560 ([Snp 3.7:25.1–25.4, 27.1–27.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.7/en/sujato" \l "25.1)); Tha.722 ([Thag 16.1:18.1–18.4](https://suttacentral.net/thag16.1/en/sujato" \l "18.1)).

[246](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefc) M.I,396 ff ([MN 59](https://suttacentral.net/mn59/en/sujato)); III,145 ([MN 127](https://suttacentral.net/mn127/en/sujato)).

[247](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefd) M.I,130 ff ([MN 32](https://suttacentral.net/mn32/en/sujato)); Tha.620-631 ([Thag 12.2](https://suttacentral.net/thag12.2/en/sujato)). Exactly what Ariṭṭha’s occupation involved is uncertain, but the large flight feathers of vultures were used to make fans and flights for arrows, and their hollow ends were used as needle cases and containers for various purposes.

[248](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefe) A.I,26 ([AN 1.258-267](https://suttacentral.net/an1.258-267/en/sujato)); II,164 ([AN 4.176:4.1–4.3](https://suttacentral.net/an4.176/en/sujato" \l "4.1)); S.II,236 ([SN 17.24](https://suttacentral.net/sn17.24/en/sujato)). The tradition credits Khujjutarā with being responsible for preserving the discourses later compiled in the Itivuttaka. Unfortunately, the monks who recited, edited and transmitted the Tipitaka did not consider it worthwhile to record any other details about this interesting woman.

[249](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnreff) A.III,122 ([AN 5.99](https://suttacentral.net/an5.99/en/sujato)), *sakkacca* and *gārava*.

[250](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefg) D.I,116 ([DN 4:6.24](https://suttacentral.net/dn4/en/sujato" \l "6.24)).

[251](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefh) M.I,401 ([MN 60:3.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn60/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[252](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefi) D.I,90 ([DN 3:1.9.1–1.11.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn3/en/sujato" \l "1.9.1)).

[253](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefj) On the mixed caste Ambasṭhas in Brahminical/Hindu law see *Manusmṛti [*[*Olivelle 2004*](#X33ef731ad2df603fa7fc36f2385d2d5c948871f)*]* 10, 8-13; 13-15.

[254](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefk) A.IV,429 ([AN 9.38:3.5](https://suttacentral.net/an9.38/en/sujato" \l "3.5)).

[255](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefl) A.II,177 ([AN 4.186:2.1–2.2](https://suttacentral.net/an4.186/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[256](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefm) D.I,87 ff ([DN 3](https://suttacentral.net/dn3/en/sujato)); M.II,147 ff ([MN 93](https://suttacentral.net/mn93/en/sujato)); M.II,163 ff ([MN 95](https://suttacentral.net/mn95/en/sujato)).

[257](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefn) S.II,114 ([SN 12.67:7.2–7.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn12.67/en/sujato" \l "7.2)).

[258](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefo) M.I,134-5 ([MN 22:13.1–14.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn22/en/sujato" \l "13.1)). See Gombrich 1996 [[Gombrich 1996](#X8abf457d56d8c4012370115825f7ec64fe8f4e4)] pp.23-26.

[259](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefp) A.II,201 ([AN 4.196:2.1–9.7](https://suttacentral.net/an4.196/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[260](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefq) It.114 ([Iti 109](https://suttacentral.net/iti109/en/sujato)).

[261](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefr) Thanissaro [[Thanissaro 2015](#X2e2ac7bee16c92ced665fefa9951eda5c46b17a)] p.5.

[262](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefs) D.I,51-61 ([DN 2:34.1–36.4](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "34.1)). For more examples see Gombrich 2009 [[Gombrich 2009](#Xe5c710c73ede26a9bcc70c9859e94e7ceba0186)] pp.183ff.

[263](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnreft) M.III,141 ([MN 126:11.1–11.14](https://suttacentral.net/mn126/en/sujato" \l "11.1)); Dhp.64 ([Dhp 64](https://suttacentral.net/dhp64/en/sujato)).

[264](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefu) S.IV,196-197 ([SN 35.246:4.1–4.30](https://suttacentral.net/sn35.246/en/sujato" \l "4.1)). *Vīṇā*, sometimes translated as harp, arched harp or lute.

[265](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefv) E.g. A.III,214 ([AN 5.180:1.3](https://suttacentral.net/an5.180/en/sujato" \l "1.3)); M.II,45 ([MN 81:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn81/en/sujato" \l "2.1)); 74 ([MN 83:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn83/en/sujato" \l "2.1)); S.I,24 ([SN 1.35:6.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn1.35/en/sujato" \l "6.4)); Tha.630 ([Thag 12.2:11.1–11.4](https://suttacentral.net/thag12.2/en/sujato" \l "11.1)).

[266](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefw) Vin.II,11 ([Kd 11:13.3.6](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd11/en/brahmali?" \l "13.3.6)).

[267](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefx) See Prets 2000 [[Prets 2000](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Prets_)].

[268](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefy) M.I,231 ([MN 35:13.13](https://suttacentral.net/mn35/en/sujato" \l "13.13)). See Witzel [[Witzel 1987](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Witzel)] pp.363-415. Having the head crushed for offences such as misrepresentation, perjury or fraud may have been the origin of this threat.

[269](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnrefz) M.II,168 ([MN 95:11.1–11.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn95/en/sujato" \l "11.1)); A.I,197-199 ([AN 3.67](https://suttacentral.net/an3.67/en/sujato)).

[270](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre10) M.I,227-228 ([MN 35:2.1–5.12](https://suttacentral.net/mn35/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[271](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre11) M. I, 392-3 ([MN 58:2.1–3.18](https://suttacentral.net/mn58/en/sujato" \l "2.1)); S.IV,323 ([SN 42.9](https://suttacentral.net/sn42.9/en/sujato)).

[272](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre12) A.V,229 ([AN 10.116:2.1–2.2](https://suttacentral.net/an10.116/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[273](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre13) Vin.IV,1-2 ([Bu Pc 1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc1/en/brahmali)).

[274](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre14) D.I,24-5 ([DN 1:2.23.0–2.29.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn1/en/sujato" \l "2.23.0)).

[275](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre15) A.V,230-1 ([AN 10.116](https://suttacentral.net/an10.116/en/sujato)). In later centuries, being defeated in state-sponsored debates could result in exile or even death. In the case of debates held in royal courts, it was often the whim of the king or his personal belief that decided the outcome. See Verardi [[Verardi 2011](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Verard)] pp. 25-26, 205-207, 218-219, etc. and Bronkhorst 2011 [[Bronkhorst 2011](#Xb839dd34b4bff0cb0b36311b1d0ece767d5191a)] pp.170 ff.

[276](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre16) A.I,187 ([AN 3.64:8.1–11.8](https://suttacentral.net/an3.64/en/sujato" \l "8.1)).

[277](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre17) M.I,383 ([MN 56:25.1–25.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn56/en/sujato" \l "25.1)).

[278](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre18) A.I,188-189 ([AN 3.65:3.1–3.6](https://suttacentral.net/an3.65/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[279](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre19) A.I,188-189 ([AN 3.65:4.1–4.3](https://suttacentral.net/an3.65/en/sujato" \l "4.1)). The Buddha considered it acceptable for a student to correct or question a teacher if he or she genuinely thought the teacher was wrong, e.g. Vin.I,49 ([Kd 1:25.20.3](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "25.20.3)).

[280](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1a) Sn.780 ([Snp 4.3:1.1–1.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp4.3/en/sujato" \l "1.1)). The *Caraka Saṃhitā* mentions and describes both these types of debates, see Prets [[Prets 2000](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Prets_)] p.371-373.

[281](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1b) D.III,38 ([DN 25:5.1–5.10](https://suttacentral.net/dn25/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[282](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1c) M.I.381 ([MN 56:21.9–21.12](https://suttacentral.net/mn56/en/sujato" \l "21.9)).

[283](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1d) A.I,199 ([AN 3.67:7.1–13.6](https://suttacentral.net/an3.67/en/sujato" \l "7.1)); II,26 ([AN 4.25](https://suttacentral.net/an4.25/en/sujato)).

[284](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1e) D.III,55-6 ([DN 25:22.8–23.23](https://suttacentral.net/dn25/en/sujato" \l "22.8)), condensed.

[285](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1f) A.I,199 ([AN 3.67:7.1–13.6](https://suttacentral.net/an3.67/en/sujato" \l "7.1)). To the claim that debates and discussions on conflicting ideas should be avoided as they lead to agitation and ill-will, one early Buddhist text, the *Upāyahṛdaya*, argued that debates were necessary. One could, it said, argue in a courteous and measured manner thus avoiding such problems, and to leave the false unchallenged would allow confusion and ignorance to prevail. See Gillon [[Gillon 2008](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Gillon)] pp.22-23.

[286](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1g) M.II,4-5 ([MN 77:6.58–6.69](https://suttacentral.net/mn77/en/sujato" \l "6.58)), condensed.

[287](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1h) M.II,30 ([MN 79:5.1–5.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn79/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[288](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1i) M.I,230 ([MN 35:11.1–11.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn35/en/sujato" \l "11.1)).

[289](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1j) M.II,178 ([MN 96:2.1–4.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn96/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[290](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1k) M.I,232 ([MN 35:16.2–16.4, 17.1–17.3, 18.1–18.3, 19.1–19.3, 20.1–20.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn35/en/sujato" \l "16.2)).

[291](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1l) A.IV,428-429 ([AN 9.38:3.1–3.5](https://suttacentral.net/an9.38/en/sujato" \l "3.1)). *Lokāyata* was a branch of Brahminical learning although exactly what, is disputed. It is mentioned at D.I,11 ([DN 1:1.25.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn1/en/sujato" \l "1.25.2)); I,114 ([DN 4:5.10, 13.6, 14.7, 20.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn4/en/sujato" \l "5.10)); S.II,77 ([SN 12.48](https://suttacentral.net/sn12.48/en/sujato)); Vin.II,139 ([Kd 15:33.2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd15/en/brahmali" \l "33.2.1)); Ud.32 ([Ud 3.9:2.22, 5.22](https://suttacentral.net/ud3.9/en/sujato" \l "2.22)), etc. See Rhys Davids, 1899 [[Davids TW 1899](#Xf1658ec043c85a64b8969cd5bf1b7ddef8fa8e0)] pp.166 ff and Jayatilleke [[Jayatilleke 1963](#X16c169eefc8ccd71c1935d220a9bfb9f23086a6)] pp.49 ff and 89 ff.

[292](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1m) A.IV,41-42 ([AN 7.47](https://suttacentral.net/an7.47/en/sujato)).

[293](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1n) Dhp.396-423 ([Dhp 383-423](https://suttacentral.net/dhp383-423/en/sujato)).

[294](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1o) Sn.116-134 ([Snp 1.7](https://suttacentral.net/snp1.7/en/sujato)).

[295](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1p) D.III,180 ff ([DN 31](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato)). On the different ways of and reasons for worshipping the directions, see e.g. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad [*[*Olivelle 1998*](#X3fe6a7fdbb2f6279cd85033d7f277a52f5b60c1)*]* 3.7,10 and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad [*[*Olivelle 1998*](#X3fe6a7fdbb2f6279cd85033d7f277a52f5b60c1)*]* 1.3, 11; 5.6; 5.20,2. Sigāla was probably worshipping the directional gods as advocated at *Gautama Dharmasūtra [*[*Olivelle 1999*](#X5c9af8b162bb11112db5b73d0710e592e09e52e)*]* 5,11.

[296](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1q) A.II,35-36 ([AN 4.35](https://suttacentral.net/an4.35/en/sujato)).

[297](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1r) On the Buddha’s supposed silence, see Dhammika 2018c [[Dhammika 2018c](#X1d5abb095cd771ccf74ec62871860fc5a6abe8b)] pp.85-89.

[298](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1s) M.I,161 ([MN 26:4.10–3.13](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "4.10)); S.I,162 ([SN 7.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn7.2/en/sujato)).

[299](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1t) A.V,193-195 ([AN 10.95:8.1–11.6](https://suttacentral.net/an10.95/en/sujato" \l "8.1)).

[300](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1u) S.IV,400 ([SN 44.10](https://suttacentral.net/sn44.10/en/sujato)).

[301](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1v) S.II,13 ([SN 12.12](https://suttacentral.net/sn12.12/en/sujato)).

[302](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1w) A.I,168-170 ([AN 3.60](https://suttacentral.net/an3.60/en/sujato)).

[303](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1x) M.II,168-169 ([MN 95:11.1–12.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn95/en/sujato" \l "11.1)).

[304](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1y) On the high fees Upaniṣadic teachers charged for the knowledge they imparted, see Black [[Black 2013](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Black_)] pp.112-113.

[305](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre1z) *Gautama Dharmasūtra [*[*Olivelle 1999*](#X5c9af8b162bb11112db5b73d0710e592e09e52e)*]* 20.1-7.

[306](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre20) *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad [*[*Olivelle 1998*](#X3fe6a7fdbb2f6279cd85033d7f277a52f5b60c1)*]* 4.1,1; *Chāndogya Upaniṣad [*[*Olivelle 1998*](#X3fe6a7fdbb2f6279cd85033d7f277a52f5b60c1)*]* 4.2.

[307](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre21) Ud.66 ([Ud 6.2:10.4](https://suttacentral.net/ud6.2/en/sujato" \l "10.4)).

[308](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre22) A.I,283 ([AN 3.131](https://suttacentral.net/an3.131/en/sujato)).

[309](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre23) D.II,100 ([DN 16:2.25.1–2.25.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "2.25.1)). Mil.94 ([Mil 4.5](https://suttacentral.net/mil4.5)) adds *arahassakārinā bhavitabbaṁ niravasesakārinā bhavitabbaṁ*, that the genuine teacher “keeps nothing secret and holds nothing back.”

[310](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre24) A.V,347 ([AN 11.16:10.6–10.7](https://suttacentral.net/an11.16/en/sujato" \l "10.6)).

[311](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre25) A.III,184 ([AN 5.159](https://suttacentral.net/an5.159/en/sujato)), also III,196 ([AN 5.167:1.1–2.7](https://suttacentral.net/an5.167/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[312](#footprints_split_010.html%25252523fnre26) M.I,320 ff. ([MN 47:14.1–16.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn47/en/sujato" \l "14.1))

[313](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnref3) A.I,182. ([AN 3.63:6.2–6.4](https://suttacentral.net/an3.63/en/sujato" \l "6.2))

[314](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnref1) E.g. D.II,134 ([DN 16:4.39.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "4.39.3)); M.I,354 ([MN 53:5.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn53/en/sujato" \l "5.6)).

[315](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnref2) S.II,221 ([SN 16.11:13.1–14.11](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.11/en/sujato" \l "13.1)). *Sāṇa* is the rough fibre of *Crotalaria juncea*. At A.I,240 ([AN 3.93:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/an3.93/en/sujato" \l "2.1)) the Buddha lists some of the material ascetics of other sects used as clothing.

[316](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnref4) M.I,282 ([MN 40:5.1–7.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn40/en/sujato" \l "5.1)); Dhp.142 ([Dhp 142](https://suttacentral.net/dhp142/en/sujato)).

[317](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnref5) Sn. 710-12 ([Snp 3.11:32.1–34.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.11/en/sujato" \l "32.1)). *Piṇḍa*, a ball or handful of rice; *cārita*, to go.

[318](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnref6) Alms bowls could be made of either iron or clay, and were either large, medium or small, each with a capacity of half a *āḷhaka*, a *nālika* and a *pattha* respectively of cooked rice, and about a quarter less of raw rice, Vin.III,243 ([Bu Np 21:3.5](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-np21/en/brahmali?" \l "3.5)). Unfortunately, what these units of capacity represent cannot be determined.

[319](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnref7) M.I,448 ([MN 66](https://suttacentral.net/mn66/en/sujato)), but see A.III,260 ([AN 5.228](https://suttacentral.net/an5.228/en/sujato)). Numerous ancient texts show that cooking was done and the day’s main meal was taken at different times from one region to another and during different periods, see Prakash [[Prakash 1961](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Prakas)].

[320](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnref8) M.II,138-9 ([MN 91:13.1–17.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn91/en/sujato" \l "13.1)).

[321](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnref9) A.IV,392 ([AN 9.20](https://suttacentral.net/an9.20/en/sujato)). Brahmanism recognized three types of leftover food – that from the pots in which the meal was cooked, that from the receptacles from which it was served, and that left on the plate after the diner had finished eating. The first two types might be given to the household servants, the third type (ucchiṭṭha) was given to beggars or slaves and was considered repulsive and polluting, on a par with vomit or excrement, and one of the reasons many brahmins despised non-Vedic ascetics who ate such food. On the rules concerning leftovers in Brahminism, see Olivelle 1999 [[Olivelle 1999](#X5c9af8b162bb11112db5b73d0710e592e09e52e)] p.354, note 3.27.

[322](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefa) S.I,114 ([SN 4.18](https://suttacentral.net/sn4.18/en/sujato)).

[323](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefb) S.II,281 ([SN 21.8](https://suttacentral.net/sn21.8/en/sujato)). Jain sūtras mention the dangers of food poisoning for monks, *Ācārāṅga Sūtra [*[*Jacobi 1884*](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Jacobi)*]* II,1,3.

[324](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefc) Vin.I,79 ([Kd 1:53.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "53.1.1)).

[325](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefd) Dhp.49 ([Dhp 49](https://suttacentral.net/dhp49/en/sujato)). In later centuries this came to be known as the bee practice (*mādhukāra*), see Olivelle 1992 [[Olivelle 1992](#X865be12f82d55f2700a85919b6abdbe5a24bf99)] pp.198, 252.

[326](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefe) S.I,174 ([SN 7.12](https://suttacentral.net/sn7.12/en/sujato)).

[327](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnreff) M.II,7-8 ([MN 77:9.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn77/en/sujato" \l "9.8)).

[328](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefg) A.III,49 ([AN 5.44](https://suttacentral.net/an5.44/en/sujato)). *Sālapupphakaṃ khādanīyaṃ*: there is no evidence, ancient or modern, of *Shorea robusta* flowers being used as a food or to flavour food. However, its seeds, dried and ground into a meal, are used to make a gruel. *Sampannakolakaṃ sūkaramaṃsaṃ*: pork stewed in the slightly tart fruit of the *Ziziphus jujube*. The meaning of *nibaddhatelakaṃ nāliyāsākaṃ* is unclear; I follow Bodhi, who follows the commentary, 2012 [[Bodhi 2012](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Bodhi_)] p.1727, notes 1029 and 1030. *Sālinaṃ odano vigatakāḷako*: on *sāli* rice, see Dhammika 2018b [[Dhammika 2018b](#X8883f8cf1494d601f89110d8da7c23626c62c66)] p.102. Removing shrivelled, discoloured or broken grains from rice before cooking was time consuming and suggested wealth, i.e. having servants to do such work. It improved the appearance of the rice when served.

[329](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefh) M.I,38 ([MN 7:12.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn7/en/sujato" \l "12.3)).

[330](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefi) M.II,6-8 ([MN 77:8.3, 8.7, 9.1–9.3, 9.7–9.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn77/en/sujato" \l "8.3)).

[331](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefj) E.g. D.III,71 ([DN 26:19.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn26/en/sujato" \l "19.6)); A.III,49 ([AN 5.44:3.3](https://suttacentral.net/an5.44/en/sujato" \l "3.3)); IV,187 ([AN 8.12:30.1–30.4](https://suttacentral.net/an8.12/en/sujato" \l "30.1)); Vin.III,208 ([Bu Np 5:1.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-np5/en/brahmali?" \l "1.1.1)).

[332](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefk) Vin.I,239 ([Kd 6:33.3.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd6/en/brahmali?" \l "33.3.1)).

[333](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefl) M.I,238 ([MN 36:5.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "5.5)). Jain monks could eat meat if it did not have too many bones in it, *Ācārāṅga Sūtra [*[*Jacobi 1884*](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Jacobi)*]* I,10.

[334](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefm) M.I,77 ([MN 12:45.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn12/en/sujato" \l "45.2)); A.IV,187 ([AN 8.12:29.1–32.8](https://suttacentral.net/an8.12/en/sujato" \l "29.1)).

[335](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefn) It has been said that there is an inconsistency with the Buddha’s attitude to meat eating. If it is wrong to work as a butcher, and the Buddha said it was, and if it is wrong to sell meat, which again the Buddha said it was, then one would expect it to also be wrong to purchase meat, whether the animal was slaughtered specifically for one or not.

[336](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefo) Sn.480 ([Snp 3.4:32.1–32.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.4/en/sujato" \l "32.1)). These cakes were made of rice or barley flour, consecrated with certain mantras before being offered to the gods, and then eaten by the participants in the ceremony.

[337](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefp) M.I,473 ([MN 70:2.1–2.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn70/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[338](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefq) E.g. A.I,136 ([AN 3.35:1.3–2.4](https://suttacentral.net/an3.35/en/sujato" \l "1.3)); IV,308 ([AN 8.70:1.2–2.2](https://suttacentral.net/an8.70/en/sujato" \l "1.2)).

[339](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefr) S.I,170 ([SN 7.9:1.5–1.7](https://suttacentral.net/sn7.9/en/sujato" \l "1.5)); Sn.p.79-80 ([Snp 3.4:1.6–2.1](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.4/en/sujato" \l "1.6)).

[340](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefs) E.g.D.III,80 ([DN 27:1.4](https://suttacentral.net/dn27/en/sujato" \l "1.4)).

[341](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnreft) S.V,326 ([SN 54.11](https://suttacentral.net/sn54.11/en/sujato)). For details of this practice see Dhammajoti [[Dhammajoti 2008](#Xaf5063925821dd42178a90242467d5eb3fc640e)] pp.251-288.

[342](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefu) S.V,321 ([SN 54.9:6.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn54.9/en/sujato" \l "6.3)).

[343](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefv) These are sensual desire, ill-will, sloth and torpor, restlessness and worry, and doubt.

[344](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefw) This whole program of discipline and training is fully described at D.I, 62-84 ([DN 2:34.1–98.9](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "34.1)).

[345](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefx) S.V,307-308 ([SN 53.1-12](https://suttacentral.net/sn53.1-12/en/sujato)).

[346](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefy) M.I,93 ([MN 14:21.1–21.20](https://suttacentral.net/mn14/en/sujato" \l "21.1)).

[347](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnrefz) A.III,250 ([AN 5.208](https://suttacentral.net/an5.208/en/sujato)). On how tooth sticks were used and the species of trees they were made from, see Dhammika 2018b [[Dhammika 2018b](#X8883f8cf1494d601f89110d8da7c23626c62c66)] pp.20 and 120. See also Heirman and Torck [[Heirman and Torck 2012](#X1dc8375855d2bd63bed06ec6ba5c51e219a33c1)] p.109 ff.

[348](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre10) A.IV,344 ([AN 8.86:14.1](https://suttacentral.net/an8.86/en/sujato" \l "14.1)).

[349](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre11) M.I,161 ([MN 26:3.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "3.9)). King Pasenadi commented that this river, now called the Rapti, would break its banks when it rained in the mountains to the north, M.II,117 ([MN 88:19.1–19.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn88/en/sujato" \l "19.1)). About forty-five kilometres north of Sāvatthī, the Rapti enters Nepal and abruptly turns east into a narrow, steep-sided valley now part of the Bardia National Park. This valley acts as a catchment area flushing large amounts of rainwater into the river and causing sudden flooding downstream. The author once witnessed this phenomenon, despite there being no rain in the immediate area at the time. The mention of the river’s behaviour strongly suggests that the author or authors of this passage, at least, had an intimate knowledge of this part of the country. On the river’s unpredictability and danger see also Dhp-a [[Burlingame 1921](#Xcfba6a17020fcca9cef6347091247a55fc9848e)].I,360; II,263-264.

[350](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre12) A.III,402 ([AN 6.62:1.1–2.2](https://suttacentral.net/an6.62/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[351](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre13) D.II,134 ([DN 16:4.38.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "4.38.5)).

[352](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre14) Vin.IV,16 ([Bu Pc 5:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc5/en/brahmali" \l "2.1)); A.IV,204 ([AN 8.20:1.1–2.10](https://suttacentral.net/an8.20/en/sujato" \l "1.1)); Ud.51-52 ([Ud 5.5:1.1–4.4](https://suttacentral.net/ud5.5/en/sujato" \l "1.1)) M.II,91-92 ([MN 85:6.1–8.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn85/en/sujato" \l "6.1)).

[353](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre15) D.III,2 ([DN 24](https://suttacentral.net/dn24/en/sujato)); M.I,68 ([MN 12](https://suttacentral.net/mn12/en/sujato)).

[354](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre16) S.I,174-175 ([SN 7.13](https://suttacentral.net/sn7.13/en/sujato)); D.II,139 ([DN 16:5.4.1–5.6.7](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.4.1)).

[355](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre17) Tha.1039-1041-1043 ([Thag 17.3:26.1–30.4](https://suttacentral.net/thag17.3/en/sujato" \l "26.1)); D.I,206 ([DN 10:1.5.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn10/en/sujato" \l "1.5.3)).

[356](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre18) D.II,73 ([DN 16:1.4.1](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "1.4.1)). Others sometimes did this too, e.g. D.III,141 ([DN 29:41.1](https://suttacentral.net/dn29/en/sujato" \l "41.1)); M.I,83 ([MN 12:64.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn12/en/sujato" \l "64.1)); I,501 ([MN 74:14.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn74/en/sujato" \l "14.1)). Apart from keeping cool, fans made of large palm leaves were used to blow away mosquitos, Vin.II,130 ([Kd 15:22.2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd15/en/brahmali" \l "22.2.1)).

[357](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre19) M.I,249 ([MN 36:45.7–46.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "45.7)). This shows that, for whatever reason, the Buddha would sometimes go alms gathering and eat later in the morning.

[358](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1a) D.I,115 ([DN 4:6.1–6.47](https://suttacentral.net/dn4/en/sujato" \l "6.1))

[359](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1b) M.I,168 ([MN 26:19.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "19.6)); D.II,93 ([DN 16:2.8.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "2.8.2)).

[360](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1c) E.g. S.II,19 ([SN 12.17:1.7–2.9](https://suttacentral.net/sn12.17/en/sujato" \l "1.7)); Ud.7-8 ([Ud 1.10:5.1–8.1](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.10/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[361](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1d) A.III,30-31 ([AN 5.30:1.11–2.3](https://suttacentral.net/an5.30/en/sujato" \l "1.11)).

[362](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1e) A.V,133 ([AN 10.72](https://suttacentral.net/an10.72/en/sujato)).

[363](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1f) *Paṭisallīna* could imply resting, meditating, in seclusion or perhaps having a nap.

[364](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1g) D.I,150-52 ([DN 6:2.1–5.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn6/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[365](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1h) M.III,111 ([MN 122:6.1–6.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn122/en/sujato" \l "6.1)). The phrase *uyyojaniyapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ yeva kathaṃ* could have several different meanings, see Anālayo 2011 [[Anālayo 2011](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Anālay)] Vol. II, p. 692-693, note 43.c.

[366](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1i) M.I,229 ([MN 35:7.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn35/en/sujato" \l "7.5)); S.V,259 ([SN 51.10:1.5–1.6](https://suttacentral.net/sn51.10/en/sujato" \l "1.5)).

[367](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1j) A.IV,438 ([AN 9.41:1.4](https://suttacentral.net/an9.41/en/sujato" \l "1.4)).

[368](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1k) S.V,12 ([SN 45.11:1.2–1.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn45.11/en/sujato" \l "1.2) / [SN 45.12:1.2–1.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn45.12/en/sujato" \l "1.2)); V,320 ([SN 54.9:2.1–2.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn54.9/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[369](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1l) S.III,95 ([SN 22.81](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.81/en/sujato)). A more detailed account of the incident is at M.III,152 ff ([MN 128](https://suttacentral.net/mn128/en/sujato)).

[370](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1m) M.I,212 ([MN 32:4.1–4.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn32/en/sujato" \l "4.1)).

[371](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1n) S.I,7 ([SN 1.15](https://suttacentral.net/sn1.15/en/sujato)).

[372](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1o) S.II,226 ([SN 17.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn17.1/en/sujato)).

[373](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1p) M.I,318 ([MN 47:8.1–8.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn47/en/sujato" \l "8.1)); also I,193 ([MN 29](https://suttacentral.net/mn29/en/sujato)).

[374](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1q) A.III,342 ([AN 6.42:2.7](https://suttacentral.net/an6.42/en/sujato" \l "2.7)).

[375](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1r) M.II,91-92 ([MN 85:1.1–8.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn85/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[376](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1s) S.III,119-20 ([SN 22.87:2.1–3.5](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.87/en/sujato" \l "2.1)). By foul body (*pūtikāya*) he did not mean he lacked personal hygiene but rather that human bodies, including his own, produce a steady stream of unpleasant excretions requiring continual washing. See also It.91 ([Iti 92:2.1–2.6](https://suttacentral.net/iti92/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[377](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1t) M.II,120 ([MN 89:9.1–9.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn89/en/sujato" \l "9.1)).

[378](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1u) M.II,113; 116 ([MN 88:7.1–7.7, 18.1–20.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn88/en/sujato" \l "7.1)).

[379](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1v) A.IV,376 ([AN 9.11:8.1–9.3](https://suttacentral.net/an9.11/en/sujato" \l "8.1)); Ud.4 ([Ud 1.6](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.6/en/sujato)).

[380](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1w) Vin.I,45 ([Kd 1:25.6.2](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali?" \l "25.6.2)).

[381](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1x) Ud.59 ([Ud 5.6:14.1–16.6](https://suttacentral.net/ud5.6/en/sujato" \l "14.1)).

[382](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1y) A.III,250 ([AN 5.207](https://suttacentral.net/an5.207/en/sujato), [AN 5.208](https://suttacentral.net/an5.208/en/sujato)); Vin.II,222 ([Kd 18:10.2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd18/en/brahmali?" \l "10.2.1)).

[383](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre1z) E.g. A.III,142 ([AN 5.121](https://suttacentral.net/an5.121/en/sujato)); 379 ([AN 6.56](https://suttacentral.net/an6.56/en/sujato)); S.IV,210 ([SN 36.7](https://suttacentral.net/sn36.7/en/sujato)); V,344-45 ([SN 55.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn55.3/en/sujato)).

[384](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre20) Vin.I,301-302 ([Kd 8:26.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd8/en/brahmali?" \l "26.1.1)), de Silva 1993 [[de Silva 1993](#X6a5f932d90f795ab42afd420e26492473a4feb3)] p.29 ff.

[385](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre21) A.III,144 ([AN 5.123](https://suttacentral.net/an5.123/en/sujato)). See also Wujastyk 2022 [[Wujastyk 2022](#X470be36a879de4d1b06821ba43563fcc821e5a9)] pp.5-7.

[386](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre22) A.I,121 ([AN 3.22](https://suttacentral.net/an3.22/en/sujato)).

[387](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre23) Vin.I,303 ([Kd 8:27.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd8/en/brahmali?" \l "27.1.1)).

[388](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre24) S.I,174-5 ([SN 7.13](https://suttacentral.net/sn7.13/en/sujato)). This is one of the earliest references to the Ayurvedic theory of the three humours (*tidosa vidya*), the amorphous substances that supposedly regulate the bodily state: wind (*vāta*), bile (*pitta*) and phlegm (*semhā*). These in turn were believed to interact with lymph, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow and semen. Disease was believed to be caused by an irregularity of these humours.

[389](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre25) Vin.I,210 ([Kd 6:17.1.2](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd6/en/brahmali?" \l "17.1.2)). There are different opinions about what these three pungent ingredients are, possibly ginger, long pepper (*Piper longum*) and black pepper.

[390](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre26) Zysk 1991 [[Zysk 1991](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Zysk_1)] p.73.

[391](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre27) D.III,209 ([DN 33:1.5.1–1.5.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn33/en/sujato" \l "1.5.1)); M.I,354 ([MN 53:5.1–5.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn53/en/sujato" \l "5.1)); S.IV,184 ([SN 35.243:3.1–3.5](https://suttacentral.net/sn35.243/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[392](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre28) A.IV,358-9 ([AN 9.4:1.1–4.5](https://suttacentral.net/an9.4/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[393](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre29) S.V,216 ([SN 48.41](https://suttacentral.net/sn48.41/en/sujato)).

[394](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2a) The blue waterlily, *Nymphaea nouchali*, contains apomorphine which can relieve anxiety and induce vomiting, although such affects are probably miniscule when the plant’s perfume is inhaled.

[395](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2b) Vin.I,279-80 ([Kd 8:1.30.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd8/en/brahmali?" \l "1.30.1)). Four types of soup are mentioned at M.I,245 ([MN 36:28.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "28.2)).

[396](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2c) S.V,80 ([SN 46.16](https://suttacentral.net/sn46.16/en/sujato)). The Factors of Awakening (*satta bojjhaṅga*) are mindfulness, scrutiny of mental states, energy, joy, tranquillity, concentration and equanimity.

[397](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2d) A.I,219 ([AN 3.73:1.3](https://suttacentral.net/an3.73/en/sujato" \l "1.3)).

[398](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2e) A.I,114 ([AN 3.16:4.1–4.3](https://suttacentral.net/an3.16/en/sujato" \l "4.1)); also Dhp.157 ([Dhp 157](https://suttacentral.net/dhp157/en/sujato)).

[399](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2f) On early Indian chronometry and water clocks see *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa [*[*Sastry 1985*](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Sastry)*]* II,5-6 and *Arthaśāstra [*[*Olivelle 2013*](#X345a02a5d3939eccbab6cb292658f51712433ab)*]* I,19,6.

[400](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2g) S.I,107 ([SN 4.7:1.2–1.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn4.7/en/sujato" \l "1.2)); D.II,86 ([DN 16:1.25.1](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "1.25.1)).

[401](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2h) Vin.I,196 ([Kd 5:13.9.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd5/en/brahmali?" \l "13.9.1)); S.I,107 ([SN 4.7:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn4.7/en/sujato" \l "1.2)); Ud.59 ([Ud 5.6:17.1](https://suttacentral.net/ud5.6/en/sujato" \l "17.1)).

[402](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2i) A.I,136 ([AN 3.35:1.3–2.4](https://suttacentral.net/an3.35/en/sujato" \l "1.3)).

[403](#footprints_split_011.html%25252523fnre2j) S.I,104 ([SN 4.3:1.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn4.3/en/sujato" \l "1.3)); Ud.4 ([Ud 1.7:1.3](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.7/en/sujato" \l "1.3)).

[404](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnref4) *Manusmṛti [*[*Olivelle 2004*](#X33ef731ad2df603fa7fc36f2385d2d5c948871f)*]* 8,406-407. A legend recounted at *Lalitavistara [*[*Dharmachakra 2013*](#Xb0ca0cefa913f1adc8a24531bdd88e432778325)*]* XXVI 6, attributes the Buddha with getting a law enacted in Magadha allowing ascetics to use ferries without payment.

[405](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnref1) D.II,140 ([DN 16:5.7.1–5.8.10](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.7.1)).

[406](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnref2) Vin.IV,228 ([Bi Ss 3:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bi-vb-ss3/en/brahmali?" \l "2.1)) says one had to cross a river when travelling between these two cities, although no river can be seen there today. However, satellite photography shows a long chain of oxbow lakes and marshes where a large river once cut across this route, evidence that the topographical information in the Tipitaka is generally accurate.

[407](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnref3) *Ekapadika*, *vanapantha*, *addhānamagga*, *patha* and *rathikā*, A.II,57 ([AN 4.53:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/an4.53/en/sujato" \l "1.1)); IV,187 ([AN 8.14](https://suttacentral.net/an8.14/en/sujato)); Vin.I,4 ([Kd 1:4.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali?" \l "4.1.1)). On the roads and road networks of the time see Agrawala 1953 [[Agrawala 1953](#Xa85e190e7a48a542d7b8660f8a63be6f10d038a)] p.242-245.

[408](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnref5) S.I,57 ([SN 2.22:5.1–7.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn2.22/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[409](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnref6) Ja,I,199 ([Ja 31](https://suttacentral.net/ja31)).

[410](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnref7) Vin.I,191 ([Kd 5:9.1.4](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd5/en/brahmali?" \l "9.1.4)).

[411](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnref8) Vin.II,290 ([Kd 21:1.12.13](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd21/en/brahmali?" \l "1.12.13)). Vin.II,301 ([Kd 22:2.1.11](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd22/en/brahmali?" \l "2.1.11)) mentions monks embarking at Vesālī to sail up-river, *ujjaviṃsu*, to Sahajāli, now identified with Bhita near Allahabad. If this is correct, going up-river must refer to the stretch of the voyage along the Ganges and Yamuna.

[412](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnref9) Vin.I,270 ([Kd 8:1.8.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd8/en/brahmali?" \l "1.8.1)).

[413](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefa) Vin.IV,63 ([Bu Pc 27:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc27/en/brahmali?l" \l "2.1)); M.I,276 ([MN 39:14.23–14.28](https://suttacentral.net/mn39/en/sujato" \l "14.23)).

[414](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefb) M.II,97 ([MN 86](https://suttacentral.net/mn86/en/sujato)); Vin.III,212 ([Bu Np 6](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-np6/en/brahmali?layout=plain&reference=main/pts&notes=asterisk&highlight=false&script=latin" \l "2.1)); IV,65 ([Bu Pc 28:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc28/en/brahmali?" \l "2.1)).

[415](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefc) A.I,153–154 ([AN 3.50](https://suttacentral.net/an3.50/en/sujato)); M.III,158 ([MN 128:19.5–19.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn128/en/sujato" \l "19.5)).

[416](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefd) Ja IV,115 ([Ja 459](https://suttacentral.net/ja459)).

[417](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefe) Ud.90 ([Ud 8.7](https://suttacentral.net/ud8.7/en/sujato)). Being a monk was no protection from being murdered by bandits; see Tha.705 ff ([Thag 16.1](https://suttacentral.net/thag16.1/en/sujato)) and M.II,97-98 ([MN 86](https://suttacentral.net/mn86/en/sujato)). For a contemporary example of such encounters, see Ajahn Sucitto and Nick Scott’s highly readable *Rude Awakening [*[*Sucitto and Scott 2010*](#X04c01ffaa74ce48ff412f27b8e1cdf12314ad8d)*]* 2010, pp.237 ff.

[418](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnreff) Bv-a [[Horner IB 1978](#X9c835f1520bf756f8b478a5f1fd022cd75a88f0)].4.

[419](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefg) Vin.I,5 ([Kd 1:5.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali?" \l "5.1.1)).

[420](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefh) A.III,257-8 ([AN 5.221](https://suttacentral.net/an5.221/en/sujato), [AN 5.222](https://suttacentral.net/an5.222/en/sujato), [AN 5.223](https://suttacentral.net/an5.223/en/sujato)).

[421](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefi) S.I,116 ([SN 4.20](https://suttacentral.net/sn4.20/en/sujato)).

[422](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefj) Vin.III,1-11 ([Bu Pj 1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pj1/en/brahmali)).

[423](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefk) Chakrabarti 2001 [[Chakrabarti 2001](#Xc42892dd596695e421d5f01d48cec2a79595647)] p.263. Allahabad was recently remamed Prayagraj.

[424](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefl) Vin.II,159-175 ([Kd 16:4.8.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd16/en/brahmali?" \l "4.8.1)).

[425](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefm) D.II,106 ([DN 16:3.9.1–3.9.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "3.9.1)).

[426](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefn) The Buddha’s birth and awakening are also traditionally celebrated on Vesākhā, now widely known by its Sri Lankan contraction Vesak.

[427](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefo) M.III,206 ([MN 136:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn136/en/sujato" \l "2.1)); III,238 ([MN 140:3.1–3.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn140/en/sujato" \l "3.1)); D.II,131 ([DN 16:4.30.1](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "4.30.1)); A.I,136 ([AN 3.35:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/an3.35/en/sujato" \l "1.2)); III,402 ([AN 6.62:1.3](https://suttacentral.net/an6.62/en/sujato" \l "1.3)). Chaff huts, *bhusāgāra*, were next to the threshing floor where workers would rest and the straw would later be stored.

[428](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefp) A.I,276 ff ([AN 3.126](https://suttacentral.net/an3.126/en/sujato)); M.I,501 ([MN 75:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn75/en/sujato" \l "1.2)).

[429](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefq) E.g. Ja.I,115 ([Ja 4](https://suttacentral.net/ja4)).

[430](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefr) It is not clear what the difference was between *āvasathāgāra*, *āgantukāgāra*, *sabhā, āvasatha*, and *sālāya nivāsa*, if any; S.IV,219 ([SN 36.14](https://suttacentral.net/sn36.14/en/sujato)), Ja.I,115 ([Ja 4](https://suttacentral.net/ja4)); 302 ([Ja 65](https://suttacentral.net/ja65)), IV,147 ([Ja 465](https://suttacentral.net/ja465)); Vin.IV,16 ([Bu Pc 5](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc5/en/brahmali)). The first three were certainly open to anyone, as the Buddha mentions that even low caste travellers could lodge there, while the last one may have been some type of commercial lodge or hotel. *Santhāgāra* was a city or town assembly hall; M.I,353 ([MN 53:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn53/en/sujato" \l "2.1)). In some places it was necessary to seek permission to stay in the local hall; Vin.IV,17 ([Bu Pc 5](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc5/en/brahmali)). Some towns had alms halls, *dānasālā*, which may have doubled as public traveller’s rests; e.g. Ja.I,231 ([Ja 40](https://suttacentral.net/ja40)).

[431](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefs) S.IV.348 ([SN 42.13:15.2–15.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn42.13/en/sujato" \l "15.2)).

[432](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnreft) Vin.IV,69-70 ([Bu Pc 31](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc31/en/brahmali)).

[433](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefu) Vin.II,130-131 ([Kd 15:23.2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd15/en/brahmali" \l "23.2.1)).

[434](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefv) Vin.II,159 ([Kd 16:4.10.17](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd16/en/brahmali" \l "4.10.17)).

[435](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefw) D.I,62 ([DN 2:41.4](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "41.4)).

[436](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefx) S.III,90 ([SN 22.80:2.1–2.10](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.80/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[437](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefy) S.V,348-349 ([SN 55.6](https://suttacentral.net/sn55.6/en/sujato)).

[438](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnrefz) S.V,405-406 ([SN 55.52](https://suttacentral.net/sn55.52/en/sujato)).

[439](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre10) M.I,456 ([MN 67](https://suttacentral.net/mn67/en/sujato)).

[440](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre11) Ud.58 ([Ud 5.6:10.1–14.4](https://suttacentral.net/ud5.6/en/sujato" \l "10.1)).

[441](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre12) S.V,349-350 ([SN 55.6](https://suttacentral.net/sn55.6/en/sujato)).

[442](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre13) Sn.1014 ([Snp 5.1:31.1–42.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp5.1/en/sujato" \l "31.1)). The various places they passed through during their journey are mentioned in inscriptions from Sañchi, and most can still be identified; see Marshall [[Marshall 1983](#X51c5fc5933359d453f8df39965fe25cf45a1d68)] pp.299-300. On the first of these places, Patiṭṭāna, see Kennet *et al* [[Kennet Rao Bai 2020](#X2874a90a1f75c3ffd160e6fb032f328e441befd)] pp.10-11.

[443](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre14) Ud.6 ([Ud 1.10](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.10/en/sujato)). On ascetics’ garments made of bark, see Dhammika 2018b [[Dhammika 2018b](#X8883f8cf1494d601f89110d8da7c23626c62c66)] p.160.

[444](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre15) On the Buddhist antiquities from Sopara, see Falk 2006 [[Falk 2006](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Falk_2)] p.136-138.

[445](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre16) Ud.58 ([Ud 5.6](https://suttacentral.net/ud5.6/en/sujato)). Bhaddā wandered through most north Indian states during her fifty years as a Jain nun, Thi.110 ([Thig 5.9:4.1–4.4](https://suttacentral.net/thig5.9/en/sujato" \l "4.1)).

[446](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre17) M.III,235 ([MN 139:12.1–12.13](https://suttacentral.net/mn139/en/sujato" \l "12.1)).

[447](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre18) Vin.II,139 ([Kd 15](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd15/en/brahmali" \l "33.1.1)). For an alternative translation see Levman 2008-2009 [[Levman 2008](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Levma1)] pp.33-39. On the Buddha’s attitude to language see Gombrich 2018 [[Gombrich 2018](#Xe418e4a983a2ca89d4bc1a241e74e88bfea39db)] pp.86-90.

[448](#footprints_split_012.html%25252523fnre19) D.II,109 ([DN 16:3.21.1–3.23.17](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "3.21.1)), condensed.

[449](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnref4) D.I,3 ([DN 1:1.5.1–1.6.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn1/en/sujato" \l "1.5.1)); also M.I,149 ([MN 24:14.3–15.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn24/en/sujato" \l "14.3)).

[450](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnref1) Vin.I,43 ([Kd 1:24.5.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "24.5.1)).

[451](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnref2) Vin.IV,91 ([Bu Pc 41](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc41/en/brahmali?)).

[452](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnref3) D.I,161 ([DN 8](https://suttacentral.net/dn8/en/sujato)).

[453](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnref5) M.I,502 ([MN 75](https://suttacentral.net/mn75/en/sujato)).

[454](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnref6) S.IV,300 ([SN 41.9](https://suttacentral.net/sn41.9/en/sujato)). Today Jain monks carry brooms called *oghā* made of either peacock feathers or strands of wool for the same purpose.

[455](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnref7) A.IV,187 ([AN 8.12:31.2–31.4](https://suttacentral.net/an8.12/en/sujato" \l "31.2)).

[456](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnref8) M.I,369 ([MN 55](https://suttacentral.net/mn55/en/sujato)). It is widely believed that the Buddha taught vegetarianism but this is not correct, although the practice was advocated by some Indian Buddhists in later centuries. See Dhammika 2016 [[Dhammika 2016](#Xece06b40d0a0b9e9a96b11f44a9291f938c52d6)].

[457](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnref9) S.I,68-69 ([SN 3.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn3.1/en/sujato)).

[458](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefa) M.I,176, condensed ([MN 27:3.1–4.16](https://suttacentral.net/mn27/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[459](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefb) M.I,375 ([MN 56:8.1–8.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn56/en/sujato" \l "8.1)).

[460](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefc) S.IV,340-341 ([SN 42.13](https://suttacentral.net/sn42.13/en/sujato)).

[461](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefd) A.II,190-194 ([AN 4.193](https://suttacentral.net/an4.193/en/sujato)). Since ancient times in India, magic (*māyā*) and conjuring (*indrajāla*) have been associated with gods and saints and at the same time with impostors and charlatans. “Nature is a magic trick and the Lord is the magician; the things of the world are but elements of Him,” *Śvetāśvatāra Upaniṣad [*[*Olivelle 1998*](#X3fe6a7fdbb2f6279cd85033d7f277a52f5b60c1)*]* 4,9-10. “Through cunning in the art of magic and conjuring, the false is given the impression of being true,” *Vikramacarita* 114-15. The Buddha’s comments on magicians at S.III,142 ([SN 22.95:6.1–7.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.95/en/sujato" \l "6.1)) explain why he would not have liked to be thought of as one. On the use of magic to win debates see Bronkhorst 2011 [[Bronkhorst 2011](#Xb839dd34b4bff0cb0b36311b1d0ece767d5191a)] pp.185-187. Lee Siegel’s otherwise excellent history of Indian magic [[Siegel 1991](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Siegel)], fails to make clear the Buddha’s distinction between psychic powers and magic. Interestingly, some of the earliest Christian apologists had to defend Jesus against the charge that he was only a magician, e.g. Tertullian’s *Apologeticus* [[Schaff 1885](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Schaff)] 21.17; 23.7,12 and Justin Martyr’s *Dialogue with Trypho [*[*Lukyn Williams 1930*](#X0a61cb882f5d4a80515fe47006bfe0320ff74c1)*]* 69.7.

[462](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefe) Vin. I, 234-235 ([Kd 6:31.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd6/en/brahmali" \l "31.1.1)).

[463](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnreff) M.I,108 ([MN 18:5.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn18/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[464](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefg) M.I,6 ([MN 1:172-194.30–172-194.31](https://suttacentral.net/mn1/en/sujato" \l "172-194.30)).

[465](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefh) M.II,200 ([MN 99:8.1–10.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn99/en/sujato" \l "8.1)).

[466](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefi) M.II,39 ([MN 79:45.1–46.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn79/en/sujato" \l "45.1)). *Maṇika* and *uddekanika*, water pots or recepticals for water of some kind, one apparently larger than the other.

[467](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefj) S.II,217 ([SN 16.11:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.11/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[468](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefk) A.IV,134 ([AN 7.72:18.3–18.4](https://suttacentral.net/an7.72/en/sujato" \l "18.3)).

[469](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefl) D.III,2-4 condensed ([DN 24](https://suttacentral.net/dn24/en/sujato)); M.I,68 ([MN 12:2.1–8.18](https://suttacentral.net/mn12/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[470](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefm) A.I,185 ([AN 3.64](https://suttacentral.net/an3.64/en/sujato)).

[471](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefn) M.II,5 ([MN 77:6.70–6.71](https://suttacentral.net/mn77/en/sujato" \l "6.70)). According to *Śāṭyāyanīya Upaniṣad [*[*Olivelle 1992*](#X865be12f82d55f2700a85919b6abdbe5a24bf99)*]* 329-330, an ascetic who reverted to the lay life committed one of the gravest of all sins, and for *Yājñavalkya Dharmasūtra* 1.152 it warranted the death penalty.

[472](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefo) S.V,321-322 ([SN 54.9](https://suttacentral.net/sn54.9/en/sujato)).

[473](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefp) Sn.p.21 ([Snp 1.7:2.1–2.5](https://suttacentral.net/snp1.7/en/sujato" \l "2.1)). On ‘shaveling’, *muṇḍaka*, here see Levman 2011 [[Levman 2011](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Levma2)], pp. 45 ff.

[474](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefq) S.I,161-162 ([SN 7.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn7.2/en/sujato)).

[475](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefr) M.II,209-210 ([MN 100:1.1–3.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn100/en/sujato" \l "1.1)). Sangārava was probably advocating that Dhānañjānī lose her caste, which would mean social death for her. Several *Dharmasūtras [*[*Olivelle 1999*](#X5c9af8b162bb11112db5b73d0710e592e09e52e)*]* stipulate loss of caste for joining a samaṇa sect. The rite of excommunication is briefly described at D.I,98 ([DN 3:1.24.1–1.28.11](https://suttacentral.net/dn3/en/sujato" \l "1.24.1)), and *Manusmṛti [*[*Olivelle 2004*](#X33ef731ad2df603fa7fc36f2385d2d5c948871f)*]* 11,183-189 and *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra [*[*Olivelle 1999*](#X5c9af8b162bb11112db5b73d0710e592e09e52e)*]* 2.1.36 stipulate how it was conducted at a later period.

[476](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefs) Vin.IV,274 ([Bi Pc 17:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bi-vb-pc17/en/brahmali" \l "1.1)).

[477](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnreft) The initiation ritual into Vedic studentship included approaching the teacher holding a piece of firewood, and collecting firewood daily was an important part of a student’s duties to his teacher, see e.g. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad [*[*Olivelle 1998*](#X3fe6a7fdbb2f6279cd85033d7f277a52f5b60c1)*]* 5.4,8; 5.11,6; and *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad [*[*Olivelle 1998*](#X3fe6a7fdbb2f6279cd85033d7f277a52f5b60c1)*]* 1.2,12.

[478](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefu) S.IV,117-121 ([SN 35.132](https://suttacentral.net/sn35.132/en/sujato)).

[479](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefv) M.II,140 ([MN 91:21.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn91/en/sujato" \l "21.6)).

[480](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefw) Vin.IV,173 ([Bu Pc 92:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc92/en/brahmali" \l "1.1)). Srinivasan [[Srinivasan 1979](#Xb91bee48174240beb0c7d15ef95efa47ebb4de5)] gives a finger-breadth, *aṅguli*, as about 2.54 cms, pp.9-11.

[481](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefx) M.I,163 ([MN 26:14.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "14.1)).

[482](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefy) Sn.456 ([Snp 3.4:5.1–5.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.4/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[483](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnrefz) D.I,115 ([DN 4:6.11](https://suttacentral.net/dn4/en/sujato" \l "6.11)).

[484](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre10) A.II,38 ([AN 4.36:1.8](https://suttacentral.net/an4.36/en/sujato" \l "1.8)).

[485](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre11) A.I,181 ([AN 3.63:3.1–3.5](https://suttacentral.net/an3.63/en/sujato" \l "3.1)). The fruit of the *Ziziphus jujube* is yellow when ripe, gradually turning rusty-brown. The palm fruit mentioned is that of *Borassus flabellifer*, which has a greyish-brown skin and is golden yellow inside.

[486](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre12) M.I,88 ([MN 13:18.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn13/en/sujato" \l "18.2)).

[487](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre13) S.I,5 ([SN 1.10](https://suttacentral.net/sn1.10/en/sujato)).

[488](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre14) M.I,250 ([MN 36:48.1–48.13](https://suttacentral.net/mn36/en/sujato" \l "48.1)).

[489](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre15) M.II,140 ([MN 91:21.3–21.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn91/en/sujato" \l "21.3)); *visaṭṭha*, *viññeyya*, *mañju*, *savanīya*, *bindu*, *avisārī*, *gambhīra*, *ninnadī*.

[490](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre16) S.II,2 ([SN 12.2:3.1–3.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn12.2/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[491](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre17) S.V,216 ([SN 48.41:2.1–2.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn48.41/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[492](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre18) D.II,100 ([DN 16:2.25.11–2.25.12](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "2.25.11)). The phrase here translated as “being strapped together,” (*vagha missakena*), is obscure. For an alternative reading and translation, see Gombrich 1987 [[Gombrich 1987](#Xb7da4f955f4596644b526a3b5083e64fa49d0ca)] and Levman 2020 [[Levman 2020](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Levma3)] pp.81-82.

[493](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre19) Postel [[Postel 1989](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Postel)] pp.9-10 and Banerjee 1986 [[Banerjee 1986](#X91bb656dbb9e7a1c675e2ac370b7dc3826370ae)] pp.220-225.

[494](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1a) The texts attribute the notion to Brahminism, although it is not specifically mentioned in any Vedic texts. See Levman 2013 [[Levman 2013](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Levman)] pp. 163-165.

[495](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1b) D.I,50 ([DN 2:11.1–11.4](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "11.1)).

[496](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1c) M.III,238 ([MN 140](https://suttacentral.net/mn140/en/sujato)).

[497](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1d) M.I,170 ([MN 26:25.1–25.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "25.1)).

[498](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1e) S.V,158 ([SN 47.11](https://suttacentral.net/sn47.11/en/sujato)); A.II,35 ff ([AN 4.35](https://suttacentral.net/an4.35/en/sujato)).

[499](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1f) A.III,237 ([AN 5.194:1.2–2.8](https://suttacentral.net/an5.194/en/sujato" \l "1.2)).

[500](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1g) S.V,390 ([SN 55.30](https://suttacentral.net/sn55.30/en/sujato)).

[501](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1h) S.III,2 ([SN 22.1:4.2–5.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.1/en/sujato" \l "4.2)).

[502](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1i) D.III,40 ([DN 25:7.10–7.19](https://suttacentral.net/dn25/en/sujato" \l "7.10)).

[503](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1j) M.II,197 ([MN 99:4.1–4.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn99/en/sujato" \l "4.1)).

[504](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1k) M.I,378-379 ([MN 56:15.3–17.11](https://suttacentral.net/mn56/en/sujato" \l "15.3)).

[505](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1l) A.I,161, condensed ([AN 3.57](https://suttacentral.net/an3.57/en/sujato)).

[506](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1m) D.II,224 ([DN 19:11.1–11.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn19/en/sujato" \l "11.1)).

[507](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1n) Sn.720-721 ([Snp 3.11:42.1–45.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.11/en/sujato" \l "42.1)).

[508](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1o) S.I,162 ([SN 7.2:4.1–7.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn7.2/en/sujato" \l "4.1)).

[509](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1p) D.III,38 ([DN 25:4.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn25/en/sujato" \l "4.5)).

[510](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1q) D.I,179 ([DN 9:3.1–5.10](https://suttacentral.net/dn9/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[511](#footprints_split_013.html%25252523fnre1r) D.I,115-116 ([DN 4:6.1–6.47](https://suttacentral.net/dn4/en/sujato" \l "6.1)), condensed.

[512](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnref5) See Anālayo 2018 [[Anālayo 2018](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Anāla1)] pp.9-17.

[513](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnref1) Vin.I,306 ([Kd 8:29.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd8/en/brahmali" \l "29.1.1)) gives a range of colours that monastics’ robes should not be, including red, yellow and orange. Buddhist monks today are often said to wear ‘saffron’ robe, and indeed the colour of their robes sometimes resembles the bright orange of saffron. But the saffron plant was unknown in fifth century BCE India and even later was never used as a dye because of its expense and poor fixing properties.

[514](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnref2) The Sānṭiputta mentioned at *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* 38, Schubring [[Schubring 1974](#X078381db7fe3e996df1787fbe9705c51413796f)] p.88, would seem to be this Sāriputta, see *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol. II. 2019. p.411.

[515](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnref3) Vin.I,38 ([Kd 1:23.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "23.1.1)) ff.

[516](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnref4) M.III,248 ([MN 141:5.1–5.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn141/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[517](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnref6) S.II,275-276 ([SN 21.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn21.3/en/sujato)). The words for these two powers are *dibbacakkhu* and *dibbasota*. *Dibba* means wondrous, divine or heavenly, but here the modern terms are used for them. Apparently, such abilities need to be cleared or purified (*visujjhi*), before being usable, suggesting that they are latent and more likely to manifest after some preparation. It should be pointed out that there is meagre scientific evidence for any extrasensory perception.

[518](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnref7) M.III,264 ([MN 144:6.1–6.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn144/en/sujato" \l "6.1)).

[519](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnref8) S.V,164 ([SN 47.14](https://suttacentral.net/sn47.14/en/sujato)).

[520](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnref9) Vin.II,253 ([Kd 20](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd20/en/brahmali)).

[521](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefa) M.III,270 ([MN 146:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn146/en/sujato" \l "2.1)); I,490 ([MN 73:8.1–8.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn73/en/sujato" \l "8.1)).

[522](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefb) A.I,25 ([AN 1.239](https://suttacentral.net/an1.239/en/sujato) - from [AN 1.235-247](https://suttacentral.net/an1.235-247/en/sujato) ).

[523](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefc) M.I,299 ff ([MN 44](https://suttacentral.net/mn44/en/sujato)).

[524](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefd) S.IV,374-379 ([SN 44.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn44.1/en/sujato)).

[525](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefe) Thi.136 ([Thig 6.2:4.3–4.4](https://suttacentral.net/thig6.2/en/sujato" \l "4.3)), 155 ([Thig 6.5:5.1–5.2](https://suttacentral.net/thig6.5/en/sujato" \l "5.1)), 185 ([Thig 7.2:4.2–4.3](https://suttacentral.net/thig7.2/en/sujato" \l "4.2)), 192 ([Thig 7.3:4.1–4.4](https://suttacentral.net/thig7.3/en/sujato" \l "4.1)), 201 ([Thig 8.1:6.1](https://suttacentral.net/thig8.1/en/sujato" \l "6.1)).

[526](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnreff) M.III,126 ([MN 124:9.1, 20-25.2–20-25.6](https://suttacentral.net/mn124/en/sujato" \l "9.1)).

[527](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefg) See Upasak [[Upasak 1975](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Upasak)] p.114.

[528](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefh) M.I,480 ([MN 70:27.1–27.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn70/en/sujato" \l "27.1)).

[529](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefi) A.II,8 ([AN 4.7](https://suttacentral.net/an4.7/en/sujato)); D.II,105 ([DN 16:3.7.1–3.9.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "3.7.1)); 138 ([DN 16:5.3.9](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.3.9)); III,123-124 ([DN 29:10.1–13.13](https://suttacentral.net/dn29/en/sujato" \l "10.1)).

[530](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefj) Thi.108-109 ([Thig 5.9:2.1–3.4](https://suttacentral.net/thig5.9/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[531](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefk) Thi.42 ([Thig 3.2](https://suttacentral.net/thig3.2/en/sujato)); 102 ([Thig 5.8](https://suttacentral.net/thig5.8/en/sujato)); 122 ([Thig 5.12](https://suttacentral.net/thig5.12/en/sujato)); 338 ([Thig 13.5](https://suttacentral.net/thig13.5/en/sujato)); 400 ([Thig 15.1](https://suttacentral.net/thig15.1/en/sujato)).

[532](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefl) S.I,129. ([SN 5.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn5.2/en/sujato))

[533](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefm) D.I,145 ([DN 5:25.1–26.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn5/en/sujato" \l "25.1)); A.IV.222 ([AN 8.26](https://suttacentral.net/an8.26/en/sujato)).

[534](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefn) S.V,19 ([SN 45.24](https://suttacentral.net/sn45.24/en/sujato)).

[535](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefo) M.I,493 ([MN 73:13.1–14.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn73/en/sujato" \l "13.1)).

[536](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefp) D.II,104 ([DN 16:3.7.1–3.9.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "3.7.1)).

[537](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefq) D.III,124-126 ([DN 29:12.4–16.7](https://suttacentral.net/dn29/en/sujato" \l "12.4)) condensed.

[538](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefr) A.IV,63 ([AN 7.53](https://suttacentral.net/an7.53/en/sujato)); V.46 ([AN 10.26](https://suttacentral.net/an10.26/en/sujato)); 191 ([AN 10.94](https://suttacentral.net/an10.94/en/sujato)).

[539](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefs) Vin.I,140-141 ([kd 3](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd3/en/brahmali" \l "5.9.1)). Lay expertise in the sacred text continued for some centuries. Amongst the inscriptions from Sañchi dating from the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, some lay donors describe themselves as “versed in the suttas,” “who can chant [a text],” “a woman who knows a sutta.” See Rhys Davids 1903 [[Rhys Davids TW 1903](#X0051d3d7cc292bb30adcc7044a1bdc755937dbe)] pp.167-169 and Marshall [[Marshall 1983](#X51c5fc5933359d453f8df39965fe25cf45a1d68)] pp.298 ff.

[540](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnreft) Ud-a.32.

[541](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefu) S.IV,281-283 ([SN 41.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn41.1/en/sujato)); 291-192 ([SN 41.5](https://suttacentral.net/sn41.5/en/sujato)); 298-299 ([SN 41.8](https://suttacentral.net/sn41.8/en/sujato)).

[542](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefv) A.I,136-137 ([AN 3.35](https://suttacentral.net/an3.35/en/sujato)).

[543](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefw) *Catu saṅghavatthu*. The meaning of this term is difficult to convey in English. It has been translated as “the four bases of gathering” and “the four bases of sympathy.” Bodhi 2012 [[Bodhi 2012](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Bodhi_)] p.1684 note 687, gives “the four means of sustaining a favourable relationship” and has useful comments on the term. According to the Buddha, the four help the world turn smoothly like a well-secured chariot wheel, D.III,192 ([DN 31:34.21–34.26](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "34.21)).

[544](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefx) A.IV,219-220 ([AN 8.24](https://suttacentral.net/an8.24/en/sujato)).

[545](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefy) Vin.I,291 ([Kd 8:15.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd8/en/brahmali" \l "15.1.1)).

[546](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnrefz) Vin.I,153 ([Kd 8:13.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd3/en/brahmali" \l "13.1.1)).

[547](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre10) M.I,39 ([MN 7:20.12–20.17](https://suttacentral.net/mn7/en/sujato" \l "20.12)).

[548](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre11) Vin.III,62 ([Bu Pj 2:7.27.10](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pj2/en/brahmali" \l "7.27.10)).

[549](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre12) Vin.III,66 ([Bu Pj 2:7.47.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pj2/en/brahmali" \l "7.47.1)).

[550](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre13) D.I,125-126 ([DN 4:26.1–26.13](https://suttacentral.net/dn4/en/sujato" \l "26.1)). Soṇadaṇḍa was not his personal name but a moniker indicating that he used a staff made of wood from the soṇa tree, *Oroxylum indicum*. Amongst brahmins, staffs had great ritual significance and had to be made from very specific types of wood, mainly *palāsa*, *bilva* and *udumbara*, see Dhammika 2018b [[Dhammika 2018b](#X8883f8cf1494d601f89110d8da7c23626c62c66)]. However, I have found no references to soṇa wood being used. On the rules pertaining to making and using staffs in Brahminism, see *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra [*[*Oldenberg 1886-1892*](#X1b02422df4e710d1886f2b2dbfc6f2b4516a9f4)*]* 2.1.18-24 and *Gautama Dharmasūtra [*[*Olivelle 1999*](#X5c9af8b162bb11112db5b73d0710e592e09e52e)*]* 1. 22-26.

[551](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre14) S.III,106-109 ([SN 22.84](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.84/en/sujato)).

[552](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre15) A.III,374-375 ([AN 6.55](https://suttacentral.net/an6.55/en/sujato)).

[553](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre16) A.II,112 ([AN 4.111](https://suttacentral.net/an4.111/en/sujato)).

[554](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre17) M.I,393 ([MN 58:7.1–8.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn58/en/sujato" \l "7.1)).

[555](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre18) M.I,132 ([MN 22:6.1–6.15](https://suttacentral.net/mn22/en/sujato" \l "6.1)).

[556](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre19) M.I,457-459 ([MN 67](https://suttacentral.net/mn67/en/sujato)).

[557](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre1a) There were an extra four offences for nuns: allowing a male to fondle her anywhere from the shoulder to the knee; concealing the most serious offence of another nun; becoming the follower of a monk who has been suspended; and engaging in eight types of flirtatious activities.

[558](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre1b) A.IV,169 ([AN 8.10](https://suttacentral.net/an8.10/en/sujato)).

[559](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre1c) M.I,444 ([MN 65:25.1–28.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn65/en/sujato" \l "25.1)).

[560](#footprints_split_014.html%25252523fnre1d) S.II,128 ([SN 12.70:28.1–29.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn12.70/en/sujato" \l "28.1)) also S.II,205 ([SN 16.6:4.2–6.4](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.6/en/sujato" \l "4.2)), condensed.

[561](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnref5) M.I,140 ([MN 22:37.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn22/en/sujato" \l "37.5)). *Eva* here could also be ‘just’ or ‘simply’.

[562](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnref1) M.I,479 ([MN 70:22.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn70/en/sujato" \l "22.2)).

[563](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnref2) A.I,260 ([AN 3.105](https://suttacentral.net/an3.105/en/sujato)).

[564](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnref3) A.I,259 ([AN 3.104](https://suttacentral.net/an3.104/en/sujato)).

[565](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnref4) A.V,181 ([AN 10.91:21.1–21.6](https://suttacentral.net/an10.91/en/sujato" \l "21.1)), condensed.

[566](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnref6) A.V,181 ([AN 10.91](https://suttacentral.net/an10.91/en/sujato)).

[567](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnref7) A.III,45 ([AN 5.41](https://suttacentral.net/an5.41/en/sujato)).

[568](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnref8) It.65 ([Iti 75](https://suttacentral.net/iti75/en/sujato)).

[569](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnref9) S.I,33 ([SN 1.47](https://suttacentral.net/sn1.47/en/sujato)).

[570](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefa) A.IV,282 ([AN 8.54:5.1–5.8](https://suttacentral.net/an8.54/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[571](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefb) D.III,188 ([DN 31:26.15–26.22](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "26.15)). Ja.I,277 ([Ja 56](https://suttacentral.net/ja56)) gives an alternative four; one part for food, one held in reserve, one to invest in one’s business and one for charity and good works.

[572](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefc) S.I,74 ([SN 3.6](https://suttacentral.net/sn3.6/en/sujato)).

[573](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefd) A.III,53 ([AN 5.46](https://suttacentral.net/an5.46/en/sujato)).

[574](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefe) A.IV,5 ([AN 7.5](https://suttacentral.net/an7.5/en/sujato)).

[575](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnreff) A.III,222 ([AN 5.191:3.1–3.4](https://suttacentral.net/an5.191/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[576](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefg) A.II,61-2 ([AN 4.55:3.1](https://suttacentral.net/an4.55/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[577](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefh) A.II,61 ([AN 4.55:2.1, 2.4](https://suttacentral.net/an4.55/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[578](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefi) A.III,295-8 ([AN 6.16:9.1–9.7](https://suttacentral.net/an6.16/en/sujato" \l "9.1)).

[579](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefj) A.II,59 ([AN 4.53:6.1–6.4](https://suttacentral.net/an4.53/en/sujato" \l "6.1)).

[580](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefk) D.III,190 ([DN 31:30.1–30.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "30.1)).

[581](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefl) Dhp.332 ([Dhp 332](https://suttacentral.net/dhp332/en/sujato)); Sn.262 ([Snp 2.4:6.1–6.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp2.4/en/sujato" \l "6.1)); 404 ([Snp 2.14:30.1–30.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp2.14/en/sujato" \l "30.1)); S.I,181-182 ([SN 7.19](https://suttacentral.net/sn7.19/en/sujato)).

[582](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefm) A.II,70 ([AN 4.63](https://suttacentral.net/an4.63/en/sujato)).

[583](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefn) A.III,76-77 ([AN 5.58:6.2–6.5](https://suttacentral.net/an5.58/en/sujato" \l "6.2)).

[584](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefo) D.III,189 ([DN 31:28.1–28.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "28.1)).

[585](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefp) A.I,61 ([AN 2.33](https://suttacentral.net/an2.33/en/sujato)).

[586](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefq) A.I,261 ([AN 3.107](https://suttacentral.net/an3.107/en/sujato)); Sn.328 ([Snp 2.9:5.1–5.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp2.9/en/sujato" \l "5.1)); 926 ([Snp 4.14:12.1–12.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp4.14/en/sujato" \l "12.1)).

[587](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefr) M.I,415 ([MN 61:7.10](https://suttacentral.net/mn61/en/sujato" \l "7.10)).

[588](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefs) Dhp.146 ([Dhp 146](https://suttacentral.net/dhp146/en/sujato)).

[589](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnreft) Vin.II,107 ([Kd 15:2.6.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd15/en/brahmali" \l "2.6.1)).

[590](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefu) D.III,182-183 ([DN 31:7.0–8.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "7.0)).

[591](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefv) D.III,183 ([DN 31:11.0–11.4](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "11.0)); Sn.106 ([Snp 1.6:17.1–17.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp1.6/en/sujato" \l "17.1)).

[592](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefw) M.III,170 ([MN 129:26.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn129/en/sujato" \l "26.1)).

[593](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefx) D.III,183 ([DN 31:10.0–10.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "10.0)).

[594](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefy) A.V,134 ([AN 10.72](https://suttacentral.net/an10.72/en/sujato)).

[595](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnrefz) S.IV,306-307 ([SN 42.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn42.2/en/sujato)). The Buddha’s low opinion of the theatre and actors put him in very good company. See Barish 1981 [[Barish 1981](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Barish)].

[596](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre10) D.I,8-11 ([DN 1:1.21.0–1.27.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn1/en/sujato" \l "1.21.0)). See also Sn.927 ([Snp 4.14:13.1–13.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp4.14/en/sujato" \l "13.1)) and S.III,238-239 ([SN 28.10](https://suttacentral.net/sn28.10/en/sujato)). The rule against practicing such things is at Vin.II,139 ([Kd 15:33.2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd15/en/brahmali" \l "33.2.1)).

[597](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre11) Sn.927 ([Snp 4.14:13.1–13.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp4.14/en/sujato" \l "13.1)). Magic charms here is *āthabbaṇa*, which refers to the spells and sorcery of the *Atharvaveda*.

[598](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre12) S.II,255-266 ([SN 19.14](https://suttacentral.net/sn19.14/en/sujato)).

[599](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre13) A.III,206 ([AN 5.175:1.5, 2.5](https://suttacentral.net/an5.175/en/sujato" \l "1.5)).

[600](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre14) Sn.258-267 ([Snp 2.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp2.4/en/sujato)).

[601](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre15) Vin.II,140 ([Kd 15:33.3.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd15/en/brahmali" \l "33.3.1)); Ja.II,15 ([Ja 155](https://suttacentral.net/ja155)).

[602](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre16) D.I,211 ff ([DN 11](https://suttacentral.net/dn11/en/sujato)).

[603](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre17) Vin.II,110-111 ([Kd 15:8.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd15/en/brahmali?reference=main" \l "8.1.1)).

[604](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre18) D.III,12-17 ([DN 24:1.15.0–2.13.12](https://suttacentral.net/dn24/en/sujato" \l "1.15.0)).

[605](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre19) D.III,4 ([DN 24:1.4.16–1.4.18](https://suttacentral.net/dn24/en/sujato" \l "1.4.16)).

[606](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1a) M.II,149 ([MN 93:5.3–5.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn93/en/sujato" \l "5.3)).

[607](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1b) M.II,177-178 ([MN 96:3.1–3.17](https://suttacentral.net/mn96/en/sujato" \l "3.1)). *Manusmṛti [*[*Olivelle 2004*](#X33ef731ad2df603fa7fc36f2385d2d5c948871f)*]* 8,413-414 says: “The menial was created by the Self- Existent One only to labour as a slave for the brahmin. Even if he is manumitted by his master, a menial is still a slave, for that is his nature, and no one can change that.”

[608](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1c) Sn.455 ([Snp 3.4:4.1–4.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.4/en/sujato" \l "4.1)).

[609](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1d) D.I,99 ([DN 3:2.1.0–2.2.23](https://suttacentral.net/dn3/en/sujato" \l "2.1.0)).

[610](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1e) M.II,148 ([MN 93:5.3–5.14](https://suttacentral.net/mn93/en/sujato" \l "5.3)). See Malalasekera and Jayatilleke [[Malalasekera Jayatilleke 1958](#X8113d9c09e8419b4e28119afd08c2c19a19f8fb)] pp.40 ff.

[611](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1f) M.II,149 ([MN 93:6.1–6.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn93/en/sujato" \l "6.1)). Yona was the Indian name for Greece and for Greeks who had migrated to Gandhāra in India’s north-western border regions. A few such immigrants may well have gone further east of this too. The Buddha’s mention of Yona has been taken as proof that the discourse in which he used the word must date from after Alexander’s invasion of India in 326 BCE. But that there were Greeks in Gandhāra before Alexander is almost certain. The Achaemenid Empire stretched from Asia Minor to western India, and Greeks in the service of the empire and intrepid merchants moved freely through it. The first Greek known to have visited India was Skylax of Karyanda who, in 520 BCE, led a naval expedition from Punjab to the mouth of the Indus. Hekataios of Miletos (549–486 BCE) and Herodotus (484-425 BCE) both wrote about India and probably got some of their information from Greeks who had first-hand knowledge of the country. It is also likely that Indians from the Middle Land travelled to Gandhāra and brought back stories about Greeks and their customs and that their attitude to caste became a talking point and came to the notice of the Buddha. See Anālayo 2011 [[Anālayo 2011](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Anālay)] p.551-552.

[612](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1g) M.II,150 ([MN 93:7.1–9.14](https://suttacentral.net/mn93/en/sujato" \l "7.1)); Sn.116 ([Snp 1.7:4.1–4.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp1.7/en/sujato" \l "4.1)).

[613](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1h) M.II,151 ([MN 93:10.1–11.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn93/en/sujato" \l "10.1)).

[614](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1i) S.I,100 ([SN 3.24](https://suttacentral.net/sn3.24/en/sujato)); M.II,85 ([MN 84:4.1–5.47](https://suttacentral.net/mn84/en/sujato" \l "4.1)); D.I,103 ([DN 3:2.6.1–2.6.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn3/en/sujato" \l "2.6.1)).

[615](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1j) Sn.600-611 ([Snp 3.9:12.1–23.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.9/en/sujato" \l "12.1)), condensed. The word translated here as ‘conventional’ is *samaññā* which the *Pali English Dictionary* gives as designation, name, common appellation, popular expression.

[616](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1k) Vin.IV,4 ([Bu Pc 2](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc2/en/brahmali)).

[617](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1l) Ud.55 ([Ud 5.5:22.1–22.2](https://suttacentral.net/ud5.5/en/sujato" \l "22.1)). Mahī was probably the old name for the Gandak, see Hoey [[Hoey 1907](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Hoey_1)] pp.44-46.

[618](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1m) Ja.VI,285 ([Ja 546](https://suttacentral.net/ja546)); Vin.IV,224 ([Bi Ss 1:1.56.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bi-vb-ss1/en/brahmali" \l "1.56.1)).

[619](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1n) M.I,125 ([MN 21:9.1–9.45](https://suttacentral.net/mn21/en/sujato" \l "9.1)); D.I,72-73 ([DN 2:72.1–72.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "72.1)).

[620](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1o) D.III,191 ([DN 31:32.1–32.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "32.1)).

[621](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1p) D.I,5 ([DN 1:1.10.11](https://suttacentral.net/dn1/en/sujato" \l "1.10.11)).

[622](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1q) A.III,208 ([AN 5.177](https://suttacentral.net/an5.177/en/sujato)). Several centuries later, the *Mahāvastu* warned that those who enslave the helpless, put them in manacles, beat them and force them to work will be reborn in a very unpleasant purgatory, Mvu.I [[Jones 1949](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Jones_)] pp.18,22.

[623](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1r) A.III,66 ([AN 5.54:3.1–3.2](https://suttacentral.net/an5.54/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[624](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1s) M.I,473 ([MN 70:2.1–2.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn70/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[625](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1t) A.III,109 ([AN 5.80:3.1–3.6](https://suttacentral.net/an5.80/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[626](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1u) Sn.707 ([Snp 3.11:29.1–29.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.11/en/sujato" \l "29.1)).

[627](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1v) M.I,273 ([MN 39:9.2–9.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn39/en/sujato" \l "9.2)).

[628](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1w) S.I,81-82 ([SN 3.13](https://suttacentral.net/sn3.13/en/sujato)).

[629](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1x) S.III,1 ([SN 22.1:1.1–6.8](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.1/en/sujato" \l "1.1)); V,421 ([SN 56.11](https://suttacentral.net/sn56.11/en/sujato)).

[630](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1y) A.I,173-174 ([AN 3.61](https://suttacentral.net/an3.61/en/sujato)); S.IV,230 ([SN 36.21](https://suttacentral.net/sn36.21/en/sujato)).

[631](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre1z) S.I,81-82 ([SN 3.13](https://suttacentral.net/sn3.13/en/sujato)); IV,230 ([SN 36.21](https://suttacentral.net/sn36.21/en/sujato)); M.I,473 ([MN 70](https://suttacentral.net/mn70/en/sujato)); Vin.I,199 ([Kd 6](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd6/en/brahmali)).

[632](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre20) Mil.135-136 ([Mil 5.1.8](https://suttacentral.net/mil5.1.8)).

[633](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre21) A.III,103 ([AN 5.78:2.1–2.7](https://suttacentral.net/an5.78/en/sujato" \l "2.1)); 135 ([AN 5.109](https://suttacentral.net/an5.109/en/sujato)); Dhp.204 ([Dhp 204](https://suttacentral.net/dhp204/en/sujato)); D.III,235 ([DN 33:2.1.65, 2.1.68](https://suttacentral.net/dn33/en/sujato" \l "2.1.65)).

[634](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre22) M.II,95 ([MN 85:58.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn85/en/sujato" \l "58.5)); A.III,65 ([AN 5.53:1.5–1.6](https://suttacentral.net/an5.53/en/sujato" \l "1.5)).

[635](#footprints_split_015.html%25252523fnre23) See Wujastyk 2022 [[Wujastyk 2022](#X470be36a879de4d1b06821ba43563fcc821e5a9)] pp.5-7, 18-21, Zysk 1991 [[Zysk 1991](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Zysk_1)] and Tatz 1985 [[Tatz 1985](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Tatz_1)].

[636](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnref6) D.II,52 ([DN 14:3.30.8](https://suttacentral.net/dn14/en/sujato" \l "3.30.8)); M.I,490 ff ([MN 73:7.1–12.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn73/en/sujato" \l "7.1)).

[637](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnref1) M.II,245 ([MN 104:5.1–5.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn104/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[638](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnref2) A.III,106-108 ([AN 5.79](https://suttacentral.net/an5.79/en/sujato)).

[639](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnref3) This was not the only time Kassapa refused a request made by the Buddha, albeit politely, S.II,203-204 ([SN 16.6:1.3–2.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.6/en/sujato" \l "1.3), [SN 16.7:1.3–2.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.7/en/sujato" \l "1.3), [SN 16.8:1.3–2.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.8/en/sujato" \l "1.3)). There are no other examples of a disciple ever having done this.

[640](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnref4) S.II,208-210 ([SN 16.8:2.2–7.7](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.8/en/sujato" \l "2.2)).

[641](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnref5) S.II,224 ([SN 16.13:1.4–1.8](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.13/en/sujato" \l "1.4)).

[642](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnref7) D.II,162 ([DN 16:6.20.1–6.20.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "6.20.1)).

[643](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnref8) Interestingly, appearing gaunt and having protruding veins were some of the very things the Buddha praised monks for, Dhp.395 ([Dhp 395](https://suttacentral.net/dhp395/en/sujato)).

[644](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnref9) M.II,120-121 ([MN 89:12.1–12.15](https://suttacentral.net/mn89/en/sujato" \l "12.1)).

[645](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefa) Vin.III,88 ([Bu Pj 4:1.1.37](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pj4/en/brahmali" \l "1.1.37)).

[646](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefb) Vin.I,86 ([Kd 1:62.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "62.1.1)).

[647](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefc) Ja.I,311 ([Ja 70](https://suttacentral.net/ja70)). For other reasons some men ordained see e.g. M.I,463 ([MN 68:5.4–5.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn68/en/sujato" \l "5.4)) and II,66 ([MN 82:29.1–34.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn82/en/sujato" \l "29.1)).

[648](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefd) D.I,60-61 ([DN 2:35.1–36.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "35.1)).

[649](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefe) Vin.II,131-132 ([Kd 15:26.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd15/en/brahmali" \l "26.1.1)).

[650](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnreff) Vin.III,244-245 ([Bu Np 22:1.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-np22/en/brahmali" \l "1.1.1)).

[651](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefg) A.II,239 ([AN 4.243](https://suttacentral.net/an4.243/en/sujato)).

[652](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefh) M.I,321-322 ([MN 48](https://suttacentral.net/mn48/en/sujato)).

[653](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefi) M.III,153 ([MN 128](https://suttacentral.net/mn128/en/sujato)); Vin.I,341 ([Kd 10:2.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd10/en/brahmali" \l "2.1.1)). There are hints of other serious divisions within the Saṅgha which seem to have been resolved before getting out of hand; e.g. A.II,239 ([AN 4.243](https://suttacentral.net/an4.243/en/sujato)).

[654](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefj) A.I,275 ([AN 3.124](https://suttacentral.net/an3.124/en/sujato)), condensed.

[655](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefk) M.III,154 ([MN 128:6.25–6.29](https://suttacentral.net/mn128/en/sujato" \l "6.25)).

[656](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefl) Vin.I,353 ([Kd 10:5.1.4](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd10/en/brahmali" \l "5.1.4)). Ud.41-42 ([Ud 4.5](https://suttacentral.net/ud4.5/en/sujato)) suggests he went to Pārileyya forest where he was ministered to by an elephant. On the interaction between Buddhist monks and forest animals in Pali literature see Dhammika 2018b [[Dhammika 2018b](#X8883f8cf1494d601f89110d8da7c23626c62c66)] pp.32-35.

[657](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefm) Vin.I,355 ([Kd 10:5.8.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd10/en/brahmali" \l "5.8.1)), condensed. For more the Buddha had to say about making judgments and assessing claims see A.II,71 ([AN 4.65](https://suttacentral.net/an4.65/en/sujato)); Dhp.256-257 ([Dhp 256](https://suttacentral.net/dhp256/en/sujato) / [Dhp 257](https://suttacentral.net/dhp257/en/sujato)).

[658](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefn) M.III,156 ([MN 128:10.8–14.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn128/en/sujato" \l "10.8)), condensed.

[659](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefo) S.IV,113-114 ([SN 35.129](https://suttacentral.net/sn35.129/en/sujato)).

[660](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefp) Ghosh 1963 [[Ghosh 1963](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Ghosh_)] pp.14-16.

[661](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefq) A.IV,402 ff ([AN 9.26](https://suttacentral.net/an9.26/en/sujato)); Ud.3-4 ([Ud 1.5](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.5/en/sujato)).

[662](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefr) Mhv [[Geiger 1912](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Geiger)].II,32.

[663](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefs) Vin.II,196 ([Kd 17:3.13.5.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd17/en/brahmali" \l "3.13.5.1)).

[664](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnreft) Vin.II,197 ([Kd 17:3.14.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd17/en/brahmali" \l "3.14.1)).

[665](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefu) M.I,469 ([MN 69](https://suttacentral.net/mn69/en/sujato)).

[666](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefv) A.III,391 ([AN 6.59](https://suttacentral.net/an6.59/en/sujato)). See also A.III,355 ([AN 6.46](https://suttacentral.net/an6.46/en/sujato)).

[667](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefw) In canon law this procedure is called *pakāsanīya kamma* and would be done after another one called *ñatticatuttha kamma*. During the Buddha’s life, this was the only time this procedure was ever used. For details see Upasak [[Upasak 1975](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Upasak)] pp.101 and 126.

[668](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefx) Vin.II,200 ([Kd 17:4.2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd17/en/brahmali" \l "4.2.1)).

[669](#footprints_split_016.html%25252523fnrefy) Vin.II,184 ([Kd 17:2.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd17/en/brahmali" \l "2.1.1)) ff, also at A.IV,135 ([AN 7.73](https://suttacentral.net/an7.73/en/sujato)).

[670](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnref6) S.V,161-162 ([SN 47.13](https://suttacentral.net/sn47.13/en/sujato)).

[671](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnref1) S.V,164 ([SN 47.14](https://suttacentral.net/sn47.14/en/sujato)).

[672](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnref2) Singh [[Singh U 2017](#X99db1375cf9cf00f9b12fc4658dbb67c5e4ad83)] p.254 interprets this incident to mean that the Buddha was indirectly telling Vassakāra how to undermine the Vajjians. I read it to say the opposite, that he wanted Vassakāra to know that with the Vajjians being strong and united, it would be difficult to overcome them.

[673](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnref3) Also at M.I,206 ([MN 31:5.1–5.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn31/en/sujato" \l "5.1)); I.414 ([MN 61:2.1–2.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn61/en/sujato" \l "2.1)); III,155 ([MN 128:7.1–7.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn128/en/sujato" \l "7.1)); D.III,208 ([DN 33:1.4.1–1.4.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn33/en/sujato" \l "1.4.1)), etc. In later centuries the Buddha came to be seen as so exalted that it would have been unthinkable for him to do something so mundane and low as wash his own feet.

[674](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnref4) The *Upaniṣad*s, the *Dharmasūtra*s, etc., give the east various auspicious and mystical significance, probably originating from Vedic sun worship; e.g. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka [*[*Olivelle 1998*](#X3fe6a7fdbb2f6279cd85033d7f277a52f5b60c1)*]* 2.7,5 and 3.9.20. By sitting facing the east, the Buddha was probably following the convention of the time expected of an honoured guest.

[675](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnref5) D.II,84-6 ([DN 16:1.23.1–1.25.4](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "1.23.1)).

[676](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnref7) The name means ‘the brick house’ and suggests that construction of this material was unusual. Archaeology has shown that baked bricks were rare in India before the Mauryan period.

[677](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnref8) The Chinese pilgrim Faxian, who visited the orchard in the fifth century, said it was three *li* south of Vesālī on the west side of the road, i.e. the main north/south road, so it must have been somewhere near Nādikā.

[678](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnref9) For centuries it was the norm for upper class Indian males to wear makeup. The Buddha’s half-brother Nanda used to paint his eyes, S.II,281 ([SN 21.8](https://suttacentral.net/sn21.8/en/sujato)). On male grooming in ancient India, see *Kāmasūtra [*[*Doniger and Kakar 2003*](#X638dc007886e182a923ef3bb70860970351ce6a)*]* I, 4, 5-6 and Ali [[Ali 2004](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Ali_20)] p.63. In the 11th century, Alberuni found Indian men distinctly dandified and effeminate compared to what he was used to: “The men wear articles of female dress; they use cosmetics, wear earrings, arm-rings, golden seal-rings on the ring-finger as well as on their toes,” Sachau 1910 [[Sachau 1910](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Sachau)] Vol.I p.181.

[679](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefa) This is a word play on Ambapālī’s name, which means ‘mango guardian’.

[680](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefb) Thi.252-270 ([Thig 13.1](https://suttacentral.net/thig13.1/en/sujato)).

[681](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefc) See Vin.I,268 ([Kd 8](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd8/en/brahmali)) and *Kāmasūtra [*[*Doniger and Kakar 2003*](#X638dc007886e182a923ef3bb70860970351ce6a)*]* 1.3,16-22. On the less glamorous side of the courtesan’s life, see Kaul [[Kaul 2010](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Kaul_2)] p.146 ff.

[682](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefd) D.II,99 ([DN 16:2.23.1–2.24.8](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "2.23.1)).

[683](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefe) D.II,100-101 ([DN 16:2.25.1–2.26.8](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "2.25.1)). Dīpa here could mean either island or lamp.

[684](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnreff) Where they would have crossed the Gandak is impossible to know, as the river’s constantly changing course has long since washed away any evidence of an ancient ford.

[685](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefg) D.II,127 ([DN 16:4.13.0–4.20.13](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "4.13.0)).

[686](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefh) Armstrong [[Armstrong 2004](#Xfdd0209a10c954373f06ddb4b47e47504cacc08)] posits the poisoning theory as possible and then adds: “The Pāli texts however, do not even consider this appalling possibility,” pp.179-180. The Pali texts do not consider it because it has no basis in fact. Armstrong’s book is marred by many such flights of fancy and factual errors.

[687](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefi) D.II,127 ([DN 16:4.17.1](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "4.17.1)). For some of the theories on the identity of *sūkaramaddava* and its possible role in the Buddha’s death, see Mettananda and Hinüber [[Mettananda and Hinüber 2000](#X1096dd89c9b3c6cff9b3b0ada2dde31614ee4dd)], Wasson and O’Flaherty [[Wasson and OFlaherty 1983](#Xe5a673a8e6ed72a53594c450c18851143cf1212)], Ireland [[Ireland 1993](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Irelan)], and Masefield and Revire [[Masefield and Revire 2021](#X15013a9866ab0b231036ed88c3ba1b5e06441d4)]. Dhammapāla (5th cent. CE) gave the opinions of various ancient authorities on the identity of *sūkaramaddava* – that it was pork, bamboo shoots, a type of mushroom, or some kind of elixir – indicating that what the original was had been lost by his time. One of the most widespread and persistent theories today is that it was truffles, a theory first put forward by western scholars in the nineteenth century. The Indian truffle, *Tuber indicum*, grows mainly in parts of the Tibetan and Indian Himalayas and would have been unknown in the Ganges and Yamuna valley where the Buddha lived, and there is no evidence that they were ever eaten in India, or even harvested, until the 1980s. Indian truffles lack the pleasant fragrance of European varieties, have little of their distinctive taste, and are used today mainly as a cheap substitute for them. Nor was *sūkaramaddava* mushrooms as some maintain, a food that Indians have, along with garlic, always shunned as impure; see *Manusmṛti [*[*Olivelle 2004*](#X33ef731ad2df603fa7fc36f2385d2d5c948871f)*]* 5,5; 11,156; *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra [*[*Olivelle 1999*](#X5c9af8b162bb11112db5b73d0710e592e09e52e)*]* I.17,28; *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra [*[*Olivelle 1999*](#X5c9af8b162bb11112db5b73d0710e592e09e52e)*]* 14,33, etc.

[688](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefj) Mil.175 ([Mil 5.3.6](https://suttacentral.net/mil5.3.6)).

[689](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefk) *Siṅgivaṇṇaṃ*, Sanskrit *hiraṇya*, and after the Muslim period *kimkhawād*, was made of silk or cotton thread wrapped in thin strips of gold. This is possibly the oldest reference to this type of fabric from India.

[690](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefl) Now called the Khanua River, it is about ten kilometres east from Kusinārā, seemingly a long way for the weak and ailing Buddha to walk in the time he had remaining. However, the Khanua has a very meandering course, as do most rivers in the region, and may well have been closer to Kusinārā at the time. The commentary gives the distance between Pāvā and Kusinārā as three *gāvutas*, which Rhys Davids calculated at a little less than two miles, see Srinivasan [[Srinivasan 1979](#Xb91bee48174240beb0c7d15ef95efa47ebb4de5)] pp. 18, 23, 25. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly where Pāvā was in relation to the Kukuṭṭhā at that time, or to Kusinārā, nor is their certainty about how long a *gāvuta* was.

[691](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefm) S.V,81 ([SN 46.16](https://suttacentral.net/sn46.16/en/sujato)).

[692](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefn) D.II,135-136 ([DN 16:4.39.1–4.43.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "4.39.1)).

[693](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefo) Until recently the Chota Gandak, now renamed Hiraññavatī for the benefit of pilgrims.

[694](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefp) The sal has fragrant-smelling pale yellow flowers, see Dhammika 2018b [[Dhammika 2018b](#X8883f8cf1494d601f89110d8da7c23626c62c66)] pp. 179-181.

[695](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefq) D.II,137-138 ([DN 16:5.2.1–5.3.11](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.2.1)).

[696](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefr) D.II,149-152 ([DN 16:5.23.1–5.30.9](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.23.1)).

[697](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnrefs) M.I,83 ([MN 12:62.1–62.12](https://suttacentral.net/mn12/en/sujato" \l "62.1)).

[698](#footprints_split_017.html%25252523fnreft) D.II,156 ([DN 16:6.7.1–6.7.4](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "6.7.1)).

[699](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnref6) D.II,162-163 ([DN 16:6.20.1–6.20.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "6.20.1)).

[700](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnref7) Veṭhadīpa may be the modern Bettiah in West Champaran District.

[701](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnref1) D.II,166 ([DN 16:6.25.3–6.25.11](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "6.25.3)). Doṇa had met the Buddha years before, A.II,37 ([AN 4.36](https://suttacentral.net/an4.36/en/sujato)); III,223 ([AN 5.192](https://suttacentral.net/an5.192/en/sujato)). His name could be a shortened form of *doṇamāpaka*, a royal revenue officer tasked with measuring out the king’s share of the harvest using a wooden vessel called a *doṇa*. According to Olivelle 2004 [[Olivelle 2004](#X33ef731ad2df603fa7fc36f2385d2d5c948871f)] p.458, a *doṇa* had a capacity of about 5 litres. See also Srinivasan [[Srinivasan 1979](#Xb91bee48174240beb0c7d15ef95efa47ebb4de5)] pp. 49-51, 90-92 and 166.

[702](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnref2) It could be conjectured that Doṇa placed the Buddha’s ashes in one of the monks’ alms bowls rather than in a container used for some mundane purpose. This would have been more appropriate, considering the Malla’s and the monks’ wish to have a fitting funeral for the Tathāgata—solemn and dignified. The Tipitaka provides little information about what Buddhist alms bowls were like at that time, but there is one in the State Museum in Lucknow, India. It is of the pottery known as Northern Black Polished Ware, which was produced around the time and in the region the Buddha lived, and its shape and size are almost the same as today’s standard Burmese monks’ bowls. These Burmese bowls hold 4 ½ litres, very close to Olivelle’s estimation of a *doṇa* measure, and would have easily held the Buddha’s ashes. The remains of the average human male after cremation weigh about 2 ½ kgs.

[703](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnref3) On the possible identification of the stupa built by Doṇa see Dhammika 2018d [[Dhammika 2018d](#X807a594899a79beecddf374e35b6c73e9a98f3d)] pp. 207-214 and Patil [[Patil 1963](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Patil_)] pp.40-41,86,121.

[704](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnref4) Vin.II,76 ([Kd 14:4.4.23](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd14/en/brahmali" \l "4.4.23)). The cave is actually two fissures, one larger than the other, in the side of a high, jagged cliff near the top of the hill. When Buddhist pilgrims visit the site today, they often wonder how several hundred monks could have fitted into either or even both these fissures. The council was held at, not in, the cave, likely in a hall built on the wide platform extending outward from the foot of the cliff.

[705](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnref5) S.II,215-218 ([SN 16.10](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.10/en/sujato), [SN 16.11](https://suttacentral.net/sn16.11/en/sujato)).

[706](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnref8) Tilakaratne [[Tilakaratne 2005](#X796f4381ec4a0e155295f0e65a786be7b072019)] pp.229-257 has some interesting observations on this matter and its possible implications.

[707](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnref9) Ud.59 ([Ud 5.6:17.3–18.5](https://suttacentral.net/ud5.6/en/sujato" \l "17.3)). See also Chapter 10, Paragraph 22 above.

[708](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnrefa) *Pacchābhūmaṃ janapadaṃ*. This would have included what is now Pakistan’s Punjab and parts of eastern Afghanistan, then known as Gandhāra, which had become a predominantly Buddhist region by the early centuries CE. These monks must have been amongst the first missionaries there.

[709](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnrefb) S.III,6-9 ([SN 22.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.2/en/sujato)).

[710](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnrefc) M.III,268-270 ([MN 145:5.1–6.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn145/en/sujato" \l "5.1)). Several later Pāḷi and Sanskrit sources say that Puṇṇa was born in Suppāraka, the modern Sopara, which if correct, would mean that Sunāparanta must have been the coastal region north of Mumbai. The ruins of a very ancient stupa can be found near Wagholi Naka Road on the western side of Sopara.

[711](#footprints_split_018.html%25252523fnrefd) M.III,268-270 ([MN 145:7.1–7.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn145/en/sujato" \l "7.1)).

[712](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnref7) D.III,205 ([DN 32:10.16](https://suttacentral.net/dn32/en/sujato" \l "10.16)). See Chakrabarti 2007 [[Chakrabarti 2007](#X2398ef1207dd8853b5be1167e8b998e10f04be3)] p.75.

[713](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnref1) S.I,188 ([SN 8.1:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn8.1/en/sujato" \l "1.2), [SN 8.2:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn8.2/en/sujato" \l "1.1), [SN 8.3:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn8.3/en/sujato" \l "1.1)); Tha.1227-1251 ([Thag 21.1](https://suttacentral.net/thag21.1/en/sujato)).

[714](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnref2) A.IV,216-220 ([AN 8.23](https://suttacentral.net/an8.23/en/sujato), [AN 8.24](https://suttacentral.net/an8.24/en/sujato)).

[715](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnref3) *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* 11,12.

[716](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnref4) M.I,39 ([MN 7:19.1–20.23](https://suttacentral.net/mn7/en/sujato" \l "19.1)).

[717](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnref5) A.I,248 ([AN 3.99:4.1–4.2](https://suttacentral.net/an3.99/en/sujato" \l "4.1)); A.III,391 ([AN 6.59:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/an6.59/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[718](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnref6) E.g. A.I,279 ([AN 3.128](https://suttacentral.net/an3.128/en/sujato)); III,320 ([AN 6.28](https://suttacentral.net/an6.28/en/sujato)); S.III,66 ([SN 22.59](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.59/en/sujato)); V,406 ([SN 55.53](https://suttacentral.net/sn55.53/en/sujato)).

[719](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnref8) D.II,141 ([DN 16:5.8.1–5.8.7](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.8.1)).

[720](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnref9) Vin.I,240 ([Kd 6:34.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd6/en/brahmali" \l "34.1.1)).

[721](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefa) Pandey [[Pandey 1963](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Pandey)] p.97, thinks Aṅguttararāpa was somewhere in modern Purina District.

[722](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefb) A.III,36-38 ([AN 5.33](https://suttacentral.net/an5.33/en/sujato)).

[723](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefc) M.II,163 ([MN 94:32.4, 33.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn94/en/sujato" \l "32.4)).

[724](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefd) See Sinha 1979 [[Sinha 1979](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Sinha_)] pp.90-96.

[725](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefe) M.I,39 ([MN 7:19.1–20.23](https://suttacentral.net/mn7/en/sujato" \l "19.1)). Held on the 1st of Phagguṇa (the full moon), later known as Vasantotsava and today as Holi.

[726](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnreff) Tha.345 ([Thag 5.7](https://suttacentral.net/thag5.7/en/sujato)).

[727](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefg) Vin.I,34-35 ([Kd 1:21.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "21.1.1)).

[728](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefh) Ud.6. ([Ud 1.9](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.9/en/sujato))

[729](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefi) Thi.240-243 ([Thig 12.1:5.1–8.4](https://suttacentral.net/thig12.1/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[730](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefj) S.I,207-208 ([SN 10.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn10.3/en/sujato)).

[731](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefk) E.g. A.I,166 ([AN 3.59:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/an3.59/en/sujato" \l "1.2)); D.I,97 ([DN 3:1.24.6, 1.25.5, 1.26.6, 1.27.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn3/en/sujato" \l "1.24.6)).

[732](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefl) See Wagle 1995 [[Wagle 1995](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Wagle_)] pp.20-23. Vin.I,197 ([Kd 5:13.12.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd5/en/brahmali" \l "13.12.1)).

[733](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefm) M.III,298 ([MN 152](https://suttacentral.net/mn152/en/sujato)).

[734](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefn) A.V,48-54 ([AN 10.27](https://suttacentral.net/an10.27/en/sujato)).

[735](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefo) A.V,54-58 ([AN 10.28](https://suttacentral.net/an10.28/en/sujato)).

[736](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefp) See Bodhi 2012 [[Bodhi 2012](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Bodhi_)] p.1839, note 2012.

[737](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefq) Mil.10 ([Mil 2](https://suttacentral.net/mil2)).

[738](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefr) Vin.III,11 ([Pj 1:4.18](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pj1/en/brahmali" \l "4.18)).

[739](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefs) A.I,188-189 ([AN 3.65](https://suttacentral.net/an3.65/en/sujato)).

[740](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnreft) See Sinha 2019 [[Sinha I 2019](#X974b4c099142426b83a0efe221c056e15c71cf0)] pp.27-31.

[741](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefu) Ghosh 1956 [[Ghosh 1956](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Ghosh1)] pp.20-21.

[742](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefv) S.III,127 ([SN 22.89:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.89/en/sujato" \l "1.2)); Vin.IV,16 ([Bu Pc 5:2.2](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc5/en/brahmali" \l "2.2)).

[743](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefw) For recently discovered inscriptions pointing to the existence of the Kukkuṭārāma, see Salomon and Marino [[Salomon-Marino 2014](#Xa25923814ac4f071953bd5ecaf404d2ee79f411)] pp.34-35.

[744](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefx) Ud.41-42 ([Ud 4.5](https://suttacentral.net/ud4.5/en/sujato)); S.III,94-98 ([SN 22.81](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.81/en/sujato)); V,437 ([SN 56.31](https://suttacentral.net/sn56.31/en/sujato)).

[745](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefy) M.I,513 ([MN 76](https://suttacentral.net/mn76/en/sujato)). See Fuhrer [[Fuhrer 1894](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Fuhrer)] pp.240-244.

[746](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnrefz) S.IV,110-113 ([SN 35.127](https://suttacentral.net/sn35.127/en/sujato)).

[747](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre10) See Ireland 1976 [[Ireland 1976](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Irela1)] pp.114-117.

[748](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre11) D.II,165 ([DN 16:6.24.25–6.24.27](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "6.24.25)).

[749](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre12) D.II,146 ([DN 16:5.17.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.17.2)).

[750](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre13) Vin.III,81 ([Bu Pj 3:5.8.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pj3/en/brahmali" \l "5.8.1)) mentions a *kuḍḍa* of burnt brick for a monastery being built.

[751](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre14) Vin.II,154 ([Kd 16:3.10.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd16/en/brahmali" \l "3.10.1)); Ja.I,240 ([Ja 41](https://suttacentral.net/ja41)).

[752](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre15) A.I,274 ([AN 3.123:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/an3.123/en/sujato" \l "1.1)); V,79 ([AN 10.44:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/an10.44/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[753](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre16) Ud.37 ([Ud 4.2:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/ud4.2/en/sujato" \l "1.2)); D.II,137 ([DN 16:5.1.0–5.3.11](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.1.0)).

[754](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre17) D.II,163 ([DN 16:6.21.1–6.22.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "6.21.1)). See Vogel [[Vogel 1908](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Vogel_)] pp.43-58.

[755](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre18) A.III,256 ([AN 5.220](https://suttacentral.net/an5.220/en/sujato)).

[756](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre19) A.II,57 ([AN 4.53](https://suttacentral.net/an4.53/en/sujato)).

[757](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1a) M.II,83 ([MN 84](https://suttacentral.net/mn84/en/sujato)); A.I,67 ([AN 2.38](https://suttacentral.net/an2.38/en/sujato)).

[758](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1b) On the history of Buddhism in Madhurā see Jaini 2001 [[Jaini PS 2001](#X878bac749f1651dd66d747512df510cf5d54e50)] pp.348 ff.

[759](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1c) Pali *putta* and Sanskrit *putra* both mean son. On the possible origin of this part of the name and why it might have been used see Schlingloff [[Schlingloff 2014](#X5e64d333db37170f8cf675592ef18d4dc188acc)] p.44.

[760](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1d) D.II,87-88 ([DN 16:1.26.1–1.28.9](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "1.26.1)).

[761](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1e) Spooner 1916 [[Spooner 1916](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Spoone)]; Altekar and Mishra 1959 [[Altekar-Mishra 1959](#Xd255a472a596dd27e197b60be7a103b261b69df)].

[762](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1f) M.II,163 ([MN 94:32.1–33.10](https://suttacentral.net/mn94/en/sujato" \l "32.1)).

[763](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1g) Sn.1012-1013 ([Snp 5.1:37.1–38.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp5.1/en/sujato" \l "37.1)). Setavya is probably now Siswania in Basti District, Uttar Pradesh, about ninety kilometres south-west of Kusinārā. The modern town is situated on the Kuwano River, known as the Sundarikā in the Tipitaka. See Mani [[Mani 1990-91](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Mani_1)] pp.43-50.

[764](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1h) D.III,207 ([DN 33:1.1.1–1.2.7](https://suttacentral.net/dn33/en/sujato" \l "1.1.1)).

[765](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1i) Vin.I,253 ([Kd 7:1.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd7/en/brahmali" \l "1.1.1)); D.II,165 ([DN 16:6.24.25–6.24.28](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "6.24.25)).

[766](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1j) *Kalpa Sūtra [*[*Jacobi 1884*](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Jacobi)*]* V,147; D.III,210 ([DN 33:1.6.1](https://suttacentral.net/dn33/en/sujato" \l "1.6.1)).

[767](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1k) On these two places see Chakrabarti 2001 [[Chakrabarti 2001](#Xc42892dd596695e421d5f01d48cec2a79595647)] p.211 and Bajpai [[Bajpai 1985-86](#Xe07447bd0f54d3f72ab2531dcb01e4b51ffc99c)] pp.39-44.

[768](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1l) See Chakrabarti 2001 [[Chakrabarti 2001](#Xc42892dd596695e421d5f01d48cec2a79595647)] pp.211-213.

[769](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1m) This confusion was perhaps caused by the abandonment of many Jain sites in northern India during Muslim persecution of the 11th/12th centuries.

[770](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1n) Mvu. III [[Jones 1956](#footprints_split_023.html%25252523Jones1)] 208-209.

[771](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1o) Vin.III,108 ([BU Pj 4](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pj4/en/brahmali" \l "9.4.1)). See Sen 1918 [[Sen 1918](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Sen_19)] pp.113-135.

[772](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1p) A.I,185 ([AN 3.64:3.1](https://suttacentral.net/an3.64/en/sujato" \l "3.1)); Ud.39 ([Ud 4.4](https://suttacentral.net/ud4.4/en/sujato)); M.I,497 ([MN 74:1.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn74/en/sujato" \l "1.2)); D.II,263 ([DN 21:1.1.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn21/en/sujato" \l "1.1.2)); Vin.I,35 ([Kd 1:22.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "22.1.1)).

[773](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1q) M.III,68 ([MN 116:2.1, 2.4, 2.7, 2.10, 2.13](https://suttacentral.net/mn116/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[774](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1r) The whole issue is discussed by Pandey [[Pandey 1963](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Pandey)] pp.31-38.

[775](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1s) Sn.417 ([Snp 3.1:10.1–10.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.1/en/sujato" \l "10.1)).

[776](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1t) Kalpa Sūtra [[Jacobi 1884](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Jacobi)] V,122, also Jaini 1979 [[Jaini PS 1979](#Xddbec3bb908010fcd8e7b900421874c069a1547)] p.37 ff.

[777](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1u) S.III,140 ([SN 22.95:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.95/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[778](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1v) Vin.IV,65 ([Bu Pc 28](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc28/en/brahmali" \l "2.1)); 228 ([Bi Ss 3:2.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bi-vb-ss3/en/brahmali" \l "2.1)).

[779](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1w) Pathak [[Pathak 1963](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Pathak)] p.55.

[780](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1x) M.I,149 ([MN 24:14.3–14.11](https://suttacentral.net/mn24/en/sujato" \l "14.3)).

[781](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1y) A.II,24 ([AN 4.24:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/an4.24/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[782](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre1z) Vin.III,11 ([Bu Pj 1:4.18](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pj1/en/brahmali" \l "4.18)).

[783](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre20) Law 1935 [[Law 1935](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Law_19)].

[784](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre21) See Note 115: [*Uttarādhayayana* [[Jacobi 1895](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Jacob1)] XXIII,1-19. Some centuries later Jainism split again into the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras.]

[785](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre22) E.g. A.II,61 ([AN 4.55](https://suttacentral.net/an4.55/en/sujato)); S.III,1 ([SN 22.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.1/en/sujato)).

[786](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre23) M.II,91 ([MN 85](https://suttacentral.net/mn85/en/sujato)).

[787](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre24) M.I,225 ([MN 34](https://suttacentral.net/mn34/en/sujato)).

[788](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre25) M.I.166-167 ([MN 26:17.1–17.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "17.1)).

[789](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre26) See *Arthaśāstra [*[*Olivelle 2013*](#X345a02a5d3939eccbab6cb292658f51712433ab)*]* II,35,1.

[790](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre27) Vin.I,1-2 ([Kd1 1.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-kd1/en/brahmali" \l "1.1.1)).

[791](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre28) D.II,140 ([DN 16:5.7.0–5.8.10](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.7.0)).

[792](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre29) See Joshi 1990 [[Joshi 1990](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Joshi_)], pp.7-9.

[793](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2a) A.IV,197-198 ([AN 8.19:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/an8.19/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[794](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2b) Vin.III,6 ([Bu Pj 1:2.1.1](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pj1/en/brahmali" \l "2.1.1)).

[795](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2c) Sarao 1989 [[Sarao 1989](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Sarao_)] p.103.

[796](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2d) D.II,117 ff ([DN 16:3.45.1–3.47.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "3.45.1)); III,9 ([DN 24:1.11.5](https://suttacentral.net/dn24/en/sujato" \l "1.11.5)).

[797](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2e) E.g. A.II,191 ([AN 4.193](https://suttacentral.net/an4.193/en/sujato)); V,86 ([AN 10.47](https://suttacentral.net/an10.47/en/sujato)); D.I,150 ([DN 6](https://suttacentral.net/dn6/en/sujato)); M.II,252 ([MN 105](https://suttacentral.net/mn105/en/sujato)); S.I,230 ([SN 11.13](https://suttacentral.net/sn11.13/en/sujato)).

[798](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2f) A.III,167 ([AN 5.143](https://suttacentral.net/an5.143/en/sujato)); IV,308 ([AN 8.70:1.1–2.1](https://suttacentral.net/an8.70/en/sujato" \l "1.1)); D.II,119 ([DN 16:3.48.1–3.48.9](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "3.48.1)); S.V,258 ([SN 51.10:1.1–2.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn51.10/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[799](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2g) A.III,142 ([AN 5.121](https://suttacentral.net/an5.121/en/sujato)); S.IV,210 ([SN 36.7](https://suttacentral.net/sn36.7/en/sujato)).

[800](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2h) D.II,120 ([DN 16:3.51.3–3.51.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "3.51.3)).

[801](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2i) D.II,102 ([DN 16:3.2.4](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "3.2.4)); II,122 ([DN 16:4.1.1–4.1.4](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "4.1.1)).

[802](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2j) A.III,75-76 ([AN 5.58:2.1–4.6](https://suttacentral.net/an5.58/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[803](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2k) S.II,268 ([SN 20.8](https://suttacentral.net/sn20.8/en/sujato)).

[804](#footprints_split_019.html%25252523fnre2l) Sinha and Roy 1969 [[Sinha-Roy 1969](#X04e481ae9887b7789454d9a9f04caa248066e8a)] pp.16-23.

[805](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnref8) S.IV,312 ([SN 42.6:2.1–2.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn42.6/en/sujato" \l "2.1)); D.I,235 ([DN 13](https://suttacentral.net/dn13/en/sujato)).

[806](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnref1) D.I,52-59 ([DN 2:16.0–33.10](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "16.0)).

[807](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnref2) A.I,286 ([AN 3.137](https://suttacentral.net/an3.137/en/sujato)).

[808](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnref3) A.I,173 ([AN 3.61:1.5–1.8](https://suttacentral.net/an3.61/en/sujato" \l "1.5)).

[809](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnref4) D.II,316 ([DN 23:2.1–2.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn23/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[810](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnref5) M.II,74 ([MN 83](https://suttacentral.net/mn83/en/sujato)); 54 ([MN 82](https://suttacentral.net/mn82/en/sujato)).

[811](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnref6) See Black [[Black 2013](#footprints_split_022.html%25252523Black_)] p. 101 ff.

[812](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnref7) D.II,100 ([DN 16:2.25.2–2.25.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "2.25.2)).

[813](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnref9) A.I,282 ([AN 3.131:1.4](https://suttacentral.net/an3.131/en/sujato" \l "1.4)).

[814](#footprints_split_020.html%25252523fnrefa) Jaini 2001 [[Jaini PS 2001](#X878bac749f1651dd66d747512df510cf5d54e50)] pp.50-51.