[520](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fn)

[521](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523f1)

[522](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523f2)

[523](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523f3)

[524](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523f4)

[525](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523f5)

[526](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523f6)

[527](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523f7)

[528](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523f8)

[529](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523f9)

[530](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fa)

[531](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fb)

[532](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fc)

[533](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fd)

[534](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fe)

[535](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523ff)

[536](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fg)

[537](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fh)

[538](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fi) 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%252525252523fj) 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%252525252523fk) Ud-a.32.

[541](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fl) 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%252525252523fm) A.I,136-137 ([AN 3.35](https://suttacentral.net/an3.35/en/sujato)).

[543](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fo) *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%252525252523Bo)] 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%252525252523fp) A.IV,219-220 ([AN 8.24](https://suttacentral.net/an8.24/en/sujato)).

[545](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fq) 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%252525252523fr) 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%252525252523fs) M.I,39 ([MN 7:20.12–20.17](https://suttacentral.net/mn7/en/sujato" \l "20.12)).

[548](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523ft) 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%252525252523fu) 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%252525252523fv) 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%252525252523fw) S.III,106-109 ([SN 22.84](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.84/en/sujato)).

[552](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fx) A.III,374-375 ([AN 6.55](https://suttacentral.net/an6.55/en/sujato)).

[553](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fy) A.II,112 ([AN 4.111](https://suttacentral.net/an4.111/en/sujato)).

[554](#footprints_split_014.html%252525252523fz) M.I,393 ([MN 58:7.1–8.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn58/en/sujato" \l "7.1)).

[555](#footprints_split_014.html%25252525252310) M.I,132 ([MN 22:6.1–6.15](https://suttacentral.net/mn22/en/sujato" \l "6.1)).

[556](#footprints_split_014.html%25252525252311) M.I,457-459 ([MN 67](https://suttacentral.net/mn67/en/sujato)).

[557](#footprints_split_014.html%25252525252312) 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%25252525252313) A.IV,169 ([AN 8.10](https://suttacentral.net/an8.10/en/sujato)).

[559](#footprints_split_014.html%25252525252314) M.I,444 ([MN 65:25.1–28.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn65/en/sujato" \l "25.1)).

[560](#footprints_split_014.html%25252525252315) 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%252525252523fn) 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%252525252523f1) M.I,479 ([MN 70:22.2](https://suttacentral.net/mn70/en/sujato" \l "22.2)).

[563](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523f2) A.I,260 ([AN 3.105](https://suttacentral.net/an3.105/en/sujato)).

[564](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523f3) A.I,259 ([AN 3.104](https://suttacentral.net/an3.104/en/sujato)).

[565](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523f4) 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%252525252523f5) A.V,181 ([AN 10.91](https://suttacentral.net/an10.91/en/sujato)).

[567](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523f6) A.III,45 ([AN 5.41](https://suttacentral.net/an5.41/en/sujato)).

[568](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523f7) It.65 ([Iti 75](https://suttacentral.net/iti75/en/sujato)).

[569](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523f8) S.I,33 ([SN 1.47](https://suttacentral.net/sn1.47/en/sujato)).

[570](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523f9) 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%252525252523fa) 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%252525252523fb) S.I,74 ([SN 3.6](https://suttacentral.net/sn3.6/en/sujato)).

[573](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fc) A.III,53 ([AN 5.46](https://suttacentral.net/an5.46/en/sujato)).

[574](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fd) A.IV,5 ([AN 7.5](https://suttacentral.net/an7.5/en/sujato)).

[575](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fe) 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%252525252523ff) A.II,61-2 ([AN 4.55:3.1](https://suttacentral.net/an4.55/en/sujato" \l "3.1)).

[577](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fg) 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%252525252523fh) 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%252525252523fi) 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%252525252523fj) D.III,190 ([DN 31:30.1–30.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "30.1)).

[581](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fk) 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%252525252523fl) A.II,70 ([AN 4.63](https://suttacentral.net/an4.63/en/sujato)).

[583](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fm) 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%252525252523fo) D.III,189 ([DN 31:28.1–28.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "28.1)).

[585](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fp) A.I,61 ([AN 2.33](https://suttacentral.net/an2.33/en/sujato)).

[586](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fq) 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%252525252523fr) M.I,415 ([MN 61:7.10](https://suttacentral.net/mn61/en/sujato" \l "7.10)).

[588](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fs) Dhp.146 ([Dhp 146](https://suttacentral.net/dhp146/en/sujato)).

[589](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523ft) 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%252525252523fu) D.III,182-183 ([DN 31:7.0–8.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "7.0)).

[591](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fv) 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%252525252523fw) M.III,170 ([MN 129:26.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn129/en/sujato" \l "26.1)).

[593](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fx) D.III,183 ([DN 31:10.0–10.3](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "10.0)).

[594](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fy) A.V,134 ([AN 10.72](https://suttacentral.net/an10.72/en/sujato)).

[595](#footprints_split_015.html%252525252523fz) 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%252525252523Ba)].

[596](#footprints_split_015.html%25252525252310) 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%25252525252311) 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%25252525252312) S.II,255-266 ([SN 19.14](https://suttacentral.net/sn19.14/en/sujato)).

[599](#footprints_split_015.html%25252525252313) 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%25252525252314) Sn.258-267 ([Snp 2.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp2.4/en/sujato)).

[601](#footprints_split_015.html%25252525252315) 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%25252525252316) D.I,211 ff ([DN 11](https://suttacentral.net/dn11/en/sujato)).

[603](#footprints_split_015.html%25252525252317) 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%25252525252318) 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%25252525252319) 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%2525252525231a) M.II,149 ([MN 93:5.3–5.8](https://suttacentral.net/mn93/en/sujato" \l "5.3)).

[607](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231b) 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%2525252525231c) Sn.455 ([Snp 3.4:4.1–4.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.4/en/sujato" \l "4.1)).

[609](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231d) 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%2525252525231e) 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%2525252525231f) 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%252525252523An)] p.551-552.

[612](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231g) 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%2525252525231h) M.II,151 ([MN 93:10.1–11.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn93/en/sujato" \l "10.1)).

[614](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231i) 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%2525252525231j) 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%2525252525231k) Vin.IV,4 ([Bu Pc 2](https://suttacentral.net/pli-tv-bu-vb-pc2/en/brahmali)).

[617](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231l) 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%252525252523Ho)] pp.44-46.

[618](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231m) 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%2525252525231n) 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%2525252525231o) D.III,191 ([DN 31:32.1–32.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn31/en/sujato" \l "32.1)).

[621](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231p) D.I,5 ([DN 1:1.10.11](https://suttacentral.net/dn1/en/sujato" \l "1.10.11)).

[622](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231q) 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%252525252523Jo)] pp.18,22.

[623](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231r) 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%2525252525231s) M.I,473 ([MN 70:2.1–2.4](https://suttacentral.net/mn70/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[625](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231t) 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%2525252525231u) Sn.707 ([Snp 3.11:29.1–29.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.11/en/sujato" \l "29.1)).

[627](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231v) M.I,273 ([MN 39:9.2–9.3](https://suttacentral.net/mn39/en/sujato" \l "9.2)).

[628](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231w) S.I,81-82 ([SN 3.13](https://suttacentral.net/sn3.13/en/sujato)).

[629](#footprints_split_015.html%2525252525231x) 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%2525252525231y) 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%2525252525231z) 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%25252525252320) Mil.135-136 ([Mil 5.1.8](https://suttacentral.net/mil5.1.8)).

[633](#footprints_split_015.html%25252525252321) 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%25252525252322) 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%25252525252323) See Wujastyk 2022 [[Wujastyk 2022](#X470be36a879de4d1b06821ba43563fcc821e5a9)] pp.5-7, 18-21, Zysk 1991 [[Zysk 1991](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Zy)] and Tatz 1985 [[Tatz 1985](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Ta)].

[636](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fn) 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%252525252523f1) M.II,245 ([MN 104:5.1–5.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn104/en/sujato" \l "5.1)).

[638](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523f2) A.III,106-108 ([AN 5.79](https://suttacentral.net/an5.79/en/sujato)).

[639](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523f3) 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%252525252523f4) 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%252525252523f5) 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%252525252523f6) 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%252525252523f7) 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%252525252523f8) M.II,120-121 ([MN 89:12.1–12.15](https://suttacentral.net/mn89/en/sujato" \l "12.1)).

[645](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523f9) 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%252525252523fa) 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%252525252523fb) 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%252525252523fc) D.I,60-61 ([DN 2:35.1–36.6](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "35.1)).

[649](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fd) 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%252525252523fe) 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%252525252523ff) A.II,239 ([AN 4.243](https://suttacentral.net/an4.243/en/sujato)).

[652](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fg) M.I,321-322 ([MN 48](https://suttacentral.net/mn48/en/sujato)).

[653](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fh) 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%252525252523fi) A.I,275 ([AN 3.124](https://suttacentral.net/an3.124/en/sujato)), condensed.

[655](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fj) M.III,154 ([MN 128:6.25–6.29](https://suttacentral.net/mn128/en/sujato" \l "6.25)).

[656](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fk) 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%252525252523fl) 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%252525252523fm) M.III,156 ([MN 128:10.8–14.9](https://suttacentral.net/mn128/en/sujato" \l "10.8)), condensed.

[659](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fo) S.IV,113-114 ([SN 35.129](https://suttacentral.net/sn35.129/en/sujato)).

[660](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fp) Ghosh 1963 [[Ghosh 1963](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Gh)] pp.14-16.

[661](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fq) 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%252525252523fr) Mhv [[Geiger 1912](#footprints_split_023.html%252525252523Ge)].II,32.

[663](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fs) 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%252525252523ft) 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%252525252523fu) M.I,469 ([MN 69](https://suttacentral.net/mn69/en/sujato)).

[666](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fv) 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%252525252523fw) 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%252525252523Up)] pp.101 and 126.

[668](#footprints_split_016.html%252525252523fx) 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%252525252523fy) 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%252525252523fn) S.V,161-162 ([SN 47.13](https://suttacentral.net/sn47.13/en/sujato)).

[671](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523f1) S.V,164 ([SN 47.14](https://suttacentral.net/sn47.14/en/sujato)).

[672](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523f2) 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%252525252523f3) 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%252525252523f4) 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%252525252523f5) 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%252525252523f6) 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%252525252523f7) 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%252525252523f8) 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%252525252523Al)] 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%252525252523Sa)] Vol.I p.181.

[679](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523f9) This is a word play on Ambapālī’s name, which means ‘mango guardian’.

[680](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523fa) Thi.252-270 ([Thig 13.1](https://suttacentral.net/thig13.1/en/sujato)).

[681](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523fb) 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%252525252523Ka)] p.146 ff.

[682](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523fc) 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%252525252523fd) 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%252525252523fe) 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%252525252523ff) 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%252525252523fg) 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%252525252523fh) 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%252525252523Ir)], 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%252525252523fi) Mil.175 ([Mil 5.3.6](https://suttacentral.net/mil5.3.6)).

[689](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523fj) *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%252525252523fk) 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%252525252523fl) S.V,81 ([SN 46.16](https://suttacentral.net/sn46.16/en/sujato)).

[692](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523fm) 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%252525252523fo) Until recently the Chota Gandak, now renamed Hiraññavatī for the benefit of pilgrims.

[694](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523fp) The sal has fragrant-smelling pale yellow flowers, see Dhammika 2018b [[Dhammika 2018b](#X8883f8cf1494d601f89110d8da7c23626c62c66)] pp. 179-181.

[695](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523fq) 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%252525252523fr) 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%252525252523fs) M.I,83 ([MN 12:62.1–62.12](https://suttacentral.net/mn12/en/sujato" \l "62.1)).

[698](#footprints_split_017.html%252525252523ft) 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%252525252523fn) 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%252525252523f1) Veṭhadīpa may be the modern Bettiah in West Champaran District.

[701](#footprints_split_018.html%252525252523f2) 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%252525252523f3) 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%252525252523f4) 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%252525252523Pa)] pp.40-41,86,121.

[704](#footprints_split_018.html%252525252523f5) 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%252525252523f6) 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%252525252523f7) Tilakaratne [[Tilakaratne 2005](#X796f4381ec4a0e155295f0e65a786be7b072019)] pp.229-257 has some interesting observations on this matter and its possible implications.

[707](#footprints_split_018.html%252525252523f8) 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%252525252523f9) *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%252525252523fa) S.III,6-9 ([SN 22.2](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.2/en/sujato)).

[710](#footprints_split_018.html%252525252523fb) 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%252525252523fc) M.III,268-270 ([MN 145:7.1–7.5](https://suttacentral.net/mn145/en/sujato" \l "7.1)).

[712](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fn) 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%252525252523f1) 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%252525252523f2) 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%252525252523f3) *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* 11,12.

[716](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523f4) M.I,39 ([MN 7:19.1–20.23](https://suttacentral.net/mn7/en/sujato" \l "19.1)).

[717](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523f5) 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%252525252523f6) 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%252525252523f7) 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%252525252523f8) 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%252525252523f9) Pandey [[Pandey 1963](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523P1)] p.97, thinks Aṅguttararāpa was somewhere in modern Purina District.

[722](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fa) A.III,36-38 ([AN 5.33](https://suttacentral.net/an5.33/en/sujato)).

[723](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fb) M.II,163 ([MN 94:32.4, 33.1](https://suttacentral.net/mn94/en/sujato" \l "32.4)).

[724](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fc) See Sinha 1979 [[Sinha 1979](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Si)] pp.90-96.

[725](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fd) 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%252525252523fe) Tha.345 ([Thag 5.7](https://suttacentral.net/thag5.7/en/sujato)).

[727](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523ff) 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%252525252523fg) Ud.6. ([Ud 1.9](https://suttacentral.net/ud1.9/en/sujato))

[729](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fh) 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%252525252523fi) S.I,207-208 ([SN 10.3](https://suttacentral.net/sn10.3/en/sujato)).

[731](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fj) 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%252525252523fk) See Wagle 1995 [[Wagle 1995](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Wa)] 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%252525252523fl) M.III,298 ([MN 152](https://suttacentral.net/mn152/en/sujato)).

[734](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fm) A.V,48-54 ([AN 10.27](https://suttacentral.net/an10.27/en/sujato)).

[735](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fo) A.V,54-58 ([AN 10.28](https://suttacentral.net/an10.28/en/sujato)).

[736](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fp) See Bodhi 2012 [[Bodhi 2012](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Bo)] p.1839, note 2012.

[737](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fq) Mil.10 ([Mil 2](https://suttacentral.net/mil2)).

[738](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fr) 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%252525252523fs) A.I,188-189 ([AN 3.65](https://suttacentral.net/an3.65/en/sujato)).

[740](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523ft) See Sinha 2019 [[Sinha I 2019](#X974b4c099142426b83a0efe221c056e15c71cf0)] pp.27-31.

[741](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fu) Ghosh 1956 [[Ghosh 1956](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523G1)] pp.20-21.

[742](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fv) 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%252525252523fw) 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%252525252523fx) 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%252525252523fy) M.I,513 ([MN 76](https://suttacentral.net/mn76/en/sujato)). See Fuhrer [[Fuhrer 1894](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Fu)] pp.240-244.

[746](#footprints_split_019.html%252525252523fz) S.IV,110-113 ([SN 35.127](https://suttacentral.net/sn35.127/en/sujato)).

[747](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252310) See Ireland 1976 [[Ireland 1976](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523I1)] pp.114-117.

[748](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252311) 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%25252525252312) D.II,146 ([DN 16:5.17.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn16/en/sujato" \l "5.17.2)).

[750](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252313) 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%25252525252314) 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%25252525252315) 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%25252525252316) 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%25252525252317) 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%252525252523Vo)] pp.43-58.

[755](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252318) A.III,256 ([AN 5.220](https://suttacentral.net/an5.220/en/sujato)).

[756](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252319) A.II,57 ([AN 4.53](https://suttacentral.net/an4.53/en/sujato)).

[757](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231a) 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%2525252525231b) On the history of Buddhism in Madhurā see Jaini 2001 [[Jaini PS 2001](#X878bac749f1651dd66d747512df510cf5d54e50)] pp.348 ff.

[759](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231c) 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%2525252525231d) 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%2525252525231e) Spooner 1916 [[Spooner 1916](#footprints_split_023.html%252525252523Sp)]; Altekar and Mishra 1959 [[Altekar-Mishra 1959](#Xd255a472a596dd27e197b60be7a103b261b69df)].

[762](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231f) M.II,163 ([MN 94:32.1–33.10](https://suttacentral.net/mn94/en/sujato" \l "32.1)).

[763](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231g) 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%252525252523Ma)] pp.43-50.

[764](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231h) 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%2525252525231i) 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%2525252525231j) *Kalpa Sūtra [*[*Jacobi 1884*](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Ja)*]* 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%2525252525231k) 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%2525252525231l) See Chakrabarti 2001 [[Chakrabarti 2001](#Xc42892dd596695e421d5f01d48cec2a79595647)] pp.211-213.

[769](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231m) 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%2525252525231n) Mvu. III [[Jones 1956](#footprints_split_023.html%252525252523J1)] 208-209.

[771](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231o) 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%252525252523Se)] pp.113-135.

[772](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231p) 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%2525252525231q) 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%2525252525231r) The whole issue is discussed by Pandey [[Pandey 1963](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523P1)] pp.31-38.

[775](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231s) Sn.417 ([Snp 3.1:10.1–10.4](https://suttacentral.net/snp3.1/en/sujato" \l "10.1)).

[776](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231t) Kalpa Sūtra [[Jacobi 1884](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Ja)] V,122, also Jaini 1979 [[Jaini PS 1979](#Xddbec3bb908010fcd8e7b900421874c069a1547)] p.37 ff.

[777](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231u) S.III,140 ([SN 22.95:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/sn22.95/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[778](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231v) 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%2525252525231w) Pathak [[Pathak 1963](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523P2)] p.55.

[780](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231x) M.I,149 ([MN 24:14.3–14.11](https://suttacentral.net/mn24/en/sujato" \l "14.3)).

[781](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231y) A.II,24 ([AN 4.24:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/an4.24/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[782](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525231z) 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%25252525252320) Law 1935 [[Law 1935](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523La)].

[784](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252321) See Note 115: [*Uttarādhayayana* [[Jacobi 1895](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523J1)] XXIII,1-19. Some centuries later Jainism split again into the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras.]

[785](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252322) 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%25252525252323) M.II,91 ([MN 85](https://suttacentral.net/mn85/en/sujato)).

[787](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252324) M.I,225 ([MN 34](https://suttacentral.net/mn34/en/sujato)).

[788](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252325) M.I.166-167 ([MN 26:17.1–17.7](https://suttacentral.net/mn26/en/sujato" \l "17.1)).

[789](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252326) See *Arthaśāstra [*[*Olivelle 2013*](#X345a02a5d3939eccbab6cb292658f51712433ab)*]* II,35,1.

[790](#footprints_split_019.html%25252525252327) 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%25252525252328) 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%25252525252329) See Joshi 1990 [[Joshi 1990](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Jo)], pp.7-9.

[793](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525232a) A.IV,197-198 ([AN 8.19:1.1](https://suttacentral.net/an8.19/en/sujato" \l "1.1)).

[794](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525232b) 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%2525252525232c) Sarao 1989 [[Sarao 1989](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Sa)] p.103.

[796](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525232d) 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%2525252525232e) 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%2525252525232f) 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%2525252525232g) 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%2525252525232h) 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%2525252525232i) 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%2525252525232j) 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%2525252525232k) S.II,268 ([SN 20.8](https://suttacentral.net/sn20.8/en/sujato)).

[804](#footprints_split_019.html%2525252525232l) Sinha and Roy 1969 [[Sinha-Roy 1969](#X04e481ae9887b7789454d9a9f04caa248066e8a)] pp.16-23.

[805](#footprints_split_020.html%252525252523fn) 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%252525252523f1) D.I,52-59 ([DN 2:16.0–33.10](https://suttacentral.net/dn2/en/sujato" \l "16.0)).

[807](#footprints_split_020.html%252525252523f2) A.I,286 ([AN 3.137](https://suttacentral.net/an3.137/en/sujato)).

[808](#footprints_split_020.html%252525252523f3) 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%252525252523f4) D.II,316 ([DN 23:2.1–2.2](https://suttacentral.net/dn23/en/sujato" \l "2.1)).

[810](#footprints_split_020.html%252525252523f5) 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%252525252523f6) See Black [[Black 2013](#footprints_split_022.html%252525252523Bl)] p. 101 ff.

[812](#footprints_split_020.html%252525252523f7) 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%252525252523f8) A.I,282 ([AN 3.131:1.4](https://suttacentral.net/an3.131/en/sujato" \l "1.4)).

[814](#footprints_split_020.html%252525252523f9) Jaini 2001 [[Jaini PS 2001](#X878bac749f1651dd66d747512df510cf5d54e50)] pp.50-51.